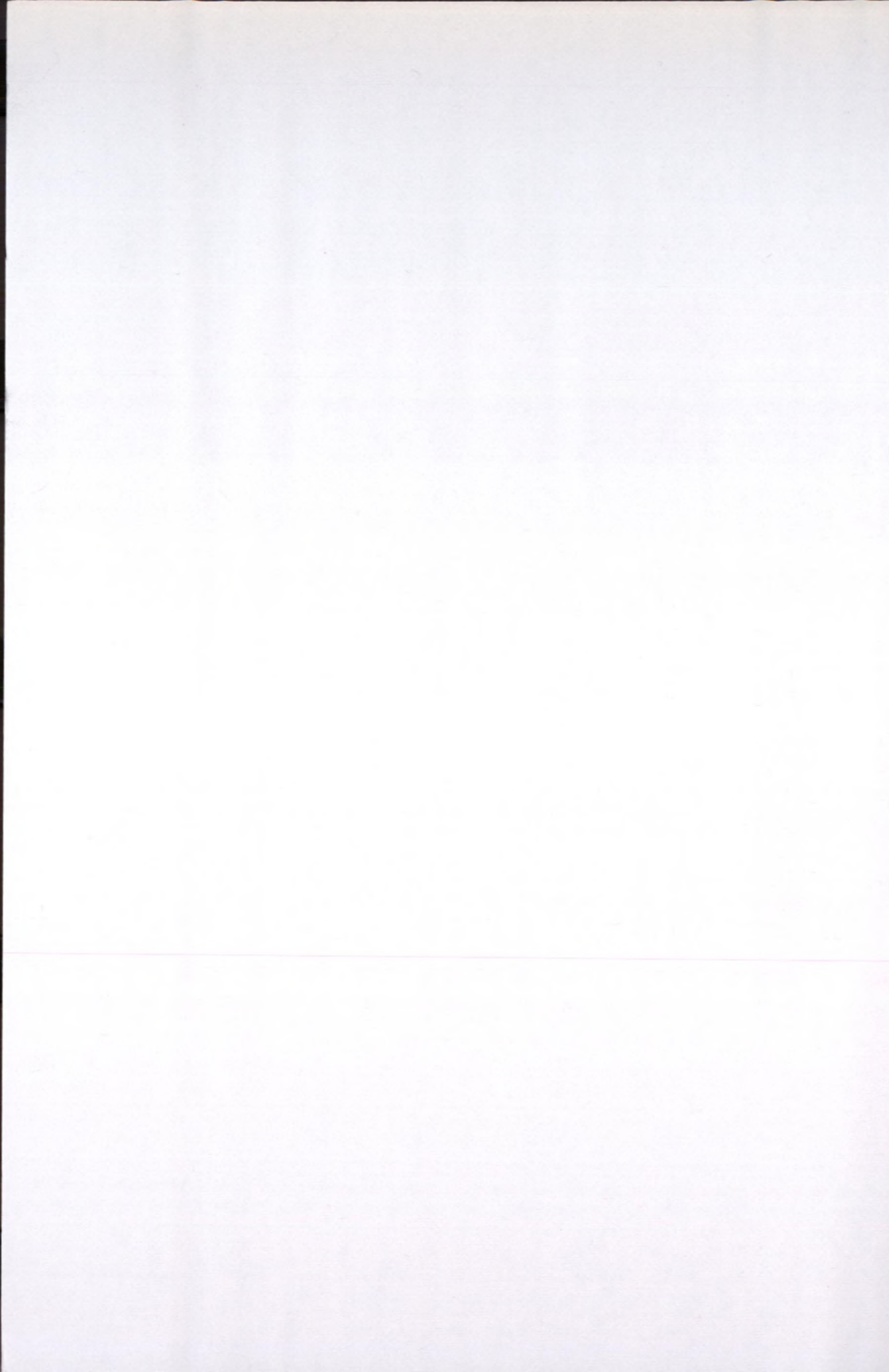


YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Volume 28

1993





# **YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES**

**Volume 28**

**1993**

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## General Information

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

The *Yearbook* is published annually. The editors welcome contributions in English or German on all aspects of German-Americana from members of the Society. The manuscript should be prepared so that it can be read anonymously by the members of the Editorial Board, with the author's name appearing on a separate sheet only. For submission, four copies of the manuscript prepared in accordance with the University of Chicago Press *Manual of Style* are requested. All manuscripts and correspondence concerning the *Yearbook* should be addressed to the Editors, Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045-2127. Inquiries regarding book reviews for the *Yearbook* should be addressed to Jerry Glenn, Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, M.L. 372, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, OH 45221. The *Newsletter* appears four times a year. Items for the *Newsletter* should be submitted to La Vern J. Rippley, Saint Olaf College, Northfield, MN 55057.

The SGAS annual membership dues, which include subscription to the *Yearbook* and the *Newsletter*, are \$20.00 for regular members. Membership applications to the Society for German-American Studies should be made to the Treasurer/Membership Chair of the Society, William Roba, Scott Community College, 500 Belmont Road, Bettendorf, IA 52722. The Society for German-American Studies is open to membership from individuals, societies, libraries, and organizations.

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## FROM THE EDITORS

As always, the editors owe a debt of gratitude to our colleagues on the SGAS Editorial Board, our book review editor, Jerry Glenn, and our bibliographic team under the leadership of Dolores and Giles Hoyt for their cooperative efforts in producing this volume of the *Yearbook*. A special word of thanks goes to La Vern J. Rippley for compiling and annotating the "Teaching Bibliography of German-Americana." We are convinced that this reference tool will be of great value to teachers of German-American history and culture at all levels, from elementary schools to universities. Additional copies of the "Teaching Bibliography" will be available from the SGAS.

This issue of the *Yearbook* offers our readers insights into a rich variety of German-American topics: The desire of German-American rationalist Friedrich Münch to reach a broader English-speaking audience for his ideas is depicted in correspondence with New England transcendentalist Theodore Parker. The efforts of Mathilde Franziska Anneke on behalf of women's rights in Germany and the United States is chronicled. Friedrich Gerstäcker's treatment of Native Americans in his literary works is scrutinized. Oral history is employed to depict life in an early Texas German settlement. The interference of American English and Pennsylvania German in an Austrian settlement dialect is analyzed. Amish children and the learning of English is the focus of the final regular contribution to the 1993 volume.

The year 1993 also marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Society for German-American Studies. It is thus appropriate that we as a society not only review our accomplishments and achievements during our first quarter of a century of existence, but also reflect on the nature and future direction of the field of German-American Studies. This discussion was initiated at a special conference on the "Definition and Outlook" of German-American Studies sponsored by the Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in September 1993. A collection of essays from that

conference will be published by the institute. The discussion will continue in a special issue of the journal *Monatshefte* to appear in late 1994. In this vein, the editors are pleased to present a thought-provoking essay by our colleague and editor of the *SGAS Newsletter*, La Vern J. Rippley, on his view of German-American Studies.

*Max Kade Center for German-American Studies*  
*at the University of Kansas*  
Lawrence, Kansas  
August 1994

La Vern J. Rippley

## **Toward a 1993 Definition of German-American Studies**

Cross-disciplinary by nature, the study of German immigrants in North America defies us to coin a definition with any exact precision. It means of course the transfer of people from the boundaries and regions of Europe where the German language specified a culture that emerged over the centuries from the gradually homogenized Germanic core of people that mainly inhabited Central Europe. The definition therefore includes all speakers of German and its multitudinous dialects, whether verbalized in Europe, the Americas or in the Asian parts of the Commonwealth of Independent States. The geographic origins comprise therefore, in addition to Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, large portions of current-day Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, the former Yugoslavia, Hungary, Romania, Russia, Ukraine as well as borderline regions of Holland and Luxembourg but stops short of embracing Belgium or Denmark even though Danish and Dutch are categorized as Germanic languages, and even though there are thousands of German speakers in the North Schleswig region of Southern Denmark, who feel a bond with their German Schleswig-Holsteiners to the South.

German immigrants therefore encompass peoples who came to North America from the mainline German states but also if they arrived as second-time migrants from the daughter colonies established by earlier German migrants in the North during the heyday of the Hanseatic League, 1200-1400. Likewise included are German-speaking people from port cities in the Baltic regions established at the instigation of the Teutonic Knights, 1200-1500. Or if they came from the eight-hundred-year-old Transylvanian Saxon settlements in Siebenbürgen, or from along the lower Danube River, where they settled during the expansion period of the Habsburg Empire under Maria Theresa, 1750-90, they are German-Americans. Many German speakers of course came also from the slightly



more internal but still peripheral regions of German culture, notably from the former Austrian portions of Poland and Ukraine known as Galicia and Bucovina, respectively, and from the outer periphery of the Czech and Slovak republics, especially the so-called Sudetenland and the Schönhengst district of Silesia, now in western Slovakia. Large numbers of Germans also migrated to North and South America from the steppes of Russia along the lower Volga River, where they had settled at the invitation of Catherine the Great in the 1760s. Equally large numbers of Germans, especially Mennonites, settled in the Ukraine at the invitation of Alexander I beginning in 1789 and found their way to the New World. They also arrived here from more exotic places like Namibia (formerly South-West Africa), Togo, the Bismarck Archipelago and Samoa.

German-American studies concerns the causes and the process of emigration. It involves therefore much study of geography, history, linguistics, politics, sociology, religion—even the natural sciences, psychology, literature, music, technology, and of course family history and genealogy. For without the tiny chips that make up the microcosm, there can be no definitive macrocosm. If the effect was the migration of people from German-speaking areas to North America, then the cause has to lie especially in Europe where the "push" factor resulted in the "pull" agent because—the axiom applies now as then—"the well-off and the satisfied do not leave home." Emigration and immigration insinuate the opportunity as well as the desire of a people to live elsewhere. During the long Stalinist years of the Soviet Union few emigrated, not because they did not want to but because it was forbidden. Being interdicted from trekking may take many forms other than the obvious political one; for, religious oppression was equally real, inheritance and ownership laws played their part, as did technology whether for sailing vessel design, readily available steam power, or overland railroad construction. Nationalism, social-class liberation or equalization, the myth about a land of unlimited possibilities coupled to literature and song, all coalesced to trigger an explosion of informational exchange across the Atlantic resulting in the outflow of a human tidal wave.

German-American studies should exclude from consideration many topics that have crept into the field for lack of a proper definition. A significant number of the essays included in the two volumes containing the essays presented at the 1983 Tricentennial of German Immigration<sup>1</sup> do not belong in the arena of German-American studies. Topics such as "From Nazism to NATOism," how the United States failed in its relationship to the Weimar Republic, how Anti-Americanism periodically affects Germany, and how Roosevelt coped with the National Socialist threat—none of these, though competently written essays, falls into the category of German-American studies, tightly defined. The waxing and waning of American isolationism is not pertinent to the field of German-



American studies. Nor is German literature written in America for a German audience the appropriate subject matter for our field. Whether Thomas Mann wrote his *Doktor Faustus* in America or whether Brecht's *Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe* takes place in Chicago is of no consequence to German-American studies. On the other hand the novels of Charles Sealsfield [Karl Postl], of Friedrich Gerstäcker and perhaps even some of those written by Karl May are the appropriate subject matter for investigation by scholars in German-American studies.

The *German Quarterly* editor, Reinhold Grimm, recently solicited and published a double issue under the theme "1492-1992: Five Centuries of German-American Interrelations."<sup>2</sup> Opening the collection is a poem by Cologne-born New York resident, Margot Scharpenberg, written extra for the issue. The offerings continue: "The Columbian Legacy in Postwar German Lyric Poetry," topics about early modern travel discoveries and reports from the New World, Heinrich Heine on the slave trade begun by Columbus himself, can, according to essayist Robert C. Holub, easily be argued as belonging to German-American studies. Edith Wharton's love of Keller, Fontane, and others, motifs in Frank Wedekind [an American citizen with the baptismal name of Benjamin Franklin Wedekind] and his role in Hollywood cinema, East German novelist Jochen Laabs' *Der Schattenfänger* who had visions of Indian Chief Crazy Horse, and an allusion to Marlene Dietrich as Germania or the Marshall Plan at the movies qualify as German-American studies.

All the essays in the *German Quarterly* double issue meet the standards for German-American studies and demonstrate exactly what the subject matter of Germanistik on this continent ought to be. Instead of American literary scholars trying hard to outdistance their counterparts in Germany they ought to spend some effort on what is "American" about the Germanistik found in this northern hemisphere. In this particular issue are printed articles about literature—German literature, film and the like—without the usual implicit self-denial coupled to a self deprecatory assumption that if it is German literature we study, then we cannot admit of an American bias, interest or even curiosity. German-American studies has struggled with this very inferiority complex for virtually the whole of this century. Two World Wars have guaranteed the depths of the inferiority feelings.

Emerging from the insecure "Me-tooism" that pervaded the pioneer work by Albert Bernhardt Faust,<sup>3</sup> German-American studies since about 1970 has evolved into a very sophisticated discipline of study. Scholars today can evaluate and dissect this large component of American society. They can thus analyze a huge, now successfully assimilated ethnic group that as a result of its dissolution in the melting pot scarcely ever needs to apologize or toot its horn. German-American studies treats a mature people that has largely forgotten its roots. German-American studies thus



targets a segment of the American melting pot that as a body has been fully accepted as "mainstream" because it has achieved entirely equal status with any other successful immigrant group, be they arrivals from England, Scotland, Ireland, or anywhere else. Germans in America are part and parcel of that amorphous mainstream which other immigrant groups—Mexicans, Vietnamese, and even perhaps Italians—are still seeking to join.

In 1983 the United States decided to officially celebrate the 300th anniversary of German immigration by a presidentially appointed tricentennial commission, indicating that it was politically correct at the time to acknowledge, if not to honor, this large group. In like manner, the Postal Service issued an attractive postage stamp, many governors and hundreds of mayors made proclamations, and in those states where German immigrants settled in numbers there were conferences, concerts, performances by dance groups, picnics, parades, and perhaps a thousand "Oktoberfests," even though in Germany itself there is only one such festivity annually.<sup>4</sup> Also in 1983 the Society for German-American Studies upgraded the quality of its newsletter, published a special "invited authors" issue of its yearbook, and "gloried" a bit in being co-sponsor of a highly visible tricentennial symposium in Philadelphia.

Because such festivals reveal as much about an ethnic group as do more formal definitions, it would be well in this search for a definition to contrast the 1983 event with what happened in 1883. In 1883 the event that most solemnly commemorated the arrival of the Krefelders under Pastorius in 1683 was the Tricentennial Conference of the Society for German-American Studies held in Philadelphia at the University of Pennsylvania. This academic-ceremonial ethnic event culminated in a banquet dinner which [it was hoped] would be attended by then President Ronald Reagan but at which Vice President Bush was his envoy. In his after dinner speech the Vice President quipped that if he could just add that little "c" in his name—a reference to the family founders of the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Company, the Busch Gardens in Florida and other relics of the Busch's legacy—then in his own right he too would belong to this "highly prized and praiseworthy" ethnic group.

At the parallel celebration a century earlier, however, the atmosphere was quite a bit less nostalgic and a lot more self-satisfied. The New York German humor magazine *Puck* in October 1883 ran an elaborate full-page color cartoon titled "A Family Fest—The 200th Birthday of the Healthiest Lad among Uncle Sam's Adoptive Children."<sup>5</sup> Parodying the Last Supper, Uncle Sam and Miss Liberty plus others gather around a banquet table under portraits of Baron von Steuben, George Washington and the Marquis de Lafayette. Flanking them are stereotypes of each immigrant group—a Swede in laborer's clothes, a Frenchman as chef, an Italian with his music box and monkey, accompanied by an Irishman dressed as a



terribly disgruntled Judas. To the right of the Christ figure is the beloved apostle, the Englishman. And the Christ figure? Standing tall and blond, while smoking a cigar with a confident smile behind his glass of wine, his beard and hat reminiscent of the glory days of 1848, his dress a symbol of his full integration into American society—well, that, of course, is the German. How radically things had changed by 1983!

German-American studies has been massively hampered by the negative forces of the Nazi movement and the aftermath of World War II. For if not the Kaiser, then surely Hitler, Goebbels, and the like succeeded in turning the public image of the German in America from any resemblance to a Christ figure into that of a diabolic creature. Just as it is impossible entirely to exonerate the white race for its enslavement of the black, so too the German, at least in the eye of America's public media, can never be entirely exempted from the Jewish Holocaust. This issue becomes exceedingly clouded, especially as the crimes of Communists, Cambodians, Somalian warlords and a hundred others come to light—including, one might add, the knowledge that the United States wilfully starved post-World War II German prisoners of war in European holding camps.

Be that as it may, it is not the task of German-American studies to clear the image of the German-Americans who joined societies like the Friends of the New Germany later called the "Bund" for short.<sup>6</sup> Nor can German-American studies engage in political activities whose objective is to restore justice either to victims of the Elizabeth Holtzman Amendment,<sup>7</sup> or of television programs that brutalize German military figures. The task and the duty of German-American studies is to observe, to interpret, and to report facts and not to pursue justice or generate enthusiasm for causes no matter how justified. Neither can German-American studies seek to right wrongs, or in any way to emulate the behavior of Germany's or German-Americana's detractors. That would be counter productive. It is rather the obligation of German-American studies to critically expose facts and figures that present the German immigrant element as it really was and is. In our own backyard, this is the task to be accomplished by among others the officers of the Society for German-American Studies and the editorial board of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies*.

Several relatively recent studies provide a representative cross section of what German-American studies can be. Phyllis Keller's *States of Belonging*<sup>8</sup> delineates on a sophisticated level the anguished intellectual conflict that loyalties to two cultural, political and psychological nationhoods engendered for three German-Americans: Hugo Münsterberg, George Sylvester Viereck and Hermann Hagedorn. Harvard psychology professor Münsterberg held a middle of the road course. Publicist Viereck militantly advocated the German cause in America but raised four sons who were absolutely upright Americans. But poet-biographer



Hagedorn became a passionate American superpatriot. Curiously, these latter two individuals were highly similar—both literary aces—both with intense mother attachments to America coupled to strong father identities to Germany, and both waylaid by hero worship for Theodore Roosevelt. How could these two men have such opposite public lives as occasioned by the World War I experience? Here is a challenging task for German-American studies.

For the 1983 centennial of German group immigration to the United States the Volkswagen-funded research group at Hamburg University published in English the volume *Germans to America*.<sup>9</sup> In due course this team under the guidance of Günter Moltmann, including Hartmut Bickelmann, Agnes Bretting, Michael Just and Ingrid Schöberl, produced in German a series that deals in a sophisticated technique with such fascinating topics as the social problems of German immigrants in New York City, transition obstacles and reception (or opposition) within America, shipping companies, and both German and American societies that aided immigration within the limits of economic realities. These are fascinating studies that plough virgin soil.<sup>10</sup> Some equate nicely with books published in America about similar topics, for example Stanley Nadel's *Little Germany*<sup>11</sup> in which the author demonstrates not only the vast and numerically large interweave of German everyday life in New York City but also the clustering of German with Germans, and the subgrouping of Germans within German communities to the extent that Germans married not just Germans but Badensers (Württembergers, Bavarians, Prussians, Rhinelanders) chose if possible Badensers (or their counterparts) as spouses.

Delving equally vertically into a specialty problem of German studies is Bruce Levine with his *Spirit of 1848*.<sup>12</sup> Here we find the forces of industrialization, class formation, political polarization and slavery integrated on the basis of an elitist German immigration that participated in a revolution before leaving Europe and then accelerated the anti-slavery one on new soil. On another plateau have come recently several brilliant forty-eighter studies worthy of mention here, especially Herbert Reiter's *Politisches Asyl im 19. Jahrhundert*, in which he defines "a political refugee" in the German-American framework.<sup>13</sup> Political asylum in the United States was different from its status in France, Belgium, Switzerland or England. Also worthy of mention here is the recent dissertation by Joachim Reppmann on Schleswig-Holstein immigrant revolutionaries to the United States who, in contrast to the forty-eighters elsewhere in Germany, succeeded in implementing democratic reforms north of the Elbe. In a sense, then, Schleswig-Holstein became an incubator for republican ideas that affected the later acculturation of these immigrants most of whom settled in Iowa and Nebraska. Seemingly Schleswig-Holstein was on the one hand small enough and on the other a special



case due to its proximity to Denmark to yield special outcomes.<sup>14</sup> In early October 1994 the Society for German-American Studies held a special symposium in Davenport, Iowa, to commemorate the "Hans Reimer Claussen Centennial 1894-1994." These are international perspectives that we as a nation need to realize. In this period too were the beginnings of the American labor movement that ended with the triumph of those such as Walter Reuther who was "crowned" president of the joint AFL-CIO in 1952.<sup>15</sup> It is the duty and the achievement of German-American studies to put European memories, traditions and values into the political, cultural, industrial and national realities of America in our time. A great thrust toward labor equity in America was the result of German immigrants and their distinctly social nineteenth century German ideology as amply exemplified in the publications of Dirk Hoerder.<sup>16</sup>

The studies of Chicago German workers by Hartmut Keil<sup>17</sup> and his associates demonstrates the rich immigration lodes waiting to be mined by competent scholars, all consummate examples of German-American studies. From the same geographic setting comes the recent study of Christiane Harzig, *Familie, Arbeit und weibliche Öffentlichkeit in einer Einwanderungsstadt*, a dissertation about the lives of German immigrant women in the Chicago neighborhoods along Ashland Avenue and State Street between Chicago and Fullerton Avenues in north Chicago.<sup>18</sup> This tract leads us through the little known spheres of immigrant German women as domestic workers, housewives and mothers, workers in a variety of industries and professionals, as well as the newspapers, schools and old-folks homes that concluded their lives. The book is a model of what needs to be undertaken for at least a dozen other American cities.

Thematic conferences of late also have resulted in published volumes that yield inspiring if not always cohesive advances on specific topics, for example Wisconsin's Max Kade Institute publication *The German-American Press*.<sup>19</sup> Here the issue of definition implies that if the language was German then the subject matter of a newspaper automatically belongs to the field of German-American Studies. Fascinating to the grammarian are such problems as the interpolation of English words to cope with the enigma of new or more familiar concepts, e.g., "buggy", "tractor", "farmer", "creek", "fence" and many others. The press is of course much more than vocabulary. It delineates identity, influences politics, plays a role in the book trade, brings a certain level of literary product, factors in religion, guides the immigrant, facilitates accommodation and assimilation.<sup>20</sup> The planned publication of the proceedings of the 1989 New Harmony conference<sup>21</sup> when available will demonstrate a similar success— incisive short studies that while perhaps distracting to each other make deep probes into related subject matter. In a similar vein is the 1989 publication of the Wisconsin Max Kade Institute conference proceedings about *The German Forty-Eighters*.<sup>22</sup>



The German Historical Institute in Washington, D.C.,<sup>23</sup> has concluded some studies that fit well the definition of German-American studies. The Kathleen Neils Conzen booklet *Making Their Own America*, about German peasant pioneer assimilation theory comes readily to mind.<sup>24</sup> It has initiated others, such as "Intellectual Reparations or Scientific Transfer?: How German Technology and Scientists Served the Allies after 1945 in Electronics, Optics, and Precision Mechanics" and "German Immigrants and African Americans in Mid-Nineteenth Century America."

On the topic of minorities several contemporary studies have been compiled about the Amish, e.g., a collection of essays by Donald B. Kraybill<sup>25</sup> demonstrating the thin-line walk the Amish negotiate between state-driven modernity and bible-belted tradition, between American style individualism and early modern German religious community, between media-spurred self-assertion and paternalistic *Gelassenheit* [submission], in short between the kingdom of Caesar and that of God. The collection demonstrates perceptively and authoritatively how a German-speaking minority copes with the American majority's social security, slow-moving vehicles on highways, health care and its providers, land use and zoning, but in the process helps to invigorate the noblest guarantees of America: e.g., the United States Supreme Court in 1972 exempted the Amish from obligations under truancy beyond the eighth grade. In an insider-effort Kraybill also teamed lately with Lucian Niemeyer in preparing *Old Order Amish: Their Enduring Way of Life*, a stunning photographic achievement with bridging texts about Amish life in the United States.<sup>26</sup>

Before concluding we should try to arrive at a more succinct definition of what our German-American studies discipline is. At the outset, I offered a clarification of what German-American studies can be by delimiting what it is not. The subsequent survey of recent investigations shows representative examples of what German-American studies has become.

Back in 1988 Don Tolzmann along with Eberhard and Ruth Reichmann writing in *Monatshefte* distilled guidelines.<sup>27</sup> Tolzmann calls the discipline the "scholarly study of the history, language, literature, and culture of the German element in the Americas. This includes coverage of the immigrants and their descendants from Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and other German-speaking areas of Europe." Tolzmann stresses that the unifier is the language, not the geographic or national origin and he emphasizes that on this side of the Atlantic it incorporates both continents. In the development of the discipline, Tolzmann enumerates three phases: 1) the church history time—Colonial America 2) the pioneer period 1850-80 3) Filiopietism from 1880 through World War I 4) the post World Wars period and 5) the ethnic revival of the 1960s. One might say that the German-Americans have experienced a "Heritage Fulfilled."<sup>28</sup>



The Reichmanns label the field "an interdisciplinary endeavor drawing on the methodologies and expertise of disciplines such as *Germanistik*, history, geography, anthropology, linguistics, sociology, folklore, fine arts, music and literature." To these Tolzmann-Reichmann lists should be appended the disciplines of economics, labor history, religious studies, political science, physical education, theater, and philosophy. Needless to say German-American studies fits uniquely into more up-to-date disciplines, such as women's, multicultural and minority studies.

Beginning in 1980 the United States census posed the question "What is this person's ancestry?" In response, only three percent of the population reported origins that are even partly indigenous. Thus in a spectacular way America is defining by its origins, its ethnicity. Oscar Handlin in 1951 stated: "Once I thought to write a history of the immigrants in America. Then I discovered that the immigrants were American History. . . . As I worked, the conviction grew upon me that adequately to describe the course and effects of immigration involved no less a task than to set down the whole history of the United States."<sup>29</sup> In a way, the history of immigration to America has become a history of the world. Using the 1980 ancestry survey it is apparent that the people of Irish ancestry in the United States is eight times the combined population of Ireland and Northern Ireland (40,166,000 or 17.7% of the population) and that the Scottish descendants number twice the population of Scotland (10,049,000 or 1.5%). But the Germans in the United States comprised in 1980 49,224,000 or nearly 22% of the United States population and 63% of that in Germany while in 1990 the German-American figure leaped to 58 million, holding right at the 22% level.<sup>30</sup> The next closest ethnic group to the Germans are the Irish with 39 million and the English with 33 million.

German-American studies is uniquely American. The largest ethnic group in the United States by its size alone ought to command attention. However, the emphasis must always be on the American perspective and on assimilation. The Pulitzer prize winning American historian Arthur Schlesinger in his current best-selling book worries about the issue of multiculturalism in America.<sup>31</sup> Schlesinger quotes Michael Ignatieff (the English-resident son of a Russian-born Canadian diplomat) who writes of Canada: "Here we have one of the five richest nations on earth, a country so uniquely blessed with space and opportunity that the world's poor are beating at the door to get in, and it is tearing itself apart. . . . If one of the top five developed nations on earth can't make a federal multiethnic state work, who else

can?" The answer, we have continued for two centuries to hope, is the United States.

St. Olaf College  
Northfield, Minnesota

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh, *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred-Year History*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985).

<sup>2</sup>*The German Quarterly* 65. 3-4 (Summer/Fall 1992).

<sup>3</sup>Albert Bernhardt Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1909).

<sup>4</sup>See in general Fredrick C. Luebke, *Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration* (Chicago: University of Illinois, 1990), chap. 10, "Three Centuries of Germans in America," 157-89.

<sup>5</sup>The cartoon is reproduced with the article by Kathleen Neils Conzen, "German-Americans and the Invention of Ethnicity," in Trommler and McVeigh, 1:132.

<sup>6</sup>Sander A. Diamond, *The Nazi Movement in the United States, 1924-1941* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974).

<sup>7</sup>The amendment written by Holtzman, a representative from Brooklyn, was enacted as Public Law 95-549 on 30 October 1978. To enforce the law the Justice Department established the Office of Special Investigations on 4 September 1979 by which any immigrant who was involved with Nazi activities can be summarily expelled from the United States without any trial by jury as happened in the celebrated John Demjanuk case. Other examples were the cases of Croatian nationalist Andrija Artukovic, Transylvanian Saxon Martin Bartesch, Frank Walus and Fedor Fedorenko.

<sup>8</sup>*States of Belonging: German-American Intellectuals and the First World War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979).

<sup>9</sup>Günter Moltmann, *Germans to America: 300 Years of Immigration 1683-1983* (Stuttgart: Institute for Foreign Cultural Relations, 1982).

<sup>10</sup>The series is called "Von Deutschland nach America: Zur Sozialgeschichte der Auswanderung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," ed. Günter Moltmann. The six titles are 1) *Deutsche Überseeauswanderung in der Weimarer Zeit* (1980), 2) *Soziale Probleme deutscher Einwanderer in New York City 1800-1860* (1981), 3) *Ost- und südosteuropäische Amerikawanderung 1881-1914: Transitprobleme in Deutschland und Aufnahme in den Vereinigten Staaten* (1988), 4) *Amerikanische Einwandererwerbung in Deutschland 1845 bis 1914* (1990), 5) *Auswanderungsagenturen und Auswanderungsvereine im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (1991), 6) *Schiffahrtsgesellschaften, Deutsche Gesellschaften, Deutsche Siedlungsviertel in New York* (1991), all published by Franz Steiner in Stuttgart.

<sup>11</sup>*Little Germany: Ethnicity, Religion, and Class in New York City, 1845-80* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990).

<sup>12</sup>*The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict and the Coming of the Civil War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992).

<sup>13</sup>Herbert Reiter, *Politisches Asyl im 19. Jahrhundert: Die deutschen politischen Flüchtlinge des Vormärz und der Revolution von 1848/49 in Europa und den USA* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1992) and Joachim Reppmann, *Freiheit, Bildung und Wohlstand für Alle!: Schleswig-*



Holsteinische Achtundvierziger in den USA 1847-1860 (Wyk auf Föhr: Verlag für Amerikanistik, 1994).

<sup>14</sup>Günter Moltmann, *Deutsche Amerikaauswanderung im 19. Jahrhundert—Sozialgeschichtliche Beiträge* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1976), 4.

<sup>15</sup>La Vern J. Rippley, "Imperial German Socialism in the Life and Work of UAW President Walter Philip Reuther," *The Report 42: A Journal of German-American History* (Baltimore: Society for the History of Germans in Maryland, 1993), 43-58.

<sup>16</sup>Among Hoerder's many publications on this topic is Dirk Hoerder, ed., *Labor Migration in the Atlantic Economies: The European and North American Working Class During the Period of Industrialization* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985). Hoerder directs the "Labor Migration Project" at the University of Bremen.

<sup>17</sup>E.g., Hartmut Keil and John B. Jentz, *German Workers in Chicago: A Documentary History of Working-Class Culture from 1850 to World War I* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), plus others by the same team.

<sup>18</sup>Christiane Harzig, *Familie, Arbeit und weibliche Öffentlichkeit in einer Einwanderungsstadt: Deutschamerikanerinnen in Chicago um die Jahrhundertwende* (St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae, 1991).

<sup>19</sup>Henry Geitz, ed., *The German-American Press* (Madison: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies at the University of Wisconsin, 1992).

<sup>20</sup>The best systematic analysis remains Carl Wittke, *The German-Language Press in America* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957), while the best index and citation resource is Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals 1732-1955: History and Bibliography* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Mayer, 1961).

<sup>21</sup>Eberhard Reichmann and La Vern J. Rippley, eds. *Contact NCSA Literature*, Nashville, IN 47448.

<sup>22</sup>Charlotte Brancaforte, ed., *The German Forty-Eighters in the United States* (New York: Lang, 1989).

<sup>23</sup>Address: 1607 New Hampshire Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20009, Telephone (202) 387-3355.

<sup>24</sup>Kathleen Næls Conzen, *Making Their Own America: Assimilation Theory and the German Peasant Pioneer* (New York: Berg, 1990).

<sup>25</sup>Donald B. Kraybill, ed., *Amish and the State* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).

<sup>26</sup>Donald B. Kraybill and Lucian Niemeyer, *Old Order Amish: Their Enduring Way of Life* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).

<sup>27</sup>Don Heinrich Tolzmann, "German-American Studies: History and Development" *Monatshefte* 80 (Fall 1988): 278-88, and Eberhard and Ruth Reichmann, "German-American Studies: A Research Field in Search of a Classroom," *ibid.*, 289-96.

<sup>28</sup>This is the title of the third volume in a series of books about the Germans in Minnesota. Cf. Clarence Glasrud, ed., *A Heritage Fulfilled: German-Americans in Minnesota* (Moorhead, MN: Concordia College Press, 1984).

<sup>29</sup>Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People* (Boston: Little Brown, 1951), 3.

<sup>30</sup>U. S. Department of Commerce, *Census '90: 1990 Census of Population Supplementary Reports: Detailed Ancestry Groups for States* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1993).

<sup>31</sup>Arthur Meier Schlesinger, *The Disuniting of America* (New York: Norton, 1992).



Siegmar Muehl

**A Brief Encounter Between Friedrich Muench,  
German-American Rationalist in Missouri, and  
Theodore Parker, New England Transcendentalist**

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, certain strains of German idealism profoundly influenced philosophical and religious thinking in America. Originating in Kantian transcendental philosophy, this idealism rejected both materialism, which viewed mind as an extension of matter, and Lockean sensationalism that derived ideas from external experience.

This adapted American idealism affirmed two classes of ideas independent of, and transcending external experience. In the cognitive realm, they included a priori rules in the understanding that served to conceptualize and organize the flux of sensory representations. In the practical realm of society and individual behavior, they included innate ideas revealed through reason—the ideas of God, freedom and immortality. These latter provided practical grounds for religious faith, moral duty and responsibility.<sup>1</sup>

Two early nineteenth-century American groups based their religious and moral philosophy on this idealist doctrine: German-American religious Rationalists on the Missouri frontier and New England Transcendentalists. These two groups were not only separated geographically, but also differed in national origin and cultural backgrounds.

Many liberally-inclined and educated German immigrants, fleeing from political and religious oppression in their native land, brought this idealism with them to their new homeland. Blended with social and political Enlightenment ideology, this philosophy flourished for a time in America under the banner of religious Rationalism. These Rationalists rejected religious dogma, creeds, rituals, and supernatural revelation as irrelevant to true Christian belief. In America, they especially opposed



the authoritarian, hierarchical organization of the Evangelical Lutheran and Catholic churches—the same state churches in Germany linked with autocratic regimes. Rationalists equally scorned the excesses of "enthusiasm," or bigotry, often characteristic of American protestant-evangelical denominations. Because their idealism posited a spiritual equality for all human beings, Rationalists opposed slavery and other forms of human oppression. They were vigorous advocates of American democratic practice and ideology.<sup>2</sup>

Missouri River valley towns and farms just west of St. Louis formed a major "western" regional center for German-American religious Rationalists. One of the leading advocates for this frontier Rationalism was Friedrich Muench (1799-1881). After emigrating to America in 1834, Muench settled on a farm near Dutzow, Warren County, Missouri, about sixty miles west of St. Louis. He was a viticulturist, sometimes preacher, educator of youth, politician, and from the beginning, a prolific essayist well-known to German-Americans under the pseudonym "Far West."<sup>3</sup>

This same German idealism also found fertile ground in New England, transmitted in large part through writings of English and French interpreters. In this region the doctrine became known as Transcendentalism. Transcendentalists found the Puritan-Calvinist dogmas of human depravity, divine election and predestination incompatible with the idealistic doctrine of human spiritual equality. Like Rationalists, Transcendentalists campaigned for human rights—the emancipation of slaves, the elevation of women and economically oppressed groups. Theodore Parker (1810-60), radical Unitarian minister in Boston, a contemporary of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Amos Bronson Alcott and others in the New England Transcendental circle, was preeminent in both his preaching and writing for promoting this idealism through religious and social reforms.<sup>4</sup>

Despite the ideological affinity between early Missouri-frontier Rationalists and New England Transcendentalists, history has so far recorded little contact between individuals in these two groups at the time. This separateness contrasts with contacts developed during the mid-1860s between a St. Louis idealist group—the St. Louis Philosophic Society—and the New England Transcendentalists. Founded in 1866, the St. Louis group was established to study German idealist philosophy from Kant to Hegel. Both Ralph Waldo Emerson and Bronson Alcott met with the group in 1866 and 1867 on their western speaking tours. Later, William T. Harris, a leading figure in the St. Louis group, traveled east to lecture at the Concord School.<sup>5</sup>

The earlier separateness between religious Rationalists and Transcendentalists resulted partly because Muench and his Rationalist colleagues wrote almost exclusively in German for German-American newspapers and periodicals. Moreover, Missouri Rationalists, especially Muench, often lived in isolated frontier areas accessible only by river boat

and rugged overland travel. No railroad existed west of St. Louis at that time.

However, historical records do reveal at least one exception to the earlier regional and language-based barriers between the two groups. Friedrich Muench and Theodore Parker engaged in a brief correspondence beginning in 1846. Five letters survive from this exchange: four by Muench, one by Parker. Muench's letters reveal that despite his isolation, he was informed about the ferment in religious thinking in New England.<sup>6</sup>

In Muench's opening letter of this exchange, he mentions "Dr. Follen," a personal friend. Since Follen, before his early death in 1840, may have played a role in informing Muench about the New England Transcendentalists, a few words need to be said about the relationship between the two men.

Karl Follen (1794-1840) and his brother Paul (1799-1844), had been close to Muench in Germany during their university days at Gießen. Paul had married Muench's sister, Marie, and was co-leader with Muench of the Gießen Emigration Society when that group came to America in 1834. Later Muench and Paul's family were farm neighbors near Dutzow.

Karl, the older brother, came to America in 1824, a decade before Muench. He settled in Boston and taught German language and literature at Harvard. During these same years Karl Follen prepared to enter the Unitarian ministry. He was a close friend and admirer of William Ellery Channing, influential Unitarian minister and Transcendental forerunner. As a member of Channing's study circle, Follen came into social and intellectual contact with other Bostonians who later developed Transcendental views. This included Theodore Parker. Although Muench's letters show he had been in correspondence with Karl Follen, none of these exchanges seem to have survived.<sup>7</sup>

Some features of Muench's letters, as they have come down to us, need a brief note. The neat English longhand shown in the copies is probably Muench's own handwriting.<sup>8</sup> Underlining of words and phrases, as well as variations in spelling, including Muench's name, are given as they appeared in the copies. Finally, although Muench's farm was located outside the tiny settlement of Dutzow, his letter-heading address always gives Marthasville, the closest village post office a few miles west of Dutzow. All the letters reproduced below contain only minor editorial deletions.

From Frederic Münch,

Marthasville, Warren County, Missouri  
Sept. 23, 1846



Rev. Theo. Parker:

Although an entire stranger to you, I take the liberty of addressing myself to you, in a cause which, I presume, is as well yours as mine, the cause of religious enlightening. Being an adopted citizen of this country, I take a lively interest in its progress in all respects. With peculiar attention I have been watching all appearances in the religious department, very often with no little sorrow. What has cheered me was this: while the rest of the religious denominations of this country seemed to be in a sort of dead stagnation, in the Unitarian Church, I met with several noble characters striving to keep up with the spirit of the time, and do away with antiquated prejudices. With no design to undervalue others, I mention the name of Dr. Follen, (a friend of my youth, and a near relative of mine). The principle of freest investigation so strongly urged by him, must needs ultimately lead to the full truth. I hailed with admiration the most ingenious fruits of his intellectual exertion, without, however, subscribing to all his views: I thought he ought to have gone one step farther and rid himself and his church of all remaining notions of supernaturalness.<sup>[9]</sup>

Lately I was informed that it is you who is about to establish what I have long been looking for: a new school of Unitarian creed, which cannot be materially different from German Rationalism. The latter I consider as the only religious system of consistency, of such universal character as to be able to unite all the various branches of the Christian church, being the only genuine and primitive Christianity, that is, being in strict harmony with the dictates of enlightened Reason.

Now I have to tell you who I am, and what the subject of this letter is. Having been a student of German theology ever since my early youth, and a protestant preacher for many years, I established myself here as a farmer—about 12 years ago. I was, however, soon called upon by my countrymen to serve as their preacher again, and free of all restraint, I preached rational Christianity. At the same time, I devoted all my hours of leisure to the study of the English language, as also of American Divinity.

Latterly, I became the co-editor of a German religious paper, the 'Lichtfreund' (Friend of Light) printed at Hermann, Mo. (a paper which, by the way, I wish would be read by all Americans conversant in our language.)<sup>[10]</sup> I flatter myself to have done something in my sphere of action, for the religious emancipation of a portion of my fellow citizens. But I could not



content myself with only being an apostle of freedom to those of my own tongue, while I can see the evils of Sectarism augment every day amongst my American brethren. I therefore resolved upon making public my ideas on Religion and Christianity, in a manner intelligible to all, and commenced with publishing a pamphlet in German, using the plainest language possible.<sup>[11]</sup> Meanwhile I was busily employed to compose a similar little work in English which, however, I found myself under the necessity of altering, emending, enlarging and writing over again several times, in order to give it all possible perfection.

My idea was to have it printed in one of our western Cities. But here I met with serious difficulties. Booksellers generally would not have anything to do with the whole concern, from fear to offend their orthodox customers, and myself being secluded in the country and being no business man, could do but very little for the propagation of the book. Besides, some friends of mine, better acquainted with these things, assure me that such works must proceed from the East, to get a wide circulation, and there is no place better suited than your city.

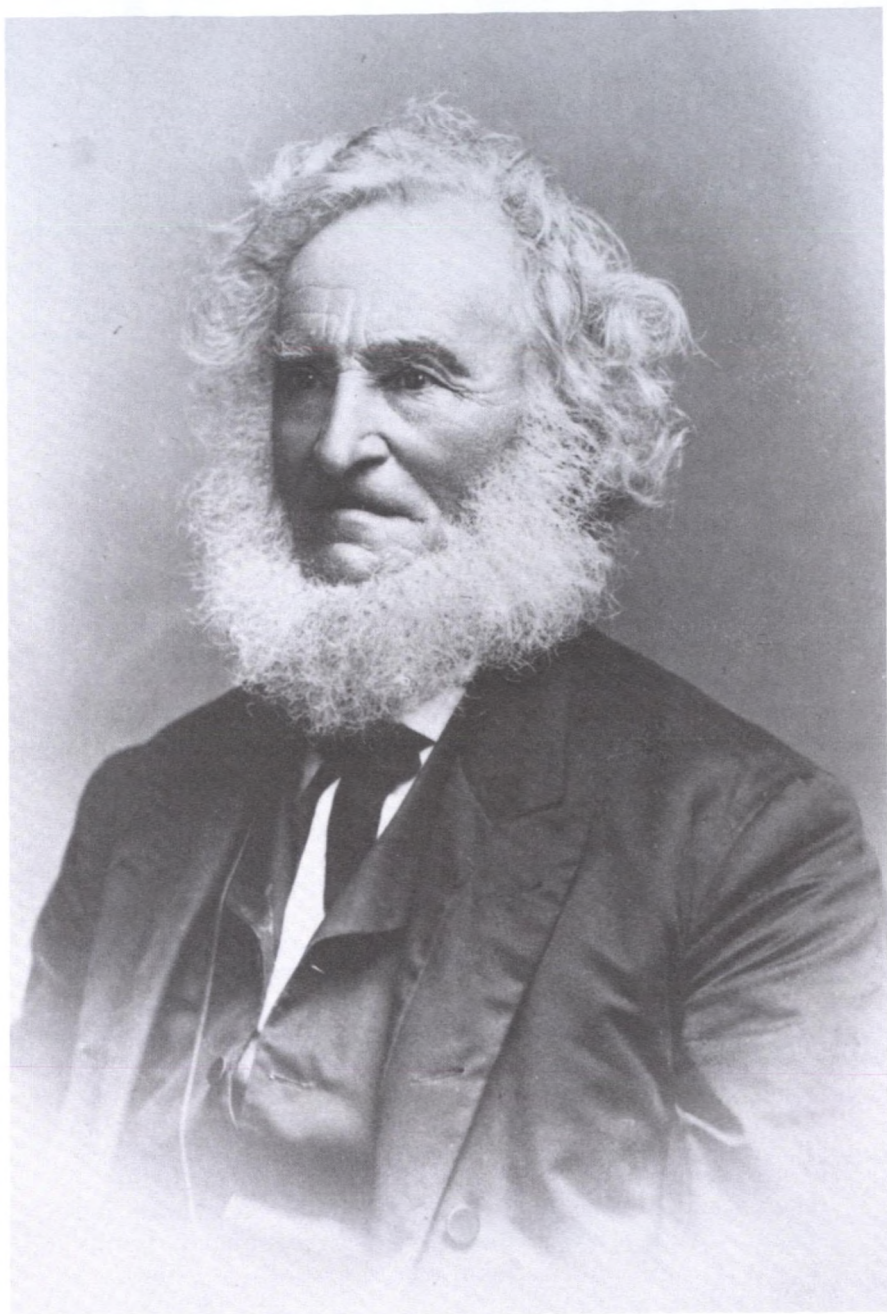
Now my polite request on you is to inform me, if there be any suitable man in Boston, willing to under take the publication of my little work and on what conditions. The title is: "On Religion and Christianity, Orthodoxy and Rationalism, an appeal to the common sense of all who like truth better than error. . . ." <sup>[12]</sup>

I design to give an abstract of modern German Theology to my readers together with my individual views on the most important subjects of human knowledge. . . .

This is rather a preliminary inquiry, for I would not risk the manuscript or expenses of sending it so far, without some hope of attaining my object.

I must beg you to excuse the liberty taken. I would not consider myself justified in putting you to so much trouble, if only my private interest were concerned. But in this, my own interest is rather that of all friends of truth, in the cause of religion and to their fellow men's spiritual deliverance and welfare.—At any rate it makes me happy to have an opportunity of getting into communication with a man whom I heard so highly spoken of.

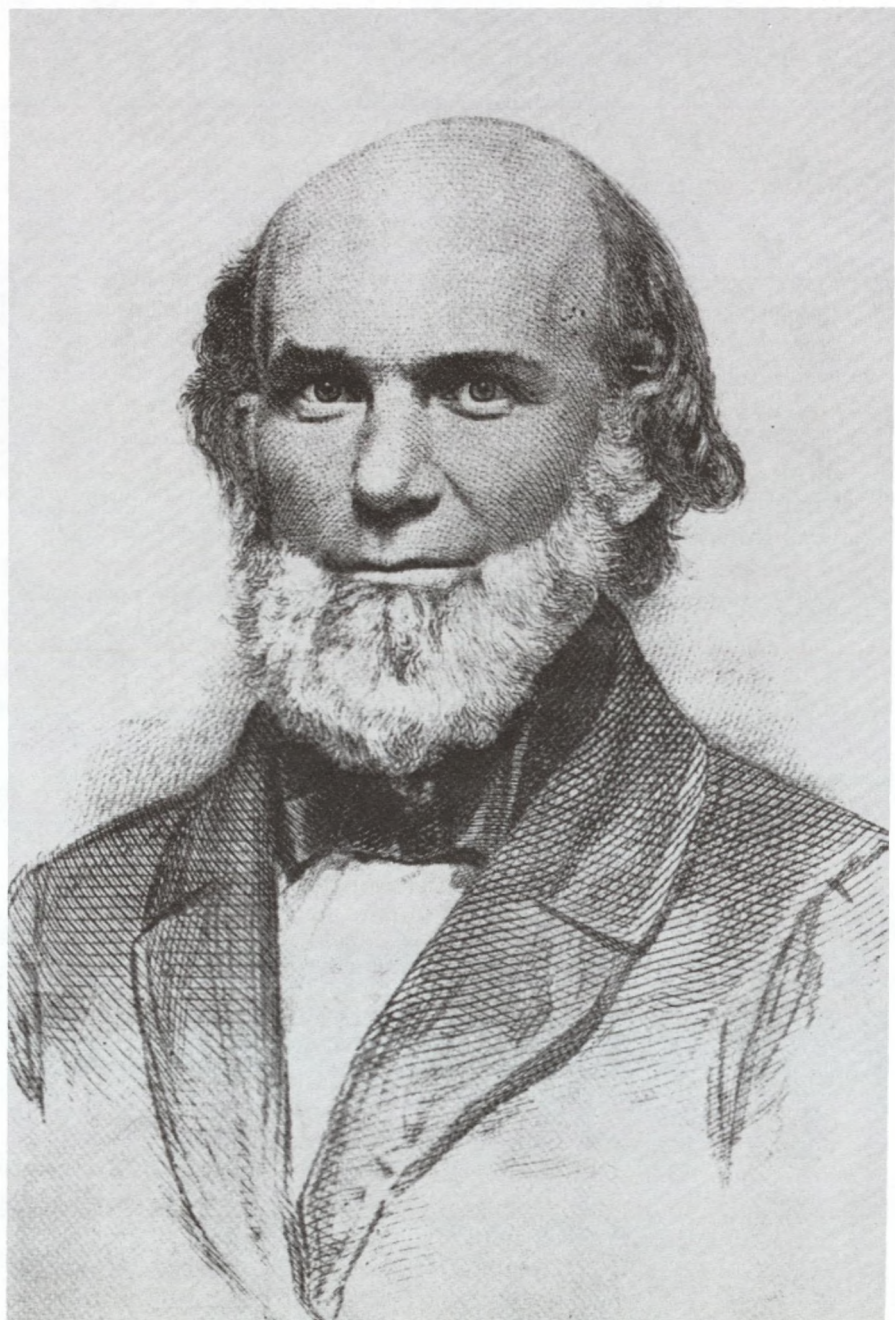
Accept, Sir, the assurance of my highest regard,  
Yours most truly,  
Frederick Munch.



Courtesy Missouri State Historical Society.

Friedrich Münch





Courtesy Little, Brown and Company.

Theodore Parker

Two weeks later Parker wrote in reply:

West Roxbury, Oct. 12, 1846

Rev. Friederich Münch.

Dear Sir,—Your letter of Sept. 23 has just come to hand. I thank you for the frankness with which you speak about religious and theological matters, and rejoice most heartily in your desires and efforts to restore rational Christianity, which is the only real Christianity. I shall be happy to serve you in any way that is possible. I think your book had better be published at Boston. If you will send me the manuscript, I will do all in my power to find a publisher, and make no doubt that I shall succeed: if I cannot, I will return it to you without cost. But I think the book would sell better, and sooner find a circle of readers, if you should write a little account of yourself, telling where you were born, educated, etc. . . . I think you need not hesitate to send the manuscript by mail. The postmaster will tell you how to send it with the least expense. Then, if there be any profit from the sale, I will take charge of it and send the money to you. . . .

I knew Dr. Follen very well. His wife is a relative of my wife. She has long been my parishioner, neighbor, and friend. I saw some of Dr. Follen's relatives—a brother at Zurich, and a sister at Berne—a few years ago, and prize them highly.<sup>[13]</sup>

I rejoice to find that you are laboring in the great field of rational Christianity, and welcome you as a brother. I have myself written a little book on that theme.<sup>[14]</sup> If you were not so distant, I would send it to you: as it is, I send only a couple of sermons, which will show you my Standpunct and that of the church which I have gathered together in Boston.<sup>[15]</sup> The Unitarians as a body have done a great work already: they have fought against the old Orthodoxy (so called), against total depravity, the eternal damnation of men, and the like.

Some things I think they have done wrong: much they have failed to do. Now a new Richtung begins to show itself; but it finds small favor with the mass of Unitarian clergy, though much with the people. This new tendency, I think, is to do much good. It aims at ABSOLUTE RELIGION, the Christianity of Christ; takes the Bible as a helper, not as master. I know none in Germany who exactly represent this tendency. De Wette, perhaps, comes the nearest to it; but he keeps back a



good deal, I fear, and does not speak out clearly.<sup>[16]</sup> A merciless warfare is waged by the Philisterei of the old party on the new school; but it is fought with very dull weapons, though poisoned ones.

When you write, address me, if you please, at West Roxbury, Mass, near Boston.

Believe me truly your friend,  
Theo. Parker.

Muench's response, a month later, mentions the St. Louis Unitarian preacher, "Mr. Elliot." William G. Eliot [correct spelling] had come from Boston to St. Louis in 1834 and started a Unitarian service. Recommended by Karl Follen, Muench had found Eliot's views "too narrow." It is likely that Eliot shared Follen's more orthodox Unitarianism, including "supernaturalism," which Muench criticized in his first letter.<sup>17</sup>

Warren Co. Missouri, Nov. 12, 1846

Dear Sir,

Your esteemed letter of Oct. 12, has given me great satisfaction. Frankness and confidence belong to my very nature: but in these I was so often disappointed, that not without some fear of being so again, I addressed myself to you.

By what I conclude from your letter and also your interesting pamphlets, I entertain not the least doubt that we are united in our views and tendency, although we may have arrived at the same ends by different ways, yet driven by a kindred spirit. You are the first of the sons of the new world, with whom I find myself in this agreeable harmony.

Of all the German Rationalists, none is more explicit, consistent and thorough than Roehr in his classical work Briefe ueber den Rationalismus.<sup>[18]</sup> De Wette inclines rather to mystical notions.

In my opinion, Theology must hereafter go hand in hand with Philosophy. By the latter I understand chiefly mental philosophy, which develops to the observer all those wonderful faculties that make man an intellectual and moral being and constitute his connection with the invisible world, showing that all true religious ideas are innate instead of being—as Superstition has too long asserted—infused from without. Sound Philosophy will at the same time disarm Orthodoxy of its blunt weapons, and discover the hollowness of Materialism, against both of which the friends of mankind should combat with indefatigable zeal.

Some time ago, I made a trial to get into a professional connection with the Unitarian preacher at St. Louis, Mr. Elliot (probably known to you) whom Dr. Follen had formerly recommended to me. But I found his views rather too narrow, and he seemed disinclined to continue our intercourse.

Hereby you receive my manuscript—by a friend of mine at Jefferson City, in whose hands it has been for better than a year, which circumstance prevents me from giving it a last review: the desired biographical account is added. It is my wish and request upon you that, before the printing is commenced, you go through the whole, full liberty being given to you to strike out what you think superfluous, and alter such expression as may be found less proper or clear. If I had your book at hand, I might perhaps be induced to strike out in mine, what may have been said by you already. But let the truth be said twice and more:—it will yet be hard enough to make people like or understand it.

Perhaps you will perceive as I progressed in writing, I at the same time improved in my English style. Upon the whole it is a matter of great difficulty to express to our own satisfaction our ideas in a language other than that, in which we had so long been used to think.

I leave it entirely with you, to settle conditions with the printer or bookseller; all I desire is to have a reasonable number of copies (in proportion to the number printed) sent free to me in St. Louis—the more the better. When printed the little book must be sent to the principal places of our Union. I hope for a considerable sale in the West.

Time demands that the friends of rational Christianity, of whom there are thousands among my countrymen in this land, should unite as one party (not as a new sect) regardless of the difference of language, in order to form one strong phalanx against the pretensions of the so-called orthodox churches. Our common aim is to establish what you call absolute Religion (universal, rational, or natural religion)—Christ being considered as the great teacher of Rationality: as our Model-man (beau-ideal of moral perfection) our glorified friend and brother. . . .

What do you think about establishing a periodical religious paper in English, devoted to the principles of Rational Christianity?—another Friend of Light? I have longed to see some such paper started.—I would have tried it myself, but could find no one to assist me. I am still willing to offer what little I can do,—and many of my countrymen in N. York.



Philadelphia, Cincinnati [sic] would cheerfully aid in such an undertaking.

Respecting our political views we may perhaps differ, owing to the difference of our point of view, but that is no matter. I detest war as much as you do, but as a last resort it may—even in our century—sometimes be inevitable, and I don't know if we could with propriety avoid the present Mexican war. The annexation of Texas is in this section of the country considered by no one as a scheme to extend Slavery, but as the means of enlarging the area of freedom and civilization. Be that as it may, it is at any rate a correct maxim, that our public measures should more and more be adapted to sound (absolute) or Christian moral principles. But alas! looking at the low standards of the moral, religious and political state of the vast plurality of men, can the present generation justly boast of being considered more than at best half barbarians?

I would be highly glad to have an opportunity of getting personally acquainted with you, but cannot possibly leave my home. I hope, however, to keep up some sort of communication with you. My heart is full. I have a thousand things which I long to speak out to such as understand me.

You will oblige me by an answer at your leisure. I remain truly respectfully,

Your sincere friend,  
Frederic Munch.

Muench's reference coupling "differences of our point of view" with the Mexican War indicates he was familiar with Parker's "War" sermon preached in summer 1846. In it Parker spoke of the "iniquitous war" against Mexico.<sup>19</sup> The sermon was probably one of those Parker mentioned sending to Muench in his October 1846 letter.

Muench's *Treatise on Religion and Christianity* was published in Boston sometime in 1847. The chapter headings show some variation from those Muench listed in his September 1846 letter. In the published version, the chapter on Rationalism had expanded to two chapters. Either Parker himself made some editorial changes as Muench requested, or suggested changes to Muench in correspondence no longer extant.

Muench added the autobiographical sketch requested by Parker. It is the only one he ever wrote in English.<sup>20</sup> Since the *Treatise* is not easily found today, the sketch appears here in an appendix.

In his *Treatise*, Muench set forth the "fundamental articles of genuine German Rationalism." These included the "inborn truths" revealed by reason: the conception of a Supreme Being, a future life, and an obligation to moral behavior. Other articles rejected miracles and biblical

revelation, asserted that religious creeds and rites were historically ephemeral, and affirmed that Christ, although exceptional, was human. Finally, Muench stated his "first principle" of Rationalism: "All men have a right and it is their duty, to think for themselves, and live according to their own candid convictions."<sup>21</sup>

Muench's Rationalist articles closely corresponded with Parker's own religious views set forth in his famous and controversial 1842 sermon, "Discourse on the Transient and Permanent in Christianity." On that occasion, Parker repudiated some cherished beliefs of orthodox Unitarianism. Like Muench, he rejected revelation and miracles, the belief in Christ as "Lord." For Parker, historical creeds and traditional rituals were only transient aspects of Christianity. The permanent consisted in truths of morality, the intuitive perception of God, and the words of Jesus as distinct from his personal authority.

Parker's sermon was included in his *Critical and Miscellaneous Writings*, published 1843.<sup>22</sup> Muench mentions this publication in his next letter. From his remarks about their "united views," Muench may already have been familiar with Parker's "Discourse" sermon through pamphlets Parker sent earlier.

One essay in the *Miscellaneous Writings* focused on "Strauß's Life of Jesus." Had Muench read it, he would have been impressed with Parker's knowledge and enthusiasm for contemporary German Bible criticism. David Friedrich Strauß and other German Bible scholars treated the Bible as any other ancient book, making use of historical, philological and literary techniques in analyzing the text. In Strauß's case, allegorical and mythical interpretations played a major role in his analysis. The results of this Bible criticism tended to undermine grounds for regarding the Bible as a revealed, "inerrant" account. Parker himself contributed to this new view of the Bible in America. He translated De Wette, whom Parker characterized in his preface as standing "at the head of the liberal school of German critics."<sup>23</sup>

Muench's next extant letter, written following the publication of the *Treatise*, mentions a prior letter from Parker, now missing.

Marthasville, Warren Co., Dec. 29, 1847

Dear Sir:

I am glad to learn by your last esteemed letter that my little German pamphlet has been satisfactory to you. I never doubted but that I am better qualified to express my thoughts in my native language, than in one which I have so late applied to. Besides, the "Treatise on Rationalism," was properly calculated for the wants of the Western people, the only portion of our American population that I am acquainted with. The little work will probably sell better here, than as yet it did at so distant a



place as Boston, where as you observe, people can hardly be made to believe in my existence. Circumstances (the illiberality of the Western press) compelled me to turn my view to the East.

So diffident was I of my own capacity, that I repeatedly tried to induce several men, fully competent (for instance the Unitarian preacher of St. Louis, Mr. Elliot) to unite with me in the publication of some such work, but never succeeded. Perhaps I would now be better prepared to write the same book, than I was 2 or 3 years ago.

It is still my impression, that a periodical religious paper, edited under the auspices of a liberal and learned Northeastern man like you, and aided by as many of the enlightened writers of the country—Americans and Germans—as would be willing to contribute thereto, must turn out to be as well and profitable as the most important literary enterprise of our time. All different shades of opinions are already represented in this country by periodicals in the English tongue: The Rational creed alone, it seems, cannot enjoy the same just advantage.

I see your 'Miscellaneous Writings' advertised in the American Almanac, and would be glad to get those of them which I do not already—by your kindness—possess.

You would bestow a great favor on me—who do not so frequently see English handwriting—by writing a little more distinctly: it took me many hours to decypher your letter.

Yours in esteem and friendship,  
Frederic Munch

The final extant letter in the Muench-Parker correspondence shows a twenty-month hiatus.

Marthasville, Warren Co., Mo., Aug. 18, 1849

Dear Sir,

On the first Sunday of this month, I have delivered before a congregation of German Rationalists, a sermon "On the day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, set apart by President Taylor," and frankly expressed my opinions of the impropriety of this practice, as being contradictory to the advanced spirit of the age, and particularly to all known notions of the Supreme Being. That sermon was received with more than common approbation. . . . Perhaps it would do some good to have that sermon translated into English and printed.

The translating I would not like to do myself, since I am well aware, that my ideas will lose a part of their force by being

rendered in a language not entirely familiar to the writer. I am willing to transcribe the sermon legibly in English letters, and transmit it to you, if you would do or provide for, the translating and publishing. If you should not agree with my proposal—from whatever reason it may be—it is unnecessary to trouble yourself with an answer. My only object, is to do what I think to be my obligation towards my fellow men, while I have already more than enough to do to provide for a family of eight.

With high regard, yours most truly,  
Frederic Munch.

There is no evidence that Parker followed up on the translation and publication ideas mentioned in Muench's last two letters. Perhaps Parker judged he had done enough by helping Muench get his *Treatise* published. In any case, Parker's own increasingly busy career and growing reputation made it unlikely he had time for such gratuitous responsibilities. With his installation as pastor of the Twenty-Eighth Congregational Society in Boston, Parker became an immensely popular preacher. Beyond church duties, Parker lectured extensively, wrote voluminously, and carried on a large correspondence. During the same period, he became deeply involved in opposing slavery and promoting other social and humanitarian reforms.<sup>24</sup>

Had he time or inclination, Parker could have encouraged Muench to contribute to Parker's own journal, *The Massachusetts Quarterly Review*, published from 1847 to 1850, or to the *Harbinger*, published, beginning in 1845, by fellow Transcendentalist George Ripley.<sup>25</sup> Parker does not seem to have suggested these possibilities to Muench.

Given Muench's eagerness to bring the "Rationalist creed" before the larger English-speaking audience through his *Treatise* and other publishing ideas broached to Parker, it seems paradoxical that in subsequent years Muench published so little in English. Perhaps he was discouraged by lack of public response in the East to his work. Muench wrote in his "Preface" to the *Treatise*: "It will depend on the reception this first essay shall meet with, whether I shall resolve to continue at some future time." Perhaps Muench was disappointed by Parker's apparent lack of response to his proposals for future joint publications in English.

Despite his reservations about his ability to put his ideas into English, Muench's command of his adopted language shows favorably in the *Treatise* itself, in his exchanges with Parker, and in other known communications where he used English. However, in the latter instances, most of the articles and correspondence focus on the practical subject of viticulture.<sup>26</sup>

Other than the range of material mentioned above, Muench's future use of English in his literary career consisted, as far as is known, of a



translation in the 1850s of a German book, and in the 1870s, articles he described in his autobiography as relating to "scientific and practical questions in many German and English papers." He did not specify the particular English papers.<sup>27</sup>

In the 1850s and until his death in 1881, Muench continued to write extensively in German. In addition to many newspaper articles, his output included philosophical articles for a variety of periodicals, prize essays, five short novels, and several books, published both here and in Germany.<sup>28</sup>

With Muench's prolific mind, his desire to explore complex ideas and issues, it is not surprising that he chose to use his native German as the most efficient and surest way to express his thoughts with clarity. Even in the years beginning 1866 when the St. Louis Hegelian group published the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, which reached an influential English-speaking public, Muench never wrote for this journal.<sup>29</sup> The journal's concern with German idealism, with "deepening speculative insight," would seem to have presented Muench an ideal reason and opportunity to write for this audience.<sup>30</sup>

What wider reputation Muench might have gained during his lifetime if he had written more in English is moot. In recent times, his literary work has been largely overlooked by historians of nineteenth-century German-Americana. The language barrier has probably contributed to his neglect. Only a few translations of his writings, and/or commentary on his historical role during this period have appeared.<sup>31</sup> This situation limits an assessment of his wide-ranging talents and varied contributions to his own era.

Many of the issues and questions, both philosophical and religious, which Muench addressed in the nineteenth century, are still relevant to our late twentieth-century culture with its peculiar mix of science, materialism, burgeoning fundamental religion, and quasi-religious cults. Further selective translation and evaluation of Muench's literary output, especially his philosophical essays, could reawaken awareness of ongoing concerns which link Friedrich Muench's time with our own.<sup>32</sup>

Iowa City, Iowa

## Appendix

The following "Biographical Sketch" appeared at the beginning of Muench's *Treatise*:

## Biographical Sketch of the Author.

I was born on the 25th of June, 1799, in a village of the Grand Dukedom of Hesse Darmstadt, where my father had employment as a Lutheran minister. He was a man of great simplicity, genuine piety, more than common learning, and universally esteemed. With a small income he yet reared up seven children. Being strongly attached to his calling and his duties, he wished his three sons, of whom I am the second, to follow the same vocation, and they did so; my elder brother is established as a minister in Germany, my younger brother is living near me.

By my father I was educated and instructed till my fifteenth year; I then frequented for two years the college at Darmstadt. At the age of seventeen, I was matriculated as a student of divinity at the University of Gießen. It was my good luck, that while there I formed an intimate association with a select number of friends, most of them older and more mature than myself, amongst whom Charles Follen and his brothers were perhaps the most prominent, and this event decided the moral, political, and scientific source of my whole future life. Thus secured from follies, too common amongst men of my age, my mind was early, too early, directed to the most serious objects. It was the condition of our beloved Fatherland that occupied our youthful minds; we hoped to be able, and therefore prepared ourselves, to aid in the deliverance of our oppressed people, and anticipated this glorious result by inspired patriotic songs. In the mean time I applied myself most sedulously to my professional studies,—and before I had reached the age of twenty, was honorably graduated, examined, ordained, and installed as assistant-minister in my native village. I was restored to the same tranquil and secluded country-life, yea, the very scenes, to which by early impressions I had been so much attached.

My official duties leaving half of my time idle, and myself being well aware that I had been compelled to finish my studies rather in too much hurry, I went through the whole of them anew and with a more manly application. I read the old classics again, and devoted myself to the study of natural and philosophical sciences; studied Kant, Fries, Jacobi, Herder, and others; tried myself sometimes in poetical essays, and on the whole spent my time more usefully than young men in my situation commonly do.

In such pursuits I felt happy, though one cloud darkened the serenity of my mind; it was disappointed hope. How many times did I repeat Schiller's immortal words, "Die Ideale sind zerronnen." Ideal Hopes are rent asunder! Real life corresponded little to the ideal dreams I had indulged in former years; my dear parent country still remained in disgraceful subjugation. Many of my friends, too forward in their zeal, sighed in dungeons or were already expatriated, and the systematic



coercion on the part of our crowned little despots became every day more intolerable.

Respecting my theological views, I must remark that, although bred by my father in the orthodox Lutheran creed, when I commenced thinking for myself, I found myself drawn to the New School, that is to the Rational view of Christianity, as it had lately been established by the most prominent teachers of theology in my country; I have been confirmed therein by all my subsequent studies.

After my father's death, I succeeded to his employment, married, and was happy in the circle of my beloved. Nor must it be thought that I was spared the trials of life. I have experienced its darkest hours, yet not despaired.

The year 1830 revived the hopes and energy of the German Patriots; the era of freedom seemed at length to dawn upon old Europe. Its rulers began to tremble. Soon, however, they re-collected their strength; confirmed their power anew, oppressed and persecuted the liberal party more systematically than ever before, and all hopes for the better vanished at last. Under such circumstances, it appeared unreasonable to me and some of my friends to bind our desire of living under a republican government, any longer to our native soil. A resolution was taken to dissolve for ever all ties which bound us to the old world, and seek the accomplishment of our youthful ideas in the other hemisphere. A number of respectable families joined with us; the late well-known Paul Follenius and myself were chosen the leaders, and in 1834 we sailed, about 500 strong, in two vessels over the Atlantic, looking for a place of asylum in the far West. Our idea was to settle and live together here as a German colony, in order to escape the feeling of being strangers in the land of our adoption; but this was found impracticable, and we scattered.

I pass over many new trials I had to undergo, and only observe that I am living in Warren County, Mo., being occupied at the same time as a farmer, teacher, preacher, and coeditor of a German religious paper, the "Lichtfreund," printed at Hermann in this State. In all that I consider essential, I have found what I have so long been seeking for, though there is probably no place in this world, where man's life may pass without trials and disappointment.

Warren County, Missouri, November, 1846.

Frederick Munch.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Octavius Brooks Frothingham, *Transcendentalism in New England* (New York: Harper, 1959). Originally published in 1876, this book, in its opening chapter, provides a good overview of German idealism from a perspective of that time.

<sup>2</sup> Siegmur Muehl, "Eduard Mühl: Missouri Editor, Religious Free-Thinker and Fighter for Human Rights," *Missouri Historical Review* 81 (October 1986): 18-36; and "Hermann's 'Free Men': 1850s German-American Religious Rationalism," *Missouri Historical Review* 85 (July 1991): 361-80.

<sup>3</sup> Gerd A. Petermann, "Friends of Light (*Lichtfreunde*): Friedrich Muench and Paul Follenius, and the Rise of German-American Rationalism on the Missouri Frontier," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 23 (1988): 119-39.

<sup>4</sup> Frothingham, *Transcendentalism*. Frothingham provides a near-contemporary view of Transcendentalism, and individuals involved in the movement. He was himself a Unitarian minister. Early in his career he had been a disciple of Theodore Parker. For a more recent perspective, see Alexander Kern, "The Rise of Transcendentalism, 1815-1860," in *Transitions in American History*, Harry H. Clark, ed. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1953), 245-314.

<sup>5</sup> Cleon Forbes, "The St. Louis School of Thought," *Missouri Historical Review* 25 (October 1930): 83-101; continued in subsequent issues as "Part II," 25 (January 1931): 189-305; "Part III," 25 (April 1931): 461-74; "Part IV," 25 (July 1931): 609-22; "Part V," 26 (October 1931): 68-77; Ralph L. Rusk, ed., *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), 5:415; Henry A. Pochmann, *New England Transcendentalism and St. Louis Hegelianism: Phases in the History of American Idealism* (Philadelphia: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, 1948).

<sup>6</sup> Muench's letters, in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, MA, are "from a letterbook of Theodore Parker." Parker's letter to Muench is reproduced in Octavius Brooks Frothingham, *Theodore Parker: A Biography* (Boston: James R. Osgood, 1874), 255.

<sup>7</sup> For more information on Karl Follen see Elizabeth Cabot Follen, *The Works of Karl Follen*, vols. 1-5 (Boston: Hillard Gray, 1841): *Follen Briefe*, Herman Haupt, ed. (publication data missing, 1914); the latter source is available through the Louisiana State University Library, Baton Rouge; Friedrich Muench, "Das Leben von Dr. Karl Follen," in *Gesammelte Schriften von Friedrich Muench* (St. Louis: C. Witter, 1902); George W. Spindler, "Karl Follen: A Biographical Study" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1916).

<sup>8</sup> In 1865, some twenty years after the Parker letters, Muench wrote in English to Governor Fletcher of Missouri. This letter, now in the Capitol Archives File (#458-14486), Jefferson City, MO, displays handwriting very similar to that in Muench's letters to Parker. Acknowledgments are due to Linda Walker Stevens, Hermann, MO, for sharing this information.

<sup>9</sup> As a student of William Ellery Channing, Follen likely imbibed Channing's belief in revelation and miracles which was the more conservative Unitarian view at the time. Channing's 1821 lecture, "The Evidences of Revealed Religion," set forth his views on this subject. William Ellery Channing, *Unitarian Christianity and other Essays*, Irving H. Bartlett, ed. (Indianapolis: Bobs Merrill, 1957).

<sup>10</sup> Siegmur Muehl, "The Lichtfreund Press: German-American Newspaper Publishing on the Missouri Frontier," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 26 (1991): 185-202.

<sup>11</sup> Friedrich Muench, *Ueber Religion und Christenthum* (Hermann, MO: Lichtfreund Press, 1845); A second edition appeared by the same press in 1847. See Muehl, "The Lichtfreund Press," 193.

<sup>12</sup> Muench's letter continued with a list of chapter heads: "Introduction—First principle—the Bible, and how to read it.—the Old Testament in particular.—the New Testament and its writers.—the genuine doctrine of Christ.—Jesus Christ.—Christianity degenerated.—the Reformation.—Rationalism.—on Revelation.—on Miracles.—the holy Ghost.—What is religion.—on Providence.—on sin, its nature, origin and consequences.—on English and American theology.—final remarks."

<sup>13</sup> August Adolf Follen (1794-1855), Karl Follen's older brother, fled Germany to Switzerland because of his liberal views. For a time he taught German language and literature in Aarau. Later he made his home in Zürich. The sister's name was Luisa Follen



Vogt. *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Conversations Lexicon* (New York: German Cyclopedia Publishing Co., 1871), 4:288; *Follen Briefe*, 15, n. 15.

<sup>14</sup> Probably a reference to Parker's *Critical and Miscellaneous Writings*, published 1843. See n. 22.

<sup>15</sup> In January 1846 Parker left his village church in West Roxbury and became minister at the newly organized Twenty-Eighth Congregational Society in Boston. Henry Steele Commager, *Theodore Parker: An Anthology* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1960), 83.

<sup>16</sup> Wilhelm Martin De Wette (1780-1849), professor of ethics and theology at Basel, was known for his Bible criticism. Parker translated and published one of his major works in 1843. See n. 23.

<sup>17</sup> William Eliot became chancellor of Washington University in St. Louis and among other distinctions was T. S. Eliot's great-grandfather. William and Howard Conrad, "Unitarianism," *Encyclopedia of the Story of St. Louis* (St. Louis: The Southern History Company, 1899), 4:2341-42. See also T. S. Matthews, *The Great Tom* (New York: Harper, 1973), 3-5.

<sup>18</sup> Johann Friedrich Roehr (1777-1848), head minister at Weimar, was an advocate of Rationalism.

<sup>19</sup> "War," *Sins and Safeguards of Society by Theodore Parker, Centenary Edition*, ed. Samuel B. Stewart (Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1907), 316. The editor's "Notes" (p. 386) report this sermon was published in pamphlet form in 1846. Walter Kamphoefner notes that most New England intellectuals had Whig leanings and were opposed to the Mexican war, whereas Muench remained Democratic until he joined the Republican party in the mid-1850s (personal communication).

<sup>20</sup> Later in life, Muench wrote a longer autobiography in German, "Aus dem Leben von Friedrich Muench," *Gesammelte Schriften von Friedrich Muench* (St. Louis: C. Witter, 1902), 107-25. Portions of this have been translated by William G. Bek in, "The Followers of Duden," *Missouri Historical Review* 18 (April 1924): 415-37, and 19 (October 1924): 114-29. See also Julius T. Muench, "Friedrich Muench," *Missouri Historical Society Collections* 3 (April 1908): 132-44. Written by one of Muench's sons, Julius based his account mainly on the father's autobiography cited above.

<sup>21</sup> Friedrich Muench, *A Treatise on Religion and Christianity, Orthodoxy and Rationalism* (Boston: B. H. Greene, 1847), 38-39.

<sup>22</sup> Theodore Parker, *Critical and Miscellaneous Writings* (Boston: James Munroe, and London: John Greene, 1843).

<sup>23</sup> "Translator's Preface," *A Critical and Historical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament from the German of Wilhelm Martin Leberecht De Wette*, 2 vols., trans., Theodore Parker (Boston: R. Leighton, 1859). Parker's translation was first published in 1843.

<sup>24</sup> Commager, *Theodore Parker*, 99, 123, 271, *passim*.

<sup>25</sup> Perry Miller, *The Transcendentalists: An Anthology* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1950), 414, 469.

<sup>26</sup> Muench's letter to Thomas Ewbank, Commissioner of Patents, *Report of the Commissioner of Patents for 1851*, "Senate Document 118" (Washington, DC: Robert Armstrong, Printer, 1852), 452-54. *The Grape Culturist* 1 (1869) and volume 2 (1870) contain several Muench articles and letters in English. The writer wishes to thank Linda Walker Stevens, Hermann, MO, for sharing this information.

<sup>27</sup> Muench, "Aus dem Leben," 121-25. At the request of Heinrich Boernstein, editor of the *St. Louis Anzeiger des Westens*, Muench translated Boernstein's *Die Geheimnisse von St. Louis* into English with the title *Secrets of St. Louis*, probably in 1852. This translation now exists in a modern edition, *The Mysteries of St. Louis: A Novel*, ed. Steven Rowan and Elizabeth Sims (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Publishing Co., 1990).

<sup>28</sup> Muench, "Aus dem Leben," 120-25; Bibliographies of Muench's work are included in William G. Bek, "The Followers of Duden," *Missouri Historical Review* 19 (January 1925): 338-42; Heinrich Rattermann, ed., "Friedrich Muench," *Der Deutsche Pionier* 14 (March 1883):

462-64. The latter periodical, volumes 1-18 (1869-87), is in the serials collection at the University of Illinois Library, Urbana, IL. An extensive search by the present writer failed to turn up any extant copies of Muench's short novels.

<sup>29</sup> William T. Harris, ed., "To the Reader," *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* 1 (1867): 1; Henry A. Pochmann, *German Culture in America* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957), 227-80; William and Howard Conrad, "Speculative Philosophy, St. Louis Movement," *Encyclopedia of the Story of St. Louis*, 4:2108-10.

<sup>30</sup> There is some evidence that Muench, though an idealist, was not sympathetic with Hegelian views. In 1857, he made some brief critical observations on Hegelian principles. Writing under his pseudonym, "Far West," he complained of Hegel's use of the term rational as applied to nature. Muench stated: "The word rational cannot be employed with regard to natural occurrences, but used exclusively in the thinking and acting of free human beings." He objected to the Hegelian view equating cause and effect. According to Muench, cause and effect are always separated in conscious experience, that "it is impossible to make understandable the unity of the two." As for the Hegelian principle that: "Being is Nothing and Nothing is Being," Muench observed: "How can an ordinarily endowed human being comprehend that! I myself have been reduced to despair concerning it for the longest time." Quotes from "Kurze Bemerkungen, Sätze von Hegel betreffend," *Atlantis* 7 (September 1857): 184-86 [translated by author].

<sup>31</sup> Petermann, "Friends of Light" (see n. 2); Steven Rowan and James Neal Primm, eds., *Germans for a Free Missouri: Translations from the St. Louis Radical Press, 1857-1862* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1983); Heinrich Rattermann, "A Visit with Friedrich Muench (Far West)," *Der Deutsche Pionier* 7 (April 1875): 53-59, trans. Siegmar Muehl, in *Freethought History* 6, ed. Fred Whitehead (Kansas City, KS, 1993), n.p.; Friedrich Muench, "A Report Concerning Ozark Grape Vines," trans. Siegmar Muehl, to appear in *Missouri Magazine*.

<sup>32</sup> The mind-matter controversy, the subject of many of Muench's philosophical essays, is still very much alive and unresolved in our own times. See review of John Searle's, *The Rediscovery of the Mind* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992) by Thomas Nagel, *The New York Review of Books* 11 (4 March 1993): 37-41.



Gisela Roethke

**M. F. Anneke:**  
**Eine Vormärzkämpferin für Frauenrechte**  
**in Deutschland und in den Vereinigten Staaten**

**Rezeptionsgeschichte**

Von allen Frauen, die an der Revolution 1848/49 teilnahmen, hat Mathilde Franziska Anneke-Giesler eins der bedeutendsten öffentlichen Leben geführt. Woran liegt es dann, daß sie in Vergessenheit geraten ist? Anneke bietet ein klassisches Beispiel dafür, wie die seit der Vormärzzeit in Intervallen aufeinander folgenden feministischen Bewegungen jedes Mal "das Rad noch einmal neu erfinden" mußten.

Die Rezeptionsgeschichte von Annekes Wirken ist kompliziert. Es gibt eine Reihe von Gruppen, die sich für Anneke und ihr Wirken interessiert haben: einmal Lokalpatrioten auf deutscher und amerikanischer Seite, speziell Westfalen und Deutschamerikaner in Wisconsin,<sup>1</sup> zum anderen Immigrationshistoriker, besonders solche, die die Revolutionäre von 1848 als Forschungsgebiet haben.<sup>2</sup> Für die Germanistik in Amerika und Deutschland sind dies "Randgebiete", die von den meisten Wissenschaftlern nicht wahrgenommen werden.<sup>3</sup>

Der neuere amerikanische und deutsche Feminismus hat sich um diese wichtige Vorläuferin nur wenig gekümmert. In Amerika erklärt sich das zum Teil aus einer gewissen Blindheit, die die amerikanische Historiographie bis in die siebziger Jahre gegenüber Frauen und Minoritäten und der neue amerikanische Feminismus bis in die achtziger Jahre gegenüber den meisten ethnischen Minoritäten hatten. Dazu kommt, daß Anneke in den Vereinigten Staaten ihre politischen Aktivitäten und ihre Publikationen bei der riesigen deutschen Einwanderungsbevölkerung der zweiten Hälfte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts in deutscher Sprache fortführte und die englische Sprache nie gut beherrschte. Außerdem schwamm sie mit ihren freidenkerischen,

antikirchlichen, sozialistischen Theorien gegen den Strom der Haupttendenzen des frühen amerikanischen Feminismus, der vor allem religiös motivierte Gleichheitsrechte und Temperenz als wichtigste Argumente zur Verbesserung der Lage der Frauen auf seine Banner geschrieben hatte (Bus 1989, 82ff.). Während des Ersten Weltkrieges kam dann die Unterdrückung der deutschen Sprach- und Kulturgemeinschaft als weiteres Hemmnis hinzu. So findet man heute in einschlägigen amerikanischen Werken über die Geschichte der feministischen Bewegung in den Vereinigten Staaten nichts über diese einflußreiche deutschamerikanische Feministin.

Das war aber nicht immer so. In Susan B. Anthonys und Elizabeth Cady Stanton's sechsbändiger *History of Woman Suffrage* wird "Madam" Anneke mehrfach ausführlich erwähnt. Die drei Frauen arbeiteten über viele Jahre eng zusammen. Als Susan B. Anthony im Sommer 1904 – zwanzig Jahre nach Annekes Tod – zum internationalen Frauenkongreß nach Berlin kam, erinnerte sie dort beredt an die großen Verdienste von Mathilde Franziska Anneke um die amerikanische Frauenbewegung. Ironischerweise war Anneke damals, mehr als fünfzig Jahre nach ihrer Verbannung, von ihren Nachfolgerinnen in Deutschland längst vergessen. Regina Ruben beschrieb diese Szene:

... in ihrer prächtigen Eröffnungsrede bei der Begründung des Weltbundes für Frauenstimmrecht am 4. Juni ... gedachte die greise Ehrenpräsidentin zuerst in den rührendsten Worten einer tapferen westfälischen Frau, die als treueste Kollegin, Jahr für Jahr, Seite an Seite mit ihr in Amerika für die Eroberung des Frauenstimmrechts gekämpft hatte. (5)

Angeregt von Susan B. Anthonys Hinweisen, gab Ruben 1906 ihr Buch *M. F. Anneke: Die erste große Verfechterin des Frauenrechts* im Selbstverlag heraus. Schlimm genug, daß sie keinen Verleger finden konnte; allerdings leidet dieses Buch unter zu viel westfälischem Lokalpatriotismus.

Im Jahre 1918, aus Anlaß der Gesetzesvorlagen über das Wahlrecht für Frauen in den Vereinigten Staaten, veröffentlichte Albert Faust, offensichtlich ein progressiv gesinnter Mann, einen vollständigen Neuabdruck von Annekes *Memoiren einer Frau aus dem badisch-pfälzischen Feldzuge* und würdigte Annekes Arbeit folgendermaßen:

The histories of the German element in the United States have done but scant justice to the career and personality of Mathilde Franziska Anneke, undoubtedly the most heroic figure among the many noble types of German womanhood to have come to this country, and whose achievements have so largely remained



unrecorded. . . . Madam Anneke, as she was generally called in this country, was above all others the champion of human liberty, social, political, and intellectual, and was surpassed by neither man nor woman of her generation in her ardent and fearless advocacy of freedom and justice. (73)

Im Jahre 1928 veröffentlichte Anna Blos, die Witwe des Historikers Blos, eines Kenners der achtundvierziger Revolution, ihr Buch *Die Frauen der deutschen Revolution von 1848*, in welchem sie Anneke ein Kapitel widmete (16-23). Aber die Forschung über Anneke lag damals noch im argen. Und das blieb lange Zeit so.

Die neuere Anneke-Rezeption in Deutschland und in den Vereinigten Staaten setzt im Jahre 1976 ein, mit den bemerkenswerten einleitenden Worten von männlichen Autoren:

Eigentlich sind wir nur durch Zufall auf Mathilde Franziska Anneke gestoßen: Bei der Sammlung von Material über die Presse 1848 fanden wir eine Katalognotiz über eine Frauenzeitung von 1848. Da Klara Zetkin die deutsche Frauenbewegung mit der Zeitung der Louise Otto-Peters im Jahre 1849 beginnen läßt, war unser Interesse geweckt. (Henkel und Taubert 1976, 5)

Einerseits demonstriert die Zufälligkeit dieses Fundes das völlige Vergessen von Annekes Leistungen, andererseits beweisen Henkel und Taubert mit der Erwähnung von Annekes *Frauen-Zeitung* als erster feministischer Zeitung, wie wichtig Anneke in der Geschichte der deutschen Frauenbewegung gewesen ist. In ihrem Buch bieten sie eine Biographie und einen Neuabdruck vor allem der ersten und einzig erhalten gebliebenen Nummer der *Frauen-Zeitung* (47-50) und von Annekes *Memoiren einer Frau aus dem badisch-pfälzischen Feldzuge* (63-121).

Allen voran hat sich danach Maria Wagner in den Vereinigten Staaten um die Anneke-Forschung verdient gemacht, besonders mit der Herausgabe von Annekes ausgedehnter Korrespondenz in *Mathilde Franziska Anneke in Selbstzeugnissen und Dokumenten* (1980), welche sie mit verbindenden Kommentaren zu einer Art Biographie in Briefen rundete. Ebenfalls von größter Wichtigkeit für die Anneke-Forschung ist Wagners Herausgabe von *Die gebrochenen Ketten-Erzählungen, Reportagen und Reden (1861-1873)* (1983). Außerdem veröffentlichte Wagner eine ganze Reihe von Artikeln über Anneke.

Im Jahre 1982 erschienen die *Memoiren einer Frau aus dem badisch-pfälzischen Feldzuge 1848/49* erneut, und zwar in der Serie *Mutterland* im tende Verlag.<sup>4</sup> Hier zeigt sich schon früh die Tendenz, immer wieder auf nur zwei Anneke-Texte zurückzugreifen. Anneke ist in der feministischen

Rezeption fast nur im Zusammenhang mit der Verteidigung Louise Astons in ihrer Schrift "Die Frau im Conflict mit den socialen Verhältnissen" oder wegen ihrer Teilnahme an der badisch-pfälzischen Revolution erwähnt worden.<sup>5</sup> Diese spektakulären Momentaufnahmen überschatteten ihren jahrelangen journalistischen, literarischen und organisatorischen Aktivismus für die Sache der Frauen. Die neuere Rezeption ist detaillierter und ist fast nur von Autoren, die am Kommunismus interessiert sind, oder von deutschamerikanischen feministischen Germanistinnen ausgegangen.<sup>6</sup> Damit ist Anneke das Schicksal einer dreifachen Marginalisierung zuteilgeworden: als Revolutionärin von 1848/49, als Feministin und als Deutschamerikanerin gehörte sie zu allzu vielen verdrängten Randgruppen, als daß ihre Talente voll zur Wirkung hätten kommen und im Gedächtnis bleiben können (Stuecher 1990, 128). Erst allmählich hat ihr Name auch Eingang in feministische Anthologien und Lexika gefunden.<sup>7</sup>

### **Zu Annekes Feminismus im deutschen Vormärz**

Zum Feminismus kam Anneke unter anderem durch die Erfahrung, die sie bei der Scheidung ihrer ersten Ehe und bei ihrem jahrelangen Kampf um das Sorgerecht für die Tochter aus dieser Ehe gemacht hatte. Durch diese Scheidung wurde sie zum Broterwerb gezwungen, den sie anfänglich, noch stark geprägt durch ihre katholische Erziehung, mit an die katholische Damenwelt gerichteter Erbauungsliteratur bestritt.<sup>8</sup> Erst die Begegnung mit verschiedenen linksradikalen Intellektuellenclubs in Wesel, Münster und Köln half ihr, ihre Ansichten zu politisieren.

Wie sehr sich ihre Texte radikalisierten, zeigt sich an ihrer Verteidigungsschrift für Louise Aston, mit der sie schon vorher in Briefverkehr gestanden hatte. Während andere, nämlich bürgerliche Feministinnen wie Fanny Lewald und Louise Otto, sich öffentlich von Louise Aston distanzierten, trat Anneke mit ihrer Schrift "Das Weib im Conflict mit den socialen Verhältnissen" für sie ein (Secci 1984, 170). Als Aston gegen ihre Ausweisung 1846 in Brüssel die Schrift *Meine Emanzipation: Verweisung und Rechtfertigung* veröffentlichte, erhob sich in der reaktionären, aber auch in der bürgerlichen Presse eine Hetzkampagne gegen sie. Nur Anneke war 1847 unter den Feministinnen mutig genug, diesen Anwürfen entgegenzutreten (Möhrmann 1978, 66-78). Das Problem war, daß Aston zur Zielscheibe der Kritik geworden war, weil sie, wie Heine, Gutzkow, Laube und Mundt, die sexuelle Freizügigkeit aber eben als Frau-vertrat. Obwohl Anneke in diesem Punkt ebenfalls nicht mit Aston übereinstimmte, hinderte es sie jedoch nicht daran, Astons andere emanzipatorische Forderungen aufzunehmen und ihr zur Seite zu stehen. In dieser Verteidigungsschrift entwickelte sie zum ersten Mal öffentlich ihre rhetorische Kraft, mit der sie in späteren Jahren in



Amerika von der Rednertribüne herab ein Publikum begeistern konnte. So konterte sie den Angriff gegen Astons Atheismus:

Warum erscheinen die Ansichten, die den Männern seit Jahrhunderten bereits angehören durften, einem Staate gerade *bei den Frauen* so gefährlich? Etwa weil sie die Macht der Verbreitung dieser Ansichten mehr denn jene in Händen haben und diese in ihrer ausgedehnten Verbreitung die heutige Welt- und Staatsordnung zu erschüttern drohen?–Weil sie mit ihrem Herzblut den besseren Glauben an eine neue Menschwerdung nähren und in der folgenden Generation Euch das gesündere, freiere Geschlecht überliefern können, das sich nimmermehr zu feilen Sklaven knechten lassen wird?–*Darum?* –Ja, darum: weil die Wahrheit, von den Frauen getragen, als Siegerin hervorgeht, welche Throne und Altäre der Tyrannen und Despoten stürzt. Weil die Wahrheit einzig uns frei macht und erlöst aus den Banden der Selbstverleugnung, aus den Fesseln der Sklaverei. Weil die Wahrheit uns befreit von dem trüglichen Wahn, daß wir dort oben belohnt werden für unser Lieben und Leiden, für unser Dulden und Dienen; weil sie uns zu der Erkenntnis bringt, daß wir gleichberechtigt sind zum Lebensgenusse wie unsere Unterdrückten; daß diese es nur waren, die die Gesetze machten und sie uns gaben, nicht zu unserm, nein zu ihrem Nutzen, zu ihrem Frommen. Weil die Wahrheit diese Gesetzestafeln zerschmettert, fortan als Siegerin dasteht und nimmermehr die gehetzte Flüchtlingin zu sein braucht, die überall anklopft und die nirgends herbergen kann. Weil dieser Wahrheit, sobald die Herzen der Frauen ihr gänzlich erschlossen sind, der ewige Hort bereitet und das Erbteil für die Menschheit errungen ist. (Möhrmann 1978, 85-86)

Im besten Rednerstil des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts trat Anneke mit ihrem ersten längeren radikalen Text vor die Leser. Sie nahm Astons Ideen auf und verkündete sie lautstark. Eine gefährliche, eine staatsgefährdende Frau!

Mathilde und ihr Mann Fritz Anneke gehörten zu der Zeit zu den Kreisen der bedeutendsten kommunistischen Intellektuellen. Aus M. F. Annekes "Kommunistisch-Ästhetischem Klübbchen" entstand der "Kölner Arbeiterverein", der zur größten Arbeiterorganisation im damaligen Deutschland wurde und eine bedeutende Rolle in der Revolution spielte (Linnhoff 1983, 141). Dort verkehrten unter anderen Marx und Engels, Freiligrath und Herwegh, Hoffmann von Fallersleben, Kinkel, Bakunin und Lassalle.

Ab 1847 schrieb Anneke politische Artikel für die *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, die von ihrem damaligen Status her in Deutschland mit der heutigen Londoner *Times* und der *New York Times* verglichen wurde (Wagner 1985, 321). Seit dem 10. September 1848 gab sie unter dem Namen ihres Mannes die Arbeiterzeitung *Neue Kölnische Zeitung* heraus, die genau wie Marx' *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* für Demokratie und für die Rechte der Arbeiterklasse kämpfte (Gebhardt 1988, 69ff). Tatsächlich hatte Mathilde Anneke die Redaktion der Zeitung allein in ihren Händen, während ihr Mann wegen Anführung einer Arbeiterdemonstration in Köln in politischer Haft saß.

Als die *Neue Kölnische Zeitung* nach kurzem Erscheinen von der Zensur beschlagnahmt wurde, brachte Mathilde Anneke eine neue Zeitung heraus, die erste feministische Zeitung Deutschlands, genannt die *Frauen-Zeitung*. Ans Ende der ersten Nummer stellte Anneke, wohl auf Anweisung von höherem Ort, die Verordnungen des am 26. September ausgesprochenen Belagerungszustandes von Köln. Eine der Verordnungen besagte: "Die 'Neue Rheinische Zeitung', die 'Zeitung des Arbeiter-Vereins', die 'Neue Kölnische Zeitung', 'Der Wächter am Rhein' sind suspendiert" (Henkel und Taubert 1976, 50). Schon am folgenden Tag, dem 27. September, publizierte M. F. Anneke, jetzt unter ihrem eigenen Namen, mutig die erste Nummer ihrer *Frauen-Zeitung*, die sie als Nachfolgerin der *Neuen Kölnischen Zeitung* deklarierte:

Seht, so machen sie's mit Einem; da wird nun das kleine unschuldige Blättchen, "Die Neue Kölnische Zeitung", das so sehr einfach und redlich die Wahrheit sagte, uns bei der heutigen Erklärung des Belagerungszustandes von Köln, null und nichtig gemacht. Die Herausgeber der Zeitung, Fr. Anneke, mein Mann, und Fr. Beust, mein Freund, werden nun ihren Verpflichtungen, die sie gegen Euch, geehrte Abonnenten, haben, nicht nachkommen können. . . .

In die Verpflichtungen der beiden Männer gegen Euch, geehrte Abonnenten, trete ich, ein Weib. Ich bringe Euch, anstatt der Neuen Kölnischen Zeitung . . . die "**Frauen-Zeitung**". Begnügt Euch mit ihr, so lange es geht; ich prophezeie ihr auch kein langes Leben—aber das schadet nicht,—trete ich wieder mit ihr ab von dem öffentlichen Schauplatze, auf den mich die Noth herausgefordert hat, in meinen stillen häuslichen Kreis—dann ersteht sicher wieder mit weit frischerer Kraft:

**"Die Neue Kölnische Zeitung"**

Anneke als Frau unternahm es also, die gesamte radikale Presse Kölns in dieser schweren Zeit allein weiterzuführen. Bei ihrem langen Artikel über "Kirche und Schule", einem scharfen Angriff gegen die Macht der Kirche



im Unterricht, welcher einen der Diskussionspunkte des Frankfurter Parlaments aufnahm, konnte es nicht lange ausbleiben, daß auch diese Zeitung konfisziert wurde. Radikal waren ihre Forderungen:

Alle aufgeklärten Menschen sind aber jetzt zu der Einsicht gekommen, daß die Schule von der Kirche getrennt werden muß. . . . Nu! Nu! Schimpft nur nicht auf mich, und fallt nicht gleich über mich her und steinigt mich nicht, Ihr Frommen alle, die Ihr denkt, ich lästerte Eure Religion und wollt' sie in Gefahr bringen. Ihr seid doch alle Menschen, die Verstand zum Überlegen im Kopf haben; also hört mich auch ruhig an und gebraucht Euren Verstand, ich will's Euch alles beweisen. Ich schwätz Euch nicht bloß was vor und sag' Euch: Ihr müßt's mir glauben; nein, ich such's Euch Alles klar zu machen und zu beweisen. Und wenn das in Euren Verstand nicht paßt, dann braucht Ihr's ja nicht anzunehmen, oder Ihr könnt mit Eurem Verstand gegen meinen ankommen, und dann können wir 'mal sehen, welcher oben drauf bleibt. . . .

Warum wollen denn nun aber auch die Geistlichen mit aller Gewalt die Aufsicht über die Schulen behalten? Darum wollen sie die Aufsicht behalten, daß sie die Menschen dumm halten können, und die große Macht, die sie haben, nicht verlieren. Die Pfaffen sind ein hochmütiges Volk, grad' wie die preußischen Beamten, und sie wollen die Menschen von der Wiege bis zum Grabe regieren und beherrschen. . . . (Henkel und Taubert 1976, 47-49)

Ihr Stil zeigt schon die wirkungsvolle spätere Podiumsrednerin und Lehrerin. Als Frau sprach sie ihre Leserinnen anders an, als ihre männlichen Kollegen das taten; aber offensichtlich richtete sie sich mit ihrer Zeitung nicht nur an ein weibliches Lesepublikum. Henkel und Taubert haben darauf hingewiesen, welch eine brennende Frage Anneke mit diesem Artikel aufgriff, denn "an der Frage der geplanten Trennung von Kirche und Schule formierte sich die christliche Reaktion, die Ultramontanen" (51).

Die Frage, die sich Feministinnen vielleicht stellen werden, ist, ob es sich bei dieser Zeitung wirklich um eine *feministische* Frauenzeitung handelte, was zum Beispiel Gebhardt bestreitet (79). Leider sind-wahrscheinlich wegen der Konfiszierung-weder die zweite noch die dritte Nummer der Zeitung erhalten, die womöglich näheren Aufschluß darüber geben könnten. Henkel und Taubert berichten aus anderen Quellen, daß Anneke in der zweiten Nummer Auszüge aus ihrer Broschüre "Das Weib im Conflict mit den socialen Verhältnissen" wieder abgedruckt habe (20).<sup>9</sup> Die Verteidigung Louise Astons sei stark von Annekes Lektüre von

Hippels *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Weiber und über die weibliche Bildung* beeinflusst worden (21). Wahrscheinlich habe darüber hinaus Annekes Broschüre Georg Weerth dazu bewogen, in der letzten Nummer der *Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung* am 19.5.1849 seine "Proklamation an die Frauen" zu veröffentlichen (52). Immerhin wurden die Abonnenten der *Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung* bei ihrer Schließung von der Redaktion aufgefordert, stattdessen nun die *Neue Kölnische Zeitung* weiterzulesen. Da Fritz Anneke am 6. Mai 1849 aus Köln hatte fliehen müssen, war es wieder Mathilde Anneke, die die Zeitung allein weiterführte. Damit "wurde Mathilde Franziska Anneke also von Marx sozusagen als seine politische Erbin eingesetzt" (59). Es lassen sich damit Verbindungslinien ziehen vom Klassiker des deutschen Feminismus Hippel über Anneke zu späteren kommunistischen Feministinnen.

Im Jahre 1849 gehörte Anneke zu den als "Amazonen" verschrieenen Frauen wie Emma Herwegh und Amalie Struve, die mit ihren Männern an der badisch-pfälzischen Revolution teilnahmen und darauf mit ihnen ins Exil vertrieben wurden. Wie Emma Herwegh und Amalie Struve zeichnete auch Mathilde Anneke ihre Eindrücke aus diesem Feldzug auf in ihren *Memoiren* . . . , konnte sie aber erst 1853 in Newark im Eigenverlag veröffentlichen.<sup>10</sup> Sie wollte damit einen "Beitrag der Wahrheit" leisten gegen die einseitigen Darstellungen der Reaktion (*Mutterland*, 7). Der Text ist eine Mischung aus Schlachtbericht, Beschreibung idyllischer Momente inmitten des Kampfes, Exhortationen an wohlgesinnte Leserinnen, Invektiven gegen die Reaktion, Propaganda, Personenbeschreibungen und satirischen Vignetten.

Der Wechsel der Tonart, je nach dem Lesepublikum, an das sie sich richtet, läßt sich kurz mit ein paar Beispielen demonstrieren. An ihre Leserinnen wendet sie sich folgendermaßen:

Seid milde, Ihr Frauen, ich appelliere an Eure schönste Tugend, seid milde und richtet nicht; wisset, nicht der Krieg hat mich gerufen, sondern die Liebe, aber-ich gestehe es Euch-auch der Hass, der glühende, im Kampf des Lebens erzeugte Hass gegen die Tyrannen und Unterdrücker der heiligen Menschenrechte. (*Mutterland*, 10)

Zu noch höherem Pathos schwingt sie sich auf, wenn sie ihre Feinde anprangert:

Wir haben Nichts aus diesem Kampfe gerettet, als für unsere große und heilige Sache eine neue Saat, die jedem Blutropfen unserer gefallenen Helden entspringt. Sie wird aufgehen, noch ehe der schimpfliche Sieg seinen gleißnerischen Glanz den Mördern der jungen Freiheit verliehen. Geberdet Euch wie Ihr



wollt; mögt Ihr in Eurer Verworfenheit immer blutdürstiger Eure Orgien feiern, oder auch Weihrauch streuen über die Gräber unserer Opfer, in heuchlerischer Andacht Eurer feigen Schergenseelen.–Alles gleich–der Tag des Gerichts, der Tag der Rache bricht wieder an! (*Mutterland*, 10-11)

Andererseits stehen diesem heute fast unerträglichen Pathos lange Strecken sachlicher, kritischer Berichterstattung gegenüber, gespickt mit politischen Kommentaren. Wie andere Vormärzler kam Anneke vom Journalismus her und war auf direkte politische Wirkung bedacht. Dazwischen finden sich satirische Vignetten, zum Beispiel die folgende über eine Gruppe von Engländerinnen, die als Touristinnen eine Rheinfahrt machten, um sich zur "Belustigung" das Schlachtengetümmel anzusehen:

Im Hintergrunde des Gebüsches lag eine ansehnliche Mannschaft bewaffneter Freischaaren zur Reserve. Die drohende Stellung des Proletars hatte auf unsere Damenwelt einen so panischen Schrecken hervorgebracht, dass die Schiffsräume von ihrem Gekreische erdröhnten; die schon so bald zaghaft gewordenen Frauen liefen sich fast über den Haufen und eine wollte sich gar hinter die andere verstecken, um sich vor den Kugeln, die möglichen Falls dem schwarzen Loch entlaufen konnten, zu schützen. Zum Glück kam es in diesem, für die Engländerinnen verzweifelten Augenblick zur Beendigung der Unterhandlung, wir hätten sicherlich sonst noch einige Ohnmachten, Nervenzuckungen oder dergleichen zu erleben gehabt. (*Mutterland*, 15)

Anneke bedient sich hier eines Tricks, um ihr eigenes, mutiges Verhalten um so stärker gegen das gewöhnliche Rollenverhalten nach dem alten Weiblichkeitsideal kontrastieren zu können. Dies ist eine für Erzählungen und Romane der Schriftstellerinnen aus der Revolutionszeit typische Charakterkonstellation, worauf Ruth-Ellen Boetcher Joeres aufmerksam gemacht hat: der Verkörperung des alten Weiblichkeitsideals wird die emanzipierte Frau in Kontrastfiguren gegenübergestellt (605). Im Kontrast zum Verhalten der englischen Touristinnen beschreibt Anneke ihre eigene Kaltblütigkeit, wie sie hoch zu Roß mitten im Gefecht ihre Ruhe bewahrt, als sie zur Berichterstattung zum Generalstab geschickt wird:

Ich hatte bei dieser Gelegenheit dann die Ehre, die Entladung eines preussischen Schrapnells wenigstens in Augenschein zu nehmen. Eine Strecke vor mir auf dem Wege explodierte nämlich eine Schrapnellkugel und entlud eine Masse, die ich

anfangs für Kieselsteine hielt, weit umherschleudernd und den Boden selbst aufwühlend. Es blieb dies Instrument indess ganz ohne Wirkung, und mein Pferd hatte sich mehr erschrocken, wie ich, das bewies es durch einen jähen Seitensatz, den es mit mir versuchte. (*Mutterland*, 81)

Wie anderen Berichten der Teilnehmer der Revolution ging es auch Annekes Memoiren: sie konnten in Deutschland wegen der Zensur kein Publikum finden. Die Erinnerung an diese Freiheitskämpfer sollte langfristig von der Reaktion aus dem Gedächtnis der Deutschen verdrängt werden.

### Anneke als Feministin im Exil

Die Jahre ihres ersten Aufenthaltes in den Vereinigten Staaten von 1850-60 verbrachte Anneke vor allem mit journalistischen Arbeiten für eine Reihe von ehemaligen Achtundvierzigern redigierter deutschsprachiger Zeitungen und mit der Herausgabe einer eigenen deutschsprachigen feministischen Zeitung, der *Deutschen Frauen-Zeitung*. Außerdem half sie ab Februar 1853 ihrem Mann bei der Herausgabe der ersten deutschsprachigen Tageszeitung in Newark, der *Newarker Zeitung* (Wagner 1980, 432). Die *Deutsche Frauen-Zeitung*, die erste feministische Zeitung Amerikas überhaupt (Wagner 1980, 315), erschien in den Jahren 1852-54 zuerst monatlich, dann halbmonatlich und schließlich wöchentlich in Milwaukee, New York und Newark und erreichte zeitweilig einen nationalen und internationalen Abonnentenkreis von bis zu 2.000 Abnehmern (Ruben 1906, 5). Leider existiert nur noch eine einzige Nummer dieser Zeitung, die Nummer 7, erschienen am 15. Oktober 1852; aber aus ihr läßt sich Annekes herausgeberische Linie ablesen.

Der Untertitel, den die *Deutsche Frauen-Zeitung* führte, war *Central-Organ der Vereine zur Verbesserung der Lage der Frauen*, und zum Motto im Impressum diente ein Zitat von Friedrich von Sallet: "Das Weib ist ein unbewegter durchsichtiger See, vom ewigen Licht bis auf den Grund beleuchtet, dessen Welle sich aber noch nicht in der treibenden und drängenden Arbeit und Selbstbewegung als Bach und Strom selbst erprobt, erkannt und als lebendige Kraft gefühlt hat." Hiermit sind die Ziele der Zeitung umrissen. Anneke verstand sie als das Publikationsorgan aller feministisch orientierten Verbände der deutschsprachigen Bevölkerung in den Vereinigten Staaten. In ihrem eigenen Leben hatte sie viel von der "treibenden und drängenden Arbeit und Selbstbewegung" verwirklicht und damit sich selbst als "lebendige Kraft erprobt, erkannt und gefühlt." Eben diese emanzipierende Bewußtwerdung wollte sie auch anderen Frauen durch ihre Zeitung ermöglichen.



Die Artikel dieser einzigen uns überlieferten Nummer der aus acht Seiten bestehenden *Deutschen Frauen-Zeitung* sind eine bunte Mischung aus einem Leitartikel, einer feministischen Ballade, einem Fortsetzungsroman, einer Reisebeschreibung von Anneke in Fortsetzungen, einer Rede der Feministin Ernestine Rose, einem Bericht über eine Zeichenschule für Frauen in Boston und abschließend einer humoristischen Anekdote. Nicht alle Artikel haben eine feministische Prägung. Doch die Ballade, Roses Rede und der Artikel über die Zeichenschule zeigen klar die feministische Richtung der Zeitung an.

Die Ballade "Eine alltägliche Geschichte", verfaßt von Emma Bunteschuh, einer Freundin Annekes in Köln, erzählt die dramatische Geschichte eines jungen Waisenmädchens, das–außerehelich schwanger geworden–im Gegensatz zum dichterischen Klischee der Schauerballaden sein Kind *nicht* umbringt, sondern versucht, es mit seiner Arbeit zu ernähren, dabei aber auf gesellschaftliche Vorurteile stößt, so daß ihr letzten Endes kein anderer Ausweg bleibt als die Prostitution.<sup>11</sup> Die letzten Strophen lauten:

Arbeiten, ja, das wagt sie schon–  
doch weis't man sie ab mit Spott und Hohn.  
Und betteln?!–O, aus jedem Haus  
Treibt man die Dirne stracks hinaus.

Noch ist sie schön, und mancher Mann  
Sah sie mit bösen Blicken an.  
Sie bot sich für ihr Kind zu Kauf,  
Sie zog's von ihrer Schande auf.

Willst den gefall'nen Engel sehn?  
Brauchst nur bei Nacht die Stadt durchgehn.  
Noch ist sie schön, doch mit frecher Stirn:–  
Der Engel–ward eine Straßendirn.

Neben dieser sozialen Tendenzballade, die zuerst 1849 in Annekes *Neuer Kölner Zeitung* erschienen war, ist der Abdruck von Ernestine Roses Rede vor dem "People's Sunday Meeting" am 19. Oktober 1851 in Boston von besonderer Wichtigkeit, um die Radikalität dieser ersten Frauenzeitung zu zeigen. Anneke führte den Artikel mit den folgenden Worten ein:

... sie ist uns ganz besonders werth und nimmt in unsern Augen einen besonders hohen Platz unter den streitenden amerikanischen Frauen ein durch den Radikalismus ihres Denkens und die Entschiedenheit ihres Auftretens in jeder

Richtung. . . . während die meisten amerikanischen Frauen in ihrer Verblendung sogar so weit gehen, ihre Bestrebungen für Verbesserung der Lage ihres Geschlechts, für die Erreichung der ihnen so lange vorenthaltenen Rechte auf die bittersten Feinde ihrer Sache, die bittersten Feinde aller Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit, die bittersten Feinde alles Glückseligkeitsstrebens, auf *Religion, Pfaffenthum* und *Bibel* zu stützen: –gehört Ernestine L. Rose zu den sehr Wenigen, welche diese Feinde nicht allein als solche erkannt haben, sondern sich auch nicht scheuen, der allgemein verbreiteten religiösen Heuchelei in diesem "Lande der Freiheit" entschieden und offen entgegen zu treten. . . . Es freut uns, unsern Lesern mittheilen zu können, daß sie sich bisweilen durch Beiträge an unserm Blatte betheiligen wird.

Ein dritter Artikel, der ebenfalls feministische Zwecke verfolgte, war ein Brief aus Boston, der die Entwicklung der *Neu-England Zeichen-Schule für Frauen* (!) als einer Ausbildungsstätte für Graphikerinnen beschrieb. Bei seiner Veröffentlichung spielte die Motivierung eine Rolle, Frauen Möglichkeiten zu einer beruflichen Ausbildung bekanntzugeben.

Weitere Nummern der Zeitung, die nicht erhalten geblieben sind, sollen nach Annekes Angaben Auszüge aus Hippel, Mary Wollstonecraft, Margaret Fuller und anderen gebracht haben (Wagner 1980, 322). Kein Wunder, daß bei der Radikalität ihrer Ziele die "Herren Ehemänner unser Blatt mit Bann zu belegen geruhen" mit den Worten: "Meine Frau ist aufgeklärt genug, es ist nicht nötig, daß dieselbe noch mehr aufgeklärt werde" (*Deutsche Frauen-Zeitung*, Titelblatt). Der Kampf um Abonnentinnen für die Zeitung war bei dieser vorherrschenden Einstellung lang und schwer, aber trotz dieser Widerstände erstaunlich erfolgreich.

Neben der Veröffentlichung ihrer *Deutschen Frauen-Zeitung* nahm Anneke in den ersten Jahren in Amerika auch sehr schnell Kontakt mit der jungen amerikanischen feministischen Bewegung auf. Schon im Jahre 1852, also knapp zwei Jahre nach ihrer Ankunft, wurde sie –allerdings noch von ihren Achtundvierziger-Kontakten–dazu eingeladen, eine "Agitationsreise" durch amerikanische Städte mit größerer deutschsprachiger Bevölkerung zu machen, um dort die Frauen für feministische Ziele zu gewinnen und zu organisieren. Ihre Reise führte sie sieben Monate lang durch viele amerikanische Städte: Chicago, Cleveland, Buffalo, Boston, Newark, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Louisville, Dayton, Pittsburgh und andere. Sie selbst beschrieb die Ziele dieser Reise:

[Ich] sprach in öffentlichen Versammlungen über die Erhebung des Weibes, verlangte die soziale Verbesserung ihrer Stellung,



Recht auf Arbeit und vor allem das politische Stimmrecht. Ich versuchte, eine Organisation unter den deutschen Frauen herzustellen, gründete Vereine, die miteinander in steter Verbindung stehen sollten, und bot meine Zeitung als deren Organ an. (Wagner 1980, 323)

Ab 1853 war sie auf amerikanischen feministischen Kongressen als Sprecherin und auch an wichtiger Stelle in verschiedenen Komitees beteiligt (Wagner 1980, 309-66). Zum ersten Mal trat sie öffentlich auf der Woman's Rights Convention im September 1853 in New York auf, wohin sie von einer Delegation eingeladen worden war. Sie wurde dort als Repräsentantin Deutschlands geführt und hielt eine deutsche Ansprache, die von Ernestine Rose übersetzt wurde:

Bevor ich hierher kam, kannte ich die Tyrannei und Unterdrückung der Könige. Ich erfuhr sie an meiner Person, an meinen Freunden, an meinem Land. Als ich aber hierher kam, erwartete ich jene Freiheit zu finden, die uns zu Hause versagt ist. Unsere Schwestern in Deutschland haben schon lange diese Freiheit ersehnt. Dort aber wird dieser Wunsch in Frauen wie in Männern unterdrückt. . . . die einzige Hoffnung unseres Landes ist auf diesen Staat gerichtet, der als Vorbild der Freiheit gilt. Die Frauen meines Landes richten ihre Blicke nach diesen Ufern, wo sie Verständnis und Aufmunterung zu finden hoffen. . . . (Wagner 1980, 332)

Die Jahre 1860-65 verbrachte Anneke in der Schweiz, wohin sie ihrem Mann gefolgt war, der aber schon bald in die Vereinigten Staaten zurückkehrte, um am amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg teilzunehmen. Anneke lebte und arbeitete während dieser Jahre in der Schweiz mit ihrer Freundin, der amerikanischen Schriftstellerin Mary Booth, zusammen. Sie bemühte sich, durch Berichterstattung an deutsche Zeitungen über den amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg – offensichtlich aus zweiter Hand –, aber auch weiterhin mit Artikeln über die Frauenfrage ihr Auskommen zu finanzieren. Sie belieferte vor allem wieder die *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, aber auch deutschsprachige Zeitungen in den Vereinigten Staaten; dazu kamen schriftstellerische Arbeiten, Erzählungen und Romane, die in Amerika spielten. Die Hauptarbeiten von Anneke, die damals zur Publikation gelangten, waren die Kurzgeschichten "Die Sklaven-Auktion", "Die gebrochenen Ketten" und der kurze Roman *Umland in Texas*, der erst nach ihrer Rückkehr in die Vereinigten Staaten 1866 als Serie in der *Illinois Staatszeitung* erschien. In Deutschland kam 1864 ihre Übersetzung des amerikanischen Romans *Das Geisterhaus in New York* heraus, an der sie gemeinsam mit Mary Booth gearbeitet hatte.<sup>12</sup> Außerdem arbeitete



Anneke zwischen 1862 und 1865 an einem Roman, *Der Sturmgeiger*, von dem elf Kapitel als Manuskript in ihrem Nachlaß existieren, das jedoch unveröffentlicht blieb.

Die Kurzgeschichten und *Uhland in Texas* nehmen in ihrem Werk einen besonderen Platz ein, weil sie hier ihren Feminismus mit ihrer Opposition gegen die Sklaverei verband.<sup>13</sup> Die Geschichten hatten zur Zeit ihrer Entstehung, während des amerikanischen Bürgerkrieges, besondere Aktualität, wie überhaupt die meisten Arbeiten von Anneke im Gefolge des Vormärz Tendenzliteratur waren. Den Erzählungen gemeinsam ist das Thema der doppelten Gefährdung der Sklavinnen als Unfreie und als Frauen, da sie schutzlos den sexuellen Gelüsten ihrer "Besitzer" ausgesetzt waren. Gleichzeitig zeigte sich an der weitverbreiteten Mätressenhaltung die recht- und machtlose Position der weißen Frauen in den Sklavenhalterstaaten. Hier lag brisanter Romanstoff bereit, der erst in unseren Tagen im Gefolge der Bürgerrechtsbewegung der sechziger Jahre voll genutzt worden ist. Interessant ist vor allem Annekes erzählerisches Mittel, historische Ereignisse oder Persönlichkeiten in den fiktionalen Text einzubauen wie den bekannten Abolitionisten Gerrit Smith, mit dem und mit dessen Familie Anneke befreundet war und korrespondierte.

Nach Annekes Rückkehr nach Milwaukee im Jahre 1865, wo sie gemeinsam mit Cäcilie Kapp ein Töchter-Internat gründete, widmete sie sich vor allem dieser organisatorischen und erzieherischen Aufgabe. Dies war eine eminent feministische Aufgabe, da sie den Unterricht nach emanzipatorischen Gesichtspunkten gestaltete. Sie bot nicht den verkürzten Unterricht vieler Töchter-Internate an, der die Heranbildung einer jungen "Dame" zur Führung eines gutbürgerlichen Haushaltes zum Zweck hatte, sondern sie bot den jungen Mädchen Unterricht in allen Fächern, die auf Jungengymnasien gelehrt wurden. Bei der Leitung dieser Schule blieb ihr kaum Zeit, sich weiterhin schriftstellerisch zu betätigen oder sich langfristig von Milwaukee zu entfernen.

So wurde sie nun hauptsächlich auf staatlicher Ebene, das heißt in Wisconsin, für die Frauenrechtsbewegung tätig. Als Susan B. Anthony und Elizabeth Cady Stanton im März 1869 auf einer Vortragsreise zu einer zweitägigen Tagung nach Milwaukee kamen, eröffnete Anneke die Tagung und wurde eine der führenden Stimmen auf dieser Konferenz (Anthony 1881ff., 2:374). Schon im Mai desselben Jahres erschien Anneke als Vizepräsidentin für den Staat Wisconsin auf der Tagung der Equal Rights Association in der Steinway Hall in New York und trat dort neben solch berühmten Wahlrechtsstreiterinnen wie Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Frederick Douglass, Henry Ward Beecher und Lucy Stone als Sprecherin auf (378-81). Die englische Übersetzung ihrer Rede wurde



in die *History of Woman Suffrage* aufgenommen (392-94). Ein kleiner Teil daraus sei zitiert:

You will learn to judge of woman's strength when you see that she persists strenuously in this purpose, and secures, by her energy, the rights which shall invest her with power. That which you can no longer suppress in woman—that which is free above all things—that which is pre-eminently important to mankind, and must have free play in every mind, is the natural thirst for scientific knowledge—that fountain of all peacefully progressing amelioration in human history. This longing, this effort of reason seeking knowledge of itself, of ideas, conclusions, and all higher things, has, as far as historical remembrance goes back, never been so violently suppressed in any human being as in woman. But, so far from its having been extinguished in her, it has, under the influence of this enlightened century, become a gigantic flame which shines most brightly under the protection of the star-spangled banner. There does not exist a man-made doctrine, fabricated expressly for us, and which we must learn by heart, that shall henceforth be our law. Nor shall the authority of old traditions be a standard for us—be this authority called Veda, Talmud, Koran, or Bible. No. Reason, which we recognize as our highest and only law-giver, commands us to be free. . . . (393-94)<sup>14</sup>

Einerseits zeigt sich an diesem Vortrag ihre freidenkerische Gesinnung, andererseits wieder ihre starke rhetorische Begabung. Teile dieser Rede erschienen auch in Anthonys und Cady Stantons Zeitschrift *Revolution* (Wagner 1980, 349).

Auf dieser Tagung spaltete sich die Equal Rights Association an der Frage des fünfzehnten Amendement, ob man das Wahlrecht für die Neger und für die Frauen gleichzeitig erkämpfen könne; dieses Amendement sollte nur das Wahlrecht für *alle* Männer, nicht für Frauen einführen. Anneke wurde zu einer der Vizepräsidentinnen der neugegründeten National Woman Suffrage Association ernannt.

In Washington vor Kongreßabgeordneten war sie 1870 eine der Sprecherinnen für das sechzehnte Amendement, in dem es um das Frauenwahlrecht ging. Als die Eingaben von männlichen Abgeordneten im Sande verliefen, nahmen die Frauen ihre Angelegenheiten selbst in die Hand und organisierten eine Delegation zum Kapitol nach Washington. Anfang 1870 erschien diese Frauendelegation im Kapitol und sprach mit Senatoren und Kongreßmitgliedern. Als Delegierte des Staates Wisconsin war Anneke mit dabei und kam auch zu Wort. Trotz ihres gebrochenen

Englischs soll ihre Rede die eindrucksvollste gewesen sein (Wagner 1980, 353-55).

Da sich auf nationaler Ebene in Washington nichts bewegen ließ, konzentrierten sich die Frauen von da an auf die einzelnen Staaten. So auch Anneke, die in Wisconsin, besonders in Milwaukee, wiederholt vor freidenkerischen und radikalen deutschamerikanischen Vereinen sprach. So hielt sie im Jahre 1872 bei der Eröffnung der deutschen Halle in Milwaukee eine Rede, in der es um die Frauenrechte ging:

Befreit das Weib. Erhebt es zur wirklichen Erzieherin der Menschheit, zur Hüterin Eurer Freiheit. . . . Erweitert die Sphäre seiner Tätigkeit, ihr verdoppelt die Intelligenz im Dienste der Menschheit. . . . Gebt dem Weibe das Bewußtsein, ein freier Mensch gleich den andern Freien zu sein, die die Berechtigung haben, sich den Lebenszweck selbst zu wählen. Speist uns nicht ab mit dem Hinweis auf Eure Ritterlichkeit, Euren Schutz! Weist uns nicht auf die Sphäre des Hauses, des heimatlichen Herdes. Millionen und abermals Millionen meines Geschlechts haben kein Daheim, keinen Herd. (*Gebrochene Ketten* 219-22)

Im Jahre 1873 verteidigte sie im Club der Radikalen in Milwaukee Susan B. Anthony, die von einem Gericht verurteilt worden war, weil sie es zusammen mit einer Gruppe von Frauen gewagt hatte, 1872 gegen die bestehenden Wahlgesetze einen Wahlschein abzugeben, um einen gerichtlichen Testfall heraufzubeschwören:

. . . Sie ist verurteilt worden, weil sie gestimmt hat und–nur ein Weib ist! Hätte sie sich an die Wahlurne geschlichen, hätte sie zehn für ein Mal ihre Stimme abgegeben, hätte sie falsch gestimmt–wäre sie nur nicht als Weib gekommen!–sie würde nicht verurteilt worden sein. Aber nein, nein, nein, sie stimmte recht, sie stimmte ehrlich, sie stimmte mit den erhabensten Intentionen, die je ein Herz zur Urne gedrängt hatte–sie stimmte, ein Weib, und wurde in den Kerker geworfen, wurde verurteilt. (*Gebrochene Ketten* 225)

Im Jahre 1876 feierten die Vereinigten Staaten ihr einhundertjähriges Jubiläum und Anneke wurde eine der Unterzeichnerinnen der Women's Declaration of Independence, die am 4. Juli veröffentlicht wurde. Ihre aktive Beteiligung an der amerikanischen Frauenbewegung endete 1880 mit ihrer Eröffnung der Versammlung der National Woman's Suffrage Association in Milwaukee. Danach stand sie noch weiter bis zu ihrem Tode 1884 in schriftlicher Verbindung mit verschiedenen Frauen-



kongressen und besonders auch in Briefverkehr mit Susan B. Anthony; aber ihr sich verschlechternder Gesundheitszustand erlaubte ihr nicht mehr den direkten aktiven Einsatz.

Zusammenfassend läßt sich über Annekes Schaffen sagen, daß sie zwar keine literarischen Werke geschaffen hat, die in den überlieferten Kanon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte passen. Aber es ist doch Zeit, daß Anneke endlich aus ihrer mehrfachen Marginalisierung befreit wird und daß man sie für das anerkennt, was sie war: eine der Anfängerinnen des deutschen und amerikanischen Feminismus. Von ihrem Geburtsland verfolgt, kämpfte sie in den Vereinigten Staaten besonders unter der damals sehr großen deutschsprachigen Bevölkerung für Freiheit, Menschenrechte und die Rechte der Frauen Seite an Seite mit den hervorragendsten amerikanischen Feministinnen ihrer Zeit.

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### Anmerkungen

<sup>1</sup> Beispiele für diesen Lokalpatriotismus finden sich in Schultes und Rubens Arbeiten; deutschamerikanischer Lokalpatriotismus zeigt sich in den Arbeiten von Koss und Hense-Jensen.

<sup>2</sup> Beispiele für solche Arbeiten in immigrationshistorischen Publikationen sind die Arbeiten von Blos, Bus, Edinger, Faust, Friesen, Rippley und Kaarsberg Wallach.

<sup>3</sup> Eine der wenigen Ausnahmen bietet Dorothea Stuechers Studie *Twice Removed*.

<sup>4</sup> Erst durch Maria Wagners Herausgebertätigkeit sind viele von Annekes Arbeiten wieder zugänglich geworden. Wünschenswert für die Rezeptionsgeschichte wäre die Auffindung der vielen Artikel, die Anneke in deutschen und deutschamerikanischen Zeitungen ihrer Zeit publizierte. Einige solcher Artikel hat Gebhardt in seiner Biographie angeführt; allerdings sind seine bibliographischen Angaben unzureichend.

<sup>5</sup> Solche kurzen Auszüge erscheinen in Möhrmanns *Frauenemanzipation* (82-87), Linnhoffs allerdings nicht sehr zuverlässigem "Zur Freiheit . . ." (153-64) und Hummel-Haasis' *Schwestern zerreit eure Ketten* (223-35).

<sup>6</sup> Eine in der DDR erschienene Biographie, die sich vor allem für Annekes sozialistische Verbindungen interessiert und ein breiteres Lesepublikum im Sinn gehabt zu haben scheint, stammt von Gebhardt. Seine Zitierpraxis ohne Quellenangaben ist unwissenschaftlich. Ein gutes Beispiel für die Kontextualisierung von Annekes Arbeiten vor dem deutschamerikanischen Hintergrund ist Stuechers *Twice Removed*.

<sup>7</sup> In Gnüg/Möhrmanns *Frauen-Literatur-Geschichte* (1985) erscheint Annekes Name noch gar nicht im Index; Brinker-Gabler widmet ihr 1986 einen Artikel in ihrem *Lexikon deutschsprachiger Schriftstellerinnen 1800-1945*, 14-16; und in Brinker-Gablers Sammelband *Deutsche Literatur von Frauen-Zweiter Band-19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (1988) wird Anneke in zwei Artikeln erwähnt.

<sup>8</sup> *Des Christen freudiger Aufblick zum ewigen Vater*, Wesel 1839; *Der Heimathgruß*, Wesel 1840; *Der Meister ist da und ruft Dich*, Wesel 1841; *Die Melkerin von Blankenstein: Taschenbuch deutscher Sagen*, Wesel 1841; *Damenalmanach*, Wesel 1842.

<sup>9</sup> Leider haben Henkel und Taubert, obwohl ihre Arbeit auf authentischem Archivmaterial beruht, eine hochnäsige Art, bibliographische Datenangaben mit einer herablassenden Verurteilung als "Imponiergehabe von Historikern" zu verschmähen (140).

<sup>10</sup> Boetcher Joeres und Secci kommen in ihren Arbeiten auf Grund ihrer verschiedenen Materialauswahl zu sehr unterschiedlichen Ergebnissen bei ihrer Darstellung der Revolution von deutschen Schriftstellerinnen.

<sup>11</sup> Die Ballade ist von Maria Wagner in ihrem Artikel "Zerbrochene Ketten . . ." eingehender untersucht worden (345-48).

<sup>12</sup> Stuecher weist darauf hin, daß dieser Roman lange fälschlich als Annekes eigenes Werk geführt wurde, weil im deutschen Impressum ihr Name als Autorennamen erschien (140). Der Roman war in einer amerikanischen Zeitung als Fortsetzungsroman erschienen, blieb aber Fragment. Anneke hatte gleich bei seinem Erscheinen mit der Übersetzung begonnen, mußte dann aber einen eigenen Schluß erfinden, um das Buch herausbringen zu können (Wagner 1980, 104).

<sup>13</sup> Diese drei Erzählungen – zusammen mit einigen journalistischen Berichten über Teilnehmer am amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg und ein paar Reden zu feministischen Themen – sind von Maria Wagner in *Die gebrochenen Ketten . . .* herausgegeben worden. Wagner selbst analysiert sie in *M. F. Anneke . . .* (380ff.). Weitere Besprechungen finden sich bei Kaarsberg Wallach (337-39) und Stuecher (71-85).

<sup>14</sup> Es ist anzunehmen, daß sie im deutschen Text nicht "Naturwissenschaft" geschrieben hatte, sondern "Wissenschaft", da der Begriff "scientific knowledge" im Englischen enger eingegrenzt ist. Es ging ihr ganz sicher um Natur- und Geisteswissenschaften, wie sich aus dem Lehrplan ihrer Schule zeigt.

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Irene S. Di Maio

### **Borders of Culture: The Native American in Friedrich Gerstäcker's North American Narratives**

In the story "Der gemalte Indianer" (1862),<sup>1</sup> the narrator states that he finds those Indians most interesting who are neither "wild" nor "civilized," having selectively adopted aspects of European life.<sup>2</sup> Narrated in humorous, anecdotal fashion, "Der gemalte Indianer" also suggests as its theme the power that European-American artists exercise over the Native American through their artistic representations of the Indian at a time when the Native Americans' world is changing rapidly through expropriation and appropriation.<sup>3</sup> During his travels through North America in 1837-43, 1849, and 1867, Friedrich Gerstäcker had the opportunity to observe firsthand those points where the Native American, the European-American, and the African American cohabited and collided, where all parties participated in material and cultural exchanges, notwithstanding clear hierarchies and systems of domination, which are described by Gerstäcker in *In Amerika* (1871) as "ein Wirrsal von verschiedenen Leidenschaften und Interessen von schwarzer, rother und weißer Haut."<sup>4</sup> In current theoretical terms, the phenomenon that most fascinated Gerstäcker can be defined as "transculturation," a term Mary Louise Pratt borrows from ethnographers "to describe how subordinated or marginal groups select and invent from materials transmitted to them by a dominant or metropolitan culture."<sup>5</sup> The concept of transculturation as applied to writing in "'contact zones,' social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination"<sup>6</sup> informs my analysis of Gerstäcker's texts because it "foreground[s] the interactive, improvisational dimensions"<sup>7</sup> of the encounters between disparate cultures and avoids reducing the dominated group solely to passive victim. In the

contact zone each culture has at least some choices about what it appropriates from the other and about how it puts material objects and cultural practices to use.

Although the focus of this study is on Gerstäcker's North American narratives, it should be noted that he traveled to and wrote about South America, the South Seas, Australia, and North Africa, as well.<sup>8</sup> Gerstäcker's travel writings, novels, and short stories instruct and entertain. The borders between the genres of travel writing and fiction themselves are blurred: the travelogues are marked by suspense, anecdotes, and humor, and the fiction informs the reader about North American life. Characterizing Gerstäcker's fictional style, Jeffrey L. Sammons states: "At times the term 'documentary realism' would not be misplaced."<sup>9</sup>

To date, most studies of Gerstäcker's works focus on his journalistic and fictional accounts of the German immigrants' experience in the New World, generally giving him good marks for his sober assessments of the opportunities and hardships awaiting would-be immigrants among his German reading audience. With respect to the Native American, Karl W. Doerry claims Gerstäcker neglected the Indian,<sup>10</sup> while Manfred Durzak recognizes that Gerstäcker's encounter with the Indian—as mediated by fiction as well as firsthand—was an integral part of his American experience and resulted in the creation of some memorable literary figures.<sup>11</sup> Jeffrey L. Sammons believes Gerstäcker "probably knew more about Indians than any other German writer of his time."<sup>12</sup>

I propose here to survey Gerstäcker's physical and cultural topography of the regions where the Native American and European-American meet, analyzing those points where borders overlap, shift, and blur. Evidence of transculturation in these contact zones is, of course, from the perspective of a European, although Gerstäcker does attempt to give the Native American a voice. Recent studies on alterity focusing on America also suggest lines of inquiry about how Gerstäcker perceives and describes the Native American. Gerstäcker's reception of and reflections on literary and artistic representations will be taken into account. The study begins with an analysis of Gerstäcker's travel writing, noting differences in the representation of the Native American as Gerstäcker gained knowledge of them through experience and shifts in perspective as Gerstäcker's own life circumstances changed. There follows an analysis of representative works of fiction that, while continuing to serve Gerstäcker's didactic intent, free the author to create alternative modes of interaction between the Native American and European-American, as well.

Gerstäcker's *Streif- und Jagdzüge durch die Vereinigten Staaten Nordamerikas* (1844)<sup>13</sup> gives an account of his adventures on his first trip to America (1837-43). As a boy Gerstäcker's head was filled with tales



from *Robinson Crusoe* and James Fenimore Cooper's novels, which was also true of many a German lad who never ventured far from his home. Gerstäcker must have been propelled not only by these literary images but also by the thrill of risk-taking, great energy, restlessness, and curiosity. When he left Germany he had expressed intentions of becoming a farmer, but he soon embarked on a peripatetic way of life. Performing odd jobs and hunting for subsistence—routes, activities, and occasional companions determined by inclination and chance—he criss-crossed the United States and southeast Canada from New York to Louisiana, on foot and by waterway, going as far west as Texas. The area he enjoyed most and about which he wrote extensively was the backwoods of Arkansas, itself a frontier state. Hans Plische notes that Gerstäcker was enthusiastic about the frontier in the English part of the New World.<sup>14</sup> Reporting on his first encounter with "einem etwas cultivierten Indianer" (72) in Canada, Gerstäcker was struck by the Indian's physical features and dress. His description of the Indian's long black hair and flashing, fiery eyes is a literary cliché, but the commentary on the Indian's raiment, a blend of Native American and European-American components—a woolen coat and dark blue cloth trousers, a red shawl wound like a turban around the head, crystal earrings, moccasins, a tomahawk in the beaded leather belt, and a long American rifle slung over the shoulder which gave him, "ein kühn romantisches Aussehen" (73)—is significant because it was the first visible indication to the author of the impact European-American culture had on the Native American. As described, the exoticism of the Indian's native accoutrements is accentuated by the foil of European garb. Sometimes the appropriation of European attire resulted in comical incongruities rather than aesthetically appealing combinations. In St. Louis Gerstäcker was greatly amused when he spied a handsome, lithe young man with painted scalplock and face, clad in leggings and moccasins, naked from the waist up, except for the shabby black silk tie he proudly sported (101). But Gerstäcker also suggests the larger context of such oddities, for St. Louis was an inland trade center which engaged in fur trade with Indians from the West. The Indian's new mode of dress was merely an outward sign of how his entire life had begun to change through contact with European-Americans. Appropriations of dress, however, were not uni-directional. When Gerstäcker's shoes wore out, he made himself moccasins, and when a bear tore up his hunting shirt, an Indian sold him a shirt fashioned from an old woolen blanket, laced at the sides in leather strips and cinched with an embroidered belt. As time passed Native American influence on Gerstäcker's attire increased: he hunted for deerskins and deer brains, tanned the hides in Indian fashion, and sewed himself a buckskin shirt. The Native Americans' adaptation of European dress would be more or less permanent, whereas when Gerstäcker left the Arkansas backwoods



and became a hotel manager in Pointe Coupée, Louisiana, to earn his passage back to Germany, he bought himself a white suit from a German-Jewish tradesman, temporarily slipping into the attire of a Southern planter before reassuming his European garb and identity. Usually Gerstäcker regarded the acculturated natives' dress to be a unique melange of two cultures; in later works, however, he would at times criticize the Native Americans' eagerness to snatch white people's discards as a mark of their degradation.

*Streif- und Jagdzüge* reveals a qualitative change in the nature of Gerstäcker's relationship to Native Americans from his early encounters with them in late 1837 and early 1838 to his final hunt in early 1842. Initially, Gerstäcker indulges in stereotypical literary terms when he characterizes the Indians as "wild[e] Waldsöhne" (128), adopting the romantic notion of the "noble savage."<sup>15</sup> He even constructs himself as Hawkeye, the unfettered outdoorsman of Cooper's tales.<sup>16</sup> The first time Gerstäcker came upon a party of Native Americans in the woods he was filled with excitement. The meeting was all the more welcome because Gerstäcker had been hiking in the wilderness, the disputed "Red Land" between Texas and the United States, for six days. Although he enjoyed solitude, at this point he was so tired of being alone that he had already turned course to a southeasterly direction when he heard shots fired. He was overjoyed to find any human beings at all in the wilderness. From a knoll he looked down on "ein buntes wildromantisches Schauspiel" (128) as the Indian men and women simply went about their daily chores, setting up camp, chopping down tent poles, gathering wood for the fire, hobbling the horses, and skinning a deer. "Ich konnte mich nicht satt sehen an den schönen, kräftigen Gestalten, mit ihren bemalten Gesichtern, ihren in grelle Farben gekleideten Körpern und mit Federn geschmückten Häuptern" (128). Mary Louise Pratt notes that promontory descriptions are very common in all kinds of Romantic and Victorian travel writing. Although Gerstäcker's scene does estheticize the "moment of discovery," it does not, to me, seem to have the ideological function of what Pratt calls "master of all I survey scenes" in colonial exploration literature.<sup>17</sup> This scene is rather a reflexive relationship to the travelogue genre that is quickly interrupted: "Mir blieb jedoch nicht lange Zeit sie zu betrachten, denn die Hunde schlugen an und kamen auf mich zu" (129).

Finding a lone white man in these woods astonished the Indians, and the elder, who spoke English far better than did Gerstäcker, asked whether there were so few white men that he had to come by himself. Naturally, the number of white people in any given area was of vital concern to Native Americans, including this hunting party of Choctaws from Arkansas. When Gerstäcker assured them he was only passing through, they granted his request to camp overnight. The common bond between Gerstäcker and the Indians was the hunt, as it was between him



and a number of American backwoodsmen. Gerstäcker received his first lesson from the Indians when the elder admonished him that it had been foolhardy for a novice to tangle with a bear while hunting without a companion. The activities of the next few days—hunting, trapping, shooting arrows, and hurling tomahawks at a target—are described in some detail. But Gerstäcker did not have much use for the singing and dancing, and conversation left much to be desired. He remarks wryly, "Das in das Feuerstarren der Indianer fand ich übrigens sehr langweilig und versuchte mehrere Male ein Gespräch anzuknüpfen, bekam aber nur sehr kurze Antworten, so daß mir am Ende nichts übrig blieb als ebenfalls den Indianer zu spielen und in schweigsamer Würde zu verharren"(130). After several days, he stated that he had "das Leben der Indianer genugsam gekostet" and yearned to return to "einer etwas mehr cultivirten Welt" (132). Although this first encounter was a German's boyhood dream come true, in essence Gerstäcker remained only an observer at the scene, at best, an actor in what he regarded to be a play, literally "at play." Not one of his companions is even named, and the Indians' contemplative silence, their unwillingness to communicate in European fashion evoked in him a feeling of boredom. Raymond William Stedman observes that the "time has passed for fully reconstructing the actual manner in which Indians handled English conversation," but cites a 1925 study by George Philip Krapp, *The English Language in America*, that explains that Indians who did not learn English remained silent in the presence of white men to avoid appearing ridiculous. The impassive Indian is but one of the stereotypes of "Indian Talk."<sup>18</sup> At any rate, the cultural and linguistic gaps during Gerstäcker's first substantive encounter with Native Americans were too great to be bridged. To his credit, Gerstäcker treats ironically the disparity between his reception of Indian life as mediated by literary texts and his responses when witnessing it firsthand. He will do this again in the account of his third trip to North America:

Ich wäre der Letzte es zu leugnen, daß es etwas ungemein Romantisches hat, ein solches indianisches Lager zu betreten. Uns Allen liegen noch viel zu sehr Cooper's Romane in der Erinnerung, um den Zauber zu vergessen, den gerade er über indianisches Leben ausgegossen, oder den ihm vielmehr, selbst wo er vollkommen wahr geschildert, unsere Phantasie gegeben. Ich muß aber eben so bestimmt eingestehen, daß viele Sachen in der Welt diesen Zauber verlieren, wenn man ihnen zu nahe auf den Leib rückt. Das indianische Leben ebenfalls ist eine Art von Decorationsmalerei, und die Sehnsucht danach vollständig gestillt, sobald man nur erst einmal in dasselbe eintritt.<sup>19</sup>

With its mixture of fact and fantasy, the depiction of the exotic in literature casts a magical spell on European readers because it corresponds to the projection of their own desires. Yet what the European wishes the other to be does not correspond to "reality."

In contrast to the merry frolic of Gerstäcker's first exchange with Native Americans, his final hunting expedition in their company on 1 February 1842 was fraught with foreboding, danger, and horror. Despite the continuing differences between European-American and Native American cultures, Gerstäcker and his Indian companions were on a more even footing during this foray. Gerstäcker and his friend, Conwell,<sup>20</sup> were discouraged and weary, for the game in northeast Arkansas was depleted by too many hunters that winter, when they came upon an Indian camp comprised of Cherokees and Choctaws plus a young Englishman, Erskine. The two parties joined forces on a bear hunt which led them to numerous caves. When Gerstäcker and the Indian, Wachiga, whom the author at first still just calls "der Indianer," entered the first cave, they were greatly shaken to confront the skeletons of an Indian and a bear who had engaged in a fatal struggle. At the point in the narration when Wachiga refused to go further into the cave, the reader learns Wachiga's name when he protested, "'Der Geist des rothen Mannes ist in der Höhle, und Wachiga geht nicht weiter.' . . . 'Die Gebeine des rothen Mannes gehören einem großen Häuptling; der Bär sucht nicht sein Bett, wo der Jäger schläft'" (448-49). Gerstäcker, a practical man who lived in the moment and was not given to speculation of any sort about life hereafter—Native American or Christian—found the argument convincing and willingly left the cave. That night, he, Wachiga, and Erskine built a campfire:

Wachiga war aber sehr nachdenkend geworden, rauchte aus seinem Tomahawk [sic] und sah starr in die Flamme. Trotz dem daß er ein Christ geworden war, mochte der alte Aberglaube noch zu tiefe Wurzeln in seinem Innern behalten haben, oder war wohl gar durch die vielen neuen Histörchen, die ihm die Missionäre aufgebunden, noch mehr befestigt. (450)

Gerstäcker took a dim view of the missionary effort, not only because he regarded it as the substitution of one form of superstition for another but, as we shall see in his first novel, *Die Regulatoren in Arkansas*, because it alienated the Native Americans from their own people and culture.

The next morning Wachiga joined the other Indians. In the afternoon Gerstäcker and Erskine had a fierce struggle with a bear that left Erskine, five hunting dogs, and the bear dead and Gerstäcker seriously wounded and unconscious. Gerstäcker spent a horrifying night surrounded by torn, bloody corpses until Wachiga responded to his signals. Two Indians dug a grave for Erskine with their tomahawks, covering it with dirt and



stones. Then Wachiga and another Indian pulled Gerstäcker's dislocated arm into place. Gerstäcker describes the burial as "kaltblütig" (455), but this seems accurate only insofar as it underscores the author's realization that in the wilderness he was far from his loved ones; in truth, the Indian rescue party saved his life.

With respect to treatment of the dead, Gerstäcker heard and witnessed cases of the Americans' cruel and indifferent treatment of Indians, alive or dead, whereas he himself was always treated amicably and with kindness by Indians. Gerstäcker describes in detail a trail in Arkansas that gave testimony to the white man's cruel, greedy, and genocidal displacement of the Native American. The United States government had contracted private parties to transport Indians to the West who were treated more "wie eine Sendung Waaren, als lebende Wesen" (382). To maximize their profits the transporters drove the Indians on relentlessly and did not provide for food or medicine:

Mancher tapfere Häuptling, manche junge *squaw*<sup>21</sup> fand dort auf der Straße durch Krankheiten, die unter den armen Vertriebenen herrschten, ihren Tod. Selbst die nächsten Verwandten und Freunde *konnten* nichts weiter für sie thun, als sie in ihre Decken wickeln, mit Pfählen und Reiseru bedecken, um die Aasgeier abzuhalten (die, wie mir alte Amerikaner erzählten, zu Tausenden fortwährend über dem Zuge hinschwebten und demselben folgten), rissen dann natürlich schon denselben Abend die schwache Schutzwehr ein und zerrten die Gebeine der aus ihrem Vaterland Verjagten im Walde umher. Traurige Folgen der Civilisation! Hier aber zeigte sich auch ganz wieder der schändliche Schachergeist, mit dem Alles in Amerika rein kaufmännisch betrieben wird, in seinem grellsten Lichte. (381)

Gerstäcker does not suggest that this process could be stopped, but the author's words evoke empathy in the reader. Indians in their prime—brave and young—surrounded by both human and animal predators, were driven from their homes to sure death and even in death were deprived of a final resting place. No word but "Vaterland" could cause the German reader to identify more with the Indian, for a fatherland was what at least democratically inclined Germans felt deprived of themselves.<sup>22</sup>

The first volume of *Reisen, Südamerika, Californien, Die Südsee-Inseln* (1853),<sup>23</sup> contains Gerstäcker's account of his adventures as a gold digger in California in 1849-50 during his second trip to the North American continent. While a major portion of the text is devoted to the gold mining enterprise and Gerstäcker's own participation in it, early on Gerstäcker

discusses the permanent damage the influx of miners did to Native American life. He contrasts the gradual displacement of the Indian in the more easterly regions of North America with their rapid displacement in California. The description of the scattered artifacts in the hastily abandoned Indian camp where Gerstäcker and his mining companions spent their first night en route from Sacramento to the mines underscores the speed with which Native Americans were being pushed out and their cultural continuity ruptured: "Die Geschichte der Indianer Californiens hört mit dem Jahre 49 auf . . ." (256). Gerstäcker does not share the Eurocentric notion that non-literate peoples have no history, yet his detailed ethnography of the physiognomy, habitat, clothing, ornamentation, diet, exchange system, subsistence, and languages of various Indian tribes seems intended to preserve within the pages of a German book a culture facing immanent destruction.

As in Arkansas, Gerstäcker observes at this final cultural border in North America the deleterious effect of human greed on the Native Americans. Once again, clothing is the most visible sign of changes taking place in Native American life. Since Indian culture apparently requires women to be more reserved than men—they lower their eyes or go into the huts when white men approach—they have less contact with foreigners and their dress has remained more traditional than that of the men, whose attire ranges wildly from nudity to a full European wardrobe. The random order in which Indians don European-American articles of clothing seems to Gerstäcker childlike and comical. We can infer that this *Unsinn* (355) denotes to him the Indians' lack of comprehension of European-American systems and order. But one can also see freedom, choice, and creativity in the Native Americans' appropriation of European-American artifacts to suit their own needs and aesthetic.

Transculturation is also evident in the Indian's enjoyment of learning European languages. The name of every artifact brought to them by foreigners retained its foreign name. Commenting that the first English words Indians comprehend are curse words, he concludes it is because the Indians feel a greater affinity for Spanish than English. He fails to consider whether this seeming preference for Spanish may be attributed to a longer standing, and relatively more amicable, relationship with Mexicans and Spanish-speaking missionaries. The English curse words are a sign of the obscenely violent nature of the interaction between Native Americans and the predominately English-speaking miners.

The longer Gerstäcker stayed, the grimmer his assessment of the Native Americans' situation became. Cultural and economic destruction—the Indians were reduced to washing gold in exchange for a blanket and a handful of flour—was augmented by physical destruction and violence: drunken Indians lolled around Mission Dolores, whose original function was abandoned; an eight-year-old boy died of



alcoholism; the once pacific Indians could barely suppress their hatred of the "Americans"—whites were stabbed on the highways and in the mines.

There is a marked change of observations and tone in Gerstäcker's discussion of Native American displacement in *Neue Reisen durch die Vereinigten Staaten, Mexiko, Ecuador, Westindien und Venezuela* (1868) that treats his third trip to the United States in 1867. Gerstäcker was neither the unknown, youthful adventurer randomly wandering through Arkansas wherever abundant game or a companion might lead him, nor was he one among many from various parts of the world who had come to seek their fortune in the gold mines of California. He had become one of Germany's most popular authors of travel and adventure fiction, an established, if still restless, member of society. On his first trip he continued to walk in his stocking feet when the soles of his shoes wore out; in 1867 he rode out west on a train, covering the final stretch as a reporter in General William Tecumseh Sherman's private car.<sup>24</sup> The process of Native American displacement, resettlement, and containment had continued relentlessly during the thirty years that had passed since Gerstäcker first set foot on American soil. The latest blow to the Native American was the construction of the Northern-Pacific railroad. Some tribes sabotaged the construction; others stood guard to ward off hostile Indians. Sherman was on his way to a council in North Platte, ostensibly to negotiate. In truth it was a foregone conclusion that he would inform one and all that the railway would be completed and that, in order to survive, the Indian would have to adopt a new way of life. Gerstäcker's account reveals his own conflicted attitude toward the enterprise. In his faith in progress and his admiration for the will power that accelerated it, he was very much a product of his century. He was greatly impressed by the railway's construction:

Es war ein eigenthümlicher und, ich kann wohl sagen, großartiger Eindruck, den das Ganze auf mich machte: dort nach Westen lag die weite, wilde Steppe, mit keinem Haus, keinem Baum oder Strauch, keinem Zeichen menschlichen Fleißes oder Schaffens, die Heimath des Büffels und der Antilope. Mehr, weit mehr als tausend Meilen voraus wusch der Stille Ocean den Strand, und dem entgegen, trotz aller Schwierigkeiten und Gefahren, trotz der mächtigen Felsengebirge, die dazwischen lagen, trotz wilder Indianerhorden, welche die Arbeit bedrohten, trotz Mangel an Wasser und Holz, preßte menschliche Thatkraft und der entschiedene Wille eines Volkes seinen eisernen Weg in diese Wildniß hinein, das eine und einzige Ziel nur vor Augen: Durch!<sup>25</sup>

In the above passage the plains are home only to the animals; Indian hordes are part of a hostile nature that must be tamed. Indian labor is discounted, impeding construction being viewed as the Indians' only activity. Gerstäcker believes the railway—the phrase "eiserner Weg" lends it its own volition—will lead to the extermination of the Indian, but is convinced that progress is inexorable:

Dem Indianer bringt die Bahn den Tod, denn sie durchschneidet seine Jagdgründe und vertreibt sein Wild, von dem er lebt und leben muß; aber was vermögen alle wilde Horden gegen den fortschreitenden Geist—sie können ihn nicht dämmen, ja vermögen seinen Flug kaum für Momente anzuhalten.—Arme Indianer! Kommende Generationen werden von Euch und Eurem Leben wohl noch in Geschichtsbüchern und Romanen lesen, aber der Pflug geht dann über eure Gräber. (76)

For Gerstäcker, like so many Europeans who lamented the Native Americans' plight, their demise is a foregone conclusion.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, in sections of the travelogue he is complicitous in the Americans' enterprise because of the details about Native American life he selects to report and the language he uses to describe the Indians. As a reporter Gerstäcker should not suppress the news that Cheyennes had ambushed a train in order to frighten the people away from continuing the railroad's construction, that Indians had kidnapped some white women and children during an attack on Fort Kearney and Little Blue two months before. Yet as a writer of adventure tales he seems to capitalize on horror for literary effect. Not only does Gerstäcker relate a second-hand account of the ambush: "Und indessen mordeten und scalpirten die Wilden, was sie fanden, plünderten den Zug und steckten ihn dann in Brand" (70), he recounts how he relived this scene in his mind while speeding down the tracks to the site where the attack had taken place. Gerstäcker wondered whether "die Wilden" would attack the train again "mit wildem Geheuel" but believed the passengers had enough arms to put "eine wilde Horde" into place. The word *wild* appears three times in one paragraph (69). It clearly means "savage" rather than "living in a state of nature," as Gerstäcker had used the word in *Streif- und Jagdzüge* and in *Südamerika, Californien, Die Südsee-Inseln*. His account continues with the Indians' return of their white captives in exchange for some "squaws" captured by the Pawnees. Among them were two young Scotswomen and an adolescent girl, a situation evoking scenes from Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* and gruesome captivity narratives. The girl's muteness causes Gerstäcker to speculate, "Wohl mag es sein, daß das arme Kind den Verstand verloren, als sie von diesen wilden Bestien [my emphasis]



überfallen und bei Nacht und Nebel aus ihrer Heimath fort in die öde Steppe hingschleppt wurde" (81).

The third example of how Gerstäcker dehumanizes, indeed demonizes the Native American is his characterization of old women as hags and witches stirring a disgusting brew. When he entered the wigwam of Itchonka, the chief of the Ogallala Sioux, he met two "gelbraune Megären, die sich aus Rindermilz, Gedärmen, und Schmutz ein Ragout zusammenhackten, das Einem hätte den Appetit für Fleisch auf Jahre lang benehmen können. Es waren wirklich zwei Scheusale" (78). In *Deconstructing America: Representations of the Other*, Peter Mason discusses the long tradition in which European texts demonized or made monstrous the other since Greco-Roman times, a process of "internal negative self-definition"<sup>27</sup> whereby educated Europeans expunged everything they considered negative within themselves. In addition to fabulous non-European others, wild men and women, madmen, and witches were all projections of alterity. Boundaries were fluid and attributes ascribed to the internal (European) and external (non-European) other were interchangeable. To be sure, Gerstäcker was a post-Enlightenment liberal, and his texts cannot be equated exactly with the fantastic accounts written in the early centuries of colonization. Yet his narrative harkens back to superstitious imagery at a point in historical time when he will witness a showdown between the United States government and the Native Americans. He has written before about the extermination of the Indian, but what he actually saw was random and sporadic violence. Now violence—in the guise of relocation—would be legitimized and official. Gerstäcker had no personal stake in the eradication of the Native American; he was sympathetic to their plight. Perhaps his depiction of Indians as massacring monsters and foul witches at this juncture might have served unconsciously to put as much distance as possible between himself and them, thus rendering the Native Americans' plight, in his view an inevitable result of progress, less painful for him.<sup>28</sup> But some of his attitude toward Indians seems to rub off from the white company he is presently keeping.

The report on the actual pow-wow or council, however, is far more balanced and analytical in tone than the preceding chapter. Gerstäcker's independent stance is first evident with respect to the issue of Indians and alcoholic consumption. General Sherman was outraged to hear that the Indians had obtained alcohol. Fearing that would sabotage the entire council, he placed guards at every stand that sold whiskey (*Trinkzelt*) and offered a \$500 reward for the name of the supplier. Gerstäcker wandered over to the Indians' camp and confirmed what he already suspected: the Indians did have "whiskey on the sly" but no one was drunk. When Spotted Tail was asked whether he thought the Indians would be able to meet, he replied calmly, "Ei gewiß—ich habe Whiskey getrunken, aber ich



kann so viel vertragen, wie ein Weißer. Laßt uns zusammenkommen!" (93) In his travels Gerstäcker had encountered Native Americans (as well as Americans) who consumed too much alcohol. In an Indian camp in Arkansas he relented to an Indian's pleas and procured whiskey for him, spending almost the last of his own money, for Gerstäcker had the decency not to take a hunting rifle in exchange—so great was the Indian's craving for alcohol (*Streif- und Jagdzüge*, 114-15). Gerstäcker clearly regarded whiskey to be the white man's instrument of genocide. Yet he found that the notion that all Indians were unable to control their consumption of liquor was not based in fact and further demeaned the Indian.

A sense of justice puts Gerstäcker on the side of the Native Americans when, citing Senate documents, he provides the background for the causes of the Indian War that had been instigated and manipulated by white men solely for political purposes. The territory of Colorado had an insufficient voting population for a referendum on statehood. In order to make up the deficit in numbers, war against the Indians was deliberately waged so that the Colorado voluntary regiment would be called back to the territory, increasing the number of voters. Indians, falsely accused of crimes, were betrayed and brutally massacred. Now that the political ends had been achieved, the government wanted to make peace. It is clear that the Indians have been sacrificed for nation-building, although Gerstäcker does not state this explicitly. Gerstäcker describes in detail the members of the Commission of Peace and the Indian chieftains—noting each participant's appearance, demeanor, and elocution. Most importantly, he claims that because the negotiations were conducted in the Sioux language, the pauses required for interpretation enabled him to record the discussions verbatim, and he provides the reader with the highlights of the deliberations. The Indians wanted the construction of the two railway lines to the north and the south to cease, for these lines cut through their hunting lands. Sherman made it eminently clear that the lines would remain, as they were necessary to carry settlers and supplies to the West; if the Indians continued to interrupt construction they would be swept from the earth. The Indians' very minor victory was that both friendly and hostile tribes were granted enough arms and munitions to hunt for the next two months. Gerstäcker suspects that the French-Canadian translators, the only ones who mingled with the Indians so intimately as to learn their language, did not have the ability to convey the full import of Sherman's words, for otherwise the Indians would not have remained so calm. Having noted earlier that some French-Canadians live among the Indians and even intermarry, Gerstäcker laments that they were only "half-civilized" and did not comprehend the Americans' concepts during the negotiations. Barely understanding



abstractions themselves, how could the translators convey them to Indians whose language was metaphoric?

From Sherman's (and hence the United States government's) perspective, it was time for the Indians to begin a new life on reservations to the east, a life founded on diligence and delayed gratification, (European-American) values he clearly deemed superior:

Wir kennen den Unterschied zwischen Roth und Weiß. Ihr jagt, und nehmt dafür Kleider als Geschenke. Aber für Alles, was die Weißen haben, müssen sie hart und schwer arbeiten. Sie haben aber dafür auch gute Kleider, viel zu essen und schöne Wohnungen. Das Alles könnt Ihr ebenfalls haben, und wir glauben, daß jetzt die Zeit gekommen sei, wo Ihr damit beginnen müßt. (95)

In the interest of Western settlement, the government was demanding concurrent separatism and assimilation. Gerstäcker considers this a doomed enterprise. Settlers bordering the reservations were particularly hostile to Indians, and deceitful Indian agents were getting rich at the expense of the Indians. Gerstäcker predicts the Indians will be allowed to remain on the reservations only until gold, oil, or some other precious metal is discovered there. "Ihre Zeit ist vorbei, und von jenem Council an leben sie nur geduldet auf der Erde" (104). Gerstäcker blames the Indians' victimization and degradation on American cupidity, but he is also convinced that given land to cultivate, an Indian's chances for survival are as slim as those of a white man forced to subsist by means of bow and arrow (101). In a fictional piece he assumes a position closer to Sherman's, suggesting that if the Indians were less eager to appropriate the outer trappings of European-American life and would adopt the ethos of "the white race"—diligence, persistence, provision for the future—they might have a chance to survive ("Der gemalte Indianer," 325). Both views suggest that Gerstäcker lacked knowledge about the history of Indians who had assimilated. Raymond William Stedman relates:

Late in the 1700s the Cherokees set out to prove to the white men that Indians could be just as "civilized" as whites. They learned to use looms, spinning wheels, and factory-made farm implements. They used Sequoyah's Cherokee alphabet in a well-set-up newspaper. By 1827 they had a written constitution for a government similar to that of the United States. They had schools, churches, roads, mills, and a rich economy. They even had a verdict from the Supreme Court protecting their right of self-government against attempts at sovereignty by the state of Georgia.<sup>29</sup>

Despite all this, President Andrew Jackson, operating under the notion of Manifest Destiny, had Congress pass the Indian Removal Act of 1830, and in 1835 Jackson declared that Indians "can not live in contact with a civilized community and prosper."<sup>30</sup> If Native Americans occupied land European-Americans wanted, they were forced to move.

In his concluding passage to the episode, Gerstäcker does challenge European-American notions about which peoples are civilized or savage. He recollects how he stood at North Platte between the camp of the Sioux and the frontier town, at the margins of both cultures. The Sioux men were hunting or smoking their pipes, the women embroidering moccasins and tanning hides, while the children played. In town, one bar, gambling hall, or brothel stood next to the other. Equating civilization with domestication, Gerstäcker implies the Indian is superior—he does not deserve his fate.<sup>31</sup> This inversion of difference from a European perspective is still based on an inferior or superior relationship, but it does call into question European assumptions about cultural superiority.

At this juncture I would like to return to the story noted in my introduction, "Der gemalte Indianer." The painted Indian is the old Osage Indian chief, Olatuoh, who reluctantly agrees to allow a German artist to paint a full-length study of him decked out in chieftain's regalia. As described, the artist's watercolors resemble Karl Bodmer's Native American portraits.<sup>32</sup> At the start of the sitting, Olatuoh and the artist differ because the chief wants to pose with his new European-style rifle while the artist prefers that he hold the native bow or lance. Afraid that he might lose his subject, the artist bows to the Indian's wishes; the ensuing conflict between Native American and European centers on this rifle as painted. Before the sitting, the superstitious Indian had already had a nightmare about being trapped and suffocated in the artist's book (portfolio); he feared that he himself, not just his image, would be transported to the white people's settlements. The narrator makes it clear that Germans cherish their own heathen superstitions and life would be less poetic without them. After posing for the portrait, Olatuoh begins missing his shots and is convinced that the artist has cast a spell on his rifle by capturing it in the watercolor. He believes the rifle is the only artifact in the portrait that is vulnerable to a white man's spell because it is a European invention; the white man has no power over what is uniquely Indian. Olatuoh tracks down the artist and threatens to kill him if he does not cut out the rifle from his prize portrait. The issue is solved to their mutual satisfaction when the artist washes out the rifle done in watercolor. This story alludes to the historical fact that the European-American presence in the New World had made the rifle a necessary component of Native American life, allowing the Indian to compete for ever-scarcer resources. The Native American was ready to adopt objects the European-American introduced to his world, sometimes out of



necessity, other times out of fascination by novelty. But the new destabilizes Native American culture and this story is emblematic of the Native American's uneasiness, insecurity, and quite healthy wariness about the intrusion of European-American ways the import of which is not yet fully understood.

Recent studies on alterity in texts demonstrate that Olatuoh's fears that the German artist would gain tremendous power over him through representation are well-founded, for the image of the Indian in European art and literature—often reduced to stereotypes—reflected the Europeans' longings and served their religious, philosophical, sexual, territorial, political, and economic interests.<sup>33</sup> Yet emphasis solely on unequal power relationships in representations eradicates ideological distinctions among works of art and negates art's emancipatory capacity to envision alternative modes of interaction. As Peter Mason discusses, the philosopher Emmanuel Levinas's phenomenological speculations about alterity and desire<sup>34</sup> inspired Tzvetan Todorov's study on the discovery and conquest of America.<sup>35</sup> In his epilogue to *The Conquest of America* Todorov interprets the narrative of the discovery and conquest of America to be paradigmatic of Europe's attempt "to assimilate the other, to do away with an exterior alterity."<sup>36</sup> In a three-hundred-and-fifty-year history Western Europe dominated the other, using as its instrument 1) the capacity to understand the other and 2) the process of assimilating the other. Todorov views assimilation negatively because it destroys indigenous cultures. He asserts that the discovery of the other has both a history and relevance to contemporary society even though our—Todorov speaks from the point of view of a European intellectual—approach to alterity has changed markedly, "we want *equality* without its compelling us to accept identity; but also *difference* without its degenerating into superiority/inferiority" (249).

Within the specificity and the confines of his own time and space, Gerstäcker's fictional narratives meet the desiderata of what Jeremy Varon refers to as "a new appreciation of difference and a politics of mutual recognition as global ethics"<sup>37</sup> to a remarkable degree because they not only identify the problems arising from the encounter between the Native American and the European-American but imagine alternative modes of interaction. To be sure, in the didactic introductory passages of his fiction, Gerstäcker does make the same assertions about the encounter between the European-American and the Native American found in his travelogues: the Indian is slowly but surely dying out—through the loss of home and hunting lands, through alcoholism and disease. A first step towards breaking a pattern of inequality may be one of negation. Gerstäcker's fictional treatment of Indian alcoholism, for example, creates moments of resistance through trickery, retaliation, reform, or refusal. In "Civilisation und Wildniß" (1855, 1857?) two Kickapoos, ein "paar der



miserabelst aussehenden Subjecte indianischer Race,"<sup>38</sup> drink themselves into a stupor. A trader illegally sells them "the seductive poison" (299) and we feel pity when, despite his better instincts, one half-inebriated Indian sells an otter skin he had been saving for his wife to buy more whiskey. So when the trader who has profited by all this misery discovers the next morning that the Indians have absconded with a venison hind, the reader believes the trader has gotten less than his just deserts. The eponymous hero of "Der Osage" (1847) only seems to have drunk too much to catch on that he was cheated in a target-shooting bet made with a trader's son; he returns the next week and outsmarts his opponent.<sup>39</sup> In the tragic story "Die Tochter der Ricarees" (1857), alcohol has become an instrument of suicide for Wetako, son of a Ricaree chieftain whose tribe has almost been wiped out. But when he learns that his sister, Nedaunis-Ais' (Saise), is alive and must be rescued from her abductor, he hurls away the poisonous bottle of whiskey and plunges into the Mississippi to sober up: "der Indianer, der kalte, besonnene Wilde war wieder in ihm erwacht, und mit schnellem Blick übersah er die Gefahren, die das Wesen, das er auf Erden am meisten liebte, bedrohten."<sup>40</sup> The heroic brave, Assowaum, in *Die Regulatoren in Arkansas* (1846),<sup>41</sup> refuses to allow "Sünden der Weißen" (49) to enter his heart—he does not drink alcohol.

Gerstäcker's fiction garners sympathy for the Native American by reversing European reader expectations: not the Indians but scurrilous, vengeful white males are excessively and gratuitously violent. Even though the European-American lives in fear of "the savage," no scalping is as horrendous as "the white man's revenge" in the story of the same name, "Die Rache des weißen Mannes" (1847).<sup>42</sup> Hopkins, nick-named both "die blutige Hand" and "bloody Ben" by the Indians, commits genocide by deliberately exposing whole tribes of Indians to smallpox.

Tales of victimization are most graphic and personalized when the object is a Native American woman. Native American women suffer under the constant threat of sexual violation as well as murder. After having enjoyed the hospitality of Indians in their camp, an Asian Indian, one of many who have come to California from all over the world to seek their fortune, tries to rape a chaste Indian woman who has refused his advances.<sup>43</sup> In "Die Tochter der Ricarees," Saise has been taken into possession by Duxon, a duplicitous overseer and slave thief who bought falsified papers claiming she is a black slave. Neither the fact that Duxon lusts after Saise nor that she is his "property" restrains him from stabbing her to death when she obstructs his escape from the sheriff. In Gerstäcker's first novel, *Die Regulatoren in Arkansas*, Alapaha's betrayal and murder seems particularly monstrous. Conversion to Christianity by Rowson, a horse thief posing as a Methodist circuit rider, has alienated her from her forebears. When, by chance, she sees Rowson and his gang in the act of stealing horses, he stabs her to death. Clues in the text



suggest that Rowson rapes Alapaha before killing her; such a scene would have to be left to the imagination of a nineteenth-century reader of family literature. Gerstäcker understood that rape is a violent strategy by which one group dominates another. The character of the circuit rider Rowson, rapist and murderer, suggests, furthermore, that Gerstäcker regarded the missionary enterprise as cultural rape.<sup>44</sup> Both Saise and Alapaha put up a tremendous struggle before they are overpowered; indeed, the button off Rowson's shirt that Assowaum found still clenched in Alapaha's stiff fingers results in the murderer's final and irrefutable identification.

On a more sanguine note, *Die Regulatoren in Arkansas* suggests that despite past and present conflicts between the Native American and the European-American, they can coexist—if only intermittantly—in mutual respect and friendship. Brown, the main white protagonist, barely escaped an Indian massacre in Kentucky, where his father and Daniel Boone had established one of the first settlements. Although his whole family was killed, Brown tells his beloved Marion:

Es ist in jenen Zeiten viel Blut—viel unschuldiges Blut vergossen, und ich weiß noch nicht, ob die weißen Männer damals ein Recht hatten, so hart und grausam von Anfang an gegen die Eingeborenen aufzutreten. Freilich rächten sich die Wilden dann auch wieder auf eine fast zu entsetzliche Art, was nicht geduldet werden konnte. (74)

Assowaum, the main male Indian protagonist, killed his wife Alapaha's previous mate as the latter, "von dem Feuerwasser der Europäer berauscht" (41), was beating Alapaha.<sup>45</sup> In order to escape the revenge of his enemies, Assowaum and Alapaha accompanied the Americans, Harper and Brown, on a move from Missouri to Arkansas. Another reason all four moved was that the increasing population in Missouri had caused game to become scarce. The Indians, of whom Assowaum remains more reserved than Alapaha, built their wigwam in the vicinity of Harper's cabin and both parties assist each other on the hunt and in times of need (41-42). Assowaum reproaches Alapaha for momentarily neglecting her wifely duties in her eagerness to attend the Christian church service. Nevertheless, she is free, he declares, to practice this faith even if it causes a rift between them. In general, Assowaum and Alapaha are an ideal couple who care deeply for one another. Controversy over the wife's Christian zeal parallels the situation in the Roberts family; Roberts resents the preacher's influence over his wife and disparages her need to be on her knees praying so frequently. One of the few and lengthiest passages on Indian religion and mythology found in Gerstäcker's North American novels is the scene where Assowaum, having patiently listened to Rowson's account of Christ's resurrection, relates the Indians' story of



the creation. His eyes flash with sheer hatred when Rowson disparages this as mere superstition, "Ich erzähle Euch jetzt, wie der große Geist in diesem Theile der Welt seine Kinder erschaffen habe, und Ihr nennt mich einen Lügner. Geht!" (53)

The theme of *Die Regulatoren in Arkansas* is vigilantism as practiced in a remote backwoods region where federal law is considered irrelevant and the arms of justice ineffective. The plot is in the form of a detective story, and Assowaum is the chief detective who tracks down Rowson, the leader of the horse thieves and the perpetrator of two murders.<sup>46</sup> When all horse thieves, accomplices, and the murderer are caught, each is meted out punishment according to the extent and nature of the crime. There is no question in the minds of the white vigilantes—or of the narrator—that Assowaum is entitled to punish his wife's murderer in his own fashion. In the moments before she was stabbed to death, Alapaha told Rowson she belonged from now on to the Manitu of her people (she felt betrayed by Christianity) and painted a vivid picture of how Assowaum would avenge her in Indian fashion (179-80). As the plot thickens, Rowson's increasing terror of being scalped becomes part of his punishment. Assowaum sets fire to the wigwam in which he has bound Rowson. Rowson's screams, combined with Assowaum's cries of jubilation, are so terrifying they frighten away a wolf. But the lyrics of the victory song have a sweet quality because Assowaum has obeyed the cries of his beloved Alapaha. After spending nine days at Alapaha's grave, Assowaum heads west to new hunting grounds, declining Brown's solicitous offer to stay with him and his bride now that he has no one to cook and sew moccasins for him. For the Native American, the borders must once again shift westward.

Fictional modes of coexistence point the way toward transcending the limits of prejudice and patterns of domination. In "Höhlenjagd in den westlichen Gebirgen" (1859) Werner, a German, and Tessakeh, an Indian, assist each other on a treacherous bear hunt in a cave while an Englishman keeps the fires burning outside the entrance. After they have successfully completed their hunt, Werner expresses his eternal gratitude to Tessakeh for saving his life twice. Tessakeh responds that it was neither their first nor their last hunt together: "Wo Tessakeh am Abend sein Lager aufschlägt, wird das Rindendach immer zwei Männer vor dem Regen schützen. Tessakeh und sein weißer Bruder sind eins."<sup>47</sup> "Civilisation und Wildniß" (1854), the story of a young white man raised by his Indian kidnappers, suggests that differences among peoples are primarily cultural, not racial.<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, in existing societies, it seems, the greater the heterogeneity, the stronger the need to shore up the barriers between groups, as we see in the stringent race laws of Louisiana ("Die Tochter der Ricarees"). "Jazeda" (1847),<sup>49</sup> another adventure story set in Louisiana, may serve as a paradigm for an alternative mode of interaction



among diverse peoples. With the aid of a quick-witted, fiercely independent Indian, Quapas, and three black slaves, Titus, Sam, and Scipio, a Spanish river smuggler, Laniera, abducts his fiancée, Jazeda, the quadroon daughter of a Louisiana plantation owner who died before setting her free. Acting outside of unjust, racist laws, these cohorts outrun, outride, outmaneuver, and outsmart the posse of plantation owners. They all head down the Mississippi in a swift sailboat to meet a steamer that will transport them into the Gulf of Mexico and across the border to Texas. The nickname for the type of sailboat, "chicken thief," underscores not only the vessel's swiftness but also the "outsider" status and wiliness of its motley crew. When he sees the posse about to board the steamer, Laniera quickly slips the "chicken thief" into a dock; the party will take a circuitous route to the Gulf. Scipio's side-splitting laugh expresses triumph at having bested the oppressors. The border ahead—reachable through the cooperation of Native American, European, and African American—will take Laniera, Jazeda, and the three other slaves to safety and freedom.

In Gerstäcker's North American narratives specific issues concerning the encounter of the Native American with the European-American remain consistent, yet the narrator's representation of the Native American changes in perspective according to Gerstäcker's experience, the passage of time, and the nature of the literary genre. During his first stay in America, Gerstäcker's sense of awe, while viewing the exotic Indian about whom he had read and fantasized as a youth, quickly yielded to quotidian interaction with them. He respected most Indians, and he willingly learned from them what was useful for hunting and surviving in the backwoods. Although he dwelled in their territory, he had absolutely no desire to remain in their world, preferring a European culture he would leave again and again. The mature Gerstäcker gained a deeper insight into the political, economic, and institutional factors governing the displacement of the Native American. Read as a whole, Gerstäcker's writings display an extensive knowledge about the cultural differences among Indians of various tribes, their linguistic groups, the effect colonization and settlement had on their movements and location, their relation to various European-American interest groups, and the extent of their acculturation. Unlike the authors of more famous novels about Indians—James Fenimore Cooper, François-René Chateaubriand, and Karl May—he wrote about what he actually knew and witnessed.<sup>50</sup> He was perceptive about the textual reification of Indians and the psychic motivation for exoticizing them. His writings contain none of the overheated, prurient discourse on Indian sexuality so frequently cited in studies on Indians as other. In this, Gerstäcker may have adhered to the sexual norms of his age as to what was speakable and to the standards of the family magazines in which his stories appeared concerning what was

printable. Nevertheless, by not projecting fantasies of hypersexuality onto the Indians, Gerstäcker does not demonize and dehumanize them.

With respect to diction, the Indians usually speak English rendered in normal German conversational tones, particularly where Gerstäcker wishes to place the Native American and the European-American on equal footing. In humorous stories and anecdotes the author is sometimes not above quoting directly Indians who speak broken English (in broken German, of course). When a German's English syntax is equally imperfect, his words are rendered in indirect quotation. We occasionally find the all-purpose "Wah!" but seldom an attempt to recreate a "metaphoric" Indian language. In general, Gerstäcker's solution to the dilemma of "Indian Talk" is felicitous.

Many of the issues Gerstäcker discusses, recurrent themes of the European's or white American's portrayal of the Native American, are controversial insofar as they have hardened into stereotypes. Gerstäcker himself was aware of stereotypes with respect to two very different kinds of images—"the noble savage" and "the drunken Indian." Yet particularly in his travelogues he himself became entrapped in the central notion about the Native Americans in the second half of the nineteenth century—that their extermination was inevitable. One could argue that his own presence on American soil—whether as a traveler, hunter, gold miner, or reporter—no matter how periodic, ultimately implicated him in the havoc wrought on the Native Americans and their culture. Although his sympathies lay with the Indians, he was convinced that American greed, the inevitability of progress, and/or the inability of the Indians to adapt to new ways of life would wipe them from the face of the earth. Today, Native American critics consider the image of "the vanishing American" to be a stereotype with political implications. Rennard Strickland asserts, "the Indian has neither faded nor died. . . . Indians have no intention of committing cultural or economic suicide. . . . The American Indian is alive and well."<sup>61</sup> In his fiction Gerstäcker often points the way out of the dilemma by creating Indian figures who resist, rebel, and reaffirm their cultural identity. With Europeans-Americans of good will they enter into cooperative relationships, giving and taking from each other's cultures material goods and practices that are of mutual benefit. In this Gerstäcker may have been utopian, but given the number of shifting borders in the world today, he presents us with models not unworthy of emulation.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup>My source for the original dates of publication of the works discussed in this article is Armin Stöckert's bibliography in Thomas Ostwald, *Friedrich Gerstäcker: Leben und Welt*, 2d ed. (Braunschweig: A. Graff, 1977).

<sup>2</sup>In *Heimliche und unheimliche Geschichten* (Jena: Hermann Costenoble, n.d.), vol. 20 of *Gesammelte Schriften von Friedrich Gerstäcker*, 2d ed., 325.

<sup>3</sup>Whether to use the term "Native American" or "Indian" is problematic, particularly since Raymond William Stedman explains that the term "Indian" is "the word still chosen by Indians themselves for collective purposes," *Shadows of the Indian: Stereotypes in American Culture*, foreword by Rennard Strickland (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), xvii. I choose the term Native American because I wish to compare this group with the European-American and, occasionally, the African American. When expressing Gerstäcker's views on the indigenous peoples of North America, I shall use the term "Indian." The term European-American will appear when I conflate two groups Gerstäcker discusses: those whose identity is immediately European, such as Gerstäcker himself, whether they be recent settlers or merely travelers, and those of European (usually Anglo) origin who have attained a distinctly American (colonial and post-colonial) identity. Distinctions between Europeans and Americans will be made as appropriate.

<sup>4</sup>In *Amerika: Amerikanisches Lebensbild aus neuerer Zeit* (Jena: Hermann Costenoble, n.d.), 3: 87, vol. 19 of *Gesammelte Schriften von Friedrich Gerstäcker*, 2d series.

<sup>5</sup>Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 6.

<sup>6</sup>Pratt, 4.

<sup>7</sup>Pratt, 7.

<sup>8</sup>For more biographical details see Jeffrey L. Sammons, "Friedrich Gerstäcker," *Nineteenth-Century German Writers, 1841-1900*, vol. 129 of *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, eds. James Hardin and Siegfried Mews (Detroit: Brucoli Clark Layman, 1993), 110-19; James William Miller, Introduction, in *The Arkansas Backwoods, Tales and Sketches*, by Friedrich Gerstäcker (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991), 1-4; Jeffrey L. Sammons, "Friedrich Gerstäcker: American Realities through German Eyes," *Germans in America: Aspects of German-American Relations in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. E. Allen McCormick (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 79-90; Thomas Ostwald, *Friedrich Gerstäcker—Leben und Werk* (Braunschweig: A. Graff, 1976).

<sup>9</sup>"Friedrich Gerstäcker: American Realities through German Eyes," 84.

<sup>10</sup>Karl W. Doerry, "Three Versions of America: Sealsfield, Gerstäcker, and May," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 16 (1981): 45.

<sup>11</sup>Manfred Durzak, "Nach Amerika: Gerstäckers Widerlegung der Lenau-Legende," *Amerika in der deutschen Literatur*, eds. Sigrid Bauschinger, Horst Denkler, and Wilfried Malsch (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1975), 149.

<sup>12</sup>"Friedrich Gerstäcker: American Realities through German Eyes," 87. Bjarne Emil Landa also discusses Gerstäcker's Indian types in "The American Scene in Friedrich Gerstäcker's Works of Fiction" (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1952), 234-50.

<sup>13</sup>(Jena: Hermann Costenoble, n.d.) vol. 18 of *Gesammelte Werke von Friedrich Gerstäcker*, 3d ed. Further references to this work will be cited parenthetically within the text. Translated as *Wild Sports in the Far West: The Narrative of a German Wanderer beyond the Mississippi*, intro. Edna Steeves and Harrison Steeves (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1968).

<sup>14</sup>Hans Plische, *Von Cooper bis Karl May: Eine Geschichte des völkerrkundlichen Reise- und Abenteuerromans* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1951), 91.

<sup>15</sup>Tzvetan Todorov states that Amerigo Vespucci's letter of 1503, *Mundus Novus*, that "depicts Indian life on the . . . South American continent as resembling what life must be like in paradise" foreshadows future portraits of the noble savage, *On Human Diversity*:

*Nationalism, Racism, and Exoticism in French Thought*, trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 267, originally published as *Nous et les autres: La Réflexion française sur la diversité humaine*, 1989. This European longing for a better world culminated in numerous depictions of the idealized life of the Noble Savage by the end of the eighteenth century, Ray Allen Billington, *Land of Savagery, Land of Promise: The European Image of the American Frontier in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1981), 18-25.

<sup>16</sup>Durzak notes that Cooper leaves literary traces in Gerstäcker's work, 149; cf. Sammons, "Friedrich Gerstäcker: American Realities through German Eyes," 85.

<sup>17</sup>*Imperial Eyes*, 201-5.

<sup>18</sup>*Shadows of the Indian*, 73, fn. 3.

<sup>19</sup>*Neue Reisen durch die Vereinigten Staaten, Mexiko, Ecuador, Westindien und Venezuela* (Jena: Hermann Costenoble, n.d.), 77, vol. 13 of *Gesammelte Schriften von Friedrich Gerstäcker* 2d series.

<sup>20</sup>His real name was McKinney (Miller, "Introduction," 10).

<sup>21</sup>Stedman explains that the term *squaw* was a generalization "based upon the misconception that all the nations spoke something called 'Indian.'" The word, an approximation of regional Algonquin, should be avoided (71-72). Gerstäcker must have shared this misconception and never uses the term in a derogatory manner.

<sup>22</sup>In his commentary to *Der exotische Roman: Bürgerliche Gesellschaftsflucht und Gesellschaftskritik zwischen Romantik und Realismus*, Anselm Maler maintains that Gerstäcker's exoticism [his adventures in far places], an expression of his reservations concerning conditions at home, resonated because it triggered real resentments (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1975), 36.

<sup>23</sup>(Jena: Hermann Costenoble, n.d.), vol. 5 of *Gesammelte Schriften von Friedrich Gerstäcker*, 2d ed. Further references to this work will be cited parenthetically in the text.

<sup>24</sup>Ostwald highlights some of the passages I shall discuss, 121-25.

<sup>25</sup>*Neue Reisen* . . . 75-76. Subsequent references will be cited parenthetically in the text.

<sup>26</sup>See the chapter "Native Americans: Doomed to Extinction" in Ray Allen Billington, *Land of Savagery, Land of Promise: The European Image of the American Frontier in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1981) 129-49.

<sup>27</sup>Peter Mason, *Deconstructing America: Representations of the Other* (London: Routledge, 1990), 41.

<sup>28</sup>Gerstäcker was just as ready to criticize a German innkeeper for his bug-ridden beds as an Indian for a messy wigwam. He is certainly within his rights to find Indians' hygiene wanting. What I wish to point out is that the diction describing the Indians in this section of the *Neue Reisen* is far more highly charged than a similar observation he made about California Indian women in *Reisen I*: "etwas Seifenwasser hätte ihr Aeußeres entschieden verbessern können."

<sup>29</sup>*Shadows of the Indian*, 185.

<sup>30</sup>Stedman, 185.

<sup>31</sup>Jane P. Tompkins, *West of Everything: The Inner Life of Westerns*, (New York: Oxford, 1992), maintains that the westernizing impulse was grounded in the increasing feminization and domestication of nineteenth-century America.

<sup>32</sup>For examples of Bodmer's watercolors and an integrated anthropological and art-historical critique of the pictorial representation of the American Indian see Patricia Trenton and Patrick T. Houlihan, *Native Americans: Five Centuries of Changing Images* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1989).

<sup>33</sup>See, for example, Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Harper & Row, 1984); Todorov, *On Human Diversity: Nationalism, Racism, and Exoticism in French Thought*, trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 264-352; also Billington and Mason. Although not treating European domination over the Native American, Edward Said's *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978) remains the paradigmatic study of how the West developed a vocabulary,



imagery, and style for writing about the other in order to dominate, restructure, and gain authority over a different part of the world.

<sup>34</sup>Emmanuel Levinas, *Totality and Infinity: An Essay on Exteriority*, trans. Alphonso Lingis (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1969), originally *Totalité et Infini*, 1961.

<sup>35</sup>Mason, 2.

<sup>36</sup>Todorov, 247.

<sup>37</sup>Jeremy Varon, "The Dreadful Concatenation: Modernity and Massacre in Todorov, Adorno and Horkheimer," *New German Critique* 59 (Spring/Summer 1993): 164. Varon is among those to correctly criticize Todorov for leaving "virtually unchallenged many of the traditional assumptions concerning the bases of Western superiority" (180), but this in no way vitiates the ideals as formulated in the epilogue.

<sup>38</sup>In *Aus zwei Welttheilen: Aus Nord- und Südamerika* (Jena: Hermann Costenoble, n.d.), 3d and 4th printings, 298, vol. 13 of *Gesammelte Schriften von Friedrich Gerstäcker*. This volume does not identify from which of the two original volumes these short stories came.

<sup>39</sup>*Mississippi Bilder: Licht- und Schattenseiten transatlantischen Lebens* (Jena: Hermann Costenoble, n.d.), 4th printing, 79-92, vol. 10 of *Gesammelte Schriften von Friedrich Gerstäcker*.

<sup>40</sup>*Aus zwei Welttheilen: Aus Nord- und Südamerika*, 438.

<sup>41</sup>(Jena: Hermann Costenoble, 1873), vol. 7 of *Gesammelte Werke*.

<sup>42</sup>*Mississippi Bilder*, 531-48.

<sup>43</sup>"Der Ostindier," *Skizzen aus Californien und Südamerika* (Jena: Hermann Costenoble, n.d.), 2d printing, 277-78, vol. 16 of *Gesammelte Schriften von Friedrich Gerstäcker*.

<sup>44</sup>Gerstäcker pursued the theme of the missionaries' destructive effect on indigenous cultures in his novels *Tahiti* and *Die Missionare*. See Plischke (92) and Anselm Maler, ed., *Der exotische Roman: Bürgerliche Gesellschaftsflucht und Gesellschaftskritik zwischen Romantik und Realismus* (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1975), 36, 41-43.

<sup>45</sup>The wife-beating here is mentioned only in a synopsis. In the novel *Nach America* a German's and a Polish aristocrat's wife abuse is treated in detail.

<sup>46</sup>Durzak prefers to call the novel a crime story because only in an idealized sense does the protagonist defend and restore the morality of the human community by ascertaining who the evildoer is, 140; Sammons states, "His fundamental narrative structure is actually that of the detective story. . .," "American Realities through German Eyes," 84.

<sup>47</sup>*Hell und Dunkel: Gesammelte Erzählungen* (Jena: Hermann Costenoble, 1872), 250, vol. 4 of *Gesammelte Schriften von Friedrich Gerstäcker*. Jeffrey L. Sammons first drew my attention to this story.

<sup>48</sup>*Aus zwei Welttheilen: Gesammelte Erzählungen* (Jena: Costenoble, n.d.), 3d printing, 293-335, vol. 13 of *Gesammelte Schriften von Friedrich Gerstäcker*.

<sup>49</sup>*Mississippi-Bilder*, 433-76.

<sup>50</sup>Raymond William Stedman states that Cooper's primary knowledge regarding the American Indian was Reverend John Heckewelder's 1818 book of history and recollections, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations*. Chateaubriand's source for *Les Natchez* was father Pierre-François Charlevoix's *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, Todorov, *On Human Diversity*, 298. May borrowed from George Catlin's writings about the American Indian, as well as from, among others, Gerstäcker, Karl W. Doerry, "Karl May," *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, 129:247.

<sup>51</sup>Foreword to *Shadows of the Indian* by Raymond William Stedman, xii.





Maurice W. Conner

### **German-American Reminiscences of Early Life in Austin County, Texas**

Austin County, which lies about sixty miles west of Houston, Texas, is the home of the oldest German settlements in the state. In 1831 Friedrich Ernst and Charles Fordtran landed in Harrisburg (now a part of Houston) and traveled inland by oxcart to the colony which had been established by Stephen F. Austin on the banks of the Brazos River. This was thirteen years before organized immigration sponsored by the Verein zum Schutz deutscher Einwanderer in Texas began, leading to the settlement of towns such as New Braunfels and Fredricksburg in that part of Texas referred to as the Hill Country, north and west of San Antonio. Ernst was granted a league of land, and he and Fordtran settled near what is now Industry, a town laid out by Ernst in 1838.<sup>1</sup> As a result of enthusiastic letters Ernst sent to friends in Oldenburg and Westphalia, other immigrants followed, including Louis von Roeder and Robert Kleberg who founded the town of Cat Spring in 1834. The Reverend Ernst (Arnost) Bergmann, considered the father of Texas Czechs, emigrated from Silesia to Cat Spring in 1850 and served a German-speaking parish there. His letters to former parishioners encouraged many Silesians and Moravians to follow.<sup>2</sup> Millheim, an offshoot of Cat Spring a few miles to the northeast, was settled about 1845, the year Prince Carl of Solms-Braunfels founded the town of New Braunfels. New Ulm, just south of Industry, was established at about the same time. The settlements of Industry, Cat Spring, New Ulm, and Millheim are the subject of this article.

Colorful stories surround the naming of each of the communities. Industry had been referred to as Ernst's Settlement or Ernst's Place but came to be called Industry by the English-speaking settlers because of the industrious nature of Ernst and the Germans he attracted.<sup>3</sup> By 1838, Ernst

and others had begun to grow tobacco and to produce cigars. The popularity of "Industry Cigars" as far away as Houston further reinforced the name attached to the little town. It is appropriately named: even today a visitor is struck by the orderliness and seeming prosperity of the town with its wide streets, active businesses including a bank, churches of several denominations, and a public elementary school. Cat Spring is said to have gotten its name because of a wildcat and a spring. One version is that the von Roeder family camped near a spring where one of the sons either saw or killed a wildcat, or possibly both.<sup>4</sup> In the early years the settlement was referred to as Wild Cat Springs.<sup>5</sup> German speakers from the area call it variously *Katzensprung* because of the leap the wildcat is believed to have made across the spring or *Katzenquelle* because of the spring itself.<sup>6</sup> Millheim was to have been named Muehlheim in reference to Mill Creek in whose valley it lies, but American settlers are said to have spelled it the way they heard it, with unrounding and shortening of the vowel.<sup>7</sup> New Ulm is of course named for the city of Ulm in Germany, but how it came to be called that is interesting. It had originally been referred to as Duff's Settlement in honor of James Duff, its original settler.<sup>8</sup> According to C. W. Schmidt, a New Ulm schoolteacher born in 1869, the renaming occurred during a gala dinner meeting in the settlement's log-cabin hotel which was known for its splendid hospitality. The area was being plagued by ruffians, and the purpose of the meeting was twofold: to discuss mutual protection and to petition the government for a post office. One of the known brutes tried to disrupt the meeting and was rebuffed by Lorenz Mueller who later treated the entire gathering to imported German wine. When his brother-in-law suggested that the new town be christened New Ulm, the suggestion was accepted readily; and Mueller was named its first postmaster.<sup>9</sup>

In an attempt to record some of the memories that had been passed down from the early pioneers, I interviewed fourteen residents or former residents of the area in late 1992 and early 1993.<sup>10</sup> They ranged in age from sixty to ninety-four, and all have sharp memories of stories they heard from their parents and grandparents as well as of incidents they witnessed themselves while growing up in the Industry-Cat Spring area.<sup>11</sup> Because German-speaking Europeans continued to settle in the region until late in the nineteenth century, several of my informants had heard stories related firsthand by their immigrant ancestors. They practice or have retired from a variety of occupations: attorney, bookkeeper, farmer, homemaker, optician, postmaster, recreation director, secretary, and teacher. I believe that they represent a good cross section of their generation from this German-American community. What follows is a compilation of information I learned from them, augmented by written



sources. It is a portrayal of life as it was in the oldest German settlements of Texas.

## The Voyage

In 1831 Ernst and Fordtran began a German immigration to what is now Austin County that continued through most of the rest of the century. Most sailed from Bremen or Bremerhaven to Galveston on vessels that took many weeks for the crossing and subjected passengers to hardships difficult to imagine today. Otilie Fuchs Goeth, daughter of Adolphus Fuchs, a pastor and early teacher in Cat Spring, writes of her family's two-month voyage which began in November 1845:

The food was wretched, the water barely drinkable, and we were seasick throughout most of the voyage. . . . The voyage, lasting for weeks and weeks, seemed endless. Constantly seasick, we lay on the deck, our spirits greatly depressed; even Columbus could not have looked more eagerly for land than did we hollow-eyed, half-starved, pale-faced specimens. Finally we reached the island of Puerto Rico where we lay for one week, because of insufficient wind. This was most welcome to us, for there we were not seasick, and the natives brought us various exotic fruits and foods which tasted all too good and somewhat revived our weakened vitality.<sup>12</sup>

From Galveston the Fuchs family traveled by small steamer to Houston from where they continued their journey by ox wagon, traveling so slowly that they could walk along beside. The trip from Houston to Cat Spring, a distance of about sixty miles, took three or four days when the roads were good.<sup>13</sup> Robert Kleberg, one of the founders of Cat Spring, writes that after landing in New Orleans, he chartered a schooner for Brazoria, Texas, but was shipwrecked eight days later off Galveston Island on 22 December 1834, about fifty miles short of his intended destination. His party was stranded in a wilderness area of the island for four weeks while Kleberg made his way by steamer and by foot to and from present-day Cat Spring where he found his wife's father as well as Ludwig and Albert von Roeder, who had arrived there two years earlier.<sup>14</sup>

Five of my informants were able to relate incidents about conditions in Germany and about the trip across.

Yes, I knew Grandma Wittenburg very well. She would come over. I crawled under the dining room table. I sat under there

and listened because I liked to hear her talk. They thought when they came over here that it would be so beautiful, but it was all that wild country. . . . Yes, she told us about it and how they finally got here, and they had spent all their money. They couldn't go back, you know. They had paid their dues to come over here.<sup>15</sup>

One spoke of a great-grandfather who died and was buried at sea: "He went up on top of the ship. Was nosy, I guess. He wanted to see something, and he fell off."<sup>16</sup> Some had heard of hardships endured on board: "Grandma said that a lot of them were sick."<sup>17</sup> "I heard they ran out of water and had to boil sea water."<sup>18</sup> Others spoke of their families being detained in the Caribbean Sea, waiting for a favorable breeze to drive them the rest of the way to Galveston. "When they got there, the boats would come out and bring oranges, and they'd throw them on the boat, and they would catch the oranges to eat."<sup>19</sup> Some of the informants remembered hearing that their families had lived in the Houston area for a time before traveling to Austin County. "They lived in Houston for about three years and then moved out close to Rosenberg."<sup>20</sup>

They didn't come to Industry right off. They landed in Spring Branch. And after my grandparents lived there, they had a number of children that got yellow fever. That was in 1864. My father was born in 1865. Then in 1867 there was a new outbreak of yellow fever, and they decided to get away from those mosquito-infested swamps.<sup>21</sup>

The trip from the coast to Austin County was by wagon, drawn by a team of oxen. "They went down with oxcarts and took freight and brought people back."<sup>22</sup>

Someone met them with wagons. Well, every night they had to stop and make a lodging. Then he'd build a fire and he'd kill what he could get, and they would eat that. He would put potatoes in the hot ashes, and they would have baked potatoes. One night he had sweet potatoes instead of Irish, and they tasted them, and they couldn't eat them.<sup>23</sup>

"When they got to the Brazos River, they had to wait there for some time to cross the river. There were no bridges then."<sup>24</sup>



## Social and Intellectual Life

Like most German-American communities, those in Austin County had clubs and societies devoted to various social endeavors. A literary society flourished in Millheim.<sup>25</sup> *Schützenvereine*, now called either rifle or gun clubs, were established in several places including New Ulm and Peters near Millheim, where they still exist. Many music organizations were established: the *Männerchor* in Welcome, north of Industry, dates to 1856; a *Sängerverein* was established in Millheim; Industry had several bands and orchestras; a mixed choir in Cat Spring functioned for many years as did a brass band and orchestra; dance halls (three in the town of Industry alone) dotted the landscape, and a number of them are still very active.<sup>26</sup>

The Cat Spring Agricultural Society, the oldest such organization in Texas, began as Der Landwirtschaftliche Verein von Austin County zu Cat Spring in 1856 and continues today.<sup>27</sup> Its constitution limited membership to males over the age of sixteen who were of good moral character.<sup>28</sup> Women who were heads of households were admitted as members beginning in 1867.<sup>29</sup> Many of the settlers were so-called Latin farmers, schooled in classics but not in farming, and the agricultural society provided them needed help. Stories of their ineptitude at farming have been passed down through the generations. One is that an early family had heard that picking cotton was lucrative in Texas. Mistaking it for cotton, they pulled Spanish moss from trees and stacked it neatly.<sup>30</sup> Records indicate that early farmers gathered to discuss farming and stock-raising techniques, to distribute plants and seed obtained from the United States Patent Office and from Germany, to organize festivals, and to promote immigration to Austin County from Germany. The society was not unanimous on the encouragement of immigration, however. In 1858 a member was expelled for publishing a refutation of the society's immigration promotion. He was finally invited back in 1865.<sup>31</sup> The agricultural society met in various places until 1902 when its distinctive eight-sided pavilion was built.<sup>32</sup>

Traveling troupes and local entertainers performed frequently in the towns of Industry, New Ulm, and Cat Spring before the days of television and superhighways. The New Ulm Dramatic Club would stage a monthly performance and assist other such clubs in presenting plays at nearby towns.<sup>33</sup> An opera house in Industry welcomed entertainers from as far away as Austria.<sup>34</sup> In Cat Spring performances were often held in the hall of the local turnverein, established soon after the Civil War as the Gut Heil Turnverein. The building is now remembered primarily as a dance hall.<sup>35</sup> "There were people who would come through and put on medicine shows, and they would use that big stage over there in the turner hall and put on vaudeville acts and stuff like that."<sup>36</sup> At other times events were held in tents:

They had one in Cat Spring one time. It was a kind of medicine show and a little circus; they had a little Shetland pony. That pony would run around in a circle, and a monkey would ride on him. They camped in Cat Spring, and that monkey got loose. One of those Cat Spring town dogs got him and killed him. It was the biggest mess you ever saw.<sup>37</sup>

Educating their young people appears to have been very important to the early German settlers of Austin County, many of whom had attended universities in Germany before emigrating. Early schools were private and conducted in homes. A farmer would contract with someone he considered able to teach, provide the teacher a place for the classroom, and notify his neighbors who would send their children if they were willing to pay the fee he set.<sup>38</sup> The New Ulm schoolteacher, C. W. Schmidt, writes of how the children of early settlers would find their way to the school:

A day or so before the opening day of school, each family would hitch a pair of oxen to the end of a log and drag it to and from the school house to make a path. The trees bordering the path were blazed—that is, the bark was partially cut away so as to expose the white wood which would serve as a guide for the children and at the same time serving the purpose of a road sign or mile post.

At the intersection of two or more paths, the children waited for one another before proceeding to the next cross road and so on until the schoolhouse came in sight. If a neighbor's children were behind time, they would holler to announce their coming. In the event the first group of children were unwilling to wait, they would stick a four or five foot stick into the ground in the middle of the path and draw a line on the ground indicating to where the shade reached when they left. By observing the distance the shade had receded since the mark was made, it was possible to estimate fairly accurately the distance the group was ahead and how much they had to accelerate their walk to overtake them. On cloudy days moist soil was dug up after which each child would implant the impression of his foot on it. By noting the freshness of the soil around the foot impression, the belated children would guess the distance the others were ahead. Scrutinizing the impression of the footprints, most of the children could tell by whom it was made.<sup>39</sup>



According to Rudolph Biesele, schools were established as early as 1840 in Industry and Cat Spring in connection with Protestant congregations which Rev. L. C. Ervendberg and Dr. Johann Anton Fischer organized.<sup>40</sup> Ernst Gustav Maetze, a *Lateiner* or Latin farmer because of his classical education, was the first schoolteacher of Millheim, conducting classes in the home of Ferdinand F. Engelking beginning in 1850. He had been educated at the university in Breslau before becoming a member of the German parliament and is said to have debated with Bismarck.<sup>41</sup> Adolphus Fuchs, on behalf of thirty families of Cat Spring, petitioned the Texas state legislature in 1849 for public support of its school where Fuchs was serving as schoolmaster.<sup>42</sup>

A university devoted to the teaching of philosophy, medicine, theology, and jurisprudence, where the professors were conversant in both German and English, was the goal of thirty-eight Austin County residents led by Ervendberg and Ernst when they petitioned the Texas legislature in 1842 for the establishment of Hermann's University. The university was incorporated in 1844, and a league of land was donated to it by the Texas government, but it never became a reality.<sup>43</sup> Its trustees had difficulty raising funds but were finally able to construct a two-story building in the town of Frelsburg, about ten miles south of New Ulm. Classes began in 1874; but by then Hermann's University had become Hermann Seminary, a public school, whose teachers were still required to be bilingual, however. Although Hermann Seminary had an inauspicious beginning (its first two teachers were fired for fighting in the presence of pupils), it continued until 1949 when it was consolidated with the Columbus, Texas, school district.<sup>44</sup>

### Use of the German Language

Although I did not conduct a linguistic study, I did determine that each of my informants knew at least some German: the German knowledge of the sixty-year-old person was confined to some isolated phrases such as *Kuck mal her*, while some of the older persons were able to converse in the language. The German they spoke was not a dialect but rather was close to standard German except for unrounding of vowels, something Glenn Gilbert refers to as the Texas-German koiné, a Texas-German common language which emerged to accommodate the diverse linguistic origins of its speakers.<sup>45</sup> My informants were descendants of people from every corner of German-speaking Europe: Mecklenburg, Hannover, Bavaria, Switzerland, and Silesia. Yet each spoke a German the others would understand. This phenomenon, which has been discussed by Gilbert, Joseph Wilson, and others, differs markedly from linguistic islands such as those in South Dakota, Kansas, and Pennsylvania that can be traced to a specific dialect area.<sup>46</sup> Noticeable

in the German I heard spoken is the frequent substitution of accusative for dative case as in *Blätter fliegen in die Luft* 'rum for 'leaves fly around in the air,' *ein Baum ist hinter unser Haus* for 'a tree is behind our house,' and *von mich* for 'from me.' Wilson attributes this Texas-German characteristic to the general trend in the German dialects and the Germanic languages, in general, toward the simplification of the case system.<sup>47</sup>

### Anti-German Sentiment

Among the most vivid recollections I heard were those about anti-German sentiment that began with the outbreak of the First World War and continued well into the 1920s. "When the war broke out, and we went to school one morning, we couldn't speak German on the playground any more. . . . I'll never forgive [Woodrow] Wilson for that."<sup>48</sup> "When I started to school [in 1915 or 1916] I could not talk English. Not one word. We spoke German. When I went to school I had to speak English. But I couldn't talk English. I was so scared."<sup>49</sup> "When people came to town, to Industry or to New Ulm, they had better speak English. . . . They were all German, but when they came to town, they had to speak English."<sup>50</sup> "That's when Papa started talking English. His mother spoke German."<sup>51</sup> As was the case in other parts of the state, the Germans in Austin County experienced anti-German violence instigated by the Ku Klux Klan.<sup>52</sup> Persons were threatened, tarred and feathered, and even killed for speaking German. One informant spoke of a merchant in Brenham, a town in nearby Washington County, who defied the Klan by refusing to stop conducting his business in German. "They sent him a notice to stop it, but he didn't. They said they would tar and feather him; [they] even put a notice on the door. But he didn't stop. They never did get him."<sup>53</sup> Another friend was not so fortunate: "They nabbed him and tarred and feathered him. And he was wearing a Panama suit. He had to walk for miles and miles in the sun."<sup>54</sup>

A shoot-out between Klansmen and Germans on the streets of Sealy, a town about ten miles east of Cat Spring, in 1922, is remembered and referred to by most of the persons interviewed. Even though the tragedy occurred over seventy years ago, it might have been last week, the memory of it is so strong. "I nearly cried my head off the day the Schaffners were buried. Mrs. Schaffner was lying there on the couch on the day of the funeral. She had passed out. There were so many people there."<sup>55</sup> According to informants and to newspaper reports, the incident had begun several months earlier at a gathering in Cat Spring where some speeches were delivered in German.<sup>56</sup> Some of the so-called "Americans" who were Klan members questioned the patriotism of the speakers and of the Germans in the audience. An argument ensued which was not



resolved. It ended on that day with the Klansman's "I'll see you later."<sup>57</sup> The later argument in Sealy did not end as peacefully:

They came from Bellville (another town in the county) on the train that morning, and they got into an argument. My people were German. They were Ku Klux Klan. My cousin got a baseball bat and ran them down the street. They said, "We'll be back." Well, my cousin went home and told his daddy about it. His daddy said: "Don't go back. Stay at home." But you know how that is. He went back. So, my uncle put his gun in the car and drove to Sealy and went into the store where he had a friend. But he left his gun on the seat of the car. He heard a quarrel on the street, and he ran for his gun, but it was gone. He got killed by his own gun. There were my cousin and my uncle lying dead on the street.<sup>58</sup>

At another time the Germans in Sealy heard that the Ku Klux Klan planned to ride horseback into town fully robed. They instructed the sheriff to turn the Klan back at the edge of town with the promise that they would support him. When the Klansmen arrived, they were met by the sheriff and looked up to see armed Germans on every roof top. They turned around. "If they would have shot the sheriff, there would have been some dead people around there."<sup>59</sup> One night, so the story goes, when the Klansmen, dressed in white robes, were holding a rally, some of the local boys sneaked in and shortened their horses' tails so that they could be identified in the light of day.

#### **Native American Indians, Gypsies and Drummers**

Unlike some of their compatriots who settled the Texas Hill Country and encountered Comanches, German settlers in Austin County enjoyed generally friendly relations with the Coshattes and Kickapoos they found.<sup>60</sup> Moritz Tiling reports that the Klebergs received valuable assistance from the Kickapoos living in the area. "They furnished them with game of all kinds and the squaws would hunt and bring into their camp the horses and oxen that had strayed."<sup>61</sup> Only two of my informants, sisters, were able to recall hearing of any encounter with Native American Indians. Their grandmother had been alone while her husband was away during the Civil War. "Indians came up to the house, but they didn't bother her. They were camping on the creek, and I guess they saw that house. Everything was dark, so they left it alone."<sup>62</sup> Several spoke of having found arrowheads near Cat Spring on what is called the Red Hill, which had probably been a campsite on the Coshatte Indian Trail that ran from the Gulf of Mexico to what is now Kansas.<sup>63</sup>

Gypsy stories were as frequent as Indian stories were scarce among the people I spoke with. They are remembered as mysterious people whom the children feared. One couple recalled that gypsies would travel through the countryside and sell items made of willow wood: "I have a table at the farm that the gypsies sold Mother."<sup>64</sup> Others spoke of their stealing from the farmers:

You could see them on that road from Sealy to Cat Spring, riding in wagons, and some would be running around. Once someone had just taken bread out of the oven, and they just took the bread and went on. If there were chickens, they took the chickens. If there were horses along the road, they would steal the horses.<sup>65</sup>

There was a stockyard along the railroad tracks in Cat Spring. That's where they would camp. . . . When we walked to school, sometimes we'd cut through the pasture, just to avoid them. . . . It was in the thirties. They camped there, sometimes for several days and made the rounds.<sup>66</sup>

They had long dresses, almost to the ground, with a lot of pockets in them, and they would stick everything in those pockets, you know.<sup>67</sup>

They would decoy the people: they would have someone engage the people in conversation while others would be stealing the chickens or getting a pig or stealing corn. Those were the memories that Grandpa and Grandma had of the gypsies. In their estimation they were a menace. They were dishonest people who came and stole.<sup>68</sup>

A more welcome visitor was the drummer or traveling salesman: "There was an old man named Weinberger, and he would drive around with bolts of material. He would manage to come to our house late in the day, and then he would stay the night."<sup>69</sup> Often the drummers would take lodging at the Teufel Hotel, an establishment that served the town of Industry from 1891 until 1916, first in a spacious, two-story structure and later in somewhat smaller quarters. The hotel was known for its fine German and Southern hospitality and its superb cuisine.<sup>70</sup> It is said that when German-speaking drummers inquired in Industry about lodging, they were jokingly told: "*Geh' zum Teufel!*"<sup>71</sup> Josephine Perry, whose grandmother Mary Rehm Teufel Koch had founded the hotel, spoke of the people who frequented the hotel: "They called them drummers. They came with horse and buggy, and later with cars. Some of the older



traveling men said service here was so wonderful with fine Southern hospitality that they made a point to stay here. Our grandmother had a wonderful personality from all indications.<sup>72</sup>

## Folk Healing

People often turn to folk remedies and folk healers for relief when they do not have ready access to trained medical advice, and sometimes even when they do. A number of well-respected medical doctors have practiced in the area throughout the years, and they have provided much of its medical care. Industry had at one time two medical doctors practicing in the town, and Cat Spring was the home of a hospital around the turn of the century.<sup>73</sup> Many of my Austin County informants also mentioned folk remedies they learned from their parents and grandparents: lard and turpentine, honey and whiskey, camomile tea, cream of tartar, and other elixirs. I heard of some people in Austin County who recited set charms or prayers, which they called *Besprechungen*, reminiscent of the ancient formula charms such as the *Bamberger Blutsegen*, to heal patients of ailments such as nose bleeds, burns, or swellings.<sup>74</sup> Don Yoder indicates that a similar custom, referred to in English as powwowing, was (and may still be) practiced among Pennsylvania Germans, who call the practice *Braucherei* or *Brauches*. Despite its curious name, the practice comes not from native American Indians but was brought by immigrants from Europe to the New World. The Puritans of seventeenth-century New England adopted the word "powwow" from Algonquin for the practice of folk healing.<sup>75</sup> Although none of my informants were able to recite any of the *Besprechungen*, one furnished me with copies of several that had been translated into English. One for healing burns is:

High is the moon.

Red is the crab.

Cold is the dead hand.

Herewith I still the burn.

In God's name, Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

(The sign of the cross is made three times over the affected area.)

Amen.

One person told me that even though her grandmother had been skilled at healing in this manner, she herself did not learn any of the *Besprechungen* from her because they could be passed only from woman to man and from man to woman.<sup>76</sup> Another told me of a farmer who had been able to stop animals from hemorrhaging by saying words over them. One practitioner of unorthodox medicine set up an office in the town of

Industry and treated patients from as far as several counties away. He advertised, using the initials D.S.T. for "Doctor of Suggestive Therapy" after his name, offering "magnetic healing and absent treatment." He defined magnetic healing as using his own personal magnetism which was transmitted through his hands to the patient and claimed that it was similar to the laying on of hands mentioned in the Bible. He also treated animals or persons from a distance by thinking about them.<sup>77</sup> Several of my informants had visited him and testified to the effectiveness of his treatment. One said that he had cured her of shingles, and another told of how he had cured a horse of colic without ever visiting the farm.

Another healer well-known in the area farmed near Cat Spring and called on spirits to cure patients who visited him. Like the practitioner in Industry, he was what Yoder refers to as a professional powwower because of payment he received for his services.<sup>78</sup> An informant recalls visiting the Cat Spring healer as a child:

He was a character: a white-haired old man with a purple spot on his lip. If you went there, you always went in the evening because he was a farmer. When you arrived, he might be just coming up from the barn; sometimes he'd be bare-footed and in overalls. You were supposed to take something silver and hold it in your hand until it got real warm, and then when he gave you a treatment, you were supposed to give him that silver. The story goes that when he died there were buckets of silver dollars, half dollars, quarters and dimes in his house, just huge amounts of silver. He'd put you in a dark room where there would be a little light—for a long time it was just an oil lamp—sitting way off in the corner. It was spooky. And then all of a sudden he'd say, "wait, wait, now," and he would start whispering. You could never understand what he was saying. I believed all that stuff, so I would get a chill right down my back, you know. I was sure the spirits were working on me! He would tell these god-awful stories about calling up the spirits. He'd just mesmerize you.<sup>79</sup>

A great deal has changed in the area Biesele called "the cradle of the German settlements in Texas."<sup>80</sup> Many of the early businesses and industries have left the towns, and English speakers from nearby Houston and elsewhere have moved into the countryside, buying acreage for weekend use and establishing ranches for thoroughbred cattle. The German character remains, however, and is nourished by individuals and by organizations such as the Industry-West End Historical Society. *Vereine* of various types continue to flourish: several singing societies exist, *Schützenvereine* continue as rifle clubs, and the Cat Spring



Agricultural Society lives on proudly. The German-Texan fraternal organization Sons of Hermann counts many residents of Austin County among its membership. Those who knew the pioneers and remember the old stories are dying out, however, and with them goes a significant part of German-Americana. The oral history we are able to collect from such persons verifies and expands the printed accounts. It enlivens the past and provides a portrait not otherwise available to us.

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Theodore G. Gish maintains that Ernst was an alias for Friedrich Dirks. See his introduction to Viktor Bracht, *Texas in 1848*, trans. Charles Frank Schmidt (1931; reprint, Manchaca, TX: German-Texan Heritage Society, 1991), viii. Rudolph Bieseles, an earlier researcher, discusses the appearance of the name Fritz Dirks on one document but concludes that it was printed in error. See Rudolph Leopold Bieseles, *The History of the German Settlements in Texas, 1831-1861* (1930; reprint, San Marcos, TX: German-Texan Heritage Society, 1987), 44. Regardless of which is correct, the early settler is remembered by the name Ernst.

<sup>2</sup> Dorothy Klumpp and Albert J. Blaha, Sr., *The Saga of Ernst Bergmann* (Houston, 1981), 1-26. See also Jan L. Perkowski, "A Survey of the West Slavic Immigrant Languages in Texas," *Texas Studies in Bilingualism: Spanish, French, German, Czech, Polish, Sorbian, and Norwegian in the Southwest*, ed. Glenn G. Gilbert (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1970), 164.

<sup>3</sup> Bieseles, 46. See also Ann Lindemann, "Early Industry," *Historical Accounts of Industry, Texas, 1831-1886*, ed. Ann and James Lindemann and William Richter (New Ulm, TX: New Ulm Enterprise, 1986), 7.

<sup>4</sup> Cat Spring Agricultural Society, *The Cat Spring Story* (San Antonio: Lone Star, 1956), 1. See also Ethel Hander Geue, *New Homes in a New Land: German Immigration to Texas, 1847-1861* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1982), 3.

<sup>5</sup> Bracht, 203.

<sup>6</sup> Frieda Kollatschny Conner, interview with author, Houston, TX, 18 October 1992. Hereafter cited as Frieda Kollatschny Conner, 18 October 1992.

<sup>7</sup> Biese, 54.

<sup>8</sup> Kirby Iselt, Esther Neumann and Wilma Kanter Ziegenbein, *A Walk through New Ulm* (New Ulm, TX, n.d.), 1.

<sup>9</sup> C. W. Schmidt, *Footprints of Five Generations* (1930; reprint, New Ulm, TX: New Ulm Enterprise, 1986), 4-5.

<sup>10</sup> Dona Reeves-Marquardt discusses the value of diaries, letters, and reminiscences as sources of information frequently omitted from traditional histories in "German Galveston: A Personal Narrative," *Schatzkammer der deutschen Sprache, Dichtung und Geschichte* 17 (1991): 110.

<sup>11</sup> Five of the persons interviewed grew up in Industry, five in the Cat Spring area, and two each in New Ulm and Millheim. Five are males, and nine are females.

<sup>12</sup> Otilie Fuchs Goeth, *Memoirs of a Texas Pioneer Grandmother (Was Grossmutter erzählt)*, 1805-1915, trans. Irma Goeth Guenther (Burnet, TX: Eakin Press, 1982), 37-38.

<sup>13</sup> Goeth, 46.

<sup>14</sup> Moritz Tiling, *History of the German Element in Texas from 1820-1850 and Historical Sketches of the German Texas Singers' League and Houston Turnverein from 1853-1913* (Houston, 1913), 25-26.

<sup>15</sup> Frieda Kollatschny Conner, 18 October 1992. Her Grandmother Wittenburg came to Cat Spring in 1869 and died in 1924 when Frieda was twenty-one years old.

<sup>16</sup> Norma Rinn Gross, interview with author, New Ulm, TX, 27 January 1993.

<sup>17</sup> Georgia Kollatschny, interview with author, Houston, TX, 28 January 1993.

<sup>18</sup> Josephine Schramm Perry, interview with author, Industry, TX, 25 January 1993. Hereafter cited as Perry interview.

<sup>19</sup> Frieda Kollatschny Conner, 18 October 1992.

<sup>20</sup> Marie Niebuhr, interview with author, Industry, TX, 20 January 1993.

<sup>21</sup> Alfred Boelsche, interview with author, Industry, TX, 19 January 1993.

<sup>22</sup> William Schaffner, interview with author, Millheim, TX, 22 January 1993.

<sup>23</sup> Frieda Kollatschny Conner, 18 October 1992.

<sup>24</sup> Perry interview.

<sup>25</sup> *Cat Spring Story*, 33.

<sup>26</sup> Lindemann, Lindemann and Richter, 79-80; *Cat Spring Story*, 101.

<sup>27</sup> Cat Spring Agricultural Society, *Century of Agricultural Progress, 1856-1956: Minutes of the Cat Spring Agricultural Society* (San Antonio: Lone Star, 1956), i. Hereafter cited as *Minutes*.

<sup>28</sup> *Minutes*, 2.

<sup>29</sup> *Minutes*, 35.

<sup>30</sup> George Carmack, "Cat Spring Harbors Oldest Agricultural Society in Texas," *The Sealy News*, 21 December 1978, p. 5.

<sup>31</sup> *Minutes*, 12. See also *Minutes*, 31.

<sup>32</sup> *Minutes*, 214-15.

<sup>33</sup> Schmidt, 13.

<sup>34</sup> Lindemann, Lindemann and Richter, 80.

<sup>35</sup> William Trenckmann, *History of Austin County* (Bellville, TX: Bellville Wochenblatt, 1899), 29.

<sup>36</sup> Erwin Andreas, interview with author, Cat Spring, TX, 21 January 1993.

<sup>37</sup> Warren Conner, interview with author, Sealy, TX, 23 January 1993.

<sup>38</sup> William Richter, "History of the Industry School," in Lindemann, Lindemann and Richter, 91.

<sup>39</sup> Schmidt, 29-30.

<sup>40</sup> Biese, 211. See also Geue, 28-29.

<sup>41</sup> *Cat Spring Story*, 33, 61, 95.

<sup>42</sup> Goeth, 204.



<sup>43</sup> Bieseles, 215-16. See also Geue, 29.

<sup>44</sup> Frelsburg Historical Committee, *The History of Frelsburg* (New Ulm, TX: New Ulm Enterprise, 1986), 29-31.

<sup>45</sup> Glenn G. Gilbert, "The German Language in Texas: Some Needed Research," in *German Culture in Texas: A Free Earth: Essays from the 1978 Southwest Symposium*, ed. Glen E. Lich and Dona B. Reeves (Boston: Twayne, 1980), 229.

<sup>46</sup> See, for example, Joseph Wilson, "The German Language in Texas," *Schatzkammer der deutschen Sprache, Dichtung und Geschichte* 2 (1976): 43-49.

<sup>47</sup> Wilson, 47.

<sup>48</sup> Dina Kuehn Boelsche, interview with author, Industry, TX, 19 January 1993.

<sup>49</sup> Hilma Luedecke Schaffner, interview with author, Millheim, TX, 22 January 1993.

<sup>50</sup> Norma Rinn Gross.

<sup>51</sup> Frieda Kollatschny Conner, interview with author, Houston, TX, 28 January 1993. Hereafter cited as Frieda Kollatschny Conner, 28 January 1993.

<sup>52</sup> Francis E. Abernethy, "Deutschtum in Texas: A Look at Texas-German Folklore," in *German Culture in Texas*, 225. For discussion of anti-German violence in other parts of the country, see Anne Galich, *The German Americans* (New York: Chelsea House, 1989), 82-85, and La Vern J. Rippley, *The German-Americans* (1976; reprint, Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1984), 180-95.

<sup>53</sup> Perry interview.

<sup>54</sup> Perry interview.

<sup>55</sup> Frieda Kollatschny Conner, 28 January 1993.

<sup>56</sup> Bo Krampitz wrote a series of articles about the shooting, events leading up to it, and the subsequent trial in *The Sealy News*, 14, 26 November and 5 December 1985.

<sup>57</sup> Frieda Kollatschny Conner, 28 January 1993.

<sup>58</sup> William Schaffner.

<sup>59</sup> William Schaffner.

<sup>60</sup> Relations between German settlers and Native American Indians in the Texas Hill Country are well documented. See, for example, Bieseles, 178-90; Goeth, 92-94; Irene Marshall King, *John O. Meusebach: German Colonizer in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1967), 111-23; and Glen E. Lich, *The German Texans* (San Antonio: University of Texas Institute of Texan Cultures, 1981), 95-96.

<sup>61</sup> Tiling, 28.

<sup>62</sup> Barbara Schramm Vollmer, interview with author, Industry, TX, 25 January 1993.

<sup>63</sup> *Cat Spring Story*, 134.

<sup>64</sup> Dina Kuehn Boelsche.

<sup>65</sup> Frieda Kollatschny Conner, 28 January 1993.

<sup>66</sup> Mary Kollatschny Andreas, interview with author, 21 January 1993.

<sup>67</sup> Erwin Andreas.

<sup>68</sup> Warren Conner.

<sup>69</sup> Georgia Kollatschny.

<sup>70</sup> Josie Perry, "The Teufel Hotel," in Lindemann, Lindemann and Richter, 49-50.

<sup>71</sup> Alfred Boelsche.

<sup>72</sup> Perry interview.

<sup>73</sup> Lindemann, Lindemann and Richter, 31; *Cat Spring Story*, 95.

<sup>74</sup> For a discussion of ancient Germanic charms, see J. Knight Bostock, *A Handbook on Old High German Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 16-32.

<sup>75</sup> Don Yoder, "Pennsylvania German Folklore Research: A Historical Analysis," in *The German Language in America: A Symposium*, ed. Glenn G. Gilbert (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971), 102-3. See also Don Yoder, *Discovering American Folklife: Studies in Ethnic, Religious, and Regional Culture* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1990), 96.

<sup>76</sup> Gilbert Jordan reports that a similar tradition was followed by Germans in the Texas Hill Country. See his "German Cultural Heritage in the Hill Country of Texas," in *German Culture in Texas*, 187.

<sup>77</sup> Lynette Winklemann, "Hugo Weige, D.S.T." in Lindemann, Lindemann and Richter, 32-33.

<sup>78</sup> Yoder, "Pennsylvania German Folklore Research," 104. Yoder calls those practitioners who were not paid, such as the grandmother mentioned above, domestic powwowers.

<sup>79</sup> Warren Conner.

<sup>80</sup> Bieseke, 43.



Hannes Martschin

## **Die Burgenland-Amerikaner im Kontakt: Sprachverhalten und Kontaktphänomene in Pennsylvania**

### **1 Einleitung**

Ungefähr 65.000 Burgenländer emigrierten<sup>1</sup> zwischen Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts und Mitte des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts in die Vereinigten Staaten. Diese Massenemigration fand ihren Höhepunkt im Jahr 1923, bevor am 1. Juli 1924 die Einwanderungsquote radikal gesenkt wurde und so den als zu hoch empfundenen Zustrom von Immigranten drosselte. Im Raum Allentown, Pennsylvania, und den angrenzenden Gebieten um Coplay und Northampton befindet sich die heute noch kulturell homogenste und, wenn auch in die autochthone Kultur absolut integrierte, so doch noch nicht völlig assimilierte Gruppe von Burgenland-Amerikanern. In den anderen bevorzugten Zielorten der burgenländischen Emigration – genannt seien hier vor allem Chicago und New York<sup>2</sup> – schritt die Assimilation ungleich rascher voran als im gewählten Forschungsgebiet in Pennsylvania. Hier begünstigte die Kleinstadtkultur Integration und Bewahrung. Doch auch in Pennsylvania befindet sich die Gruppe der allochthonen Kulturträger im Abnehmen.

Die hier präsentierten Ergebnisse sind Teil der ersten linguistischen Forschung über die Burgenland-Amerikaner. Das Hauptinteresse dieses Projekts gilt einer ersten Dokumentation des Sprachverhaltens und Sprachstandes dieser Gruppe. Bezüglich des Sprachverhaltens wird vor allem das Domänenverhalten der Burgenland-Amerikaner in diachronischer wie synchronischer Hinsicht untersucht. Bei der Beschreibung des Sprachstandes gilt das Interesse den Sprachkontaktphänomenen in der Sprache selbst. Interferenzen werden dabei auf der lexikalisch-semantischen, syntaktischen und morphologischen Ebene untersucht, nicht jedoch auf der phonetischen. Phonetische Untersuchungen wie auch

systematische Wortfeld- und Wortschatzuntersuchungen stehen noch aus; doch stellen sie ein sicherlich sehr lohnendes und bislang noch unbeschränktes Betätigungsfeld dar.

**Interviews:** Der größte verwendete Datenanteil stammt aus den Interviews der Feldforschung, die im September 1991 begonnen und im Juni 1992 abgeschlossen wurde. Die Interviews wurden sowohl in standardisierter Form als auch in der Form des gelenkten und zentrierten Gesprächs durchgeführt, wobei in diesem Fall die offene Frage der geschlossenen vorgezogen wurde. Für die standardisierte Form wurde ein Fragebogen verwendet, der biographische Daten in zweierlei Hinsichten erhebt:

- Erstens den genauen Lebenslauf des Informanten (Geburtsdaten, Wohnorte, Schulbildung, Berufsausbildung, Berufstätigkeiten, gegenwärtiger Status, Erhebung der jeweiligen Sprachumgebung) sowie den seiner Vorfahren (Eltern, Großeltern, teilweise Urgroßeltern) und seiner näheren Umgebung (Ehegatte, nahe Verwandte, wichtige Bezugspersonen);
- Zweitens Sprachinformationen über: Erstspracherwerb und andere Spracherwerbungen; die Sprachvermittler und -lehrer; das Domänenverhalten des Informanten, seiner Umwelt (vom Kleinkind bis zur Gegenwart) und seiner Familie (Vorfahren, Geschwister, Ehegatte, Nachfahren); das gegenwärtige Sprachverhalten in Clubs und Organisationen; die Sprachkompetenz beim Lesen und Schreiben; Code-Switching Variable in verschiedenen Alltagssituationen; subjektive Spracheinschätzungen und Werturteile über die eigene Sprache sowie die fremder Gruppen;

Die insgesamt 26 Informanten wurden nach zweierlei Kriterien ausgewählt:

- Zum einen nach dem Kriterium ihrer Repräsentativität. Die maßgebenden Faktoren waren hierfür: Alter und Generationsangehörigkeit, Geschlecht und nach Möglichkeit Berufsgruppe.
- Zum anderen wurden Interviews mit überdurchschnittlich gut informierten Gewährspersonen geführt, so zum Beispiel mit Gestaltern von Radiosendungen, Funktionsträgern von Vereinen und Clubs, Organisatoren von sozial relevanten Festen und öffentlichen Veranstaltungen, Lehrern und Priestern.

Aufgrund einer Teilnahme bei Feldforschungen von Pietsch 1988<sup>3</sup> konnte ich viele bereits geschlossene Kontakte nutzen und verfügte bereits über eine reiche Adressensammlung, die noch stark erweitert wurde. Es



mangelte also nicht an Auswahlmöglichkeiten. Alle Interviews wurden in einer weiten Transkription transkribiert und werden in dieser auch zitiert.

**Archive:** Der andere gewonnene Datenteil dieser Forschung stammt aus Archiven und ist bedeutend kleiner. Dabei erwiesen sich öffentliche Archive als nahezu unbrauchbar. Das kulturelle Leben der Burgenland-Amerikaner wurde in den lokalen Archiven im Raum Allentown, abgesehen von gelegentlichen Zeitungsmeldungen über große öffentliche Ereignisse, so gut wie gar nicht dokumentiert. Um vieles ergiebiger waren Privatarhive verschiedener burgenländischer Vereine, Kirchen oder Privatpersonen. Sowohl publiziertes Material (Fest- und Jubiläumsschriften von Vereinen, Theaterprogramme, Tanzregeln, Vereinszeitschriften, Festankündigungen und -programme usw.) als auch nichtpubliziertes, privates (Postkarten und Briefe, Liedertexte, private Aufzeichnungen) wurde gesammelt.

## **2 Zum diachronischen Sprachverhalten der pennsylvanischen Burgenland-Amerikaner**

Der Begriff "Burgenland-Amerikaner" wurde von Pietsch vorgeschlagen und begründet und wird in diesem Sinn auch hier verwendet:

Der Bindestrich zwischen den beiden Substantiven war eine Zeitlang Grund für die negativ besetzte Bezeichnung "Bindestrich-Amerikaner", ist aber heute ein Zeichen der dualistischen Identifikation jener Menschen, die sich einer bestimmten Ethnie zuzählen: Man ist Amerikaner, man gehört der amerikanischen Nation (als staatlicher Einheit) an und rechnet sich innerhalb dieser Nation einer Nationalität (im Sinne einer Volksgruppe) zu. Das Grundwort "American" ist der Oberbegriff, der semantisch die Gattung angibt, das Bestimmungswort "German" legt ein unterscheidendes Merkmal fest. Man ist nicht "American-German", sondern "German-American", also in erster Linie Amerikaner (Pietsch 1991, 39).

### **2.1 Die erste Generation**

Lassen sich auch die vielfältigsten geographischen, soziologischen, ökonomischen und politischen Ursachen für die Auswanderungsbereitschaft der Burgenländer feststellen, so verbindet die Generation der burgenländischen Emigranten im Zielgebiet doch eine weitgehende Gemeinsamkeit: Sie waren bei ihrer Ankunft in Amerika arm und begannen ihr berufliches Leben unabhängig von der vorherigen Profession

nochmals von vorne, das heißt von unten: als "blue-collar workers" in den Industrien. Im Lehigh Valley waren es vor allem die Zementmühlen, die den Burgenländern Arbeit boten. Dujmovits, der die burgenländische Amerikawanderung in das Zielgebiet Pennsylvania der "new immigration" zuordnet, spricht in diesem Zusammenhang auch von "Industriewanderung" (Dujmovits 1980, 10).

Die vor allem aus dem südlichen Burgenland stammenden Einwanderer zeigten zunächst Tendenzen zu einer Segregation. Wenn auch das notwendige Englisch für den täglichen Bedarf rasch erlernt wurde, so blieben sie als Gruppe dennoch isoliert: Sie wohnten vor allem in Coplay und Northampton in eigenen Siedlungen, sprachen im täglichen Gebrauch nur Deutsch, heirateten fast ausschließlich innerhalb der Gruppe und etablierten rasch ein eigenes und ungewöhnlich reiches Kulturleben, das sehr bald auf die autochthone Kultur der Umgebung wie auch auf die anderer, kleinerer allochthonen Kulturgruppen (etwa der Ungarn oder Polen) merkbaren Einfluß ausübte. So erfreuten sich zum Beispiel verschiedene burgenländische Tanzveranstaltungen auch bei anderen ethnischen Gruppen im Lehigh Valley großer Beliebtheit; die Verbreitung verschiedener burgenländischer "Strudl"-Gerichte zeugt ebenfalls von jenem Einfluß. Zahlreiche Vereine und Chöre, etwa die Austrian-Hungarian Veterans Society, der Northampton Liederkranz, der Coplay Sängerbund, der Westcoplay Männerchor, der St. Josefs Kranken- und Unterstützungsverein, die St. Francis Society, die Harugari Home Association, der Allentown Turner und Liederkranz oder der Allgemeine Arbeiter Verein von Allentown, boten den Burgenländern als Gruppe in ökonomischer (hier die sogenannten "Unterstützungsvereine", die als erste Krankenversicherungen wesentliche soziale Sicherheit boten) wie auch in kultureller Hinsicht genügend Autonomie und Raum für Eigenständigkeit. Auch kirchlich organisierte und burgenländisch dominierte Gruppen, zum Beispiel um die Kirchen St. John the Baptist's Church oder die St. Peter's Evangelical Lutheran Church, sollen hier erwähnt sein. Der große Anteil an englischen Vereinsnamen zeugt aber bereits für die sprachliche Assimilationsbereitschaft der Gruppe und ihr Selbstverständnis als Burgenland-Amerikaner im oben erörterten Sinne.

Die meisten Burgenländer waren und sind katholisch, wenige von ihnen evangelisch. Obwohl mitunter von religiösen Differenzen und kleineren Streitereien die Rede war, kann eines sicher ausgesagt werden: Die Religion bildete nie ein identitätsstiftendes Merkmal der Burgenländergruppe als Ethnie, was auch durch zahlreiche Konversionen, die auf zumeist sehr pragmatischen Gründen beruhen, belegt ist. Mit dem Wegfall einer gemeinsamen religiösen Überzeugung als identitätsstiftendes Moment entfällt für die Burgenländer eine sehr starke Segregationsmotivation, wie wir sie in vielen anderen Emigrantengruppen beobachten können.



Für die ungewöhnlich geringe bekenntnisorientierte Religiosität spricht auch eine Anmerkung in einer kirchengeschichtlichen Zusammenfassung, die von der St. Peter's Church erstellt wurde:

Gleich nach der Jahrhundertwende kamen viele Österreicher, besonders aus dem Burgenland, in das Pfarrgebiet von St. Peter. Sie ließen sich nieder im Ersten, Sechsten, Neunten und Zehnten Ward der Stadt und hielten sich ihren Wohnbezirken nach und aus Gründen der Volkszugehörigkeit zu St. Peter, um dort ihre kirchlichen Bedürfnisse befriedigt zu finden. Dort wurden ihre Ehen geschlossen, dort wurden ihre Kinder getauft, dorthin schickten sie ihre Kinder zur Sonntagsschule. Aber sie selbst haben häufig nicht Mitgliedschaft in der Kirche erworben.<sup>4</sup>

Es war also die Sprachzugehörigkeit, hier mißverständlich als "Volkszugehörigkeit" bezeichnet, die die Burgenländer bewog, am religiösen Leben der evangelischen Kirche teilzunehmen. Bemerkenswert dabei ist, daß die Burgenländer in dieser Zeit nicht nur eine von mehreren deutschsprachigen Gruppen innerhalb der Gemeinde waren, sondern eine zahlenmäßig so starke und tragende Gruppe (wahrscheinlich die stärkste), daß die St. Peter's Church auf alten Karten auch als "Austrian Church" zu finden ist.<sup>5</sup> Interessant erscheint in diesem Zusammenhang, daß keine Gewährsperson mit Sicherheit aussagen konnte, ob jemals ein burgenländischer Priester in dieser Gegend gewirkt hätte.

Wie homogen und stark die Burgenland-Amerikaner in dieser Zeit als Sprachgruppe waren, sei an der Gewährsperson Gisela Miksits demonstriert. Sie wurde 1896 geboren und emigrierte 1917 nach Amerika. Sie zählt zu den burgenländischen Kroaten, einer im Burgenland auch heute noch lebenden Minderheit.<sup>6</sup> Ihre Muttersprache ist Kroatisch, und die Einundzwanzigjährige hatte bei der Ankunft in Amerika nur bruchstückhafte Deutschkenntnisse aus der Schule, hatte also in Österreich nicht Deutsch gesprochen. Die erste Sprache, die sie nach ihrer Ankunft mit vielen anderen Kroaten in Amerika aber lernen mußte, war nicht, wie vielleicht zu erwarten gewesen wäre, Englisch, sondern Deutsch. Englisch lernte Frau Miksits erst viel später:

Oh, wia mia do ainikumman san . . . , wia hom just Daitsch, und se woa ois. Und Krawotisch. . . . Jo, i hob ois miassan mitmochan. Jetzt gleich i scho Englisch a schwätz. Jo, jo, Krawotisch, Daitsch, Englisch-ois kaun ma schwätz. (Miksits, Interview, 19. Oktober 1991)

Wie hoch der deutsche Assimilationsdruck gewesen sein muß, bezeugt das Domänenverhalten der heute Vierundneunzigjährigen: Sie

betet und zählt-signifikante Dominanzvariablen—heute nur noch in Deutsch und nie mehr in Kroatisch. Nur sehr selten fließen nach ihren Aussagen in ihr privates Gebet kroatische Wörter oder Sätze mit ein. Ihre kroatische Muttersprache wurde also durch das Deutsche beinahe vollständig substituiert. Ihre Tochter bemerkt dazu:

One point I want to make is—a very strong point—is this: it was a stigma here in this German . . . , it was a stigma, when they came over here into this setting, like your granny [to Ed Novogratz], we were all outspoken, his granny was outspoken, she [her mother] is outspoken, you know what I mean! But, it was a stigma to be a Krowot among these Austrians and this German dialect. I think that the Krowots were resourceful immer [sic] to know, that they had to pick up to belong. (Miksits, a.a.O.)

Der soziale Druck ging sogar so weit, daß eine Tante der Sprecherin die eigene kroatische Identität selbst vor ihrem Sohn verbarg:

I said: "Margaret, you are a pure Krowot—I mean, that's what you are!" Then we had relatives coming here, really not blood relatives. This guy, he . . . was educated in chemistry and all. . . . And now, . . . she hid her identity as a Croatian person in that German setting, that her own son, who visited us, never knew his mother was a Krowot! That was a strong denial. . . . (Ebd.)

Die von dieser ersten Generation im allgemeinen rasch erworbenen (aber nie gelernten) Englischkenntnisse waren vorerst nur eine Kompetenzerweiterung ohne Substitutionseffekt. In den zumeist in Amerika neugegründeten Familien wurde auch weiterhin Deutsch gesprochen, und die Kinder als nun nachfolgende zweite Generation lernten als erste Sprache ebenfalls Deutsch, im gegebenen Fall also die burgenländische Mundart.

Viele Merkmale des beobachteten Sprachstandes weisen auf einen von Bernstein so bezeichneten "restringierten Kode" hin.<sup>7</sup> Auffällig ist hier zum Beispiel das weitgehende Fehlen und Nichtwissen der Höflichkeitsform der Sie-Andrede. Ich halte es für sinnvoller, hier nicht mit dem defizitären Begriff eines restringierten Kodes zu arbeiten, sondern vielmehr das Augenmerk auf die kommunikative Notwendigkeit zu richten, die im Fall der Burgenland-Amerikaner auf derartige sogenannte elaborierte Formen verzichten konnte. Zu erwägen ist aber durchaus, ob nicht das Fehlen eines sogenannten elaborierten Sprachkodes mit ein Grund sein könnte, daß die amerikanisch-burgenländische



Mundart viele kommunikative Funktionen und soziale Bedürfnisse der zweiten und vor allem dritten Generation nicht mehr erfüllen kann und daher von diesen abgelehnt wird.

## 2.2 Die zweite Generation

Die Angehörigen der zweiten, in Amerika geborenen Generation hatten als Muttersprache Deutsch. Die meisten von ihnen besaßen bei ihrem Schuleintritt noch keinerlei Englischkenntnisse und erwarben diese erst im entsprechenden Alter von sechs oder sieben Jahren. Schulen mit deutschsprachigem Unterricht – abgesehen von kirchlichen Sonntagsschulen – gab es nicht, und so etablierte sich rasch der Bilingualismus in der zweiten Generation. Ein wichtiger Faktor für das sich später ändernde Domänenverhalten war der vorherrschende Analphabetismus in der deutschen Sprache.

Auch diese Generation heiratete vielfach innerhalb der Sprachgruppe. Auffällig ist dabei die häufig erfolgte Wahl eines von den sogenannten "Pennsylvania Dutch" abstammenden Partners. Das Domänenverhalten begann sich zu verschieben: Die nun nachfolgenden Kinder (die dritte Generation) wurden mit Englisch als Muttersprache erzogen, um ihnen die als Nachteil erlebten eigenen Sprachschwierigkeiten beim Schuleintritt zu ersparen. Deutsch wurde mit dem Ehepartner in der Familie vor allem dann gesprochen, "wenn es die Kinder nicht verstehen sollten", seltener auch, wenn sie ohne Kinder waren. Im sozialen Leben verlor Deutsch seinen vormals omnipräsenten Öffentlichkeitscharakter und wurde nur mehr im exklusiven burgenländischen Freundeskreis und bei den noch in großer Zahl üblichen burgenländischen Festen und Veranstaltungen gesprochen.

Neben dieser Degradierung des Deutschen zur Privatsprache, zu einer Exklusivsprache, und der altersbezogenen Verschiebung des Dominanzverhaltens zum Englischen hin sind aber andererseits auch besondere und sehr bewußte Anstrengungen zu bemerken, die burgenländische Kultur und Sprache – die burgenland-amerikanische Identität – zu erhalten und zu pflegen. Zu erwähnen sind hier vor allem die Aktivitäten des von Österreich aus gegründeten Vereins Burgenländische Gemeinschaft, etwa mit der Etablierung von jährlichen "Miss Burgenland"-Wahlen in Chicago, Ost-Pennsylvania und New York City, und das neue Interesse einzelner Privatpersonen an ihrer Herkunft, das auch im allgemeinen Trend "back to the roots" liegt.

## 2.3 Die dritte und vierte Generation

In der großen Mehrheit dieser Generationen fand aus bereits angedeuteten Gründen ein fast totaler Sprachwechsel vom Deutschen zum

Englischen statt. Der hohe Substratrest setzt sich vor allem aus Essensbezeichnungen, Schimpfwörtern, kurzen Flüchen und stereotypen burgenlandbezogenen Klischeeformeln wie etwa "dahoam draußt" zusammen. Die Interessensverbundenheit mit dem Deutschen führte in vielen Fällen zum Beruf eines Deutschlehrers oder zur freiwilligen Stationierung als amerikanischer Soldat in Deutschland. Aber auch in diesen Fällen wurde die burgenländische Mundart, abgesehen von den erwähnten Substraten, aufgegeben. Die sehr interessanten Ausnahmen zu diesem Trend, die sich durch eine hohe Sprachbewußtheit und -loyalität auszeichnen und sich teilweise einer Sprachpflege der burgenländischen Mundart widmen oder widmeten, sollen aufgrund ihres Mangels an Repräsentativität hier zunächst nicht weiter erörtert werden. Zur Generationsabfolge ist anzumerken, daß sich nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg bis in die fünfziger Jahre neue burgenländische Emigranten ansiedelten und diese der burgenländischen Sprachverwendung wieder neue Impulse gaben. Eine endgültige Schlußfolgerung zu ziehen fällt schwer, denn das letzte Wort ist im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes noch nicht gesprochen. Auch wenn es scheint, daß ein absoluter Sprachtod leicht zu prognostizieren wäre, so liegt dieses hypothetische Ende noch in der Zukunft, und über diese soll hier nicht befunden werden.

### 3 Sprachkontakte

Sprachkontakte mit unterschiedlich relevanten Sprachveränderungen gab es sowohl zu autochthonen (also amerikanisch-englischen) Sprechergruppen als auch zu anderen deutschsprechenden allochthonen Gruppen, nämlich zu den von ihnen sogenannten "Pennsylvania Dutch" und einer jungen Emigrantengruppe—vorwiegend aus dem nördlichen Deutschland—die von den Burgenland-Amerikanern als "Hochdeutsche" bezeichnet wurde. Die Art und Weise des Sprachkontakts, die durch Interferenzen belegt und auch am besten wieder entschlüsselbar ist, wird neben sprachlichen auch von außersprachlichen Faktoren bestimmt, zum Beispiel dem subjektiv empfundenen oder tatsächlich intersubjektiv (also sozial) gegebenen Prestige der Sprechergruppe und ihrer Sprache.

#### 3.1 Der interlinguale Sprachkontakt mit dem Amerikanisch-Englisch

Das Amerikanisch-Englisch (AE) war von Anfang an eine akzeptierte und für den kommunikativen Bedarf als notwendig eingestufte Sprache. In allen bekannten Fällen fand ein sogenannter *Spracherwerb*, nie aber ein gesteuertes *Erlernen* der Sprache statt.<sup>8</sup> Die eigene Sprache war, wie schon erwähnt, wenig elaboriert: Für viele neu benötigte Wörter und Bezeichnungen fanden sich keine Entsprechungen im mitgebrachten Wortschatz,



der an eine andere Lebensumwelt gebunden war. Hier fanden die ersten Interferenzen und echten Transfers statt.

Das Prestige des AE und damit auch der Assimilationsdruck waren denkbar hoch: Es gab zu Beginn keine burgenländisch geführten Betriebe, und das AE war also immer auch die Sprache der Bosse. Bezeichnenderweise verhielten sich Burgenländer bei Neugründungen eigener Kleinbetriebe ebenfalls sprachorientiert: Es wurden in neugegründeten burgenländischen Betrieben vor allem Arbeiter der eigenen Sprachgruppe (Burgenländer, Pennsylvania Dutch und deutlich weniger auch Ungarn) zuerst engagiert. Sehr rasch etablierten sich habituelle Normabweichungen, die bereits als neue Sprachnorm der Gruppe gesehen werden können.

**Interferenzen:** Die angeführten Beispiele sind ausgewählte Beispiele der mit AE-Interferenzen reich durchsetzten Sprache.

a) Lexikalisch-semantische Interferenzen: Ein großer Teil der lexikalischen Interferenzen deckt den Wortbedarf, der im deutschen Sprachschatz der Burgenländer nicht oder nur unzureichend vorhanden ist oder einfach weniger oder in anderer Bedeutung benutzt wurde. Beispiele: "dialect"; "company"; "member"; "meeting"; "orchestra"; "nephew"; "Es is common, es is nit fancy, olles is common, oba des Aissn is guat und es is nit taia." Andere lexikalische Interferenzen erklären sich durch die besonders häufige Verwendung im Englischen wie etwa "lunch"; "catholic". Oder es sind Abtönungspartikel, emphatische Aufforderungen oder im Englischen häufig benutzte Konjunktionen: "now"; "but"; "because"; "well"; "you know"; "really"; "Come on, geh mit auf d' Nocht zua Hochzait!"; "Oh ja, sure!"

Oft verdoppelt die Interferenz die Information: "do woan plenty vü Lait", oder ist einfach Substitution deutscher Wörter, die dem Sprecher wahrscheinlich auch in deutscher Sprache bekannt sind. Hier sind sie Ausdruck der starken Interferenzspannung, in der sich der Sprecher offensichtlich befindet: "I bin nit sure. Des woäß i nit for sure."; "outside im Hof"; "sure, des woa jo di idea"; "Glai right away"; "Oba ea woa ziemli foxy"; "I hob main aigenen way zum Schraibm!" Oft substituiert die Interferenz auch nur ein Nomen in einer Nominalkomposition wie etwa in: "Reparioabait"; "Taunzfloor"; "Haisabuilder".

Viele semantisch dominierte Interferenzen sind erst auf den zweiten Blick erkennbar: die "guate Nochboaschoft" wird equivalent zu "good neighborhood" verwendet und entspricht einer "guten Gegend". Ähnlich verhält es sich auch in den Fällen: "a guati Zait g'hobt" oder "Fraindschoft g'mocht". Ein besonderer, mehrfach gefundener Fall in habitueller Verwendung ist das eingedeutschte Wort "Trubl" für "Schwierigkeit/Problem" das auch phonetisch deutsch realisiert wird: "I hob koa Trubl net damit".

b) Syntaktische Interferenzen: Sie zeigen sich vor allem in englischen Wortstellungen: "Se hom scho kenan redn Daitsch". Die Wortstellung von "dea woa geboan in Naistift" wurde in habitueller wie kollektiver Verwendung gefunden.

c) Morphologische Interferenzen: Vor allem sind es hier die englischen Verben, die mit Morphemen deutsch konjugiert werden: "... hob i g'lernt, machinery zu usen"; "hoamg'muuvt", "umig'muuvt" usw.; "dea hot vü Zait mit maine Ötan g'spent"; "die bothern si net"; "dafüa pick'n wia es bessä auf". Seltener ist die Übernahme englischer Endungen, die im Deutschen als Morphem (im folgenden zum Beispiel als Pluralmorphem) fungieren. Es kommt dann zu Formen wie: "Ma muaß nit grod a Mitgleda ["-er", von "member"] sein."

### 3.2 Der intralinguale Sprachkontakt mit dem sogenannten "Hochdeutsch"

Dieser betrifft vor allem die Burgenländergruppe in Allentown, die mit Emigranten aus dem nördlichen Deutschland, die eine dem Standarddeutsch sehr nahe Sprache sprechen, mehr Kontakt hatte. Er betrifft aber auch das Verhältnis der Burgenländer zum Standarddeutsch im allgemeinen.

Auffälligerweise fand ich hier keine Interferenzen außer in einem vielfältigten Theaterprogramm aus dem Jahre 1941 der Turner Liederkranz Theatre Gruppe. Der unbekannte Verfasser bemühte sich offensichtlich um ein "gehobenes" Deutsch, mit dem er, wie einige Fehler verraten, nicht allzu vertraut war. Darin heißt es auch unter Verwendung einer norddeutschen Varietät ("piepen" für lachen; sich belustigen): "Es ist geradezu zum Piepen, we [sic] sich . . .".<sup>9</sup>

Dieses Beispiel einerseits und der völlige Mangel an bemerkten Interferenzen in der gesprochenen Sprache andererseits zeigen deutlich das Verhältnis zum sogenannten Hochdeutsch: Es hatte das höhere Prestige, doch trat die burgenländische Mundart mit jenem Hochdeutsch kaum in Kontakt. Dem höheren Prestige der Sprache entspricht nach Aussagen einiger Gewährspersonen auch ein höheres Sozialprestige der Hochdeutschen, die als reicher und einflußreicher angesehen werden. Daß auch diese selbst ihre Sprache als "besseres Deutsch" verstehen, sei an einem kleinen typischen Beispiel demonstriert:

Es gab einen Wettbewerb deutscher Chöre, den der burgenländische Coplay Sängerbund-Chor gewann. Auch der sogenannte hochdeutsche Lehigh Sängerbund aus Allentown nahm daran teil. Ein "Hochdeutscher" soll unmittelbar danach zu den Burgenländern gegangen sein und nach der Aussage eines Informanten gesagt haben: "Sie haben den Preis gewonnen. Das kann nicht sein. Das ist nicht möglich, daß ihr das gewinnt, ihr könnt nicht einmal Deutsch reden" (Strauch, Interview, 7. September 1991). Auch die schon erwähnte mangelnde



Schriftbeherrschung der Burgenländer begünstigte diese Art des Verhältnisses.

Der Pastor der schon zitierten St. Peters Gemeinde berichtete von ähnlichen Schwierigkeiten und glaubte bei den Burgenland-Amerikanern zu bemerken, "daß sie die Empfindung haben, daß ihre Muttersprache irgendwie der sogenannten Hochsprache untergeben ist" (Kuschel, Interview, 14. November 1991). Er bemerkte weiter dazu:

... ich wünschte, ich könnte den heanzischen Dialekt sprechen, denn ich könnte [sie] persönlicher ansprechen, ... und so versuche ich ein paar Worte da, so wie ich es lerne, da mit hineinzubringen, aber ich kann sie einfach nicht als Gruppe Menschen davon überzeugen, daß sie doch bitte wirklich Deutsch sprechen. (Ebd.)

### 3.3 Der intralinguale Sprachkontakt mit dem Pennsylvania Dutch (PD)

Die Fülle von PD-Lehnwörtern in der burgenländisch-amerikanischen Mundart spricht für eine hohe Kontaktbereitschaft seitens der Burgenländer. Das PD steht auch nach dem Empfinden der Burgenland-Amerikaner ihrer Sprache viel näher als das sogenannte Hochdeutsche.

"Waun i di richtige Schrift hom, is ma a bissl schwea", sagte ein Burgenländer der zweiten Generation. Über die PD-Schreibweise aber, die er aus einer lokalen Tageszeitung kennt und deren Orthographie im weitesten Sinne der gesprochenen Sprache entspricht, sagte er später: "Und i hom des guat lesn kennan. Des is bold so, wiar i schraim tua, Pennsilvanisch-Daitsch is bold Hianzisch" (Kemeter, Interview, 19. Oktober 1991).

Die Gründe für die hohe Kontaktbereitschaft mit dem PD liegen aber nicht nur in einer (nur teilweisen) Ähnlichkeit der beiden Sprachen. Sie wurde erstens begünstigt durch eine weitgehende soziale Gleichstellung: So waren die den Burgenländern bekannten PD-Sprecher meistens ihre Arbeitskollegen in der Fabrik und in den Zementmühlen. Es existierte also keine hemmende Sozialbarriere. Und zweitens ist es bekannt, daß das Alter allochthoner Sprechergruppen maßgeblich mit dem Prestige ihrer Sprache korreliert,<sup>10</sup> d.h. daß die neu zugewanderten Burgenländer, die von den Pennsylvania Dutch auch oft "greenhorns" und "honkies" genannt wurden, der in ihrer neuen Umgebung vorgefundenen allochthonen deutschen Sprache ein sehr hohes Prestige einräumten und sie deshalb oft das PD als die "richtigere" Sprache akzeptierten.

Von den zahlreichen Interferenzen seien hier vor allem die auffälligeren lexikalisch-semanticen angeführt. Die gehegte Vermutung, daß viele habituelle Interferenzen des PD mit dem AE von den Burgenländern übernommen wurden und sich so auch bei ihnen rasch zu

habituellen Interferenzen etablierten, ließ sich in einigen Fällen bereits bestätigen.

**Interferenzen:** Am auffälligsten und aussagestärksten ist die Verwendung von PD "schwätzen" für "reden/sprechen". Diese Interferenz ist bei den Burgenländern bereits habituell, also ein echter Transfer, und sogar schon in der ersten Generation anzutreffen. Fast keinem Burgenland-Amerikaner ist dabei bewußt, daß es sich um ein PD-Lexem handelt. Dieser Transfer eines in jeder Sprache so hoch signifikanten Wortes und die beinahe vollständige Aufgabe der eigenen Lexeme "reden/sprechen" demonstrierten am deutlichsten den hohen Interferenzdruck zum Pennsylvania Dutch. Andere bisher gefundene und bestätigte<sup>11</sup> Interferenzen sind:

- "Bauerei" für "Bauernhof" oder "Hof" (und das, obwohl fast alle Burgenland-Amerikaner aus einer bäuerlichen Umgebung emigrierten);
- "aufg'mixt" für "vermischt", "vermixt";
- "verhoodelt" für eine Sprachvermischung oder -verschlampung;
- "ufg'ruaffa" für "angerufen";

Übernommene Interferenzen<sup>12</sup> des PD mit dem AE dürften sein:

- "I wor geboren in . . ." (syntaktisch: "I was born in . . .");
- "Wia bist (bischst)?" (syntaktisch-semantisch: "How are you?");
- die häufige Verwendung von "just" in phonetisch deutscher Realisierung (Similarität);
- "a guate Zeit g'hobt"; oder "a guate Nachborschoft" (lexikalisch-semantische Lehnprägungen);
- die schon erwähnte Verwendung von "plenty" (lexikalisch);
- die Bildung des deutschen Lehnwortes "Trubl" für "Schwierigkeit/Problem" (entlehnt von: "trouble");
- eine der interessantesten Übernahmen: die Verwendung der Lehnübersetzung "gleichen" für "mögen/gefallen" (entlehnt von: [to] like), z.B. "i glaich di Musi". Die Verwendung ist, ähnlich wie "schwätzen", bereits so stark habituell,<sup>13</sup> daß es nur ganz wenigen Sprechern bewußt ist, daß es sich hier um kein semantisch entsprechendes Lexem der burgenländischen Mundart handelt.

#### 4 Zusammenfassung

Die Auswanderergeneration aus dem Burgenland sowie die erste in den Vereinigten Staaten geborene Generation sprach als bevorzugte



Sprache die südburgenländische heanzische Mundart. Im Raum Allentown, Pennsylvania, entwickelte sich ein unglaublich reiches und eigenständiges Kulturleben der Burgenland-Amerikaner, das noch ungebrochen bis in die Gegenwart reicht. Interessant erscheint dabei, daß die Religion nie ein identitätsstiftendes Moment der Burgenländergruppe als Ethnie war, wie wir es vergleichsweise von vielen anderen Migrantengruppen kennen.

In der dritten Generation der Burgenland-Amerikaner (der zweiten in den USA geborenen Generation) fand ein fast gänzlicher Sprachverlust des Deutschen statt, wobei sich einige wenige Ausnahmen stark konträr zu diesem Trend verhalten. Der Substratrest ist in dieser wie auch noch in der vierten Generation generell hoch.

Ein überraschendes Ergebnis dieser Untersuchungen war der intensive sprachliche Kontakt mit dem Pennsylvania Dutch, der sich in zahlreichen Interferenzen zeigte. Interferenzen mit dem sogenannten Hochdeutsch waren kaum feststellbar, während Interferenzen mit dem Amerikanisch-Englisch erwartungsgemäß häufig auftraten.

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### Anmerkungen

<sup>1</sup> Der Begriff "Emigration" besitzt im populärwissenschaftlichen Diskurs im deutschsprachigen Raum oft starke, politisch negative Konnotationen, da er an den Holocaust und die politischen Vertreibungen in der jüngeren Vergangenheit erinnert. Die Begriffe "Emigration" und "Immigration" werden im folgenden explizit nur in ihrer ursprünglichen Semantik verwendet, um die Richtung der Migration zu determinieren.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. dazu detailliertere Angaben in: Walter Dujmovits, *Die Amerikawanderung der Burgenländer* (Stegersbach, 1975). Ders.: "Die Amerikawanderung der Burgenländer" (Diss., Univ. Wien, 1980).

<sup>3</sup> Rudolf Pietsch, "Musikalische Volkskultur bei burgenländischen Auswanderern in Pennsylvania, USA, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Instrumentalmusik" (Diss., Univ. Wien, 1991).

<sup>4</sup> In: *St. Peter's Evangelical Lutheran Church, 100 Years: 1866 to 1966/Geschichte der St. Petersgemeinde* (Allentown, 1966). Keine Seitennumerierung.

<sup>5</sup> Zit. n.: Kuschel, Interview, 14. November 1991.

<sup>6</sup> Im österreichischen Staatsvertrag von 1955 Art. 7, Z. 3 wurde das Kroatische auch als Amtssprache zugelassen.

<sup>7</sup> Basil Bernstein, *Studien zur sprachlichen Sozialisation*, 4. Aufl. (Düsseldorf: Pädagogischer Verlag Schwann, 1976). Engl. Ausg. u. d. T.: *Theoretical Studies Towards a Sociology of Language*.

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. dazu: Günter Lipold, *Deutsch Erlernen-Deutsch Erwerben*, LernSprache Deutsch, Beiheft 1 (Wien: Edition Praesens, 1991).

<sup>9</sup> Theaterprogramm: *Der Weg ins Paradies: Operetta in 3 Aufzügen*, Turner Liederkranz Theatre Gruppe, 28. Mai 1941.

<sup>10</sup> Lipold, *Deutsch Erlernen-Deutsch Erwerben*, S. 39.

<sup>11</sup> Ich danke an dieser Stelle ganz besonders John Hostetler und Richard Beam für ihre Unterstützung.

<sup>12</sup> Natürlich könnte es auch der Fall sein, daß hier nur unabhängig entstandene Parallelen vorliegen, auch wenn dies als sehr unwahrscheinlich erscheint.

<sup>13</sup> Selbst Angehörige der in den 50er Jahren neu zugewanderten ersten Generation glauben vielfach, daß sie dieses Lexem für eben diese semantische Bedeutung auch schon "daheim" im Burgenland verwendet haben, die Verwendung also der burgenländischen Mundart entspricht.



Karen Johnson-Weiner

### **Community Expectations and Second Language Acquisition: English as a Second Language in a Swartzentruber Amish School**

The Swartzentruber Amish parochial school near Kendrew Corners, outside of Rensselaer Falls, New York, is typical of Old Order Amish parochial schools. A one-room building flanked by outhouses and heated by a wood stove, it is attended by approximately fifteen students in grades one through eight. The teacher sits at the front, and, when the "scholars" come to the front to recite their lessons, they sit on the benches that line the walls on each side of her desk. The students not reciting sit in rows, grouped by grades, facing the teacher and the blackboard behind her (cf. Hostetler and Huntington 1971, 40-42). In any given year not all grades may be represented. Most students have at least one sibling in the school, and, since the Kendrew Corners school serves only five or six families, many have two or three. This particular Amish community, which was founded approximately nineteen years ago by the very conservative Swartzentruber Amish, does not make use of school buses, so there are a number of one-room schools in the area, and new ones are built as the need arises. The Kendrew Corners school was built several years ago on the outskirts of a Swartzentruber farm. Of course, like other Old Order Amish schools, it is not served by electricity, telephone service, and indoor plumbing.

The curriculum of the Kendrew Corners school is also typical of Old Order Amish schools (cf. Hostetler and Huntington 1971, 42-47). Students learn phonics, spelling, reading, and arithmetic from such texts as the *McGuffey* and *Pathway* readers, the *Scott-Foresman New Basic Readers*, the *Lippencott Reading With Phonics* text, and the American Book Company's *Strayer Upton Practical Arithmetic* series. At the same time, like many rural Amish school children, they must also learn English.

Although most of the students know little or no English when they first enter the Kendrew Corners school, studies suggest that by the time they complete their schooling at the end of the eighth grade, they will perform as well as, if not better than, their non-Amish counterparts at rural public schools on tests of spelling, word usage, and arithmetic (Hostetler 1969; Hostetler and Huntington 1971).<sup>1</sup> They will certainly be able to engage in social conversations and business with their non-Amish neighbors, read novels and newspapers in English, and carry on an extensive correspondence in English with members of other Amish communities in the United States and Canada. In short, in eight years of schooling, the children attending the Kendrew Corners school will acquire English well enough to interact and compete successfully with native speakers in an "English" environment. They will have done so with little formal language instruction, limited opportunity to use the language either in school or outside, no special language texts, and with the assistance of a teacher with only an eighth grade education, who, herself, learned English in an Amish school.

That Swartzentruber Amish children successfully acquire English under circumstances that any trained linguist or language teacher would describe as, at the very least, less than ideal can be better understood through a study of the roles of English and formal education in the Amish community. Both are viewed as necessary to prepare Amish children to function in the outside, "English" world, yet, at the same time, both work to preserve and strengthen the community and its values and, thus, to keep the "English" world at bay.

Littlewood (1984) distinguishes between second language learning and foreign language learning, the first term indicating that the language has communicative functions within the community and the latter meaning the language will be used primarily for communication with outsiders (54). In the Swartzentruber community, as in other Old Order Amish communities, learning English serves both purposes. Like most Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonite groups, the Swartzentruber Amish use a variety of Pennsylvania German (called *Deitsch*) within the home and with other Amish and use English for interaction with outsiders (cf. Huffines 1980; Johnson-Weiner 1989; Loudon 1992; Hostetler 1993, 242). For the Amish, English is, as one Old Order Amishman has written, the language associated "with the business world, society and worldliness . . . everything outside our church and community, the forces that have become dangerous because they make inroads into our churches and lure people from the faith" (Stoll 1960, 208). Pennsylvania German, on the other hand, defines the community, and the use of Pennsylvania German within the community and that of English outside the community serve as ever-present reminders of the differences separating the Amish from the "English" neighbors. Keim (1975) asserts that Pennsylvania



German is "the single most effective element in the continuity of the Amish community." Certainly, in choosing to maintain German in the face of pressure to shift, the Amish demonstrate a commitment to living as a "separate and peculiar people" (see Johnson-Weiner 1992).

Ironically, however, since Pennsylvania German is not written, an Amish person who knew only Pennsylvania German would be hindered in all but face-to-face interaction with other Amish and, thus, could play only a limited role in the community; for all written communication within the Amish community and with Amish elsewhere, the Amish use English. Thus, among the Amish, spoken English is identified with the outside world from which the Amish separate themselves, whereas written English plays a vital role in intra-group communication.

A number of researchers have suggested that a major factor in the success or failure of second language learning is the extent to which the learner is motivated by communicative needs that are functional in nature (e.g., the need to carry out business transactions or relay messages) as opposed to social (e.g., the desire to become involved with the second language community) (cf. Littlewood 1984, 70-71; see also Gardner 1985). Thus, one would expect the dual role of English and the conflicting way in which it is perceived to influence the teaching and learning of English in Swartzentruber and other Amish schools, favoring written English over spoken English (cf. Littlewood 1984, 70). Among the Swartzentruber Amish, however, the two are not separated; the teacher does not think in terms of "oral" versus "written" language exercises, and it is generally assumed that acquisition of the one will be reflected in the acquisition of the other. As one Swartzentruber girl told me, "in some schools they don't have to talk English as much and they don't learn it as much. You can see it in their writing. It's so terrible you almost can't read it" (M. Y. 6/88).

Few Swartzentruber first graders have any knowledge of English when they begin school, and their instructions in both oral and written English begins the first day. The teacher not only uses English with the older students or "scholars," but also addresses remarks in English to the new first graders. In teaching the first grade, the teacher will give a command in English and then repeat it in Pennsylvania German. When first graders ask questions in German, these are repeated by the teacher in English. It is, according to one Amish teacher, a "word by word" process (M. W. 8/93). The greatest portion of the first graders' time is not, however, spent in oral interaction with the teacher but in individual tasks, for the teacher has seven additional grades to teach. Nevertheless, since these lessons will all be in English, the first graders have the opportunity to listen to numerous, highly structured exchanges in English. The Amish teacher does not appear to see herself as a language teacher, and, indeed, the approach to teaching English is similar to that taken in



teaching arithmetic or geography. As one teacher describes it, it is just a matter of "giving the first graders the words. I say it in English to them [the first graders]. I talk English to the rest [of the students] and they [the first graders] pick it up that way too." Her worst problem, she noted, was just "to keep them straightened out" (L. M. 6/88). Another teacher has said she aims at three new English words a day in the beginning. Calling it a game, she says that "We look at the pages for tomorrow, and I wonder out loud if anyone will know the words for tomorrow. So they all go home and ask and then they learn it. Nobody wants to be the last to get the word!" (M. W. 8/93). If a student makes a mistake, either in writing or in speaking, he or she is corrected. There is no drill work, although if the error is repeated on assignments, the student may have to rewrite.

In the Swartzentruber classroom, the first clearly stated linguistic goals are not oral fluency, increased ability to comprehend spoken English, writing proficiency or even vocabulary expansion, but rather the "ABCs" and "1-2-3s"; these the first graders memorize and practice writing individually and in pairs until they are called to recite them at the teacher's desk or write them on the blackboard. The teacher is always anxious to have these learned; for then students are able to go on to arithmetic and phonics. "English" lessons, which focus on grammar or what, in the public schools, would be called "language arts," begin in the third grade, by which time all student-teacher interaction is in English.

Although the Swartzentruber children receive no formal language instruction and have fewer opportunities to use English in the classroom than their counterparts in the average second language class at the public school, they may actually be learning in a more natural environment. For example, the Amish children are exposed, from the beginning, to language that is relevant to their immediate needs and interests. Furthermore, although first graders are addressed in language that is simple and repetitive, at the same time they are able to listen to exchanges of varying degrees of fluency, yet focusing on familiar subjects, as the teacher instructs the other grades. First graders are, thus, able to put what they learn to immediate use. In short, the situation is similar to that of first language learning, natural rather than formal, and, therefore, perhaps most conducive to learning (cf. Carroll 1981; Krashen and Terrell 1983; Littlewood 1984).

Just as the approach to language instruction favors learning, so does the emotional climate of the classroom. Amish children work towards clearly defined goals in a non-competitive atmosphere. In the Amish community, English is the language of education and the language in which all other subjects (including *Hochdeitsch* or "church German") are taught. Rather than an obstacle that must be overcome so that the children can get on with their education, it is part of this education, and



the teacher expects that students will learn both oral and written English. It is also expected that some students will have a harder time doing so than others, just as some have a harder time with arithmetic. As one Amish woman told me, after commenting on how she like English better than arithmetic but her brother felt the opposite, "it's just how they like to learn" (F. S. 6/88). This sentiment was echoed by a former schoolteacher, who noted matter-of-factly that "some are harder to get it [English] into, and some just don't try if you don't press them to work on it harder" (L.M. 6/88). Students are simply encouraged to do their best. As Hostetler and Huntington (1971, 57) note, what competition there is in the Amish school is structured to support the group and "the children encourage one another's good performance in order that their whole class or their whole school may do well."

Expecting every child to learn English, yet acknowledging that some will learn it more easily than others and like English better than other subjects, reflects the Amish belief that "an individual's talents are God-given," and "therefore, no one should be praised if he is an easy learner nor condemned if he is a slow learner" (Hostetler and Huntington 1971, 57). Grades are based on the percentage of correct responses, not on how well a student does in relation to others; there is no class curve. Swartzentruber Amish schools demonstrate this lack of individual competitiveness more than other Old Order Amish schools. In contrast to the brightly decorated walls of the Old Order Amish school in the neighboring Amish community in Norfolk, New York, Swartzentruber school walls are bare of individual artwork. Certainly Swartzentruber students do bright coloring and decorated charts, but these are usually kept in the teacher's desk.<sup>2</sup>

The Swartzentruber Amish attitude towards success and failure in academic pursuits, including the acquisition of English, also reflects the emphasis placed by the community on the learning of discipline, community values, and the ability to work with others for the good of the community rather than on the successful achievement of individual goals. Indeed, prominently displayed in one school is the motto: "Those who want to be heard, speak up. Those who want to be seen stand up. those who want to be appreciated, shut up."<sup>3</sup> As Keim (1975) notes:

The Amish view education as a way to encourage the child to follow instructions, respect authority, and master basic information. They are skeptical of education which stresses engagement, critical thinking, or asking questions. They favor rote learning. The community can survive only if authority and tradition are respected and upheld. (14)



In short, for the Amish, formal education is not to prepare a child for a successful career or to make that child a good citizen, but rather to prepare the child "to live for others, to use his talents in service to God and man, to live an upright and obedient life, and to prepare for the life to come" (Stoll 1975, 31; cf. Hostetler 1993; Hostetler and Huntington 1971).<sup>4</sup> Children are expected to do the best they can on the subjects that will enable them to function in the outside world, because to do so reflects the internalization of values necessary to the maintenance of their own. In such a supportive setting, in which the tasks and goals are clearly defined, students are far less likely to experience the anxiety and insecurity that will inhibit communication and hinder language learning (cf. Littlewood 1984, 58-59).

Ironically, although the attitudes of Swartzentruber Amish parents and the community as a whole towards learning and achievement may provide for an atmosphere conducive to learning English (cf. Gardner 1985, especially ch. 6), their attitudes towards the English community seem to work against it. Indeed, given Schumann's assertion that second language acquisition "is just one aspect of acculturation and the degree to which a learner acculturates to the TL [target language] group will control the degree to which he acquires the second language," (1978, 34; cf. Gardner 1985, 135-37; Lambert 1967, 1974; Littlewood 1984; McLaughlin 1985, ch. 5), Swartzentruber children ought not to learn English at all, for Swartzentruber parents—indeed, Amish parents in general—actively discourage their children from identifying with the English world and, to the best of their ability, limit their contact with it. The Amish parochial school is a demonstration of this determination to keep the community in general, and the children in particular, separate.

By establishing parochial schools, the Amish have ensured that the school is another field on which the spiritual battle is waged. As Ervin N. Herschberger, an Amishman from Myersdale, Pennsylvania, writing in *The Blackboard Bulletin*, a journal for Amish teachers, acknowledges, "the public schools are better equipped to teach the '3 R's' than the Amish ones," yet, he asserts, "The Amish schools must do more" (1958, 68-69). The Amish believe that religious training should take place in the home and at church and not in school; nevertheless, as another Amishman put it, in an anonymous 1959 editorial in *The Blackboard Bulletin*, in the parochial schools the Amish "have the privilege of teaching the regular branches, and at the same time we can interweave the doctrine of God, Christ, and the Church in all our studies, even in arithmetic."<sup>5</sup>

The Amish parochial school is a relatively recent phenomenon. The first Amish or Mennonite private school was the Apple Grove Mennonite Private School, later called Apple Grove Amish Parochial, in Dover, Delaware, which opened its doors in January 1925. Prior to the movement towards school consolidation, most Amish children attended



local one-room schools, which, although public, had allowed parents a measure of control over the classroom they would be denied in the larger, centralized schools. For the Amish, letting the children leave the watchful eyes of the community would be inimical to their survival. In a 1965 article in *The Blackboard Bulletin*, for example, Effie Mast Troyer and Joseph Stoll noted that Apple Grove was not started,

. . . as some historians have deduced, because of the flag salute law which was passed in 1925. Nor was it because of any particular disagreement with the public schools as they had existed up to that time. Instead, the problem seems to have been one of consolidation of the school districts . . . The fact that the Delaware schools would now teach only grades one through six instead of the former eight grades is probably the foremost reason the Amish established a private school. Grades seven and eight would be transported to larger schools in town. This the Amish definitely did not want.<sup>6</sup>

As one Amishman put it, "How can we parents expect our children to grow up untainted by the world, if we voluntarily send them into a worldly environment, where they associate with worldly companions, and are taught by men and women not of our faith six hours a day, five days a week, for the greater part of the year?" (Stoll 1975, 28).<sup>7</sup>

Nevertheless, as Hostetler and Redekop (1962) note, "while the school experience is a normal part of life, it remains a part of the domain of the outside world" (198). Like the English language in which it is conducted, the school is an outside institution that plays a necessary role within the community. The Amish parochial school must meet the requirements of the state and, at the same time, further the often opposing interests of the Amish community (cf. Hostetler and Redekop 1962). It is in the school, taught by a member of the community and watched over by a school board chosen from the community, that Swartzentruber and other Amish children are introduced to the non-Amish, sinful world outside their community (Hostetler 1983, 254). Symbolic of this introduction to the outside world is that children entering school are addressed in English by the teacher, who is, in most cases, a neighbor they know well, or even a sibling, who has never before spoken English to them. Another German-speaking, Anabaptist separatist group, the Hutterites, counteracts the negative influence of the English school by sending their children to "German school" at the same time (Deets 1939, rpt. 1975, 43).<sup>8</sup> The Amish try to limit the effects of English school by keeping the boundaries between the school and the community intact. In Swartzentruber schools, for example, as in the schools of many of the more conservative Amish sects, English ceases to be spoken when lessons end and school is no



longer in session, even if the break is only for recess.<sup>9</sup> Parents expect their children to learn English, but, at the same time, to learn that it has its place. As one mother put it, noting that, although she would not mind if her children used some English around the house and with other children and family members, she would not want them to use it too much, "sometimes they do it [speak English] just for fun, but, if they do it regularly, we make them quit" (M. Y. 4/88).

The teaching of English and the rules governing its use demonstrate clearly the goals of Amish education, namely the perpetuation of the values of the Swartzentruber Amish community and the protection of Swartzentruber children from the values of the outside. Central to these goals is the concept of separation. As Huntington (1975) points out: "In studying both the negative and positive acculturation of the Amish, it must be remembered that the Amish separated from the North European culture in which they had originated. This is quite a different situation from that of two historically different cultures coming into contact for the first time" (7). Swartzentruber children do not learn English to learn more about English culture; in the eyes of the community, the less they know of that the better. They must, however, deal with that culture for the good of the community. To the extent that these restrictions are clear, and English is learned and used accordingly, Amish education succeeds and the community prospers.

The success of Amish language education may present a dilemma for second language researchers. First, the Amish do not fit easily into any category of second language learner. English is a language learned in school, but it is not a school subject; it plays a necessary role in intracommunity interaction, yet it is not the language of the community. Secondly, the Swartzentruber Amish appear to have conflicting attitudes towards English and its use. Swartzentruber children learn English, but are taught not to use it too often, except at school, where its use is necessarily constrained. They learn English and at the same time learn that the "English" world is undesirable and they must remain separate from it. Finally, it may be impossible to evaluate Amish language acquisition by the same standards as are used to evaluate second language acquisition in mainstream American schools. Gardner (1985), for example, includes in a definition of factors relating to second language achievement "a desire on the part of the students to further their knowledge of the second language and an interest in making use of any opportunity which arises to improve proficiency" (13). Clearly, given this definition, Amish second language achievement is limited and likely to remain so.

Nevertheless, observing the Swartzentruber Amish suggests the importance in second language learning of both community attitudes towards the target language and community expectations of what will be



achieved. As Wong Fillmore (1985) has argued, learners must realize that they need to learn the second language and must be motivated to do so. Research of the Amish suggests that motivation may be to preserve a way of life (cf. Johnson-Weiner 1992). In direct contrast to Schumann's (1978) view of the relationship between acculturation and language acquisition, languages may be acquired as barriers to acculturation are raised.

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup> There is no data on the English acquisition of the Swartzentruber attending the Kendrew Corners school because I was not permitted to test the children. In the words of the teachers and the several parents with whom I spoke, "it's not our way." Other researchers have had similar problems when working with the Old Order Amish; for example, Enninger (1987) notes that: "In this culture, the choice the field worker has is to work on the basis of the obtainable data, or to gain no insights at all" (149-50). Like Enninger, I have opted for the former alternative. Assessments of Amish achievement are based on my own observations of classroom activity, recitations, and written work, as well as on conversations with students in all grades. Predictions of Amish achievement are based on the results of studies reported by Hostetler (1969), Hostetler and Huntington (1971), and Erickson (1975). An earlier version of this article appeared in *The Fifteenth LACUS Forum* (Lake Bluff, IL: LACUS, 1989), 567-76. Revisions were undertaken with the support of a 1993 NEH Summer Stipend and Travel Fellowship.

<sup>2</sup> Even the games the pupils play stress group cooperation rather than individual success. Rounder, for example, is a baseball-like game played without teams. One can be tagged out or one can be put out for not rounding the bases in the time it takes the next two batters to hit.

<sup>3</sup> The teacher told me that the motto had been put up by the previous teacher, but that she agreed with it and so had decided to leave it up (L. M. 5/93).

<sup>4</sup> As attorney William Ball has noted, "The purpose of Amish Education is not to get ahead in the world, but to get to heaven" (Arons 1972, 55; Keim 1975, 3). As Keim further notes, "The Amish response to the high school was that for the Amish child it was it was irrelevant; it did not enhance the prospects of salvation. In fact, worldly knowledge, represented by the high school, could impair salvation" (1975, 13).

<sup>5</sup> Rpt. in *The Challenge of the Child: Selections from "The Blackboard Bulletin" 1957-1966*. Aylmer, Ontario: Pathway Publishing Corporation, 1967, p. 69. An advertisement for the Pathway readers, a series of reading texts published by the Amish-owned Pathway Publishing Corporation, assures potential users that these books "designed to be used in Amish classrooms . . . are solidly wholesome, with none of the fantasy that is commonplace in both Christian and secular readers . . . Here [in the readers] the children are expected to obey their parents, respect their teachers, ask forgiveness when they do what is wrong, and humbly submit to the discipline of those in authority! . . . Because the Amish don't use electricity, you won't find stories dealing with the latest in videos, computers or TV's. Instead the stories are centered around farm life, with horse auctions, harvests, and LARGE families." See also "Is It Worth the Effort," an editorial published in *The Blackboard Bulletin* (January 1961), rpt. in *The Challenge of the Child*, pp. 75-77. The editorial argues that, to make the church "blight-resistant" "we must wage a spiritual battle on three fields: 1. the church,

represented by the ministry; 2. the home, represented by the parents; 3. and the church school, represented by Christian teachers" (76).

<sup>6</sup> Rpt. in *The Challenge of the Child: Selections from "The Blackboard Bulletin" 1957-1966*. Aylmer, Ontario: Pathway Publishing Corporation, 1967 pp. 94-98. For an interesting discussion of the parochial school movement, from an Old Order Perspective, see Isaac Z. Lapp and the Lapp Family, *Pennsylvania School History 1690-1990* (Gordonville, PA: Christ S. Lapp, 1991.)

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> As Deets put it: "the contemporary German school is like a blanket of counter-indoctrination thrown around the English school session. It is usually held a half hour before and a half hour after each session of the standard school" (43).

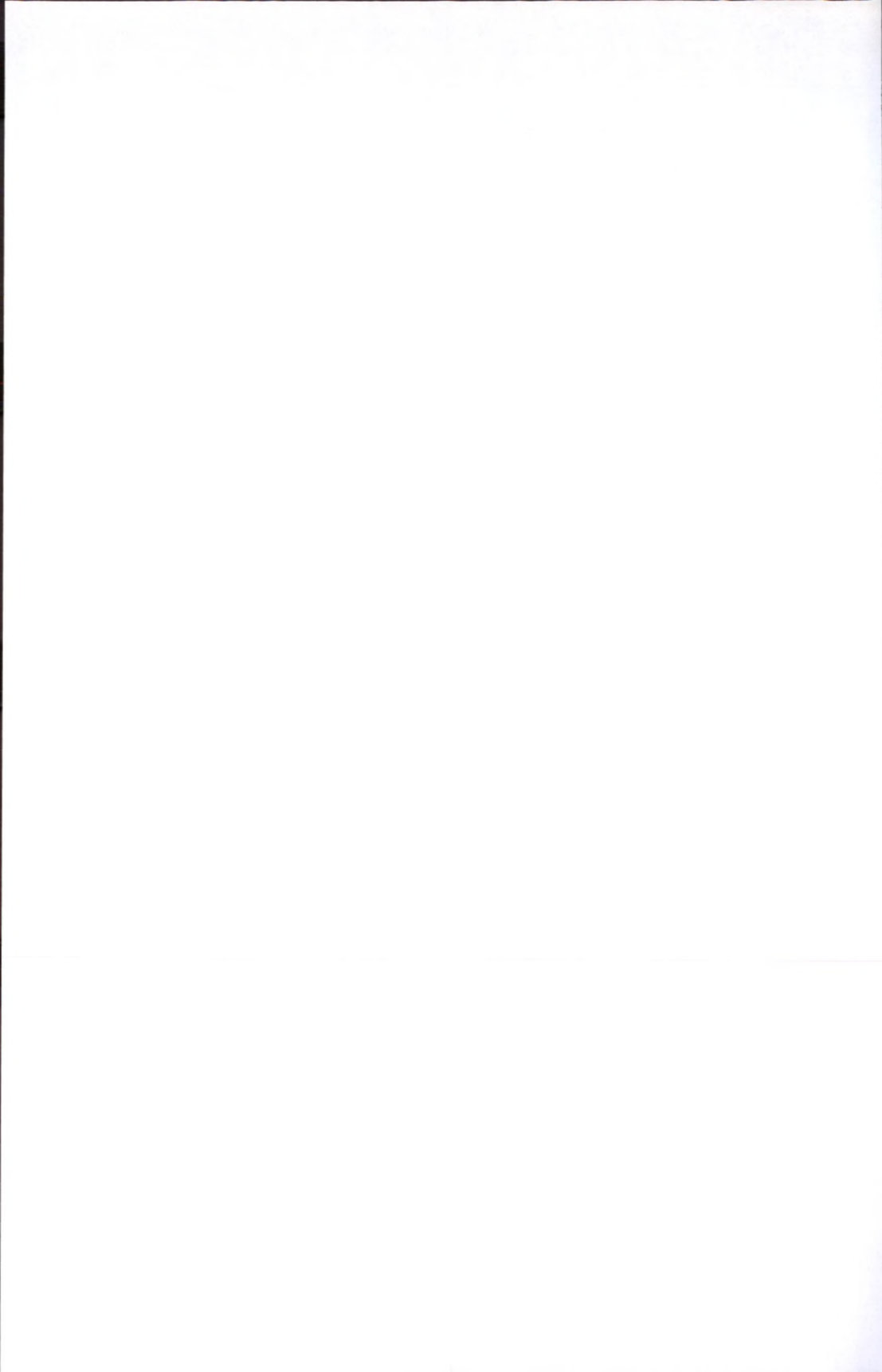
<sup>9</sup> Amish communities vary in the extent to which English is used during recess. As Hostetler and Huntington (1971) note, "the majority of schools encourage the use of English during recess, for the teachers believe it helps the children become fluent in English" (48); in the Plumbrook Parochial School, which serves the Old Order Amish community in Norfolk, New York, approximately 40 miles away from the Swartzentruber community, children are required to speak English on the playground for this reason. As Hostetler and Huntington note, however, some parents worry that the children will become too used to using English and begin to use it among themselves in preference to German; this has, indeed, become a concern for the Norfolk Amish (cf. Johnson-Weiner 1989).

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## **Bibliography for the Teaching of German-Americana**

Selected and Annotated by  
La Vern J. Rippley

### **Introduction**

During the years 1987-88, at the instigation of Ruth Reichmann of Indiana University-Indianapolis, the Society for German-American Studies initiated a committee that studied and made recommendations for the introduction of German-American studies at various educational levels to the school and college curricula in the United States and Canada. The efforts of the committee resulted in a four-page set of guidelines. They were first printed by the *SGAS Newsletter* in volume 9, number 4 (December 1988) and subsequently distributed as an insert in the *Newsletter* of the American Association of Teachers of German. Thus distribution amounted to roughly 10,000 individuals and institutions involved with the teaching of German topics in North America.

From this effort has resulted the request for bibliographic information, which teachers could use in classes at various levels. While the editor of this bibliography is fully aware that resource materials alone will not make a curriculum, it is believed that this selection of printed resources will aid the teacher in making preliminary forays for suitable materials.

It should be pointed out that any state historical society holds much printed material in the German language that could be incorporated into any teacher's plan for introducing this fascinating subject matter to students. Likewise, a glance at the reference source by Arndt and Olson will quickly identify German-language newspapers that were published in a teacher's home state and where they can be found today. Further

investigation will undoubtedly reveal many sources of German-language materials on the more local level, beginning with gravestones in communities where the Germans lived, and ending with books and other inscribed hometown monuments of the past.

In addition, there are now available quite a few audio and video tapes as well as 16mm films about the German-American experience, many the result of funding that was temporarily available during the 1983 tricentennial German immigration to the United States. While no formal listing of such materials is offered here, readers are invited to contact the author for a partial list, many of which have been mentioned over the years in the *SGAS Newsletter*.

The bibliography offered here is by no means exhaustive, nor even comprehensive of any area. New York City for example had the largest numerical concentration of Germans over the decades and while it produced the most materials, it remains true that in such a massive city the remainder and the impact have been smaller than for instance in Wisconsin or Kansas where the percentage of Germans was so large that their heritage tended to dominate the host society. Thus situations vary extremely from one region to the next. Likewise, no selected bibliography is without its biases. This author is more than aware of his own reference to the lopsided inclusion of items from certain states in the Midwest. Other states could be nearly as easily exemplified and readers are encouraged to fill in the perceived gaps.

Above all, writers of the guidelines and this bibliographer jointly wish to stress that teaching the German-American heritage must be an interdisciplinary effort! Teaching German-Americana will be rewarding in proportion as other scholars and interested community individuals are drawn into the effort.

The author has considered making an index to this bibliography. After consultation with several potential users, however, it was decided that this would not serve the intended purpose of quick access. Rather than expend the limited space for such an index, it was believed more worthwhile to present the list of publications, alphabetically by author, with a brief comment about the content of each listed item. Readers are advised to procure access to the two well-indexed bibliographies by Schultz and Tolzmann (mentioned below) to gain access on a topic-by-topic basis to a wealth of published material about the Germans in America. To fill in the gaps and especially to bring the search up to the current year, users are reminded that the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* annually includes a bibliography listed alphabetically by author (as here) with a topical index. Because this annual bibliography goes back to the publication dates of Schultz and Tolzmann, it is reasonable to assume that these complementary tools would serve the teacher adequately to



assemble a working set of materials for teaching the German-American experience in any locale.

For back copies of the *Yearbook*, contact the Treasurer, William Roba, Scott Community College, 500 Belmont Road, Bettendorf, IA 52722, tel. (319) 323-4733.

Individuals who have lost or never received the "Guidelines for the Instruction of German-American Studies at Various Educational Levels" are welcome to request a free copy from the author at St. Olaf College, Northfield, MN 55057.

Teachers seeking previously implemented curricula and syllabi of courses are invited to contact Dr. Ruth Reichmann, 430 S. Kelp Grove Rd., Nashville, IN 47448.

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28. Condoyannis, George E. "German American Prose Fiction, from 1850-1914." Unpublished. Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1953. One of the few systematic analytical efforts about the literary scene, as pertains to actual belles lettres in America, not German literature as brought to the United States from across the sea.



29. Conzen, Kathleen Neils. *Immigrant Milwaukee, 1836-1860*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976. Excellent example of how one city received and digested its large German element.
30. Conzen, Kathleen Neils. "The Germans" in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, Stephan Thernstrom, ed. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980, 406-25. A splendid general introduction to the subject of German-Americans with some statistical tables and a good map of the then existing German Empire.
31. Cordasco, Francesco, ed. *Dictionary of American Immigration History*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1990. A good volume for overviews and comparative conditions of the inter-nationality situation in the Americas today.
32. Cronau, Rudolf. *Drei Jahrhunderte deutschen Lebens in Amerika*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1909. Quite outdated and beset with filiopietistic attitude though it contains worthwhile photographs.
33. Cunz, Dieter. *The Maryland Germans*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948. An excellent early model covering an entire state.
34. Detjen, David W. *The Germans in Missouri 1900-1918: Prohibition, Neutrality, and Assimilation*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1984. Tight study of the German situation in Missouri, including the effects suffered from World War I pressures.
35. Deutsch, Herman J. "Yankee-Teuton Rivalry in Wisconsin Politics in the Seventies." *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 14 (1931): 262-82. How nationality affected the state's population on local and some state issues of the 1870s. This is another multi-part study.
36. Diamond, Sander A. *The Nazi Movement in the United States 1924-1941*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974. A book with saving qualities except for the first entire section which concerns itself with the Deutsches Auslandsinstitut in the 1930s. This portion is in error and has little or no reference to the subject matter suggested by the title.
37. Doerries, Reinhard R. *Iren und Deutsche in der neuen Welt: Akkulturationsprozesse in der amerikanischen Gesellschaft im späten neunzehnten Jahrhundert*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1986. Much information about the mobility, ideology, radical movements, ethnic labor organizations and church relationships for each group with reference to each other.

38. Dorpalen, Andreas. "The German Element and the Issues of the Civil War." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 23 (1942): 55-76. Tests the myth that all Germans automatically opposed slavery and thus supported Lincoln.
39. Durnbaugh, Donald F., and others, eds. *The Brethren Encyclopedia*. Philadelphia: The Brethren Encyclopedia, Inc., 1983-84. A model study in three volumes about a religious group that is inseparable from the German element itself.
40. Eisenberg, C.G. (trans. Anton H. Richter). *History of the First Dakota-District of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Iowa and Other States*. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1982. Especially good for the descriptions of pastors and missionaries to the Dakota Lutherans.
41. Everest, Kate Asaphine. "How Wisconsin Came By its Large German Element." *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* 12 (1892): 299-334. A fine early analysis of the German element in Wisconsin, and how it got there.
42. Faust, Albert B. *The German Element in the United States*. 2 Vols. New York: Steuben Society, 1927. Printed originally in 1909 and only partially revised in 1927, the book remains the greatest pioneering effort, with however, an overly assertive tone at times.
43. Fermi, Laura. *Illustrious Immigrants: The Intellectual Migration from Europe 1930-1941*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968. Along with Boyer and editors Fleming-Bailyn, one of the best texts about the mostly German refugees who arrived during the 1930s for the great benefit of American society and science.
44. Fishman, Joshua A., ed. *Language Loyalty in the United States*. The Hague: Mouton, 1966. A first rate collection of essays about the status of the German language in the United States; a book which retains its edge for high quality to the present time.
45. Fleming, Donald, and Bernard Bailyn, eds. *The Intellectual Migration, Europe and America 1930-1941*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969. About the German intellectuals expelled by leaders in the Third Reich.
46. Frye, Alton. *Nazi Germany and the American Hemisphere 1933-1941*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967. One of three or four



competent studies of a feeble attempt by the Hitler regime to influence the German immigrants and their descendants in the Americas.

47. Galicich, Anne. *The German Americans*. New York: Chelsea House, 1989. A fine edition for youthful readers.
48. Geitz, Henry, ed. *The German-American Press*. Madison: Max Kade Institute, 1992. A collection of essays that follows up nicely to the 1957 publication by Carl Wittke on the German press in the United States.
49. Gerlach, Russell L. *Settlement Patterns in Missouri: A Study of Population Origins*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986. Competent study of a region in which Germans dominated.
50. *The Germans*. Unit 5 of the Immigrant in America Microfilm Collection. Woodbridge, CT: Research Publications, 1984, Reels 148-80. Contains many earlier German-language publications, among them, for example, Alexander Schem's *Conversationslexikon*.
51. Gerson, Louis L. *The Hyphenate in Recent American Politics and Diplomacy*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1964. Not exclusively about the German situation, but exemplified by fine insights and quite useable general information, especially at the hand of its index.
52. Gilbert, Glenn G., ed. *The German Language in America: A Symposium*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971. The papers presented in a symposium were edited, published and appended with a discussion and commentary section. Gilbert is also the author of a fine atlas about the German dialects spoken in Texas.
53. Gilhoff, Johannes. *Jürnjakob Swehn der Amerikaner*. Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1987. Fascinating and funny descriptions by an imaginary Schleswig-Holsteiner who arrives eventually in Iowa and farms.
54. Glasrud, Clarence A., ed. *A Heritage Deferred: The German-Americans in Minnesota*. Moorhead, MN: Concordia College Press, 1990. One of three volumes printed by the same press (*Germany and Minnesota: A Special Relationship*, 1983 and *A Heritage Fulfilled*, 1984). All three are conference proceedings which were subsequently edited and

embellished with fine photographs, exemplifying what could be done for each state in the Union.

55. Gleason, Philip. *The Conservative Reformers: German-American Catholics and the Social Order*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968. With Colman Barry, the best book on the German Catholics, this one focused on the efforts and achievements of Fritz Kenkel and his St. Louis-based Central Verein.
56. Haag, Earl C., ed. *A Pennsylvania German Anthology*. Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 1988. Fine compilation of writings by and about Pennsylvania Germans.
57. Hannemann, Max. *Das Deutschtum in den Vereinigten Staaten: Seine Verbreitung und Entwicklung seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts (Petermanns Mitteilungen)*. Gotha: Justus Perthus, 1936. Excellent production of maps and text showing the distribution of the Germans in the United States with dot graphs for the major cities. Criticized by some for representing the Germans too strongly in the U.S. westward movement of the nineteenth century.
58. Hansen, Marcus Lee. *The Immigrant in American History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940. Quite general, especially as pertains to the Germans, but perhaps the finest early work about the significance of the immigrant in American history.
59. Hansen, Marcus Lee. "The Revolution of 1848 and German Emigration." *Journal of Economic and Business History* 2 (1930): 630-58. Detailed study of the importance and achievement of the German forty-eighters. Rates alongside Bruncken and Wittke for its high quality.
60. Harzig, Christiane. *Familie, Arbeit und weibliche Öffentlichkeit in einer Einwanderungsstadt: Deutschamerikanerinnen in Chicago um die Jahrhundertwende*. St. Katherine, Germany: Scripta Mercaturae, 1991. Excellent inside look at how young German women, often domestics, coped with immigration to the New World city.
61. Hawgood, John A. *The Tragedy of German-America*. New York: Arno Press reprint 1970. First published in 1940. By a British scholar concerned with the 1917 debacle when Germans in the United States became identified on the side of treason, although generally their behavior did not demonstrate such an association.



62. Heinrici, Max, ed. *Das Buch der Deutschen in Amerika*. Philadelphia: National German-American Alliance, 1909. A compendium, largely in German, about the activities and positions of the National German American Alliance, also called Deutsch-Amerikanischer Nationalbund, which began in 1901 and had its charter revoked in 1918.
63. Helbich, Wolfgang J. *Alle Menschen sind dort gleich: Die deutsche Amerika-Auswanderung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. Düsseldorf: Schwann-Bagel, 1988. Designed as a textbook for seminars at universities in Germany. Can be used successfully also in upper level German language classes in the United States.
64. Helbich, Wolfgang, Walter D. Kamphoefner and Ulrike Sommer. *Briefe aus Amerika: Deutsche Auswanderer schreiben aus der Neuen Welt 1830-1930*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 1988. Also available in English from Cornell University Press, 1991, edited by Kamphoefner. The best compilation of letters by immigrants to America who wrote descriptions and commentary back home. Organized into blocks of correspondence with annotations about the letter writers and their families.
65. Hinnners, Wolfgang. *Exil und Rückkehr: Friedrich Kapp in Amerika und Deutschland, 1824-1884*. Stuttgart: Akademischer Verlag Hans-Dieter Heinz, 1987. Depicts an enigmatic figure who as commissioner of immigration in New York affected and was affected by the massive German immigration to the United States.
66. Hoerder, Dirk, ed. "Why did you come?": *The Proletarian Mass Migration Research Report, 1980-1985*. Bremen: University of Bremen Labor Migration Project, 1986. Hoerder continues an ongoing study of the German labor movement in the United States and reports results in a variety of publications like this one.
67. Hoerder, Dirk, ed. *Labor Migration in the Atlantic Economies: The European and North American Working Classes during the Period of Industrialization*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985. Good descriptions and material about the German working classes in the United States.
68. Hoglund, A. William. *Immigrants and Their Children in the United States: A Bibliography of Doctoral Dissertations, 1885-1982*. New York, London: Garland, 1986. Excellent reference work about the

hundreds of doctoral dissertations that have been produced on the topic of German (and other) immigration groups.

69. Holli, Melvin, and Peter d'A Jones. *Ethnic Chicago*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. A. Eerdmans Publishing, 1990. A superb section on the Germans in Chicago during World War I.
70. Hostetler, John A., ed. *Amish Roots: A Treasury of History, Wisdom and Lore*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989. Not a history of the Amish as such, but in its entirety and coverage, a fine overview seen often through the eyes of the Amish themselves. The excellent work of an insider.
71. Hostetler, John A. *Hutterite Society*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974. The best book (with Victor Peters) to date about the Hutterites. Well organized and illustrated.
72. Irwin, Jerry, and Douglas Lee. "The Plain People of Pennsylvania." *National Geographic* 165 (1984): 492-519. Good pictures and text.
73. Iverson, Noel. *Germania, U.S.A. Social Change in New Ulm, Minnesota*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1966. Study of the social class differences in a community founded by forty-eighters turners and how they fared interacting with non-turners over a century of time.
74. Johnson, Hildegard Binder. "German Forty-Eighters in Davenport." *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* 44 (Jan. 1946): 3-60. The best study to date about a community that attracted almost exclusively Schleswig-Holsteiners.
75. Johnson, Hildegard Binder. "Intermarriages Between German Pioneers and Other Nationalities in Minnesota in 1860 and 1870." *The American Journal of Sociology* 51 (1946): 299-304. The earliest pioneer study of immigrants on a quantitative basis, and still valid for the serious student.
76. Johnson, Hildegard Binder. "The Germans," in *They Chose Minnesota*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1981, pp. 153-84. Good overview with detail, pictures and maps about the German element in a single state.
77. Johnson, Hildegard Binder. "The Location of German Immigrants in the Middle West." *Annals of American Geographers* 41 (1951): 1-41.



Highly competent analysis on the siting of German communities in the Midwest.

78. Johnson, Neil M. *George Sylvester Viereck: German-American Propagandist*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1972. Analyzes the tragic German-American propagandist who was on the payroll of the German news service during World Wars I and II and went to prison for it.
79. Jones, George F. *The Salzburger Saga: Religious Exiles and Other Germans Along the Savannah*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984. One of several studies by Jones on the expelled German-speaking Lutheran immigrants from that area of Austria, who settled first in Georgia but then moved north.
80. Jordan, Terry G. *German Seed in Texas Soil: Immigrant Farmers in Nineteenth-Century Texas*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966. Excellent study of the Germans in Texas, with maps and photographs.
81. Kamphoefner, Walter D. *The Westphalians: From Germany to Missouri*. Princeton: University Press, 1987. A genuine story of local migration with many charts, citations and indexes, theory about assimilation and chain migration.
82. Kapp, Friedrich. *Aus und Über Amerika: Thatsachen und Erlebnisse*. 2 vols. Berlin: Julius Springer, 1876. Kapp was the New York Commissioner of Immigration who not only kept many records but proposed corrective legislation, sometimes setting the pace for the whole of America.
83. Kaufmann, Wilhelm. *Die Deutschen im amerikanischen Bürgerkriege*. Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1911. Still the best book that focuses exclusively on the Germans in the American Civil War.
84. Keil, Hartmut, and John B. Jentz, eds. *German Workers in Chicago: A Documentary History of Working-Class Culture from 1850 to World War I*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988. One of several fine publications by the same authors concerning the subject of the German working class in greater Chicago.
85. Kent, Donald P. *The Refugee Intellectual: The Americanization of the Immigrants of 1933-1941*. New York: Columbia University Press,

1953. Another competent study of the refugee intellectuals who left Nazi Germany for the United States and fared somewhat well here.
86. Kipphan, Klaus. *Deutsche Propaganda in den Vereinigten Staaten 1933-1941*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag, 1971. One of about four books treating the subject of how Hitler sought to influence the German Americans.
  87. Klobberdanz, Timothy. "Cross Makers: German-Russian Folk Specialists of the Great Plains." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1986. Story of blacksmiths and folk healers of German-Russian ancestry especially in North Dakota.
  88. Kloss, Heinz. *Atlas of German-American Settlements*. Marburg: N.G. Elwert, 1974. By far the best available set of maps showing where the Germans settled while they developed churches, clubs, and related units in the entire United States.
  89. Kloss, Heinz, ed. *Deutsch als Muttersprache in den Vereinigten Staaten. Teil II: Regionale und funktionale Aspekte*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1985. A compilation of the work of many scholars seeking to render a contemporary profile of the remainder of active German language usage in the United States.
  90. Kloss, Heinz. "Die deutschamerikanische Schule." *Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien* 7 (1962): 141-75. A sophisticated presentation of the German-language schools in the United States during the 1850-1930s period.
  91. Kloss, Heinz. *The American Bilingual Tradition*. Rowley, MA: Newberry House, 1977. An English-language rendition of what was presented in several earlier volumes by the same author in German publications.
  92. Kraybill, David. *The Riddle of Amish Culture*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989. One of several recent high-quality studies of the German-speaking Amish and their culture.
  93. Kraybill, Donald B., and Lucian Niemeyer [author & photographer]. *Old Order Amish: Their Enduring Way of Life*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993. A stunning achievement of colored photography coupled to an inspiring, authoritative and scholarly, yet simple, text that truly celebrates American pluralism at its finest.



94. Laing, Francis S., O.M. Cap. "German-Russian Settlements in Ellis County, Kansas." *Kansas Historical Collections* 11 (1909-10): 489-528. Thorough study of Germans from Russia in western Kansas.
95. Laing, Francis S., O.M. Cap. "The German-Russian Settlement Pattern in Ellis County, Kansas." *Rocky Mountain Social Science Journal* 5 (1968): 52-62. Update of the former.
96. Lang, Barbara. *The Process of Immigration in German-American Literature from 1850-1900: A Change in Ethnic Self-Definition*. Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1988. A history of German-American literature from 1850-1900 with commentary and useful references for added investigations of this elusive and enormous field of study.
97. Lehmann, Heinz (trans. Gerhard Bassler). *The German Canadians 1750-1937: Immigration, Settlement and Culture*. St. John's, Newfoundland: Jespersen Press, 1986. Updating by the translator makes this a comprehensive book about the German element in the whole of Canada.
98. Levi, Kate Everest. "Geographical Origin of German Immigration to Wisconsin." *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* 14 (1898): 341-93. The same author as (Everest) above. Early but highly informative material.
99. Long, James W. *From Privileged to Dispossessed: The Volga Germans 1860-1917*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988. Perhaps the best book available about the Germans who migrated from Germany beginning in 1763 and lived along the Volga until World War II. Many such German-Russians came to the United States from 1874 to 1914 but this book is only about the settling on the Volga in Russia.
100. Luebke, Frederick C. *Bonds of Loyalty: German Americans and World War I*. DeKalb: University of Northern Illinois Press, 1974. The very best overall book about the German-Americans in World War I.
101. Luebke, Frederick C. *Immigrants and Politics: The Germans of Nebraska, 1880-1900*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971. A collection of essays by distinguished authors writing about the successes and failures of the Germans in the effort to elect President Lincoln. To some extent they were the deciding factor.
102. Manley, Robert N. "Language, Loyalty and Liberty: The Nebraska State Council of Defense and the Lutheran Churches, 1917-1918."

- Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 37 (1964): 1-16. Among the best descriptions of the effort by the Missouri Synod (and others) to keep German as the language of instruction in schools, which, however, failed after 1917 when anti-German sentiment swept the country.
103. Marschalck, Peter. *Deutsche Überseewanderung im 19. Jahrhundert: Ein Beitrag zur soziologischen Theorie der Bevölkerung*. Industrielle Welt, vol. 14. Stuttgart: Klett, 1973. Thoroughly competent study of the sociological conditions of the German migration in the nineteenth century, based in part on quantitative analysis.
  104. Maurer, Heinrich H. "The Earlier German Nationalism in America." *American Journal of Sociology* 22 (1917): 519-43. Important to understand the anti-German waves that swept the country beginning in 1917.
  105. Meng, John. "Cahenslyism: The First Stage, 1883-1891." *Catholic Historical Review* 32 (1946): 389-413. Cahensly was a representative in the Reichstag who came to America under the auspices of assisting German immigrants, especially helping them remain Catholic, an effort which met with opposition from the Irish-dominated clergy in the United States at the time.
  106. Meng, John. "Cahenslyism: The Second Chapter, 1891-1910." *Catholic Historical Review* 32 (1946): 302-40. Continuation of the former.
  107. Miller, Randall M., ed. *Germans in America: Retrospect and Prospect*. Philadelphia: The German Society of Pennsylvania, 1984. A fine paperback collection of essays that were presented during 1983 tricentennial celebrations of German immigration to America. Each is a superior study in its own right.
  108. Moltmann, Günter. "American-German Return Migration in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries." *Central European History* 13 (1980): 378-92. Along with Vagts, about the only study of specifically German return migration, with tables and graphs.
  109. Moltmann, Günter, ed. *Germans to America: 300 Years of Immigration 1683-1983*. Stuttgart: Institute for Foreign Cultural Relations, 1983. A presentation timed to inform the U.S. public about 300 years of immigration from Germany to the United States. Many pictures, some illustrations, and an adequate bibliography.



110. Nadel, Stanley. *Little Germany: Ethnicity, Religion, and Class in New York City 1845-80*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990. Excellent study of the German neighborhoods of New York City showing that Germans did indeed tend to coalesce, not just among Germans, but even among their subgroups like Prussians, Bavarians, Badensers, Swabians and Rhinelanders.
111. Nagler, Jörg. *Fremont contra Lincoln: Die deutschamerikanische Opposition in der Republikanischen Partei während des amerikanischen Bürgerkrieges*. New York: Peter Lang, 1984. Treats a refined political problem in which Germans played a role for a solution.
112. *Nordamerikanische Wochenpost* is the title of perhaps the highest caliber weekly German-language newspaper still in existence in United States. Contact the editor at 1120 East Long Lake Road, Troy, MI 48098-4992.
113. O'Connor, Richard. *The German Americans*. New York: Little, Brown and Co., 1968. A rather light and humorous but thoroughly researched history of the German-Americans.
114. Olson, Audrey Louise. "The St. Louis Germans, 1850-1920: The Nature of an Immigrant Community and its Relation to the Assimilation Process." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kansas, 1970. Fine example of an in-depth study of a localized German community and its gradual demise.
115. Ortseifen, Karl, Winifried Herget and Holger Lamm, eds. *Picturesque in the Highest Degree: Americans on the Rhine: A Selection of Travel Accounts*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1993. Paperback edition of selected comments by the literary famous from America who toured the Rhine, including Jefferson, Dreiser, Melville, Howells, Harriet B. Stowe, Mark Twain, Thomas Wolfe and Hemingway.
116. Pekari, Matthew Anthony, Rev. "The German Catholics in the United States of America." *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* 36 (1925): 305-58. Along with Barry and Gleason, a good contribution to the history of German Catholic immigration.
117. Peters, Victor. *All Things Common: The Hutterian Way of Life*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1965. Rates near Hostetler as a history and description of the Hutterite settlements, which came from Germany following an interlude in imperial Russia, where none remained after World War I.

118. Petersen, Albert J., Jr. "German-Russian Catholic Colonization in Western Kansas: A Settlement Geography." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University and Agricultural-Mechanical College, 1970. An excellent example of a dissertation formulating a thesis about the need for Germans from Russia to bring permanent settlement to the Great Plains, which perhaps needs additional testing, but is insightful in its scope.
119. Piltz, Thomas. *Three Hundred Years of German Immigrants in North America*. Baltimore: Heinz Moos, 1983. A fine *Time*-magazine sized paperback with many pictures and text by a variety of experts. Fully bilingual in adjacent columns. Appendix contains a chronology, index and extensive bibliography.
120. Pochmann, Henry A. *Bibliography of German Culture in America to 1940*. Ed. Arthur R. Schultz. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1953.
121. Probst, George Theodore. *The Germans in Indianapolis 1840-1918*. Ed. Eberhard Reichmann. Indianapolis: German-American Center & Indiana German Heritage Society, 1989. M.A. thesis done at Indiana University, then upgraded to a beautifully illustrated book by Reichmann to depict the rich heritage of the Germans in Indianapolis.
123. Rappolt, Hedwig, ed. and trans. *An American Apprenticeship: The Letters of Emil Frey, 1860-1865*. New York: Peter Lang, 1986. A German-Swiss immigrant who served in the Civil War, became a U.S. citizen, then returned and was elected president of his home nation without ever having given up his American citizenship.
124. Redekop, Calvin. *Mennonite Society*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989. A recent and comprehensive overview of German Mennonites in the United States.
125. Reichmann, Eberhard. *Fifty Years of Unrelenting German Aspirations in Indianapolis, 1848-1898* by Theodore Stempfel. A bilingual edition, excellent index, many fine photographs.
126. Reppmann, Joachim, and Dietrich Eicke, eds. *Amerika: Hoffnung und Sehnsucht—Aus alten Auswanderer-Rathgebern*. Flensburg: Chamaleon, 1983. Compilation from many original sources of advice and guidance for Germans contemplating emigration. Well illustrated, poignantly selected texts.



127. Rippley, La Vern J. "Gift Cows for Germany." *North Dakota History* 40 (Summer 1973): 4-16, and "American Milk Cows for Germany." *North Dakota History* 44 (1977): 15-23. Examples of a highly focused effort by Germans in America to help their brothers in time of need following World War I when some 2,000 dairy cows were shipped to orphanages and hospitals in the homeland.
128. Rippley, La Vern J. *German Place Names in Minnesota*. Northfield: St. Olaf College Press, 1989. Numerous photographs and text make up 106 pages.
129. Rippley, La Vern J. *Of German Ways*. New York: Harper & Row/Barnes & Noble paperback, 1970. Something of a best seller for the as yet uninitiated to the German-American experience.
130. Rippley, La Vern J. *The German-Americans*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1983. Originally published in Boston: Twayne, 1976. Mentioned by the *Harvard Encyclopedia of Ethnic Groups* as the finest overall book about the Germans in America. Still a comprehensive overview if perhaps in need of bibliographical updating.
131. Rippley, La Vern J. *The Immigrant Experience in Wisconsin*. Boston: Twayne, 1985. A rather sophisticated study of the various immigrant groups to Wisconsin, of which the Germans were by far the largest. Their relationship to the other groups, voting patterns, effects on the "Wisconsin Idea" and more.
132. Rodgers, Jack W. "The Foreign Language Issue in Nebraska, 1918-1923." *Nebraska History* 39 (March 1958): 1-22. Along with Robert Manley, the best information about the use and then the demise of the German language for education in Nebraska. A model case for some 26 other states that banned German, none of which has been so well described.
133. Rothan, Emmet. *The German Catholic Immigrant in the United States, 1830-1860*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1946. Adequate description of the German Catholic Church in the United States with Barry, Gleason and Pekari.
134. Rowan, Steven, and James N. Primm, eds. *Germans for a Free Missouri: Translations from the St. Louis Radical Press*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1983. Detailed and fascinating pieces

from the forty-eighter press of St. Louis but covering only a relatively short period of time.

135. Ruppenthal, Jacob C. "The German Element in Central Kansas." *Kansas Historical Collections* 13 (1913-14): 513-34. Good early piece about the Germans from Russia in Kansas.
136. Sallet, Richard. *The Russian-German Settlements in the United States*. Trans. La Vern J. Rippley and Armand Bauer. Fargo: Institute for Regional Studies, 1974. The best overall description of the German-Russians and their distribution in the United States. Good maps.
137. Saul, Norman E. "The Migration of the Russian-Germans to Kansas." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 40 (1974): 38-62. Competent analysis of the settlement of Germans from Russia in Kansas.
138. Schafer, Joseph. "The Yankee and the Teuton in Wisconsin." *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 6 (Dec. 1922): 125-45. "Characteristic Attitudes Toward the Land" 125-45, "Distinctive Traits as Farmers" 261-79. "Some Traits of Yankees" 386-402, "Some Social Traits of the Teutons" (1923) 3-19, and "Social Harmonies and Discords" 148-71. Fine studies done by the former director of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin on the state's most popular immigrant group.
139. Schmidt, Carl B. "Kansas Mennonite Settlements, 1877." Trans. Cornelius Krahn. *Mennonite Life* 25 (April 1970): 51-58. Discusses the coming of the Russian German Mennonites via the railroads.
140. Schmidt, Carl B. "Reminiscences of Foreign Immigration Work for Kansas." *Transactions and Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* 9 (1905-6): 485-97. Good discussion of work done by railroad companies to lure German immigrants to settle their land grants.
141. Schneider, Carl E. *The German Church on the American Frontier*. St. Louis: Eden Publishing House, 1939. Dated but fine descriptions of the difficulties faced by early German-speaking missionaries and their leaders on the Midwest frontier.
142. Schroeder, Adolf E., and Carla Schulz-Geisberg, eds. *Hold Dear, As Always Jette: A German Immigrant Life in Letters*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1988. The story of 23-year old Henriette Geisberg Bruns who arrived in Missouri from Westphalia in 1836 and struggled to survive on the frontier. A personal memoir beautifully translated and rendered readable for the lay person.



143. Schroeder, William, and Helmut T. Huebert. *Mennonite Historical Atlas*. Winnipeg: Springfield Publishers, 1990, 3d printing 1992. Excellent village maps tracing the Mennonites from Holland to the Danzig area, then to Russia and back to the East and West Preserve south of Winnipeg, and the United States, also South America. Accompanied by succinct text.
144. Schultz, Arthur R. *German-American Relations and German Culture in America: A Subject Bibliography 1941-1980*. White Plains: Kraus International, 1985. Probably the best available general bibliography on the subject of German-American topics. Readers are also referred to its predecessor by Schultz and Henry A. Pochmann, published in 1953 at the University of Wisconsin.
145. Seitz, Ruth Hoover, and Blair Seitz. *Amish Country*. New York: Crescent Books, 1987. Poignant photographs and text on 120 pages showing Amish ways and the reasons behind them. Poetic richness in color based on interviews and careful observation of Amish life mostly in Pennsylvania.
146. Sherman, William C. *Plains Folk: North Dakota's Ethnic History*. Fargo: Institute for Regional Studies, 1986. Contains essays by four authors on the major groups that settled in the state, including exhaustive descriptions of each with fine photographs and maps.
147. Sherman, William C. *Prairie Mosaic: An Ethnic Atlas of Rural North Dakota*. Fargo: Institute for Regional Studies, 1983. An excellent depiction with maps of the ethnic distribution in North Dakota.
148. Smith, Arthur L., Jr. *The Deutschtum of Nazi Germany and the United States*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1965. Concerns the efforts of the Nazi party to win over the German-Americans.
149. Smith, C. Henry. *The Coming of the Russian Mennonites*. Berne, IN: Mennonite Book Concern, 1927. Fine description and analysis of the arrival of the first German-speaking Mennonites from the Russian empire.
150. Thode, Ernest. *German-English Genealogical Dictionary*. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1992. A highly competent *Time*-magazine sized soft cover manual with every imaginable German word entry, good for the genealogist and the etymologist.

151. Tolzmann, Don Heinrich. *The Cincinnati Germans After the Great War*. New York: Peter Lang, 1987. A dissertation turned into a book which shows that the Germans did not totally disperse after the World War I debacle but retained a new form of Germanness. Tolzmann has edited and republished with Heritage Books dozens of other volumes about earlier German immigration.
152. Tolzmann, Don Heinrich. *German Americana: A Bibliography*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1975. Superseded only by Schultz as a bibliography for ready reference to the German element in the United States.
153. Totten, Christine M. *Roots in the Rhineland: America's German Heritage in Three Hundred Years of Immigration 1683-1983*. Rev. ed. New York: German Information Center, 1988. A handy 75-page paperback with short bibliography and useful index.
154. Townsend, Andrew J. "The Germans of Chicago." *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* 32 (1932): 1-153. In spite of several books on the Chicago Germans, this remains the most time honored.
155. Trommler, Frank, and Joseph McVeigh, eds. *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-hundred Year History*. 2 vols. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985. A collection of distinguished essays that were presented at a conference of the Society for German American Studies in Philadelphia to commemorate 300 years of immigration of Germans to America.
156. Vagts, Alfred. *Deutsch-Amerikanische Rückwanderung*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1960. One of the few studies done on return migration of the Germans. It was small compared to the Italians and others, but of some importance.
157. Van Ravenswaay, Charles. *The Arts and Architecture of German Settlements in Missouri*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1977. The best single volume about the material culture of the Germans. Excellently illustrated.
158. Von Philippovich, Eugen, ed. *Auswanderung und Auswanderungspolitik*. Leipzig: Dunker & Humblot, 1892. The best collection of documents relating to the various duchies and principalities in Germany and their legislation regarding the rights of their citizens to emigrate.



159. Vrooman, Nicholas Curchin, and Patrice Avon Marvin, eds. *Iron Spirits*. Fargo: North Dakota Council on the Arts, 1982. Presents the phenomenon of wrought iron grave markers made by and for the Germans from Russia.
160. Walker, Mack. *Germany and the Emigration, 1816-1885*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964. Still the best book in English about conditions in Germany which induced many Germans to depart for America.
161. Wander, Karl Friedrich Wilhelm. *Auswanderungs-Katechismus: Ein Ratgeber für Auswanderer besonders für Diejenigen, welche nach Nordamerika auswandern wollen*. Wolfgang Mieder, ed. New York: Peter Lang, 1988. Famous for his *Deutsches Sprichwörterlexikon* (Leipzig, 1867-80), Wander wrote along with dozens of others to advise the 2.5 million Germans who went to America in the quarter century between 1848-73. Includes a 15-page bibliography about German emigration history and advisory texts.
162. Ward, Robert E. *A Bio-Bibliography of German-American Writers, 1670-1970*. White Plains, NY: Kraus International, 1985. Detailed listing of over 3,000 authors with German-American connection, preceded by an introductory essay on German-American literature and its definition.
163. Weiss, Bernard J., ed. *American Education and the European Immigrant, 1840-1940*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984. Only peripherally about the Germans, but of importance because the Germans had the best developed school system of any immigrant group in the United States.
164. Wilcox, Walter F., ed. *International Migrations*. 2 Vols. New York: Gordon and Breach, 1969. Fine basic data about various migration statistics, including the Germans.
165. Wingler, Hans M. *The Bauhaus: Weimar, Dessau, Berlin, Chicago*. Trans. Wolfgang Jabs and Basil Gilbert. Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1969. About the special migration of an art movement to the United States during the 1930s, and its leadership in giving birth to the modernist movement in world architecture.
166. Wittke, Carl. *German-Americans and the World War with Special Emphasis on Ohio's German-Language Press*. Columbus: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1936. Somewhat limited to

Ohio but still a good volume on the sufferings of the Germans during the World War I crisis.

167. Wittke, Carl. *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952. Still the best single book on the forty-eighters, their origins and their effects on American life.
168. Wittke, Carl. "The America Theme in European Literature." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 28 (1941): 3-26. An example of how study can reveal broad crosscurrents that emerge on an intellectual level from the immigrant experience.
169. Wittke, Carl. *The German-language Press in America*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957. By far the best book on the high profile enjoyed by the German press in America.
170. Wittke, Carl. *We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant*. Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University Press, 1964. A book on various immigrant groups, but with a substantial section on the Germans.
171. Wood, Ralph, ed. *The Pennsylvania Germans*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1942. An early but still useful book on the Pennsylvania Germans.
172. Wust, Klaus. *The Virginia Germans*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1969. Along with Dieter Cunz and a few others, this author competently describes the German element in a single state.
173. Wust, Klaus, *Three Hundred Years of German Immigrants in North America, 1683-1983: A Pictorial History with 510 Illustrations*. Baltimore/Munich: Heinz Moos, 1983. Bilingual text accompanied by profuse illustrations.
174. *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch* 39.3 (1989). The entire issue of a journal published to describe the conditions and events surrounding emigration from Germany.
175. Zucker, A.E., ed. *The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1950. A collection of essays about the forty-eighters, not as fine as the Wittke book, but useful in many respects.



## Book Reviews

Edited by Jerry Glenn  
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### Review Essay: Emigration and Immigration in the Nineteenth Century

#### **Auswanderungsagenturen und Auswanderungsvereine im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert.**

*Von Agnes Bretting und Hartmut Bickelmann. Von Deutschland nach Amerika: Zur Sozialgeschichte der Auswanderung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, Bd. 4. Stuttgart: Steiner, 1991. 288 Seiten. DM 88.*

#### **Auswanderung und Schiffsfahrtsinteressen, "Little Germanies" in New York, Deutschamerikanische Gesellschaften.**

*Von Michael Just, Agnes Bretting, and Hartmut Bickelmann. Von Deutschland nach Amerika: Zur Sozialgeschichte der Auswanderung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, Bd. 5. Stuttgart: Steiner, 1992. 241 Seiten. DM 76.*

#### **Neu-Deutschland in Nordamerika: Massenauswanderung, nationale Gruppenansiedlungen und liberale Kolonialbewegung, 1816-1860.**

*Von Stefan von Senger und Etterlin. Nomos Universitätschriften: Geschichte, Bd. 5. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1991. 467 Seiten. DM 78.*

#### **Reisen in die Neue Welt: Die Erfahrung Nordamerikas in deutschen Reise- und Auswandererberichten des 19. Jahrhunderts.**

*Von Peter J. Brenner. Studien und Texte zur Sozialgeschichte der Literatur, Bd. 35. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1991. 450 Seiten. DM 136.*

Die vier besprochenen Bücher bilden trotz der unterschiedlichen Herangehensweise ihrer Autoren einen engen thematischen Zusammenhang: Das Phänomen des ungeheueren deutsch-amerikanischen Migrationsprozesses, der sich vorwiegend im 19. Jahrhundert vollzog, und dessen Einwirkung auf die gesellschaftspolitischen Prozesse des jeweiligen Herkunfts- und Aufnahmelandes.

Dem äußerst komplexen Vorgang des Wanderungsprozesses kann nur gerecht werden, wenn ihm bewußt ist, daß die einzelnen Faktoren dieses Vorganges ein Ganzes bilden. Motive für den jeweiligen Entschluß zur Auswanderung sind vielfältig, und erst solide Detailstudien können zu einer neuen Synthese in der Migrationsforschung führen, die es uns dann ermöglicht, komparativ zu arbeiten, d.h. andere Wanderungsbewegungen in zeitlicher oder geographischer Unterschiedlichkeit bewerten zu können. Die vierten und fünften Bände der von dem nunmehr emeritierten Hamburger Historiker Günter Moltmann herausgegebenen Reihe "Von Deutschland nach Amerika: Zur Sozialgeschichte der Auswanderung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert" leisten dazu einen hervorragenden Beitrag.

Im vierten Band (dieser Reihe)—*Auswanderungsagenturen und Auswanderungsvereine im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*—setzt sich zunächst Agnes Bretting mit der "Funktion und Bedeutung diese Agenturen in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert" auseinander. Sicherlich trifft es zu, daß die Auswanderungsagenturen primär eine Logistik des Auswanderungsvorgangs zur Verfügung stellten und damit dem Vorgang als solchen mehr Struktur verliehen. Eine zweite Funktion dieser Agenturen, unseren heutigen Reisebüros nicht unähnlich, lag in der Werbung für die Auswanderung, da hier geschäftliche Interessen relevant waren. Die Kardinalfrage ist hierbei allerdings, inwieweit der Entschluß zur Auswanderung letztendlich auf die Werbung von Auswanderungsagenturen zurückzuführen war. Hier lassen sich, wie Bretting auch betont, sicherlich keine endgültigen Urteile fällen. Fest steht, daß Werbung einer von vielen Faktoren in dem komplexen Geflecht von Motivationssträngen war, die schließlich dazu beitrugen, die endgültige Entscheidung des Individuums zum Verlassen seines bisherigen Lebensraumes zu fällen. Auf diese Fragestellung ist auch bereits Ingrid Schöberl ausführlich in ihrer Arbeit *Amerikanische Einwandererwerbung in Deutschland 1845-1914* (Stuttgart, 1990) eingegangen, die ich im *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 25 (1990): 237-38, besprochen habe. Auch Schöberl sieht die Schwierigkeit, Auswandererwerbung aus dem Motivationsgeflecht fein säuberlich herauszutrennen, was auch keine sinnvolle Aufgabenstellung bedeuten würde.



Gegen Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts übernahmen die großen Reedereien den Transport der Auswanderer in eigener Regie; dies schloß dann nicht nur die eigentliche Schiffspassage, sondern auch den Transport per Eisenbahn zu den Auswanderungshäfen ein. Auch die stark abnehmende Zahl der deutschen Auswanderung gegen Ende des Jahrhunderts führte dazu, daß die Auswanderungsagenturen an Bedeutung verloren.

Der zweite Beitrag in diesem Band, "Auswanderungsvereine, Auswanderungsverkehr und Auswanderungsfürsorge in Deutschland 1815-1930" von Hartmut Bickelmann, beschäftigt sich ebenfalls mit den Organisationen, die den Prozeß und die Realisierung der Auswanderung erleichtern sollten. Für den potentiell Auswanderungswilligen war die Bereitstellung eines "Know How" relevant und kann in einigen Fällen vielleicht den letzten Ausschlag gegeben haben, den Schritt in die Neue Welt zu wagen. In der Tat spielten Auswanderungsvereine in diesem Zusammenhang eine wichtige Rolle. Eine Vielfalt von philanthropischen, national-politischen und karitativen Motiven kam für das Zustandekommen dieser Auswanderungsvereine zusammen.

Bicklemanns Rahmen ist weit gesteckt: ihm geht es um die Funktion von Auswanderervereinen innerhalb des Auswanderungsprozesses in dem Zeitraum zwischen 1815 und 1930. Gleichgültig, ob von deutscher Seite aus Auswanderung als Verlust oder Entlastung empfunden wurde; gemeinsam war diesen Stimmen die Kritik an dem bisherigen Verlauf der Auswanderung. Die Forderung, Auswanderung zweckmäßiger zu organisieren und in Gebiete zu kanalisieren, wo Deutsche ihre Nationalität bewahren konnten, wurde ebenfalls artikuliert. Bickelmann gelingt es in diesem Aufsatz, durch detaillierte Quellenarbeit Unterschiedlichkeiten und Gemeinsamkeiten dieser Vereine und ebenfalls deren soziales Profil aufzuzeigen.

Der fünfte Band dieser oben vorgestellten Reihe enthält drei Einzelbeiträge, die sich mehr mit der amerikanischen Seite des transatlantischen Migrationsvorgangs auseinandersetzen, obwohl Michael Justs Beitrag "Schiffahrtsgesellschaften und Amerika-Auswanderung im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert" noch zum Teil auf die deutsche Seite eingeht. Just schließt damit an die Untersuchung Bickelmanns an, in dem er die Rolle der Reedereien im Auswanderungsprozeß—wie zum Beispiel Hapag und den Norddeutschen Loyd—untersucht. Wie er richtig anmerkt, kam diesen Reedereien dabei gegen Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts eine fast staatliche Funktion zu, was aufgrund der engen Verschmelzung zwischen Kommerz und Staat zu Kritik im In- und Ausland führte. Hinzu kam, daß Auswanderer die negativen Auswirkungen der Monopolbildung des Ausreiseverkehrs zu spüren bekamen, z. B. in der abgesprochenen Preispolitik der beiden großen Reedereien. Als Vorteil allerdings konnte geltend gemacht werden, daß Auswanderer nun eine Logistik vorfanden, die ihnen die Kleinarbeit des Auswanderungs-



vorgangs erheblich erleichterte und gegen Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts sogar die Organisation der Unterbringung der Auswanderer im amerikanischen Zielort beinhalten konnte, oder auch ein Bemühen der Reedereien um verbilligte Tarife bei der Weiterbeförderung der Auswanderer per Eisenbahn. Auch gingen in diesem Zeitraum die Reedereien dazu über, Auswanderer aus dem Osten und Südosten Europas zu rekrutieren.

Der zweite Beitrag dieses Bandes, "Deutsche Siedlungsviertel in New York City 1830-1930" von Agnes Bretting, ist ausschließlich der amerikanischen Seite des Wanderungsprozesses gewidmet. New York als Haupteinwanderungshafen bietet sich als Studiengegenstand an. Dieser als Aufsatz angelegte Beitrag kann freilich nicht erschöpfend alle Aspekte der Geschichte der deutschen Siedlungsviertel New Yorks aufzeigen, was Bretting selber betont. Sie hat 1981 selbst eine grundlegende Studie zur Situation deutscher Einwanderer in New York City veröffentlicht, die allerdings zeitlich nicht einen so großen Rahmen steckt, *Soziale Probleme deutscher Einwanderer in New York City 1800-1860* (Wiesbaden, 1981). So erklärt sich auch die manchmal fehlende Einordnung der deutsch-amerikanischen Gegebenheiten in den gesamtpolitischen amerikanischen historischen Kontext in diesem Aufsatz.

Der dritte Beitrag innerhalb dieses Bandes stammt von Hartmut Bickelmann: "Deutsche Gesellschaften in den Vereinigten Staaten und ihre Funktionen im deutsch-amerikanischen Wanderungsprozeß". Anders als die zahlreichen deutsch-amerikanischen Vereine, widmeten sich diese Gesellschaften der Übergangsphase zwischen Aus- und Einwanderung. Diese Tatsache macht sie zu einem besonders interessanten Forschungsgegenstand. Durch bestimmte Informationen konnten diese Vereine für die Zukunft der Auswanderer Weichen stellen, indem sie Informationen über Ansiedlungsbedingungen und den Anseidlungsplatz zur Verfügung stellten und somit selbst zu einem bestimmten "Pull"-Faktor im Wanderungsprozeß wurden. Bickelmann hat in akribischer Arbeit eine Vielzahl von Gesellschaften untersucht und deren Quellen ausgewertet. Er kommt dabei zu dem Schluß, daß sie wichtige Vermittler im Integrationsprozeß der Auswanderer darstellten, die, sobald sie sich dann niedergelassen hatten zum Teil wiederum in diesen Gesellschaften tätig wurden.

Das Phänomen der Auswanderung beschäftigte das national und liberal gesinnte deutsche Bürgertum seit den großen Auswanderungsschüben um 1816-17 und nach 1832. Es formierte sich sehr bald eine Bewegung, die die unerfüllten Träume von nationaler Einheit und Freiheit auf die Idee eines "Neu-Deutschland" in den USA projizierte. In dieser heterogenen Bewegung befanden sich Befürworter eines besser geregelten Auswanderungswesens und ebenfalls nationalpolitische Vertreter, die ein weltweites deutsches kulturelles



Geltungsstreben in die Tat umsetzen wollten. Diese Bewegung untersucht Stefan von Senger und Etterlin in seinem *Neu-Deutschland in Nordamerika* ausführlich, und zwar für die Jahre 1815–60. Die uns heute als geradezu absurd anmutenden Pläne für die Errichtung eines neuen Deutschland in den USA sind nichtsdestotrotz aber wichtige Zeugnisse über ideologische Wurzeln des späteren deutschen Kolonialismus wilhelminischer Prägung und deshalb eine Analyse wert. Von Senger und Etterlin hat die Entwicklungsstufen der im Rahmen der Neu-Deutschland-Idee verfolgten Ansiedlungspläne in seinem lesenswerten Buch anschaulich untersucht. Während die ersten Ansiedlungspläne der 1820er und frühen 1830er Jahre stark von einem romantisierenden Charakter geprägt und mehr von einem liberalen Impuls gesteuert waren, so erlebten die restlichen 1830er Jahre und dann vermehrt das Jahrzehnt darauf mehr konkrete Pläne mit bewußt starken nationalen Klängen. Die Ernüchterungsphase setzte dann, von einigen wenigen Versuchen abgesehen, in den fünfziger Jahren ein und versiegte dann gänzlich in der (durchaus realistischen) Einsicht, daß die Gelegenheit vorbei sei, in den USA ein neues Deutschland gründen zu können. Erwähnt seien hier nur Karl Follens Plan einer Gelehrtenrepublik, Gottfried Dudens "Idylle" am Missouri (1824–27), die Gießener Auswanderungs-Gesellschaft (1833–34) und die Kolonie des Mainzer Adelsvereins in Texas. Deren unterschiedlichen Zielsetzungen macht von Senger und Etterlin transparent und bettet sie in den jeweiligen historischen Kontext ein.

Die Gliederung der Untersuchung in drei Hauptteile—Voraussetzungen in Deutschland, Koloniegründungen in der Praxis und Bedingungen in der Aufnahmegesellschaft—führt unwillkürlich zu Wiederholungen und Überschneidungen. Besonders überzeugt von Senger und Etterlin dort, wo es ihm gelingt, ideologische Konzepte und deren versuchte Umsetzung in Form von Siedlungsprojekten miteinander zu verknüpfen.

Der Haupttitel des Buches *Reisen in die Neue Welt* von dem Literaturwissenschaftler Peter Brenner läßt zunächst nicht auf die bisher besprochene Thematik der Auswanderung schließen. Der präzisere und mehr angebrachte Untertitel *Die Erfahrung Nordamerikas in deutschen Reise- und Auswandererberichten des 19. Jahrhunderts* jedoch trifft genauer den Kern dieser Habilitationsschrift. Obwohl der Autor in seiner hochtheoretischen Einführung in die Probleme der Reiseliteraturforschung—komparatistische Imagologie, Mentalitätsgeschichte und Hermeneutik werden herangezogen—versucht, dem Leser die Reise als Grunderfahrungstypus zu verdeutlichen, sind die folgenden Darstellungen eher traditioneller Art. Es gelingt dem Autor aber nicht, dem Leser die Unterscheidung zwischen dem Prozeß der Reise und der Auswanderung deutlich zu machen. Es sei denn, wir begriffen menschliche Existenz als eine permanente Reise, was durchaus legitim



wäre—ansonsten arbeitet Brenner nicht genügend den grundsätzlichen Unterschied zwischen diesen beiden Phänomen heraus. Reisen bedeutet, das Gesehene Fremde von vornherein aus einer anderen Warte aus zu betrachten. Der Reisende sieht und fühlt das fremde Land mit dem Bewußtsein, zurückzukehren; mit Ausnahme der Rückwanderer und saisonbedingten Wanderarbeiter, trifft dies für den Auswanderer des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts in den meisten Fällen nicht zu. Er/sie ist notgedrungen erweise gezwungen, das fremde, neue Land als zukünftigen permanenten Wohnort zu betrachten. Hieraus ergibt sich eine fundamental andere Perzeption. Die Stimmen der Auswanderer überwiegen eindeutig, wenn Brenner versucht, die deutsche Wahrnehmung der USA zu kategorisieren. Vieles ist dabei schon von Migrationshistorikern aufgearbeitet worden, wie z.B. die oben besprochenen Themen der Auswandererwerbung- und Agenturen sowie Bemühungen um Bewahrung deutscher kultureller Identität im Aufnahmeland. Wirklich genuines Neuland betritt Brenner dann erst, wenn er sich wirklich auf Reisende konzentriert. Insbesondere seine Abhandlungen über deutsche Forschungsreisen in die USA und deren mentalitätsgeschichtliche Dimension machen ein interessantes Bild der deutschen wie auch amerikanischen Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert transparent. Brenners Buch sollte zusammen mit Juliane Mikoletzky's hervorragender Studie *Die deutsche Amerika-Auswanderung des 19. Jahrhunderts in der zeitgenössischen fiktionalen Literatur* (Tübingen, 1988) gelesen werden. Beide Untersuchungen ergeben dann ein abgerundetes Bild der Reflexion der Neuen Welt im Deutschland des 19. Jahrhunderts.

Alle hier vorgestellten Bücher sind wertvolle Mosaiksteine in dem noch zu vollendenden Gesamtbild der deutschen Amerika-Auswanderung des letzten Jahrhunderts.

Kiel

Jörg Nagler

## Reviews

### **Breweries of Wisconsin.**

By Jerry Apps. Madison: U. of Wisconsin Press, 1992. 252 pages. \$29.95.

*Breweries of Wisconsin* provides an overview of one of America's largest brewing centers, chronicling the development of the Wisconsin brewing industry since 1835. While Apps pointedly dedicates the book to his "German ancestors and their fellow Germans," German-American specialists should be advised that this is not a scholarly work detailing the role of German immigrants in the growth of the Wisconsin brewing industry. Rather, *Breweries of Wisconsin* deals more with Wisconsin's rise



to national brewing prominence, as well as the role its regional breweries played in the lives of Wisconsin residents and the towns and cities in which they resided. More often than not, the role of German immigrants and German-American society is only implied, or briefly mentioned, in discussing the development of the breweries and their roles. Apps indicates the German origin and time of immigration of prominent brewers such as Joseph Schlitz, Frederick Miller, and Jacob Best (of Pabst fame), and also discusses some of their initial employment and brewing experience in America. On the other hand, brewery workers, many of whom also were German immigrants, and the communities they lived in receive little attention.

Apps divides his work into three main parts. The first, "Beer Around the World," details the history of beer and its earliest presence in the American colonies, the beginnings of the Wisconsin brewing industry, the ingredients used in brewing, the brewing process, and varieties of beer produced. These sections are interesting and informative; however, excepting Wisconsin's early days of brewing, the discussions are only marginally related to the Wisconsin breweries themselves. Nevertheless, several interesting points are noted, including reference to Peter Minuit's New Amsterdam brewery (1633-38) and George Washington's personal beer recipe. Apps also succinctly outlines how and why Milwaukee became a brewing center, acknowledging the importance of the coming of the Germans and the taste for lager beer they brought with them (which subsequently helped revolutionize the brewing industry).

In part two, "Turbulent Times," Apps discusses the blossoming temperance movement and its transformation into a full-fledged Prohibition movement, with detailed attention to the Prohibition years in Wisconsin and how Wisconsin's brewing industry was affected. Apps effectively explains the main factors influencing temperance reform efforts, including the role of anti-German sentiment, and how prohibitionists came to have legislation enacted which virtually shut down Wisconsin's, and the nation's, thriving brewing industry. The discussion of Prohibition makes clear the reasons for the movement's failure, such as home-brewing and bootlegging operations; excerpts from an interview with a long-time Wisconsin cooper who worked for Chicago gangsters during the period are especially enlightening. However, as Apps concludes his discussion of the repeal of Prohibition, he again digresses somewhat, with chapters on beer-barrel manufacturing and advertising.

Part three, "In the Time of Giants," is the strongest section of the book. Here Apps discusses in depth some of Milwaukee's brewing legends and their histories, as well as several of the surviving regional breweries which have made their mark on Wisconsin. In his examinations of the Blatz and Schlitz breweries, Apps documents the cases of two former brewers of national prominence who succumbed to



changing times and the pressures of competition. On the other hand, the discussions of the Pabst, Miller, and Heileman breweries amply describe the reasons for their continued survival and prominence. Apps is at his finest in discussing the remaining regional breweries, such as Leinenkugel, Stevens Point, Huber, and Walter, which despite stiff competition from national brewers have managed to retain their local markets in a time of nationwide failures of small breweries.

For the most part, the appendices are highly useful and informative. Appendix A discusses the history and current status of some of Wisconsin's remaining brewery buildings, accurately observing that Wisconsin's small towns, and the state itself, can be seen as a "brewery graveyard" (174). In Appendix B, Apps discusses brewery failures since 1950, taking a closer look at some of Wisconsin's notable regional breweries on which competition from richer, more efficient national brewers took their toll. Apps ably illustrates the painful fact that, with each closing, not only did a vital local business close its doors, but also an irreplaceable part of a given town's history and heritage was lost forever. Appendix D provides a partial yet lengthy list of Wisconsin breweries from 1835 to 1985, including brewery sites and locations, as well as opening and closing dates for each establishment. Appendix C, however, is a superfluous seven-page discussion of home-brewing which neither fits into the framework of the book nor adequately informs and directs those few readers who may want to venture into this hobby.

*Breweries of Wisconsin* is amply illustrated, often with appealing contemporary pictures of brewery buildings and workers, advertisements, and letterheads which illustrate some of Wisconsin's contributions to the national's brewing heritage. Of interest to German-American specialists is a photo of the Wausau Liederkrantz in Sheboygan circa 1913. Apps also includes a color section of beer labels, which give insight into some of Wisconsin's legendary brewing activity past and present. While such positives resound throughout the book, some disconcerting points must be mentioned. Several minor historical inaccuracies, such as crediting Schlitz with the introduction of the modern tab-top can (an honor which actually goes to the Pittsburgh Brewing Company's Iron City beer), detract somewhat from the reliability of the text. Also, in basically cutting off his research in 1988, Apps virtually disregards the growing microbrewery trend, chronicling only Middleton's Capital Brewing Company.

Shortcomings aside, *Breweries of Wisconsin* is a highly entertaining, informative book. Those readers looking for a definitive study of the German-American presence in Wisconsin's brewing industry likely will



not be satisfied, but *Breweries of Wisconsin* remains worth reading, perhaps best so with a mug of locally brewed beer at one's side.

University of Cincinnati

Timothy J. Holian

**Sanctuary Denied: Refugees From the Third Reich and Newfoundland Immigration Policy 1906-1949.**

By Gerhard P. Bassler. *Social and Economic Studies*, no. 48. St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research (Memorial University of Newfoundland), 1992. 285 pages. \$24.95 Canadian.

"Government records and newspapers document the fact that between 1934 and 1941 some 12,000 refugees from Nazi persecution sought sanctuary in Newfoundland, but only a handful of them managed to enter" (2). Thus Gerhard P. Bassler poses the basic problem to be confronted in his work on refugees and Newfoundland refugee policy in the interwar period. In this book, Bassler illuminates the larger issue of the dilemma facing thousands of refugees from Nazi persecution and the indifference with which their plight was met by other nations, by exploring in depth the attitudes and policy decisions of one potential sanctuary, the British Dominion of Newfoundland. Himself an immigrant to Newfoundland, Bassler displays great sensitivity in discussing the refugee crisis of the 1930s, although he at times understates the problems to be overcome in the solution of this crisis.

Bassler's thesis is straight-forward and argued cogently throughout the book. Newfoundland had a relatively generous refugee law, a low population density, a moderate climate, and was greatly in need of the economic stimulus that would likely result from the inflow of a number of skilled and resourceful immigrants, yet it failed to provide sanctuary to thousands of desperate refugees from Nazi persecution. Why was this? To Bassler, the combination of a closed, ethnically homogenous society, a xenophobic attitude which regarded all foreigners as undesirable, anti-Semitism, tight political and economic control by a local elite unwilling to share power, and the unemployment crisis of the 1930s all contributed to a popular mindset and public policy which favored the exclusion of virtually all immigrants not of "British stock." Once the war began, this isolationist mood was intensified by an unwarranted and near-hysterical fear of possible fifth-column activity by foreign refugees, even those of a Jewish background. As Bassler consistently emphasizes, not only did those seeking sanctuary suffer, but Newfoundland, a desperately poor country, also missed a unique opportunity to promote economic and industrial development by drawing on the skills and financial resources of a select pool of refugees.

Therein lies the major difficulty with Bassler's work. Certainly in hindsight one can see that the long-range economic development of Newfoundland would have been enhanced by this influx of refugees, but few people live or make decisions based on the long-term. Given the historic isolation of Newfoundland, the closed nature of its society, the economic misery inflicted on it by the Great Depression, and the implausibility of some of the refugee economic development schemes, it would be unrealistic to have expected Newfoundland's government suddenly to open its doors to a large influx of immigrants in the 1930s. Then, during World War II, a number of plans for resettling refugees came to nought, not primarily because of opposition from Newfoundland, but because of bureaucratic muddle in London, Ottawa, and Washington.

In all of this, of course, one can see a chronic pattern demonstrated in country after country. Newfoundland was perhaps more resistant to the entry of refugees than most, but was depressingly similar to many other nations at the time which, for seemingly the best of reasons, lacked the imagination to understand the magnitude of the refugee problem and thus failed to rescue thousands of people from the Nazi murder machine. Bassler, like other chroniclers of the sad history of the refugee crisis, desperately wants to believe that something could have been done to save many of Hitler's victims. But given the persistent economic crisis of the period, the consequent unwillingness of most societies to absorb refugees, the general anti-Semitism of Western society, and Britain's unwillingness to allow Jewish refugees into Palestine, the advantages lay with Hitler. This is a conclusion which is not only unsatisfactory, but also defies our deeply held notions that all problems can be solved if only a rational and reasonable solution is found.

By thus reacquainting us with the complex realities of the time, even if unwilling, Bassler has made a solid contribution to refugee studies. His is a well-researched and thoroughly documented work, with the use of personal accounts to illustrate his general argument especially interesting. Bassler certainly does not write with flair, but his prose is clear and straight-forward. All in all, then, this is a serious book on a controversial subject that, by investigating a narrower facet, sheds light on the larger problem.

*East Tennessee State University*

*Stephen G. Fritz*



**Life at Four Corners: Religion, Gender, and Education in a German-Lutheran Community, 1868-1945.**

By Carol K. Coburn. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1992. xii + 227 pages. \$29.95.

Carol K. Coburn enlarges our understanding of rural German-American communities in two important ways. First, she provides a detailed example of just how the ideology and local institutions of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod were used to form and maintain a closed, patriarchal community. Secondly, Coburn's most important source for her community study is a series of interviews with fifteen elderly residents, thirteen of them women, done in the mid-1980s. She has used these interviews supplemented with church, census, and other records, to construct a remarkably full picture of the lives of the community's women over three generations. From the highly respected midwife who came in the 1860s to the third-generation women who worked as maids in Kansas City in the 1920s, Coburn gives us a detailed, analytical, respectful, realistic portrayal of the everyday lives of German-American women and the roles they played in the community.

Hanoverians from Benton County, Missouri, and families from Posen who had lived for a time near LaPorte, Indiana, established the Block community in Miami County in eastern Kansas in the 1860s. Additional *Plattdeutsch*-speaking Lutherans came from Illinois and other states. The author completed her research before the appearance of an excellent study of the Missouri community of origin, *Hier Snackt Wi Plattdeutsch* (Cole Camp, MO: City of Cole Camp, 1990). She reveals little about how and why the first Germans came to Block. Given the timing, one wonders if the Civil War massacre of Germans in the Missouri community in 1861 might have been a factor in prompting some to move westward to Kansas.

Trinity Lutheran Church, the community's central institution, was organized in 1868. By 1920, ninety-nine adult men could vote at the congregational meetings, and total membership peaked at 485. The congregational school also began in 1868. In 1916, it had 85 pupils. "Institutional education was authoritarian, traditional, and total" (154). Within the family as well as within the community, gender roles were also religious imperatives. But that did not mean that women were unimportant to the community. In addition to bearing and raising the children and keeping the house, women were substantial economic producers via their gardens, poultry, and dairying. They also formed a supplementary labor force for male-dominated field work. It was often the women's production which carried families through difficult economic times.

Coburn is well-grounded in the social history and feminist studies pertinent to her topic, although her use of the previous findings of social history and of quantitative methodology is seldom obtrusive. She startles the reader with her frankness, such as when she says her community "falls on the accommodation-assimilation continuum between religiously conservative, rural communities and the religious exclusivity typical of Amish, Mennonite and Mormon rural communities" (8). The clergy often taught that "associating with 'outsiders' was a sin and a threat to . . . salvation" (8). She speculates on physical abuse of women and children in an admirably logical and restrained way despite her informants' unwillingness to discuss the matter.

In reviewing a book which delivers so much, one hesitates to ask for even more, but comparative data would have greatly added to the study. Did the German farmers vary from New Englanders and others in the speed and way in which they accommodated themselves to local agricultural conditions? Did German women differ from their non-German neighbors in the way in which they were freed by the automobile? Can anything be learned of the rival world view of those dissenters who chose the Zion Evangelical Church at nearby Highland?

The author makes an occasional lapse. Missouri Synod Lutherans voted Democratic *except* in Missouri (including Benton County) where they voted Republican. So the Block community must have voted Democratic for some reason other than its Missouri origins. Secondly, could it have been 30 dozen eggs per week rather than per day that Marie Block Prote's Leghorn hens produced? The former number would have required keeping perhaps 500 hens, a Herculean task for one woman, even aided by her children, in the age of free-range poultry husbandry, especially if replacement hens had to be raised from chicks hatched on the farm. Thirdly, Coburn cites Stanley Nadel on regional endogamy but then says nothing about whether Block residents' marriage partners from other German communities were also Hanoverians. Finally, one might expect a professor of education to devote more space to the parochial school's curriculum.

Despite such minor concerns, Coburn has taken a major step forward in the social history of rural Midwestern German-American communities and of communities dominated by the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod. Anyone interested in these topics will find her study most rewarding.

Hendrix College

Robert W. Frizzell



**The Story of Low German and *Plautdietsch*: Tracing a Language Across the Globe.**

By Reuben Epp. Hillsboro, KS: The Reader's Press, 1993. xvi + 133 pages. \$12.95.

Written for both the general reader and the specialist, Epp's overview of the historical development of Mennonite Low German or *Plautdietsch* within the context of Low German dialects throughout the world establishes the legitimacy of *Plautdietsch* and lays the foundation for more detailed grammatical and sociolinguistic studies of the language. After an introduction in which the terminology dealing with the numerous Low German dialects is explained, Epp devotes the first three chapters to the general historical development of that group of dialects which emerged from the pre-historic North-Sea-Germanic branch of West Germanic. He thus sets the linguistic context for the later emergence of *Plautdietsch* as part of a process which includes the separation of the dialects which came to be Old, Middle, and Modern English as well as the continental developments towards the linguistic entities known as Frisian, Dutch and the Low German dialects of modern Northern Germany. Epp focuses particularly on the role of Low German as a language of diplomacy and commerce in the latter Middle Ages in the cities of the Hanseatic League. In the three subsequent chapters, Epp traces the development of *Plautdietsch* from its origins among the dialects of the Netherlands and northern Belgium, especially Frisian and Flemish regions, and those of northwestern Germany. The transition from literary Dutch to High German during the Mennonites' period of settlement in West Prussia from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century parallels the assimilation of their Netherlandic dialects to the spoken Low German of West Prussia. Differences in the Low German dialects of the Molotschna and Chortiza colonies in southern Russia are reflected in the subsequent settlements on the Great Plains of North America. A final chapter chronicles the status of Low German dialects in Germany and throughout the world as well as providing a discussion of the use of *Plautdietsch* in literary texts. The inclusion of several sample texts, charts, and maps enhances this overview of the origins of Mennonite Low German.

For those especially interested in the history or current status of *Plautdietsch* in North America, Epp's book is somewhat disappointing. Despite scattered mention of some lexical and phonetic characteristics of the varieties of *Plautdietsch* spoken in Canada, Mexico, and the United States, the reader is not given any useful information about the speech communities or the use of the language. There is a very brief description of the three waves of Mennonite emigration from Russia to North America (1870s, 1920s, post-World War II), but we learn nothing regarding the location, size, or viability of the settlements (84-85). A set

of maps indicating the settlement areas of at least the 1870s immigrants would have been a most welcome addition for modern students of these dialects. Epp's bibliography should also have mentioned Marjorie Baerg's Ph.D. dissertation "Gnadenau Low German: A Dialect of Marion County, Kansas" (University of Chicago, 1960). In fairness to Epp, one must assume that his intention was to present an overview of the historical development of these dialects prior to the migration from south Russia to the Americas, and in that regard this reader-friendly volume is a success.

*University of Kansas*

*William D. Keel*

**Van de Ene en de Andere Kant: Nordniederländische und Nordwestdeutsche Auswanderungen nach Amerika im 19. Jahrhundert.** By Annemieke Galema, Wolfgang Grams, and Antonius Holtmann. Groningen: Universiteitsbibliotheek Rijksuniversiteit / Oldenburg: Stadtmuseum, 1993. 120 pages.

This study presents valuable information on the emigration from the northern areas of the Netherlands and from northwestern Germany (now Lower Saxony) to the United States during the nineteenth century. It is written in parallel columns of Dutch and German, which makes it easier for scholars at home in either language to pursue further studies.

The book, which is divided into five chapters, offers material dealing with the reasons for emigration and the development of Dutch and German settlements in the United States. The extent of emigration from Germany in the nineteenth century is common knowledge, but less is known about the emigration from the Netherlands, and the authors make us aware of this phenomenon as well.

The reader is informed of the importance of Rotterdam and Bremen, the extremely difficult conditions encountered during the crossing, and the hardships confronting the new immigrants upon their arrival in the United States. The majority of them settled in the Midwest, and the authors supply the names of cities and towns they established. Immigration to other areas of the United States is not neglected, nor are the difficulties encountered there, especially the problems northwestern Europeans had in the American Southwest. The economic and religious reasons for emigration are detailed objectively, in lieu of the many clichés one often encounters.

The extensive references to letters written from America to the Netherlands and northwestern Germany are quite interesting. Most present a favorable report of the conditions in the New World and recommend emigration to others. Several refer to adverse conditions and express a desire to return to Europe. This may well be an excellent area for further scholarly pursuit. Individual families are traced through



several generations in the United States and it is accordingly possible to observe the overall trend of upward mobility in initially poor immigrant families. This, too, might be a fruitful area for further research.

The nineteenth-century "American" citizen of the United States did not always exhibit a cosmopolitan attitude toward the new immigrants. The authors do not shy away from relating exact details of discrimination the Dutch and the Germans experienced after disembarking in the land of freedom and opportunity.

The volume is embellished with extensive photos of travel advertisements, certificates, family photos, etc. It is a joy to view these valuable, carefully selected documents. Each chapter concludes with an extensive bibliography, although footnotes, rather than a bibliography, might have proven to be more helpful. It might also have been prudent in a scholarly work to avoid including one's political views in reference to the present ethnic strife in Europe; editorials are a better place for such matters than academic books.

In brief: an excellent study offering insight into an infrequently studied aspect of emigration to the United States in the nineteenth century.

*Lehigh University*

*Alexander Waldenrath*

### **The German-American Press.**

*Edited by Henry Geitz. Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, 1992. xii + 270 pages.*

In 1987, a conference on the German-American press was held at the University of Wisconsin. The articles in this volume represent a sampling of the papers that were given there and are not intended to be comprehensive, but to "be viewed as an introduction to further work" (xi). The eighteen articles are organized in eight sections, each containing one to three papers: I. Immigration Guides and the Early Press; II. The Issue of Religion in the German-American Press; III. Accommodation and Assimilation in the German-American Press; IV. The German-American Press as a Historical Resource; V. Ethnic Identity and the Rural Press; VI. The German-American Press and the American Political Scene; VII. The German Book Trade in America; and VIII. The German-American Press Today. The term "press" has been interpreted to include not only newspapers and other periodicals, so that an article on music publications of the German-American religious press and one of the German book trade prior to World War I are included.

All the articles appear in English in the volume, though two were translated from German. Many authors took care to include thorough

English translations of German terms and quotations, but other articles contain substantial passages in German with no translation given. This could make the volume less desirable for scholars with little knowledge of German. The style of documentation also differs from article to article, and one contribution has no footnotes at all. In all such collections there are variations in the quality of scholarship and writing, and this volume is no exception.

The wide variety of articles and their interdisciplinary nature makes for very interesting reading, particularly when a solid background is given for the benefit of readers whose expertise lies elsewhere. Such is the case with two of the articles from Section VI: "The German-language Press in the Debate Over the Ratification of the Constitution 1787/88" and "The Transformation of the German-American Newspaper Press, 1848-1860." Both articles provide sufficient background for the non-historian to adequately understand the important relationship between journalism and politics during these two turbulent periods in American history.

Two of the more unusual contributions to this volume are in Section III: "Religious Music/Secular Music: The Press of the German-American Church and Aesthetic Mediation" and "Masthead Iconography as *Rezeptionsvorgabe*: Producing *Die Abendschule's* Family of Readers." The former concerns itself with the juxtaposition of sacred and secular music and its role in "reflecting, even shaping the patterns of ethnicity in German-American history and culture, and with assessing the particular role played by the press in mediating this confluence of German religious and secular music" (70). The article includes printed samples of religious music from American publishers and an intriguing transcription of a field recording made in 1978 in Wisconsin, which documents spirited rhythmic deviations from the original German folk tune. The article on masthead iconography seeks to show how the *Abendschule's* masthead could "pre-program or pre-structure the reader's experience" (93). A detailed analysis of the periodical's mastheads from 1854 to 1898 and a comparison with mastheads of similar publications which appeared in German follows.

In sum, this volume contains a rich variety of articles on a fascinating subject and will be very useful to scholars and students in the field, both as a resource and as an impetus for future research.

Northern Kentucky University

Nancy K. Jentsch



## **Homeland.**

By John Jakes. New York: Doubleday, 1993. 785 pages. \$25.00.

The life and times of the German-American Crown family of Chicago is the focus of John Jakes's latest saga, *Homeland*. This novel, which takes place in the last years of the 19th century, is billed as "the towering epic of the immigrant adventure," and to a certain extent fulfills this promise. The reader is swept along by the compelling story of Pauli Kroner, a fourteen-year-old street urchin from Berlin who goes to live with his wealthy brewer uncle in America, Joseph Crown (Josef Kroner). When uncle and nephew do not see eye to eye, young Pauli, now known as Paul Crown, strikes out on his own and eventually makes his living as a moving-picture photographer in turn-of-the-century Chicago. On his way to success, he makes friends, covers the Spanish-American War as a journalist, and meets the girl of his dreams, a pampered heiress whose robber baron father deems her too good for an immigrant boy.

As entertaining as this novel can be, it is uneven and suffers from serious faults. Many readers who are not born Chicagoans, budding sociologists, or nascent historians will find Jakes's detailed accounts of turn-of-the-century labor unrest both tedious and immaterial. Those with a sound background in American history will find errors in his research. More disquieting is the author's unfamiliarity with German culture and his inability to use correct German in his quotes. Jakes's mistakes in the German language are compounded by sloppy editing on the part of Doubleday, who should have hired a German-speaking editor to vet the manuscript. [Some, but not all, of these errors have been corrected in the recent paperback edition released in spring 1994.] Finally, Jakes's fondness for weaving actual historical figures into his tale becomes excessive. By the end of the book, the Crown family has either met, worked with, photographed, competed against, or become friends with 74 different characters, including Teddy Roosevelt, Clara Barton, Adolphus Busch, and Jane Addams.

In short, *Homeland* is an engaging story, but is neither historically accurate nor convincing as a portrayal of German-Americana. It is a good read, faults notwithstanding, destined to be followed very soon by a sequel.

San Antonio, Texas

Paula Weber

**The Georgia Dutch: From the Rhine and Danube to the Savannah, 1733-1783.**

By George Fenwick Jones. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992. xi + 364 pages. \$45.00.

For generations German colonial migration to North America has been associated with Pennsylvania. In both *The Georgia Dutch* and *The Salzburger Saga: Religious Exiles and Other Germans Along the Savannah* (Athens, 1984) Jones corrects this misconception. He notes the earlier work was his "Vorstudie" for *The Georgia Dutch* and the latter is a "chronicle, not . . . an analysis" (ix). The two studies are similar. They rest substantially upon Jones's translation of *The Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants Who Settled in America* (16 vols.; Athens, 1968ff.). He also consults a multitude of manuscripts on opposite sides of the Atlantic as well as published primary and secondary works. They have many of the same illustrations. *The Georgia Dutch* provides extensive endnotes.

Both works open with a glimpse of the emigrants' world of origin. This includes not only the 1731 Edict of Expulsion that forced Protestants to leave Salzburg, but also details of their trek across Europe to Prussia or England, where many arrived destitute. Jones notes that in other German-speaking areas of eighteenth-century Europe people were viewed as a natural resource and migration was officially discouraged, despite the efforts of immigration recruiters.

A peek at the world of transport is also provided when the author recounts the nefarious schemes of various transporters on both the Rhine and the Atlantic that resulted in many arriving in Georgia as bonded servants. He details the death and disease experienced during the Atlantic crossing.

In presenting the world of destination, Jones assumes his reader is cognizant of the official reasons for the founding of Georgia and of its colonial history. He does not dwell on the role the new colony was designed to play as a buffer between Carolina and Spanish Florida. He barely explores the reasons for the early prohibition of slavery, male-only landownership, and small land grants—all designed to insure a large colonial militia.

The main body of both *The Salzburger Saga* and *The Georgia Dutch* provides extensive accounts of life in Ebenezer and its satellite settlements, populated primarily by Salzburgers. Johann Boltzius, as both religious and secular leader of Ebenezer for over thirty years, figures prominently in both studies. Jones gathers much of this information from Boltzius's written accounts to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) headquartered in London, and to the Lutheran Fathers at Halle University. SPCK worked closely with the Trustees for Establishing a Colony in Georgia, whose best-known member was James



Oglethorpe. Although much detail is given to various aspects of the life of the Lutheran Germans at Ebenezer and its surrounds, this portion of the work remains essentially the story of Boltzius.

The last segment of *The Georgia Dutch* attempts to thematically summarize subjects that had earlier been mentioned chronologically. These themes include pre-Christian and Christian folkways of the migrants as well as economic patterns, natural resources, military concerns, and race relations. If the work had been an "analysis" rather than a "chronicle," these summaries might have been developed as the main thrust of the study. Instead they appear as an addendum to appease the critics of *The Salzburger Saga*. In his comments on race relations the author states that this "study is about Germans in Georgia, not about the Indians; so the native Americans are seen only as they affected the Germans, that is, through German eyes" (258). Jones's use, however, of such terms as "redskins" (258) and "palefaces" (262) with an apparent straight face questions his comprehension of the nature of the European invasion and conquest of North America. Likewise his views on the Trustees' early prohibition of slavery and its later introduction are couched essentially in economic rather than racial or humanistic terms.

Throughout all his work Jones displays an excellent command of the German language and its various dialects. His work also continues the erosion of the Anglo-centric canon of British hegemony in North American colonial settlement. It might have been sufficient, however, to let his research rest on *The Detailed Reports* and *The Salzburger Saga*. The former was translated and edited for scholars. The latter was written for genealogists and the general reader. *The Georgia Dutch* appears to have been written in response to critics.

Chicago Public Library

James A. Stewart

### **Atlantische Brücke.**

By Lisa Kahn. Lewiston, NY: Mellen Poetry Press, 1992. 78 pages. \$9.95.

This slim white volume of poetry is introduced with a quotation from Wittgenstein that asks, "Kann ich in die Vergangenheit gehen?" The volume reverberates with the question, from the first poem to the last. The first, "Wir wolln die goldne Brücke bauen," also takes up an autobiographical tone that resounds throughout. A trip with grandchildren evokes connections between past and present "so gehen wir zusammen / lauschend sprechend / Schritt für Schritt / Flug um Flug / durch Raum und Zeit / . . . hin und her und her und hin / bleiben Brückenbauer / lebenslang" (6). Kahn's poems of America build bridges back to the other side of the Atlantic; her European images echo with

symbols springing from American soil. *Atlantische Brücke*, the reader realizes easily, is a bridge constructed by words, linking childhood in Germany to an adult life in the United States. It is a bridge that does not diminish the distance between one home and another, a bridge for both coming (home) and going (home). "Das bittersüße Land" presents a quintessentially German-American view of America accepted as a new home. Straddling two shores the writer realizes that Europe has become too small for her: ". . . und selbst die kleinen Flüsse hier / die Bäche mangeln der braven Zementierung / ihres Bettes sind nicht zahm rollen / nach Wolkenbrüchen braunwütend und / schäumend über die Ufer schwappend / wie es der altersschwache Vater Rhein / kaum noch schafft" (7).

In these verses, however, a home has been found: "ach daß wir uns nirgends / bergen können es sei denn / im Herzen andrer" (17). Many of Kahn's poems come to terms with the loss of a childhood home, as illustrated in "Omas Küche": "Da Blaukraut wohl mit Äpfeln / durchzogen gesellt nach strengem Brauch / seinen Duft hinzu der trägt uns / ins Kinderland" (33-34). Especially poignant are the memories evoked in "Verspätete Liebeserklärung an Recklingshausen." As an only child, she joins her cousins in an empty general store to play on Sundays, entering the cellar: ". . . man steigt mit pochendem / Herzen ins dunkle Gewölbe / da riecht es anheimelnd zwar / nach Gürken Hering / Sauerkraut aus den Fässern / doch man kann nie wissen / und zumindest hocken Spinnen / in klammigen Ecken" (37-38).

Interspersed with such powerful evocations of memory and meaning are poems of place: "Mudejarschloß," "Reise nach Minnesota," "San Francisco," "Minneapolis," "Giverny," and the sensually provocative "Death Valley" ("In Rot getauchte / ewige Windmuster / künden von Liebe Feuer Blut / sind Erinnerungen / weisen auf Zukünftiges," [24]). Except for "Cezanne" ("Aus der Luft / wo die Spur / unsrer Geheimnisse / liegt / nimmst du sie / legst sie auf / Leinwand bloß," [31]), the poems exploring the role art plays in our lives, "Römische Rhapsodie" (I, II, and III), "Zu Brahms Erster," or "Parish Friedhof Church von St. Anne," contain cosmopolitan or private allusions that may distance or draw the reader closer.

The bridge-crossings end with "Flug," a return refreshed by the memories of homes left behind: "Meine Schmetterlingsmaschine flattert / weiter / —als wär nichts geschehn— / westwärts / meerwärts / und wieder westwärts / nach Houston" (76). Readers appreciating the evocative power of landscape will enjoy Kahn's poetry; "Night Tree" is a good example of its strength: "Stahlbaum / reckst deine anthrazitfarbenen Arme mit harten eckigen / konturen ins Blau" (63). Kahn's gift for bridging person and place, present and past, creates in



*Atlantische Brücke* a liberating intimacy—with nature, with places we have been and will go, with our own memories.

University of Cincinnati

Suzanne Shipley Toliver

**Somewhere in Southern Indiana: Poems of Midwestern Origins.**

By Norbert Krapf. St. Louis: Time Being Books, 1993. 107 pages. \$16.95 (cloth); \$9.95 (paper).

These poems are the poet's attempt to define more closely his own origins and to discern the directions his life has taken. He seems surprised and awed by the secrets the past divulges to his reflections, and by the difference between his life today and life as his German-American forebears experienced it. Several poems reflect on the customs and lifeways of Indiana's early Germans: "The Weddings" and "Butchering: After a Family Photograph." "The Forefather Arrives" mingles metaphors reflecting the old world and the new: children clinging like cockleburrs to a man's coat, cobbled Bavarian streets contrasted with flat, uncultivated ground; a woman listening for distant church bells contrasted with the song of unfamiliar birds. This poem flows with quiet but irresistible movement through its use of such motifs as walking and shoes, commonplace things that moved a nation of immigrants forward.

There are poems that capture the mystery of the early western frontier with a balanced use of nature imagery, such as "Entering the Southern Indiana Wilderness." The passing of the passenger pigeon is the object of "The Pigeons of St. Henry." The German Catholics were like other Americans in their misuse of that particular resource, overharvesting them. But in general, their ways contrasted with the cut and burn tactics of the Yankee settlers who tended to use up an area and then move further west.

The poet frequently uses photographs as the visual springboard to his ruminations about the past, sometimes with a touch of delightful whimsy as in "A Postcard from Missouri" where his father's pretty cousin is depicted in front of a rosebush in 1919. The message from her is prosaic—that they had been planting corn. The poet adds humor and emotion when he says he would plant corn with her any day. Again, the photograph plays an important role when the poet addresses the image of his grandfather with his great black moustache. The grain of wood, one of Krapf's universal themes, leads from the grandfather, the sawyer, through the poet's furniture-making father to the poet himself who sits at a desk, presumably made of wood. It is a progression from the man who cuts the wood to the man who uses it both figuratively and literally to

reflect on the past event of wood cutting. The poet sees himself prefigured in the shadow of the photographer visible in the picture.

The poet admits the impossibility of finding his own lost past even when he recursively tries to find that past by reflecting on his own written poems. "The Woods of Southern Indiana" has part of the poet's persona, the wild, youthful part, left in the woods leaving perceptible tracks along with the other wild things of the woods, but it can only be glimpsed briefly, never held. The step motif is used to contrast the feet that carried him to far away places and a different life with the tracks left by that part of himself. There often resounds the theme of words spoken too late, of words impossible to find.

The passing of the generation that was the German-language connection is chronicled in "Tillie, Josie, and Marie." The little boy did not understand his great aunt, but his father could and interpreted for him. When she died, the little boy wonders where all the German words went with their magical powers that could even wake her if they could but be found. "To Obscure Men" is a poem that is directed to the lonely old men subject to deadly melancholy when they are forgotten and left behind in the hills of one's youth. It is only when one reaches a certain age that one sends them a poem as a letter that is too late.

The experience of nature defined early the sensitivity of the poet to certain animals and trees of Southern Indiana that take on metaphoric meaning in the mind of the poet and become that connecting points between time past, nature, and the poet's present: indigo buntings, squirrels, pin oaks, and sweet gum trees. That which is eternal for the poet seems to extend from the ever-rolling hills of Southern Indiana. The chicken hawk glides in a never-ending circle seeking small gradations in the landscape from which it lives. Nature in its simplicity is all that is eternal.

Man's creations are ever so fragile, even if they seem massive. "Two Bricks and a Board" are all that is left of the massive brick house built by the poet's great-great-grandfather. The sense of lost connection to the past, a past that sustains as one reflects on it, is overwhelming in this somewhat long poem. There is a need to preserve at least a trace of that past in some tangible form that can be the catalyst for reflecting on one's interconnected humanity that informs the present and the future. "For to live / in the present / without remembering / the past is to / die a slow inhuman / death in a time / that leads nowhere / but back into / itself sealed off / forever from / life to come" (74).

It is the poet's right to indulge himself in reflection on the ethnic past and present, and in doing so preserve it by causing others to reflect on it. The poet chronicles "small lives deeply lived" that often spawned greatness. "German Fries" looks back to the passing of the poet's father and the family's relationship to the family of the present archbishop of



Indianapolis. The food motif, the symbol of life in the rural environment of many German-American families, is a unifying element. The poet also feels a certain kinship to Theodore Dreiser, a Hoosier German from Terre Haute and great American novelist. A reference in Dreiser's *A Hoosier Holiday* made during a trip through Southern Indiana mentioned a grove of beech trees that were like a cathedral. This shared respect for nature connects the poet with Dreiser, his German family, his Indiana background, and their Catholic heritage. Much of Krapf's poetry directs itself to finding hidden links and associations that exist because of shared German heritage. Yet, this book is not philopatric or exclusionary.

The dark side, the melancholy of German-American life in Southern Indiana is often present as in the Dreiser poem. This long poem tells much about why the novelist was a "Hoosier / German mystic masquerading as / a New York skeptic" (90). This is a side of the novelist, incidentally, that his friend H. L. Mencken, a German-American from Baltimore, also understood. The dark side of life is present also in the suicide of a friend and that of the "unhappy old men who withered / away in parlors, hanged / themselves from two-by-four / rafters in garages, or shot / themselves in smokehouses / with the twelve gauges / they'd hunted with for fifty- / five years" (69).

Krapf's imagery is gentle but resilient in its use of nature themes from the woods of Southern Indiana. The language has the flow of interconnected themes. It is the associative logic of the emotion which stays, however, on course throughout a given poem and the collection as a whole.

This is a collection of poems that with some exceptions seem to belong together in that they create in combination a more or less complete picture of a past time and place. That German-American time and place constitutes one of the grains in the wood of which American culture is made.

German-American themes mingle with what one might call "All American" themes, particularly the sports of basketball and baseball that played and still play an important part in the life of people in Southern Indiana. The curving ball like those formerly thrown by the poet's father he wishes "to send . . . curving / on in memory that is sacred" (105). This is more than about life among German-Americans in Southern Indiana; it is about life in America with all of its shared symbols, problems, and hopes. It is a very mature collection of poems by a poet who utilizes German-American themes to reflect on our common humanity.

**The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War.**

By Bruce Levine. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992. xiv + 378 pages. \$39.95.

The revolution of 1848-49 that failed to turn German history ultimately helped to shape the character of antebellum America, since thousands of German revolutionaries were cast upon the shores of the United States seeking political exile. Between 1840 and 1860 at least one and a half million Germans emigrated to America. Despite the pressures of acculturation, by the 1850s German-Americans had created a pervasive social pattern in urban communities—a pattern that was inclusive of a wide variety of classes and occupations. Antebellum Germans were perhaps the most successful immigrants in establishing their own ethnic communities in urban centers, while assimilating into the American working class. Bruce Levine, in his *The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War*, a volume in the series *The Working Class in American Society*, has added significantly to our understanding of the relationship between ethnicity and class. While scholars have traditionally examined ethnicity and class separately, the recent emphasis on the relationship between ethnicity, immigration, urbanization, and the rank and file worker has given rise to new and interesting developments in social history.

German immigrants and their children became one of the chief elements of the U.S. working class during the nineteenth century. By focusing on German-born craftworkers, Levine examines the key roles they played in the economic and political life of the wage-earning population of antebellum America. For example, he contends that "ethnic (religious and national) cultures were heavily freighted with both socioeconomic and political significance" (10). That American values were deeply marked by socioeconomic concerns was no more true then in the antebellum period, but according to Levine, issues bearing on ethnic and religious identity, conversely, loomed large for German-Americans. German-American craftworkers could not help but be influenced by these circumstances which ultimately came to define their role in the American workplace, especially since the German-American response to a range of ethno-political stimuli was also mediated by socioeconomic realities, including class identity.

By analyzing the relationship between immigration, industrialization, class formation, and the political polarization over slavery, Levine sheds new light in the development of the antebellum working class, the nature and appeals of partisan politics, and the conflicts that led to the Civil War. By rejecting what Levine labels the "either/or" approach to studying ethnicity and class, *The Spirit of 1848* reflects to some degree a new



approach in ethnic social history that "lays bare the manner in which cultural, economic, and political influences interacted to shape the experience of German-American craftworkers" (10). Scholars of ethnicity have traditionally focused on emigrating professionals, merchants, and landowners who constituted only a minority of the emigrants. Levine, however, centers on the small cultivators, handicraft workers, and laborers primarily in the North who comprised the overwhelming majority of the German emigrants and whose preservation in the New World naturally had much more to do with the workplace than with trying to achieve the realization of political liberalism. Levine contends that only by focusing on the interaction between the political, economic, and cultural influences of the craftworker "can we understand how these people perceived and responded to antebellum partisanship and mounting conflicts over slavery" (10).

Levine opens his story of the German-American experience by carefully delineating the background of these emigrants, assessing their involvement in the economic, political, and cultural developments that culminated in the revolution of 1848. He examines the economic, political, and cultural changes in *Vormärz* Germany as well as the revolution itself in an attempt to explain the impetus for the German emigration. In the tradition of earlier scholars of the German revolution such as Marcus Lee Hansen and Theodore Hamerow, Levine asserts that the economic disasters of the 1840s made German society's general economic crisis acute, and it "reflected the complex, contradictory, and uneven character of the nation's social and political development" (34). The push for national unity and a constitutional monarchy on a broad democratic basis by liberals ultimately resulted in a revolution that failed. Although the movement failed to achieve its political goals, it reflected the desire of German craftworkers, despite their various religious and political beliefs or backgrounds, to unite on some common ground and actively participate in changing the workplace.

Levine then traces the exile of these failed revolutionaries to the new world, where, according to Carl Schurz, "nobody need be poor because everybody was free" (53) and locates them within the multi-class German-American population struggling to assimilate into the American mainstream. The relative concentration in urban areas gave the Germans a disproportionate weight in many important centers, and the social structure of these communities naturally reflected this heavy urban concentration. In most cases the discovery in the New World of certain social-economic conditions associated with the Old World reflected some basic similarities in the form that economic development took in the United States and Europe. While improvements in the nation's transportation systems and the resulting integration of local markets, along with the growth of light manufacturing, introduced important



changes into the economy, they coexisted with—and were often mediated by—significant fragments of the more traditional, small-scale, artisanal economy which continued to develop on a decentralized basis. Although Germans experienced numerous hardships and faced numerous obstacles they were nonetheless absorbed into the workplace, which ultimately either positively or negatively pulled German-Americans together across social class. For Levine problems of adjustments—exacerbated by unemployment, poverty, and ethnic discrimination—tended to strengthen community cohesion and ethnic identity.

Levine analyzes the deepening political divisions within German-America, differentiating conservative, liberal, radical-democratic, and Marxist currents. In his analysis Levine highlights the challenge of slavery and sectionalism to the radical immigrants. Because German-Americans had earlier established a presence in the Democratic party, the newcomers refused to abandon the party since many considered slavery less of a danger to their daily lives than nativists. The more radical forty-eighters, however, who according to Levine had "long argued (against nativist and even immigrant critics) that their own outlook and goals were basically the same as those historically associated with the American Revolution and American Democracy" (217), implored their comrades to denounce slavery. This conflicted with the workers' interests in survival, especially since many German immigrants were employed in the textile industry—an industry with a southern tie. Radical German Republicans, comparing southern masters to European aristocrats, emphasizes the antislavery advocates' struggle for unlimited freedom, which seemed to transform slavery into a class conflict of the oppressed and the oppressor "in the spirit of the martyrs of the German Revolution" (217). It was the work of the radical forty-eighters, however, that afforded German workers an avenue to move into the Republican party during the Kansas-Nebraska crisis, despite the nativist elements within the party.

The concluding section of Levine's book focuses primarily on the political climate of the years immediately preceding the Civil War. While this section is much less detailed, it provides useful analysis of the German-American role in the development of the Republican party, the election of 1860, essentially concluding that Lincoln's success in the Northwest was less determined by the German vote than previously argued by scholars. While his insights into the role of German-Americans in the Civil War are perceptive, a more fully balanced account of the relationship between ethnicity, politics, and the military would serve to buoy up his argument. While the rank and file German-American soldier made a significant contribution to the Civil War, the absence of a those, such as Franz Sigel and Peter Osterhaus, who became prominent commanders, either positively or negatively, seems inconsistent with the attention given to those German-Americans who merited distinction in the



years prior to the war. Interestingly enough, the most prominent German-American of the nineteenth century, Carl Schurz, appears more for his role during and after the Civil War, when he was equally important from a German-American viewpoint, than as a radical Republican before the war rallying his countrymen to the Republican party in 1860. Other German-Americans Levine might have considered in his assessment of the German-American contribution include Gustave Koerner and Ludwig Blenker.

For readers of nineteenth-century ethnicity, class, and conflict, Levine's masterful study of German immigrants, labor, and the coming of the Civil War is an important work. It serves to accent what is both needed and extremely useful in antebellum scholarship—an original and exhaustive account of two elements that should more often be considered together in social history: class and ethnicity. Combining outstanding research with rich interpretive analysis, *The Spirit of 1848* cements Levine's place among the best in immigration studies.

Florida Atlantic University

Stephen D. Engle

#### **Wortgrund Noch: Lyrik Und Prosa**

By Gert Niers. *Deutschschreibende Autoren in Nordamerika*, vol. 4. *Vermillion, SD: University of South Dakota*, 1992. 92 pages. \$10.

The informative introduction by Werner Kitzler offers pertinent background information for approaching the poetry and prose of Gert Niers. Kitzler begins with a prologue-like reference to the series *Deutschschreibende Autoren in Nordamerika*, its purpose of providing a forum for German-language authors residing in North America, and the contributions of Gert Niers to the field of German-American literature, in particular his journalistic and editorial duties in New York with both *Aufbau* and the *Staats-Zeitung*.

The forty poems in part one, "Durch das Nadelöhr der Zeit," deal primarily with considerations of language, both German as native tongue and American English as the instrument of communication in a new homeland. Niers is most successful when the poetry blends reflection on language with attempts at self-discovery. See, for instance, "Soliloquium" where the author expresses concerns shared by other German-American writers:

Ich versuche, mich vom Eintopf  
der Eintagsfliegen fernzuhalten.  
So fern wie möglich.

Schreiben aus der Ferne.  
Ferngespräch. Selbstgespräch. (42)

In part two, "Aus dem launigen Logbuch," a diary without dates, we find an alternating series of aphoristic statements and fragmentary images. One of the more notable pronouncements is the following: "Deutschamerikanische Literatur: Hieroglyphen gegen das Vergessen" (48), a line which underscores the task facing Niers and other writers in the *Deutschschreibende Autoren in Nordamerika* series, namely, the effort to preserve the German-American tradition so that future readers need not play the role of archaeologists deciphering the remains of an extinct culture.

Part three contains ten poems grouped under the heading "Bruchstücke des Herzens." Here we find poems both traditional and experimental in form. Among the more successful are "Erinnerung einer Kindheit im Ruhrgebiet" and the final poem in this chapter which concludes with the lines providing the book's title: "Unsere frostdünne Existenz / trägt Wortgrund noch" (64)—a neologism capturing the oft ambiguous essence of the German-writing author in America.

Part four, "Nichts zu danken," offers an ironical twist to the traditional travel report from America by using a series of six autobiographical anecdotes to illustrate the idiosyncracies if not dangers associated with the American way of life. Niers refrains from standard travel imagery, offering instead a narrative point of view embellishing the theme of a stranger in a strange land. Moreover, the mode of self-observation employed here provides a nice counter-balance to the concluding section of the book.

The final entry, "So wunderbare Worte gefunden," is another prose piece in a montage style incorporating satire as well as the grotesque. A fitting conclusion to this collection, the original manuscript dates from 1971, i.e., shortly before Niers's emigration, and reflects the author's early literary influences (dada and surrealism) to say nothing of the unmistakable *Zeitgeist* of the 1960s.

*Wortgrund Noch* offers the reader an excellent introduction to the work of an author born in Dresden in 1943, raised in Oberhausen (Ruhrgebiet), and living on the East Coast of the USA since 1971. On a concluding note, this review echoes the suggestion of Werner Kitzler in calling for publication in book form of selections from Niers's journalistic work in the field of German-Americana. Such would indeed be a most fitting companion piece to *Wortgrund Noch*.

St. Louis

Greg Divers



**Rahmenwechsel: Fünfundsiebzig Gedichte mit dreizehn Zeichnungen und Umschlagbild von Gerhard Wind.**

By Margot Scharpenberg. Duisburg: Gilles & Francke, 1992. 128 pages. DM 20.

In *Rahmenwechsel* the Cologne-born author Margot Scharpenberg returns to a format she has used successfully in her previous volumes of poetry, merging poems and visual art: black-and-white drawings by Gerhard Wind accompany her poems. All are variations of the same abstract geometrical shapes. The title echoes that of the earlier collection *Verlegte Zeiten* (1988), since both suggest a process of transformation. In *Verlegte Zeiten* it is the concept of time which is being manipulated; in the present collection the frame surrounding the work of art is being shifted to create a new perspective. In Wind's drawings the white empty spaces create the impression that all forms are in motion, and the outline of the drawings motivates the spectator to fill in the empty space; in Scharpenberg's poems the reader is equally tempted to fill in his/her thoughts.

Scharpenberg is one of the few contemporary German-American authors who has received international recognition. Since 1957 she has published twenty-one collections of poetry and three volumes of prose. Her success reflects the continuing vitality of the German-American heritage: all of her volumes are written in German and published in Germany; a few poems have been translated and appear in American publications. A recent volume (21 [1993]) of *Carleton Germanic Papers*, published at Carleton University, Canada—where she worked for two years—was dedicated to Scharpenberg's work. She is included in the *Kritisches Lexicon zur deutschsprachigen Gegenwartsliteratur* and in the *Frankfurter Anthologie* (1988). In 1988 she received the prestigious Ida Dehmel Prize for her collected poetry as well as the Robert L. Kahn Prize.

Her themes and images remain familiar. She divides her new collection into four sections: "Kindheit (Unsereins)," "Sprache (Bilder)," "Kalender (Schauplätze)," and "Zukunft (Nachrufe)." Language and time, central themes throughout her works, represent forms of change. The title, *Rahmenwechsel*, can be interpreted from this perspective. The first group of poems focuses on the experiences and memories of childhood; an awareness of mortality ("Ungeschützt," 12; "Es ging zu schnell," 24; "sterblich," 36) and recollections of earlier, more blissful times ("Bienensummen," 12) are common themes. Frequent references to day and night or light and shadow reinforce the connection between the poems and the black-and-white drawings. One example of this blending technique can be seen in "Nacht und Tag" and "Kindheit IX (Kind am Abend)": "Ich lege dich mir / als Augenklappe vor / damit ich besser / schlafen kann und sage / Gute Nacht / Nacht / . . . / vorm Licht /

verschließt du dich / während ich es / mit Haut und Haar / mit Klang und allen Gerüchen / festhalten will" (30); "Wo der Schatten / Schatten wirft / darf ich mich verstecken / Fensterleibung / Säulenfirst / Schwarz in allen Ecken/ . . . / —Licht ist leicht / und zwingt mich kaum— / werd ich neugeboren" (22).

The success of these poems is a result of Scharpenberg's direct, unpretentious language and lyric style. She sometimes employs a fairy-tale tone and uses typical fairy-tale images ("Fabelvogel," 35; "Feen," 19; "Hänsel und Gretel," 14), but always with a twist at the end ("Kindheit III," 14). Reinhold Grimm nicely summarizes this dominant stylistic characteristic, explaining that "Scharpenbergs dichterische Verwandlung von Bildinhalten in sprachliche Bilder sich häufig auch mit Hilfe von neubelebten—beim Wort genommenen, gegen den Strich gelesenen oder sonstwie kreativ variierten—bildlichen und/oder umgangssprachlichen Redensarten vollzieht" (*Carleton Germanic Papers* 21:55). The result is a change of perspective, a new frame for an old picture (*Rahmenwechsel*).

As is typical of her recent poetry, the theme of this volume centers around the encounter of language: the poems in the second section, "Sprache (Bilder)," address language directly, with an intimate voice: "Einmal mit ihr verlobt" (40); "Mit ihrem Namen/bin ich beringt" (41); "Sprache ist meine Schwester" (42); "schon mein Geburtsschrei ist Sprache" (45); "meine Freundin Sprache" (46). Language is not approached as a linguistic phenomenon, but as a fundamental experience linked to time, life, and death—the other main themes of the collection.

There are very few references in this volume to Scharpenberg's American residence, but several poems in the "language" section deal with her bilingual talent: "Meine Zwei Sprachen / Über die Köpfe / meiner zwei Sprachen / hinweg / verständige ich mich / mit mir selbst / . . ." (54); "Merhsprachig / . . . / je mehr wir in anderen / Sprachen rufen / je eher / so hoffen wir / fliegen de Vögel / in vollere Sicht / . . ." (51); "Dialog / . . . / mit Verlaub / von welcher Sprache / ist hier die Rede / ich höre auf zwei / . . ." (52).

Scharpenberg's verbal wit, innovative images, and associations are presented in varied metrical forms and a more personal tone that creates memorable poems. The book closes with a series of remarkable poems that trace the significance of time: the past and the future. *Rahmenwechsel* is an important book which confirms Scharpenberg's position as one of the leading poets currently writing in German.

Wright State University

Elfe Vallaster



**Die Resonanz des Exils: Gelungene und mißlungene Rezeption deutschsprachiger Exilautoren.**

*Edited by Dieter Sevin. Amsterdamer Publikationen zur Sprache und Literatur, vol. 99. Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi. 1992. 403 pages, three photos. \$120 (cloth); \$40 (paper).*

Since studies about the reception of literary works have provided essential information for literary history as such, it was only a question of time until this approach would also be applied to exile literature, in this case the literature written in German by those writers who fled their Central European homeland from Nazi persecution. The present volume examines the resonance of individual exile works both in the author's country of origin (Germany, Austria) as well as in the country where the author found asylum. Apart from literature, other forms of creative and intellectual activities are examined (e.g., art, film, theatre, philosophy)—which means that the collection is not only dedicated to exile literature (as the title suggests) but to the wider range of a general *Exilforschung*.

The twenty-eight essays collected by Dieter Sevin had previously been presented as papers of an "International Symposium on the Reception of German and Austrian Exile Literature" which took place at Vanderbilt University in April 1991. As any collective endeavor, Sevin's symposium harvest contains material of different outlook and quality. Although all contributors—more or less instinctively, it seems—are striving for objective and verifiable criteria to measure the impact of an author upon the public at a given time, there appears to be no clearly defined methodology of reception-oriented research: a calamity which Sevin addresses in his introductory remarks (5). Therefore, the concept of *Wirkungsgeschichte* as it is laid out by Helmut Koopmann (182) is not adopted in all of its aspects by all contributors. Still, whichever approach is chosen by the individual scholar, the results are—all in all—pertinent and noteworthy.

Among the different research topics of this collection certain *Schwerpunkte* become noticeable: two essays (one by Peter Uwe Hohendahl, the other by Dagmar Barnouw) deal with Adorno; two (Jost Hermand, Helmut Pfanner) are dedicated to Arnold Zweig; the Mann family receives the same amount of attention (Helmut Koopmann, Shelley Frisch), and so does Friedrich Wolf (Klaus Jarmatz, Gerd Labrousse). If I had to decide which of the collected essays offers the best scholarly argument and stylistic performance, I would opt for Helmut Koopman's contribution.

A somewhat neglected group of emigrés have been the artists, about whose fate and work the *Exilforschung* has not yet produced much coherent evidence. Ingeborg Hoesterey's essay examines the life, work, and recognition of Friedel Dzubas, Hans Hoffmann, and Richard Lindner.

With the tools of semiotics and deconstruction, she gets quickly to the point and provides the reader with valuable new insights.

Guy Stern, one of the *grandseigneurs* of exile studies, pursues in his essay a subject he had embarked upon already in 1986: the impact of the exile experience on the younger writers and their literary production. In this case, we are no longer dealing with German literature but with American writing. Stern now presents the authors Walter Laqueur, Sonia Wolff Levitin, Peter Viertel, Lore Segal, Frederic Morton, and Walter Abish.

Alexander Stephan takes a critical look at the file which the FBI had established on Lion Feuchtwanger. Their objectives and methods of gathering information are not too different from the procedures in totalitarian regimes: a bitter ironic twist in the fate of an emigré who nevertheless manages to stay above all petty adversities.

Shelley Frisch (on Klaus Mann) makes the well-argued point to apply Deleuze's and Guattari's concept of "minor literature" to the interpretation of exile literature. It is too bad that in her extensive conclusion this Germanist does not consider the Deleuze/Guattari concept as an interpretive approach to German-American literature. Among the articles which fascinated this reviewer are also Olga Elaine Rojer's evaluation of the German literary scene in Argentina and an analysis of the French situation by Albrecht Betz.

There is no question that within the vast field of exile studies every subject presented in this anthology is worthy of consideration. Nothing is unimportant. However, one observation which should not be suppressed has nothing to do with the intention of the book, but with its technical realization. I do not know (and as a reviewer, I do not have to know) if this was caused by the circumstances of the production: but I have not yet read a book with so many violations of grammar, spelling, and style as this one. It is not sufficient to give each author the opportunity to proofread the final copy of his/her contribution, as the editor proclaims in his foreword (4). An editor has not only the right, but also the obligation to intervene. Dieter Sevin has failed to do so, and his own introductory "Anmerkungen" are painful proof of his poor performance. For instance "Die Meinungen, inwieweit die Theorie eine größere Rolle einnehmen müsse und auch wie extensiv sich unsere Wissenschaft international komparatistischen Vergleichen hinzuzuwenden habe, wurden recht unterschiedlich eingeschätzt" (8). Assigning this passage to an intermediate language class for correction would probably produce interesting results.

The most grotesque blunder can be found in Viktoria Hertling's essay about the *Austro-American Tribune*: "Als nächstes riefen die Legitimisten im Februar 1942 die Frei-Österreicher-Bewegung ins Leben, unter deren Schirmherrschaft am 11. März 1942 in New York die größte



Veranstaltung zum dritten Jahrestag der Annexion abgehalten wurde" (36); in 1942 the *fourth* and not the *third* anniversary of the *Anschluß* was commemorated. As the source of her information, the author quotes the New York based newspaper *Aufbau* without clarifying, however, that this information was not conveyed in an article (as one would expect in a newspaper) but rather in an advertisement. Of course, the ad refers properly to the *fourth* anniversary. Clearly, the editor should have intervened and protected his contributor from professional embarrassment.

Even though for such reasons Sevin's volume cannot be welcomed without reservations, it still presents important incentives and new perspectives. It confirms the trend of incorporating into research other forms of exile existence than that of our *hommes de lettres*. The history of exile literature is thereby opened to an intellectual history of the exile (in the meantime also other professions—e.g., medical doctors, engineers—have become the topic of *Exilforschung*). To what degree a comparative point of view will open new horizons to exile studies remains to be seen: in most essays of this anthology the comparative effort had to be brought forth by the reader while deciphering the mosaic of subjects and opinions.

Ocean County College, NJ

Gert Niers

### **Deutsch-jüdische Exil- und Emigrationsliteratur im 20. Jahrhundert.**

*Edited by Itta Shedletsky and Hans Otto Horch. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1993. vi + 302 pages. DM 138.*

Given the growing interlinkage between various fields of specialization, today's Germanists will frequently find new primary and secondary sources in publications apparently only marginally relevant to their research. For the investigator of German-American relations, for instance, the steadily burgeoning field of exile literature and culture will yield increasingly valuable insights. The present anthology, for the most part a collection of papers presented at an exile symposium of 1989 at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, while not a prime example, will still serve to illustrate the point. Dealing *in extenso* with only a few exiles during their stay in America—a fact partially explained by the heavy involvement of scholars from Israel—the anthology, by virtue of four of its articles, will nonetheless benefit German-American studies.

Hans-Peter Bayerdörfer's "Nathan am Broadway," a superb analysis of Ferdinand Bruckner's adaptation of Lessing, confirms an abiding principle of exile, indeed of immigration literature: in order to succeed abroad a literary text must, beyond any intrinsic merit, appeal to the

tastes and predilections of the adopted country. That is the reason why in the nineteenth century, for example, Kotzebue outstripped Goethe in popular appeal to Americans.

Bruckner, when readying *Nathan* for Broadway, wanted not only to cement the bridges between enlightened German gentiles and Jews, but also "to bring both in contact with the spirit of America" (172). To that end he significantly altered Lessing's original. By omitting the figures of Sittah and Al-Hafi and by elevating the Sultan to a ruler in search of peace and justice, Bruckner stresses the problems inherent in the interaction of major religions with a secular nation, very much in the American spirit of a separation between church and state. Bruckner also substitutes a genuine love story, complete with a happy ending, for the somewhat antiquated, if symbolically valid, "family-of-Man" denouement. Also, in deference to America's more stringent segregation between the faithful of the various religions, Nathan feels the need to exculpate himself for keeping her true provenance from his daughter. Finally, given the urgency of Lessing's message, the need to marshal all anti-totalitarian forces, Bruckner transposes Lessing's envisioned age of tolerance from a utopian future to the here-and-now, a consummation brought about by Saladin's wise rule. The astonishing critical and popular success of the staging testifies to Bruckner's correct assessment of the mentality of the sophisticated American theatergoer. The revised *Nathan* becomes thereby a barometer for German-American relations as it prevailed among American intellectuals in 1942.

Three other authors who spent some of their exile years in America are also profiled in the anthology. Klaus Müller-Salget and Hanni Mittelmann provide, respectively, some glimpses of Alfred Döblin's and Albert Ehrenstein's unsuccessful adjustment to America. Döblin, beyond his struggles as a writer, found himself confronted by another quandary in America: a convert to Catholicism he still depended for his subsistence on the generosity of American-Jewish committees. He solved his dilemma by concealing his conversion. Ehrenstein, uprooted in America from his language, "his last homeland" (246), thematizes this loss in his sparse American writings, often by means of animal fables. America, to him, became a cul-de-sac.

Hans Bodenheimer, in his article about Ernst Toller, also focuses (as did the two previously cited essays) on the writer's attitude to Judaism and religion. Nonetheless, we can glean once again, despite this focus, how Toller, while in America, nobly pursued his ideals: the helping of fellow refugees and enlisting aid for the Spanish Republic.

Judging the present anthology on its own terms—rather than as a contribution to German-American studies—it need be said that several articles dwell more on an author's pre-exile years and, in the case of Gertrud Kolmar, on her vision of an asylum abroad tragically never



reached. These deviations from the subject stated in the title do not necessarily diminish the scholarly value of the contributions, but they do impinge upon the thematic unity of the collection. For the scholar of German-American relations, however, parts of this anthology can serve as a welcome reminder that useful sources can be unearthed in studies devoted to exile in America.

Wayne State University

Guy Stern

**The German-American Radical Press: The Shaping of a Left Political Culture, 1850-1940.**

*Edited by Elliot Shore, Ken Fones-Wolf, and James P. Danky. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992. 247 pages. \$36.50.*

The editors of this volume aim to examine ninety years of German-American radicalism represented in German-American newspapers (and labor publications) by way of ten selections. The purpose as put forth in the introduction is "to offer some thematic essays which provide a broad-based view of the complexity and richness of this press" (2). The book is divided into four parts: 1. The Radical Editors; 2. From Forty-Eighter Radicalism to a Working-Class Press; 3. A Press and a Culture; 4. Radical Visions. Additionally, there is a summation by Moses Rischin, a list of editors/journalists of German-American radical papers from 1865 to 1914 by Harmut Keil, as well as an excellent bibliography and index.

The essays include such topics as: the forty-eighters; specific activities in Chicago, Philadelphia, New York, and St. Louis; the treatment of women by the radical press; specific newspapers (*Freie Blätter*, *Der Arme Teufel*, and the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*); and specific individuals (Franz Schmidt, Robert Reitzel, and Ludwig Lore).

For a general overview of the period and the individuals involved, readers should turn to Hartmut Keil's "A Profile of Editors of the German-American Radical Press, 1850-1910." Keil points out that in the post-Civil War years editors were recruited from Germany due to a dearth of qualified individuals already in the United States. Some of the editors had fled the anti-socialist laws enacted from 1878 to 1890, while others came from a working class background or were intellectuals. Keil remarks that this strengthening of the ranks helped raise the linguistic and cultural standards that had leveled off as a result of forces of adaptation from various angles. Editorships were marked by short tenures and high mobility due to instability, personnel changes, and ideological shifts in the papers' editorial policies.

He also notes that the radical press depended on the organizational backing of the cooperative associations and the labor organizations for

survival. The ill-fated fortune of the *Milwaukee'r Socialist*, for example, demonstrates that many a plan was rashly conceived and lacked that fundamental financial foundation, institutional backing, as well as a solid base of subscribers. Keil proceeds to characterize the editors in general terms: their origins, professions, reasons for immigrating, etc.

Bruce Nelson addresses the early years of the labor movement in the United States in his essay "*Arbeiterpresse und Arbeiterbewegung: Chicago's Socialist and Anarchist Press, 1870-1900.*" Nelson quotes an April 1880 issue of *Der Vorbote* "die Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung in den Vereinigten Staaten ist zugleich die Geschichte der Arbeiterpresse" (81) and uses this as his thesis in examining the workers' movement in Chicago. He then proceeds to provide a thorough overview of the numerous socialist and anarchist newspapers in various languages (although most were in German).

Basically the newspapers reached five distinct, although at times somewhat similar, audiences: the immigrant audience, workers, trade unions, party members, and the socialist movement's "sympathetic following." Nelson covers their content, publication, and circulation.

The role these newspapers played in the Haymarket riot is also examined. Nelson notes that the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* offered weapons instruction at an anarchist saloon, and the *Alarm* advertised an armed section of the American Group in the months preceding the riot. The day after the riot the police arrested everyone found in the offices of the Socialist Publishing Society, and confiscated all available records. Despite arrests of anarchist editors after Haymarket and promises of suppression of any inflammatory writings, the radical press continues a few days later where it had left off.

Rischin summarizes four of the essays of this volume and offers a subjective critique emphasizing their strengths as well as their weaknesses. He also notes the place this period (and its players) occupy in our understanding of American and German-American history.

Given the relatively small number of individuals involved in the German-American radical press (with regard to the general German-American population), the impact they had on the labor movement of the United States remains nothing short of astounding. This volume is essential to a fuller understanding of American radical political history. It makes great strides in opening the eyes of historians in recognizing the broad role of German-Americans in the history of the United States. Those interested in feminist and labor history will also appreciate this volume.



**Guide to the Archival Materials of the German-Speaking Emigration to the United States after 1933 (Volume 2): Verzeichnis der Quellen und Materialien der deutschsprachigen Emigration in den USA seit 1933.**

By John M. Spalek and Sanra H. Hawrylachak. Bern: Francke Verlag, 1992. 847 pages. \$115.

This is the second in a projected three-volume work (volume 1, 1978), which is basic to any research on the post-1933 German-speaking emigration. The 1930s brought a "mass exodus of science, art, and learning from Europe" (vii) into the New World. The impact on American Society in general, and on the German-American world in particular, was far-reaching. The aim of the work is to establish the location and content of archival materials pertaining to this emigrant group. The arrangement is alphabetical by personal name. This second volume adds 420 archival reports to the 300 found in the first volume; with the final and concluding volume the number will most likely reach the thousand mark.

Each archival report entry includes the following information: name of emigrant, occupation, birth and death dates, and the location of the archival materials. The latter are arranged in the following categories: autobiographical; correspondence; primary literature; printed materials (from newspapers and magazines); adaptations, tapes, records, slides, films; interviews; secondary literature; documents; photographs; descriptions of personal library; materials used by the author, scientist, etc.; memorabilia; manuscripts of others in the collection; and programs and posters.

Two reports can be cited here as examples. The report on Peter Lorre (Laslo Löwenstein, 1904-64), the noted actor of *Casablanca* and other films, is a compact fact-filled listing of materials. We learn, first, that a biography is being written by Stephen D. Youngkin, and that materials will not be accessible until the publication of his work. What will be available? Interviews, tapes, letters, etc. Especially of interest are Lorre's own scrapbooks and the materials he collected on his early theater career in Vienna and Munich. Anyone interested in the German-American contribution to the American film would be interested in consulting this report.

From the rather well-known Peter Lorre, we move to the lesser known, but equally fascinating Alfred Gong (Arthur Liquornik, 1920-81), the writer, whose papers are at the University of Cincinnati. The author of valuable works, including *Interview mit Amerika* and *Happenings in der Park Avenue*, Gong will be recalled for his contributions to the *American-German Review*. The report indicates that a more detailed (24 page) inventory of the Gong papers is available from the University of Cincinnati Archives, but again, one finds here a concisely detailed listing

of the various categories of materials available. For example, there are references to correspondence with Alfred Andersch, Julius Bab, Ulrich Becker, Peter Demetz, Hans Magnus Enzensberger, Manfred George, Rudolf Hagelstange, Hans Egon Holthusen, Wolfgang Koeppen, Monika Mann, Ludwig Marcuse, Hans Sahl, Will Schaber, Johannes Urzidil, Carl Zuckmayer, and others. References to unpublished material, such as Gong's *Die Entmenslichungsmaschine*, provide the basis for future possible avenues of research and study.

Criteria for inclusion were based on the accomplishments of the individual, and the significance pertains both to the American and the European contexts. The first volume stresses "literature and writing in general, physics, mathematics, psychology, architecture, and to a lesser extent, the field of music (composers, performers, and historians)." The second volume "compensates for the lack of representatives from the fields of law, medicine, chemistry, biology, and social sciences." The final volume will include reports on representatives "from the fields of art (including art dealers), music, psychology and publishing, as well as film and acting" (x). The coverage and the archival categories are, hence, thorough. Indices provide access to the following: collections abroad, materials disposed, and personal and place names listed in the guide.

Paging through this guide not only illuminates the diversity of an illustrious group—from the likes of Stefan Zweig to Fritz Lang and Peter Lorre—but also provides the point of departure for future research by locating and detailing the availability of archival materials. Reference should also be made to the related monumental work John Spalek has coedited that contains essays on more than three hundred major and minor individuals active in the literary and publishing areas, as well as a number of thematic and topical essays (John M. Spalek and Joseph Strelka, eds., *Deutschsprachige Exilliteratur seit 1933* [Bern: Francke, 1976-89]). In this work one may seek further biographical information pertaining to many of the individuals listed in the archival guide. Taken together, these works are clearly essential reference/resource sources.

Like the forty-eighters in the nineteenth century, the exiles of the 1930s in the twentieth century represent an important chapter in German-American history. This archival guide is an outstanding contribution to the field of German-American studies in general, and to the bibliography of German-Americana in particular.

University of Cincinnati

Don Heinrich Tolzmann



### **The Brewer's Star.**

By Paula Weber. Reston, VA: Bavaria Books, 1993. 799 pages. \$18.95

*The Brewer's Star* is the fictional account of Richard Kaempff, a strong-willed, Bavarian-born brewer and his family, covering the period of 1884 to 1902. It is the story of a German who settled in San Antonio and made good in the United States, rising from a poor immigrant to a beer baron dominating the entire state of Texas in his business dealings, despite numerous hardships and family clashes along the way to success.

The main focus of the novel is Kaempff, as the guiding light behind the Star Brewing Company, and his second wife Charlotte Karstens, a self-centered though beautiful and renowned opera singer from Hamburg, whom he met in Geneva. From their initial encounter in Geneva to Kaempff's sudden death in 1902, their relationship is seldom smooth; it is evident that while the Kaempffs love each other, they are able to coexist only with the greatest difficulty. After Kaempff, a highly respected member of San Antonio's German community, discovers he has fathered a child with Charlotte, he hastens back to Europe, where he coerces her to marry him against her wishes and return to America with him, a circumstance which would be the source of great resentment for Charlotte throughout their turbulent marriage and a significant contributing factor to the couple's many disagreements.

For Charlotte, life in San Antonio is anything but enjoyable, despite living in luxury from Kaempff's highly successful brewing operation. Having already had a child out of wedlock, fathered by none other than Richard Wagner, she finds herself friendless in America and shunned by San Antonio's high society, is unable to become comfortable with vastly different American ways and customs, masters the English language only with difficulty, and experiences constant discomfort in San Antonio's sweltering climate. By her own admission a less than perfect mother, Charlotte finds marriage to Kaempff is satisfying only on a sexual level; the two seldom agree on anything, most notably Charlotte's desire to return to Europe for at least four months of each year to sing professionally. Charlotte's insistence on pursuing her career, which made her one of the most famous sopranos in Europe, is a source of constant irritation to Kaempff; typical of the time, his stated preference is to work fourteen hour days at the brewery, with Charlotte playing the good German *Hausfrau*, devoting herself to their children at home, well out of the spotlight. For this and many other reasons, Charlotte and Richard quarrel fiercely and often, which at one point leads her to leave for Europe with no intention of returning.

In *The Brewer's Star*, Weber admirably incorporates elements of German-Americana, in the process creating a welcome addition to the corpus of German-American literature. Richard Kaempff is the



embodiment of the American immigrant's dream of becoming a financial success, in the typically German industry of brewing, all the while working with fellow Germans at the brewery and enjoying German festivals where his beer was served. Though he adapts well to his Texas setting, he remains true to his German roots, often longing to visit his Bavarian homeland, while retaining German character traits and fostering traditional German values at home. Charlotte likewise remains true to her German heritage, raising her children to be fluent in German as well as English and longing for German culture in Europe, implicitly bemoaning a perceived lack of culture in her new home country. The children are decidedly Americans and Texans first, though their appreciation of their German heritage can be seen throughout the text.

With its many plot twists and turns, *The Brewer's Star* is a realistic, highly readable account of life in San Antonio's German community, combining historically accurate detail from the turn of the century with numerous intriguing developments. Weber successfully recreates the image of a wealthy home and family atmosphere, eloquently capturing the trappings of a bygone era. The reader easily relates to her well-defined characters, who possess both desirable personality traits and typically human faults without falling prey to stereotypes. Descriptions of the figures and their activities are noteworthy for their scope and detail, though repeated references to Charlotte's physical beauty seem somewhat redundant. Weber puts her background as a brewer to good use in the novel, accurately describing the brewing process and brewery facilities without resorting to excessive technical terminology. The characters and companies presented are entirely fictitious, save for the portrayal of two notable beer barons from St. Louis and their business, whose names were changed for obvious reasons.

Though *The Brewer's Star* is written in English, occasional exclamations in German and even French are encountered, as well as several quotes in Bavarian dialect. Such quotes, a significant German-American thread in the book, help to define the characters first and foremost as being German. Weber tends to place exclamations at crucial points in the text, often at moments of instinctive reaction, rather than inserting them gratuitously. For readers not familiar with German, translations of the quotes appear in footnotes, with a guide to German names located at the front of the book.

By presenting both sides of the immigrant story, namely personal successes and joys intertwined with bitter loss and pain, Weber makes clear that the assimilation process was far from easy for many German families in America. Such a balanced portrayal makes *The Brewer's Star* a recommendable account of San Antonio's German community, one which frequently draws the reader into the text and makes it difficult to put the book down. Far from doing a valuable service only to those



interested in German-American community, Weber has provided a highly entertaining and engaging novel for all those interested in late-nineteenth-century America.

*University of Cincinnati*

*Timothy J. Holian*





## Annual Bibliography of German-Americana: Articles, Books, Selected Media, and Dissertations

Giles R. Hoyt and Dolores J. Hoyt  
in collaboration with the Bibliographic Committee of the  
Society for German-American Studies.

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Trenton State College.

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	=	<i>Annals of Iowa</i>
AHR	=	<i>American Historical Review</i>
AJH	=	<i>American Jewish History</i>
BLT	=	<i>Brethren Life and Thought</i>
DR	=	<i>Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society</i>

GCY	=	German-Canadian Yearbook
GQ	=	German Quarterly
GSR	=	German Studies Review
HR	=	Heritage Review
HRBC	=	Historical Review of Berks County
HSR	=	Historic Schaefferstown Record
IHJ	=	Illinois Historical Journal
JAETH	=	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
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

#### Collections:

*Diachronic Studies on the Languages of the Anabaptists.* Ed. by Kate Burridge and Werner Enninger. Bochum-Essener Beiträge zur Sprachwandelforschung, 17. Bochum: Universitätsverlag Dr. N. Brockmeyer, 1992. 279 pp.

*The European Emigrant Experience in the USA.* Ed. by Walter Hölbling and Reinhold Wagnleitner. Tübingen: Narr, 1992. 289 pp.



## I. Supplements for 1991

1. Adams, Willi Paul. "Amerikanischer Nationalismus, ethnische Vielfalt und die Deutschamerikaner." In *Geschichte zwischen Freiheit und Ordnung: Gerald Stourzh zum 60. Geburtstag*. Ed. by Emil Brix et. al. Graz: Styria, 1991. 466 pp.
2. Amato, Joseph A. *Servants of the Land: God, Family, and Farm: The Trinity of Belgian Economic Folkways in Southwestern Minnesota*. 2d rev. ed. Marshall, MN: Crossings Press, 1991. 69 pp. These are Germanic people who have customarily dealt easily with neighborhood immigrants from the German Reich.
3. Ashkenazi, Elliott. "Jewish Commercial Interests Between North and South: The Case of the Lehman and the Seligmans." *American Jewish Archives* 53.1 (1991): 24-39. Immigrant Jews from Germany created family and geographic ties among all regions of the American nation. Civil War.
4. Bender, Ross T., and Alan P. F. Sell, eds. *Baptism, Peace and the State in the Reformed and Mennonite Traditions*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier Univ. Press, 1991. 248 pp.
5. Berghahn, Volker R. "Technology and the Export of Industrial Culture: Problems of the German-American Relationship, 1900-1960." In *Innovation and Technology in Europe: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present Day*. Ed. by Peter Mathias and John A. Davis. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1991. 192 pp.
6. Bomberger, Elam Douglas. "The German Musical Training of American Students, 1850-1900." Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Maryland College Park, 1991. 535 pp. UMI order no. AAC9225789. During the second half of the nineteenth century, approximately 5,000 Americans studied music in Germany.
7. Brank, Ivo. "Plattdeutsche." *American/Schleswig-Holstein Heritage Society Newsletter* 3.2 (March/Apr. 1991): 4, 12.
8. Brendle, Thomas Royce. "The Brendle Papers." Compiled by Leonard E. Shupp. *HSR* 25.1-2 (1991), 26.1-2 (1992): 1-22. This is all one issue. Excerpts from the papers of this Pennsylvania German minister of Lehigh County, PA. (See also no. 161.)
9. Brock, Peter. *Freedom from Violence: Sectarian Nonresistance from the Middle Ages to the Great War*. Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1991. 385 pp.
10. Cannariato, Susan Bacilek. "Recursive Time in the Works of Louise Erdrich." M.A. thesis, Univ. of Houston, 1991. 127 pp. UMI order no. AAC1346638. Louise Erdrich is a German-American and Chippewa. Erdrich uses recursive familial memories as an aid to awareness.

11. Chace, Laura L. "Otto Onken: His Cincinnati Scenes." *Queen City Heritage* 49.3 (Fall 1991): 21-29. Reproductions of eight color lithographs by Onken.
12. Chrislock, Carl Henry. *Watchdog of Loyalty: The Minnesota Commission of Public Safety During World War I*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1991. 387 pp.
13. Clark, Ricky, George W. Knepper, and Ellice Ronsheim. *Quilts in Community: Ohio's Tradition*. Nashville: Rutledge Hill Press, 1991. 176 pp.
14. Clouser, Robin A. "In Memoriam: William T. Parsons, 1923-1991." *PF* 40 (1990-91): 48-49. Parsons was noted as an historian and proponent of the Pennsylvania German language and culture. He was a past editor of *PF*.
15. Coggins, James R. *John Smith's Congregation: English Separatism, Mennonite Influence, and the Elect Nation*. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1991. 240 pp.
16. Cohen, David S. "Reflections on American Ethnicity." *New York History* 72.3 (1991): 319ff.
17. "Customs and Costumes of the Wilstermarsch." *American/Schleswig-Holstein Heritage Society Newsletter* 3.6 (Nov./Dec. 1991): 1, 4-7.
18. Despain, Raymond Earl, Jr. "An Historical Analysis of the Life and Professional Career of John William Heisman, 1869-1936." Ed.D. diss., Texas A&M Univ., 1991. 288 pp. UMI order no. AAC9206444. Heisman was born in Cleveland, OH, the son of German immigrants. The Heisman Trophy is named in his honor.
19. DeVries, Fred. "Worldviews and Policy Action a Comparative Study of the Mennonite Central Committee Canada and Oxfam-Canada." M.A. thesis, Univ. of Guelph, 1991. Univ. Microfilms order no. UMI00297688.
20. Dougan, Michael B. "Herrmann Hirsch and the Siege of Jackson." *Journal of Mississippi History* 53.1 (1991): 19ff.
21. Dreiser, Theodore. *Newspaper Days*. Ed. by Theodore D. Nostwich. 1991. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1991. 880 pp.
22. Dyck, Peter, and Elfrieda Dyck. *Up from the Rubble: The Epic Rescue of Thousands of War-Ravaged Mennonite Refugees*. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1991. 384 pp.
23. Emerson, Catherine L. "The Hearth Is Where the Cook Is." *PF* 40 (1990-91): 116-18. Merits of the raised hearth in Pennsylvania German kitchens and the foods cooked on it.
24. Fleming, Mary Lou, and Marianne Ruch. "Jacob Maentel: A Second Look." *PF* 40 (1990-91): 2-19. Maentel was a 19th-century German-American painter.
25. Friedman, Reena Sigman. "'These Are Our Children': Jewish Orphanages in the United States, 1880-1925." Ph.D. diss., Columbia



- Univ., 1991. 555 pp. UMI order no. AAC9202668. Most were founded by German Jewish philanthropists.
26. Friesen, Steve. "The Five-Plate Stove Revisited." *PF* 40 (1990-91): 20-24. The stove was a Pennsylvania-German staple.
  27. \_\_\_\_\_. "Home Is Where the Hearth Is." *PF* 40 (1990-91): 98-118. Pennsylvania German kitchen fireplaces. The 1710 Hans Herr House in Lancaster County, PA, is featured.
  28. Friesen, Steven K. "Martin Mylin, Gunsmith, Fact or Fancy?" *JLCHS* 93 (1991): 16-24. The role of Mylin in the development of the Pennsylvania rifle is questioned.
  29. Froeschl, Thomas. "Die amerikanische Auseinandersetzung mit europäischen Beispielen föderativer Staatlichkeit in den Verfassungsdiskussionen der Vereinigten Staaten im späten 18. Jahrhundert." In *Century of European Migrations, 1830-1930*. Ed. by Rudolph J. Vecoli and Suzanne M. Sinke. Urbana, IL: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1991.
  30. Gutmann, Elsa L. "Herman Melville in German Criticism, 1846-1988: An Annotated Bibliography." Ph.D. diss., Bowling Green State Univ., 1991. 196 pp. UMI order no. AAC9135525.
  31. Halberg, Carl V. "Ethnicity in Wyoming." *Annals of Wyoming* 63.4 (Fall 1991): 136ff.
  32. Hernley, Elizabeth Sieber. "A Dietitian's Memoir." *ML* 46.3 (1991): 12-17. A Mennonite woman's activities in the Civilian Public Service during World War II.
  33. Hersh, Tandy, and Charles Hersh. *Samplers of the Pennsylvania Dutch*. Birdsboro, PA: The Pennsylvania German Society, 1991. 303 pp.
  34. Hesse, Josef. "Auf den Spuren des Amerika-Auswanderers Franz Hesse aus Drolshagen: Abenteuerliche Strapazen sauerländischer Siedler in der Neuen Welt. Weltweites Treffen der Hesse Familie in Muenster/Texas." *Heimatstimmen aus dem Kreis Olpe* 62 (1991): 94-106.
  35. Hoag, Tami. *Sarah's Sin*. New York: Bantam Books, 1991. 248 pp. Fiction about Amish life in Minnesota.
  36. Hodgson, Don. "The Other Germans in Wyoming." *Annals of Wyoming* 63.4 (Fall 1991): 145ff.
  37. Hunt, Irmgard Elsner. *Hier: Auf der Erde*. Deutschschreibende Autoren in Nordamerika, vol. 3. Vermillion, SD: Univ. of South Dakota, 1991. 55 pp. Collection of 15 stories.
  38. Isaacs, Susan Lynn Freund. "Pots, Potters, and Patrons: The Ethnography, History, and Meaning of Contemporary Pennsylvania Redware." Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1991. 724 pp. UMI order no. AAC9125669. Immigrant craftworkers carried methods and motifs across the Atlantic. Among Pennsylvania Germans, decorative wares were presented as gifts marking rites of passage.

39. Janzen, Jean. [Poems]. *ML* 46.4 (1991): 18-21. A selection of this Mennonite poet's work.
40. Janzen, Reinhild Kauenhoven, and John M. Janzen. *Mennonite Furniture: A Migrant Tradition (1766-1910)*. Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 1991. 231 pp.
41. Kaplan, S., ed. *American Histories and the Atlantic Alliance*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1991. 192 pp.
42. Kauffman, Henry J. "Schranks and Schrank Hunting." *JLCHS* 93 (1991): 63-65. Search for this rare Pennsylvania German chest.
43. Kauffman, S. Duane. *Mifflin County Amish and Mennonite Story, 1791-1991*. Belleville, PA: Mifflin County Mennonite Historical Society, 1991. 471 pp.
44. Kauffman, J. Howard, and Leo Driedger. *The Mennonite Mosaic: Identity and Modernization*. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1991. 312 pp.
45. Kaufman, Stanley A., and Leroy Beachy. *Amish in Eastern Ohio*. Walnut Creek, OH: German Culture Museum, 1991. 52 pp.
46. Kleinhan, Mark Louis. "Approaching Opposition: Henry A. Wallace, Reinhold Niebuhr and the Emergence of American Liberal Internationalism, 1920-1942." Ph.D. diss., Univ. of California, Los Angeles, 1991. 472 pp. UMI order no. AAC9206001. Niebuhr, a second generation German-American, was a well-known Protestant theologian and critical commentator on American politics. Wallace was an agrarian leader.
47. Kliewer, Warren. "Karl Eigsti: Imagination as Motive." *ML* 46.4 (1991): 12-16. Eigsti is a Mennonite stage designer.
48. Knopke, Astrid. "A Yearning to Breath Free: The *Aufbau*'s Struggle for the Acceptance of the German-Jewish Refugees, 1934-45." M.A. thesis, Univ. of Cincinnati, 1991.
49. Kock, Gertrud. "Glück" (Low German poem). *American/Schleswig-Holstein Heritage Society Newsletter* 3.4 (July/Aug. 1991): 13.
50. Kreider, Robert S. "The 'Good Boys of CPS.'" *ML* 46.3 (1991): 4-11. Mennonite men in the Civilian Public Service during WWII.
51. Lapp, Henry. *A Craftsman's Handbook: Henry Lapp*. Intro. by Beatrice Garvin. Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 1991. 46 pp. Lapp, an Amish cabinet maker and paint dealer illustrated in pencil and watercolor the items he made. The manuscript is now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art.
52. Leight, Robert L. "A Teacher with a Heart: Carrie Frankenfield Horne." *PF* 40 (1990-91): 139-44. A tribute to a memorable Pennsylvania-German teacher from Bucks County, PA.
53. Lim, Sang-Woo. "Albert Salomon and Max Weber's Political Sociology: A Social Theory of Revolution." Ph.D. diss., State Univ. of New York at Buffalo, 1991. 225 pp. UMI order no. AAC9121045. Salomon, a



- German-American Jew, was among the earliest and most significant of the interpreters of Weberian sociology for the American audience.
54. Lloyd, Brian Douglas. "A Miserable Fit of the Blues: Pragmatism, Exceptionalism and the Failure of American Marxism, 1900-1922." Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Michigan, 1991. 866 pp. UMI order no. AAC9135638.
  55. Loudon, Mark L. "The Image of the Old Order Amish: General and Sociolinguistic Stereotypes." *National Journal of Sociology* 5 (Fall 1991): 111-42.
  56. Lowing, Robert. "Airplanes, Automobiles, and Commercial Photography: The Darmstaetter Collection." *JLCHS* 93 (1991): 30-45. An overview of the Darmstaetter photography business in Lancaster, PA, and of the subjects of its work from 1905 to 1941.
  57. McDonnell, Patricia Joan. "American Artists in Expressionist Berlin: Ideological Crosscurrents in the Early Modernism of America and German, 1905-1915." Ph.D. diss., Brown Univ., 1991. 382 pp. UMI order no. AAC9204912.
  58. Mengel, Levi W. S. *The Arctic Diary of Levi W. S. Mengel*. Reading, PA: Reading Public Museum and Art Gallery, 1991. Record of the 1891 expedition sponsored by the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences.
  59. Michener, James A. *The Novel*. New York: Random House, 1991. 446 pp. Set in Mennonite country of southeastern Pennsylvania.
  60. Moller, Susann. "Wo die Opfer zu Tätern werden, machen sich die Täter zu Opfern: die Rezeption der beiden ersten Romane Edgar Hilsenraths in Deutschland und den USA." Ph.D. diss., Ohio State Univ., 1991. 261 pp. UMI order no. AAC9130527.
  61. Murphy, Michael. "The Exciting Secret of Root Beer Foam." *Ohio* 14.9 (Dec. 1991): 12-15. About Theodore Berghausen and E. Berghausen Chemical Co.
  62. Mutzbauer, Monica. "'Philipps Gehn in Amerka': The Palatinate Emigration in German Schoolbooks." *PF* 40 (1990-91): 119-25.
  63. Nadel, Stanley. "From the Barricades of Paris to the Sidewalks of New York: German Artisans and the European Roots of American Labor Radicalism." In *Immigration to New York*. Ed. by William Pencak et. al. Philadelphia: Balch Institute Press, 1991.
  64. Neff, William A. *The Neff-Naef Family: A History of the Descendants of Henry Neff, Manor Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*. Princeton Junction, NJ: Neff and Associates, 1991. 467 pp.
  65. Neville, J. Gabriel. "The Diagonthian Literary Society of Franklin and Marshall College." *JLCHS* 93 (1991): 94-111. Founded at the preparatory school of the Theological Seminary of the German Reformed Church in York, PA. Shortly after its founding, the society split to form the Goethean, attracting largely students of Germanic

- stock and the Diagonthian, which attracted "English" students as well as German.
66. Niebuhr, Ursula M., ed. *Remembering Reinhold Niebuhr: Letters of Reinhold and Ursula M. Niebuhr*. San Francisco: Harper & Collins, 1991. 432 pp.
  67. Noe, Marcia. "Missed by Modernism: The Literary Friendship of Arthur Davison Ficke and Edgar Lee Masters." *Western Illinois Regional Studies* 14.2 (Fall 1991): 71-80.
  68. *The Northern District Conference of the General Conference Mennonite Church 1891-1991: A History of the Conference Committees and Churches of the Northern District Conference*. Freeman, SD: Northern District Conference, 1991. 227 pp.
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## II. Works Published in 1992

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113. "The Almanac Way of Pennsylvania German Way of Life." *HSR* 26.4 (1992): [26] pp. From the Leonard E. Shupp Collection of Pennsylvania-German Folklore, Beliefs, & Superstitions.
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141. Bergh, Bruce G. Vandern. "Volkswagen as 'Little Man.'" *Journal of American Culture* 15.4 (Winter 1992): 95-119.
142. Bergquist, James M. "German-Americans." In *Multiculturalism in the United States: A Comparative Guide to Education and Ethnicity*. Ed. by John D. Buenker and Lorman A. Ratner. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1992.
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  158. Boyer, Dennis. *Stories of Long Ago: A Pennsylvania Dutch Childhood*. Dodgeville, WI: Eagletree Press, 1992. 34 pp.
  159. Boynton, Linda Louise. "Idealized Images: Appearance and the Construction of Femininities in Two Exclusive Organizations." Ph.D. diss., Univ. of California, Davis, 1992. 255 leaves. Compares Greek letter societies with Church of God in Christ (Mennonite).
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  163. \_\_\_\_\_. "Mac E. Barrick, (1933-1991)." *PF* 41 (1992-93): 143-45. The author's appreciation of Barrick, a professor at Shippensburg University of Pennsylvania and collector of folklore, much of it Pennsylvania Dutch.
  164. Brüning, Ernst-Joachim. "De Vetter ut Amerika/The Cousin From America." *American/Schleswig-Holstein Heritage Society Newsletter* 4.1 (Jan./Feb. 1992): 10-11. Story in Low German with translation.
  165. Brunk, Gerald R. *Menno Simons: A Reappraisal: Essays in Honor of Irvin B. Horst on the 450th Anniversary of the Fundamentboek*. Harrisonburg, VA: Eastern Mennonite College, 1992. 215 pp.
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174. Byler, John M. "From Waldeck to American in 1820: With an Emphasis on the Kempf Family." *MFH* 11 (1992): 156-58.
175. Byler, Uria R. *As I Remember It*. Rev. ed. Aylmer, ON; LaGrange, IN: Pathway Publishers, 1992. 368 pp. Amish biography.
176. Canton Art Institute. *Amish and Mennonite Expression in Visual Art: Traditions & Transitions*. Canton, OH: The Canton Art Institute, 1992. 20 pp. "This publication accompanies an exhibit of the same name at The Canton Art Institute, April 10 to July 5, 1992."
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Landesregierung, Abt. XII/2, Landesarchiv und Landesbibliothek, 1992. 337 pp.

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184. Clark, Dolly Holliday. "Memoir of a Country Schoolteacher." *North Dakota History* 59.1 (1992): 30-45; 59.2 (1992): 17-27. This memoir uses fictionalized names to recount the tribulations faced by a novice western schoolmarm in Mandan, ND.
185. Cobb, Sanford H. *The Story of the Palatines*. 1897. Reprint, Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1992. 336 pp.
186. Coburn, Carol K. *Life at Four Corners: Religion, Gender, and Education in a German-Lutheran Community, 1868-1945*. Rural America. Lawrence: Univ. Press of Kansas, 1992. 227 pp.
187. Cooper, James F. "Walter Erlebacher (1933-1991)." *American Arts Quarterly* 9.3 (Summer 1992): 6-7. German immigrant sculptor in Philadelphia.
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189. Coven, Robert. "Red Maroons." *Chicago History* 21.1/2 (Spring/Summer 1992): 20-37. Includes discussion of peace strikes at the Univ. of Chicago before WWII, and support for the war in the 1940s.
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191. Curtin, Flora Brugger. "How Grandmother Made and Baked Bread." *DR* 26.2 (1992): 17-19. Pennsylvania German way of making the staff of life.
192. Curtis, Cathy. "Hans Burkhardt 'My Soul is in These Paintings.'" *ARTnews* 91 (May 1992): 112-13. Born in Switzerland, immigrated to US in 1924, Burkhardt continues to paint at age of ninety.
193. Daniel, Cary S. "'Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin': A German-American Historical and Literary Journal Published in Cincinnati, Ohio." *YGAS* 27 (1992): 75-89.
194. David, Thomas M. *Finding Your Hometown and/or Relatives in Germany: The Cheap and Easy Way*. Meadville, PA: The Author, 1992. 12 pp.
195. Dechene, David. "Recipe for Violence: War Attitudes, the Black Hundred Riot, and Superpatriotism in an Illinois Coalfield, 1917-1918," *IHJ* 85.4 (Winter 1992): 221-38. Account of violence in two southern Illinois counties directed against Germans and labor organizers during World War I.
196. Deeben, John P. "Amish Agriculture and Popular Opinion in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries." *PMH* 15.2 (1992): 21-29.

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198. Deibert, Balzar Michael. *The History of the Family of Michael Deibert (1875-1930) and Maria Eva Bitz (1879-1941)*. Canada: B. M. Deibert, 1992. 73 pp. Germans from Russia.
199. Deibert, Leslie, and Ruth Mittleider, comps. *The Konrad Deibert Family*, 1992. Seattle, WA: N.p., 1992. 121 pp. Documents primarily the descendants of Konrad and Christina (Dupper) Deibert who emigrated from Russia in 1889 and settled near Herreid, SD.
200. Demastus, Myrliiss Esh. "The Influence of Patriarchy on Spouse Abuse in Mennonite Families: An Exploratory Study: A Project Based Upon an Independent Investigation." M.S. thesis, Smith College School for Social Work, 1992. 96 leaves.
201. Deutsches Haus (New Orleans, LA). *List of Charter and By-laws of the Deutsches Haus, Incorporated*. New Orleans: Deutsches Haus, 1992. 27 pp.
202. Dick, Harold J. "Lawyers of Mennonite Background in Western Canada Before the Second World War: Two Cultures in Conflict." LL.M. thesis, Univ. of Manitoba, 1992. 324 leaves.
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### III. Topical Index

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