YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

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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

No matter what our disciplinary interest in German-Americana is, studies of the language and culture of the Pennsylvania Dutch have played a significant role in the development of all branches of German-American research. The 1994 Symposium of the SGAS at Pennsylvania State University served to remind all of us that our research relies heavily on the many early studies dealing with those German-speaking immigrants who settled in southeastern Pennsylvania in colonial times. This volume of the *Yearbook* opens with three essays that continue this research tradition. Don Yoder's keynote address from the 1994 Symposium explores the relationships and interactions of the Pennsylvania Dutch and European Germans. Donald Durnbaugh focuses on the emigration of radical pietists to the colony of Pennsylvania while Susan Johnson argues that Benjamin Rush's depiction of the Pennsylvania German farmer meshes with traditional descriptions of the "noble savage."

The 1995 SGAS Symposium in Louisville focuses our attention on the many German communities in the Ohio River Valley. Anticipating that conference, essays by Timothy Holian and Thomas Baldwin in this volume deal with issues affecting the German population in the two most significant cities of that region, Cincinnati and Louisville, respectively. Both articles offer insights into the period that many would call the heyday of German-American culture in the Midwest.

The twentieth century on the other hand has witnessed the struggle for the preservation of a uniquely German-American cultural presence in North America. The pressures of assimilation and the aftermath of two wars fought against Germany provide the backdrop for articles by Barbara Wiedemann-Citera on the German *Vereine* of New York City and by James Bergquist on the German newspaper empire of Val Peter as they chronicle that struggle from two very different perspectives.

Rounding out this volume are three articles that exemplify the variety of research topics in German-American studies. Gerhard Friesen investigates the authorship of a diary of a Hessian officer in the

Revolutionary War. George O'Brien explores the experience of a young German-American who returns to Berlin for graduate study, a pattern for many in higher education at the end of the nineteenth century. Gerhard Bassler examines the interplay of German immigration to and emigration from Canada with the patterns of German migrations in the United States.

Finally, the editors welcome C. Richard Beam, Millersville State University, to the editorial board of the *Yearbook*. Members of the SGAS will recall the many years Dick Beam served as "Schatzmeister" for the SGAS. We look forward to working with him and the other members of the board whose assistance in preparing the *Yearbook* for publication is indispensable.

Max Kade Center for German-American Studies
at the University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas
February 1995

Don Yoder

The Pennsylvania German Rediscovery of Europe

The transatlantic migration of the ancestors of the Pennsylvania Germans, most of whom arrived in America from 1683 to 1830, forms one of the distinct chapters in American migration and settlement history. The tide of German-speaking emigrants from the continent of Europe settled other areas of the Eastern United States as well, but Pennsylvania always had the largest concentrated settlements of German-speaking population in the country.

What the Pennsylvania emigrants from the Rhineland and Switzerland did was create an American regional culture on American soil. In doing so they largely turned their backs upon Europe and eventually forgot about Europe, orienting themselves in culture, politics, and religion to American, usually Anglo-American, patterns. In this radical and willing Americanizing they contrasted with the later nineteenth-century German emigrants, many of whom did retain ties with their European German-speaking homelands, ties that naturally intensified after the creation of the German Empire in 1871.

Because of these radically different orientations to America and to Europe, the two German-speaking groups tended to exist in tension with each other in America, not usually amalgamating or even cooperating in common projects except under rare conditions.[1] There were of course among the Pennsylvania Germans some exceptions to this rule—individuals like Samuel Kistler Brobst[2] and the Helffrichs,[3] who cultivated contacts with German-American colleagues, but the great mass of their fellow Pennsylvania Dutchmen simply did not cooperate with German-American groups in any of their cultural, political, or religious agendas.

For years I have been interested in tracing the European consciousness, or consciousness of Europe, as held by the Pennsylvania Germans, over the three centuries since 1683. So I thank the Society for German-American Studies for this opportunity to present the preliminary results of my research into this problem. My analysis will center on the

following points: 1) Dwindling Contacts and Their Renewal; 2) The Churches Rediscover Their Ties; 3) The Genealogists Rediscover European Roots; 4) The Pennsylvania German Tourist and European Backgrounds; 5) Students, Scholars, and Twentieth-Century Churchmen.

1. Dwindling Contacts and Their Renewal

The reasons for the dwindling of ties with Europe include several factors related to the emigration and the settlement of Pennsylvania. In many areas of Eastern Pennsylvania before the Revolution, and Central and Western Pennsylvania after the Revolution, the Pennsylvania Germans and their families were the pioneer settlers, creating the community culture through their own—to modern apartment-dwelling Americans inconceivable—exertions in clearing fields, building houses and barns, planting churches and practicing trades in a wilderness, and eking out a living in difficult times. For most families the very exigencies of the settlement situation put European memories and contacts into the background. After the passing of the emigrant generation, the children and grandchildren retained only a dim, passive knowledge of Europe. In the days before the Atlantic Cable, transatlantic communication, although not impossible, was difficult. And finally, to Pennsylvania Dutchmen as to other early Americans, Europe was symbolically a tyrannical, war-ridden, class-bound, intolerant motherland, of which the emigrants were glad to be free, in the midst of their new American freedom.

On the practical side, one can add that under the conditions of eighteenth-century transatlantic travel, very few of the actual emigrants ever wanted to return. The six-to-nine-week voyage across the Atlantic, on creaking, stinking wooden ships, where the passengers were dismally and dangerously crowded together, with seasickness and death witnessed on every voyage, soured most of the emigrant founding fathers of our Pennsylvania Dutch families from ever returning. There were a few returnees—I occasionally find a reference to a Pennsylvanian in a European church register—but for most emigrants the very thought of a return voyage under such conditions was unthinkable.

Those who did return were business-oriented types such as the so-called "newlanders," who went back several times to drum up the emigrant trade. Some of them got into trouble with the authorities, and their cases are recorded in various archives, such as that at Basel, which also collected emigrant letters giving unfavorable reports of the "newland" to deter further emigration. Some of these have been published in the recent book, *Alles ist ganz anders hier*.[4]

Transatlantic correspondence provided another type of contact. The *Amerikabriefe* that have turned up from the eighteenth century give us partial insight into the continuing contact, or dwindling contacts, between

America and Europe in some families. Judging from the letters preserved and available to us today, and even taking into account the likely fact that most such correspondence was thrown away even by the receivers, it is probable that many Pennsylvania German families did not actively correspond with relatives across the ocean. Usually the correspondence petered away, so that by the time the second and third generations of the family over here were adults, the family's contacts with European uncles and cousins, with villages and towns or emigrant origins, had lapsed. Hence for most Pennsylvania German families, unless the emigrant's place of origin was recorded in his Bible or on his tombstone or in some other documentation, we have had to wait until the twentieth century to rediscover our ancestral villages and reforge the broken chain of relationship.

As stated, the contacts between eighteenth-century emigrants and their European families eventually dwindled away. Evidence of this comes to us in a letter from Michael Hechler (Heckler), of Retschweiler in Alsace, dated 3 May 1784, to his brother in Pennsylvania.[5] It begins by chiding his kinsman with neglect of correspondence:

> Much beloved Brother: Since the 8th of November, 1767, which was the last date of your writing to us, we have not had any information from you, and of your circumstances. I must presently mention that Father and Mother have died:—Mother about ten years and Father about 4 years (ago); and our sister some twenty-odd years ago.
>
> I, Michael Hechler, your brother am alone left remaining of our family; and you my beloved brother George. It causes me much regret to be at such a distance from you. You can imagine for yourself how sad it is to have an only brother and to be so far from him that it is an impossibility to speak even a few words with him, for which I have wished a thousand times, although I see the impossibility before me. At least mention to me your right address so that I can now and then have a written correspondence with you.

And he asked his brother to "inform me as soon as possible what you wish us to do with your patrimony, which we have kept for you," hoping probably that the "wealthy" American brother may wish to release his share to his nieces and nephews in Alsace. The letter ends with another urgent plea for a letter—soon!—and the usual greetings to the transatlantic kinsman and his wife and family the usual "many thousand times."

In the eighteenth century, inheritance matters were one area of concern that motivated common Pennsylvania German emigrants, or in

some cases their children, to contact the authorities of the towns or parishes of their family's origin in Europe. This could involve several scenarios. When the emigrant's parents died, the brothers and sisters who had stayed in Europe wrote to their American kinsmen with the details, as in the Alsatian letter just quoted. Usually the American emigrant went to his county courthouse and filled out a legal power of attorney, appointing someone either in Europe or an American who was contemplating a return journey to Europe on business, to deal with his case before the local authorities over there and bring back his inheritance.

An illustration of this process is the advertisement of the newlander Ernst Ludwig Baisch, who reported in the *Pennsylvanischer Staatsbothe* for 28 July 1772, that he "has already made several voyages to Germany and has delivered letters and filled commissions with satisfaction to all." He hereby lets the public know "that he will next October (God willing) once more travel to the Fatherland. He will go to Holland, to the Mosel [etc., etc., naming some thirty-odd localities]." His home "is in Baden, but he will go wherever his commissions take him." He appended a list of fifteen persons, from Württemberg, Saxony, the Mosel Valley, and the Odenwald, of whom he was asked to find news, undoubtedly for their relatives abroad.[6]

A similar advertisement, which appeared in the *Pennsylvanische Berichte* for 18 December 1761, shows how the system worked, at least as to carrying letters back and forth. Samuel Haupt of Upper Dublin in Philadelphia County, an immigrant of 1754, announced "that he is intending, the middle of next January, to travel to Germany. He promises to deliver all letters correctly between Bacharach, Hanau, Neustadt and Karbach." His home town was "Creutzenach," in the center of the area over which he promises to range. He assures prospective clients that "he takes no money for a letter until he brings an answer back and then he takes 5 shillings." He ends the advertisement by giving a list of three persons, with their addresses, to whom letters can be forwarded for him.[7]

Several instructive cases of transatlantic contacts of Pennsylvania Dutch families with Europe have turned up in the Oley Valley of Berks County. Let us look at three examples, dated 1771, 1793, and 1806.

The first of these contacts comes from my own family, descendants of Hans Joder (1671-1742), a native of Steffisburg in Canton Bern who lived for a time in Schwetzingen and arrived in Pennsylvania in 1710. His brother Jost came over a few years later and settled in the Oley Valley near Hans. They left a brother Nicolaus Joder in the Palatinate, whose son Johannes Joder, of Mussbach an der Haardt in 1771 transferred some rights to Pennsylvania lands to his first cousin, my second American ancestor, Hans Joder, Jr. (1700-79). The legal business is very complicated, and I will not burden my readers with it. But in order to have the land transferred, Hans Joder, Jr., sent his grandson Jacob Joder over to

Germany to get the deed. I will never forget the day, in my high school days, when I discovered that deed, recorded in baroque German in an early Berks County deed book in Reading, sealed with the seal of the Palatine dignitaries with whom young Jacob Joder had had to deal in the city of Neustadt.[8]

The second Oley contact with Europe dates from 1793. Samuel Guldin (1664-1745), Reformed minister of Canton Bern ousted from his job at the minster in Bern because of his pronounced pietistic orientation, came to America also in 1710 and alternated between Germantown, Roxborough and Oley.[9] His two sons settled permanently in Oley and in 1793 one of them sent a power of attorney to "*meine gnädige Herren*" in Bern to recover some property that his father had left in the canton. Papers on the case are in the Bernese state archives.

The third case dates from 1806 and involves the French-Swiss family of Bertolet.[10] Jean Bertolet of Oley was born at Chateau d'Oex in Canton Vaud, Switzerland, and migrated as a young man to Minfeld in the Palatinate. He came to Pennsylvania in 1726, where he died in 1757. His descendants in 1806 sent a letter to the Palatinate, evidently in response to a letter sent in 1801 from a Reformed pastor named F(riedrich?) Lorch of Wilgartswiesen near Zweibrücken, which reached the Bertolet descendants in Berks County five years later in 1806. The German letter asks for information on "a certain Marie Heraucourt" married to Jean Bertolet. The descendants dug up "the old French Bible" and copied out all the relevant genealogical data and sent it over. The writers also indulged in some oral history:

> Old Jean Bertolet often told his children that he had lived in Europe on a farm owned by the Jesuits, near Candel, not far from Landau, that his children had been baptized in the Reformed Church in that place, and that he left three sisters in Germany, of whom one was married.
>
> The relative(s) who are still living (in Pennsylvania) remember that they frequently heard from their parents how they received letters from their friends (i.e., relatives, *Freindschaft*) in Germany, also that these were answered, particularly by Georg deBannevill who was married to Esther Bertolet, but none of these letters can be found anymore.
>
> For the rest, as to the particulars of the surviving grandchildren of Jean Bertolet and Marie Heraucourt, they are all in a flourishing state of prosperity and maintain the name of honest inhabitants of this country. We will rejoice to hear the same of our relatives in Germany, and are prepared to give them all more detailed reports concerning our family, when it is requested.

The letter was signed by Hannes Bertolet of Oley, and John Keim, married to George deBenneville's daughter, and living in Reading (to whom return letters were to be sent). It was addressed to Professor Faber in Zweibrücken, who was requested to forward the information to Pastor Lorch in Wilgartswiesen and Schoolmaster Cullmann in Franckweiler bei Landau.

Certain elements in the Pennsylvania German society of the eighteenth century retained contacts with Europe. This was often a matter of class. The Lutheran, Reformed, and Moravian clergy—most of them university trained and some of them, like Michael Schlatter[11] of St. Gallen, and Abraham Blumer[12] of Glarus, who brought their coats-of-arms and patrician ways with them to Pennsylvania—obviously retained their European ties. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, who arrived in 1742 and died here in 1787, never returned, but he carried on a lifelong correspondence with European churchmen.[13] And he sent his three sons, all destined for the Lutheran ministry, to German universities to study. The Moravian leadership crossed the Atlantic frequently, and of course the Moravian Church retained its contacts with the mother church in Herrnhut and the continental episcopacy even throughout the nineteenth century.[14]

Another continuing contact was through the press. The German newspapers and almanacs of Philadelphia, Germantown, Lancaster, York, Reading, Easton, Allentown, and elsewhere mediated news from Europe to the Pennsylvania German readership. This included war news, advertisements for imported German books which often turn up in American collections today, and announcements of cargoes of European goods. These included Mellinger clocks from Neustadt an der Haardt in the Kurpfalz, Nürnberger *Lebkuchen*—imagine being able to buy them at a shop in colonial Philadelphia—and Christmas toys. The European news was usually not very local, but dealt with Europe's wars and revolutions of the eighteenth century. In one case I remember reading in a Pennsylvania almanac of the great flood in the Main Valley in 1784, which put the town of Wertheim under water. This must have interested the more than three hundred families of Wertheimers—all Lutherans from the *Grafschaft* Löwenstein-Wertheim who had settled in Pennsylvania mostly in the 1750s.[15] One can still see the high water mark of 1784 on some of the buildings in the town of Wertheim.

Business interests also preserved transatlantic contacts in the eighteenth century. For some Pennsylvania German entrepreneurs like the Wister-Wistar clan from Baden, business contacts continued throughout the colonial period, then largely disappeared. The dissertation of Rosalind Beiler at the University of Pennsylvania, based on extensive research into the family's business papers here and their correspondents in Germany, will illustrate this continuing connection.[16] Such continued

ties were the exception, but they were there, and undoubtedly other early business networking across the Atlantic can eventually be pinpointed.

After the Revolution the Pennsylvania Germans—most of whom had favored the American side—turned even more to their American pursuits and thought even less of Europe, the memory of which faded further as the emigrants died and the second and third generations, some of them American-born, took over the farms and trades of their fathers. After the second war with Great Britain, the War of 1812, most average Pennsylvania German families had completely lost contact with their relatives and their ancestral towns and valleys. Even the Pennsylvania German churches had allowed contacts to lapse.

2. The Churches Rediscover Their Ties

The three-hundredth anniversary of the Lutheran Reformation in 1817 caused a flurry of interest in Europe, and drew the two Reformation churches in Pennsylvania, the Lutheran and the Reformed, closer together. Plans were made to unite the churches in America, as was being done in Prussia, the Palatinate, and elsewhere in what is now Germany.[17] These high hopes came to nothing, and the two denominations are farther apart today than they were in that hopeful, ecumenical era.

There was also a euphoric hope of founding a joint theological seminary of the two denominations, on the model of Andover, Princeton, and other Anglo-American seminaries, but that fell through too. After years of delicate negotiations between the synods, a prominent Lutheran minister made the remark—in German, of course—"Let the Reformed cook their soup on their own fire."[18] So in 1825 the Reformed Synod founded its theological seminary at Carlisle, later moved to York, Mercersburg, and now (since 1871) at Lancaster. In the following year (1826) Samuel Simon Schmucker (1799-1873), a Princeton product himself, founded the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg. So two fires were lighted and two kettles set aboiling. By the 1860s there were four fires and four kettles, since the conservative Germanizing party of the Pennsylvania Lutherans founded the Philadelphia Lutheran Seminary in 1864[19] and the "Old Reformed" anti-liturgical party of the Reformed Church founded its own seminary to rival Lancaster.[20]

This decision to compete in the 1820s led both Reformed and Lutheran synods to renew their ties with the European mother churches under whose care they had been nurtured by remote control in the colonial period. In order to aid the new Reformed seminary, whose financial condition was described at the time as "very discouraging," the pastor of the Hagerstown Reformed Church, James Ross Reily (1788-1844), "conceived the idea," as Reformed Church historian Joseph Henry Dubbs put it, of "aiding the seminary by making a personal appeal to the Church

in Europe." Despite his Anglo-Irish name Reily was a grandson of Isaac Myer, founder of Myerstown in Lebanon County, and an eloquent German preacher.[21]

Reily sailed from Philadelphia in May 1825, returning in November 1826, having spent almost a year and a half abroad. After attending the Reformed Synod of Holland, he traveled up the Rhine through Germany and Switzerland, collecting funds for the new seminary, and books for its library. Everywhere he was cordially received. The King of Prussia gave him funds, books stamped with the Hohenzollern arms (they are still in Lancaster), and the privilege of collecting funds throughout the Prussian dominions. From German papers, according to historian Dubbs, Reily's sermons attracted widespread attention. The results of his collecting tour, which got down to the grass roots, amounted to almost $7,000—equivalent to at least $100,000 today. The books for the seminary numbered several thousand, and the duty on exporting them, about five hundred dollars, was "graciously remitted by the King of Holland."[22]

Not to be outdone by the Reformed, the Lutherans sent Dr. Benjamin Kurtz (1795-1865) to Europe in 1826.[23] Kurtz was pastor of the Lutheran Church at Hagerstown, a friend of Reily's, and in fact they met in Bremen. In London Kurtz visited the Savoy German Lutheran congregation, which began his tour with his first donation. In Germany he visited churches and universities—Kiel was especially cordial and the students collected a purse for the new seminary across the Atlantic. At Copenhagen he was granted an audience with the king and queen, who contributed to his fund, and ordered the Danish churches to take collections for the project.

Sweden was also particularly cordial and open to the American visitor and his collection work. After visiting the Lutheran cities of Riga and Dorpat, and an excursion to St. Petersburg, he reached Berlin shortly after Christmas and spent two months there. Dr. Neander, the church historian, took him under his academic wing and enlisted support from both civil and ecclesiastical circles in the city. Church women organized to produce needlework articles to sell, the profits destined for America.

Kurtz's collecting work was aided by sympathetic pamphleteers in Germany who urged support. One of them, Dr. A. D. C. Twesten of Kiel, made the misguided statement "that without German theological seminaries or other German institutions of higher learning the German language could not be maintained in America and if that language should die out the Lutheran church would perish."[24] Another writer who called himself "An American Citizen" opposed Kurtz's collecting tour, saying that many American Lutherans were actually opposed to the seminary and that "the new institution would do nothing to maintain the German language and German thought in America." That was truer than he knew, considering the later history of the school and its Americanized

brand of "Gettysburg Lutheranism." Kurtz replied to all this in the Leipzig press and continued his tour, to Dresden, Halle, and even Herrnhut, at all of which he received donations for America. All in all his trip lasted twenty-two months and he returned with $12,000 and five thousand books for the Lutheran seminary. For the Lutherans of the Pennsylvania German area the Kurtz mission restored the correspondence between the American churches and European Lutherans. Kurtz is also credited with directing the Saxon "Old Lutherans" to the United States rather than Australia as they had earlier planned. Hence the Missouri Synod, now nationally spread, put down roots in the Midwest, but due to theological differences has never joined the Lutheran organizations founded in the colonial period by the Pennsylvania Germans.[25]

So much for the Reily and Kurtz missions to Europe. These ecclesiastical contacts across the Atlantic would continue sporadically throughout the nineteenth century. A small but significant number of American Lutheran and Reformed clergymen made the Atlantic crossing, for various purposes. For example, an official Reformed embassy was sent over in 1843 to invite the Rev. Dr. Friedrich W. Krummacher of Elberfeld to the professorship at the Mercersburg Seminary vacated by the death of Dr. Friedrich Rauch.[26] The team sent over by the synod consisted of a native-born Pennsylvania Dutchman, the Rev. Dr. Benjamin S. Schneck (1806-74) and the Rev. Dr. Theodore L. Hoffeditz (1783-1858), a native German. This visit, too, attracted widespread attention. Dr. Krummacher favored the call until the King of Prussia vetoed it, forbidding his most eloquent preacher to leave for the New World. This royal refusal turned out to be blessing in disguise for both the Reformed Church and America, for the candidate finally chosen for the post was the brilliant young Dr. Philip Schaff (1819-93), then a *Privatdozent* at the University of Berlin, "a republican Swiss," who it was suggested certainly could be expected to accommodate to American conditions more freely than the much older Krummacher.[27]

Philip Schaff's contributions to the little German Reformed Church in the United States of America, as it was called when he officially joined it at the Synod meeting in Zion's Church, Allentown, in October 1844, were widespread. At Mercersburg in 1851 he published the first volume of his church history. His scholarship was immense and wide-ranging. He eventually produced the three-volume *Creeds of Christendom*, and projected the thirteen-volume *American Church History Series* (continued after his death). In the 1840s and 1850s he edited the influential periodical *Der Deutsche Kirchenfreund* which ministered to the American-German churches and mediated European Christianity to them. And he traveled back and forth across the Atlantic, as an ambassador of American Christianity to Europe. In 1854, at the *Deutscher Kirchentag* at Frankfurt, he delivered the incisive report on the state of the American churches that

the next year was published in book form.[28] This offered a full interpretation of American Christianity and its various divisions, for German readers. The following year it was published in the United States in English. He also wrote a companion volume for American readers on Germany and the German church situation.[29] His transatlantic work, and his ecumenical contacts between the European and American churches were so important for Americans and Europeans in the nineteenth century, that Philip Schaff was called during his lifetime a "pontifex" in the truest sense of the word—a bridge-builder between continents and religious traditions.

Other churchmen followed the path across the Atlantic blazed by Reily and Kurtz, Schneck and Hoffeditz. Most of them went on personal voyages of discovery of what Europe was like for themselves. Some combined personal visits, as ecclesiastical tourists, so to speak, with semi-official contacts with the European Protestant churches and their leaders. One of these was Benjamin Bausman (1822-1904), Reformed minister and editor, whose work for the Pennsylvania Germans made him a leading culture-molder of the society in which he worked all his life. I have treated his significance in this regard in my paper, "The Reformed Church and Pennsylvania German Identity."[30]

In the 1850s Benjamin Bausman decided that he needed to see the Old World. Two books came from his pen after his return home to the pulpit and editor's desk. The first was the charming *Wayside Gleanings in Europe*, published in 1875.[31] The second was the equally charming *Sinai and Zion*, describing his emotional pilgrimage to Palestine and other parts of the Near East.[32]

His European book concerns us here, since it illustrates our theme of Pennsylvania German rediscovery of the European homelands. Sailing from New York to Liverpool in 1856, he toured Scotland, Ireland and England, touching at Protestant and literary shrines, then crossed to Belgium and Holland. Proceeding up the Rhine to Switzerland, he did the usual tourist things but also touched base with churches and ecclesiastical leaders. Several chapters mediate his experience with German and Swiss Protestantism to his American brethren. He discusses church attendance, the "Lord's Day," the German universities and student life, the charitable institutions, and of course German rationalism. After a visit to Herrnhut he proceeded into Bohemia, then down via Vienna to Rome, where he spent Christmas, and describes the proliferation of papal institutionalism.

The part of his book that has always interested me most is his description of his emotion-filled visit to the village of Freilaubersheim in Rheinhessen, from which in 1802 his father, then twenty years old, emigrated to America, to join other Bausman kinfolk who had left Germany for Pennsylvania before the Revolution.[33] His father settled in

Lancaster County, near Millersville, but the family were communicant members of First Reformed Church in Lancaster. To give you the flavor of Benjamin Bausman's book and something of his own spirit, I cannot do better than to include here his account of his personal rediscovery of his ancestral village.

> At Kreutznach I took a lunch at a small hotel amid a group of boisterous farmers, half tipsy with beer. Then five miles from here to Freilaubersheim, I leisurely traveled afoot, carrying the light traveling-bag at the end of a cane, flung over the shoulder. The road, winding around a succession of little hills, is even and solid as a pavement. For a mile before you reach the village, it is lined with large nut trees, their long limbs forming a leafy canopy over the road. The old church stands aside of the street, at the end of the village. Here my father was baptized and confirmed. Aside of it, in the quiet God's Acre, sleep my ancestors for generations past. Leaning against and looking over the stone wall enclosing it I mused for a while over the lessons and thoughts which the gray moss-covered monuments suggested.
>
> But what next? Where or of whom inquire for the needed information? Walking through one of the narrow streets, I found the village inn, the only one here. Seated on a wooden bench and sipping a mug of milk, I leisurely asked the landlady a few questions.
>
> "Was there an old burgher living here of the name of A.B.?"
>
> "Yes, a short distance from here."
>
> Meanwhile she discovered my name on the traveling-bag, and woman-like, plied me with a number of annoying questions; [I was noncommittal in my answers] for I did not wish her to spoil the projected surprise. At length she turned to her child, saying:
>
> "Marieche, show the gentleman the way," which the little girl promptly did.
>
> In the yard of a plain village home I met a young man, the only son of my uncle, Yost B. So often had the family been imposed upon by pretended vagrant Americans, that the bare sight of such a roving character excited their suspicion. Surely here comes another deceiver, thought the suspecting cousin, as he saw me.
>
> "Lives Andrew B. here?" asked I, after the usual greeting.
>
> "Yes."
>
> "Could I see him?"
>
> "Where are you from?

"From America."

"What do you want with him?"

"I should like to speak with him?"

Why should he allow his dear father to be annoyed again by a vagrant? so he replied:

"I can give you the desired information. What do you wish to know?"

With that his mother, my aunt, having heard from her little grand-children what was going on without, called to him from the neighboring kitchen: "Yost, if he comes from America, have nothing to do with him."

Fortunately, just then an aged man came down a few steps from a room near by. So closely did he resemble my father, that I could scarcely refrain from weeping. Genesis 43: 50.

"Here is an American," said his son, "who wishes to speak with you."

Taking a seat aside of me on a bench, he seemed ready, as old people usually are, to while away the time in talking with a stranger.

"What part of America are you from?" he inquired.

"From Pennsylvania."

"Ah, Pennsylvania. I had a brother living in that State; but he is no longer living; I have not heard from him for twenty years."

Thereupon I asked him many questions; how long since his brother (my father) had gone there? Had he a family? How many children? Had he done well in the new world? All of which questions he answered correctly, never dreaming that I knew him personally. My clothes were well-worn and somewhat shabby, having climbed mountains, and traveled much afoot, through mud and rain.

"Do you know this man?" I asked, handing him a photograph picture of father.

"Alas, my eye-sight is too dim to see it clearly. Yost, do you look at it."

Yost looked at the picture, then at his father. What could this mean? How could a stranger have a picture of his father, which to their certain knowledge had never been taken?

"I don't know who it is," he muttered, as he blushingly handed me back the picture.

Then I handed uncle a letter from father, in which he introduced and commended his son to him.

Again he handed it to his son, saying, "My eye-sight is too poor. Yost, will you please read it."

The son glanced at the date. Then his eyes fell on the opening words: "Dear Brother Andrew," and quickly as thought, he turned to the signature, then with passionate grief grasped my hand, the tears streaming down his face, saying. "Why have you allowed me to treat you so cruelly?" "Stop, stop, my dear cousin," I cried. "Do not grieve; I was cruel, not you." "What is the matter, Yost," eagerly inquired uncle?

"Why, this is a letter from your brother, uncle John B. He is still living, and this is his son."

The dear old man wept like a child, as he grasped my hand. Then came aunt, a neat little bustling old lady, with a small snow-white cap; and a daughter and several grandchildren. "Come in, come in, in the name of the Lord, we bid you thrice welcome," the old people exclaimed, for thus far we had been kept in the yard. To make assurance doubly sure, I laid a number of valuable presents from father on the table, as tokens of affectionate remembrance.

But two of the group of friends on the Bingen wharf fifty years ago, are living; the elder brother and one of his comrades. How the dear old men press my hand, and bless me, the son of the comrade of their childhood, and give me a touching description of their walk to Bingen in the spring of 1802.

The visitor attended church with his new-found relatives the next day, in a union church where the Protestant (Lutheran and Reformed) and Catholic villagers shared a building but had separate services. Sunday morning he listened to the ringing of the church bells from Freilaubersheim and neighboring villages, and he remarks, "sweet was the music of those bells in the valley of the Nahe." He walked to church with his uncle and aunt, who carried their hymnbooks. The organist-schoolmaster had taught all the young people the church-tunes, hence "everybody sang" the old chorales. The American with his rural Pennsylvania puritan sensibilities approved of the plain dress and demeanor of the congregation, "unspoiled by the fashions and follies of city life." Some even wore homespun, since almost every household raised sheep and flax, and spun its own wool and flax in the winter time.

Evidently Bausman was as much an experience to the village folk as they were to him. "Old and young men lifted their caps as I and uncle walked homeward, and old grandmothers paused with their little urchins at the garden gate to let them see the 'Amerikaner' as he passed by."

On his return home to Pennsylvania in 1857 Benjamin Bausman served several important Reformed parishes, including Chambersburg during the Civil War, and Reading. His wider service to his denomination included his editorship of the *Reformed Church Messenger*

and the *Guardian*, and his part in founding and editing the *Reformirter Hausfreund* (1867-1905), which catered to the interests of "his people," the Pennsylvania Germans. In all his later career his tour abroad furnished him with rich memories for sermons and periodical articles.

3. The Genealogists Rediscover European Roots

Benjamin Bausman's visit to the home village of his own family was a personal pilgrimage combined more or less with church business—observation of the church situation in Europe for his Reformed Church editorializing in Pennsylvania. Other Pennsylvanians made the trip to Europe for more pointedly genealogical reasons. As I stated before, most Pennsylvania Dutch families, unless someone was in possession of a document, tombstone inscription, church record, emigrant letter, etc., had lost all contact with their "roots" and root areas in Central Europe. Those who did know where the emigrant ancestor was from sometimes developed the desire to visit the ancestral turf.

One of the earliest of these was Matthias Smyser (1782-1843) of West Manchester Township, York County, a plain Pennsylvania Dutch farmer who was the grandson of Matthias Schmeisser (1715-82) of Rügelbach [now Riegelbach; eds.] in the parish of Lustenau, near Dinkelsbühl. The emigrant's birthplace is carved into his tombstone at Christ Lutheran Church, York.

The Smysers, who very early got into state politics and iron manufacture, where one of the first Pennsylvania Dutch clans to hold a family reunion, now such a key institution in our culture, with hundreds held over the country in picnic groves, at ancestral farms, or churches, every summer. The first Smyser reunion was held 3 May 1845 on the emigrant's farm in York County, honoring the emigrant's arrival on the property in 1745. There are published *Minutes of the Centennial Celebration*, printed at Carlisle in 1852, with genealogy of the descendants, which makes this booklet one of the first Pennsylvania German genealogies in print.[34]

In preparation for all this, grandson Matthias Smyser, then fifty-six years of age, set out from New York in April 1839. The main object of his trip was to visit the birthplace of his grandfather, whose name he bore.

Following a somewhat circuitous route, from Le Havre to Paris to Geneva, and through Switzerland into Baden and Württemberg, he finally reached Dinkelsbühl, and inquiring for Rügelbach, "found that he was within six miles of it."

> This is a small village, inhabited by farmers, it has itself nothing interesting to strangers; but to him who sought it as being the birthplace of his ancestors, it was a spot of intense

> interest, and was exceedingly gratifying to him. When the house was pointed out to him in which his grandfather was born, 124 years previous—still known by the name of *Smyser's House*, though its present inhabitants were of a different name—when he beheld this time worn, this humble mansion—when he entered it and felt a consciousness of being within the same walls, probably treading upon the same floor, which more than a century ago was trodden by his grandfather, his gratification, to be known, must be experienced.

Calling at the parsonage, he met the present pastor of the parish, "and made known to him his desire to see his grandfather's name on the baptismal register." The record was found, despite the "mutilated and disordered" condition of the register.

> The minister next led him into the church of the parish and pointed out to him the *Taufstein*, assuring him that according to the unvarying custom, time immemorial, before that stone on that very spot his grandfather was baptized.

In a nearby village the American met one Andrew Schmeisser, sixty-seven years of age, in whom he saw "a strong resemblance of his own father." "They may," the record continues, "have been second cousins, though Andrew had no recollection of hearing that a Matthias Schmeisser had emigrated to America." At the reunion of 1845, which alas the younger Matthias Smyser was not destined to attend, it was decided to name the ancestral farm "Rügelbach."

There are many additional descriptions of genealogical discovery visits that could be cited, but the emotional reactions and attempts to knit the broken ties again would prove repetitious. One of these is certainly Abraham H. Rothermel's charming essay, "The Pioneer Rothermel Family of Berks County," read before the Historical Society of Berks County in 1911 and published in *The Penn Germania* in 1912 and in the *Transactions of the Historical Society of Berks County* in 1923.[35] The author describes in detail his reactions as he visits the town of Wachbach in Württemberg, the home of the Pennsylvania Rothermels, his visit to the village minister and church, his search for living Rothermels, etc. The whole forms a classic account of a Pennsylvania Dutchman's pilgrimage to an ancestral village.

The genealogical rediscovery of European backgrounds was stepped up by scholars in the twentieth century, some from the United States and some from Europe. The process of mining the archives for emigration data was begun by historians like Marion Dexter Learned (1857-1918) of the University of Pennsylvania whose checklists of archival holdings relating to American history in European archives are still useful.[36] Albert

Bernhardt Faust and Gaius M. Brumbaugh in 1925 published two volumes of archival information on Swiss emigration, with detailed data on individuals and families.[37] In 1928 Adolph Gerber, a German who had taught at Earlham College in Indiana, published two pamphlets on Württemberg emigrants of the eighteenth century, culled from church registers.[38]

After the Second World War two Palatine scholars, Fritz Braun and Friedrich Krebs, dug into the archives and published lists of eighteenth-century emigrants.[39] On the American side of the Atlantic the busiest of all genealogical researchers on emigration material is Annette Kunselman Burgert, who has published four detailed volumes on eighteenth-century emigration—from the Northern Kraichgau, the Western Palatinate, Northern Alsace, and the Westerwald.[40] The recent series of volumes on the German side by Werner Hacker overlaps with these to a certain degree.[41] The difference is that Hacker provides the official emigration materials from the state archives, while Annette Burgert used principally the church registers. And the work still goes on. Henry Z. Jones, Jr., has issued two volumes of data on the 1709 emigrants, most of whom went to the New York Colony, some of them later settling in Pennsylvania.[42] Finally, there are an increasing number of important doctoral dissertations dealing with the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century emigration to North America. I have time and space to mention only two: 1) Mark Haeberlein, *Vom Oberrhein zum Susquehanna: Studien zur badischen Auswanderung nach Pennsylvania im 18. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1993); and 2) Aaron S. Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement and Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717-1715.* The Fogleman opus is being published by the University of Pennsylvania Press, and will be the Pennsylvania German Society's annual volume for 1996.

4. The Pennsylvania German Tourist and European Backgrounds

With increased wealth for Pennsylvanians and improved transatlantic travel conditions, the nineteenth century saw many Pennsylvania tourists heading for Europe. I will here include two examples: Dr. John P. Hiester and John W. Forney.

One of the earliest European tours recorded by a Pennsylvania Dutchman was *Notes on Travel: Being a Journal of a Tour in Europe* (Philadelphia: James M. Campbell, 1845), by John P. Hiester, M.D.[43] His preface, dated Reading, 1844, confesses that at an early period of his life he entertained "a strong desire to visit the great Eastern world—the land of my forefathers, and the source of all our institutions, civil and religious." As a physician he also wished to visit European hospitals and meet colleagues, which he did everywhere.

Landing at Le Havre in May 1841, he proceeded through France to Paris. He frequently makes remarks on things he saw that compare favorably or unfavorably with things back home. In France, for example, he comments on "the odd appearance of the heavy carts and waggons, loaded to an immense height with goods, packed with straw and retained by ropes." He comments that "they do not seem to understand the use of waggon-beds and covers, and I have no doubt a Conestoga waggon would be deemed a great curiosity."

This led to comments on the costumes of the French farmfolk, especially the "immense Norman caps" on the women, "extending fifteen or eighteen inches beyond the crown of the head." Both sexes are shod with sabots, or wooden shoes, "that make an annoying clatter on the pavements." In Paris he had an audience with the American minister, General Lewis Cass, who received him "with great politeness" and "made honorable mention of the late Governor Hiester." Tourist Hiester was given a packet from the secretary of state, Daniel Webster, with a courier's passport with which he could go anywhere he pleased.

His comments are typical of all accounts of first visits to Europe. "French coffee," he remarks, "is so vastly superior to anything of the kind I have ever tasted, that it is scarcely possible to conceive it to be made of the same materials".

After visiting the Parisian hospitals, accompanied by the high echelons of medicine in Paris, he went south. Sailing from Marseilles to Italy, he proceeds through all the main tourist attractions from South to North, then enters Switzerland over the Simplon Road and through Canton Wallis in the direction of Geneva. Bern, which then numbered 18,000 inhabitants, he found "the prettiest town I have seen in Europe." He was evidently captivated by the Bernese Oberland. From Thun he went to Interlaken and walked up to Lauterbrunnen. "I observe from the window of my neatly furnished chamber, the stars sparkling enchantingly in our little firmament, and contrasting finely with the sombre and gigantic walls of the mountain masses that bound our narrow horizon." Alas, it was not perfect. "My situation," he continues, "and the deep-toned music of the rushing Staubbach, are well calculated to induce pleasing reveries, were it not for a company of boisterous Englishmen, who are vociferating their bacchanalian songs over their wine below stairs."[44]

On the Wengern-Alp he ordered at a mountain inn a bottle of wine, some *Swartz-Brod* and *Geisskaese*, and watched the avalanches! He visited the *Sennhütten* near Grindelwald and describes the summer work of the *Senner* and *Sennerinnen*, and remarks upon the sound of the cow bells and alphorns. And the memory of plenty of zither music resounds through his pages. (This sounds very much like my glowing reports of my first Oberland tour a century later.)

From there he goes on to the Tell Country and Zürich, where he visited the new university and was entertained by Professor Liebig. He ends his account in Basel, and leaves us praising Swiss simplicity, and promising to finish his grand tour through Germany, returning home in 1842 through Belgium, France, and England. I have never seen an account of this additional tour, but the book I have quoted from appeared serially in the *Reading Gazette.*

It would have been interesting to read what he may have written about the homeland of the Hiesters, Westphalia. The Hiesters were in fact members of a large settlement of Westphalians who emigrated in the mid-eighteenth century and put down roots in Bern Township, Berks County, Pennsylvania, along with the Zachariases, Dreisbachs, Marburgers, Gickers, Benfers, and others—all Westphalian surnames.[45]

One more example of the travel and rediscovery books produced by Pennsylvania Germans, this one by the journalist John Wein Forney (1817-81), a Lancaster County Dutchman who made his first European pilgrimage in 1867.[46] Forney was a voluminous writer and polemicist and is well known in American political and newspaper circles of the nineteenth century. He served as secretary of the United States Senate and was proprietor and editor of both the *Philadelphia Press* and the *Washington Chronicle.* His book is entitled *Letters from Europe,* and was published by T. B. Peterson and Brothers in Philadelphia in 1867. In his lengthy chapter on "European Wages" he becomes reminiscent and nostalgic about his Pennsylvania Dutch background. Let me give a few of his comments.

> The habits, occupations, and wages of the German working-classes of the Continent have greatly interested me; and not simply because of the bearing upon great unsolved problems, which, like undying seeds, grow as they slumber in the future of Europe. I do not forget that many States of the American Union contain the descendants and relatives of these people, including Pennsylvania, whose best first settlers were Swedes, French, Huguenots, Swiss, and other emigrants from Protestant provinces, and whose family names I find in the current newspapers, signs, literature, and language. The eastern and middle counties of my native State are to this day partially under the influence of the customs and even the idioms so prevalent and controlling here. I saw the names of my own French and German ancestors more than once; and it was pleasant to hear Keller, Le Fevre, Tschudi, Hitz, Stouck, Leib, Lehmann, Laumann, Kugler, Smyser, Herzog, Ringwald, Benner, Roeder, Zimmerman (or Carpenter), Cassel, Bruner, Bigler, Bachman, Houpt, Hershey, Huetter, Landis, Schindel, Froelig,

Scherr, Everhart, Brenneman, Shriner, Kaufman, Kurtz, Kuntz, Bauermaster, Kinzer, Luther, Wagner, Herr, Hostetter, Koenig, Kendig, Bauman, among the household nomenclature of these far-off countries, as if to prove another of the many ties that bind together the communities of the two hemispheres; and although there is a great difference in the dialects of the many divisions of the Germanic principalities, Prussian, Austrian, Swedish, Hessian, Swiss, Norwegian and Flemish, yet is there a common chord running through the whole web and woof (like the grand march that runs through the opera of "Norma") that reminded me of the German *patois* still spoken in Montgomery, Berks, Lancaster, York, Dauphin, Lebanon, Lehigh, Monroe, Northhampton, Bucks, Cumberland, Centre, Union, Snyder, Northumberland, parts of Chester, Schuylkill, Cambria and other counties of Pennsylvania. And the children of the pioneers that planted free institutions in our great old State, scattered into Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and the other progressive empires of the West, would be happy to realize the sensations aroused by such associations.

Even the little and almost forgotten German I gathered from my mother when I was a child, came back to me like a long-absent and most welcome friend, and though spoken rudely, yet the few words I recovered frequently opened the hearts of these simple people like a talisman, and proved in some cases more valuable than the unintelligible coins with which we paid our way, showing how often a lingual currency in a land of strangers helps one through.

I saw much in Switzerland to remind me of Pennsylvania. Berne resembles Reading in our State, and is backed by a high mountain, like the capital of Berks, though by no means so beautiful and fresh a city. As we passed through the markets of Berne early one morning, the German tongue, so familiar to my youthful ears a generation ago, keenly recalled market people of my native town of Lancaster. The names on the signs and the streets, the unpainted farm-houses in the gorges of the mountains, the ubiquitous barns, were only the originals from which the German counties of Pennsylvania have so frequently and faithfully copied. And as I looked out from my bed-room window, before closing this long and I fear uninteresting epistle, and saw the beautiful and quiet lake ploughed by the gay steamer filled with people going to Geneva, I did not try to resist the thought that it was to the Pennsylvanian or even to the Lancaster-county Fulton that mankind is indebted for the agency that is rapidly revolutionizing the world.

5. Students, Scholars, and Twentieth-Century Churchmen

And yes, there were students, too—Pennsylvania Dutchmen who crossed the Atlantic to study at German universities in the nineteenth and increasingly in the twentieth century. Like many of the topics I have touched upon, this is a subject for another paper, but I will sketch out some of the details briefly here.

Some years ago I bought from a Lehigh County antique dealer a large stack of original letters, mostly to and from a young Reformed ministerial student named Jeremiah S. Hess, son of the Reverend Samuel Hess (1804-75) of Hellertown parish.[47] In 1865, armed with a huge folding U.S. passport, which was among the papers, he sailed for Europe. He spent over two years there, studying theology and other subjects at Berlin, Bonn, and Tübingen. His indulgent father sent periodical bank drafts on which his son existed, but vetoed a proposed trip to Italy as too expensive.

Jeremiah Hess's long, detailed letters addressed to "Beloved Ones at Home"—his parents and Brother Milton (who was a student at Franklin and Marshall College)—describe an educated American's reaction to Germany first of all, and secondly, his impressions of German student life.

He is excellent on German living conditions, German foods (he praises the coffee, too), the festivals of the year (wonderful descriptions of the German Christmas), a three-day wedding celebration he attended, village fairs, and urban cultural events such as concerts. He went all the way to absorb European culture, opening every door.

A few of the letters in the collection were written by his father, and one sixteen-page missive, by his Cousin Louisa Grim of Allentown, describes the Christmas season in Allentown in December 1865 with all the Christmas balls and banquets, the courtings and flirtings, the sleigh rides, the family problems, etc., etc.—all the things that young Jeremiah had missed by leaving for Germany. This letter was so fascinating as a glimpse into the urban life of the Pennsylvania Dutch that I published it in a recent issue of the *Reggeboge*.[48]

I am saving the Hess letter collection for a monograph that will indeed contribute to American-German studies. We have nothing like it in published form—a Pennsylvania Dutch student's reactions to Germany and German university life in the 1860s.[49]

In the 1890s a trend began in transatlantic contacts—trips to Europe by scholars specifically for research into historical backgrounds of Pennsylvania German culture, especially its religious and linguistic components. In the 1890s Henry S. Dotterer (1841-1903) of Montgomery County went across, later publishing some of his findings in *The Perkiomen Region*, a regional historical periodical that he started.[50] William J. Hinke (1871-1948), himself a native German in the service of the Reformed

Churches of Pennsylvania, did research in Germany and Holland, laboriously copying (in the pre-xerox era!) manuscript documentation on the Reformed tradition and its colonial leadership—all of which is now in the Schaff Library at Lancaster.[51]

And of course Marion Dexter Learned made several European research trips, to work on his book on Pastorius, on emigration, and on the backgrounds of the Pennsylvania German barn. (I was amused one day at the Generallandesarchiv in Karlsruhe, when I called for a bundle of eighteenth-century papers, and found that the last person who had signed to use them was Prof. Dr. Marion Dexter Learned, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1908—so I added my name, academic titles, and the same university under his.)

A later generation of scholars who by their research in Europe have aided immensely the field of Pennsylvania German studies include: 1) Donald A. Shelley, on the backgrounds of fraktur, the most spectacular form of Pennsylvania Dutch folk art; 2) Alfred L. Shoemaker and 3) J. William Frey, on dialect and folk-cultural patterns; 4) Albert F. Buffington, on dialect relations between the Palatine dialects and *Pennsylfaanisch*; 5) C. Richard Beam, dialect studies, particularly in relation to his definitive dialect dictionary; and recently 6) Robert F. Ensminger, who completed the work on the origins of the Pennsylvania Barn that Professor Learned had once hoped to do.[52] There are of course many other scholars that could be mentioned.

The twentieth-century student migration to Europe in junior year programs and Fulbright fellowships has included young Pennsylvanians, who on returning have aided research into dialect, religion, and the folk-culture of Pennsylvania. I could cite many names here—one recent example is Edward E. Quinter, who studied in Switzerland and at Marburg, and is busy translating High German documents from Pennsylvania, and also is working on the Pennsylvania German dialect. He is a member of the board of directors of the Pennsylvania German Society. Another recent student is Rosalind Beiler of the University of Pennsylvania, who as noted previously is working on the transatlantic economic network of the Wister-Wistar family and their connections.

One new and current aspect of the transatlantic contacts of the Pennsylvania German culture are actual European group tours designed to show Pennsylvanians the areas of Germany, Switzerland, Alsace, and elsewhere that produced the emigration across the Atlantic. One of Professor Learned's students, Preston A. Barba (1883-1971),[53] who taught German most of his academic career at Muhlenberg College, offered annual tours for many years that had as their high point the Palatinate and adjoining areas of the Rhineland—where the wine flows and a Pennsylvanian can "*schwetz*" away in *Pennsylfaanisch* without

if you remember one word, and that is *Grumbiere*. (My father used to say that there are two words in German for potatoes—*Grumbiere* and *Kardoffle*. He pronounced it *Kardoffle*—giving it a genuine and rather nice Pennsylvanian sound.)

As Professor Barba phased out of the Pennsylvania tour business, he had as successors myself (with my Traveling Pennsylvanians Tours and now the Pennsylvania German Heritage Tours); Frederick S. Weiser who led folk art and other tours to Europe; and various tour leaders for the Palatine Society of America—the "Pal Ams," as they call themselves; and tours by local historical societies. In every case the tours mediate knowledge of the European roots of the Pennsylvania Dutch people and their culture, and promote transatlantic contacts and friendships between cultures.

In the twentieth century Pennsylvania's religious groups have in a wider sense rediscovered their European ties and in doing so have promoted tours of the faithful to sites that are important in Protestant history. The Ecumenical Movement has reknitted some old ties, with the holding of international denominational meetings. Examples are the Lutheran World Federation, the Reformed and Presbyterian Alliance, and the Mennonite World Conference. In the Luther year of 1983, celebrating the five hundredth anniversary of Martin Luther's birth, there were Lutheran tours when it was still difficult to sightsee in East Germany, to Wittenberg, the Wartburg, Halle, and elsewhere. Moravian tours took Pennsylvania Moravians to Herrnhut and other Moravian towns, Schwenkfelder tours ventured after the Second World War into parts of Silesia that had been home to the Pennsylvania Schwenkfelders before their emigration in 1734. And the Mennonites and Amish also headed for Europe in tourist groups, to visit the sites in Switzerland, including Zürich, the Emmenthal, the Kraichgau in Baden, the Palatinate, and Alsace. Some of these groups "Mennonited" their way through some areas where there were still Mennonite congregations with whose families they could board. In some cases the ties between European and American Mennonites were strengthened immediately after the war when the "heifer project" was in operation, to replenish the European dairy herds with American stock. Thus the practical relief work of our Mennonites, Brethren, and Quakers, all of whom set up service committees, increased transatlantic understanding and concern.[54]

Among Mennonites who made the pilgrimage to Germany and Switzerland on church business and to rediscover family roots was the former president of Goshen College in Indiana, Sanford Calvin Yoder, a distant cousin of mine born in Iowa in 1879. Although an Iowan, he grew up in a Pennsylvania Dutch family complete with *Pennsylfaanisch* spoken in the home and community.[55] He describes his upbringing and his church career in his autobiography, *The Days of My Years* (1959). In an

earlier book, *Eastward to the Sun* (1953), he describes his travels through Europe to India for the fiftieth anniversary of the American Mennonite mission in India in 1949.

Our Mennonites of course have a different view of Swiss history than descendants of the Swiss Reformed cantonal churches. The *"Täuffer"* or Anabaptists were persecuted by the state churches of both Canton Zürich and Bern, uprooted from their communities, and in some cases exiled to Germany and elsewhere. Sanford Yoder visited the main Anabaptist sites in Switzerland and comes to a more balanced view of Swiss culture than some of his denominational brethren. This is what he says about his ancestral Switzerland.

> My days in charming Switzerland were done. With regret I left the place but memories of it will linger with me always. It has been a pleasant host and has much to teach us. While wars raged around it even to its very gates, it remained an island of peace and a haven of refuge in a wide, storm-tossed sea of madness and strife.

And then he closes with a prayer for Switzerland and the Swiss people.

> May He who rules the destiny of the nations ever keep it in peace though the waters thereof roar and its mountains be carried into the midst of the sea. This little land is blessed of God with amazing beauty and loveliness! Though the fires of its persecution burned long and their flames were hot, we love it still. Many a saint who died for his faith lies enfolded in its bosom. Other thousands who fled those dire days found homes in a new world where they brought forth strong settlements which bear the names of the places which they left—Berne, Sonnenberg, etc. The germ of freedom that stirred its soul in the early Reformation days has now brought forth its full, rich fruit—liberty to follow one's conscience in all things that pertain to faith and life. May you, charming land and lovely people, always abide in peace—the peace you so dearly bought.[56]

And that is a good place to end my essay—with a prayer for Switzerland and not just Switzerland, but all of Europe.

University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Notes

[1] Don Yoder, "The 'Dutchman' and the *'Deitschlenner'*: The New World Confronts the Old," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 23 (1988): 1-17.

[2] Samuel Kistler Brobst (1824-76), Pennsylvania German Lutheran clergyman, editor and publisher, promoted contacts with German-American emigrants, in both the Lutheran Church and the German-language press. See "The 'Dutchman' and the *'Deitschlenner,'*" 11-12. For biographical citations, see note 21.

[3] William A. Helffrich (1827-94) and his father Johannes Helffrich (1795-1852), both Reformed clergymen of Eastern Pennsylvania, valued their "*Deutschländer*" friends, some of whom occasionally lived in the Helffrich parsonage. The father had friendships with some of the leaders of the homeopathic medical movement in Philadelphia and Allentown, and the son maintained contacts with the Hermann, Missouri, settlement of German-Americans, and visited Hermann in 1856. For these contacts, see William A. Helffrich, *Lebensbild aus dem Pennsylvanisch-Deutschen Predigerstand* (Allentown: N. W. A. and W. U. Helffrich, 1906).

[4] Leo Schelbert and Hedwig Rappolt, *Alles ist ganz anders hier: Auswandererschicksale im Briefen aus zwei Jahrhunderten* (Olten / Freiburg im Breisgau: Walter-Verlag, 1977).

[5] "Notes and Documents: Eighteenth-Century Letters from Germany," in Don Yoder, ed., *Rhineland Emigrants: Lists of German Settlers in Colonial America* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1981), 118-19.

[6] Anita L. Eister, "Notices by German and Swiss Settlers Seeking Information of Members of Their Families, Kindred, or Friends . . .", *The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society* 3 (1938): 26-27.

[7] Ibid., 22.

[8] Don Yoder, "The Origins of the Oley Valley Yoders," *Yoder Newsletter* (Goshen, IN) no. 5 (April 1985): 1, 3-6. Unfortunately I have been unable to locate the European documentary background of this curious transatlantic land transfer in either the city archives of Neustadt an der Weinstraße, as the town is called today, or in the Palatine State Archives in Speyer.

[9] Samuel Guldin arrived in Pennsylvania in 1710 on the *Maria Hope*. For his biography, see Joseph Henry Dubbs, "Samuel Guldin, Pietist and Pioneer," *Reformed Quarterly Review* (July 1892); and Joseph Henry Dubbs, *The Reformed Church in Pennsylvania* (Lancaster: Pennsylvania German Society, 1902), chap. 6, "Samuel Guldin," 68-77. Guldin, a patrician citizen of the city of Bern with earlier family roots in St. Gallen, was actually the first German Reformed minister in Pennsylvania.

[10] "Notes and Documents: 1. A Letter to Germany (1806)," in Don Yoder, ed., *Rhineland Emigrants*, 106-7.

[11] The standard, if somewhat filiopietistic, biography of Schlatter is Henry Harbaugh, *The Life of Rev. Michael Schlatter; With a Full Account of His Travels and Labors among the Germans in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia; Including His Services as Chaplain in the French and Indian War, And in the War of the Revolution* (Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1857). For recent scholarship on Schlatter, see the doctoral dissertation by Marthi Pritzker-Ehrlich, *Michael Schlatter von St. Gallen (1716-1790): Eine biographische Untersuchung zur schweizerischen Amerika-Auswanderung des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Zürich: ADAG, 1981). An article based on the dissertation, entitled "Michael Schlatter: A Man in Between—A Contribution to American Ecclesiastical and Secular History of the Eighteenth Century," was published in the *Newsletter: Swiss American Historical Society* 19.2 (June 1983): 3-25.

[12] Abraham Blumer (1736-1822) was a native of Canton Glarus, Switzerland, who came to America in 1771. He was pastor of Zion Reformed Church in Allentown and several outlying churches, 1771-1937. For his biography, see Simon Sipple, *History of Zion Reformed Church, Allentown, Pennsylvania, 1762-1937* (Allentown: Berckmeyer-Keck Co., 1937), 32-47. For a more recent treatment, based on the Blumer Manuscripts, see William T. Parsons, "'Der

Glarner': Abraham Blumer of Zion Reformed Church, Allentown," *Newsletter: Swiss American Historical Society* 13.2 (May 1977): 7-22. Blumer's sons were publishers and merchants in Allentown in the nineteenth century with European business contacts.

[13] The best concise summary of the family, inclusive of the sons' education in Germany, is Paul A. W. Wallace, *The Muhlenbergs of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950). Henry Melchior Muhlenberg's journals (three volumes, 1945-58) and his letters (being published at present in both Germany and the United States) provide one of the fullest and clearest glimpses of Pennsylvania German life and culture in the eighteenth century.

[14] According to Edward F. Humphrey, *Nationalism and Religion in America, 1774-1789* (Boston: Chipman, 1924), the American Moravians were the only Pennsylvania German denomination that kept its European ties (with the Moravian administration in Herrnhut) intact after the Revolution. For the church's transatlantic contacts after the Revolution, see J. Taylor Hamilton, *A History of the Church Known as the Moravian Church or the Unitas Fratrum or the Unity of the Brethren, During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Bethlehem: Times Publishing Co., 1900).

[15] Otto Langguth, "Pennsylvania German Pioneers from the County of Wertheim," trans. and ed. Don Yoder, in Don Yoder, ed., *Pennsylvania German Immigrants, 1709-1786: Lists Consolidated from Yearbooks of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1980), 139-287.

[16] Rosalind J. Beiler, "The Transatlantic World of Casper Wistar: From Germany to America in the Eighteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1994).

[17] Don Yoder, "Lutheran-Reformed Union Proposals, 1800-1850: An American Experiment in Ecumenics," *Bulletin: Theological Seminary of the Evangelical and Reformed Church* 17.1 (January 1946): 36-77.

[18] Joseph Henry Dubbs, *History of Franklin and Marshall College* ... (Lancaster: New Era Printing Co., 1903).

[19] Theodore G. Tappert, *History of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia, 1864-1964* (Philadelphia: Lutheran Theological Seminary, 1964). For the background of the struggle between Schmucker's American Lutheranism and the Confessional Lutheranism that founded the Philadelphia Seminary, see Vergilius Ferm, *The Crisis in American Lutheran Theology: A Study of the Issue between American Lutheranism and Old Lutheranism* (New York: The Century Company, 1927). For the best biography of Schmucker and his influence on American Protestantism, see Abdel Ross Wentz, *Pioneer in Christian Unity: Samuel Simon Schmucker* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967).

[20] The German Reformed Church in the United States, as a result of the new liturgical and Catholicizing tendencies that spread from the Mercersburg Seminary, came very near splitting into two denominations in the 1860s. The fullest account of the so-called "Old Reformed," anti-Mercersburg party in the denomination can be found in the tendentious but extremely detailed work by James I. Good, *History of the Reformed Church in the U.S. in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: The Board of Publication of the Reformed Church in America, 1911). Note that the book was published not by Dr. Good's own denomination, but by the former Dutch Reformed Church.

[21] Joseph Henry Dubbs, *The Reformed Church in Pennsylvania*, 288-91 (quotation from 289). For Reily's biography, see H[enry] Harbaugh, *The Fathers of the German Reformed Church* (Lancaster, 1872), 3:248-57; and Don Yoder, "James Ross Reily, 1788-1844: Reformed Pastor on the Frontier," *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* 4.11 (1 February 1953): 9. In the same issue (pp. 6-9) I published "Pastor Reily Rides the Lykens Valley Circuit," a translation of his German ministerial journal, 1812-18, which I discovered at Lancaster Theological Seminary in a trunk of uncatalogued manuscripts. This diary includes Reily's missionary journey to North Carolina in 1813, a trip which gave impetus to the home mission movement in the German Reformed Church.

[22] When I was a student at Franklin and Marshall College in the 1940s, I well remember those hundreds of leather-bound volumes, some with the Prussian or other German stamps. They were an important addition to the Seminary Library in the nineteenth century, but were rarely used at the time when I became aware of them. They are still part of the Seminary Library.

[23] The Kurtz mission to Europe is fully reported in Abdel Ross Wentz, *Gettysburg Lutheran Seminary, Volume One: History, 1826-1965* (Harrisburg: Evangelical Press [1965]), 131-36. It provides the basis for my account.

[24] Wentz, 133. Twesten's pamphlet was entitled: *Nachricht von dem zu Gettysburg in Pennsylvanien zu errichtenden theologischen Seminare der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche in den Nordamerikanischen Freistaaten, nebst einer Übersetzung seiner Statuten* (Hamburg: Langhoffsche Buchdruckerey, Perthes & Besser, 1826).

[25] Wentz, 134.

[26] A full account of the Krummacher mission of 1843 and the coming of Philip Schaff to Pennsylvania can be found in H. M. J. Klein, *A Century of Education at Mercersburg, 1836-1936* (Lancaster: Lancaster Press, 1936), 182-213.

[27] For Schaff's biography, see David S. Schaff, *The Life of Philip Schaff, In Part Autobiographical* (New York: Scribner's, 1897); also George W. Richards, "The Life and Work of Philip Schaff," *Bulletin: Theological Seminary of the Evangelical and Reformed Church* 15.4 (October 1944): 155-72.

[28] *America: A Sketch of the Political, Social and Religious Character of the United States of North America*, in *Two Lectures, Delivered at Berlin, with a Report Read before the German Church Diet at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, Sept. 1854*, translated from the German (New York: C. Scribner, 1855).

[29] See Philip Schaff, *Germany: Its Universities, Theology, and Religion; With Sketches of Neander, Tholuck, Olshausen, Hengstenberg, Twesten, Nitzsch, Muller, Ullmann, Rothe, Dorner, Lange, Ebrard, Wichern, and Other Distinguished German Divines of the Age* (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1857).

[30] For Bausman's biography, see Henry Haverstick Ranck, *The Life of Reverend Benjamin Bausman, D.D., LL.D.* (Philadelphia: The Publication and Sunday School Board of the Reformed Church in the United States, 1912); also Don Yoder, "The Reformed Church and Pennsylvania German Identity," *Der Reggeboge/The Rainbow: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 26.2 (1992): 1-16, reprinted courtesy of *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 18 (1983): 63-82.

[31] *Wayside Gleanings in Europe* (Reading: Daniel Miller, 1875).

[32] *Sinai and Zion, or a Pilgrimage Through the Wilderness to the Land of Promise* (Philadelphia: Reformed Church Publication Board, 1861). A German edition, *Sinai und Zion: Eine Pilgerreise durch die Wüste nach dem Gelobten Lande*, appeared at Reading in 1875, from the publishing house of Daniel Miller.

[33] Bausman's father, Johannes Bausmann, arrived at Philadelphia from Amsterdam 20 August 1802 on the Ship *Belvidere* (Strassburger-Hinke, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers*, 3:113).

[34] *Minutes of the Centennial Celebration, Held by the Descendants of the Elder Matthias Smyser, May 3d, 1845, On the Farm of Samuel Smyser, in West Manchester Township, York Co. Pa.* (Carlisle: Abraham Rudisill, 1852).

[35] Abraham H. Rothermel, "The Pioneer Rothermel Family of Berks County," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Berks County* 3 (1910-16): 134-43.

[36] For Learned's scholarly career at Johns Hopkins and the University of Pennsylvania, and his level-headed approach to both Pennsylvania German and German-American research, see John J. Appel, "Marion Dexter Learned and the German American Historical Society," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 86.3 (July 1962): 287-318.

[37] Albert Bernhardt Faust, *Lists of Swiss Emigrants in the Eighteenth Century to the American Colonies, Volume I: Zurich, 1734-1744, From the Archives of Switzerland* (Washington, DC: The National Genealogical Society, 1920); and Albert Bernhardt Faust and Gaius Marcus

Brumbaugh, *Lists of Swiss Emigrants in the Eighteenth Century to the American Colonies, Volume II: From the State Archives of Bern and Basel, Switzerland* (Washington, DC: The National Genealogical Society, 1925).

[38] "Emigrants from Württemberg: The Adolf Gerber Lists," in Don Yoder, ed., *Pennsylvania German Immigrants*, 1-137.

[39] For the significance of the emigration research of Fritz Braun and Friedrich Krebs, see the introduction to Don Yoder, ed., *Rhineland Emigrants*, xi-xii.

[40] The painstaking research of Annette Kunselman Burgert in eighteenth-century German church registers, using the European Film Collection of the Family History Library in Salt Lake City, has resulted in a series of monographs and pamphlets that have considerably broadened our knowledge of the eighteenth-century emigration to Pennsylvania and other British colonies. Among them are the series: *Eighteenth Century Emigrants from German-Speaking Lands to North America, Volume I: The Northern Kraichgau* (Pennsylvania German Society, 1983); *Volume II: The Western Palatinate* (Pennsylvania German Society, 1985); and *Eighteenth Century Emigrants from the Northern Alsace to America* (Camden, ME: Picton Press, 1992). In addition she collaborated on a volume on emigration from the Westerwald, with Henry Z. Jones, Jr.

[41] For the significance of Hacker's emigration studies, see Aaron S. Fogleman, "Progress and Possibilities in Migration Studies: The Contributions of Werner Hacker to the Study of Early German Migration to Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania History* 56 (1989): 318-29.

[42] Henry Z. Jones, Jr., *The Palatine Families of New York: A Study of the German Immigrants Who Arrived in Colonial New York in 1710*, 2 vols. (Universal City, CA: Henry Z. Jones, Jr., 1985).

[43] Dr. John P. Hiester (1803-54) was a native of Berks County and a distinguished physician in Reading. For his biography, and reference to "the large number of addresses written and delivered by him before various literary and scientific assosiations," see Morton L. Montgomery, *History of Berks County in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Everts, Peck & Richards, 1886), 595-96.

[44] During the 1950s, in connection with several lengthy summer sojourns in Lauterbrunnen, I stayed at the gracious Victorian Hotel Steinbock (now, alas, a parking lot) adjoining the Berner-Oberland-Bahn Depot, and got acquainted with the various busloads of European tourists who stayed there a night or two and then moved on. As I recall, not the English but the Germans were the loudest and most boisterous, and most of the Danish women smoked after-dinner cigars.

[45] For this emigration from Westphalia and its significance for the Pennsylvania German settlements, see Hedwig Mundel, "A 1725 List of Wittgenstein Emigrants," trans. and ed. Don Yoder, *The Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine* 25.4 (1968): 246-62.

[46] For Forney's biography, see James Thompson Sheep, "John W. Forney, Stormy Petrel of American Journalism" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1959). Forney also served as American Centennial Commissioner in Europe, 1874-76, and wrote a book about that trip as well. His book and pamphlet production was extensive.

[47] For a brief biography of Jeremiah S. Hess, see the *Hellertown Souvenir Book* (Bethlehem, PA: J. G. Williams, 1925), 32. After his return from Europe Hess became a merchant, banker, chief burgess, and school director at Hellertown, and served as state senator, 1883-86.

[48] Louisa Grim, "The Social Season in Allentown (Christmas 1865)," *Der Reggeboge* 27.2 (1993): 8-16.

[49] One of the few studies of American student reactions to German university life in the nineteenth century can be found in Paul G. Buchloh and Walter T. Rix, eds., *American Colony of Göttingen: Historical and Other Data Collected Between the Years 1855 and 1888* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976).

[50] Henry Sassaman Dotterer (1841-1903) edited *The Perkiomen Region, Past and Present*, 3 vols. (1894-1901), and was responsible for other local and church-historical productions, particularly on the history of Pennsylvania's Reformed Church.

[51] William John Hinke (1871-1947) was a professor at the Auburn Theological Seminary at Auburn, NY, for much of his career, but his major interest was in the history of the (German) Reformed Church in the United States. During his early visits to Europe, he transcribed documents on the European background of the Reformed Church in Germany and Holland, and during his teaching years he borrowed original church registers of eighteenth-century congregations and transcribed them. Both of these sets of documents are preserved in the Historical Society of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, Schaff Library, Lancaster, PA. For his intellectual contributions, see George W. Richards, "The Life and Work of William J. Hinke," *Bulletin: Theological Seminary of the Evangelical and Reformed Church* 19 (1948): 124-39.

[52] Robert F. Ensminger, *The Pennsylvania Barn: Its Origin, Evolution, and Distribution in North America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

[53] For Preston Barba and his intellectual contribution, see Don Yoder, "Meet Preston Barba—Editor of the 'Eck,'" *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* 2.4 (15 June 1950): 1.

[54] For the history of the Mennonites in the Second World War period, with attention to their Civilian Public Service and European relief programs, see Melvin Gingerich, *Service for Peace* (Akron, PA: Mennonite Central Committee, 1949); and Guy F. Hershberger, *The Mennonite Church in the Second World War* (Scottdale, PA: Mennonite Publishing House, 1951).

[55] Sanford Calvin Yoder (1879-1975) was born near Iowa City, IA, and served as president of Goshen College, Goshen, IN, 1923-40. For biographical information, see *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography* 59 (1980), and *The Mennonite Encyclopedia* 5 (1990).

[56] Sanford Calvin Yoder, *Eastward to the Sun* (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1953), 51-52.

Donald F. Durnbaugh

Radical Pietist Involvement in Early German Emigration to Pennsylvania

Older histories dealing with German-Americans, especially denominational histories, had a ready explanation why so many of them migrated to the New World in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries: they were driven from the German states by religious persecution. Harsh suppression of any type of religious dissent, linked to other kinds of arbitrary rule, was seen as the motive for so many to break home ties and to risk the treacherous ocean passage. The appeal of religious freedom in the Middle Colonies, especially in Quaker-led Pennsylvania, powerfully beckoned persecuted flocks in the German states. A popularly-written history of the Church of the Brethren explained:

> Being a church of protest and in the minority, the Brethren found themselves in disfavor wherever they settled. Intolerance and persecution trailed their every path. . . . Longing eyes turned elsewhere for relief. The New World was calling. They dreamed of shelter in Pennsylvania, where William Penn was granting full religious liberty to all.

Similar examples could be readily cited.[1]

For dissenters, heavy-handed acts of repression by the authorities, both ecclesiastical and governmental, were certainly painful and disruptive. Yet this is not alone sufficient rationale for their emigration. Recent studies conclude that economic considerations played an equal, or often a greater, role in decisions to leave. Crop failures, famines, unseasonable weather, all coming on top of oppressive taxation of goods, coin, and services, made life in the German states unbearable for many, including those suffering from religious hindrance.[2]

Restrictive guild practices, shortage of money supply, and related financial considerations provided additional motives for emigration. This

was especially the case in southwest and south central Germany, barely recovered from the depredations of the Thirty Years' War only to be devastated by repeated invasions of French armies at the end of the seventeenth century. By the early 1700s, attractive advertising through books and broadsides, the inducements of traveling agents (the so-called *Neuländer*), and, importantly, direct communication from relatives and former neighbors who had migrated earlier, tempted Palatines, Swabians, and others to shake off the dust of their village roads and undertake resettlement.[3]

These were some of the considerations that led many to travel down the Rhine River to the Rotterdam wharves for passage across the Atlantic. In sum, economic concerns loom as large or larger than religious persecution as motivating factors. As the early tide of emigration by dissenters gave way in the eighteenth century to mass removal by German Reformed and German Lutherans, the generalization becomes even more appropriate.

Radical Pietism

Despite this qualification, there is indeed a significant religious movement that motivated many Germans to emigrate to the New World, and that is best described as Radical Pietism. This was part of the larger Pietist renewal movement that pressed for reform of German Protestant church life in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was presaged by comparable movements in neighboring countries such as Puritanism in England and the "Nadere Reformatie" (Precisianism) in the Netherlands, both of which strands had significant influence upon it. Pietism became the dominant force in the shaping of German Protestantism after its inception in the Reformation Era of the sixteenth century.[4]

The leading Pietist personalities were Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705) of Frankfurt, Dresden, and Berlin, and August Hermann Francke (1663-1727), of Erfurt and Halle. The pastor and author Spener laid out the objectives of the movement in his programmatic proposal *Pia Desideria* (1675) and the pastor and educator Francke built up a complex of educational and missionary institutions around his original orphanage in Halle, all of which became known as the "Franckesche Stiftungen" (Francke Foundation). Despite bitter opposition by traditional theologians and church bureaucrats, the two profoundly guided the creative forces of German Protestant Christianity during their lifetimes and beyond.[5]

Radical Pietism is that branch of the Pietist movement characterized by a separatist stance toward the institutional church. The Pietism of Spener and Francke sought renewal within the church through reformed theological education, disciplined church membership, warm devotional

life, and increased lay activity. Radical Pietists considered the church to be hopelessly flawed, to have irreversibly fallen from a state of grace, and therefore directed their energies outside the organized church. Their call to the faithful was to depart from Babylon. When the clergy was hopelessly lax in morals and ignorant of true spirituality, it could not be surprising, they asserted, that the laity was sinful and worldly. Real followers of Christ were to be found only in small conventicles of withdrawn saints. Many Radical Pietists saw formal church organization itself as evidence of the dead hand of corruption.[6]

Radical Pietism is further marked by its dependence upon the gnostic and theosophical concepts of the shoemaker-philosopher Jakob Boehme (1575-1624). Despite clerical attacks and official silencing, Boehme attracted a small but influential circle of followers during his lifetime. His writings, circulating in manuscript form after his first publication called *Aurora or Day-Dawning* (1612), united earlier doctrines of mystical spiritualism—including those of Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim who was better known as Paracelsus (1493-1541), Valentin Weigel (1533-88), and Kaspar von Schwenckfeld (1489-1561)—with his own unique vocabulary and concepts. Boehme claimed insight into the deepest mysteries of God and the universe or the *Urgrund*; twentieth-century theologian Paul Tillich (1886-1965) adopted Boehme's concept, calling it the "Ground of all Being." Virginal heavenly wisdom, the divine Sophia, could be wooed, wrote Boehme, by an ascetic life. (With the rise of feminist theology, the notion of Sophia, as an embodiment of divine wisdom, is currently attracting much attention.)[7]

Boehme's anthropology was intriguing to many. Because humankind was originally androgynous, the fall (original sin) came with sexual pairing. Created both male and female, Adam fell by desiring Eve. The covenant thus broken by sin was restored by the obedient sacrifice of the Second Adam, Jesus Christ. "In Christ, the new androgynous Adam, humankind lives again in harmony and unity with the Virgin Sophia." Those willing to adopt the celibate life could aspire to wed the heavenly Sophia. Boehme's last book, a guide to Christian living titled *The Way to Christ* (1624), is the most accessible of his works, most of which were written in an abstruse style as he sought to describe the indescribable.[8]

A major proponent of Boehmist thought was the lawyer Johann Georg Gichtel (1638-1710), banned from his home in Regensburg for his critique of clerical corruption. Residing in tolerant Amsterdam after 1668, Gichtel attracted a small circle of the like-minded, who lived in a celibate community as the "Angel-Brethren" (*Engel-Brüder*). It was Gichtel who first gathered the Boehmist corpus and gave it published form in 1682. Another disseminator of Boehmist thought was Gottfried Arnold (1666-1714), the noted church historian. Through his prolific writings Arnold had great influence upon Radical Pietists, although he found his way back

to the institutional church in later years. When he married and fathered a family, a disgusted Gichtel, recalling Boehmist disparagement of the marital state, wrote from Amsterdam that the lapsed Arnold had "fallen into children."[9]

A glowing assessment of Boehme's powers was published by an anonymous but well-informed Pennsylvania-German author in 1812. Before describing the leading religious figures of note in Pennsylvania, in an introduction the author provided sketches of reformers including Martin Luther (1483-1546) and John Bunyan (1628-88), devoting, however, more space to mystical and spiritual writers such as Thomas à Kempis (ca. 1380-1471), Madame de la Mothe Guyon (1648-1717), and Gerhard Tersteegen (1697-1769). He then wrote:

> And so, finally in conclusion, comes the highly and richly enlightened divine miracle man, Jacob Boehme, who should have been mentioned earlier. He has not had an equal since the time of the apostles. Indeed since the creation of the first humans there has certainly been no one (without exception) who has searched more fundamentally, nor will he be surpassed in this in the future. . . . [To] no one was opened such decisions of the divine wisdom, the secrets and miracles of the eternal depths as this man, the first human Adam, (and following him then) Moses and Solomon not excepted. And as has been said, the highly illumined Jacob Boehme appropriately takes precedence over all others, and no one can penetrate more deeply into God than can he. It is not too much to say—rather, it can be asserted with all confidence—that his writings are an open Bible! By using them one can so to speak look into the very heart of the Holy Scriptures, both Old and New Testaments. This is because this miracle-man could look into all three worlds; it was awarded to him the gift of seeing there the wonders of this world and of eternity, and their depths into the very Center; all this he could recognize and throughly reveal.[10]

Radical Pietist Immigration

Many important movements linked with Pennsylvania immigration, especially those of communitarian nature, are best characterized as Radical Pietist in nature. They include the Society of the Woman in the Wilderness (1694), the community of Irenia or the House of Peace (ca. 1696), the New Born of Oley Valley (1719), the Schwarzenau Baptists or Dunkers (1719, 1729) and their offshoot the Ephrata Society (1732), the esoteric group known as "Die Stillen im Lande" (ca. 1750), the Harmony Society (1803), the Blooming Grove Colony (1804), and the New

Philadelphia Society (1832). Although the Separatist Society of Zoar (1817) chose to settle in eastern Ohio, members came first to Pennsylvania before being aided by Philadelphia Quakers and others to reach their final destination. A similar development was the Bethel Community of Missouri (1844), the beginnings of which were among adherents of the former New Philadelphia Society and of German Methodism around Pittsburgh. Belonging to the Radical Pietist movement as well, although members happened not to move to Pennsylvania, was the Community of True Inspiration; originating in central Germany in 1714, it found its first North American home in upstate New York (1843), before settling in Iowa where it became well-known as the Amana Colonies (1855).[11]

Leading personalities linked to these movements include Johannes Kelpius (1673-ca. 1708), Heinrich Bernhard Köster (1662-1749), Matthias Baumann (d. 1727), Alexander Mack, Sr. (1679-1735), Conrad Beissel (1691-1768), the leader known as "J.B.S." (fl. 1750), "Father" Johann Georg Rapp (1757-1847), Bernhard Müller also known as "Count Leon" (1787-1834), Dr. Friedrich Conrad Haller (1753-1828), Joseph Michael Bäumler or Bimeler (1778-1853), "Dr." Wilhelm Keil (1812-77), and Christian Metz (1794-1867). Associated with these men were significant numbers of women, some of whom exercised powerful influence. Most, however, did not attain the same level of leadership, despite the importance of the Sophia mystique in Radical Pietism and the leading role of women visionaries and saints in the much-published Pietist devotional literature.[12]

Some immigrants remained consistently separatist in orientation, and therefore never actually joined these groups, however closely aligned they were otherwise. Significant figures in this category were the Germantown printer Johann Christoph Sauer I (1695-1758) and his neighbor, the poet and former Inspirationist Johann Adam Gruber (1693-1763).[13] Both played important roles in transatlantic communication, which furthered the tide of emigration.

Linked with all of the above in promoting and facilitating migration were well-placed and sympathetic merchant clans, especially the Collegiant De Koker family of Rotterdam and the Mennonite Van der Smissen family of Hamburg-Altona. They continued the role that the erudite Benjamin Furly (1636-1714) played in early Quaker migration. They were not engaged in migration as a business, as were Rotterdam merchants such as the Hopes and Stedmans, who increasingly monopolized the overseas traffic by the mid-1700s. Instead they used their good offices from time to time to aid massively those they considered to be coreligionists.[14]

Some influential Radical Pietist personalities involved with this branch of emigration chose to stay in Europe. Here may be named Johann Jakob Schütz (1640-90), Dr. Johann Samuel Carl (1676-1757), and Andreas Gross (ca. 1685-ca. 1750). Jane Lead[e] (1624-1704), the cofounder

of the English-based but internationally-oriented Philadelphian Society, and Anna Maria van Schurman (1607-78), the brilliant scholar and member of the Labadist community, were also prominent.[15]

As for geographical areas, the Wittgenstein principalities northwest of Frankfurt am Main and those petty states clustered around Büdingen in the region of Wetterau appear again and again in this context. This was because they provided for the period under discussion distinct if limited toleration for religious outcasts, thus attracting to their modestly-sized areas both heralded and little-known dissenting individuals and groups.[16]

This long list of names and movements embedded in the story of Radical Pietist movement to Pennsylvania is too complex to be readily comprehended, but may serve to illustrate the importance of the movement for immigration history. Rather than attempting to describe all of them in sketchy fashion, for the purpose of this essay a representative selection will be made. From the communitarian movements, the Ephrata Society will serve as example; from the leaders Conrad Beissel; from the ranks of the separatists, Johann Christoph Sauer I; from the merchants, the Van der Smissen family; and from those who stayed in Europe, Johann Jakob Schütz.

The Ephrata Society and Conrad Beissel

The brilliance of its cultural accomplishments, the controversy over the true character of its founder Conrad Beissel, and the preservation of some of its buildings as a much-visited tourist attraction has assured Ephrata much attention. Despite the plethora of descriptions and analyses of Ephrata from its beginnings in 1732 to the present, there is no fully satisfactory account of the Cloisters, as it is often called. E. G. Alderfer, author of the most satisfactory of the recent treatments, *The Ephrata Commune* (1985), confessed in his preface that, despite seven years of work, he could not claim to have "taken the full and definitive measurement of it; much of its bulk remains submerged in deep waters."[17]

The reason, as Alderfer realized, is that Ephrata can only be understood by grasping its theological base, that is, its grounding in the theosophical complexities of Jakob Boehme, mediated largely through the agencies of Gichtel and Arnold. The writings of Beissel and his compatriots at Ephrata are only comprehensible when viewed through this lens. Note the language, for example in a sermon by Beissel, one of the few from a large selection to be translated into English:

> [I]n the time and days of my godly youth the heavenly Venus touched me with the beams of her light and caused me to fall in love with Sophia's heavenly femininity or virginity. I

> experienced, however, that this femininity wanted by no means to come to terms with my fiery male will. Every day this caused many violent conflicts within me. Of course, it made me ponder deeply, whether the separation of the sexes (*[T]inctures*) into male and female, roughness and softness, or fire and light in the whole creation was not based on a strong footing, since the fiery masculinity rules with severe harshness in the whole creation, etc. After I had spent much time in this labyrinth without finding a way out, I arrived suddenly at the secret of the fall of the first man. For he desired to be sexually separated like the animals and therefore his spiritual [E]ve became blind, whereby he lost the true sight and enlightenment.[18]

This thought pattern, obviously Boehmist in inspiration and vocabulary, is worked out in great detail in his book *A Dissertation on Man's Fall*, published in English translation in 1765.[19]

The wonderfully baroque titles of Ephrata imprints themselves document the Boehmist and Radical Pietist grounding. One example of many is an early hymnal of the community, *Jakobs Kampff- und Ritter-Platz allwo der nach seinem Ursprung sich sehnende Geist der in Sophiam verliebten Seele mit Gott um den neuen Namen gerungen, und den Sieg davon getragen* . . . (Ephrata, 1736). Julius F. Sachse translated this as: "Jacob's tournament and wrestling place, where, the spirit, longing after its origin, in its *sophiam* enamoured soul, wrestle[d] with God for the new name, and came off victorious. . . ." The long title of the famous Ephrata hymnal printed by Sauer in Germantown in 1739 began: *Zionitischer Weyrauchs-Hügel, Oder: Myrrhen Berg, Worinnen allerley liebliches und wohl riechendes nach Apotheker-Kunst zubereitetes Rauch-Werck zu finden. Bestehend in allerley Liebes-Würckungen der in Gott geheiligten Seelen, welche sich in vielen und mancherley geistlichen und lieblichen Liedern aus gebildet. . . .*, translated (Sachse) as "Zionitic Incense Hill or Mountain of Myrrh, wherein there is to be found all sorts of lovely and sweet-scented Incense, prepared according to the Apothecary's Art. Consisting of diverse workings of effectual Love in God-awakened souls, which has developed in many and various spiritual lovely Hymns. . . ."[20]

This latter publishing effort led to a sharp break between the two Radical Pietists, Sauer and Beissel. The printer, always concerned that no product from his press contain falsehoods, was offended by some of the expressions used in the text of the hymnal, which he understood to divinize Beissel. When he asked an Ephrata agent about the passage, the counterquestion came as to whether he, Sauer, only believed in one Christ! In the ensuing published quarrel, Sauer commented that Beissel's teaching had hitherto "been a compound of Moses, Christ, Gichtel, and Conrad Beissel." In charging that the Ephrata leader was in "many

points . . . very close to Gichtel," he was linking Beissel with Boehme, because of Gichtel's role in transmitting Boehmist thought. J. F. Sachse also presented evidence that Beissel received theosophical concepts of Boehme by way of the writings of Gottfried Arnold.[21]

Fuller appreciation of the genius of Ephrata will wait until its Boehmist language of Canaan is more thoroughly understood by those who attempt to interpret the fascinating movement. It is likely that this judgment will fall somewhere between the glowing praise of John Joseph Stoudt and the acerbic critique of the Beissel biographer Walter C. Klein. Stoudt assessed the Ephrata poets as "the most significant school in Colonial America," deserving "to be recognized in German literary histories as one of the sources of the romantic spirit." He found Beissel's verse, despite some weaknesses, to be "the most impressive Pennsylvania Dutch cultural achievement." Klein concluded that "it would be temptingly easy to sum up Beissel's life in one or more blistering epigrams and to stigmatize it as futile, mad, or preposterous . . .," but asserted that "for one so lamed at the outset, he did well."[22]

Johann Christoph Sauer

Born in the Electoral Palatinate in Ladenburg near Heidelberg in 1695, Sauer spent his early manhood in the earldom (*Grafschaft*) of Wittgenstein, one of the islands of toleration in the early eighteenth century. He learned and practiced the tailor's trade but soon decided to join the increasing tide of emigration to the New World, arriving in Philadelphia on 1 November 1724. His informative early letters from America to friends in Wittgenstein portrayed Pennsylvania as an "earthly paradise." More than one hundred persons from that principality decided to leave for America on the basis of his descriptions, according to a contemporary living there:

> The man reported that one could buy a considerable piece of land for 200 or 300 *Reichstaler,* from which one could comfortably have his living, and which was already cultivated. The country had abundance and was fruitful in all necessary things. There was complete freedom. One could live there as a good Christian in solitude, as one pleased, and if one wanted to work a little, especially craftsmen, and among them also clockmakers, then one could earn his livelihood with abundance.[23]

The last point is interesting, because Sauer himself proceeded to become a clockmaker, one of the score of crafts that he is known to have mastered.

From the beginning, Sauer was conscious of his responsibility to incoming German immigrants and was active in providing assistance to them. This not only included the provision of immediate shelter and sustenance but also took the form of lobbying the colonial government for laws protecting immigrants from unscrupulous sea captains and merchants. Sauer's communications with Europe, which often found publication there, provided both encouragment to emigration and warnings of its dangers. He claimed that several thousands had migrated because of his writings.[24]

Sauer became best known through his printshop at Germantown, initiated in 1738. His almanac enjoyed broad circulation among Germans along the Atlantic Coast, as, to a lesser degree, did his successful newspaper first published in 1739. When he issued his German-language Bible (largely following Martin Luther's translation) in 1743—the first published in a European language in the American colonies—he became famous. Although Benjamin Franklin and others had earlier experimented with printing in the German language, it was Sauer who became the predominant German-American printer; through his publications and editorial comments in them, he became a power broker in Pennsylvania politics.[25]

Always a pragmatic figure, Sauer did not focus on doctrinal questions. Nonetheless, his Radical Pietist orientation was clearly revealed in his choice of books to publish or reprint and by his public stance on public issues. His pointed published comments on quarrels and moral lapses involving Lutheran and Reformed clergy and their far-from-docile lay members earned him clerical hatred. Clergymen did all they could to harm the sale of Sauer's imprints, especially when he refused to print their own manuscripts. Lutheran patriarch Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg (1711-87) reckoned Sauer among the trials he had to face in Pennsylvania. A Reformed clergyman named Caspar L. Schnorr railed about the "arch-sectarian master named Sauer in Germantown. . . ." The Anglican divine William Smith (1727-1803) accused him of being in league with the French Catholics and plotted to overthrow his influence.[26]

Sauer was personally close to the Schwarzenau Brethren, whom he had known during his residence in Wittgenstein. He attended their meetings in Germantown from time to time, but as a separatist was never willing to join them formally. He commented critically on their exclusiveness and sectarian nature. As an individualistic Radical Pietist, he was sympathetic with their general orientation but was not willing to place himself under their strict church discipline. The fact that his like-named son, Christoph Sauer II (1721-84), who took over the printshop upon his father's death, became a Brethren leader has often confused observers, who tend to conflate the two printers.[27]

Van der Smissen Family

One of the least studied aspects of emigration from Europe is the role played by strategically-placed merchants in shipping ports such as Rotterdam and Altona. They played central roles in arranging for transportation, providing benevolent support for travelers, and then serving as intermediaries for communications back-and-forth across the Atlantic. The Mennonite Van der Smissen family of Hamburg-Altona provides a good example of this activity. (Although not all members of the family could be classed as Radical Pietists, as Anabaptist dissenters they had much in common.)

The Altona business dynasty was founded by Gysbert Van der Smissen II (1620-85), formerly of Haarlem and Glückstadt, who established a bakery in that city in 1677. He was succeeded by his son Hinrich (preferred spelling instead of Heinrich) Van der Smissen I (1662-1737), who began a thriving transport business and continued the family pattern of support for the local Mennonite congregation. He played a major role in reconstructing Altona after it was destroyed by the Swedes in 1713, his diligence and generosity earning him the sobriquet "City Builder." Two of his sons, Hinrich II (1704-89) and Gysbert III (1717-93), inherited and expanded the business. Jacob Gysbert Van der Smissen (1746-1829), in the next generation, was noted for his close connections with dissenting Pietists, especially the Moravian Brethren, as well as with the Churchly Pietists at Halle.[28]

The Van der Smissen family was active in assisting Schwenkfelder refugees to find a new home in Pennsylvania. The group derives its name from Kaspar von Schwenckfeld, mentioned earlier as one of the influences upon Jakob Boehme. Schwenckfeld, once an ally of Martin Luther, moved to a reform position which placed him and his followers within the ranks of the Radical Reformation, although at some distance from the Anabaptists. Driven from their Silesian homeland in the early eighteenth century by the forces of the Counter Reformation, the Schwenkfelders were given shelter for a time on the Saxon estates of Count Ludwig Nicholas von Zinzendorf (1700-60), the talented but imperious leader of the Renewed Moravian Church.[29]

The Altona merchants were generous in the aid given to several hundred needy Schwenkfelder refugees in the early 1730s. According to a contemporary travel account, when a group arrived in Altona in May, 1733, they "had soon a friendly welcome from Herr Heinrich Van [der] Schmissen who did everything in his power for us." After giving them accommodations in his warehouse overnight, he made all the arrangements for their travel from Altona to Rotterdam, supplying

generous provisions. At Rotterdam they took ship for North America, aided by Van der Smissen contacts.

When some two hundred Schwenkfelders reached Altona a year later, as a denominational historian described it, "Mennonite brethren, the Van der Smissens, procured lodgings for them and lavishly cared for all their wants during their eleven days' stay, and, after providing for their trip from Altona to Haarlem, dismissed them without taking any remuneration for their kindness and services." When the Schwenkfelders of Pennsylvania printed an important book in 1770, a vindication of their doctrines and account of their history to 1740, they recalled in gratitude the aid of the Van der Smissen family and sent members free copies.[30]

Because of the connections of the family with the Moravians, it is possible that the Van der Smissens were involved in the extensive travels and business of these mission-minded dissenting Pietists, although documentation is lacking. It is known that Count Zinzendorf's successor as leader of the Moravian Brethren, Gottlieb August Spangenberg (1704-92) was a guest of the family in Altona in 1762.

The firm is known to have acted as agents for Churchly Pietists at their centers in Halle and Augsburg and their outposts in North America. They transmitted Pietist books and correspondence from Halle to Lutheran pastors in Pennsylvania, New York, and Georgia, who in turn distributed them in the colonies. Lutheran patriarch Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg was favorably impressed by the piety of Jacob Gysbert Van der Smissen, who transmitted packets of letters and wrote personally for two decades after 1764 to leading American Lutherans, including Mühlenberg himself, Pastor Johann Martin Boltzius (1703-65) at Ebenezer in Georgia, and Dr. Johann Christoph Kuntze (1744-1807) in New York. At least once, Samuel Urlsperger (1685-1772), senior pastor of Augsburg and mainstay of the Salzburg refugees in Georgia, employed the services of the Van der Smissens. Urlsperger's son and successor, Dr. Johann August Urlsperger (1728-1806), was a colleague of Jacob Gysbert Van der Smissen.[31]

The firm continued its business contacts in the early nineteenth century with American dissenters. It handled numerous transactions for the Harmony Society led by Father Rapp at its second location in southern Indiana. The Harmonist contacts went through their agent in Philadelphia, the Moravian merchant and philanthropist, Gottfried Haga (d. 1825). Communications were exchanged between 1814 and 1822.[32]

Johann Jakob Schütz

In the late seventeenth century Johann Jakob Schütz was a rich lawyer at Frankfurt am Main and member of the Lutheran synod

responsible for church matters. He was a close ally of the Pietist church father Spener during the latter's service (1666-86) as head pastor in the city. Schütz vigorously supported Spener's reform effort in organizing conventicles of laity to discuss sermons and do Bible study; in fact, he is thought to have been the one to suggest it. However, as Schütz noted that true correction of life did not follow the introduction of these measures, he gradually withdrew from church activity and began holding separatist meetings on his own. He became closely associated with a circle known as the "Saalhof" Pietists after their place of meeting, who were marked by millennial expectations. After 1682 he ceased attendance on regular church services.[33]

Schütz had earlier been influenced by the writings of the mystic Johann Tauler (ca. 1300-61) and himself corresponded with leading members of the Labadist Society, including Anna Maria van Schurman. During his travels through German states in 1677, the Quaker William Penn (1644-1718) met Schütz. It was through this contact that the latter took the lead in establishing the Frankfurt Land Company, which in 1682 set itself the goal of settling dissidents on the extensive properties that the company secured in the newly-established colony of Pennsylvania.

The initiative was based on three motivating principles: 1) to escape the judgment of God perceived about to fall upon Europe; 2) to develop a pristine church community in a land which promised complete religious freedom; and 3) to expand the kingdom of God through Christian missions to the American Indians. The personal contacts with William Penn and the content of Penn's propagandistic tracts, also circulated in the German language, provided guarantees, as they thought, for the probable realization of these goals. [34]

The company secured the learned Franz Daniel Pastorius (1651-1720) to serve as their agent in the New World.[35] As is well known, Pastorius arrived in the new colony in 1683, shortly before thirteen families from Krefeld on the Lower Rhine, the first mass emigration from German lands to North America. Though of Mennonite background, almost all of the Krefeld emigrants had joined the Society of Friends before their departure from Europe. They are therefore best known as Mennonite-Quakers. Pastorius's account of the journey and assessment of the New World (*Sichere Nachricht ausz America, . . .*) was published in 1684 and circulated in the German states as an inducement to immigration.[36]

Curiously, few of the members of the Frankfurt Land Company ever actually joined Pastorius in America, despite their keen interest in the venture. The initiative, nonetheless, played a key role in the early story of the transatlantic migration and well illustrates the impact of Radical Pietism upon it.

Summary

These examples from the ranks of movements, leaders, separatists, merchants, and proponents help to demonstrate the impact that Radical Pietism had upon emigration from the German states to Pennsylvania. Even viewed in quantitative perspective, the numbers involved were substantial, although they cannot match the throngs of later emigrants as the eighteenth century continued. Of more importance, however, is the ideological significance of Radical Pietist influence. Although the traditional explanation of religious persecution as the sole motivation for emigration can no longer be accepted, religious concerns including Radical Pietism continued to play a role in the transatlantic movement throughout the colonial period and beyond.

Juniata College
Huntingdon, Pennsylvania

Notes

[1] J[ohn] E. Miller, *Story of Our Church* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Publishing House, 1941), 28.

[2] On these issues, see Marianne Wokeck, "The Flow and Composition of German Immigration to Philadelphia, 1727-1775," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 105 (1981): 249-78; "A Tide of Alien Tongues: The Ebb and Flow of German Immigration to Pennsylvania, 1683-1776," Ph.D. diss., Temple University, 1982, especially chap. 2, 22-102; "Promoters and Passengers: The German Immigrant Trade, 1683-1775," in *The World of William Penn*, eds. R. S. Dunn and M. M. Dunn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986); and "Harnessing the Lure of the 'Best Poor Man's Country': The Dynamics of German-Speaking Immigration to British North America," in *"To Make America": European Emigration in the Early Modern Period*, eds. Ida Altman and James Horn (Berkeley, 1991); further, Farley Grubb, "Immigration and Servitude in the Colony and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania: A Quantitative and Economic Analysis," Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1984; "The Market Structure of Shipping German Immigrants to Colonial America," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 111 (1987): 27-48; and "German Immigration to Pennsylvania, 1709 to 1820," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 20 (1990): 417-36; also, Lowell C. Bennion, "Flight from the Reich: A Geographic Exposition of Southwest German Migration, 1683-1815," Ph.D. diss., Syracuse University, 1971; and Charles R. Haller, *Across the Atlantic and Beyond: The Migration of German and Swiss Migrants to America* (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1993).

For surveys of the impact of immigration upon North America, see A. G[regg] Roeber, "'The Origin of Whatever Is Not English Among Us': The Dutch-Speaking and German-Speaking Peoples of Colonial British America," in *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire*, eds. B. Bailyn and P. D. Morgan (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 220-83, and *Palatines, Liberty, and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993). See also Aaron S. Fogelman, "Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration and Settlement in Greater Pennsylvania, 1717-1775," Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1991; the useful overview in Sally Schwartz, *"A Mixed Multitude": The Struggle for Toleration in Colonial Pennsylvania* (New York: New York

University Press, 1987), 81-119; and Mark Häberlein, "German Migrants in Colonial Pennsylvania: Resources, Opportunities, and Experiences," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 50 (July 1992): 555-74 (with extensive bibliography).

[3] On motives for migration from southwest Germany, see Günther Haselier, ed., *USA und Baden-Württemberg in ihren geschichtlichen Beziehungen: Beiträge und Bilddokumente* (Stuttgart: Landesarchivdirektion Baden-Württemberg, 1976) and Kurt von Raumer, *Die Zerstörung der Pfalz von 1689 im Zusammenhang der französischen Rheinpolitik* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1930), reprinted (Bad Neustadt a. d. Saale: Verlag Dietrich Pfaehler, 1982). A recent nuanced discussion is found in Fogelman, "Hopeful Journeys" (1991). For immigrant letters, see Leo Schelbert and Hedwig Rappolt, eds., *Alles ist ganz anders hier: Auswandererschicksale in Briefen aus zwei Jahrhunderten* (Olten/Freiburg i. B.: Walter, 1977).

[4] A definitive multi-volume history sponsored by the Historical Commission for Research on Pietism (Historische Kommission zur Erforschung des Pietismus) has begun publication; the first volume is Martin Brecht, ed., *Geschichte des Pietismus: Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993). The commission also publishes a yearbook, *Pietismus und Neuzeit*, which began publication in 1974.

Other recent works include Erich Beyreuther, *Geschichte des Pietismus* (Stuttgart: J. F. Steinkopf, 1978) and Johannes Wallmann, *Der Pietismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), part of the series *Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte*. Studies in English include F. Ernst Stoeffler, *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965) and *German Pietism During the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973); Dale W. Brown, *Understanding Pietism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmanns, 1978); Paul P. Kuenning, *The Rise and Fall of American Lutheran Pietism* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1988); Ted A. Campbell, *The Religion of the Heart: A Study of European Religious Life in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), esp. 70-98; and W. R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[5] For overviews and specific bibliography, see Brecht, *Geschichte* (1993), 278-389, 439-539, and Hans-Jürgen Schrader, "Pietismus," in *Literatur Lexikon*, ed. V. Meid (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Lexikon Verlag, 1993), 14: 208-16. A recent biographical study in English on Spener is K. James Stein, *Philipp Jakob Spener: Pietist Patriarch* (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1986); on Francke, Gary R. Sattler, *God's Glory, Neighbor's Good: A Brief Introduction to the Life and Writings of August Hermann Francke* (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1982) and *Nobler than the Angels, Lower than a Worm: The Pietist View of the Individual in the Writings of Heinrich Müller and August Hermann Francke* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1989). A recent edition of Spener's work is *Pia Desideria* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1964).

See also Peter C. Erb., ed., *Pietists: Selected Writings* (New York: Paulist Press, 1983), and G. T. Halbrooks, ed., *Pietism* (Nashville, TN: Broadman Press, 1981). On the connection between Pietism and North America, see F. Ernest Stoeffler, ed., *Continental Pietism and Early American Christianity* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1976).

Since the reunification of Germany, concerted efforts have been directed at restoring the physical and academic fabric of the Francke Foundation, which suffered under the government of the German Democratic Republic. See *Die Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle an der Saale: Informationen und Veranstaltungen* (Halle: Franckesche Stiftungen, 1994) and Richard V. Pierard, "The Francke Institution in Halle: New Life for an Eighteenth-Century German Library," *Covenant Quarterly* 51 (May 1993): 38-47.

[6] Useful descriptions of Radical Pietism and its background are found in Brecht, *Geschichte* (1993); they are: Martin Brecht, "Die deutschen Spiritualisten des 17. Jahrhunderts," 205-40, and Hans Schneider, "Der radikale Pietismus im 17. Jahrhundert," 391-437. See also Wallmann, *Pietismus* (1990), 80-108. The best bibliographical assessment is Hans Schneider, "Der radikale Pietismus in der neueren Forschung," *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 8 (1982): 15-42, 9 (1983): 117-51. A definitive study of the literary production of the Radical Pietists (with extensive bibliography) is Hans-Jürgen Schrader, *Literaturproduktion und Büchermarkt des*

radikalen Pietismus, Palestra, vol. 283 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989). The best survey in English is C. David Ensign, "Radical German Pietism (ca.1675-ca.1760)," Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1955. See also Stoeffler, *German Pietism* (1973), 168-216.

[7] The best recent treatment in English is Andrew Weeks, *Boehme: An Intellectual Biography of the Seventeenth-Century Philosopher and Mystic* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), although the older work by John Joseph Stoudt, *Sunrise to Eternity: A Study in Jacob Boehme's Life and Thought* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957), with a preface by Paul Tillich, is still useful. Stoudt provided a new translation of Boehme's *The Way to Christ* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947). This was utilized in the newer version in the Classics of Western Spirituality Series, Jacob Boehme, *The Way to Christ*, ed. Peter C. Erb (New York: Paulist Press, 1978). See also Rufus M. Jones, *Spiritual Reformers in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (London: Macmillan, 1914), 151-234.

On current Sophia discussion, see among many others, E. Schussler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroads, 1984) and Susan Cady, Marian Ronan, and Hal Taussig, *Wisdom's Feast: Sophia in Study and Celebration* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1989). A useful summary is Leo D. Lefebure, "The Wisdom of God: Sophia and Christian Theology," *Christian Century* (19 October 1994): 951-56.

[8] This is well explained in Weeks, *Boehme* (1991), 114-21. The quotation is taken from Peter C. Erb, "Boehme, Jakob," *The Brethren Encyclopedia* (1983-84), 156.

[9] See Brecht, *Geschichte* (1993), 234-37. A reprint of an important work by Gichtel, with an excellent introduction, is Johann Georg Gichtel, *Theosophia Practica*, ed. Gerhard Wehr (Freiburg/Breisgau: Aurum Verlag, 1979). The quotation from Gichtel is found, among other places, in Max Goebel, *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens in der rheinisch-westphälischen evangelischen Kirche* (Coblenz: Karl Bädecker, 1852), 2: 728, fn. 2.

There is no full study in English on Gichtel; a recent monograph on Arnold is Peter C. Erb, *Pietists, Protestants, and Mysticism: The Use of Late Medieval Spiritual Texts in the Work of Gottfried Arnold (1666-1714)* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1989).

[10] *Das Heutige Signal, Oder Posaunen-Schall! Dem Freyen Abend-Lande zur Warnung und zum Trost!!...* (Ephrata: Jacob Ruth [1812]), 24-25; translation by the author.

[11] The communitarian societies and their grounding in Radical Pietism are described by Donald F. Durnbaugh in "Radikaler Pietismus als Grundlage deutsch-amerikanischer kommunaler Siedlungen," *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 16 (1990): 112-31, and "Work and Hope: The Spirituality of the Radical Pietist Communitarians," *Church History* 39 (1970): 72-90. See also Delburn Carpenter, *The Radical Pietists: Celibate Communal Societies Established in the United States before 1820* (New York: AMS Press, 1975). For literature on these groups, see Philip N. Dare, ed., *American Communes to 1860: A Bibliography* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990).

Aaron S. Fogelman, in "Hopeful Journeys" (1991), uses a broader definition of Radical Pietism (see especially chap. 5, 238-94) that also includes the Renewed Moravian Church (Unitas Fratrum). Because the Moravians were not completely separatist and did not follow Boehmist teachings, they are best considered as a distinct branch of Pietism positioned between Churchly Pietism and Radical Pietism.

[12] Biographical sketches of many of these persons are found in Robert S. Fogarty, *Dictionary of American Communal and Utopian History* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980); J. Gordon Melton, *Biographical Dictionary of American Cult and Sect Leaders* (New York: Garland, 1986); and Daniel G. Ried, ed., *Dictionary of Christianity in America* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1990). On Baumann's early life, see Heinrich Rembe, *Lambsheim: Die Familien von 1547 bis 1800—für Maxdorf bis 1830—mit Angaben aus Weisenheim a. S., Eyersheim und Ormsheim* (Kaiserslautern: Heimatstelle Pfalz, 1971), 6, 63.

[13] See Willi Paul Adams, "The Colonial German-Language Press and the American Revolution," in *The Press and the American Revolution*, ed. B. Bailyn and J. B. Hench (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1980), 151-227; Donald F. Durnbaugh,

"Christopher Sauer, Pennsylvania-German Printer: His Youth in Germany and Later Relationships with Europe," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 82 (1958): 316-39, and "Johann Adam Gruber: Pennsylvania-German Prophet and Poet," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 83 (1959): 382-408.

[14] The study by Andrew C. Fix, *The Dutch Collegiants in the Early Enlightenment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991) is the only recent work in English on the movement; see also his article, "Mennonites and Collegiants in Holland, 1630-1700," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 64 (1990): 160-77. Still useful is the chapter by Rufus Jones on "Coornhert and the Collegiants —A Movement for Spiritual Religion in Holland," in *Studies* (1914), 104-32. The De Koker family is described in Donald F. Durnbaugh, *Brethren Beginnings: The Origins of the Church of the Brethren in Early Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Ambler, PA: Brethren Encyclopedia, Inc., 1992), 56-57.

The De Koker family hosted visiting preachers, including John Wesley, the founder of the Methodist Society, who established in 1738 a close relationship with Johannes (Jan) De Koker (1696-1752). The latter corresponded with the English leader until 1749; see W. Reginald Ward and Richard P. Heitzenrater, eds., *The Works of John Wesley, Volume 18: Journal and Diaries I (1735-38)* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1988), 255, and *Volume 20: Journal and Diaries III (1743-54* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1991), 313-14. On this connection, see J. van den Berg, "John Wesley's Contacten met Nederland," *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, n.s., 52 (1971): 48-61.

The standard work on the Van der Smissen family is Heinz Münte, *Das Altonaer Handlungshaus Van der Smissen, 1682-1824* (Altona: Verlag Hermann Lorenzen, 1932), recently complemented by Matthias H. Rauert and Annelie Kümpers-Greve, *Van der Smissen: Eine mennonitische Familie vor dem Hintergrund der Geschichte Altonas und Schleswig-Holsteins—Texte und Dokumente* (Hamburg: Nord-Magazin, 1992). On Furly, see the monograph by William I. Hull, *Benjamin Furly and Quakerism in Rotterdam* (Swarthmore, PA: Swarthmore College, 1941). Wokeck, "Alien Tongues" (1983), 137-201, provides detailed information on the commercial aspects of the migration traffic.

[15] Information on most of these personalities is provided in Brecht, *Der Pietismus* (1993), as well as Stoeffler, *Rise of Evangelical Pietism* (1965) and *German Pietism during the Eighteenth Century* (1973). See also Nils Thune, *The Behmenists and the Philadelphians* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1948). The earlier-named poet Gerhard Tersteegen is sometimes named in this context (Stoeffler), but he is better classed among German Reformed Pietism than with Radical Pietism; see Beyreuther, *Pietismus* (1978) and in the basic monograph on him by Cornelis Pieter van Andel, *Gerhard Tersteegen* (Wageningen: H. Veenman & Zonen, 1961).

[16] Depictions of radical activity in Wittgenstein and the Wetterau in Goebel, *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens* (1849-60) have never been surpassed; the classic has recently been republished (Gießen: Brunnen Verlag, 1993). A recent discussion of Goebel's scholarly achievement, more broadly-based than its title, is John E. Wilson, "Max Goebels 'Geschichte der wahren Inspirations-Gemeinden' (1854-1857: Eine hermeneutische Untersuchung," *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 19 (1993): 143-68. See also Ward, *Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (1992).

[17] E. G. Alderfer, *The Ephrata Commune: An Early American Counterculture* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985), xiii. Literature about Ephrata, as well as the products of its press, is listed in Eugene E. Doll and Anneliese M. Funke, eds., *The Ephrata Cloisters: An Annotated Bibliography* (Philadelphia: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, 1944). More recent studies are discussed in Guy Hollyday and Christoph Schweitzer, "The Present State of Conrad Beissel/Ephrata Research," *Monatshefte* 68 (Summer 1976): 171-78; see also Dare, *American Communes* (1990), 61-71.

Earlier treatments of Beissel and Ephrata pose problems. For many years the standard treatment was considered to be Julius F. Sachse's two volumes *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania, 1708-1742; 1742-1800: A Critical and Legendary History of the Ephrata Cloister and*

the Dunkers (Philadelphia: Privately printed, 1899-1900), reprinted (New York: AMS Press, 1971). Although the books are to be commended for the preservation of sources, the author's interpretations can be misleading. The older and critical interpretation by Oswald Seidensticker is more dependable: *Ephrata, eine amerikanische Klostergeschichte* (Cincinnati, OH: Mecklenborg & Rosenthal, 1883).

The only full biographical treatment of Beissel, Walter C. Klein, *Johann Conrad Beissel: Mystic and Martinet* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1942), is marred by the author's distaste for his subject. In his words: "Despite the slender prospect of success, I have plodded through the material, without shirking the boredom of many a somnolent afternoon passed in the society of some of the weakest minds of the eighteenth century, not to mention the defectives of subsequent generations" (207). More helpful is the documentary anthology, Felix Reichmann and Eugene E. Doll, eds., *Ephrata As Seen by Contemporaries* Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, vol. 17 (Allentown, PA: Schlechter's, 1953).

[18] Peter C. Erb, ed., *Johann Conrad Beissel and the Ephrata Community: Mystical and Historical Texts* (Lewiston, ME: Edwin Mellen Press, 1985), 115-16. Although many authors consider Beissel's given names to be "Johann Conrad," according to his birth records he was christened "Georg Conrad Beissel." See on this the otherwise problematic genealogy, James D. Beissel, Sr., *The Wedge: Beisel/Beissel International Genealogy* (Ephrata, PA: Science Press, 1990), 252.

[19] Conrad Beissel, *A Dissertation on Man's Fall, translated from the High-German Original,* trans. Johann Peter Müller (Ephrata: Society, 1765); the German original was published as part of *Deliciae Ephratenses, Pars. I* (Ephrata: Society, 1773).

[20] Sachse, *Sectarians* (1899) 1: 264, 320. Full titles, with some locations, are provided in Doll and Funke, *Ephrata Cloisters* (1944), 36-48, 87-126, and Karl J. R. Arndt and Reimer C. Eck, eds., *The First Century of German Language Printing in the United States of America,* comp. Gerd-J. Bötte and Werner Tannhoff, Pennsylvania German Society, vols. 21-22. (Göttingen: Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, 1989), 2 vols.

[21] Samuel W. Pennypacker, *Pennsylvania in American History* (Philadelphia: Wm. J. Campbell, 1910), 327-63; this was first published in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 12 (1888): 76-96. Much of it was republished in Sachse, *Sectarians* (1899), 328-44. See also Samuel W. Pennypacker, "Zionitischer Weyrauchs Hügel oder Myrrhen Berg," in his *Historical and Biographical Sketches* (Philadelphia: Robert A. Tripple, 1883), 223-28. Sauer's published account of the dispute was: *Ein abgenöthigter Bericht, Oder: Zum öffteren begehrte Antwort, denen darnach fragenden dargelegt . . .* (Germantown: Christoph Sauer, 1739).

Sachse played down the influence of Boehme on Beissel, instead suggesting that Gottfried Arnold was the source; he neglected to consider that Arnold's thought was profoundly shaped by Boehme. See the discussion in *Sectarians* (1900) 2: 161-72.

[22] John Joseph Stoudt, *Sunbonnets and Shoofly Pies: A Pennsylvania Dutch Cultural History* (New York: Castle Books, 1973), 62; Klein, *Beissel* (1942), 186. For another favorable view, see Stoudt, *Pennsylvania German Poetry, 1685-1830* (Allentown: Pennsylvania German Society, 1956), xxii-xxiii.

Note the well-informed comment by Frederick S. Weiser in a review of Alderfer's book and Erb's edition of Beissel's writings: "Most students of Ephrata have ended up as students of John [sic] Conrad Beissel, the leading initial figure of the movement—of Beissel's personality, however, rather than of his complex thought. Couched in the verbiage and symbolism that can fly right past modern man, Beissel's texts are the key to the question everyone seems afraid to answer: was he a religious genius who might have been canonized had he lived before the Reformation? Or was he a hack? The truth about his role in the history of American religion lies between the two extremes, but until we have more books like Erb's, or all learn to read Beissel's German, we cannot assay his true significance." (*Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society* 20.2 (1986): 61). The Duke University Ph.D. dissertation by Jeffrey A. Bach, with anticipated completion in 1995, promises to shed

light on this important topic—"The Voice of the Solitary Turtledove: The Mystical Language of Ephrata."

[23] Durnbaugh, "Christopher Sauer," (1958): 324. Sauer's letters are presented in: R. W. Kelsey, "An Early Description of Pennsylvania. Letter of Christopher Sower, written in 1724, Describing Conditions in Philadelphia and Vicinity, and the Sea Voyage from Europe," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 45 (1921): 243-54; and Donald F. Durnbaugh, "Two Early Letters from Germantown," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 74 (1960): 219-33. The latter is also published in Donald F. Durnbaugh, ed., *The Brethren in Colonial America* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1967), 32-39.

[24] Durnbaugh, "Christopher Sauer," (1958); Wokeck, "Alien Tongues," (1983); Fogelman, "Hopeful Journeys" (1991).

[25] On these issues, see Edward W. Hocker, *The Sower Printing House of Colonial Times*, Pennsylvania German Society, vol. 53 (Norristown, PA: Norristown Herald, 1948); William R. Steckel, "Pietist in Colonial Pennsylvania, 1738-1758," Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1949; and Stephen L. Longenecker, *The Christopher Sauers* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1981).

There is an extensive literature on Sauer; earlier references are included in Felix Reichmann, comp., *Christopher Sower Sr., 1694-1758* (Philadelphia: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, 1943). Some of the more recent references are mentioned in Donald F. Durnbaugh, "The Sauer Family: An American Printing Dynasty," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 23 (1988): 31-40.

The best recent discussion of Sauer in the German language is incorporated in Schrader, *Literaturproduktion* (1989), esp. 223-27 and 475-77. Two recent popular treatments deal with Sauer: Armin M. Brandt, *Bau deinen Altar auf fremder Erde: Die Deutschen in Amerika—300 Jahre Germantown* (Stuttgart-Degerloch: Seewald Verlag, 1983) and Gernot G. Lorsong, *Taufe uns, Alexander: Kurpfälzer Geschichte der Dunker (German Baptist Brethren)* (Karlsruhe: INFO Verlag, 1990). Although both are based on secondary materials, the former is generally reliable but the latter is grossly inaccurate.

[26] Durnbaugh, "Christopher Sauer," (1958), 336-38. A particular struggle between Sauer and high-church clergy centered on the so-called Charity Schools; see on this the older but still useful work by Samuel Edwin Weber, *The Charity School Movement in Colonial Pennsylvania, 1754-1763* (Philadelphia: William J. Campbell, 1905) and newer appraisals by Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., "Benjamin Franklin and the German Charity Schools," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 99 (December 1955): 381-87, and Bruce R. Lively, "William Smith, the College and Academy of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania Politics," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 38 (1969): 237-58.

[27] The issue is discussed in Donald F. Durnbaugh, "Was Christopher Sauer a Dunker?" *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 93 (1969): 383-91. His relationship with the Brethren is reviewed in Stephen L. Longenecker, *Piety and Tolerance: Pennsylvania German Religion, 1700-1850* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1994), 53-55.

[28] The story of the family is given in Münte, *Handlungshaus* (1932) and Rauert and Kümpers-Greve, *Van der Smissen* (1992); included in the documents in the latter book are excerpts from travel diaries in the 1760s of two grandsons of Hinrich I which include contacts with Pietists, Quakers, and Methodists in the German states, The Netherlands, England, and Denmark. See also Robert Dollinger, *Geschichte der Mennoniten in Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg and Lübeck* (Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz, 1930). Informative articles on many family members are found in *The Mennonite Encyclopedia* (1955-59), 4:549-52. Archival collections on the family are located in North America in the Fisher Rare Books Library, University of Toronto, and at Bethel College, North Newton, KS.

[29] The evolving theological position of Schwenckfeld is traced in the intellectual biography by R. Emmet McLaughlin, *Caspar Schwenckfeld, Reluctant Radical: His Life to 1540* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986); the relationship with Anabaptists is ably discussed in George Huntston Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 3d rev. ed. (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1992).

[30] On the saga of the Schwenkfelders, see Horst Weigelt, *The Schwenkfelders in Silesia*, trans. Peter C. Erb (Pennsburg, PA: Schwenkfelder Library, 1985); Selina Gerhard Schultz, *Caspar Schwenckfeld von Ossig*, 2d ed. (Pennsburg: Board of Publication of the Schwenkfelder Church, 1977); Selina Gerhard Schultz, "History of the 'Erläuterung'," *Schwenckfeldiana* 1 (September 1940): 21-24; Samuel Kriebel Brecht, *The Genealogical Record of the Schwenkfelder Families: Seekers of Religious Liberty Who Fled from Silesia to Saxony and Thence to Pennsylvania in the Years 1731 to 1737*, 2 vols. (New York: Board of Publication of the Schwenkfelder Church, 1923).

The anonymous travel account was written by David Shultze and first published as a "Narrative of the Journey of the Schwenckfelders to Pennsylvania, 1733," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 10 (1886): 167-79; it was included in *The Journals and Papers of David Shultze*, ed. and trans. Andrew S. Berky, 2 vols. (Pennsburg, PA: Schwenkfelder Library, 1952-53), 19-39, esp. 25-26. Aid given to the large 1734 contingent at Altona is described in Howard Wiegner Kriebel, *The Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania: A Historical Sketch* (Lancaster, PA: Pennsylvania German Society, 1904), 32. See also C. Heydrick, "The Schwenkfelders. An Historical Sketch," in Reuben Kriebel, *Genealogical Record of the Descendants of the Schwenkfelders, Who Arrived in Pennsylvania in 1733, 1734, 1736, 1737. From the German of the Rev. Balthasar Heebner, and From Other Sources* (Manayunk: Josephus Yeakal, 1879), xx-xxi, xxx-xxxii. Rauert and Kümpers-Greve, *Van der Smissen* (1992), 42, following Münte, *Handlungshaus* (1932), 159, incorrectly date the assistance in the years 1727-29.

[31] There is an extensive literature describing the Moravians, based on their incomparable early record-keeping. The standard history is J. Taylor Hamilton and Kenneth G. Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church* (Bethlehem, PA: Moravian Church of America, 1967). See also Gillian Lindt Gollin, *Moravians in Two Worlds* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967) and Beverly Prior Smaby, *The Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem: From Communal Mission to Family Economy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988).

For the Halle connection, see the repeated references in H. M. Mühlenberg's records: *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, In Three Volumes*, trans. T. G. Tappert and J. W. Doberstein (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1942-58), 2: 147, 153, 705; 3: 572, 653, 718. See also the related passages in the German edition of his letters, Kurt Aland and others, eds., *Die Korrespondenz Heinrich Melchior Mühlenbergs aus der Anfangszeit des deutschen Luthertums in Nordamerika* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1990), 3: 221, 252, 259. The family is mentioned in Roeber, *Palatines* (1993), 98, 365 (fn. 8), where the name is given as "van den Smithen Söhne". The connection between Urlsperger and Georgia is discussed in George Fenwick Jones, *The Salzburger Saga: Religious Exiles and Other Germans Along the Savannah* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984). For the Spangenberg, Urlsperger, and Van der Smissen linkage, see Rauert and Kümpers, *Van der Smissen* (1992), 58, 62, 74.

[32] Karl J. R. Arndt, ed., *A Documentary History of the Indiana Decade of the Harmony Society, 1814-1824. Volume I, 1814-1819. Volume II, 1820-1824* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1975-78), 1: 87-88, 192, 297; 2: 516.

[33] Wallmann, *Der Pietismus* (1990), 81-84.

[34] Klaus Deppermann, "Pennsylvanien als Asyl des frühen deutschen Pietismus," *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 10 (1984): 190-212. The chiliasm of Schütz and his circle is emphasized in Elizabeth W. Fisher, "'Prophecies and Revelations': German Cabbalists in Early Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 109 (1985): 299-333. Materials on the Frankfurter (Frankforter) Land Company are given in Emil Meynen, ed., *Bibliography on German Settlements in Colonial North America, Especially on the Pennsylvania Germans and their Descendants, 1683-1933* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1937), 29, reprinted (Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1966) and as *Bibliography on the Colonial Germans of North America* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1982).

[35] The standard monograph on Pastorius is Marion Dexter Learned, *The Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius, the Founder of Germantown* (Philadelphia: William J. Campbell, 1908). For recent studies of Pastorius and the Frankfurt Land Company, see John David Weaver, "Franz

Daniel Pastorius (1651-ca. 1720): Early Life in Germany with Glimpses of His Removal to Pennsylvania," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Davis, 1985; Christoph E. Schweitzer, "Francis Daniel Pastorius, the German-American Poet," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 18 (1983): 21-28; Deppermann, "Pennsylvanien," (1984), 198ff.; and especially Rüdiger Mack, "Franz Daniel Pastorius—sein Einsatz für die Quäker," *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 15 (1989): 132-71.

[36] The tricentennial of the 1683 arrivals stimulated the publication of many new studies, adding to the extensive older literature. Among the newer works can be cited: Helmut E. Huelsbergen, "The First Thirteen Families: Another Look at the Religious and Ethnic Background of the Emigrants from Crefeld (1683)," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 18 (1983): 29-40; John Ruth, "A Christian Settlement 'In Antiquam Silvam': The Emigration from Krefeld to Pennsylvania in 1683 and the Mennonite Community of Germantown," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 57 (1983): 307-31; Guido Rotthoff, "Die Auswanderer von Krefeld nach Pennsylvanien im Jahre 1683," *Die Heimat* 53 (1983): 2-11; Charlotte Boecken, "'Dutch Quaker' aus Krefeld, die (Mit)Gründer Germantowns 1683?" *Die Heimat* 53 (1983): 15-23; and Deppermann, "Pennsylvanien" (1984), 201-5.

The controversy over the precise ethnic and denominational identities of the first Krefeld immigrants was triggered by William I. Hull in his monograph, *William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania* (Swarthmore, PA: Swarthmore College, 1935), reprinted (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1970); the argument was revived in the course of the observance of the tricentennial, especially at a conference on "Religion and Society" held in Krefeld in June 1983.

The full title of Pastorius's booklet was: *Sichere Nachricht ausz America, wegen der Landschafft Pennsylvania, von einem dorthin gereiszten Teutschen, de dato Philadelphia, den 7. Martii 1684.* A photographic reproduction is included in Learned, *Pastorius* (1908), between pp. 128-29. An English translation (by J. Franklin Jameson) was published in Albert C. Myers, ed., *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, 1630-1707* (New York: 1912), 393-411; a shortened version was included in Jean R. Soderland and others, eds., *William Penn and the Founding of Pennsylvania, 1680-1684: A Documentary History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983), 353-61.

Susan M. Johnson

Benjamin Rush and the Pennsylvania German Farmer as Noble Savage

The title of this article implies no disrespect for the Pennsylvania Germans. Scholars of the Noble Savage concept in history and literature have long recognized that the idea reveals more about the observers than the observed. In this article, the Pennsylvania Germans are considered as the observed. The observer and true subject of this study is Benjamin Rush and, particularly, his 1789 essay, "An Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania."[1] Though Rush's essay included brief sections on skilled craftsmen and businessmen in the German community, he devoted the bulk of his essay to the Pennsylvania German farmers. My purpose here is to suggest that this portion of his essay belongs, quite logically and correctly, on the same shelf with those works that have become synonymous with the Noble Savage idea in Europe by such authors as: Columbus, Las Casas, Drake, Raleigh, Montaigne, Swift, Defoe, Rousseau, Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey.[2] This task will require some backtracking through the roughly two-thousand-year-old convention. It is widely accepted that the explorers of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were themselves predisposed to regard Caribbean, South and North American, and Polynesian natives as Noble Savages, and that the idea found expression in their travel and promotional literature before it became a standard motif for literature and social criticisms of an over-cultivated European lifestyle.[3] Less clear are the reasons for this predisposition. Explanations point to a gradual convergence of motifs and sentiments that arose from the Biblical story of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, the classical and medieval view of simplicity and innocence in the Golden Age, and the Wild Man folklore of Northern Europe.[4] Etchings, woodcuts, carvings and paintings of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries document the transition of the Wild Man from a menacing savage to a thoroughly domesticated family beast

modeled after paintings of the Holy Family. So dramatic was this transition that Wild Man transcended mere acceptability to attain virtual heroism in the popular imagination, living as he did a simple, hardy life in harmony with nature, protected from the hardships, dangers, and temptations of civilization.[5] Socially critical intellectual tracts dating from the first century that contrasted the strong, morally pure savage with his weak, decadent, civilized counterpart lent further credibility to these pictorial representations. All of this, it is argued, established a precedent in the European mind for revering an uncultivated lifestyle in a wild, natural setting, a lifestyle that had maintained a handful of powerful descriptors since the time of Tacitus: simple, virile, virtuous, brave, hardy, unpretentious, democratic, hospitable, chaste, and monogamous—all of this before the discovery of the New World.[6]

The association of the Caribbean Islands with an earthly paradise fairly invited the explorers (and those entrepreneurs who rewrote the explorer's reports for the reading public) to superimpose these descriptors onto the natives, and to elevate them as models for European society.[7] In the next century, Europeans read Noble Savage literature by Columbus, Drake, Raleigh, Amadas, Barlow, and others who made constant reference to the Golden Age and the Garden of Eden, and generated a new host of labels.[8] Their savages were: open-hearted, loving, neighborly, generous, gentle, guileless, intelligent, honest, faithful, cheerful, obedient, humble, patient, forgiving, trusting, and physically beautiful. The impact of these reports on European letters, particularly reflections on the nature of primitive man, is well documented. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Noble Savage concept received a thorough going-over and gained further legitimacy in the hands of such influential thinkers as Montaigne, Rabelais, Voltaire, Locke, Swift, and Defoe.[9] Hobbe's legendary portrayal of the life of primitive man as "solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short" was simply overtrumped.[10] Significantly, as Fairchild makes clear, the Noble Savage idea was rock-solid in European folk and intellectual history long before it became erroneously but inextricably linked to Rousseau by nineteenth-century poets, so much so that by the eighteenth century the concept invited variations for new purposes and parodies of itself.[11] Rousseau's contribution, and that of other eighteenth-century philosophers, was to transfer the idea of the Noble Savage from the Indians of the Americas and the Pacific Islands to any person or group whose lifestyle was simple, removed from cities or other sophisticated enclaves, and close to nature so that the concept came to include: children, peasants, mountaineers, and farmers.[12]

The same transition occurred, roughly simultaneously, in the colonies of North America fueled by the influence of European thought, the overwhelmingly (though not solely) negative portrayals of Indians in Indian War Tracts and Captivity Narratives, which McGregor claims had

"an unmatched capacity to become metaphorical," and the influence of Vattel's *Law of Nations*, which justified the seizure of land by those willing and able to cultivate it for the betterment of mankind, and which rendered the beatification of the farmer a political necessity.[13] Even the ideal landscape was shifting from the wilderness to cultivated field and garden.[14] The transition of the Noble Savage from the Indian to the farmer in America was also facilitated by common discussion of their plights. Crèvecoeur, for example, who contributed so much to the reception of the Indian as Noble Savage, commented in the same breath on the Pennsylvania German farmers, reasoning that their labor compensated for their coarse manners.[15] For Crèvecoeur, as well as for Rush after him, the farmer distinguished himself from the Indian by the energy that he channeled into agriculture. By the second half of the eighteenth century this stereotypical image of the simple, unsophisticated, peaceful American farmer, like the European peasant-farmer, had in some ways eclipsed the Indian and become so conventional as to serve a variety of literary and political purposes as the notion of agrarian democracy gained momentum. This is evident in the works of Rush's contemporaries and correspondents: Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson, and the Virginia historian, Robert Beverly.[16]

If the highly educated Benjamin Rush had not been influenced by these strong trends in European and American thought, he might have generated a Noble Savage portrait of the Pennsylvania German farmers independently because a set of circumstantial prerequisites common to the Noble Savage encounter through the ages just happened to be in place. Rush considered farmers to occupy the bottom rung of his rigid social hierarchy, he admired the lushness of their natural surroundings, and as a Philadelphian he lived a comfortable distance from both. He regarded the farmers as nonthreatening, felt a missionary zeal to help them (in his case through medicine and education), and stood to gain politically and economically from diplomatic relations with them.[17] Against this backdrop, Rush might have been observing the Pennsylvania German farmers from the deck of a Spanish galleon.

But in addition to these bare circumstances, of course, Rush was very much a product of the enlightened, preromantic thinking of eighteenth-century Europe, a textbook example of the best eduction educated Americans could buy.[18] Though born into a somewhat humble family, his widowed mother procured a private education for him from which he went on to New Jersey College, shortly afterwards known as Princeton University, and medical study at the Philadelphia Medical College, the University of Edinburgh, and two London hospitals. He also enjoyed a brief European junket with an extended stay in Paris. Not unimportantly, Rush's professional and social introduction to Europe was launched and partially financed by Benjamin Franklin, thanks to whom he conversed

with the elite physicians, artists, and thinkers of his day: Benjamin West, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Samuel Johnson, Albrecht Haller, David Hume, and the famous Whig historian, Catherine Macauley, to name a few. Back in America, he married into an influential Princeton family that surrounded him with prominent intellectuals and politicians.

The impact of this milieu on him is evident in virtually every line of his voluminous prose legacy, but his few remaining love letters to fiancé Julia Stockton alone would suffice as proof.[19] Rush repeatedly stresses a reverence for learning and the cultivation of virtue in their future married life, as well as his respect for Julia as a rational companion. Referring to himself as a philosopher, he wrestles with the same problems of happiness and value in human life that preoccupy the European thinkers, and quotes them liberally: Swift, Goldsmith, Waller, Sterne, and Pope. His definition of taste, "what is proper—beautiful— & sublime in nature or art," was surely given shape by Immanuel Kant; and the personal library of religious, historical, moralistic, and poetic texts that he promises to Julia, includes, along with Shakespeare and Milton, a number of contemporary romantic poets.[20]

Obviously smitten, Rush infuses the loftier enlightened sentiments of his letters with pure romantic naturalism. His imagery encompasses fruits of love sprung from seeds watered by Julia's virtues, and so on.[21] Significantly, in this context, he admires Goldsmith's humble Swiss villagers, and describes for Julia his own encounters with simple, country people.[22] He is "charmed with the simplicity of their sentiments," with their affection and gratitude.[23] Should the Revolutionary War make life in Philadelphia impossible, Rush adds, he is prepared to live among these people working the land himself, to return each night to Julia who will make their cottage "vocal with her hymns and songs."[24] But even in this fantasy, he is quick to distinguish himself from his peasant neighbors with his educational pastimes:

> Sometimes we will pass a rainy day, or a winter's evening in reading alternately to each other select passages from the most useful or entertaining books, for my library shall accompany us wherever we go. Thus, while we revive the simplicity of patriarchal times, we will be happy. . . .[25]

This mélange of enlightened and romantic thinking enabled Rush to perceive the Pennsylvania German farmers as Noble Savages.

Like most Noble Savage literatures, Rush's essay lacks the derision that would qualify his subjects as savage. Social inferiority is generally taken for granted in the genre. But one need not look far in his letters and essays to find evidence of disdain. Like most of his contemporaries, Rush was an elitist, and his writings leave no doubt as to his criteria for

social stratification: not wealth or worldly sophistication, but education separated the social classes, deliverance from the unexamined life. Added to this was Rush's very fuzzy notion of the lower echelons of society, into which he lumped creatures he refers to as brutes together with Indians and farmers. The distinction between the three is confused and complicated by the fact that the term *brute* appears to refer to humans as well as animals. The difference between humans and brutes, he explains to Julia, is religion, brutes being "animal machines who are governed in all their actions by instinct only" (here brutes appear to be animals); but then he goes on, "they are governed by the vulgar maxims and fashions of the world" (now the brutes do appear to be human).[26] Except that when Rush charts the "eight degrees of happiness in marriage," his "Matrimonial Thermometer," he writes to Julia:

> The first or lowest degree of conjugal happiness consists in a sympathy in animal love. The Indians of this country enjoy no other happiness in matrimony than what is derived from this source. It is but a small degree above the happiness of brutes.[27]

Now, it seems, brutes *are* animals unless Rush envisions human brutes lower on his scale than Indians, which is possible. In describing his frustrated efforts to converse with a farmer, Rush comments: "Perhaps tho't I the social and rational being is wholly lost in this man in the mere animal."[28] From these early letters to Julia, then, we can document the hazy convergence of animal, Indian, and farmer viewed from Rush's rather extreme and insular elitism.

Years later, this position resurfaces in Rush's correspondence with supporters, donors, and trustees of Dickinson and Franklin colleges.[29] To win financial support for the colleges from wealthy and prestigious Germans, Rush had to convince them that the rural Germans needed and deserved education. His portrayal of their need is consistent with his social hierarchy: frontier society, he claims, progresses "from the savage to the civilized."[30] In a letter to John Dickinson dated 5 April 1787, Rush expressed the hope that the two colleges would "humanize the half-civilized inhabitants of the . . . counties of Pennsylvania."[31] And in arguing for education in the German language, he noted:

> the extreme ignorance which they discover in their numerous suits in law, in their attachment to quacks in physic, and in their violent and mistaken zeal in government. The influence of our college, if properly directed, might reform them and show them that men should live for other purposes than simply to cultivate the earth and to accumulate the specie.[32]

This last reference to cultivating the earth and multiplying the species recalls Crèvecoeur's defense of the Pennsylvania German farmers as tillers of the soil, while at the same time highlighting Rush's notion that farmers exist and procreate without a higher purpose in their lives. Both of these views are echoed in Rush's correspondence to and from his peers in higher education and government.[33]

How was it possible for Rush to offer privately so pejorative a view of people he will praise publicly in his essay? Rush, his biographers concur, had a very high tolerance for ambiguity on many political and social issues. It should not surprise us, then, that ambiguity with regard to the Pennsylvania German farmers was all in a day's work for him. Financial support for the colleges required him to demonstrate not only the need but also the worthiness of the Pennsylvania Germans. Their need he described in private letters; their worth he praised in his public essay, and argued in two ways. First, he pointed out, as did his contemporary Rousseau, that the primitive lifestyle of the farmer nurtured many, though not all, of the virtues aspired to by formal education: humility, piety, and industry. Second, he argued that an educated German population would make an indispensable economic contribution to the young republic. The result of his discourse, his "Account of the Manners and Habits of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania," reflects not only Rush's long-held, positive inclination to the Germans, and perhaps as Bonar claims, "a sophisticated analysis of the balance between assimilation and non-assimilation in an immigrant group,"[33] but also a long tradition of Noble Savage literature in Europe and in the colonies, a tradition that has always accommodated ambiguity.

Rush's Pennsylvania Germans reflect the qualities of Noble Savages described before and after them. They lead frugal, sober lives, free of debt, in Christian piety, in the comfort of their simple, neat homes, and in the plenty produced by their hard work and attention to crops and livestock—just like the European peasants and farmers described in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This is not surprising, when we recall that they were first- and second-generation immigrants from those groups. But their closeness to the land, heightened sensitivity to nature, conservation of natural resources, close-knit families, love of children, hospitality, generosity, thoughtfulness, intelligence, and trustworthiness also recall sixteenth-century descriptions of the indigenous peoples of the New World, and the earlier scenes of Wild Man and his family so carefully modeled after paintings of the Holy Family in an Eden-like setting. It stretches the author's imagination to glimpse the Golden Age in the innocence, superstition, and patriarchal nature of Pennsylvania German culture that Rush describes, but thoroughness fairly demands mention of the fact that both Rush and Tacitus commented on the well

built fences of the Germans, a fact from which the author declines to draw a conclusion.

Regardless of how one might assign and match these various qualities, the feature of Rush's essay that ties it most clearly to the tradition of Noble Savage literature is his didactic intent, his use of his subjects as models for the rest of society. He appeals to citizens and legislatures to:

> learn from the account that has been given of the German inhabitants of Pennsylvania, to prize knowledge and industry in agriculture and manufactures, as the basis of domestic happiness and national prosperity.[34]

He reminds these constituents that the Germans are the "only pillars" of revolutionary American society who could support the newly written constitution.[35]

Was there any validity to Rush's estimation of the Pennsylvania Germans? A number of his contemporaries corroborated much of what he said—both the positive and the negative.[36] But recent research on rural America, particularly, women in rural America do not support Rush's idyllic portrait of Pennsylvania German farm life in the essay,[37] and we cannot forget that his essay was a promotional piece for a college fundraising campaign. Despite his questionable historical accuracy and ulterior motives, however, his glowing, idealistic view seems to have generated that same power of myth that other Noble Savage literatures possess. It was the first essay of its kind, and seems to have garnered credibility, so much so that Rush was cited as a primary source on the habits of the Pennsylvania Germans in *Pennsylvania Folklife* as recently as 1992.[38]

If there is any significance in this link between Rush's essay and the Noble Savage tradition, perhaps it lies in linking a seminal document in the construction of a regional, ethnic identity to the larger strains of European and American thought. Or, perhaps it lies in uncovering an irony in the history of American culture. Today, Pennsylvania Germans along with other German-Americans are thoroughly integrated into and identified with the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant, middle-class majority against which contemporary ethnic minorities must struggle for recognition. It is surely ironic that the Pennsylvania Germans, from their earliest arrival in the American colonies well into the twentieth century, suffered discrimination on the basis of their language, accent, and humble origins just as visible ethnic minorities do today. But to discover that the

Pennsylvania Germans were once regarded as Noble Savages like the ancestors of many of today's minorities only adds to the irony, and suggests that our majority might have more reason to identify with minority groups than it remembers.

Susquehanna University
Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania

Notes

[1] Benjamin Rush, *An Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania*, Schmauk and Rupp, eds. (Lancaster: The Pennsylvania German Society, 1910). Hereafter cited as *Account*.

[2] Hoxie Neale Fairchild, *The Noble Savage: A Study in Romantic Naturalism* (New York, 1961); Gaile McGregor, *The Noble Savage in the New World Garden: Notes Toward a Syntactics of Place* (Toronto, 1988); a great deal of research on the development of the Noble Savage concept has drawn on the reports of voyages transcribed by Hakluyt in the sixteenth century, to which the reader is referred, Richard Hakluyt, *Voyages*, 8 vols. (London, 1907).

[3] Fairchild; McGregor.

[4] Fairchild; McGregor; for the development of the Wild Man myth see Lynn Frier Kaufmann, *The Noble Savage: Satyrs and Satyr Families in Renaissance Art* (Ann Arbor, 1979).

[5] Kaufmann, 35-41.

[6] Fairchild, 2-4; McGregor, 12-16; Cornelius Tacitus, *The Agricola and the Germania*, trans. and introd. H. Mattingly (Baltimore, 1948), 101ff.

[7] Fairchild, 8ff; McGregor, 12ff.

[8] Hakluyt, 4-8.

[9] Benjamin Bissell, *The American Indian in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven, 1925), 41, 54; Fairchild, 15-21, 25-26, 45-50, 52-56, 127-28, 470-71; McGregor 15-25; Gilbert Chinard, *L'Amerique et le reve exotique dans la litterature francaise au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1913), 366-99.

[10] W. G. Smith, ed., *Hobbes's Leviathan* (Oxford, 1909), 97.

[11] Fairchild, 122-39.

[12] Bissell, 38-54; Chinard, 401-30; Fairchild 121-271; McGregor, 24-29.

[13] McGregor, 41; Emmerich de Vattel, *The Law of Nations: Or, Principles of the Law of Nature; Applied to the Conduct and Affairs of Nations and Sovereigns* (New York: S & E Butler, 1805), book 1, chapt. 8, 160-61.

[14] Fairchild, 121-271; McGregor, 24-29; Roy Harvey Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization* (Berkeley, 1988), 69-73.

[15] Michel Guillaume Jean de Crèvecoeur, *Voyage dans la Haute Pennsylvanie* (Paris, 1801), 25-41.

[16] McGregor, 46ff.

[17] These "prerequisites" to the view of a person or people as Noble Savages are rarely discussed but will be expanded in a larger work in progress. Particularly significant to the continuity of the concept within the Pennsylvania German community is the vacillating popularity of Amish and Old Order Mennonite communities, which has always diminished in times of war in Europe and in America because of their refusal to bear arms. Peace seems to be an absolute prerequisite to regarding a person or people as Noble Savages. For more an this phenomenon in the Amish and Old Order Mennonite community see Donald B. Kraybill, *The Riddle of Amish Culture* (Baltimore, 1989), 5, 26, 210, 217-18.

[18] For a review of Rush's upbringing and education the reader is referred to his numerous biographies and autobiography: James Arthur Bonar, *Benjamin Rush and the Theory and Practice of Republican Education in Pennsylvania* (Ann Arbor, 1965); Carl Binger, *Revolutionary Doctor: Benjamin Rush, 1746-1813* (New York, 1966); John Donald D'Elia, *Benjamin Rush: an Intellectual Biography* (Ann Arbor, 1965); Harry G. Good, *Benjamin Rush and His Services to American Education* (Berne, 1918); Nathan G. Goodman, *Benjamin Rush: Physician and Citizen, 1746-1813* (Philadelphia, 1934); David Freeman Hauke, *Benjamin Rush: Revolutionary Gadfly* (New York, 1971); Winthrop and Frances Nielson, *Verdict for the Doctor* (New York, 1958); George W. Corner, ed., *The Autobiography of Benjamin Rush* (Princeton, 1948).

[19] Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., and L. H. Butterfield, eds., *My Dearest Julia: The Love Letters of Dr. Benjamin Rush to Julia Stockton* (New York, 1979).

[20] Ibid., 17, 43, passim.

[21] Ibid., 15, passim.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid., 7, passim.

[24] Ibid., 15, passim.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid., 13.

[27] Ibid., 16, passim.

[28] Ibid., 26.

[29] L. H. Butterfield, *The Letters of Benjamin Rush*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1951). Hereafter cited as *Letters*.

[30] Bonar, 55.

[31] Bonar, 59.

[32] *Letters*, I, 353.

[33] Bonar, 55.

[34] *Account*, 110.

[35] *Account*, 111, passim.

[36] Crèvecoeur; Jonas Heinrich Gudehus, "Journey to America," *Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society* 14 (1980): 185-329; Gottlieb Mittelberger, *Reise nach Pennsylvanien*, trans. Carl Theo Eben (Philadelphia, 1898).

[37] Joan M. Jensen, *Loosening the Bonds: Mid-Atlantic Farm Women: 1750-1850* (New Haven, 1986); Jean R. Soderlund, "Women in Eighteenth Century Pennsylvania: Toward a Model of Diversity," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 115 (1991): 163-83; Lisa Wilson Waciega, "A 'Man of Business': The Widow of Means in Southeastern Pennsylvania, 1750-1850, *William and Mary Quarterly* 44 (1987): 40-64; G. S. Rowe, "The Role of Courthouses in the Lives of Eighteenth Century Pennsylvania Women," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 68 (1985): 5-23; Sharon V. Salinger, "'Send No More Women': Female Servants in Eighteenth Century Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 107 (1983): 29-48.

[38] Amos W. Long, Jr., "The Rural Pennsylvania-German Home and Family," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 42 (1992): 16.

Gerhard K. Friesen

Who Wrote the *Journal of Du Roi the Elder*?

One of the most informative accounts left by soldiers serving with the German contingents on the British side during the American Revolution is the so-called *Journal of Du Roi the Elder*. The manuscript is owned by the Library of Congress, where it is ascribed to August Wilhelm Du Roi, a lieutenant and adjutant in the service of the duke of Brunswick under General Burgoyne.[1] Charlotte S. J. Epping's translation of it appeared in 1911 as a book in the series *Americana Germanica*,[2] after having been published in the quarterly *German-American Annals* of 1910.[3] According to the half-page preface by Marion Dexter Learned, who edited the monograph series as well as the periodical, the translation was undertaken and published at the instance of Joseph G. Rosengarten, an authority on the role played by Germans in U.S. military history. Learned's own reputation as a leading scholar undoubtedly went a long way to recommend Epping's book, which was never critically reviewed. As a translation that is far more readable than reliable it actually fell short of Learned's own standards.[4] But even more unsatisfactory is Epping's failure to state the authorship problems inherent in the German original. This essay intends to show that what is known as the *Journal of Du Roi the Elder* is really the work of four different writers.

The manuscript at the Library of Congress consists of unlined sheets, most of them measuring approximately 15.5 by 20 cm and bound in two volumes whose respective blue covers are inscribed "No. 3 bis 6" and "N[o]. 7 bis 10," respectively. These numbers refer to the following consecutive parts:

> No. 3. 106 numbered pages of text, including four drawings, plus one unnumbered page [107]. An untitled diary from 6 February 1776 until April 1777, covering the voyage of the first contingent of Brunswick troops from Stade to Quebec;

observations on the history, geography, flora, fauna, and population of Canada; and an outline of the military operations against the American insurgents along the St. Lawrence and northern Lake Champlain. A marginal note added to the first page identifies this part as "Tagebuch des in herzogl[ich] Br[aunschweigischen] Diensten stehenden Lieutenants und Adjutants [sic] du Roi des Älteren."[5]

No. 4. 10 unnumbered pages. "Zusätze und Veränderungen zu Herrn Leistens Beschreibung des brittischen America," listing numerous naturalist observations to supplement the book *Beschreibung des Brittischen Amerika zur Ersparung der englischen Karten.* Von Christian Leiste, Conrector an der Herzoglich großen Schule zu Wolfenbüttel. Daselbst gedruckt mit Bindseilschen Schriften, 1778.

No. 5. 40 numbered pages, plus three unnumbered pages with an order by General Burgoyne (dated Skenesborough, 10 July 1777) inserted between pages 18 and 19, plus a colored sketch of the British-German Army's battle formation. "Feldzug im Jahr 1777 gegen die Rebellen von Canada aus, unter Commando des General-Lieut. John Bourgoyne,"[6] in diary form, from 6 May to 12 November 1777.

No. 6. 11 numbered pages. "Freye Gedanken über den Feldzug des General-Lieut. John Bourgoyne."

No. 7. 51 unnumbered pages. "Vierte Fortsetzung des Journals vom 7ten bis zum 31ten August 1777," relating the Brunswickers' activities in Burgoyne's advance south along the Hudson from Fort Edward to the Battenkill, including the battle of Bennington on 16 August 1777.

No. 8. 51 unnumbered pages. "Auszug aus den [sic] Journal der Bourgoyneschen Armee, von Boston bis nach Virginien," from 28 October 1777 to 7 March 1779. An account of the Convention Army's eight-week, 700-mile winter trek from Cambridge in Massachusetts to Charlottesville in Virginia, followed by a description of the soldiers' living conditions there.

No. 9. Miscellanea written on various sizes of octavo paper, and consisting of

(a) 7 unnumbered pages. Notes on the value of various domestic and foreign currencies then circulating in North America.
(b) 6 unnumbered pages. Notes on North American plants and animals.
(c) 8 unnumbered pages. Data on U.S. geography and population.

No. 10. Two items:
(a) 34 unnumbered pages. An untitled orderly book in English, dated Ticonderoga, 12 July to 11 August 1777.
(b) 2 unnumbered pages. An order in French, issued by General Sir Guy Carleton at Quebec on 4 August 1776.

From the preceding list of its components it is clear that the so-called *Journal of Du Roi the Elder* does not constitute a continuous record but rather a collection of loosely related heterogeneous materials, with no. 5 and no. 7 overlapping chronologically. As will be seen, there are also some basic differences in intent and perspective.

According to contemporary usage, all the German texts are written in Gothic script (*deutsche Kurrentschrift*), while Latin characters are used for names and non-German words. Three different handwritings are manifest: one for nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, and 10; another for no. 7; and a third one for no. 8. There are also several minor additions by a fourth hand, including the numbering of the volumes and sections as well as the above-mentioned attribution to Du Roi, which is followed by the note "S[iehe] Schlözers' [sic] vertrauliche Briefe aus Kanada und Neuengland vom Jahre 1777 und 1778 aus den [sic] Briefwechsel Heft 23 und 24" (3: 1). Since Epping's translation includes this without comment, at least two bibliographers have mistakenly construed this as a significant clue for Du Roi's identity.[7] By converse but erroneous logic, Emil Meynen went so far as to designate Du Roi as the author of the anonymous *Vertrauliche Briefe aus Kanada und NeuEngland*, whose repeated publication by August Ludwig Schlözer in 1779 was such a sensational success. The simple explanation for the Schlözer reference entered by the fourth hand is that the same hand added three brief excerpts from the *Vertrauliche Briefe* by way of amplification on related topics in the *Journal* (two separate passages on 3: 87, one on 3: [107]).[8] Also by the fourth hand are text fragments on two slim strips of paper left in the manuscript as markers, one of which cites "Harris Gesandschaftsreise [sic] von 1841 im 12. Bande der Weltkunde Seite 281." This turns out to be a reference to the sixteen-volume series *Die Weltkunde in einer planmäßig geordneten Rundschau der wichtigsten Land- und Seereisen* (Leipzig, 1847-55), of which volume twelve, *Reisen in den Nil-Ländern Afrika's und Arabien*, was published in 1854. It

is therefore reasonable to conclude that the fourth hand is probably that of a learned collector or compiler who in 1854 or later[9] may have planned to publish no. 3 along with the other documents numbered sequentially by this person. This writer's difficulty with the dative case, which is symptomatic in all the eighteenth-century Brunswick military journals I have read, suggests that he or she was a North German. Nothing else about this person can be ascertained from the manuscript.

For no. 3 and thus also for nos. 4, 5, 6, 9, and 10 the authorship of August Wilhelm Du Roi can be safely established. The Stadtarchiv in Braunschweig owns a manuscript written in a different hand and acknowledged to be a later copy of his diary.[10] Except for minor variations in orthography, it is identical with no. 3. Since the Braunschweig text has smoothly integrated a number of additions and corrections by the writer of the version in the Library of Congress, no. 3 must be the older manuscript, very likely in Du Roi's own handwriting.

August Wilhelm Balthasar Du Roi was born on 25 May 1744 in Braunschweig as the son of the military judge-advocate Ascan Christoph Du Roi and his wife Sophie Cordula, née Saur. In a fit of depression he drowned himself on 23 March 1814 in his native city. This is the outline of his military career:[11]

1762	Ensign in the infantry regiment Prinz Friedrich.
1767	Lieutenant in the same regiment.
1776	Adjutant in the same regiment.
1776-83	Served with this regiment in North America.
1783	Captain in the same regiment.
1788-94	Served with this regiment in Maastricht.
1801	Major in the regiment Prinz Friedrich, renamed von Warnstedt as of 1803.
1807-08	Held by the French as a prisoner of war in Metz.
1808	Lieutenant Colonel in the army of the Kingdom of Westphalia, which included Brunswick.
1813	Return to Brunswick service as Generalkriegskommissar with the rank of major.
1814	Lieutenant colonel.

Du Roi's service in one and the same regiment, from the end of the Seven Years' War until Napoleon abolished the Brunswick army in 1806, is very unusual among Brunswick officers of his time and indicates that he was steadfast and competent. His regiment was one of six, totaling 4,300 men, sent to Canada under the 1776 treaty between the duke of Brunswick and the British crown. The Brunswick corps accounted for almost half of Burgoyne's 1777 invasion army, if one discounts a fluctuating number of largely ineffectual Loyalist and Indian irregulars.

After returning to Brunswick in 1783, most soldiers and officers were dismissed as the duke reduced his army for fiscal reasons to about one half of its former strength.[12] Since Du Roi was not only retained but repeatedly promoted, he must have been appreciated as an exceptionally capable officer. His American journals (nos. 3 and 5) and attendant collectanea (nos. 4 and 9) characterize him as a keen, diligent, and honest observer with a genuine love of learning. In early 1776, his journal shows, he does not even know the names of the thirteen American colonies that have declared their independence from Britain. A year later he has gathered enough information to improve on the recent encyclopedic book on North America by Lessing's learned correspondent Leiste. The scientifically trained company surgeon Julius Friedrich Wasmus, who was stationed not far from Du Roi, claims that a lunar eclipse visible in Germany on 31 July 1776 could not be observed in La Prairie "since the sun rises here 5 hours later than in Braunschweig," and goes to bed.[13] Du Roi stays up, observes the phenomenon, and calculates from it the exact time difference between the City of Quebec and Braunschweig (3: 66). In no. 3 he carefully defines the limited extent of his own experiences as a subaltern officer in the regiment Prinz Friedrich to explain the restricted scope of his journal (3). A passion for truth and moral integrity but also astute discretion are manifest in his critical reflections about the failure of Burgoyne's 1777 campaign (no. 6). He has never been afflicted with *Autorsucht*, he writes, and these thoughts are to be shared only with his brother (1). His first North American journal, on the other hand, was written for his *Landesleute* and other readers (3: 6), probably with publication in mind.

As a lieutenant and adjutant of the regiment Prinz Friedrich, Du Roi took part in Burgoyne's ill-fated 1777 campaign. In July, while the bulk of the army was slowly moving from Lake Champlain south towards Albany, Du Roi's regiment and one from the British contingent remained behind to garrison Fort Ticonderoga and the adjacent Mount Independence,[14] a fact corroborated by Du Roi's own journal (5: 25, 28-31, 39-40) and his orderly book (no. 10). After Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga on 17 October, under the terms of a convention signed by both sides, and the march of his army into *de facto* captivity at Cambridge, Massachusetts, the British forts on southern Lake Champlain had to be evacuated. Du Roi's regiment returned from Fort Ticonderoga to Canada where he spent the remaining six years of his North American sojourn without enemy contact. In light of this, he could not have authored no. 7 and no. 8. The former was written by a participant in the British-German army's advance along the Hudson to the south of Ticonderoga. His immediate access to important and detailed military information and his intimate knowledge of the interior of a house temporarily occupied by

Burgoyne make it likely that this writer was a high-ranking officer with direct access to or excellent informants in the army's headquarters.

Unlike no. 7, no. 8 offers sufficient clues to positively identify its author. At the outset of the Convention Army's March to Virginia, after a one-year stay at Cambridge, General von Riedesel appoints him Commissary in charge of transportation, provisions, and quarters for the second German division under Brigadier Specht ([1]). He receives forage money commensurate to his rank of lieutenant ([12]), and at the end of the march in Charlottesville he is ready to resume his regular duties as adjutant in the regiment Specht. All these details point to Anton Adolf Heinrich Du Roi, August Wilhelm's younger brother, with whom no. 6 was to be shared. This is corroborated by the fact that the handwriting in no. 8 is identical with that in two ascertained autographs by him.[15] Born 30 April 1746 in Braunschweig, he lived until 19 August 1823. His professional career is circumscribed by the following dates:[16]

1767	Ensign in the infantry regiment von Rhetz.
1768-71	On half-pay.
1771	Lieutenant in the regiment von Rhetz.
1776	Adjutant in the newly established infantry regiment Specht.
1776-83	With this regiment in North America.
1783	Joined the infantry regiment von Riedesel.
1790	Captain.
1788-94	Stationed in Maastricht.
1804	Major and tutor of Prince August zu Braunschweig-Lüneburg.
1814	Lieutenant colonel.

He and the regiment Specht were part of the Convention Army captured at Saratoga,[17] and his signature is on the Cambridge Parole List of 13 December 1777.[18] An entry in the unpublished journal of Riedesel's adjutant, Lieutenant Friedrich Christian Cleve, confirms that the younger Du Roi was appointed *Commissair* for the Brunswickers' second division commanded by Brigadier Specht.[19] He must have returned to Canada in the spring of 1781, when almost all the captured Brunswick officers in Virginia were exchanged. A roster written before December 1781 lists him as second lieutenant in the regiment Prinz Friedrich, where his elder brother was a first lieutenant and adjutant.[20] In the context of the Brunswick officer corps, where few lieutenants were younger than twenty-five and forty-year-old ones were not unusual,[21] the younger Du Roi's career was as distinguished as his brother's.

As the author of the anonymously and speedily published *Tagebuch der Seereise von Stade nach Quebec in Canada* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1776),

Anton Adolf Du Roi shows the same characteristics as in his journal of the march to Virginia. Whereas the elder Du Roi is always looking for more information and rational explanations, his younger brother is usually content with the obvious. When August Wilhelm sails for Quebec (23 March to 1 June 1776), he lists all the ships in the convoy, their tonnage, nationality, captains, and the names and ranks of all the Brunswick officers assigned to each (3: 9). When Anton Adolf makes the same voyage a few months later (31 May to 17 September 1776), his journal offers such specifics for only the *Friesland* that takes him to Portsmouth, and for the *Lively* to which he transfers there.[22] It is the elder Du Roi who again systematically records the complete information on all the vessels carrying the second contingent of Brunswick troops after their arrival in Quebec (3: 77). Unlike the studious and somewhat pedantic August Wilhelm, the younger Du Roi is a casual observer who prefers the pleasures of appetite to those of the intellect. Gregarious and personable, he has an eye for pretty women and easily makes friends wherever he goes. It seems that he charmed all the people he met in North America except the Pennsylvania Dutch townspeople of Lancaster and York.[23] In Virginia he is a sought-after guest among the gentlemanly plantation owners of Albemarle County who cultivate the art of pleasant living. His knowledge of English was undoubtedly an important asset in his contacts with Americans. He begins to learn English aboard the *Lively*, where his tutor is the captain's wife. By the fall of 1778 he must have been fairly proficient, and it is because of his ability to speak English that he is appointed march commissary (8: [2]). In the half-hour meeting between George Washington and Brigadier Specht in Fishkill, New York, on 29 November 1778, Anton Adolf Du Roi functions as interpreter ([12]). Had August Wilhelm Du Roi been there, he would have left more than the mere seven lines his brother devotes to this occasion. In spite of his cheerful insouciance and incidental brevity, Anton Adolf's diary is important for its firsthand documentation of the Brunswick troops' arduous winter march to Charlottesville and their reception there. Via Epping's translation this account figures as a unique source in William Dabney's 1954 history of the Convention Army.[24]

To sum up: The manuscript of the so-called *Journal of Du Roi the Elder* translated by Epping is actually the work of four different writers. One of them is responsible only for minor additions made in 1854 or later. Of the *Journal's* eight parts, six (nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, and 10) are by August Wilhelm Du Roi, one (no. 8) is by his younger brother Anton Adolf, and one (no. 7) by an unidentified Brunswick officer in the Burgoyne campaign.

Wilfrid Laurier University
Waterloo, Ontario

Notes

[1] John R. Sellers et al., comps., *Manuscript Sources in the Library of Congress for Research on the American Revolution* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1975), 85.

[2] *Journal of Du Roi the Elder*, tr. Charlotte S. Epping, Americana Germanica 15 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1911).

[3] New Series 8 (1910): 40-64; 77-128; 131-244.

[4] "He scorned the popular demand for readable books as something unworthy, tending to lower scientific standards. He tended to 'let truth unadorned radiate from the documents.'" Albert Bernhardt Faust, "Marion Dexter Learned," *DAB* 11: 78.

[5] This is preceded by the barely legible ambiguous phrase "Zu behalten," which may mean to keep or to remember.

[6] Since the eighteenth-century German spelling in the manuscript, including that of names, is often so erratic as to be termed "heterography" rather than orthography, I have not called attention to any deviations.

[7] Philipp Losch, *Soldatenhandel. Mit einem Verzeichnis der Hessen-Kasselischen Subsidienverträge und einer Bibliographie* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1933), 103; Emil Meynen, *Bibliographie des Deutschtums der kolonialzeitlichen Einwanderung in Nordamerika* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1937), 272.

[8] Corresponding to *Vertrauliche Briefe aus Kanada und NeuEngland vom J. 1777 und 1778. Aus Hrn. Prof. Schlözers Briefwechsel*, ed. Lothar Zimmermann, Deutschkanadische Schriften ser. B 2 (Toronto: German-Canadian Historical Association, 1981), 55 (two passages) and 39-41, respectively. Epping (59) translates one of these additions but omits the other two without comment.

[9] Unfortunately, the Library of Congress's nineteenth-century records are incomplete and do not indicate when and from whom the manuscript of the so-called *Journal of Du Roi the Elder* was acquired. Letter of 8 March 1994 from James H. Hutson, Chief of the Manuscript Division.

[10] Bestandssignatur H VI 6: 80.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Otto Elster, *Geschichte der stehenden Truppen im Herzogthum Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Heinsius, 1899-1901), 2:429.

[13] *An Eyewitness Account of the American Revolution and New England Life, The Journal of J. F. Wasmus, German Company Surgeon, 1776-1783*, tr. Helga Doblin, Contributions in Military Studies 106 (New York, Westport, London: Greenwood Press, 1990), 26.

[14] Elster, 2:397, 401.

[15] "Gesammelte Nachrichten für das Regiment des Herrn Obristen Specht vom Jahre 1776" and "Tage-Buch Des Marches und der Reise der zweyten Division Herzogl. Braunschweigischer Troupen vom Ausmarsche aus der Festung Braunschweig bis zur Ankunft in Amerika," both under Bestandssignatur VI Hs 11, Nr. 76, in the Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv in Wolfenbüttel.

[16] Information received in letters of 24 April and 13 June 1987 from the Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv in Wolfenbüttel.

[17] Elster, 2:407.

[18] Karl J. R. Arndt, "The 1777 Saratoga Surrender of German Mercenaries and Its Importance for American-German Genealogical Research," *Genealogical Journal* 6 (1977): 194. The parole defined the area around Cambridge that the British and German officers were not allowed to leave.

[19] 1 Nov. 1778. Copy in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. The original in the Preußisches Staatsarchiv was destroyed in the spring of 1945, according to a letter of 5 July 1993 from the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin.

[20] Elster, 2:420.

[21] Elster, 2:458-59.

[22] [Anton Adolf Du Roi], *Tagebuch der Seereise von Stade nach Quebec in Amerika durch die zweyte Division Herzoglich Braunschweigischer Hülfsvölker*, Von einem Offizier unter des Herrn Obersten Specht Regiment, ed. Gerhart Teuscher, Deutschkanadische Schriften ser. B 3 (Toronto: German-Canadian Historical Association, 1983), 41 and 60.

[23] They believed a rumor that the British crown had given Lancaster to General Riedesel in recognition of his services and that the Brunswickers were coming to claim this new possession. William Dabney, *After Saratoga: The Story of the Convention Army* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1954), 55.

[24] Dabney, 53-64.

Timothy J. Holian

Cincinnati and Its Brewing Industry: Their Parallel Development Through the German Community

Even a cursory study of Cincinnati reveals that two of the main components of the character of the city are its rich brewing heritage and the prominence of its German community. The connection between the two is clear: The image of Cincinnati has been stereotyped traditionally in the image of men with large beer steins, filled to the rim, firmly in hand as they eagerly approach their fellow man, saying in earnest, "Vas you efer in Zinzinnati?," to quote the popular Burger Beer advertising campaign of the post-Prohibition era.

The stereotype aside, there can be no doubt that the brewing industry and the German community have played a significant role in shaping the history and cultural development of Cincinnati. Beginning around 1840, the immigrating Germans, arriving in record numbers, began to exert a tremendous influence on the culture of the city, not coincidentally at the same time as they were becoming a dominating force in the brewing industry.

The following study is designed to illustrate the growth and prosperity of Cincinnati's German brewing industry, and the brewers themselves, within Cincinnati's developing industrial base, during the half century representing the golden age of Cincinnati brewing history, along with the growth of the city as a center of German-American life. Previous works, such as William L. Downard's excellent survey *The Cincinnati Brewing Industry: A Social and Economic History* and Robert J. Wimberg's *Cincinnati Breweries*, have examined the history of brewing in Cincinnati, while authors such as Don Heinrich Tolzmann and Guido Andre Dobbert have chronicled extensively the role of the German community within Cincinnati. To date, however, there has been little written examining in detail the relationship between the local German community and its

important brewing industry.[1] While the period before 1840 was largely an era of foundation and growth, and the period of 1890 until Prohibition in 1919 a time of economic stagnation and decay, the fifty-year interval in-between witnessed one of the most significant contributions by the German-American community to Cincinnati's, and indeed America's, economic and social development.

In order truly to understand the role the Germans played in transforming the local, as well as national, brewing industry, one must first look at the status of the brewing industry before the year 1840. In the early 1800s, shortly after the founding of Cincinnati in 1788, the brewing industry and process was largely British-influenced and oriented. So-called "common beer" was produced, top-fermented brews rich in flavor such as ale, porter, and stout, in small, old-fashioned breweries. Cincinnati's first documented brewery was founded by Davis Embree by January 1812, occupying two-and-one-half square blocks along Main Street;[2] it was likely a single-building, one-story brick and wood brewery which blended in with other businesses in the area.

But in the years to follow, primarily after 1840, the incoming Germans and the lager beer style they were developing rapidly came to dominate the brewing industry, the British influence on beer and brewing waning virtually to the point of extinction.[3] Lager beer, a bottom-fermenting brew with a smooth, crisp, clean taste, was developed in the 1830s by two brewers, Gabriel Sedlmayer, of Spaten Brewery fame in Munich, and Anton Dreher of Vienna. With lager beer and the lager brewing process came larger, more modern and efficient breweries, as different from their English predecessors as the brews themselves were.

Most of Cincinnati's German brewers came directly to America from Germany; these German immigrants, like many others, came for economic, social, political, and religious reasons, seeking a new start for themselves and, in some cases, for their families. Some of these immigrants who figured in Cincinnati's brewing industry came from brewing families in Germany, but the majority did not; most had worked as farmers, blacksmiths, coopers, carpenters, and in other such trades,[4] and were eager to put their skills to use in a new land before entering into the brewing business. While they had come as poor immigrants and settled in Cincinnati, working hard for low pay, they were thrifty, and were able to save money gradually and open their own businesses, eventually buying or founding breweries, on their way to becoming wealthy and active community leaders.

Like other German immigrants, these brewers-to-be were widely characterized as proud, honest, honorable people, willing to work hard to succeed. Further, their cultural interests brought a new and exciting atmosphere to the life seen in everyday Cincinnati, one which not only brought together the new immigrants into a unified, popular society

within town, but also brought numerous benefits for long-time residents. The character of the city soon changed from being primarily British in background to being essentially German in nature, resulting in Cincinnati becoming widely known as a "German town." In particular, one area became the dominant focus for the German community: Over-the-Rhine. This section of the city, located just north of downtown and directly across the Miami and Erie Canal, was home to a close-knit German community and numerous social establishments, with an overall cultural feel of being a "little Germany" in the midst of Cincinnati. A further parallel was drawn based on the geography of Cincinnati; nestled in a basin amongst several hills, the city's location was reminiscent of the Rhine River Valley for many of the immigrating Germans.

Beginning in earnest in the 1830s, and continuing unabated for several decades, German immigrants poured into Cincinnati to an unprecedented degree, making the city one of the most "Germanized" in the country in an amazingly short period of time. The numbers speak for themselves: Cincinnati's German-born population went from 53 in 1800 to 400 in 1820, then up to 1,120 in 1830. In 1840, the local German-born population had reached 3,440, and by 1850, following the initial arrival of the so-called "forty-eighters," the number of Germans calling Cincinnati home had swelled to 30,758, and by 1870, the number of Cincinnati's German-born stood at 49,446.[5] In 1830, the city's German stock represented about 5 percent of the overall population of the city. By 1840, though, the percentage of Germans exceeded 25 percent, with the 1850 total of German-born in the city amounting to 26.6 percent of Cincinnati's total population.[6]

Generally speaking, then, the Cincinnati Germans began to be a major influence on the direction in which the city would go from the 1840s onward. As the immigrants began to make up a higher proportion of the city's population, they became more and more involved in activities within the city, accomplishing many necessary work projects, providing a consistent pool of willing manpower, cultural diversity, and, eventually, founding a number of businesses in industries for which Cincinnati would become famous, most notably in the booming brewing industry.

By 1850, the number of Germans coming into Cincinnati was significantly higher than for any other ethnic group. It was inevitable that the tremendous German population would have a major effect on the character of the city, especially in terms of the growing brewing industry. With the growth in popularity of lager beer, introduced from Europe by the immigrating Germans, a notable increase in the number of breweries in Cincinnati could easily be seen. In 1851, there were still only eight breweries in the city; however, by 1856, there were seventeen listed, and by 1859 the total had risen to thirty-six,[7] presumably suffering no lack of business. Similarly, one can see that the expanding brewing industry in

Cincinnati was of great importance to the economic welfare of the city. In 1836, only 70 people were employed in local breweries, but by 1851 the total had risen to 172, and by 1859 industry growth saw the rise in the number of Cincinnati brewery employees to 315.[8] Additionally, a number of firms, often owned by Germans, began to spring up throughout town, specializing solely in brewers' supplies and equipment.[9] Thus it came as no surprise that, in 1860, Cincinnati was the third-largest brewing city in the United States and continuing to grow.[10]

Contributing to the huge market for German beer in Cincinnati was doubtless the rapid population growth of the city in the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1840, Cincinnati's population stood at approximately 46,000. But with the continuing arrival of German immigrants, the city's population exploded, reaching 115,436 by 1850 and approaching 200,000 by 1860.[11]

Along with the increasing population figures, several other factors must be cited which led to the increased output of Cincinnati's German brewers during this critical period of growth. For example, Cincinnati benefited greatly from its location; most notable for the brewing industry was the ready availability of grain from the Midwest for brewing, along with abundant water sources, an adequate transportation system including the expansive Ohio River, a canal system and the emerging railway system, the presence of a viable cooperage industry in the city, as well as a growing customer base. Another factor instrumental in the growth of the local brewing industry was the relatively low start-up cost of a brewery at the time; in the 1850s, a modestly equipped but fully functional brewery could be built and put into service for about one thousand dollars, an amount which tended not to be prohibitive for the thrifty German immigrants.[12]

One important by-product of the wave of immigrants coming into Cincinnati was the founding of a number of local societies to bring these Germans together. They helped achieve a long-standing desire within the German community to create an atmosphere reminiscent of home, on which various interests and activities of the individuals involved were based. Singing societies, literary clubs, and groups from particular regions or cities came together to help satisfy the intellectual, artistic, political, and social needs of the Germans and their community.

Two of these immigrant organizations stand out in Cincinnati's German history for their ability to bring together the local German community as well as to provide widespread cultural benefit for all Cincinnatians. The *Turnverein*, founded in 1848, was a stabilizing, unifying force in Cincinnati's German community, credited with having introduced physical education into the city's public schools in the 1860s, in addition to maintaining, and even improving, the caliber of the teaching of German in Cincinnati's public schools. For their part,

Cincinnati's German brewers actively encouraged their employees to participate in such a movement, under the premise that physically fit employees would be more productive workers.

Additionally, the *Pionierverein* was considered by many to be Cincinnati's largest and most successful German society, lasting from its founding in 1869 until 1961. One of its greatest strengths was its goal of boosting the German immigrant's self-awareness, thus helping the group function as a link between generations of German immigrants past and present. By tastefully showing honor and appreciation of Cincinnati's German background, the club won widespread respect and admiration throughout the city. With members and contributors such as Heinrich Armin Rattermann, the club also won a solid reputation in German circles around the country, with its historical journal *Der Deutsche Pionier*, published from 1869 until 1887, frequently cited as a model for other efforts at German-American scholarship; even today, the journal is recognized as one of the most outstanding sources for the study of the history of Germans in America.[13]

In a sense then, the period of 1840 to 1870 represented a time of increased and better-defined presence for the German community within Cincinnati. However, the period of 1870-90 was to represent the apex of Cincinnati's German presence, with continued immigration, a consolidation of power within the city, and further growth at all levels leading to a boom phase for the German community, particularly in its brewing industry.

Cincinnati's German brewers were encouraged by the growth and prosperity they had witnessed, but were far from fully satisfied with their previous successes. During the important decades of the 1870s and 1880s, Cincinnati's German brewers implemented several key improvements and refinements, along with some timely inventions, which allowed them to attain unprecedented success. During this period, there were a number of improvements made in brewery machinery, equipment, and facilities which were of great help to the individual brewers, leading to greater efficiency in brewing, filling, storage, transportation, and marketing. Breweries were being remodeled, or built new, to include such devices as elevators, engines, pumps, and electricity, thereby mechanizing the plants and saving time and effort in the brewing processes. Beer bottling began in earnest in the 1880s, making it possible to export beer in larger quantities to other regions, and even countries, and open up new markets. In 1871, the Gambrinus Stock Company became Cincinnati's first beer bottler; by 1876, five bottlers existed in Cincinnati, with the figure rising to eleven in 1879[14] and more than doubling by the end of the 1880s. Several of Cincinnati's German brewers, most notably Christian Moerlein and Windisch-Muhlhauser, established their own bottling concerns, the National Lager Beer Bottling Company and the Lion Bottling Company

respectively, to bottle not only their own beers but also those of competing Cincinnati brewers.

Another innovation crucial to the prosperity of Cincinnati's German brewers was the invention and proliferation of ice machines. Given the fact that lager beer, in fermenting and aging, had to be maintained at a temperature approaching thirty-five to forty degrees Fahrenheit, the need for an efficient way to keep the beer cold became acute with growing output levels. These revolutionary machines would render obsolete the practice of gathering and storing unwieldy chunks of ice, often from faraway places such as the Great Lakes and Wisconsin, as well as allow brewers to maintain lagering facilities within the breweries. Previously, Cincinnati's German brewers had been forced to utilize artificial cooling methods, such as dissolving ice in copper tubes, or using dug-out hillside caves as cellars and sub-cellars for storing the massive barrels of lager beer with ice. A further benefit in using the new ice machines was the decrease in ice costs, from $7.00 to $8.00 per ton under the traditional gathering and shipping method to only $1.50 per ton with machines.[15]

Finally, a key development relating to brewery buildings during the boom phase was the physical improvement of brewery facilities, beyond a purely functional level. In the late 1800s, brewery buildings were built not just for brewing efficiency, but also for aesthetic value. While earlier breweries resembled many other manufacturing concerns and showed no concern for embellishment, later brewery buildings were grandiose structures, featuring high arches, plentiful windows, and ornamentation which served to make each brewery unique. Many of Cincinnati's German brewers even constructed statues, monuments, or towers to pay homage to key figures, such as pioneers in the brewery's history or the legendary King Gambrinus. In each case, the goal was to make each concern appear as a unique, yet majestic and impressive business, one which made a statement as to the individuality of each German brewer and the success each had attained.

With their rise in wealth, Cincinnati's German brewers assumed an even more significant role in the community, especially but by no means exclusively among the German-Americans. They became philanthropists, donating to worthy causes as well as investing in their community. Reasons for the brewers' desire to make donations varied; some were personal, such as the religious or individual desire to help others, while others were business-motivated, in an effort to promote their products. Still others were expressing a desire to give something back to the people, largely German, who had supported them and their businesses for many years. While some brewers made substantial, well-publicized gifts to society, others were content to make small, private gifts, particularly to the German community, while continuing to reinvest money in their companies.

Several examples will serve to illustrate the extent of the philanthropy of Cincinnati's German brewers. When the Cincinnati Zoo was in danger of closing in the 1880s, following the death of founder Andrew Erkenbrecher in 1881, John Hauck came to the rescue; the local beer baron bought up the zoo and its property for $135,000, then leased it all to a designated land company for 99 years. In that manner, the long-term survival of one of Cincinnati's major cultural institutions was assured. Hauck also demonstrated his community spirit in being a Mason and an Odd Fellow as well as serving as president of both Cincinnati's German National Bank and, for a time, the Cincinnati Reds.[16] His son Louis was just as active, succeeding his father as president of the German National Bank as well as serving as president of the Cincinnati Gas and Electric Company, a post he resigned at the onset of World War I in fear of a public backlash against the German community, which would harm the well-being of the company.

Another local brewer, Georg Klotter, became highly visible in Cincinnati's German community after achieving business success. Besides becoming a member of the *Liedertafel Sängerbund*, he helped establish the German Protestant Orphanage Society, was a founder and president of the *Cincinnatier Brauer-Bund*, was the first treasurer of the *Deutsche Pioniergesellschaft* and served as director of the *Deutsche Gegenseitige Versicherungsgesellschaft*.[17] George Moerlein, successor to patriarch Christian Moerlein in the large and profitable family brewery, was also a success as a botanist as well as in many other endeavors. As a businessman, he was sole proprietor of the Georgia Granite Company, and as a writer he documented a lengthy journey around the world with friends in his 1886 book *Eine Reise um die Welt*. More notably, as a politician, Moerlein was the leading figure in the Elm Street Republican Club, which struggled in vain against Cincinnati's political czar, fellow Republican Boss Cox. Finally, Ludwig Hudepohl founded one of the city's best known *Sängerbund* groups, the *Männerchor*, in addition to serving on the board of directors of the Golden Jubilee *Sängerbund*. He was also a member of the *Plattdeutsche Vogelscheiten Gesellschup*, a group of northwestern Germans.[18]

In short, Cincinnati's German brewers of the 1870s and 1880s benefited greatly from numerous inventions and refinements which made brewing considerably more efficient and cost-effective, allowing plant and market expansion as market demand increased. In turn, Cincinnati's German brewers became wealthy, respected figures in the city, who utilized their newfound fortune and influence to give much back to the local German community. Such efforts not only enabled Cincinnati's German element to solidify its presence in the city, but also created a deep citywide source of goodwill and respect for the Cincinnati Germans which would last until the outbreak of World War I.

Also worth noting is the level of interaction between Cincinnati's German brewers and their employees. Given the fact that the founders of Cincinnati's breweries were German, it is not surprising that their employees tended to be German as well. With most of Cincinnati's breweries at the time located in the Over-the-Rhine area, most brewers lived and worked alongside their employees; a cordial employer-employee relationship was the rule rather than the exception, markedly more so than in other Cincinnati industries of the time.[19] Brewers would often interact with their employees with little regard for positions or social class differences; since many of the workers were fellow German immigrants, there tended to be a feeling that employers and employees were connected by a greater bond, leading to a strong feeling of mutual respect and healthy interaction.

To this end, the most frequent gathering place in the 1870s and 1880s for Cincinnati's German brewery owners and workers was the saloon. It was not uncommon, for example, to see brewer John Hauck at a saloon across from his Dayton Street Brewery, sitting with some of his managers and a few employees following a hard day of work. Hauck enjoyed finding out firsthand what the likes and dislikes of his employees were as well as their general interests outside of the plant. His employees in turn acquired a high regard for their employer, feeling that they could trust him with their opinions without giving offense or placing their jobs in jeopardy, leading to a more open and productive work environment than was seen in any other Cincinnati industry of the day. Other brewers were often just as willing to enjoy the camaraderie and German atmosphere with their fellow German workers, bringing a long working day to a jovial close in a preferred saloon, over several of their own brews.

Far and away the largest number of saloons in Cincinnati was located in the Over-the-Rhine area, particularly so on a portion of Vine Street where a remarkable 136 saloons were in operation by 1890.[20] In 1865, there were 804 saloons open in Cincinnati; by 1874, the number had risen to 1,296, and by 1883 Cincinnati drinkers could choose from any of 1,890 saloons located citywide,[21] though well over half of that total was in Over-the-Rhine alone.

A typical German saloon of the 1880s was a sight to behold, as a gathering spot for Cincinnati Germans who loved a social luncheon or evening out among friends. Notable is the fact that saloons were almost exclusively a place for men to gather; wives and children, for example, were more likely to accompany the men to one of the many beer gardens located in the Over-the-Rhine area as well as to massive hilltop resorts overlooking the city.[22] Traditional German elements were used in decorating the saloons, in an effort to attract customers and make them feel at home. On the walls one could find paintings representing the best

of German art and artists, including depictions of cultural icons such as Beethoven, Mozart, and others. Statues and busts of German cultural greats also could be seen, while vases filled with fresh-cut, fragrant blooms added a bit of color to the wood furnishings. Most of the men gathered in the main, front room, alongside the ornate carved wood bar or at heavy oak tables, while those seeking to conduct business in relative quiet did so in one of the available side rooms. Beer was served exclusively on draft, at the going rate of five cents per glass, or twenty-one for a dollar. The waiters, usually fellow Germans, became central figures by nature of their workload. One non-German Cincinnatian, D. J. Kenny, described the German waiters in 1875, in the process offering an image which Cincinnati residents held of their admired German *Mitbürger*:

> The Transrhenane waiter is above all things a man to be pitied, and a man to be admired. To be pitied because he seems to be perpetually on those not very fat legs of his with never a moment's time for a private dive into one of those glasses he hands about to his thirsty patrons literally by the hundred. He often brings them by the ten or a dozen in each hand. He is to be admired for his imperturbable good nature, for his freedom from flurry, his constant sobriety, and that prompt memory which rarely, if ever, makes a mistake in the precise number of beers, mineral waters, or glasses of wine ordered, or the exact table to which they are to be brought. He is a capital fellow, and probably 'takes his' in the afternoon before his night work commences.[23]

Another key feature of the German saloon trade was the free lunch, a tradition in which customers were given free food with the purchase of beer. Such a tradition was commonly seen around the noon hour, when German brewery workers and others would stream in thirsty from work. An 1887 description in the *Cincinnati Enquirer* tells of what the typical German visitor could choose from:

> Sample rooms generally set a lunch of roast beef, olives, crackers, and cheese. The beer saloons have a greater variety, and always greasy food and salt fish of some kind. It is spread on a cheap wooden table. The meat is cut in chunks and piled on a big platter; on others are chopped herring, anchovies, Russian sardines, black bread in pieces an inch square, big fat white radishes, potato salad, pumper-nickel, blood pudding cut in slices. Every customer or lunch grabber is expected to buy a glass or so of beer, or grog.[24]

While such generosity had its ulterior motives, namely to sell more beer, other figures inside the saloons were more above-board in their aspirations. Most saloons were frequented by another German businessman, the so-called "Wiener-Wurst Man." Each day, and especially in the evening, this Vienna sausage vendor would enter the saloon with the intention of selling his wares, likely procured from Cincinnati's expansive pork industry, to hungry patrons looking to have a snack with their fresh beer. According to D. J. Kenny:

> The Vienna sausage-man is another well-known character 'Over the Rhine.' He is constantly to be met with, and is known by every body. He carries with him a large tin full of sausages, while a small boy by his side bears the bread, the salt, and the pepper. He is a man not without wit, but of an aspect which the irreverent declare to be bordering upon the ludicrous.[25]

In such ways, and through such figures, Cincinnati's saloons became almost exclusively associated with its German element. While the attention was, for the most part, positive,[26] the rise of the Anti-Saloon League and the Prohibition movement inevitably would take on an anti-German image, which with the outbreak of World War I would lead to the association of beer and brewing completely with the German element, and would hasten the outlawing of brewing in the United States from 1919 until 1933.

While Cincinnati's German brewers did very well for themselves during the period of 1870 to 1890, this was but an extension of the success that the local German community had attained during the same time period. Such was the case that, as Cincinnati's German brewers experienced their personal golden age during this boom phase, so too did Cincinnati Germandom as a whole. Not coincidentally, local brewers took on positions of leadership within the framework of German institutions in town, such as schools, the church, and the press. In many cases, successful German brewers contributed healthy financial sums to these pillars of the German community, in an effort to keep them strong for the growing German population and future generations.

Shortly after the Civil War, the third wave of German immigration into Cincinnati, as elsewhere, began in earnest. It would continue into the 1890s and to a lesser extent up to the outbreak of World War I. These German immigrants were able to assimilate as well as their predecessors, establishing themselves as welcome members of the Cincinnati population while at the same time contributing to the unique German flavor of the city. Similarly, the educational atmosphere, in which many German schools and institutions allowed children of German immigrants to

maintain a strong feel for the immigrant community, fostered preservation of German customs within American society.[27]

While Cincinnati's German societies continued to prosper during the period, it was the church which was most responsible for holding together successive generations of German families and bringing together the German community. By 1870, the local German Protestant church membership had reached 30,400.[28] Additionally, the German Methodism movement began in Cincinnati, largely due to the work of Wilhelm Nast, who beyond providing leadership was a major contributor of articles to the popular Methodist paper known as *Der Christliche Apologete.*[29] Also prominent within the local community were German Catholics, with membership numbering 49,960 in 1870.[30]

Further, the role of the German-language press in Cincinnati must be considered relative to the German community and its growth along with the city. In addition to the church and school, the local German-language press represented one of the pillars of the German community, serving to unite Cincinnati Germans, provide leadership and direction for the German element, educate newly arriving immigrants in the ways and customs of America, and preserve traditional German values and customs, all the while helping readers to incorporate them into the emerging American value system.[31] Though none of Cincinnati's German brewers are known to have participated actively in German-language newspaper publication, they consistently provided important advertising dollars until the onset of Prohibition, helping to support the many such publications which appeared during the mid to late-nineteenth century. Consequently, the local German-language press was able to establish itself as a focal point within the German community, serving as a sort of common denominator for Germans of all religions and personal convictions in gaining news and views both locally and from Germany. Perhaps not unexpectedly, though, criticism occasionally was leveled at the local German-language press, with some claiming that in its thoroughness it helped to retard the immigrants' assimilation process as well as that the press assisted in creating stereotypes detrimental to the position of German-Americans within American society, particularly with regard to the oft-mentioned notion of "personal liberty." Still, the success of Cincinnati's German press was indisputable: During the 1890s, local circulation of German-language daily newspapers grew by 24.4 percent, a sign of progress for the German community despite the fact that a decline in the number of German-born citizens in Cincinnati had also been seen within the previous decade.[32]

In sum, we can note two major periods of growth for Cincinnati's German community and its brewing industry, both of which paralleled and greatly influenced the city's growth and development as a whole. The first major period, from the 1840s until about 1870, can be seen as the

early phase of dominance for Cincinnati Germans and the brewing industry they revolutionized. It was a period of consolidation and expansion, marked by high levels of German immigration, significant growth of the industrial base, and the emergence of the city as one of the powerhouses of the growing western sector of the nation. The second major period, the boom phase, lasted from around 1870 to 1890, and featured a high level of cohesion among the immigrant population and an expanded sphere of influence for the city's German element, most notable among its German brewers and their philanthropic gifts not only to the local German community, but indeed to the city as a whole. While the German element would continue to thrive in Cincinnati until the entry of the United States into World War I, an exodus of Germans from the Over-the-Rhine area, a polarization of employer-employee relationships with the growth of labor unions, and many other factors meant that the German element in Cincinnati would lose the prestige and unity it held before World War I, itself a huge turning point in the history of Germans in America. Nevertheless, the intertwined growth of Cincinnati's German community, its brewing industry, and the city as a whole during the middle of the nineteenth century is secure in history, and continues as a remarkable case study of the importance the German element played as an immigrant group in the historical development of the United States.

University of Cincinnati
Cincinnati, Ohio

Notes

[1] More detailed information relating to the present study can be found in Timothy J. Holian, "Cincinnati's German Brewing Heritage and the German Community: A Study of Their Rise, Prosperity, Decline and Survival," M.A. thesis, University of Cincinnati, 1990.

[2] William L. Downard, *The Cincinnati Brewing Industry: A Social and Economic History* (Athens, Ohio UP, 1973), 8. Robert J. Wimberg, *Cincinnati Breweries* (Cincinnati, Ohio Book Store, 1989), 34, claims that Cincinnati's first brewery was established as early as 1806 at the foot of Race Street, by a certain James Dover. Substantive documentation to bear this out has yet to surface.

[3] See also Wimberg, 97. Cincinnati's most famous German brewer, Christian Moerlein, began his brewing operation with Adam Dillman in 1853 by brewing "common beer." By the next year, lager beer was first produced at Moerlein's Elm Street Brewery, with all production of "common beer" discontinued in 1870. This pattern appears to be typical for most of Cincinnati's German brewers of the day.

[4] Numerous examples may be cited, including Bavarian Brewery owner Wilhelm Riedlin; Christian Moerlein; and Jung Brewing Co. founder Daniel Jung, who worked as blacksmiths; Bruckmann Brewery founder Johann Caspar Brückmann, who worked as a carpenter; Foss-Schneider Brewery founder Ludwig Schneider, who worked as a barrel maker; Lackman Brewing Co. owner Herman Lackman, whose first employment in Cincinnati was at a mill; and Schaller-Gerke Brewery cofounder Johann Gerke, who was initially employed as a brick moulder and wood chopper, to name but a few.

[5] Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *The Cincinnati Germans After the Great War* (New York: Peter Lang, 1987), 5.

[6] Downard, 11.

[7] Williams & Co., *Williams' Cincinnati Directory* (Cincinnati: Williams, 1851, 1856, 1859).

[8] Downard, 19.

[9] Beyond a significant cooperage industry, Cincinnati Germans also founded or worked in copper works, which made brew kettles; iron works, which outfitted breweries with piping; and brass foundries for the manufacture of metal fittings. Further, the German community was well represented in hop merchant and grain storage businesses, companies which supplied brewers with necessary raw materials.

[10] Susan K. Appel, "Buildings and Beer: Brewery Architecture of Cincinnati," *Queen City Heritage* 44.2 (Summer 1986): 3-21.

[11] Downard, 22.

[12] Downard, 25. In some cases, purchase of land rights added a considerable sum to the price of building a brewery, especially if the site was considered to be prime territory. For example, in 1857 Joseph Schaller and Johann Schiff, in looking to expand their initial brewery venture, purchased a plot of land on Plum Street, alongside the Miami & Erie Canal, for the sum of $14,000. See also Wimberg, 117.

[13] Of particular interest in examining Rattermann's contributions to German-American history are Heinrich Armin Rattermann, *Gesammelte Ausgewählte Werke*, 16 vols. (Cincinnati: Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1906-12). Regarding *Der Deutsche Pionier* specifically, see also Marc Surminski, "Heinrich Armin Rattermann und 'Der Deutsche Pionier,'" M.A. thesis, University of Cincinnati, 1988.

[14] Williams' City Directories, 1872, 1876, 1879.

[15] Downard, 40

[16] During the latter part of the 1800s and early 1900s, Cincinnati brewer and distiller involvement in the operation of the Cincinnati baseball club was extensive. John Hauck had been preceded as president of the Reds by his uncle, George Herancourt, another Cincinnati brewer. Hauck also served a stint as vice-president of the team in the late 1880s, with his son Louis serving as team secretary and treasurer at the same time. Additionally, Julius and Max Fleischmann, of Cincinnati gin and yeast manufacture fame, purchased the team in 1902 and maintained control of operations for some ten years. See also Richard Miller and Gregory L. Rhodes, "The Life and Times of the Old Cincinnati Ballparks," *Queen City Heritage* 46.2 (Summer 1988): 30; Lonnie Wheeler and John Baskin, *The Cincinnati Game* (Wilmington, OH: Orange Frazer Press, 1988), 38, 139.

[17] Wimberg, 11.

[18] Wimberg, 69. For a more detailed discussion of several Cincinnati German brewers, their backgrounds and philanthropic interests, see (author unknown), *Cincinnati und sein Deutschthum* (Cincinnati: Queen City Publishing, 1901).

[19] Cordial relations between Cincinnati's German brewers and their employees remained consistent, at least until the 1879 founding of the "Brauer Gesellen Union" and its subsequent attempts to alter the prevailing state of labor in the local breweries. For a detailed discussion of Cincinnati brewery owner-worker relations, see Downard, 97-124.

[20] Stephen Z. Starr, "Prosit!!! A Non-Cosmic Tour of the Cincinnati Saloon," *Festschrift for the German-American Tricentennial Jubilee Cincinnati, 1983*, ed. Don Heinrich Tolzmann (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Historical Society, 1982), 49.

[21] Williams' Cincinnati Directories, 1865, 1874, 1883.

[22] See Downard, 31, 66-68, 69-72, 86, 128, 153. Beer gardens and hilltop resorts, although places for entire families to go on weekends for a picnic atmosphere or boisterous evening out respectively, were greatly affected by the passage of the Owen Law in April 1888. The law specifically forbade the sale of intoxicating beverages on Sundays, which beyond being the Sabbath was also most Germans' day off work for the week. While beer gardens suffered from a drop in revenue and a declining customer base due to the new law,

they would survive until the onset of Prohibition. On the other hand, most of Cincinnati's hilltop resorts had closed by the 1890s, with only the Price Hill House remaining open in 1898. Saloons survived the Owen Law more resourcefully, due in part to their smaller size and established tradition in Over-the-Rhine. Many saloons posted lookouts to watch for policemen on the beat; upon sight of a policeman, a warning from the lookout caused all alcoholic beverages to be temporarily stowed away. Still other saloons were even more successful, managing to bribe the officer on duty and convince him to look the other way.

[23] D. J. Kenny, *Kenny's Illustrated Cincinnati* (Cincinnati: R. Clarke, 1875), 134.

[24] quoted in Downard, 67.

[25] Kenny, 135.

[26] As the German community began to move out of Over-the-Rhine in the 1890s and 1900s, some local saloons turned to various notorious vices in an effort to stay afloat, most notably gambling and prostitution. Such activities inevitably helped push saloons in general into a position of ill repute, aiding subsequent efforts by Prohibitionists to associate saloons and beer drinking with a decline in spiritual values. In the 1910s, Prohibitionists would seize upon a growing anti-German sentiment with the approach of American entry into World War I, successfully convincing the American public that the German community maintained a virtual monopoly on the brewing industry and, theoretically, was capable of pulling together large sums of money from beer sales to send to Germany and donate to the German war machine. Feeding on the anti-German hysteria, Prohibitionists were able to hasten the enactment of legislation which, while initially seen only as a wartime measure, ultimately would outlaw virtually all brewing from 1919 until 1933.

[27] For a detailed discussion of bilingual education in Cincinnati, see Carolyn R. Toth, *German-English Bilingual Schools in America: The Cincinnati Tradition in Historical Context*, New German-American Studies / Neue deutsch-amerikanische Studien, vol. 2 (New York: Peter Lang, 1990).

[28] Tolzmann, 12.

[29] Tolzmann, 12.

[30] Tolzmann, 12.

[31] Guido André Dobbert, *The Disintegration of an Immigrant Community: The Cincinnati Germans, 1870-1920* (New York: Arno, 1980), 264.

[32] Dobbert, 99.

Thomas P. Baldwin

The Public Image of Germans in Louisville and in Jefferson County, Kentucky, 1840-72

The general public has entertained at times widely differing views of the character of Germans and German-Americans. As we know, this ethnic group has sometimes been praised and sometimes vilified. Such gyrations in public esteem have been especially pronounced in the case of Germans living in Louisville and in Jefferson County, Kentucky. An investigation of the public perception of Germans during the period 1840 to 1872 will illustrate, in particularly dramatic fashion, the fickle nature of public approval accorded this ethnic group.

Although this essay will concentrate on the time frame 1840 to 1872, a brief look at an earlier period will place the period under consideration in a larger context. Germans or individuals of German extraction came to Louisville from the days of its founding. The first tax list of Jefferson County was issued in 1789. On this list are Michael, George, and Leonard Bruner and John Rose. The Bruner family had emigrated from Mannheim, Germany, in 1726 and became landowners in Maryland.[1] John Rose was a member of a German family who had previously settled in New Jersey.[2] Another early German-American family in Louisville was the Hite (Hayd) family. They were originally part of a group of Palatine Germans who had come to New York early in the eighteenth century. These families seem to have been readily accepted in Jefferson County, for in 1788 Abraham Hite represented Jefferson County at a pre-statehood convention and from 1800 to 1803 he served in the senate of the Kentucky General Assembly.[3]

There are no records of direct immigration from Germany to Louisville and Jefferson County in these early days, but rather we see a pattern of families coming from Germany to the East Coast of the United States and slowly moving on to the frontier. These families had in common with the more numerous Anglo-Saxon early settlers the fact that

they were forced to adapt to the rough-and-ready life required by the frontier.

Also, there seems to be no record of conflict based on Anglo-Saxon versus German ethnicity in Jefferson County in the first part of the nineteenth century. On the contrary, Karl Bernhard, the younger son of Karl August of Weimar visited Louisville in 1826 and was received into the leading homes of the community. Bernhard gives a favorable account of his visits with the postmaster Gray, at whose home he attended a wedding party. Bernhard was taken on a tour of the local hospital by the prominent physician, Dr. Ferguson, and he was a guest of the Croghans at Locust Grove.[4]

In the years 1840 to 1850 the population of Louisville more than doubled, from 21,000 to 43,217.[5] This rapid growth was in part due to the introduction of the steamboat. The steamboat first appeared in Louisville in 1811 on its way to New Orleans from Cincinnati, but regular steamboat traffic between Louisville and New Orleans was almost a decade in coming. After approximately 1820, however, direct immigration from Germany became easier. One could leave from a German port, land in New Orleans, and go by steamer directly to Louisville.

Still, the number of German immigrants increased only slowly. It was not until 1836 that there were enough German Catholics for a German-speaking parish to be established.[6] Further evidence of the slow growth of the German population may be seen in the failure of Louisville's first brewery, the Spring Brewery, established in 1840 by Georg W. Barth. Ludwig Stierlin, Louisville's German historian, attributes this failure to the small number of Germans in Louisville and to the American preference for whisky.[7]

After 1848, however, a substantial number of Germans arrived in Louisville. These were in some cases refugees from the failed 1848 Revolution. Since the Germans in the late 1840s and early 1850s often came by boat load, the immigration was sometimes in a dramatic fashion. In the spring of 1849, for example, the steamer *Winfield Scott* landed with more than 400 Germans on board.[8] Stierlin himself was one of the forty-eighters. He had eluded the Prussian police and escaped to Belgium and later settled in Louisville.[9] He was in Louisville in June 1851 and described the arrival of the steamer *Midas*, loaded with Germans, in this way:

> Der Dampfer hatte die armen Auswanderer wie die Häringe im Verdeck zusammengepackt. 40 waren unterwegs gestorben und Viele starben noch kurz vor der Landung vor New-Albany. Die hiesigen Deutschen thaten für die Armen, was in ihren Kräften stand.[10]

Public opinion began to be divided on the benefits of the addition of such large numbers of Germans. Ben Casseday, the author of *The History of Louisville*, published in 1852, was well-disposed towards the local Germans. He says that in 1852 there were 18,000 Germans among a population of 51,726.[11] Of those Germans he wrote that they were a "careful, painstaking, and industrious people, of quiet unobtrusive and inoffensive manners; and in the majority of instances men of some education and ability" and were "one of the best classes of our population."[12] But not everyone was of that opinion. Walter N. Haldeman, the editor of the *Louisville Daily Courier* took a nativist stance beginning around 1845 and was not at all friendly to the Germans.[13]

The complaints against the Germans were the usual ones: they did not respect the sabbath, they all voted for one party, there were too many Catholics among them, and some of the others were infidels. On the subject of the sabbath, Haldeman was especially irritated and, it seems, touched with more than a little secret envy. He wrote in the *Daily Courier* that there are those who make no concealment of their

> detestations of the old-fashioned, hum-drum, puritan method of opening the first day of the week. These make each Sunday a Saturnalia, and with all their might are attempting to Europeanize our population. Americans are ever fond of novelties, especially if brought from across the water, and it is amusing to see how perfectly they adapt themselves to enjoying German music and Lager beer, and Hockenheimer and Bremen cigars, in a pleasant retreat like the Woodland.[14]

It sounds almost as if he himself would have liked a beer and a good cigar on Sunday.

These objections should have been harmless enough, for they were often heard about German-Americans elsewhere. The Louisville situation was, however, different in two respects. First, nativists became particularly strong in Kentucky in the mid-1850s. These individuals and groups, sometimes called Know-Nothings, favored native-born citizens over immigrants and distrusted people of unfamiliar habits, speech and religion, especially Roman Catholics. On the national level the nativist American party was enjoying some success by 1854, and by 1856 was strong enough to nominate former President Millard Fillmore as its presidential candidate.

In Louisville and in Kentucky in the 1850s the nativist or Know-Nothing party gained supporters even as the Whigs were losing them. By 1855 the Know-Nothings had elected a governor, controlled both houses of the state legislature and elected a Know Nothing city administration in Louisville.

Secondly, not only did the period after 1848 bring large numbers of Germans to Louisville, but Louisville became for a time the home of the most radical element of the forty-eighters. Karl Heinzen, Wilhelm Weitling[15] and others called Louisville home for a while and during that period were active in organizing for radical causes at the local and national level. Heinzen came to Louisville in 1853 to edit the *Herold des Westens*. The forty-eighters formed in Louisville several radical organizations such as the *Bund freier Männer* and the *Bund freier Frauen*, as well as labor organizations. In 1854 Heinzen along with Bürgeler, Stein, L. Wittig, and B. Domschke published the "Louisville Platform." It called for, among other things, such "radical" measures as granting full civil rights to freed slaves and to women, a minimum wage and a maximum number of working hours, a stricter separation of church and state, and the abolition of the death penalty.

As one may imagine, this platform gained much attention among the local German and non-German population. Stierlin, who was in agreement with and close to the platform drafters, wrote:

> Diese 'berühmte Louisviller Platform' brachte eine der beabsichtigten geradezu entgegengesetzte Wirkung hervor und trug, statt die erhoffte große Stimmenmacht im Jahre 1856 zu erzielen, nur dazu bei, die Ausbrüche des Knownothingismus zu beschleunigen.[16]

Stierlin's description was correct. Nativist sentiments, as we have seen, became ever stronger after 1854. One manifestation of the increased influence of the Know-Nothings was that the influential Louisville *Daily Journal* took up the Know-Nothing line. The *Daily Journal*'s editor, the eloquent George D. Prentice, assumed a virulent anti-German, anti-foreigner stance in his editorials in 1855. He wrote, for example, of "the overweening and most pestilent influence of the foreign swarms. . . ."[17] These editorials contributed to the atmosphere in which an anti-German, anti-Irish riot occurred on election day, 6 August 1855. The riot resulted in the death of at least fourteen and perhaps as many as two hundred people.

This "Bloody Monday Riot" was the nineteenth-century nadir of the German image in Louisville, and the luxuriant blossoming of German intellectual and cultural life in Louisville in the early 1850s was stunted by the events of a day or two. A good number of Germans left the city and some German-owned businesses closed. The editor of the Louisville *Anzeiger* wrote that if this was the way life in Louisville was to be, he was prepared to leave:

> Die Gesammtheit der Bevölkerung soll entscheiden, ob Louisville sich noch zu den *gesitteten* und *civilisirten* Städten der Welt zählen dürfe; Jeder erwäge diese Frage und wenn wir eine Majorität gegen uns haben, so verzichten wir auf jeden Anspruch noch ferner Bürger dieses Dorfes zu sein.[18]

Louisville's Germans were so discouraged about the local situation that on 14 August 1855 around two hundred persons, mostly Germans, met and formed a society for leaving Louisville, the "Amerikanischer Auswanderungs-Verein in Louisville."[19] The group even sent a delegation to Kansas to look for a suitable place to found a new town, although little came of the idea.

The discouragement of the Germans who stayed in Louisville lasted only a few years, however. The slavery question in America became ever more pressing, and in the violent resolution of the slavery question through the Civil War, Kentucky's Germans received a new respect and acceptance. Even though Kentucky was a border state, the direction which the Louisville Germans would take at the beginning of the Civil War was clearly indicated by their participation in a pro-Union rally of thirty thousand persons comprised of Germans and non-Germans which took place on 22 February 1861 in front of the Louisville courthouse. Stierlin says that Germans participated as organized groups: "Alle deutschen Vereine waren mit ausgerückt."[20]

When at the end of June 1861, with Kentucky still observing a policy of neutrality towards the war, Lovell H. Rousseau began to form two Union regiments at Camp Holt on the Indiana side of the Ohio, the Louisville Germans were ready to volunteer. On 3 July, a Louisville machinist by the name of Schweitzer formed a company together with John B. Emig. The first lieutenant's name was Wehrle and the second lieutenant was Karl Gütig.[21] On 16 July a second German company arrived under the leadership of Haupthoff.[22] Stierlin's account of large numbers of volunteers for the Union cause among German-Americans from Kentucky is corroborated by Eugene Miller in his article "The Contribution of German Immigrants to the Union Cause in Kentucky".[23] He demonstrates in detail the major role that Germans from Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky played in the early battles of Mill Springs and Munfordville.

Vigorous defense of the Union by Kentucky's Germans was not lost on the inhabitants of Louisville. Through their readiness to support and to volunteer for the Union cause, German-Americans in Kentucky showed that they were loyal Americans who were willing to risk their lives if that was required to defend their adopted country. The Know-Nothings who were pro-Union recognized this, since they saw that the Germans supported maintaining the Union.[24] Stierlin writes,

> Wir selbst hörten einen entschiedenen Know-Nothing sich äußern: Jetzt sehe er, wie unrecht er den Deutschen gethan, und daß dieselben bessere Amerikaner seien als die Eingeborenen, welche die Union zu zerreißen suchten.[25]

Even the inflammatory Georg D. Prentice was won over by the loyalty to the Union exhibited by the Louisville Germans. Stierlin writes,

> Das "Journal," bisher das entschiedenste Organ der Know Nothings, ward unter Allen hiesigen anglo-amerikanischen Blättern das entschiedenste Organ der Unionspartei und lobte nunmehr die Deutschen eben so sehr, wie es die selben bisher gelästert hatte.[26]

By 1862, the new perception of Germans was beginning to pay political dividends. In the election on 4 August, Phillip Tommpert was chosen as clerk of the city court even though two "American" candidates were running for the same office.[27] In April 1865 this same Tommpert was elected mayor of Louisville. What a difference a decade made. In addition, a German by the name of Rammers was elected tax collector for the entire city and several other Germans were elected to offices.[28] After 1865 Germans were able to establish themselves in prominent Louisville businesses. Before the war, Louisville had had a considerable trade with the South. With the collapse of the slave-based southern economy, a number of businesses in Louisville experienced sharp declines in revenues. The local Germans saw here an opportunity. Stierlin writes:

> Dies kam den sparsamen und thätigeren Deutschen sehr zu Statten; sie brachten ein Geschäft nach dem andern an sich, so daß ganze Geschäftstheile der Stadt, in denen vor 20 Jahren entweder gar keine oder nur hie und da eine vereinzelte deutsche Firma anzutreffen war, bereits überwiegend deutsch sind.[29]

Matters continued to go well for the Louisville Germans. By 1870 they felt confident enough to host the very first national convention of German teachers. This took place on 1 September 1870 and was followed by the publication of a newspaper, the *Deutsch-Amerikanische Schulzeitung*, edited by Professor William Hailmann and printed by the Knoefel Verlag in Louisville. This Louisville firm was also prominent in publication of German school texts.[30]

By the time of the German victory in the Franco-Prussian War in 1871, the public image of Germans had risen so much that there was a celebration on 1 May in Louisville in which many "Americans" took part.

The mayor declared a holiday, closed all public offices and schools, and rode along with other city officials in a five-mile-long parade featuring 688 floats which wound its way through the streets.[31] Stierlin wrote an account of the day for the *Volksblatt*, a Louisville German newspaper, in which he says that day deserves to be entered with eternal letters into the history of the city and of the state as a day of honor for the Germans. It was a day which offered them "die glänzendste Genugtuung für alle bisher erduldeten Unehren und Unbilden. . . ."[32] It was a day which surpassed his wildest expectations. He wrote in the *Volksblatt* article:

> Wer ihnen vor sechzehn Jahren, wo sie lediglich wegen ihrer Abstammung gleich beutefreiem Wild durch die Straßen dieser Stadt gehetzt wurden, vorausgesagt hätte, daß schon nach so wenigen Jahren die hiesigen Amerikaner es zur Ehre anrechnen würden, mit ihnen zusammen ein Fest zu feiern, das nicht nur in seinem Character, sondern speziell in seiner Tendenz ein vorzugsweise deutsches sei, wäre als unverbesserlicher Phantast ausgelacht worden.[33]

The glory of the moment was not to be a temporary phenomenon; rather it ushered in the heyday of German-American life in Louisville. German-Americans assumed positions of leadership in all areas of Louisville life and began to make their presence felt even at the state level. In the same year as the victory celebration, Heinrich Krippenstapel, the editor of the *Volksblatt*, was put forward by the state Republican convention as its candidate for state auditor[34].

We conclude our account with the year 1872, a year in which the main occurrences of German-American life in Louisville were the premiere concerts by the Louisville Philharmonic Society and the national meeting in Louisville of the North American "Turnerbund." These two events, representing two important aspects of nineteenth-century German-American life, music and gymnastics, symbolize the flourishing of German-American life in Louisville in the last twenty-five years of the century. To be German or of German ancestry was once again respectable, something of which one could be proud.

Western Kentucky University
Bowling Green, Kentucky

Notes

[1] Robert C. Jobson, "German-American Settlers of Early Jefferson County, Kentucky," *The Filson Club History Quarterly* 53 (1979): 346.

[2] Ibid., 347.

[3] Ibid., 348.

[4] Karl Bernhard, *Reise Sr. Hoheit des Herzogs Bernhard zu Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach durch Nord-Amerika in den Jahren 1825-1826* (Weimar: Wilhelm Hoffmann, 1828), 162-67

[5] Benjamin Casseday, *The History of Louisville* (Louisville: Hull and Brother, 1852), 247.

[6] George H. Yater, *Two Hundred Years at the Falls of the Ohio: A History of Louisville and Jefferson County* (Louisville: Heritage Corporation, 1979), 62.

[7] L[udwig] Stierlin, *Der Staat und die Stadt Louisville unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des deutschen Elementes* (Louisville: Louisville Anzeiger, 1873), 84.

[8] Carl F. Wittke, *The German Language Press in America* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957), 87.

[9] Yater, 62.

[10] Stierlin, 141.

[11] Casseday, 247.

[12] Ibid., 248.

[13] Yater, 66.

[14] *Louisville Daily Courier*, 12 June 1855, quoted in Yater, *Two Hundred Years*, 68.

[15] See Wittke, *Against the Current: The Life of Karl Heinzen* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945) and *The Utopian Communist: A Biography of Wilhelm Weitling, Nineteenth Century Reformer* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950).

[16] Stierlin, 161-62.

[17] *Daily Journal*, 2 August 1855.

[18] *Anzeiger* , 11 August 1855.

[19] Stierlin, 173.

[20] Ibid., 195.

[21] Ibid., 197.

[22] Ibid., 197.

[23] C. Eugene Miller, "The Contribution of German Immigrants to the Union Cause in Kentucky," *The Filson Club History Quarterly* 64 (1990): 462-78.

[24] Stierlin, 193.

[25] Ibid., 193.

[26] Ibid., 193.

[27] Ibid., 202.

[28] Ibid., 212-13.

[29] Ibid., 62.

[30] Leonard Koester, "German Newspapers Published In Louisville," *The American-German Review* (June-July 1954): 27.

[31] *Courier-Journal*, 2 May 1871 (cited in Gwinn p. 287)

[32] Stierlin, 228.

[33] No issues of the *Volksblatt* are extant. Stierlin quotes his own article in *Louisville*, 228.

[34] Stierlin, 229. Further evidence of the positive image and influence of Germans in the state comes from the Kentucky Commissioner of Immigration, Robert Procter, and his secretary, the native German E. A. Fellmer. In 1880, they hired Emil Lindberg to represent Kentucky to immigrants debarking at Ellis Island, and in 1885 they commissioned Heinrich Lembke of Brunswick to visit Kentucky and write a report of his impressions for his compatriots. See John Weissert, "Lembke Visits Kentucky's German Colonies in 1885," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 75 (1977): 222-23. In 1900 Kentucky elected as Governor William Goebel, both of whose parents were German immigrants.

George M. O'Brien

A Minnesotan at the University of Berlin in the 1870s: The Graduate Studies of Alexander Vander Horck

Several years back, a colleague brought me a packet of nearly three hundred pages and scraps of old German script on brittle paper. The bulk of the material turned out to be the full text or parts of 130 letters written to his family in Minnesota by a young American, Alexander Vander Horck (1854-1912), who studied medicine from 1873 to 1878, at the then Friedrich Wilhelms University in Berlin. The correspondence abruptly begins with two Berlin letters in English from December 1873, and then continues in German script.[1] Only Alexander's part of the correspondence has been saved. His letters, almost always written in haste, run from cliché to the mundane to the big event—all in one marvelous, but frustrating, scramble. The letters, apart from passages of routine family chatter, amount to a long soliloquy from a gifted, somewhat self-centered, determined young man.

This report, based on the archival find, is not, therefore, a historical research study of university life in the Berlin of the 1870s. Many of the letters simply record the impressions of a diligent, talented, highstrung, ambitious, self-absorbed, financially strapped young Minnesotan—just a few years away from the American frontier—who found himself accepted into the company of leading scientists in a European capital. The traditional historian may be frustrated at the deadend leads and the lack of corroboration of much found in Alexander's letters. But those who enjoy history as story, as an unfolding of perspective will delight in this unique insight into the developing scientific world at a leading German university during a period in which American academics looked to the new German research university as a model for their own emerging landgrant institutions.

Alexander—the eldest of four brothers—was born 7 February 1854 in Galena, Illinois, to recent German immigrants. John Vander Horck, his

father, was trained in the hardware business. As a political "forty-eighter," he had left his Lower Rhine homeland at age twenty-two in 1852.[2] Alexander's mother, Eliza Zensius, was the daughter of a liberal teacher from the Mosel region who also had felt it best to take his family from a reactionary country to a new life in the United States. John and Eliza married in Galena in 1853 and, in 1855, moved on to Brooklynd (now West St. Paul) in Minnesota. There they opened a grocery store, and John became town treasurer.

When the Civil War broke out, John was commissioned a captain and soon found himself in command at Fort Abercrombie in the Dakota Territory during the Lakota (Sioux) attacks of 1862. The remainder of the war he was stationed with his family at Fort Leavenworth in Kansas. The family had moved to Minneapolis by 1864, but alternated residence from fort to city throughout the war years.

So Alexander's childhood was spent at forts on the American frontier and later in Minneapolis where his father established himself both in the hardware trade and in local politics. Until age eleven, Alexander had been tutored at military outposts; his education then continued in Minneapolis public schools. After graduating at fifteen in 1869 from the old East High School, he received special regents' dispensation for his age to matriculate at the fledgling University of Minnesota.[3]

At that time the university was little more than a preparatory school with a staff of nine professors. The prescribed curriculum listed courses in English, German, classics, algebra, geometry, geography, physiology and drafting. Mondays, there was a lecture on agriculture; Fridays, students practiced rhetoric. And three times a week, the class schedule included "Military Exercises by Maj. Gen. Johnson."[4]

At the University of Minnesota, Alexander came under the influence of Dr. William Watts Folwell, a recently arrived mathematics professor who, at age thirty-nine, was appointed president of the university in the same year (1869) in which Alexander entered the university.[5] Folwell, a native of New York state, held degrees from Hobart College. He had experience teaching languages in an academy and mathematics at his alma mater. Following a year of graduate study in Berlin, Folwell returned to the United States in 1861, for military service in the Civil War. After the war while working in business, he returned to teaching at Kenyon College from where he was soon called to Minnesota. Folwell was one of several new American academic leaders who, from his own experience in Europe, advocated that universities in the United States follow the new German university model. In fact, Folwell was the first to publicly advocate such a reform in his inaugural address as president. In his personal career and teaching, Folwell looked to Alexander von Humboldt as an ideal for the new scientist scholar.

It is not surprising then that the eighteen-year-old Alexander Vander Horck, upon completing the university curriculum, left Minnesota in 1872 for further study in Europe. But he remained proud of the rearing and education he had received, as he expressed in a toast to his parents:

> My thanks first of all to you—you who in the Far West of America have not forgotten the independent German spirit and who have educated my brothers and me, giving us good teachers and a contemporary education. If I have accomplished anything, then it is due to the public, practical education I enjoyed in the 100 year old Republic. [Letter of 15 February 1876][6]

After spending some time in London and at Oxford, he decided to matriculate in the fall of 1873 in Berlin where the Humboldts had been so influential. His choice of medicine showed practical concern for a future livelihood, for his father expected him to return to Minnesota to practice medicine and perhaps to teach.[7] But he was also influenced in his choice of medicine by the fact that in the 1870s, the Charité in Berlin, the public teaching hospital that housed the College of Medicine, had the best-known faculty of the university.

It was to Bismarck's Berlin that Alexander came in the fall of 1873, to study medicine.[8] The newly founded German Empire, its awakening capital city, and the reformed university were all, in their own ways, upstarts. For Alexander—who already at nineteen was himself a self-assured, talented, undaunted upstart—it proved the right place to be.

The capital of the German Reich was becoming a modern city that, it was hoped, would rival New York, London, and Paris. Entrepreneurs had new resources for their schemes in the reparations owed by France in the early 1870s following the Franco-Prussian War. The city was a developing industrial center which attracted the needed work force from rural communities, including Silesia and Polish areas to the east. By 1875, Berlin had grown to a population of about 900,000—with all the attendant problems of high rents, crowded slum housing, increased pressure on public utilities, and the stress generated by growing public health problems.

Here and there throughout the letters, a picture of the developing city emerges: "We're having the nicest May weather; we'd really be able to enjoy it if the warm sun didn't bring forth terrible stenches from all the little corners and back streets. The dust and the Brandenburg snow (as the sand is called here) make the streets miserable" [29 May 1875]. Alexander found Berlin lagged behind other leading cities: "Petersburg is nice, palaces on the Neva, beautiful flowers, everything attractive.

Berlin hasn't emerged yet from the shadows. I find it less developed than all other major cities—but sooner or later" [29 September 1875].

The optimism engendered internationally by liberal trade policies during the economic boom in the early 1870s soon gave way to a growing worldwide depression. It all started when world wheat prices collapsed in 1873 with the new flood of grain from the American prairie, the Argentine pampas and later the Ukraine. By 1878, nations everywhere were retreating from liberal trade policies as grain prices plummeted further, gold dropped in value, companies failed, loans were scarce, and stocks became worthless. Naturally, the bad economic times impacted upon Alexander. The letters reflect his family's severe financial plight in Minnesota and tell of Alexander's schemes to make money so that he might complete his studies.[9] There are touching sections such as the one in which Alexander asks his mother to send him a glove he had forgotten at home so he will not have to buy a new pair for winter. But then there are passages of amusing fiscal naiveté: "I'll probably be getting a piano in the next few days. I've arranged to have Caecil [his roommate from Africa] pay half the cost; in exchange I'll give him lessons. So it will be cheap. Speaking of costs . . . I haven't heated for two months and saved 8 thalers that way. But now it's getting too cold, and we'll have to heat. You can be sure that I don't make any unnecessary purchases" [1 January 1875]. Money worries were to trouble him to the very end of his studies. Even the microscope he begged and scraped so long to purchase had to be turned over as collateral for a loan needed to pay his final medical examination fees.

A quick look at the university is in order before Alexander's tale takes over. The Friedrich Wilhelms University (the modern Humboldt University) in Berlin was a relatively new institution, having been founded in 1809 during the turbulent Napoleonic era under Friedrich Wilhelm III by the most progressive statesman and thinker in Prussia, Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835). It was he who had reformed the German schools while serving as minister of education. He believed the new university should be solidly based upon recent revivals in the liberal arts and philosophy. He also began bringing together the existing trade schools in Berlin—such as the academy of mines, the military medical institute, and the school of agriculture—into the developing research-oriented university. Soon the new university in Berlin was recruiting established scholars from older universities and attracted both talented professors and students by its emphasis on research as the basis for teaching. For example, Rudolf Virchow was called from a professorship in Würzburg to Berlin in 1856, after he had made his breakthrough discovery of cellular pathology. So too, the chemist August Hofmann, following university posts in London and Bonn, was invited to Berlin

where he made his major discoveries in chemical dyes and nitrogen compounds.

The Friedrich Wilhelms University in the 1870s had a student population that, for several reasons, fluctuated considerably from semester to semester. The economic situation caused drastic drops in enrollments. Alexander noted: "Given the poor conditions in Berlin . . . the number of students is falling off. There are about 98 fewer medical students here than last semester, which is a big loss in Berlin" [10 January 1874]. But traditional student behaviors also played a role; some followed the German tradition of attending another university for a semester or a year; some simply dropped out under academic pressure; and still others while completing research and preparing for examinations saved money by not registering for course work. The university, for example, in spring 1877, listed a total of 2,237 students matriculated in all disciplines. However, only 515 were actually registered for courses; 438 of these were Prussian citizens, and 77 came from other German states or foreign countries.[10]

During Alexander's final semester, the college or, as it was called, "Faculty of Medicine" recorded 216 Prussian and 88 students from other states—including fourteen Americans; but only 54 nationals and twelve foreign students were enrolled in courses that spring semester. With a teaching staff of approximately twenty professors in medicine and allied fields, there was a similar professor-student ratio as is found in a present-day American medical school. Course work consisted of lectures open to all students and lectures with accompanying laboratory tutorials limited to approved medical students. For example, the class schedule for spring semester 1875, listed Rudolf Virchow for a lecture on pathological anatomy, five days a week with three two-hour laboratory sections to accompany the lectures. He also scheduled three two-hour pathological histology laboratory sessions for advanced students. On Saturdays, he held a two-hour lecture on diseases of the brain and spinal column that was open to all. That amounted tc nineteen hours a week of lectures and laboratory sessions for a famous professor, researcher, administrator, politician. It is no wonder then that Alexander frequently mentioned the long work days that were expected of him.

The public record of Rudolf Virchow (1821-1902) deserves some attention here for his importance to science, the university and Alexander's own life.[11] It would not be exaggeration to say Virchow was the embodiment of the new research university in Germany. Virchow was one of the first physician advocates for public health policy. The young Dr. Virchow had learned the consequences of government neglect in such matters during a terrible typhus outbreak in Silesia. As a consequence, he became a founder of the most liberal political party in Germany which advocated all matter of health policy and legislation. Virchow battled for these causes for forty years on the Berlin City Council

and later as a member of the Reichstag. He was personally responsible for the creation of modern water and sanitary systems in Berlin, the introduction of city inspection of meat, and the establishment of state-of-the-art hospitals to serve the general public of the city. On the national scene, he introduced the first general survey of school-age children for health screening and for gathering statistical data on the population for scientific study.

It really is not surprising that right from the beginning, Alexander often put in a sixteen or even twenty-hour day in a degree program headed by Virchow. In his first years at the university, he threw himself into his studies and took make-up tutorials in chemistry under Hofmann. He complained that few of his fellow students were as serious as he was and groused that it was essential for students to get to know their professors personally since they seemed to hold arbitrary sway over one's fate. One of several telling passages in the letters explains:

> Yesterday Caecil got two crates and a package from his parents; they contain African ostrich feathers, coral, and a lot of spears, weapons, etc. He gave me some. He also gave a few to different profs here whose favor he needs; this is very important for getting to know them better. Otherwise the professors are so reserved that you don't come in contact with them. By my lucky star I've gotten in with Reichert and Hartmann; but, of course, I've been of service to them. Still I'd like to get to know Professor Bois-Reymond and Hoffman [sic] better. So if you'd send me some things . . . some products of our country, maple syrup and some Indian artifacts of birch bark and a few small bottles of maple syrup, some sugar beets, and a few stuffed birds (hummingbirds, blackbirds and woodpeckers). [29 January 1875]

He tells his parents students need formal attire: "Luckily I had just had a suit of formal wear made. . . . I had to have one especially because I am an assistant. Also as a student, one is to be formally dressed when at a professor's home, also at the examinations and at every little affair" [1 January 1875]. In a later letter he mentions that formal dress was required when he worked long hours in the hospital laboratories such as anatomy and pathology.

Alexander's talent and penchant for hard work were soon recognized, and he found himself not only loaded down with full-time studies but with extra laboratory hours helping several professors. He worked as a research assistant first of all for the histologist and embryologist Karl Reichert, a congenial elderly gentleman who relied upon Alexander's youthful eyesight:

> I was able to make a few discoveries with the microscope while working with the professor. It was "ascidias"—little animals which in nature are just visible to the naked eye and which now the whole learned world is excited about in that, as many maintain, they create the transition to vertebrates which would be like gold for Darwin, etc. But unfortunately this doesn't seem to be the case. So I worked from early morning until late afternoon with the professor who wouldn't let me go because, as he said, I had a good pair of eyes and I had to keep looking through the microscope. This is terribly tiring and stressful. As I already wrote to you, I'm an assistant (famulus) for Virchow. When old Reichert heard that, he didn't want to agree to it at first and told me not to accept. He said I should stay with him because Virchow would twist me around with his theories—at least that was the thrust of his conversation with me. But I told him I didn't have so much time to spend on anatomy. However, I promised to come over and work on the microscope with him. Then he too said I could profit a lot from the Virchow position if I knew how to use it. [2 April 1875]

Alexander's grinding routine is seen in an excerpt from a passage on his work with the anatomist Robert Hartmann, who was also an anthropologist with field experience in Africa:

> I'm still in the best of health even though I get up between 5 and 6 in the morning and don't get to bed until 1 or 2 am. . . . Last night I went along to bury the corpses from anatomy and to bring back fresh ones. It took most of the night. . . . A few days ago I took part in a court-ordered microscopic investigation with Prof. Sonnenschein, the famous chemist, best know for his criminal investigations. I had to check the source of blood spots on an ax and how the deed was done. Through the microscope I found several torn pieces of skin of a deep red color which matched the murder victim. There were also wool strands of violet color from the sleeve of the bathrobe and a bunch of other interesting evidence. They led to a murderer —perhaps the whole case will be built on this. [28 April 1875]

It was his work with Reichert, Hartmann and others that brought Alexander to Virchow's attention. As noted above, Virchow was recognized as the most famous light of the university in the second half of the nineteenth century. "The Matador of the University," Alexander once described him. A man of prodigious drive and talent, Virchow recognized similar qualities in the young American he chose as his

"famulus" or research assistant. Alexander's letters attest throughout that his famous mentor and patron helped shape his own attitudes toward science, research, medicine and public health. Still several passages indicate that Alexander held his ground and was one of the few individuals Virchow treated humanely:

> Even Virchow can't change my mind although I owe him respect in all other matters. At such times he says: "You're such an *individualistic human being* that I can't do anything with you." But he never gets angry. No one else around him dares to tell him the things I say without hesitation. Yes, I've seen the great Virchow sitting in front of me without his mask (unfortunately he does wear one) when he'd bend down close to divulge something or other in confidence. As he told me later, he would guard himself from telling any person as much as he's told me. Those were his very words. Unfortunately, I believe Virchow lacks the slightest bit of simple human love. He tyrannizes his children. They hate him; he's closed his home to them—I don't want to say anything. He's cold toward others with the most bitter sarcasm and irony that ever dwelt in a human being. Given his skilled hand and mind, these make him one of the most feared opponents and statesmen. (He's a member of the Reichstag.) He dissects people without mercy which I often find unjustifiable. (Now that I know him better, he is reason personified, pure—without feelings.) I can't quite figure out what power I have over him, that he's open and kind to me which he isn't even toward his own son. He regularly gives me little things, this or that. It might be his next article or something else—always with the phrase, either spoken or written: "With gratitude and respect." I don't know what I've done to deserve them (he always uses these two terms). I can't explain it to myself. For as I said, I've seen him humble, free of his façade. Sometimes I like him, sometimes I think it's enthusiasm I feel toward a great thinker. . . . I can only say that he has paid me more than I earned and has always wanted the best for me. I do like him, for I can't believe that he's acting out of self interest as his other assistants and various envious professors have tried to convince me. [14 March 1876]

It was mainly through Virchow, who in the 1870s began to concentrate his research on anthropology, that Alexander was introduced to the various learned societies of the day, especially the recently founded Society for Anthropology, Ethnography and Pre-History in Berlin. It was Virchow, the man of international repute, who encouraged Alexander's

dreams, who opened doors abroad for him, who suggested and secured funding for the polar expedition that Alexander undertook in 1875. It was Virchow who told him to enter the academic competition described below. It was Virchow who sent off notes describing Alexander's work to *Nature*, the leading international scientific journal (still published in Britain today). It was Virchow, together with Hartmann and Professor du Bois-Reymond of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, who gave him the opportunity to give lectures on the findings from his polar trip and to print his papers in respected learned journals.

Undoubtedly, Alexander's letters from July through October 1875, which cover his polar trip, are among the most interesting in the whole collection. Polar or Arctic exploration was still a dangerous primary area of international competition in exploration and science. Franz Josef Land, for example, had just been discovered by Austrians in 1872. Whether Alexander was aware of it or not, he was following in the footsteps of the great botanist Linné who went to Lapland to study its flora and inhabitants in the early 1700s. What is interesting is the parallel between the insights and delight of discovery found in Linné's diary from his journey and similar passages in Alexander's jottings.[12]

The twenty-one-year-old American's letters from the journey speak for themselves, of course, but a background passage sheds light on the enterprise:

> Last week Prof. Hartmann asked me whether I wouldn't want to make a scientific trip next summer to the north coast of Europe. It would be to conduct investigations and studies and to collect things, microscopic and anatomical, for the Anthropological Society and the Royal Academy of Science. The Academy would cover some of the travel costs and the preparations. By selling articles and reports to various publications I could cover the other costs. Probably I'll be able to write a work about the discoveries with the help of the professor; this will be an opening for me to the scientific world. It's a great honor which few students have so early in life. I'll keep my great patron, A. von Humboldt, as a model in mind. [29 January 1875]

The primary object of his patrons in financing the trip was that he gather all types of scientific data and samples, especially skulls and plaster casts of living Lapps for ethnological studies and for museums: "I've collected all the material around here that I could. [Earlier gathered materials were already sent back by sea.] There are four large crates filled with skulls of Lapps, bones, etc., together with a lot of plaster casts, in addition to all the zoological things I gathered. But now it's getting so

terribly cold up here that I have to think of heading to the south" [1 September 1875]. Once back in Berlin, he noted: "I really was lucky in the things I gathered for Virchow and the Anthropological Society. I was able to make the first plaster masks of living Laplanders—no one had done that so far—and besides I got a lot of valuable Lapp crania and skeletons" [26 October 1875].

Given his successful trip and the high level of international interest in the polar region, it is not surprising that he was approached soon after his return to Berlin about conducting future expeditions. But financial pressures and the desire to finish his medical studies made him temporarily abandon any thoughts of further scientific journeys of exploration. He did, though, manage to publish several articles in German for the society that had helped finance his trip.[13] He also arranged a visit home in the fall of 1876, which was financed by lectures on the polar trip. He gave talks about his adventures and his findings in British and American cities on his way back to Minnesota. And while at home, he collected plaster casts and artifacts from the Lakota Indians. These he intended to sell to museums upon his return to Europe. His visit to the Lakota also resulted in another published article in Germany.[14]

Given his record of academic success, it is not surprising that Alexander took part in the university's research competition in 1876. At the end of each school year in August, the rector of the university would announce research questions for students to work on in each of the four colleges during the coming year. Interested students were to submit papers documenting their solutions to the problem posed. The following May, when all entries had been submitted, they were turned over to a jury of faculty members to see what awards should be made. During the final convocation of the academic year, winners, if any, were announced. But Alexander best describes his own great day:

> At the end of this, the decisions of the contest judges were announced in Latin. First came the award of the theological faculty . . . then the school of law . . . then medicine. The decision for one question was read, and then came the main question to which I had submitted a written response. The rector paused when he reached this point; all listened intently. Then there resounded in clear words which I will never forget—the Greek motto which my paper bore: "PANTA LITHON KINEI" [he leaves no stone unturned; eds.]. This paper was to receive the first prize with all honors (cum summa laudae [sic]) and a gold medallion—an award *never bestowed before.* I turned red from head to foot as everybody listened attentively for the name of the winner. Until now the name had been kept a secret and lay in a sealed envelope at the front of

the hall. Next two worthy gentlemen stepped forward, tore open the envelop, took out the folded paper, and ceremoniously handed it over to the rector. He looked at it a few seconds in absolute silence. Then he looked up, and I heard my *name ring throughout the hall.* Everyone turned to the one named since I knew many of those present, and I felt as though the whole world was looking at me. I heard a whispering pass along the hall. I tried not to show my own excitement by just staring straight ahead. After this the other results were announced, and a chorale was sung at the conclusion of the ceremony. The rector came straight down from the podium and congratulated me in person. Then the professors came and surrounded me and shook my hand. You can imagine, dear Parents, how I felt. I was completely surprised. I had hoped perhaps for a small prize but expected nothing more. That I got the highest award and the medallion—which was awarded for the first time—was too much. To be *the first American* who was so distinguished by this faculty, and not only that but *the first among the Germans themselves* was more than I dared hope for or than I deserved. After it was all over, old Professor Reichert came to me and gave me one of his bearhugs and a kiss. Then he ran down the hall to the museum and shouted there to his assistants: "*The Horck,*" as he calls me, "The Horck got the medallion." He was as delighted as if he had received the medal himself. [After 3 August 1876]

Archives at the Humboldt University testify to the awarding of twenty-five gold ducats for the first time. A copy of Alexander's study in the medical history library of the U.S. Surgeon General's office shows that Alexander was able to rework his paper into a dissertation for his M.D. degree the following year. Incidentally, he was the first American to graduate in medicine from Berlin.

The Latin saying "nomen atque omen" (a name and an omen, too), seems fitting in the case of young Alexander Vander Horck. Not only did he set out to master the world of science, but his quest took him to three continents. His real model, though, was not Alexander the Great but rather Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859). The great explorer scientist whose name graces everything in the Americas from glacier to ocean current is little remembered today.[15] But the name and image of Alexander von Humboldt, the original proponent of earth sciences and the first ecologist, were the symbol and icon for science in their day that Einstein's have become in the twentieth century. In all likelihood, Alexander Vander Horck was christened in honor of Humboldt. It is

certain that under Dr. Folwell at the University of Minnesota the young man became aware of the deeds and ideals of his famous namesake. And that influenced his choice of the Friedrich Wilhelms University in Berlin for his professional studies. There Wilhelm von Humboldt, as was noted above, had created the modern research university; there Alexander von Humboldt had returned in the 1820s to teach and to organize the first international scientific conferences after his explorations and publications abroad. And there it was that scientists had replaced philosophers and were vigorously expanding and synthesizing primary research findings by mid-century. Alexander noted that Professor Reichert believed medicine was the practical field for synthesizing the findings of the natural sciences and its practitioners were the best trained to lead the type of exploration that Alexander von Humboldt's work inspired [letter of 15 November 1874].

Alexander Vander Horck was a typical nineteenth-century scientist, freethinker and agnostic. Many of his letters elaborate on his beliefs. But they also chronicle the development of a personal cult, a secular reverence for the person and ideals of Alexander von Humboldt. Each year on his own birthday in February and again on Humboldt's in September, the young American disciple went religiously to Humboldt's grave for a moment of meditation and dedication. The burial site is on the grounds of the Humboldt family villa, Schloß Tegel, in a secluded wooded area about eight miles from the university and the old center of Berlin. He describes an early visit:

> The Sunday before last I took a walk to Schloss Tegel to visit Humboldt's grave. I went via Charlottenburg, a distance of 3 to 4 hours. Wonderful weather and excellent air. When I arrived, I found that the niece of Alexander, Frau von Buelow, was in, so I sent my card asking permission to view the villa. Without delay I was received most cordially and was allowed to see the whole building and was even given some breakfast. Then I received permission to take some leaves from the grave area as a souvenir. . . . Enclosed are some leaves from his grave. . . . The family plot was surrounded by an iron fence. In the middle there's a 30 or 40 foot column surmounted by the figure of Hope. [13 June 1875]

Alexander's initial contact with the elderly Princess von Bülow resulted in his being included in the annual family memorial in honor of Alexander von Humboldt. She must have seen something of her uncle in this young American who bore his name. Supposedly, it was at her suggestion and with her approval that Alexander Vander Horck officially

assumed the middle name "von Humboldt" in honor of his patron and as a sign of his determination to carry on in his footsteps.

Alexander's final year and a half in Berlin were busy interning and studying for his final medical examination in 1877, and scrambling for money to pay the high graduation fees. Once through the examinations and with his thesis in ophthalmology defended, he worked long hours at the public hospital, the Charité, gaining both experience and money for his departure from Berlin. The following letter fragment gives some idea of the new doctor's life:

> [Fragment letter] . . . and come daily to the clinic to be treated. I write all the prescriptions, notes, etc. —as you can judge from my handwriting and signature. (From Oct. 22nd through Nov. 10th, I wrote over 600 of these and entered the patients in the records of the institute—so I'm really kept busy.) In addition there are operations. Langenbeck is like a father—friendly, amiable, and well known for his helpful and pleasant manner. There is a great number of sick people who show up daily (including those at the Polyclinic, the yearly count is c. 14-15,000), an enormous crowd. So I am learning an unbelievable amount since I personally see and examine each case. I've specialized in surgery and ophthalmology and spend all my time at this. [After 10 November 1877]

Finally in the spring of 1878, with the second-hand blessing of his great namesake Humboldt and the fatherly farewell of his academic mentor Virchow, Alexander set forth from Berlin to conquer the worlds of science and medicine. The worsening worldwide economic crisis, however, had prompted a drastic change in his plans. Originally, he was to return home to set up practice and to conduct research. Instead he opted for specialized practice in diseases of the eye in China where others from Berlin had gained quick fortunes treating the wealthy in that country so deprived of modern practitioners. Though distracted by an immediate need to earn money, still Alexander left with the promise of support for his future explorations from his influential advocates at the Berlin Academy of Sciences. Trained in the new field of ethnology, he hoped while in the orient to be able to prove the Asian origins of the Native Americans by tracing their suspected migration routes.

But once he arrived in Hong Kong, he found himself serving as superintendent of the civil hospital in that city since a replacement for a British doctor on home leave was urgently needed and Alexander had had experience in the public hospital of Berlin. Four years later in 1882, Alexander married a wealthy young German baroness, a widow who had plantations in Sumatra and a residence in Delhi. Two daughters were

born to the union; but after ten years, the marriage ended in divorce. This was probably due to Alexander's ability to go through the widow's wealth. Pages, for example, from an old article describe in great detail the grandeur of Dr. Vander Horck's 245-by-54-foot yacht, *Sunflower*.[16] Though years of elegant living in the Far East seem to have distracted Alexander from his original dedication, the article states the ship was, among other things, fully outfitted for scientific exploration.

From 1892 on, Alexander's lonely years were spent in India and Singapore where he became concerned with health care for the poor. His final days seem beclouded, taken up with mystical preoccupations. Though he reportedly only visited home once after leaving for the Far East, still he was proclaimed a native son upon his death. When British authorities notified his family of his death, *The Minneapolis Journal* for 12 November 1912 proclaimed: "NOTED MINNEAPOLIS SCIENTIST IS DEAD; Belated News of Dr. Alexander von H. Vanderhorck's Death in Singapore Arrives."

University of Minnesota-Duluth
Duluth, Minnesota

Notes

[1] Karl Vander Horck, professor emeritus of education at the University of Minnesota, Duluth, came into possession of the letters while doing work on family history. The original materials, although carefully preserved by four generations of family members, were in a chaotic state. Many sheets were clipped together without any meaningful affinity. The paper was often brittle with writing on both sides that had bled through; in other letters, the ink was faded; the handwriting frequently was cramped or scrawled. The collection amounted to one giant jigsaw puzzle that had to be pieced together based on internal evidence, writing style, paper similarity, contextual continuity, etc. All but two scraps were finally worked into the resulting collection of translated letters. This article is limited to excerpts from passages pertaining to university and student life in Berlin of the 1870s. No letters of response from others were found.

[2] "Forty-eighter" refers to those German students and burghers who had supported liberal, political reforms during the Revolution of 1848. After repression set in, many immigrated to the United States.

[3] Unfortunately, Minneapolis school records from this early period were destroyed by fire. Also early records of regents' meetings at the University of Minnesota are incomplete. The reporting of both events is based upon family recall and Alexander's own letters.

[4] The schedule is reproduced in: E. Bird Johnson, *Forty Years of the University of Minnesota* (Minneapolis: The General Alumni Association, 1910), 27.

[5] Folwell (1833-1929) earned his A.B., A.M. and LL. D. degrees from Hobart College in New York state. He taught languages at Ovid Academy for a year, then mathematics at Hobart (1858-60) before his year of study in Berlin in 1860-61. He served in the Civil War and then turned to business in Ohio from 1865-69, where he also taught mathematics at Kenyon College. Called to the University of Minnesota in 1869 to teach mathematics, he served 1869-84 as president and later as professor of political science from 1875-1907 and

president emeritus 1907 until his death in 1929. Information from: *Who Was Who in America*, Volume I—1897-1942 (Chicago: Marquis, 1963), 410, and Johnson, 37.

[6] Direct quotations from the letters throughout this paper are indicated simply by the date given in brackets since only a family edition exists of the translated full correspondence. See n. 1.

[7] John Vander Horck, a founder in the 1880s and president of the Minnesota College Hospital in Minneapolis, joined with the directors of the St. Paul Medical College in offering their charters to the new University of Minnesota department of medicine to form the University College of Medicine in 1888. Dr. Perry H. Millard, first dean of the college, later credited John Vander Horck with being the major force in the successful merger. See among others: Theodore C. Blegen, *Minnesota, a History of the State* (Minneapolis: U. of Minnesota Press, 1963), 443. John Vander Horck's plans for his sons were fulfilled by Alexander's younger brother Max. After finishing a medical degree in the United States, Max spent nearly three years of postgraduate study in Vienna, Prague and Berlin before returning to a position as the first dermatologist on the faculty of the new College of Medicine at the University of Minnesota where he served from 1888 until his death in 1911.

[8] Facts and data on Bismarck's Berlin in the 1870s were gleaned from the vast Bismarck literature and from Colin McEvedy, "Bismarck," in *The Macmillan World History Factfinder* (New York: 1984), 156-59.

[9] John Vander Horck's business ventures were severely affected by the economic depression of the 1870s. Eventually through his war service and political connections, he was appointed post trader at Fort Sisseton (earlier Fort Wadsworth) in the Dakota Territory where he recouped his fortunes over a nine-year period (1877-86).

[10] All data on the Friedrich Wilhelms University in the 1870s were found in the archives of the Humboldt University in 1987. These include matriculation records, addresses of students, course schedules, records of degrees and awards granted. Those pertinent to Alexander—his M.D. degree and academic prize—were photographed by Karl Vander Horck at that time. Also consulted: Johannes Asen, ed., *Gesamtverzeichnis des Lehrkörpers der Universität Berlin*, vol. 1, 1810-1945 (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1955).

[11] Probably the best English biography of Virchow still is that by Erwin Heinz Ackerknecht, *Rudolf Virchow: Doctor, Statesman, Anthropologist* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1953). The use of Virchow's name and the abuse of his work—especially in craniology and the gathering of statistical data on the general population—by racist scientists during the Nazi era have distorted his reputation. Long before their day, he himself noted that his very name and appearance showed he certainly was neither German nor Nordic. A recent book—Byron A. Boyd, *Rudolf Virchow: The Scientist as Citizen* (New York: Garland, 1991)—suggests the distortions of an earlier day have been corrected.

[12] Interesting parallels are found in a 1967 essay by the Austrian author, H. C. Artmann, that is based on Linné's journals: "Carl von Linné: Lappländische Reise," *The Best of H. C. Artmann*, 3d ed. (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp 245, 1980), 371-76.

[13] Within a short time after his return to Berlin, Alexander managed to write up his notes, give several talks at learned societies and get his work published. Two examples are: "Reise nach dem Polarmeer und über die Bewohner der Nordküste," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 8.6 (January 1876), 25 pp.; and "The Physical Condition and Distinctive Characteristics of the Lapplanders," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 6 (London, 1877): 316-23. Of interest is the fact that the British journal *Nature* included an entry on his polar trip (and later announced his intended research in China). *Nature* 15 (November 1876 to April 1877): 245-46, under the date 11 January 1877, contains the following:

> In the last Session of the Berlin *Anthropologische Gesellschaft*, Prof. Virchow stated that the intrepid young traveller, Herr v. Horn von der Horck [sic], is at present in the camps of the war-like Sioux Indians, busily engaged in obtaining plaster casts for craniological studies. The printed record of v. d. Horck's journey of

last summer to the Polar Sea, has just appeared in Germany, and contains much of value written in a very sprightly style. During the first half of the journey zoological and geographical ends were kept in view. On the return trip through Lapland to the Gulf of Bothnia, the expedition assumed an almost exclusively anthropological character. Enormous collection of bones and more especially of skulls were made, and a large number of masks were obtained from the present inhabitants of Lapland. So extensive and complete are these results, that Prof. Virchow regards them as more valuable for the study of Scandinavian craniology than the combined collections of European museums outside of the Scandinavian countries themselves. The principal geographical result of the journey was the establishment of the fact that a continuous water communication exists between the Polar Sea and the Gulf of Bothnia. On the summit of the watershed between these bodies of water, the lake Wawolo Lampi lays at a height of 800-900 feet above the level of the sea. Two rivers flow from this, one to the north, emptying into the Ivallo, and the other to the south, emptying into the Kititui. Frequent cascades and rapids render this waterway useless for purposes of navigation.

[14] "Über Sioux- und Chippeway-Indianer," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 9 (May 1877): 229-38. Letters home suggest he did sell off some plaster casts as well as Native American artifacts to finance his final year of study and examinations. For example, several calumets and Ojibway birchbark items in the North American collection of the Dahlem Museum in Berlin are attributed to Alexander Vander Horck and were seen by the author and photographed by Karl Vander Horck in 1987. The book—Horst Hartmann, *Die Plains- und Prärieindianer Nordamerikas* (Berlin: Museum für Völkerkunde, 1979), 347, 350—also contains photographs of museum items collected by Alexander.

[15] Alexander von Humboldt was the classic naturalist explorer. After time spent in mining and the study of biology, he sold to his brother Wilhelm his share in their maternal inheritance to finance an expedition to Latin America which lasted from 1799 to 1804. Together with the sketch artist Bonpland, he measured, cataloged, collected and surveyed the flora, fauna, geology, geography and waterways encountered from the tropical Orinoco basin, to Cuba, to the Andes and then across Mexico. After paying Thomas Jefferson a courtesy visit, Humboldt returned to Paris where he spent years publishing his findings. Among the many Humboldt imitators, of special interest to Midwesterners, was Prince Maximilian von Wied. After a frustrating expedition to Brazil, he came with the Swiss artist Karl Bodmer to the United States and spent 1833-34 on the Upper Missouri River recording in word and print the life of the Mandan.

[16] As with so many other trails in Alexander's life, documentation is not available for this article. Only occasional citations could be found for his years in the orient as records in both Hong Kong and Singapore were destroyed during World War II. What is in hand regarding the *Sunflower* is a photocopy of double-column pages (214-17) of an article from around 1890, entitled "The Yacht 'Sunflower.'" The edges of the original have doodles matching those on other letters from Alexander.

Barbara Wiedemann-Citera

The Role of the German-American *Vereine* in the Revitalization of German-American Ethnic Life in New York City in the 1920s

The participation of the United States in World War I affected the political, social and public life of all Americans, but none more so than the German-American ethnic group. In a wave of superpatriotism everything German, including language, music, and publications, was considered as "the enemy." The highly regarded German-Americans lost their status within American society and withdrew from public life. The degree of resiliency that German-American communities displayed throughout the United States varied from place to place. In Hoboken, New Jersey, also called "Klein-Hamburg" before the war, German ethnic life was extinguished. This was mainly a result of changing demographics caused by the use of the Hoboken waterfront (the heart of the Hoboken German-American community) as a military staging area. As the German-Americans moved out, their clubs moved with them.[1] Just across the Hudson River in New York City German ethnic life survived and continued albeit on a much reduced scale. The survival and consequent resurgence of German life in New York was due in large measure to the efforts of the German *Vereine* of this city. This essay is about the reorganization of the German *Vereine* in the 1920s, the problems they were confronted with and the role the societies played in the revitalization of German culture in New York.

World War I and its impacts were not the only factors in shaping German-American life. Geographic dispersion throughout the city was also a shaping force. Nearly a fourth of New York's population in the early twentieth century was of German descent. In 1910 New York's population included 842,000 inhabitants of German descent, 508,000 of whom were born in America. Only Berlin had at that time a higher percentage of German urban dwellers than New York. German-

Americans were; however, geographically dispersed throughout the five boroughs and lacked a distinctive German district. German "centers" could be found in the Upper Eastside (Yorkville) and Brooklyn (especially the Williamsburg and Bushwick sections). Upward social mobility also contributed to geographic dispersion. For successful German-Americans the ethnic community lost its attractiveness, they preferred an "American" environment. There also existed the desire to distance themselves from the "poorer immigrants" of other nationalities.[2]

The emergence of numerous German *Vereine* in New York (approximately three hundred in 1914 as well as in 1925) was in part due to this geographic dispersion. We find societies all over the city, fitted to the needs and desires of the immigrants. There was a society for every purpose and for every interest. In New York we find *Vereine* literally from A-Z from the *Arion* singing society to the *Zitherklub*. Some *Vereine*, such as the *Deutscher Geselliger und Wissenschaftlicher Verein von New York* and various reading societies, the so-called *Lesegesellschaften*, concentrated their activities on the cultivation of German *Kultur*, or German-American history such as the *Deutsche Historische Gesellschaft von New York*. Others limited their activities to a *gemütliches Beieinandersein* such as a smoking society *Blaue Wolke*, the *Vergnügungsverein Edelweiß* or even the Worry Not Club, an association of "life loving German-Americans." Many *Vereine* had different departments for special interests. The New Yorker *Beethoven Männerchor* not only had a *Damenverein* and the almost obligatory *Kegelabteilung*, but also a bachelors society, the Beethoven Bachelors.

There were a lot of occupational associations such as the *Deutscher Apothekerverein*, and the *Kaufmännischer Verein*. In addition, many German society types were repeated in numerous locations throughout the city. Workers had their own insurance and support associations. The *Arbeiter Kranken- und Sterbekasse* alone had over seventy local branches in New York. A number of German-American unions existed, from the *Bäcker* to the *Zigarrenmacher*. The unions were part of the American workers movement, but were organized in German-language groups. They were mainly politically motivated and separated clearly from the church and other "bourgeois" organizations.

The different regional backgrounds of German-Americans were mirrored in their club life. The Bavarians, the Hessians, and the Saxons had their own organizations that were sometimes so numerous that they were organized under central associations. There was, in New York for example, the *Bayerischer Zentralverein* and a northern German organization as well, the *Plattdeutscher Volksfestverein*. Most of the societies were organized on a local level and many were also members of the *Vereinigte Deutsche Gesellschaften* in New York. Only a few societies were organized on a national level like the *Turner*, which had twelve branches in the

New York district. With such a large array of *Vereine* to choose from, multiple membership in different societies was a common phenomenon.[3] In the *New Yorker Staatszeitung* we find the definition of a *Vereinsmeier*:

> Was, Sie sind Turner, Sänger und Schütze zugleich? Ganz einfach: ich bin Vorstand des Sängerzirkels der Turnerabteilung unseres Schützenvereins![4]

During the war German-American *Vereine* kept a low profile and at least reduced, if not cancelled public appearances. Not all the societies fared the same in this environment. In fact one society, the *Heinebund*, managed to profit from it. Their mountain cabin on the Hudson was turned into ruins when locals "were driven into patriotic insanity"[5] since they thought the peaceful wanderers were spies. In an ironic twist of fate the *Verein* sold the land in 1920 with a 600 percent profit. This was enough to buy not only property in New Jersey, but also another cabin in the Catskill mountains. But most *Vereine* in New York were not so lucky and continued to struggle for survival. It became difficult to find places to meet. This happened to the *Geselliger Wissenschaftlicher Klub* in April 1919 when a hotel owner refused to rent a room the society needed for a concert, because the *Verein* was not "American" enough for him.[6]

Some societies that had survived the war, discontinued soon after the war ended. Generally the newer organizations, like the *Deutschwehr* founded in 1914,[7] were the first ones to go, but the war also sounded the death knell for some old traditional *Vereine*, like the *Carl Sahm Club*.[8] Some societies survived by merging with one another. With the mergers the *Vereine* hoped for a better chance of survival in the 1920s, a direct result of the "lessons learned from the war."[9] Often the *Vereine* did not officially merge but held meetings and events together, e.g., the smoking society *Blaue Wolke* and the *Goethe Loge*. *Vereine* began to reorganize at least on a local level. In 1921 the Bavarian Association which had fifteen chapters before the war, reorganized its remaining seven sections.[10]

The impressive number of societes that survived the war was expanded by some newly founded societies. Among these the most significant was the Steuben Society founded in 1919. More than the other German-American *Vereine*, the *Steubengesellschaft* emphasized its Americanism: only American citizens were allowed to become members. Soon units of the Steuben Society were organized all over the country. The Steuben Society, however, never reached the level of organization or influence of the disbanded National German-American Alliance (NGAA). But more than any other contemporary organization, the Steuben Society succeeded in mobilizing the masses. The *Steubentag* in September 1924 in Yankee Stadium attracted more than forty thousand visitors. The political ambition of the Steuben Society was demonstrated by the selection of

Senator La Follette, a known pacifist, as guest of honor at this event. As the National German-American Alliance before it, the Steuben Society was not able to establish political cohesion—a "German-American vote"—within the German-American community, and more surprisingly not even among its members.[11] However, the Steuben Society did attract positive public attention. Events of the society in New York were acknowledged and visited by city officials. New York's Mayor Walker attended a Steuben Society dinner function in October 1926.[11] He spoke only complimentarily of the contributions of Americans of German descent and stated: "I don't know who started the war and I don't know who won it, but what I do know is this: let's forget it for once and for all!"[12]

In the new decade after the war German-Americans were becoming more visible again. In the hall of the *Männerchor* in October 1921 the first postwar German Day was conducted in New York City by the German-American societies. It was such a huge success that increasing attendance forced German Day celebrations out of the club hall into the Hippodrome in 1922.[13]

More than any other events and happenings, the resumption of the tradition of the *Sängerfeste* was the epitomy of the revival of German ethnic festivities. They were also used as reminders of the German-American contribution to the American war effort and showed the connection of the *Sänger* to the United States. A lot of German songs were sung in the English language to support this point. The spring peace concert of 1922 was positively acknowledged by the American press and politicians. President Harding sent a message to the organizers with his best wishes, and New York's Mayor Hylon was the guest of honor at this event which attracted almost five thousand singers and seven thousand people in the audience. Among those present were many Americans that were not of German descent. Consequently the German singers were invited by the mayor to the city park concert in September 1922 in Central Park. The president of the *Vereinigte Sänger* received threatening letters which announced that if songs were sung in German retributions would occur. Fortunately, police protection helped to make this concert trouble free. This also indicated that a sort of "detente" was finally taking place in New York City. In spring 1923 the mayor again invited the *Vereinigte Sänger* to the silver anniversary event of the City of Greater New York. This recognition by city officials signaled the removal of the stigma that was upon the German-Americans. It was the singer societies that rebuilt the bridge to the American public. Almost four years after the war they succeeded not only in maintaining their ethnicity, but also in integrating themselves into the American social and public life and therefore helped to ease ethnic tensions. The *Sängerfeste* of the following

years became a foundation of German-American life within American society.[14]

The most important activity of New York's German-American *Vereine*, however, was the organization of the relief effort for Germany. In July 1919 the Central Committee for the Relief of Distress in Germany and German Austria was founded in the *Liederkranzhalle* in New York. This was the first concerted action of New York City's German-American community since before America's declaration of war in 1917. Contributions were made from German-American society funds and from member participation in collections and activities. Within one month after the founding of the committee, the first relief shipment left for Germany. It was the *Vereine* who supported the relief efforts wholeheartedly with collections, bazaars, balls, and even concerts. Not only did these events garner support from the societies for German relief, they also were a means of entertainment and social gathering in an inconspicuous though public setting. These events became the focal point of New York's German-American life. Events soon included more public events, like the performance of the opera *Hänsel und Gretel* in October 1920, which would have been impossible a year before. In 1920, as a result of its success, the Central Committee was reorganized at the national level. Six years later, in April 1926, the Central Committee ended its work officially. Over nine million dollars in food, clothes, financial aid, even cows were sent to war-distressed Germany and Austria.[15]

While most of the German *Vereine* did survive the wartime experience, it became obvious that the retention of members was becoming difficult. The war undoubtedly speeded the assimilation process, but the natural aging process along with the disinterest of following generations (the majority of Americans of German descent were already second and third generation) contributed to the decline in membership. After the war this decline in membership especially of the more affluent members continued to have a major impact. But when immigration from Germany was again permitted after 1921—about four hundred thousand Germans immigrated to the United States in the 1920s—the decrease in membership slowed down.[16] This meant new blood for many German-American *Vereine*, as noted by the *Volkszeitung*:

> Für den, der in den deutschsprachigen Kreisen des Ostens verkehrt, bringen die Hamburger und Washingtoner Zahlenangaben nichts Neues. Denn er trifft in jeder Vereinigung und Versammlung, überall dort wo deutsch-sprachige Kreise zusammenkommen, neueingewanderte Männer und Frauen . . . Der Begriff "Grünhorn", der für die deutschsprachigen Elemente dieses Landes kaum noch eine Bedeutung besaß, wird plötzlich wieder zu einem lang vermißten Faktor.[17]

On 16 January 1920 the Eighteenth Amendment—Prohibition—went into effect, presenting the German-Americans and their organizations with a major problem. The brewing industry traditionally had sponsored many events and German societies traditionally gathered in beerhalls and restaurants. In Brooklyn alone a thousand bars were closed and many *Vereine* lost their gathering places not to mention the job losses. The loss of revenue was severe, since the sale of beer at functions was a major income source for the societies. As a result, the number of events and member participation diminished. *Vereine* that were never bothered during the war lost their homes and had to move from place to place, often for years until they found a permanent hall.[18] German-American newspapers suffered as well, due to the loss of advertising.

Prohibition was only one dimension of the nativism that continued in the 1920s. Anti-German sentiment was still present in the 1920s. German-American events and activities aroused the suspicion of organizations such as the American Legion, the National Security League, the Ku Klux Klan, and even smaller societies like the Daughters of Cincinnatus in New York whose forte was spying on German-Americans. In New York, the American Legion was responsible for the downfall of the Star Opera Company which after massive protests and legal proceedings had to accept the fact that the time was not ripe for German music and theater.[19] Even the much less publicized presentation of a German musical by the *Norddeutscher Club* and the *Plattdeutscher Verein of Long Island* had to be canceled because of demonstrations in front of the building.[20]

German-American societies now began to protest any sign of discrimination. The *Vereinigte Sänger of Brooklyn* and the *Brooklyn Turner Association* sent their complaints about the American Legion activities to the federal government. German-Americans now sought protection under the law. The New York societies asked for and received police protection for their activities. This cooperation with the police showed that part of the administration was willing to protect the German-Americans. Many events like the concerts of the *Kreutzer Quartettclub* or the *Schwäbischer Sängerbund* could take place in peace and quiet because of increased police presence at the events.[21]

With the passing of time it became easier for the German societies to maintain their German culture, including the language. A lot of German *Vereine* had switched to English as their official or at least second language during the war to demonstrate patriotism and to protect themselves. After the war the majority of them returned to German, but some kept English as the official language often because of the pressure from members of the younger generation. Because of the ban of the German language, language maintenance was reduced to a minimum. It

became the realm of the surviving language press, churches, *Vereine* and families. Even in New York where German was again taught in public middle and high schools after 31 July 1920, it was still regulated: there had to be a minimum of seventy students for the classes and the Lusk Law demanded proof of loyalty and special licenses for teachers in private schools.[22] Supported by the German-American press, German societies now became the main mediator of the language, next to the families. In New York there was cooperation among churches and *Vereine*. In 1919 the German-American *Schulverein* opened three schools in church rectories and in the hall of the *Turnverein* of New York. As an interesting side note there was a sinking level of proficiency noted (compared to the prewar level), which documents at least some language loss in children of German-American descent.[23]

Besides language maintenance, the German *Vereine* strove to maintain a certain "cultural" level. New York City had a blossoming German theater tradition. Before 1917 there were two permanent German theaters. After the summer of 1917 all German theaters closed and German-language theater went "underground." It was the German *Vereine* in New York that gave shelter and the means of survival for actors, singers (including famous former members of the Metropolitan Opera), and musicians, through their sponsoring of performances in gymnasiums, German restaurants and clubhouses. This support continued after the war when German plays and musicals had to be canceled because of demonstrations and protests.[24] When the Star Opera Company was founded in July 1919, the German-American societies gathered the needed capital within one month by contributions out of club funds and member purchases of opera subscriptions.[25] As mentioned before, due to the violent protests, the performances of the company were canceled soon after opening night.

German theater performances continued to be confined to gymnasiums and clubhalls for lack of a permanent stage. Performances like the German theater week in the theater at Irving Place in 1921 were still the exception giving the German-American theatergoing audience "just a taste."[26] The steady support of the German *Vereine* gave the German theater groups not only the needed help to survive but also a financial boost to be able to move on to real stages. The first full theater season after World War I occurred in 1925-26. It lasted thirty weeks and was sponsored to a large degree by the German *Vereine* of New York. Even though a permanent German theater could not be reestablished in the end because of the lack of cooperation among competing German theater companies, the situation in New York was still better than in other cities. The *Volkszeitung*, however, put some blame on the quality of the shows:

> Es [das Deutschtum] besuchte Operetten, schlüpfrige Schwänke, blöde Possen—und wenn es hoch kam ab und zu einmal ein sentimentales Lustspiel—aber die moderne Schauspielkunst, die wertvollen Gaben der deutschen, dramatischen Kunst wurde von ihm boykottiert.[27]

With the ongoing assimilation of the German-Americans into the American society, American theater became more attractive to them. This was especially true in New York, where Broadway and the American musical had a booming time in the 1920s.

Additionally, the film and radio industries provided serious competition to the theater. In New York there were even showings of German movies, such as the silent films *Siegfried* and *Krimhild's Revenge* in the second half of the twenties.[28] The radio became a showcase for the cultural ambitions of the German-Americans. On 20 February 1925 the first German radio show in America took place. Every Friday there was the *Deutsche Radiostunde in Amerika*, which was celebrated enthusiastically by the German-Americans. Even though it was produced by the *New Yorker Staatszeitung*, it became a forum for German societies. The *Sängerbund*, the *Liederkranz*, the *Vereinigten Sänger of Brooklyn*, the *Kreutzer Quartettclub*, the *Schwäbischer Sängerbund Brooklyn* and the *Arion* all performed in this new medium.[29]

German-American ethnic life recovered faster in New York City than in other places from the consequences of the war. The fact that New York was still a city of immigrants was definitely a plus. The fact that 25 percent of the population was of German descent was a plus. The fact that German-Americans were geographically dispersed was a plus. In this environment it was easier for the German-American *Vereine* to survive. German-American societies were able to reorganize and to expand their activities in the 1920s from the club level to a more public setting. The relief effort for Germany and Austria manifested the success of the concerted action of these societies. The maintenance of the German language, though still mostly on the shoulders of the families, became an important goal of the societies. The *Vereine* continued to promote the German language through the teaching of the younger generations in their own schools. Even more support from the societies was given to German language theater. Though the New York Germans could not reestablish a permanent German theater, it was only through the support of the *Vereine* that German theater performances took place at all. The most successful public relations occurred through the efforts of the *Sängervereine*. Literally with music, German-Americans were reintegrated into the public life of the city. The efforts of all the German-American

Vereine allowed for the revitalization of German-American ethnic life in New York City in the 1920s.

Monmouth College
West Long Branch, New Jersey

Notes

[1] Barbara Wiedemann-Citera, *Die Auswirkungen des Ersten Weltkrieges auf die Deutsch-Amerikaner im Spiegel der New Yorker Staatszeitung, der New Yorker Volkszeitung und der New York Times 1914-1926* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1993), 312 pp., 96, see also Howard B. Furer, "Heaven, Hell or Hoboken. The Effects of World War I on a New Jersey City," *New Jersey History* 92 (1974).

[2] Ira Rosenwaike, *Population History of New York City* (Syracuse, NY, 1972), 83-85; Wiedemann-Citera, 18-19.

[3] The information about the German *Vereine* in New York was mostly gathered from the examination of the *New Yorker Staatszeitung* and the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* 1914-26; see also Wiedemann-Citera, 26-29.

[4] *New Yorker Volkszeitung* 1914-26; see also Wiedemann-Citera, 26-29.

[5] *New Yorker Volkzeitung*, 5 October 1925.

[6] *New York Times*, 13 April 1919.

[7] *New York Times*, 24 March 1917.

[8] *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, 22 June 1919.

[9] *New Yorker Staatszeitung*, 20 April 1920.

[10] Wiedemann-Citera, 160-65.

[11] Cf. Robert H. Billigmeier, *Americans from Germany: A Study in Cultural Diversity* (Belmont, 1974), 147; Frederick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I* (De Kalb, IL, 1974), 320; Wiedemann-Citera, 181-85.

[12] *New York Times*, 26 October 1926.

[13] Cf.*New Yorker Staatszeitung*, 17 and 18 October 1921, 22 and 23 October 1922; *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, 23 October 1922; *New York Times*, 23 October 1922.

[14] Wiedemann-Citera, 213-17; *New York Times*, 29 May 1922; *New Yorker Staatszeitung*, 28 May 1923.

[15] Don H. Tolzmann, *The Cincinnati Germans after the Great War* (New York 1987), 144; Wiedemann-Citera, 202-10; La Vern Rippley, "American Milk Cows for Germany," *North Dakota History* 44 (1977): 15-23.

[16] Hartmut Bickelmann, *Deutsche Überseeauswanderung in der Weimarer Zeit* (Wiesbaden, 1980), 38; Wiedemann-Citera, 285.

[17] *Volkszeitung*, 21 Juli 1923.

[18] Tolzmann, 187; Wiedemann-Citera 192-96.

[19] Tolzmann, 187; Wiedemann-Citera 192-96.

[20] *New York Times*, 27 November 1919.

[21] Wiedemann-Citera, 245.

[22] *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, 17 April 1920 and 21 November 1921.

[23] *New Yorker Staatszeitung*, 8 September 1919 and 11 September 1921.

[24] Wiedemann-Citera, 274-75.

[25] Wiedemann-Citera, 223.

[26] *New Yorker Staatszeitung*, 1 May 1921.

[27] *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, 4 October 1922.
[28] Wiedemann-Citera, 274-83.
[29] *New Yorker Staatszeitung*, 23 February 1925.

James M. Bergquist

The Val J. Peter Newspapers: The Rise and Decline of a Twentieth-Century German-Language Newspaper Empire

During the decade of the 1880s the last great wave of migration from Germany brought nearly a million and a half German-born to the United States. In the peak year, 1882, a quarter of a million German-born arrived. The census of 1890 recorded the country's number of German-born inhabitants as the largest in any census, about 2,785,000.[1] These impressive numbers of newcomers helped to create an institutional German-America that would reach its zenith over the next two decades.[2] In cities and rural areas of older German settlement, new German churches, social societies, gymnastic associations, mutual aid groups, and other organizations were established by and for the newcomers, and older German organizations were revived. German newspapers, which comprised the most impressive journalistic structure developed by any American immigrant group, also proliferated, and likewise were at their peak in terms of numbers of publications and circulation in the period beginning in the 1890s.[3]

The early twentieth century witnessed a long slow decline in the number and strength of the various institutions that bound German-America together—the inevitable result of a dwindling number of the German-born within the United States population. The decline demonstrated that institutional German-America was always heavily dependent upon the first generation of immigrants; although there were frequent appeals to the sons and daughters of immigrants to learn the language and preserve the culture, only a minority of the second generation fully responded. Many of them in fact did learn the language, but that often did not translate into continuing involvement with the institutions of German-America.[4] Among the institutions most affected was the German-American press. From a peak estimated at about 800 in

the early 1890s, the number of German newspapers declined to 613 in 1900 and to 554 in 1910.[5] Although this decline pre-dated the First World War and was well under way by then, the events of the war, with the various pressures brought to bear upon German-language publishers, helped to give the final blow to many small-town German papers. An estimated 278 newspapers remained in 1920. Where there had been about ninety German-language dailies in 1910, there were twenty-nine in 1920.[6]

What could be seen at the time as a decline in the world of German-American journalism can also be seen in retrospect as a transformation of its character. From a journalism of newspapers based upon many separate communities of Germans, it was becoming a journalism of regional newspapers seeking to encompass many and varied German communities. Larger newspapers, usually based in the bigger cities, picked up circulation from those newspapers that were dying out, and even managed to increase their total circulation on this basis. This also led to a journalism which tended to dwell more heavily on affairs within German-America, eventually leaving the field of general national, political and community affairs up to the English-language general-circulation newspapers which an increasing number of their customers were also reading.

A prime example of the direction of German-language journalism in its declining years can be seen in the newspaper enterprise built and expanded by Val J. Peter, an immigrant from Bavaria who purchased a newspaper in Omaha in 1907 and made it the basis of a newspaper chain which survived until 1982. In the years 1910 to 1930 the chain developed into the dominant German-language voice in the West, and after that began to expand into a national enterprise.

Peter began his career in journalism in modest circumstances. Born in Bavarian Franconia in 1875, he arrived in America as a boy with his family in 1889, in the last stages of the great migration wave of the eighties. The family immediately settled in Rock Island, Illinois. Val Peter's father was in ill health, and died in 1892; and so the younger Peter was obliged to go to work while still in his teens. He began his career in German journalism as a reporter for the weekly Rock Island *Volkszeitung*, then served as city editor of the daily Peoria *Sonne*, but returned in 1904 to Rock Island to buy the financially ailing *Volkszeitung*. After his marriage in 1905, Peter began to look around for a new environment for raising his family and for pursuing German-language journalism. He explored the possibilities in San Francisco, but was discouraged from trying to rebuild newspapers there after the 1906 earthquake. He then turned to Omaha, and in June 1907 purchased the *Westliche Presse*, a weekly paper. In 1908 he bought out the Omaha *Tribüne*, which had suffered a damaging fire. The two Omaha papers were combined as the weekly *Omaha Tribüne-Westliche Presse*. He sold the Rock Island paper

and moved his family to Omaha in 1909. In March 1912 Peter published the first issue of the daily *Omaha Tribüne*, which would continue to be the centerpiece of his newspaper enterprise until his death in 1960.[7]

In the years before the First World War Peter began the process of consolidating smaller country newspapers into his Omaha enterprise. In 1913, the plains of Nebraska had at least eleven German-language newspapers, many of them small local weekly publications circulating one or two thousand copies. Eleven German newspapers also served communities in Kansas.[8] The *Omaha Tribüne* itself claimed a circulation of 8,640; it also circulated a weekly edition, which reached into the countryside. Two other daily German newspapers served the Great Plains area, the Denver *Colorado Herold*, with 6,000 copies, and the Kansas City *Presse*, with about 3,000 copies.[9] In those years preceding the First World War, however, there was already cause for concern as to whether all these German newspapers would be sustainable (without the addition of many new German immigrants, which seemed improbable). A number of small Nebraska and western Iowa weeklies were thus merged with the *Tribüne*, beginning with papers in Auburn and Nebraska City in 1912, in Bloomfield, Nebraska, in 1914, and in Fremont, Nebraska, in early 1917.

The process of consolidation accelerated during the war as German newspapers and the German language came under attack from politicians and vigilante groups enforcing loyalty.[10] In addition, restrictive federal legislation passed in October 1917 required foreign-language publishers to translate all copy dealing with political and foreign affairs. This placed impossible burdens on many German-language newspapers, particularly small ones.[11] In late 1917 and 1918, four more Nebraska small-town papers succumbed. All were combined with the Omaha paper. By the end of that year the only remaining German papers in Nebraska outside of Omaha were the Norfolk *Westliche Rundschau*, which was to disappear by 1923, and the widely-circulated agricultural paper, the Lincoln *Freie Presse*, which moved to Winona, Minnesota, in 1924. Several western Iowa German newspapers were also acquired, including Iowa's largest German paper, the weekly Des Moines *Iowa Staats-Anzeiger*. The Omaha *Tribüne*, which in 1913 had a circulation of 8,640, claimed by 1920 a daily circulation of 22,610.[12] Clearly Peter's newspaper had prospered by picking up the pieces from the damage wrought by the turmoil of the war period.

On the eve of the First World War Peter had also taken his first step toward publishing newspapers outside of Omaha and had conceived a plan to develop another regional paper covering Kansas and western Missouri. In 1917 he purchased the daily Kansas City *Presse* and invested heavily in a new printing plant there with the intention of turning that paper into another regional paper; but the fortunes of the war and its aftermath foiled this plan. The paper suspended daily publication and

became a weekly in May 1918.[13] He was left heavily in debt for the Kansas City improvements, and while the circulation expanded (to a claimed 18,000 in 1922), there was still not enough revenue to justify resuming daily publication.[14] Peter himself blamed the financial problems not on the animosities of the war but on the agricultural depression that hit areas of the Midwest hard in the early 1920s; many subscribers could not pay their subscriptions, while costs of labor to produce the papers rose.[15]

These same conditions also placed the Omaha *Tribüne* itself in difficult circumstances, and in August 1926 Peter was obliged to reduce publication of the newspaper to three times a week. This was a bitter pill, for he had prided himself that the Omaha paper was now the only German daily west of the Mississippi (except for St. Louis). He recognized that a daily appealed to a quite different market from that of a triweekly or weekly. The daily paper could compete directly with the English-language dailies; it offered its readers information which some looked for every day, like market reports, radio and theater listings, police reports and obituaries. When publication was less frequent, many who got such information from the German newspaper might simply turn to the daily English-language paper instead. Weekly, semiweekly and triweekly newspapers tended to concentrate on news not found in the English-language dailies, particularly news of the German community. After about seventeen months, Peter had reorganized the publishing company, appealed for support from within the Omaha German community, and issued new stock to raise capital. In January 1928, he returned to daily publication of the *Tribüne*.[16]

In the 1930s Val Peter's plan to consolidate German newspaper publishing into regional newspapers came as close as it would ever get to fulfillment.[17] In the West, four newspapers, each published in its own location, covered the area between the Missouri and the Rockies. The Omaha *Tribüne*, which maintained daily publication, focused upon western Iowa and Nebraska. The St. Paul *Volkszeitung*, another daily acquired by Peter in 1937, carried news of Minnesota, the Dakotas and Montana. The Kansas City *Presse*, which continued as a weekly, reached into Kansas and western Missouri. The Denver *Colorado Herold*, a weekly acquired in 1939, covered the Rocky Mountain regions. Another newspaper was aimed at the Russian Germans (or more specifically Volga Germans) across the Great Plains. This was the *Welt-Post*, which Peter acquired in 1932 and published weekly at Lincoln, Nebraska; it contained local news from the Lincoln area as well as news directed at Russian Germans elsewhere.[18] Peter also published at Lincoln a widely-circulated agricultural newspaper, *Der Landmann*, formerly published at Milwaukee and acquired in 1930. Val Peter's newspapers clearly now comprised the dominant force in German-American publishing west of the Mississippi.

The same depression years also took the growing newspaper chain along the path to becoming nationwide in scope. In 1929 Peter purchased the failing Baltimore *Correspondent* and dispatched two of his sons to manage it. At the time, he expressed the belief that Baltimore, one of the oldest German-American centers, was due for a new period of industrial growth which would bring a new influx of German immigrants.[19] The original *Correspondent* had been founded in 1841, but had fallen on unhappy days after the First World War, when the Raine family, which had operated it since its founding, gave it up to other managers. Reduced to weekly publication after the war, it returned to daily circulation in 1935, six years after it was taken over by the Peter chain.[20] Peter also purchased the weekly Toledo (OH) *Express* in 1933 and the daily Buffalo (NY) *Volksfreund* in 1935. He also acquired in 1931 the *Katholisches Wochenblatt*, which at that time served as a German-language organ for the archdiocese of Chicago. The available circulation figures for all these newspapers are questionable and not always clear, but it is probably safe to say that in the late 1930s the output of the Peter chain as a whole was greater than the largest single German-American newspaper of the day, the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung und Herold*, which as separate papers published about 70,000 copies daily in 1934 and as combined into one paper published about 50,000 in 1940.[21]

Although the Peter newspaper chain was at its zenith in the 1930s, conditions that would bring about its waning were already at work. The Great Depression and the approach of the Second World War no doubt had some influence, but a far more important factor was the inexorable workings of demography. By the 1930s the Peter papers had absorbed the readership of virtually all the other German newspapers in the regions they covered; there were few newspapers left to acquire, especially in the West. The total pool of potential readers, without any prospect of increase by new immigration, was headed toward rapid decline. The great majority of first-generation Germans had come in the wave of the 1880s and mortality was now making swift inroads upon them. Peter had chosen to concentrate his efforts in areas where many second-generation Germans still adhered to the German language. But most of these second-generation Germans were children of the wave of the 1880s; by 1940, their average age was forty-eight and about 56 percent of them were over the age of fifty. Many of these second-generation Germans had learned their German before the First World War in parochial or public schools, whose German-language instruction programs declined sharply after the war. Younger German-Americans had therefore had less opportunity to learn German.[22] With immigration having declined to a trickle and little revival in sight, there appeared to be nowhere for the German press to go but downward.[23]

It was under such pressures that the Peter newspaper chain began in the late 1930s a process of consolidating nearly all production of their newspapers in the Omaha printing facility, leaving only small editorial and business-office functions in the outlying communities. The first paper to be brought to Omaha was the Kansas City *Presse* in 1937. Peter began to print the St. Paul *Volkszeitung* in Omaha in 1938, followed by the Toledo *Express* in 1939, and by the Lincoln *Welt-Post*, the Buffalo *Volksfreund*, the Denver *Colorado Herold*, the *Katholisches Wochenblatt* and *Der Landmann* in 1940. Before American entry into the Second World War, then, all of the publishing activities of the Peter enterprise had been relocated to Omaha, with the exception of the Baltimore *Correspondent*, which continued to be published in Baltimore under the supervision of two sons of Val Peter. The Baltimore paper, however, had to reduce its frequency from daily to semiweekly publication in June 1941.[24]

With the printing operation centered at Omaha, the character and content of the papers changed somewhat. Much of the editorial compilation of the paper was done at Omaha, meaning that there was a large element of shared material among all of them—national and international news, features, and syndicated material. Perhaps one or two pages of each newspaper might consist of local and regional news and advertising pertaining to the place for which the newspaper was published. The news was often less immediate, given the time consumed by shipping the copies from Omaha for distribution over distances as far as a thousand miles away.

Another trend becoming more discernible in the Peter newspapers since the 1920s was an increasingly noncommittal posture on many issues of national or state politics. The reason was primarily that the newspapers, as they tried to encompass Germans from different localities, had also to try not to offend Germans of different party persuasions by taking too partisan a stand. They needed all the readers they could find. Here there appears a great difference between the German journalism of the twentieth century and that of the mid-to-late-nineteenth century. In the late 1800s the German communities had many different divisions and differences, and the German press reflected those divisions. A given city might have a Democratic paper, a Republican paper, a Catholic-oriented paper, a Lutheran-oriented paper, a free-thinking paper, and perhaps others. The German community was still large enough to afford the luxury of conflict, and the German press very often exacerbated those conflicts.

Now, however, the press that very often represented the only German voice in a region would be striving to unite all Germans and to alienate none. The result was a general attitude of nonpartisanship and even a somewhat bland political stance. The Peter newspapers, for example, often refused to endorse candidates in elections during the

interwar period. Perhaps the one exception in the area of national elections was in 1940, when the newspapers came out editorially for Wendell Willkie.[25] This position probably reflected more than anything else the isolationism prevalent among Germans (of both parties) at the time. Willkie, although he certainly could not have been called an isolationist, was seen as less likely than Franklin D. Roosevelt to get the United States involved in the European war. In the next national election in the middle of the war (1944), the newspapers went back to simply printing pictures of both national candidates and endorsing neither.

After the process of consolidating the printing operations of the newspapers, the next logical step was the merging of them. This began in September 1941 when the *Katholisches Wochenblatt* and *Der Landmann* were merged; the same month the Omaha and St. Paul daily papers were merged as the *Volkszeitung-Tribüne*.[26] This left only one daily newspaper in the Peter enterprise. Wartime conditions brought further consolidation in 1942. In September of that year, Val Peter announced to the readers of the Kansas City *Presse* and the Denver *Colorado Herold* the termination of both these papers; readers with unexpired subscriptions would receive the *Volkszeitung-Tribüne* instead. In his statement to the readers, Peter answered the question why the papers were being ended:

> The reason is simple—immigration stopped a number of years ago. . . . There will be no new immigration till after the war and although at that time hundreds of thousands of liberty thirsty souls will seek admission here, there is a great question whether we—the United States—will look with favor on such mass migration.[27]

The shutting down of some of his newspapers came at a time when the war also placed great pressures on Peter and on other German newspaper publishers; he felt harassed by agents of the Treasury Department, whom he believed to be hounding German-American publishers and who had searched his office for records and papers for two weeks in August 1942.[28] At the same time, advertising revenue had declined sharply; in October 1942 he pleaded with readers to renew subscriptions, since he could no longer depend on advertising revenues.[29] Nevertheless, the principal reason his enterprise was shrinking, as he acknowledged, was that the first-generation immigrants who were the real mainstay of readership were now disappearing rapidly.

At the end of the war, the Peter chain renewed in a modest way its strategy of acquiring new newspapers and developing them as regional ones. All the new newspapers acquired, however, were printed in the Omaha plant, with usually only one or two people in the outlying city to handle business and local reporting. The first effort of this sort was the

purchase in July 1945 of the Bismarck (North Dakota) *Staats-Anzeiger*, a semiweekly published since before the First World War. In the first number which he published (and printed in Omaha), Val Peter declared his intent to make it the organ of German-Americanism in the Northwest States: North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Idaho and the Pacific States Washington, Oregon and California.[30] Realizing this ideal, however, proved difficult. Over the next few years the paper attempted to develop correspondents from locations in the Dakotas, Montana, Idaho, Oregon and elsewhere. Their correspondence often consisted of chatty personal letters, frequently of no great relevance to other German-Americans. Much of it seemed to reflect the perspectives of elderly Germans, and to show that there was little left of institutional German-America to report upon in these far-flung places. News reporting from Bismarck itself was sparse, as was the amount of local advertising—seldom more than a couple of columns in the whole paper. This perhaps revealed one of the economic difficulties of Peter's regional strategy. With papers now geared to a readership spread across many small and widely dispersed groups of German-Americans, advertisers in one locality might see no reason to pay to reach those subscribers outside their own local market. It is apparent from the pages of the newspaper that local advertising was dwindling rapidly.[31] Some of the same problems could be seen in the pages of the weekly *Welt-Post*, a paper dated at both Omaha and Lincoln but claiming to be the organ of the Volga Germans in the United States. This had indeed been the long-standing reputation of the paper, but after the Second World War the paper increasingly consisted of the same material seen in all other Peter newspapers. Usually one page carried items from Lincoln and other items concerning Volga Germans. There was other Great Plains news, but it was usually copied from the Omaha paper. In 1948 the long-standing editor, Dora Stauss, moved to California; her successor, while German-born, was not a Russian German.[32] The principal remaining tie to the Volga Germans was in Jacob Volz of York, Nebraska, who was the most frequent correspondent to the paper during the 1940s. Volz, who had immigrated from Russia in the 1920s and was now in his seventies, had little apparent contact with Volga German communities elsewhere in the West; his discussions often centered upon such subjects as boyhood memories of Russia, his own personal ailments (particularly hay fever), the home remedies his mother had used in Russia, comments on sermons heard in church, and the weather. After he died in 1950, there was little remaining in the paper of direct relevance to Volga Germans.[33]

Val Peter's most ambitious undertaking after the war was to start an entirely new German paper, the weekly *California Freie Presse*, in 1949 at San Francisco. San Francisco had had no German-language paper since the Second World War, and Peter apparently felt it was one of the most

likely centers of new immigration from Germany, if immigration was to revive. The undertaking may also reflect a perception that many elderly German-Americans were now moving to California from various parts of the West. The San Francisco paper was started after careful cultivation of the German organizations in the San Francisco area, and claimed to be sponsored by the United German-American Societies of San Francisco. It contained more local advertising and local news than did most of the Peter papers, evidence perhaps of the greater involvement with the German community. It remained one of the stronger papers in the Peter chain until the demise of the business in 1982. From its founding, the paper was always printed in Omaha and shipped by rail to California.[34] Peter apparently felt that cities on the East Coast like Baltimore and Buffalo might also be centers for renewed German immigration, but he was largely disappointed. The Baltimore paper continued to survive, if not prosper, through the agency of his two sons who continued to live there, to sell advertising, and to maintain contacts with the German community. The Buffalo *Volksfreund*, however, proved more difficult. In 1950 Peter made a concerted effort to shore up the declining circulation of the paper (now published twice weekly). He appointed a new manager, and made a trip to Buffalo in December of that year in order to gather together leaders of German organizations and ask for more readers and more support. The next month representatives of the united German organizations met, and promised to find a thousand new subscriptions for the paper. The paper made an apparent effort to cover the activities of the German organizations more thoroughly. Nevertheless the constituencies of these organizations themselves lacked new members and were in decline, and the paper continued to languish through the 1950s. The paper was reduced to weekly publication in early 1959.[35]

When Val J. Peter died in February 1960, his publishing enterprise still consisted of seven papers; with the exception of the Buffalo and Baltimore papers, most of them were in the West. The publications were taken over by his son William, along with other family members. During the 1960s they acquired other newspapers and brought them to the Omaha printing plant. These included papers in Milwaukee, Los Angeles, Chicago and Cincinnati. After purchasing several papers in 1964, the Peter enterprise claimed that the twelve papers it then owned constituted the largest German-language chain in the country.[36] In 1965 a new printing plant was opened at Omaha, with an offset press which produced the newspapers in tabloid format, standardized for all the newspapers. The Baltimore paper finally moved its printing to the Omaha plant in 1967. Increasingly the content of all the publications was the same, much of it boiler-plate feature articles and international news obtained from press sources in Germany. The meager local news and advertising material, the only variation from one paper to another, was usually confined to one

page. The failing economic health of the whole enterprise was portended by the dearth of advertising matter in most of the papers. The audience for the papers was now so thinly and widely spread that it was difficult to speak to any one German-American community in particular.

With further combinations and mergers, the Peter newspaper chain carried on until 1982. The entire chain, then consisting of eight newspapers, was sold to a Canadian firm, which would combine them with *America Woche*, published at Chicago.[37] William Peter, in a final statement, took note of the rising costs of production and postage; he also added, perhaps most significantly, that the circle of readers was dwindling, and that recent years had seen little increase of immigration that would bring any hope of future growth for the German press.[38] The long process of consolidating a newspaper business out of the dwindling structure of German ethnicity had finally reached its limit.

Villanova University
Villanova, Pennsylvania

Notes

[1] *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington, 1975), 105-6, 117.

[2] The impressive phenomenon of the German institutional structure at the turn of the century is discussed more fully in James M. Bergquist, "German-America in the 1890s: Illusions and Realities," in *Germans in America: Aspects of German-American Relations in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. E. Allen McCormick (New York: Brooklyn College Press, 1983), 1-14.

[3] Carl Wittke placed the peak of German publications' numbers at about 1892-93, at which point he counted 800 publications of all sorts, including 97 daily papers. No doubt the severe depression of the next few years helped to reduce those numbers. See Carl F. Wittke, *The German Language Press in America* (Lexington: Univ of Kentucky Press, 1957), 206-9; for other discussion of the numbers and circulation of these newspapers, see James M. Bergquist, "The German-American Press," in *The Ethnic Press in the United States*, ed. Sally M. Miller (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1987), 142-43.

[4] Nationally, 71 percent of second-generation Germans claimed German as their mother tongue in 1940. These figures are based on statistical samples from the census of 1940 and are summarized in a recent study by Walter D. Kamphoefner, "German-American Bilingualism: *cui malo*? Mother Tongue and Socioeconomic Status among the Second Generation in 1940" (paper read at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, San Francisco, 9 Jan. 1994).

[5] Wittke, *German Language Press*, 206-9; Joshua R. Fishman, Robert G. Hayden, and Mary Warshauer, "The Non-English and the Ethnic Group Press, 1910-1960," in *Language Loyalty in the United States*, ed. Joshua R. Fishman et al. (The Hague: Mouton, 1966), 51-74.

[6] Wittke, *German Language Press*, 272-74; Fishman et al., "The Non-English and the Ethnic Group Press," 51-74.

[7] Obituary in the *Volkszeitung-Tribüne* (Omaha and St. Paul), 26 Feb. 1960; Omaha *Tägliche Tribüne*, 25 June 1937. Before the First World War, Peter was also the leader in Nebraska of the National German-American Alliance; see Frederick C. Luebke, "The

German-American Alliance in Nebraska, 1910-1917," in his *Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois, 1990), 14-30.

[8] Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, comps., *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732-1955: History and Bibliography* (Heidelberg: Quelle and Meyer, 1961), 151-67, 281-98. Five of the Kansas newspapers were separate editions of the Wichita *Herold*.

[9] *N.W. Ayer & Son's Newspaper Annual and Directory* (Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer & Son, 1914), passim. Editions of this guide will hereafter be cited as *Ayer* with date of publication. The information contained in them is usually for the year preceding date of publication. Generally speaking, circulation figures are based on the publishers' statements, are not audited, and may be open to question.

[10] For discussion of the anti-German pressures in Nebraska, see Jack P. Rodgers, "The Foreign Language Issue in Nebraska, 1918-1923," *Nebraska History* 39 (Mar. 1958): 1-22; and Clifford L. Nelson, *German-American Political Behavior in Nebraska and Wisconsin, 1916-1920*, University of Nebraska Publication no. 217 (Lincoln, 1972), 27-35.

[11] Bergquist, "The German-American Press," 148-49; Wittke, *German Language Press*, 261-74; Frederick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German Americans and World War I* (De Kalb: Northern Illinois Univ. Press, 1974), 241-43.

[12] *Ayer*, 1914, 1920.

[13] Arndt and Olson, 244.

[14] *Ayer*, 1923.

[15] Omaha *Tribüne*, 24 May 1931.

[16] Omaha *Tribüne*, 15 Nov. 1927; 10 Jan. 1928; 24 May 1931.

[17] Much of the discussion in this article about the development and decline of the Peter newspaper chain is based upon review of its published output, especially the 350 bound volumes of newspapers donated by the Peter family in 1993 to the library of the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies in Philadelphia. These volumes (with a few exceptions) cover the period from 1927 on and include only the papers actually printed in the Omaha plant.

[18] Russian-German-oriented newspapers, including the *Welt-Post*, are discussed by La Vern J. Rippley, "Two German-American Newspapers as 'Communication Satellites': *Die Dakota Freie Presse* and *Die Welt-Post* Preserved the Identities of Germans from Russia," in *The German American Press*, ed. Henry Geitz (Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute f. German-American Studies, 1992), 169-81. In the years after the acquisition of the paper by Peter, its ties to the Volga Germans became more and more tenuous.

[19] Omaha *Tribüne*, 1 Oct. 1929.

[20] Edmund E. Miller, *The Hundred Year History of the German Correspondent, Baltimore, Maryland* (Baltimore: Baltimore Correspondent, 1941), 16-20.

[21] *Ayer*, 1935, 1941.

[22] Statistical analysis from Kamphoefner, "German-American Bilingualism: *cui malo*?," pp. 5-9 and tables 1 and 2. Kamphoefner notes that German-language retention was considerably higher in rural areas than in urban ones.

[23] Nationally, the German-born population declined from 1,608,814 in 1930 to 991,231 in 1950 (no figures are available for 1940); the native-born of German descent declined from 5,204,289 in 1930 to 3,998,840 in 1940 and to 3,742,615 in 1950. *Historical Statistics of the U. S.*, 116-17.

[24] Arndt and Olson, 187; Toledo *Express*, 13 Oct. 1939.

[25] Kansas City *Presse*, 30 Oct. 1940.

[26] *Katholisches Wochenblatt*, 4 Sept. 1941.

[27] Kansas City *Presse*, 10 Sept. 1942; Colorado *Herold*, 27 Sept. 1942. The Toledo *Express* was also terminated in 1943.

[28] Val Peter obituary in *Volkszeitung-Tribüne*, 26 Feb. 1960. The *Volkszeitung-Tribüne* ended daily publication and became a triweekly at the beginning of 1950; it became a weekly in February 1959.

[29] *Volkszeitung-Tribüne*, 8 Oct. 1942.

[30] Bismarck *Staats-Anzeiger*, 13 and 17 July 1945.

[31] These generalizations about the content of the *Staats-Anzeiger* are based on a review of the files from 1945 to 1965; with some thorough analysis of the contents of issues of 27 June 1946; 15 June 1952; 31 July 1959; and 19 Nov. 1965. Post office forms published in the issue of 13 Oct. 1967 stated that the paid circulation of the *Staats-Anzeiger* at that time was 1,236.

[32] *Welt-Post*, 16 and 23 Dec. 1948.

[33] Review of the *Welt-Post* files from 1945 to 1950; obituaries, issues of 30 Mar. 1950 and 6 April 1950. The *Welt-Post* and the Bismarck *Staats-Anzeiger* were merged in September 1970 and continued publication as one newspaper until 1982. The *Welt-Post*'s paid circulation was stated in 1967 as 424 (issue of 13 Oct. 1967); the issue of 9 Oct. 1970 gave the paid circulation of the merged *Welt-Post und Staats-Anzeiger* as 927.

[34] San Francisco *California Freie Presse*, 15 April 1949; and review of issues of subsequent years. The paper's post office statement in the issue of 13 Oct. 1967 claimed a total paid circulation of 4,532. At that time, it carried more local news and advertising than the other Peter papers.

[35] Buffalo *Volksfreund*, 29 May 1950; 21 Dec. 1950; 15 Jan. 1950; 25 Feb. 1959.

[36] Buffalo *Volksfreund*, 5 June 1964.

[37] The eight remaining newspapers were the Omaha *Volkszeitung-Tribüne*, the Buffalo *Volksfreund*, the *Welt-Post*, the Milwaukee *Herold*, the Cincinnati *Kurier*, the *California Freie Presse*, the St. Louis *Deutsche Wochenschrift*, and the general weekly *Amerika Herold und Sonntagspost*.

[38] Omaha *Volkszeitung-Tribüne*, 28 May 1982; the same statement was published in all of the newspapers.

Gerhard P. Bassler

The United States as a Factor in German-Speaking Migrations to Canada in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

In the literature dealing with the history of Canadian immigration, one can identify two conflicting perspectives on the role played by the United States. According to American historian Marcus Lee Hansen's groundbreaking study, *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples* (1940), Canada's migration and settlement patterns were from the beginning intertwined with those of the United States. For centuries the continental frontier of settlement and the expansion of the North Atlantic economy determined population movements on an international scale, Hansen argued. Canadians moved to America and Americans to Canada following the pull of opportunity and adventure. In so doing they ignored national boundaries, immigration policies, and political allegiances.[1]

In the perspective prevalent among Canadian analysts, on the other hand, America posed an ever-present challenge, if not threat, to the development of a resident Canadian population and national identity. As one Canadian historian expressed it:

> Canada lived uneasily beside the United States colossus that was brutally developing its national destiny through intensive exploitation of its vast resources. Indeed for generations economic opportunities to the south attracted thousands of Canadians, particularly native-born, while for large numbers of immigrants, Canada was a mere way station en route to the fabled riches of the Republic.[2]

Not only were Canadian officials unhappy about the steady drain of population to the United States, but for almost a century they were also apprehensive about a large influx from America. In 1826, for example, Upper Canada's lieutenant governor (Maitland) was so worried about the mass influx of American settlers (outnumbering Loyalists and British immigrants) that he considered "a speedy settlement of the Colony" to be a "secondary object compared to its settlement in such a manner as shall best secure its attachment to British Laws and Government."[3]

Unlike the United States, Canada has traditionally been as concerned with restricting immigration as with promoting it. Anxious after 1760 to keep a British identity, Canada was challenged to obtain and retain white British Protestants or easily assimilable Northwest Europeans and to keep out others. Not surprisingly, Canada's immigration record has found little attention in the standard works of Canadian history, and it is no accident that no comprehensive scholarly study of Canadian immigration exists to date. Instead, Canada's ambivalence toward immigration has helped to entrench in the Anglo-Canadian historical consciousness the inaccurate notions that until the twentieth century Canada owed its development to the mass influx of desirable British settlers systematically recruited in the mother country and that Canada's multicultural population did not originate until the late nineteenth-century colonization of the West.

In Germany, Canadian attitudes towards immigration generated some curious, uneasy notions about emigration to Canada. For example, in 1847 they inspired Robert von Mohl's charge, repeated throughout the nineteenth-century public emigration debate, that in Canada "die Verschlingung der deutschen Nationalität durch die englische (absorption of the German identity by the English)"[4] was a certainty. In 1858 the German Federal Diet's committee on emigration regulations concluded with reference to Canada,

> dieses Land nicht weiter in Betracht ziehen zu sollen, weil in einer unter brittischer Herrschaft stehenden Colonie von selbständigem Aufblühen deutscher Ansiedlungen unter Bewahrung der ursprünglichen Nationalität nicht wird die Rede seyn können [not to give any further consideration to this country, because in a colony under British rule there can be no question of an independent flourishing of German settlements enabling the preservation of their original national identity].[5]

Some published comparisons of German life in Canada with that of the United States alleged that German immigrants assimilated within their lifetime.[6] "Bereits die nächste Generation sprach nicht nur englisch, sie

The Counties in Southwestern Ontario

areas originally settled predominantly by Germans

(based on Heinz Lehman, *The German Canadians 1750-1937*)

fühlte auch schon so [the following generation not only spoke English but also identified as such]," wrote an allegedly informed observer in 1911. In Berlin, Ontario, the German capital of Canada, this observer claimed to be able to communicate only in English, and in the purely German settlement of Ladysmith in the Ottawa Valley he found the immigrants' *Deutschtum* after four decades "so völlig untergegangen, daß selbst die Erinnerung an die deutsche Herkunft ausgelöscht ist [so thoroughly gone that even the memory of their German origin was extinguished]."[7] Like the United States, he noted, Canada had always welcomed German immigrants but unlike the United States, Canada presented itself to him as "ein Staatengebilde und ein Volk, in dem von irgendwelchem deutschen Einfluß nichts mehr zu spüren ist [a formation of states and a population in which any German influence is no longer noticeable]."[8]

Were Germans destined, critics wondered throughout the nineteenth century, to serve merely as *Völkerdünger* [demographic fertilizer] for an Anglo-Canadian population?[9] This certainly did not promote German migration to Canada, especially in view of the emigrants' reported inherent suspicion of the British monarchic system of government[10] and the perception of Canada "als ein rauhes, für europäische Kultur und Besiedlung wenig geeignetes Land [a rough land little suited for European settlement and culture]."[11]

In light of this negative image, what factors account for German-speaking migrations to Canada in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries? A review of the main waves and patterns of German immigration suggests that Canada's proximity to the United States was the overriding factor. From 1776 to the present, the significance of the American factor manifested itself in at least five respects: (1) Canada offered asylum to refugees from the United States, (2) prospective European emigrants viewed Canada as an extension of America, (3) Canada became the second choice when entry to the United States was blocked by war or quota restrictions, (4) the initial choice of Canadian ports and routes for cheap and fast access to the American frontier led to the decision to stay in Canada, and (5) residents in the United States recognized and seized opportunities in Canada.

The history of German-speaking immigration to Canada may be divided into six major waves: (1) the arrivals prior to the American Revolution, (2) the stream generated by the American Revolution, (3) the migrations from Germany 1830-80, (4) the settlements in western Canada 1874-1914, (5) the immigration between the world wars, and (6) the post-World War II influx.

German speakers have always formed the second or third largest ethnic element in Canada. They have lived on the territory of present-day Canada since at least a century and a half prior to the American Revolution—as individual settlers in New France since the early

seventeenth century.[12] In Nova Scotia they have formed a community since 1750.[13] The American Revolution itself, however, triggered the migration of the largest waves of German speakers to Canada. These consisted essentially of three groups—Loyalists, German auxiliary troops also known as "Hessians," and Pennsylvania-German Mennonites. While Hessians attracted no noticeable follow-up migrations from Germany to Canada, the Loyalists and Pennsylvania Mennonites initiated a continuing influx of Germans from Pennsylvania and other American states.

The United Empire Loyalists—refugees from the American Revolution—consisted of a broad spectrum of ethnic, religious, and racial minority groups. Germans were unquestionably the most numerous Loyalists of non-British descent. They were an estimated 10-20 percent of the 6,000-10,000 Loyalists (by 1786).[14] For Upper Canada their proportion among the Loyalists has been estimated as high as 40 percent.[15] Arriving in Canada as early as 1776,[16] these German Loyalists formed Ontario's first communities of continental European settlers.[17] The majority of these German Loyalists were the children of Germans who in 1710 or thereafter had emigrated from the Palatinate and adjoining regions to New York. There they became embroiled in the politics and allegiances of powerful Irish Loyalist landlords whose tenants and neighbors they were.[18]

To suppress the American Revolution, Britain contracted in various German states for some 30,000 auxiliary troops. Of these so-called Hessians, 12,000 were stationed on Canadian soil from 1776 to 1783; an estimated 2,400 of these remained in Canada.[19] Their impact was twofold. First, the highly skilled artists, craftsmen, and professionals among them brought professional standards to Quebec. Second, they had a significant demographic impact on the primitive Canadian society of the day by the mere fact that they accounted for 3-4 percent of Canada's entire male population in 1783. In the Quebec towns where the Hessians were billeted, they married local girls and assimilated rapidly.[20] Their families with as many as fourteen to eighteen children bequeathed to Canada numerous descendants who identified themselves as francophones.[21]

On the heels of Loyalists and Hessians came Mennonites from Pennsylvania. These pacifist Anabaptist farmers began to migrate because they feared the fervor of American nationalism and needed new land for their proliferating population. Furthermore, the presence in Canada of relatively large numbers of German Loyalist and Hessian settlers appeared a good omen for the continuation of the Mennonites' German culture. Preferring to settle in cohesive patterns, they were able to acquire a huge block of land at the Grand River in Waterloo County. Subsequently, through decades of engaging in chain migration, they transplanted to Canada their families and coreligionists as well as their Pennsylvania German culture and dialect.[22] They also enticed to Canada a considerable influx of Amish from Germany.[23]

Because they insisted on the maintenance of their German culture as an integral part of their faith, the Mennonites have been one of the most enduring elements of the German Canadian population. Their colonies at the Grand River and in the Niagara District, while isolating themselves from British immigrants, attracted almost the entire immigration to Canada from German states between the 1830s and 1850s. As in Pennsylvania, where the exemplary farms Mennonites carved out of the wilderness along the Conestoga and Pequea rivers funnelled increasing numbers of German immigrants to Lancaster, Montgomery, and Bucks counties, so in Ontario the Pennsylvania Mennonites were responsible for the development of an area of concentrated German settlement.[24]

During this period, another small group of noteworthy immigrants from Germany moved to Canada because of business failure in the United States. It was led by William Moll-Berczy who became the cofounder of Toronto in 1794. After being cheated out of his partnership in the gigantic Pulteney settlement project in the Genesee Valley of New York, he acquired a grant of 64,000 acres of wilderness land in Markham Township in order to initiate a colonization venture on a scale comparable to that of the Mennonites on the Grand River. At the site of present-day Toronto's Yonge Street, his group of 190 settlers from Germany hewed a road through the virgin forest from Lake Ontario to Lake Simcoe, cleared one quarter of the land, cultivated fields, erected a church and a school, and built a model settlement whose "German Mills" became known throughout the province. But in 1803 the Executive Council of Upper Canada, unwilling to support an alien upstart and distrusting the motives of his German Company, declared the reserved lands forfeited, and the enterprise had to disband in bankruptcy.[25]

Canada's first mass immigration from Germany in the nineteenth century was in reality not directed at Canada at all. It was an offshoot of the great English-German-Scandinavian trek to the American Midwestern frontier. Most of the 50,000-60,000 Germans who settled in southern and western Ontario between the 1820s and 1870s ended up in Canada by chance. They had emigrated in order to homestead in America. Immigrants at the time saw Canada not so much as a country or place of settlement as the road to the Midwestern United States.[26] The two main overland routes to the American West—from Quebec along the St. Lawrence River and from New York along the Hudson River to Lake Ontario—intersected in southwestern Ontario. Both routes were of equal distance and difficulty for immigrants but differed significantly in the ocean passage leading to them.

The Quebec route brought passengers via Liverpool—there was no direct connection between Quebec and Hamburg or Bremen until 1846. It was patronized largely by impoverished emigrants because the small and overcrowded ships sailing it could offer lower rates by avoiding the

passenger regulations of New York. Of the over 40,000 Germans landing in Quebec from Hamburg and Bremen from 1850 to 1857, three quarters moved on to the American West. Those 10,000-12,000 remaining in Canada did so partly for lack of financial resources to complete their journey and partly because the Canadian government appointed in Quebec a German-speaking agent who tried to direct the immigrants to Canadian destinations.[27]

The majority of German emigrants bound for the United States, however, preferred the more frequent, faster, and more comfortable passage to an American seaport, especially New York. For these immigrants the main route to the American West led from New York up the Hudson River, across Lake Ontario and the Niagara River through southwestern Ontario.[28] By 1848 an estimated 12,000 German immigrants following the New York route remained in Canada.

Germans traveling through Canada from New York to Detroit found many reasons and opportunities for staying. Some were surprised to meet Mennonite farmers speaking their own or a similar German dialect and offering company and work to non-Mennonite Germans.[29] Mennonite farmers, relates Mabel Dunham, "always found a corner in their conestogas for pedestrians . . . and they took many a German not only across the river but as far into Upper Canada as they cared to go. . . . The Germans then hired themselves to the Mennonites and learned from them the rudiments of new-world agriculture."[30] There they discovered, as one Waterloo immigrant wrote to Germany in 1831, that one could "make money easily, as you can make hay, if only you want to work for it."[31]

The Canadian government was alarmed at the momentum of the American westward flow, fearing an exodus of Canadians and loss of Canadian control over the uninhabited border regions. As many as six Canadian immigration agents traveled throughout Germany between 1857 and 1866 hoping to acquire a permanent population for the strategically important area between the lower Ottawa River and Georgian Bay. However, only the disruptions wrought by the American Civil War helped to achieve this objective. The war diverted German immigrants headed for America to the secluded and agriculturally marginal wilderness lands of the upper Ottawa Valley where German-speaking agents stationed at the Quebec and Ottawa ports directed them to their destinations. These pioneer settlers initiated a chain migration which by 1891 brought a population of 12,000 permanent German settlers to this area.[32]

Apart from the influx to the Ottawa Valley, Canada remained unaffected by the peak years (1880-92) of emigration from Germany. Of western Canada's 152,000 German pioneer settlers by 1911, no more than 12 percent originated in Germany, despite the extensive network of Canadian emigration agents there and their promotional efforts under

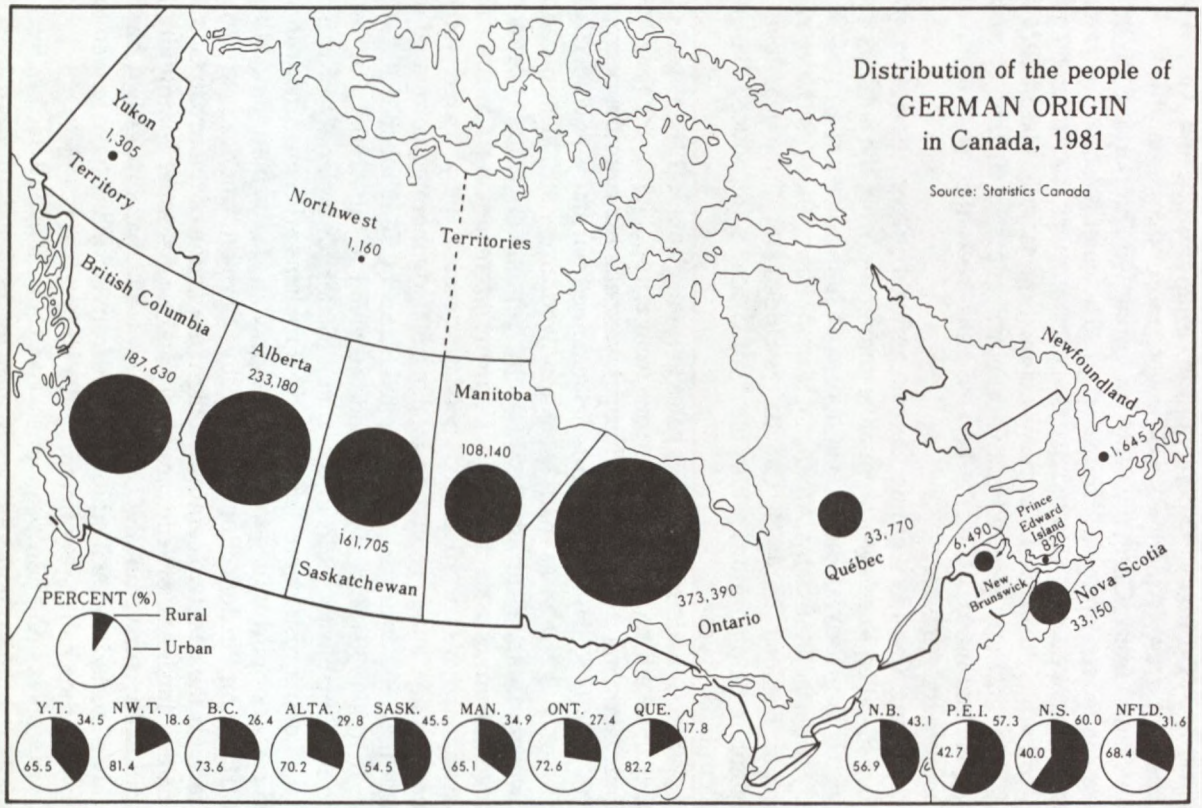
such slogans as "Canada, the new America."[33] Instead, more than half came from ethnic German enclaves in eastern Europe, for example the Black Sea Coast, the Volga, and Volhynia in the Russian Empire, the Romanian Dobrudja (6 percent of German immigrants), the Habsburg Empire (18 percent), especially its non-German parts, and the United States.[34]

Mennonites from Russia, disliking the abrogation of their cultural privileges and military service exemptions, were the first German-speaking settlers in western Canada. Arriving in Manitoba in 1874, they would have preferred to relocate to the United States had their request for cohesive village settlement not been refused by the American government. By 1892 they had spread their block settlements to Saskatchewan and attracted a continuous flow of coreligionists from Russia, the United States, and Germany to the Canadian prairies.[35]

Western Canada's largest German block settlements were the German-American Catholic colonies of St. Peter's and St. Joseph's, covering areas of fifty and seventy-seven townships respectively. St. Peter's was founded in 1902 at the initiative of Benedictine monks from Minnesota and Illinois. Their aim was to funnel the growing westward stream of Catholic German-Americans into closed settlements so that the retention of German ethnicity would help preserve the immigrants' Catholic faith. By 1911 St. Peter's colony had 6,000 German-Catholic settlers, most of them first or second-generation immigrants from Germany and Russia to Minnesota, the Dakotas, Wisconsin, and Kansas. The spectacular development of St. Peter's encouraged its initiators to launch St. Joseph's in 1904.[36]

In Alberta, German American pioneer settlers played a prominent role from the beginning. Starting in 1893 they pioneered large-scale American migrations to western Canada.[37] There they formed joint settlements with Germans from Galicia (and other German-speaking regions in Europe) who in turn initiated Ukrainian migrations to Canada.[38] The first German group migration to British Columbia came in the wake of the Cariboo gold strike of 1858, when a high percentage of the first diggers and subsequent waves of miners to the Fraser River Valley were Germans from California.[39]

Even during 1918, despite the anti-German sentiment sweeping the country, Canada experienced an unanticipated influx of deeply pacifist German speakers from the United States. These were 1,000 Hutterites and 500-600 Mennonites who fled to Canada, because of the intense intolerance in the United States towards pacifists after American entry into the war. All but one of the eighteen Hutterite colonies, whose members were descendants of German-speaking immigrants to South Dakota from the Ukraine in the 1870s, were able to enter Canada on the basis of an Order-in-Council of 1899 that specifically granted them


Distribution of the people of
GERMAN ORIGIN
in Canada, 1981
Source: Statistics Canada
Yukon Territory
1,305
Northwest Territories
1,160
British Columbia
187,630
Alberta
233,180
Saskatchewan
161,705
Manitoba
108,140
373,390
Ontario
33,770
Québec
Newfoundland
1,645
Prince Edward Island
870
6,490
New Brunswick
Nova Scotia
33,150
PERCENT (%)
Rural
Urban
Y.T. 34.5
65.5
NW.T. 18.6
81.4
B.C. 26.4
73.6
ALTA. 29.8
70.2
SASK. 45.5
54.5
MAN. 34.9
65.1
ONT. 27.4
72.6
QUE. 17.8
82.2
N.B. 43.1
56.9
P.E.I. 57.3
42.7
N.S. 60.0
40.0
NFLD. 31.6
68.4

immunity from military service. However, in May 1919 Canada shut its doors to all Hutterites and Mennonites until 1921, and to nationals of former enemy countries until 1923.[40]

Between 1924 and 1930 Canada received 100,000 Germans (one quarter from Germany, 52 percent from eastern Europe and Austria, and 18 percent from America). However, more than one third of the immigrants from Germany and an unknown proportion of ethnic Germans moved on to the United States. The chief reason why so many Germans moved to the United States via Canada was the American quota system, which restricted Germany's annual quota to 51,000 in 1924 and 26,000 in 1929 and granted only a minimal quota to citizens of eastern European countries. Canada became thus both the gateway to and substitute for America.[41]

Among Canada's ethnic German influx between the world wars, 21,000 so-called *Russländer* Mennonite immigrants from the famine-ridden Soviet Union formed the largest and most homogeneous group. Their entry was facilitated by American Mennonites. The *Russländer* chose Canada because in 1921 Canada rescinded its three-year ban on Mennonite immigration, while the United States introduced its quota system in that year.[42]

When Canada reopened its gates to immigrants in 1947 as part of its policy of resettling displaced persons from Europe, refugee *Volksdeutsche* [ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe] were eligible from the beginning. In the United States *Volksdeutsche* remained virtually excluded until 1950—only 3,270 visas had been approved from 58,000 applications. However, Canada admitted 21,000 by September 1950. Mennonite refugees from Russia living in Germany were among Canada's first postwar arrivals of displaced persons because they feared forcible repatriation. Canada received a total of 6,500 Mennonites, compared with fewer than 600 admitted to the United States by September 1950.[43]

In the 1950s and 1960s Canada received a substantial number of Germans unable to settle in the United States for a variety of reasons, such as quota restrictions (until 1965). Problems with an American visa and career opportunities for specialists in Canada, or both, tended to be the trigger for the deflection of prospective German Americans to Canada. In fact, for the past two centuries a high proportion of the urban German-Canadian business, artistic, academic, and professional community has traditionally come from the United States while, paradoxically, Canada's highly educated and skilled immigrants from Germany have tended to be drawn to the challenges offered by the United States.

In conclusion, European push and Canadian pull factors such as Canadian immigration policy are usually believed to have been the determinants of German-speaking migrations to Canada. However, an examination of the historical pattern of these migrations shows the United

States to be a key factor in virtually every major wave, region, and type of German settlement to Canada since 1776. Significant numbers of German-speakers who had planned to settle in the United States ended up in Canada. Numerous German-Americans, by the historic twists of a shared fate, thus became German-Canadians and vice versa.

Memorial University of Newfoundland
St. John's, Newfoundland

Notes

[1] The financial support of the Government of Canada and the Max Kade Foundation, Inc., of New York is gratefully acknowledged. All translations from German are my own, unless indicated otherwise.

[2] Lewis Hertzman, "L'Immigration au Canada avant et après la Confédération," in Commission Internationale D'Histoire des Mouvements Sociaux et des Structures Sociales, ed., *Les Migrations Internationales de la Fin du XVIIIe Siècle a nos Jours* (Paris, 1980), 80.

[3] Quoted in Gerald M. Craig, *Upper Canada: The Formative Years 1784-1841* (Toronto, 1963), 47.

[4] Robert von Mohl, "Über Auswanderung," *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft* 4 (1847): 329. As late as the 1920s Walther Tuckermann, "Das Deutschtum in Kanada," *Aus Sozial- und Wirtschaftgeschichte: Gedächtnisschrift für Georg von Below* (Stuttgart, 1928), 331, refers to the "stille, aber beharrlich wirkende Aufsaugungsarbeit des herrschenden Volkes. . . . Die Grabsteine auf den Mennonitenfriedhöfen in Ontario sind schon seit Jahrzehnten fast ausschließlich englisch beschriftet."

[5] Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart (HSAS), E 46-48, vol. 886, no. 33a/5, "Zur 21. Bundestagssitzung vom Jahre 1858. Zusammenstellung der in den einzelnen Bundesstaaten geltenden, in Folge Beschlusses vom 3. April 1856 von den höchsten und hohen Regierungen dem Ausschuß mitgeteilten Gesetze und Verordnungen über Auswanderung. Beilage zu Vortrag des am 28. Februar 1856 gewählten Ausschusses, den Antrag von Bayern über Auswanderung betreffend," p. 19.

[6] "Es klingt befremdend, wenn man beim Eintritt in eine deutsche Familie die Eltern unter sich englisch und mit dem Landsmann deutsch verhandeln hört, während die Kinder nur englisch verstehen," reported Dr. phil. Eduard Wiedersheim, *Kanada: Reisebeschreibung und Bericht über die dortigen land- und volkswirthschaftlichen Verhältnisse* (Stuttgart, 1882), 96.

[7] Dr. Hammann, "Vom Deutschtum in Kanada," *Deutschtum im Ausland* (Berlin, 1911), 503. In reality, the opposite was true. The German mother tongue of Ladysmith's immigrants of the 1860s-1890s survived for almost a century. See Werner Bausenhart, "The German Settlement of Ladysmith, Quebec, and the Dialect spoken by its Settlers," *German-Canadian Yearbook* 4 (1978): 234-45; E. Kuntz, "Die alte deutsche Siedlung Ladysmith," *Kanada Kurier*, 1 December 1983.

[8] Hammann, 502, 506f.

[9] Franz Löher, *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika* (Göttingen, 1855), vol. 1. As late as 1914, a leaflet titled *Die Deutschen Kanadas Kulturdünger?* was found circulating in western Canada. See Heinz Lehmann, *Das Deutschtum in Westkanada* (Berlin, 1939), 292.

[10] J. G. Kohl, *Travels in Canada, and through the States of New York and Pennsylvania*, vol. 1 (London, 1861), 237f.

[11] W. Mönckmeier, *Die deutsche überseeische Auswanderung: Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Wanderungsgeschichte* (Jena, 1912), 207.

[12] H. W. Debor, *1664-1964: Die Deutschen in der Provinz Quebec* (Montreal, 1963), 4-10.

[13] Winthrop Pickard Bell, *The "Foreign Protestants" and the Settlement of Nova Scotia* (Toronto, 1961).

[14] Werner Bausenhart, *German Immigration and Assimilation in Ontario, 1783-1918* (New York, Ottawa, Toronto: 1989), 19; Joan Magee, *Loyalist Mosaic: A Multi-Ethnic Heritage* (Toronto, 1984), 25; Dexter Hawn, *'Palatines' und deren Nachkommen unter den Loyalisten in Kanada*, Canadiana Germanica, Occasional Papers, no.4 (Toronto, 1983), 2.

[15] Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People* (Toronto, 1975), 55.

[16] E. Elmore Reaman, *The Trail of the Black Walnut* (Toronto, 1957), 45-56.

[17] James Croil, *Dundas* (Montreal, 1861), 127f.

[18] Werner A. Bausenhart, "Factors Contributing to the Assimilation of the German United Empire Loyalists of the Upper St. Lawrence and the Bay of Quinté," *German Canadian Studies Annals* 5 (1986): 20-31; Bausenhart, *German Immigration*, 30-37; Carl R. Cronmiller, *A History of the Lutheran Church in Canada* (Toronto, 1961), 91ff.; Heinz Lehmann, *The German Canadians 1750-1837: Immigration, Settlement, and Culture* (St. John's, 1986), 50-56.

[19] Bausenhart, *German Immigration*, 26; J. P. Wilhelmy, *German Mercenaries in Canada* (Beloeil, 1985), 248; Herbert Wilhelm Debor, "German Regiments in Canada, 1776-1783," *German-Canadian Yearbook* 2 (1975): 34-49, and "German Soldiers of the American War of Independence as Settlers in Canada," *German-Canadian Yearbook* 3 (1976): 71-93.

[20] DeMarce, 28-30; Arthur Caux, "Les colons allemands dans Lothbinière," *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* 57 (1951): 51-59; Robert-Lionel Seguin, "L'apport germanique dans le peuplement de Vaudreuil et Soulanges," *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* 63 (1957): 34-58.

[21] Debor, *1664-1964*, 17.

[22] L. J. Burkholder, *A Brief History of the Mennonites in Ontario* (Markham, 1935), 24; Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920*, 54f.; S. M. Burke and M. H. Hill, eds., *From Pennsylvania to Waterloo: Pennsylvania-German Folk Culture in Transition* (Kitchener, 1991).

[23] Burkholder, 218-43.

[24] Lehmann, *The German Canadians*, 70f.

[25] See John Andre, *William Berczy, Co-Founder of Toronto* (Toronto, 1967), and *Infant Toronto as Simcoe's Folly* (Toronto, 1971).

[26] Orm Överland, ed., *Johan Schröder's Travels in Canada, 1863* (Montreal and Kingston, 1989), 39. Norman MacDonald, *Canada's Immigration Policy, 1840-1903* (Toronto, 1957), 33, estimates that, as late as 1864, some 90 percent of British tenant farmers were unaware of the existence of Canada. Bausenhart, *German Immigration*, 54, assumes that this proportion was even higher in the German states.

[27] Lehmann, *The German Canadians*, 19ff.; G. P. Bassler, "Die Anfänge der deutschen Massenwanderung nach Britisch Nordamerika im 19. Jahrhundert," *Annalen Deutschkanadische Studien* 2 (1978): 4-18.

[28] Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples* (New Haven, 1940), 105f., 111f.

[29] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920*, 85.

[30] Mabel Dunham, *Grand River* (Toronto, 1945), 125f.

[31] Letter by Philipp Lautenschlager to his father, brothers, and sisters, as quoted in Gottlieb Leibbrandt, *Little Paradise: The Saga of the German Canadians of Waterloo County, Ontario, 1800-1975* (Kitchener, 1980), 30ff.

[32] Peter Hessell, *Destination Ottawa Valley* (Ottawa, 1984), 87-93, 110-16. Brenda Lee Whiting, *Harvest of Stones: The German Settlement in Renfrew County* (Toronto, 1985).

[33] HSAS, E 46-48, vol. 895, Abschrift einer Anfrage aus Leipzig vom 14.1.1913.

[34] Lehmann, *The German Canadians*, 133.

[35] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920*, 183-208; Royden K. Loewen, *Family, Church, and Market: A Mennonite Community in the Old and the New Worlds, 1850-1930* (Toronto, 1993).

[36] Lehmann, *The German Canadians*, 198-239.

[37] Howard and Tamara Palmer, eds., *The Peoples of Alberta: Portraits of Cultural Diversity* (Saskatoon, 1985), 5, 16-20.

[38] See William A. Czumer, *Recollections About the Life of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada* (Edmonton, 1981).

[39] Bruce Ramsay, *A History of the German-Canadians in British Columbia* (Vancouver, 1958).

[40] Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920*, 365-414. William Janzen, *Limits on Liberty: The Experience of Mennonite, Hutterite, and Doukhobor Communities in Canada* (Toronto, 1990), 167-97; Thomas P. Socknat, *Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada, 1900-1945* (Toronto, 1987), 75-78. James C. Juhnke, *Vision, Doctrine, War: Mennonite Identity and Organization in America, 1890-1930* (Waterloo, Ont., 1985), 233.

[41] Lehmann, *The German Canadians*, 147-64.

[42] Frank H. Epp, *Mennonite Exodus: The Rescue and Resettlement of Russian Mennonites since the Communist Revolution* (Altona, 1962); John B. Toews, *Lost Fatherland: The Story of the Mennonite Emigration from Soviet Russia, 1921-1927* (Scottsdale, 1967); E. K. Francis, *In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites in Manitoba* (Glencoe, 1955), 202-13.

[43] G. P. Bassler, " Canadian Postwar Immigration Policy and the Admission of German Enemy Aliens, 1945-50," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 22 (1987): 183-97.

Book Reviews

Edited by Jerry Glenn
University of Cincinnati

The German-Americans: An Ethnic Experience.
By Willi Paul Adams. American edition, translated and adapted by La Vern J. Rippley and Eberhard Reichmann. Indianapolis, IN: Max Kade German-American Center, Indiana University—Purdue University of Indianapolis, 1993. 46 pages. $5.25

"Translators," said Goethe, "may be viewed as industrious panderers who praise as most desirable a half-veiled beauty; they arouse in us an irresistible longing for the original." In the case of W. P. Adams's 1990 work, *Deutsche im Schmelztiegel der USA,* Rippley and Reichmann have produced an excellent translation and adaptation that spares the English reader any need to visit the dubious world of panderers and unveiled beauties in search of a more attractive original.

This short work contains eleven chapters covering topics such as immigration causes and patterns; social and economic structures; church, school, and language; politics; American nativism; and the multicultural society. There are many pictures, a German-American chronology, and an English-language bibliography. Despite the focus on the German experience in the "melting-pot" of America, an important thrust of Adams's work (which seems to be part of a series, "Miteinander leben in Berlin") is how Germany, and in particular Berlin, might respond to the new demographic pressures brought about by increasing immigration. Adams wants to show that many of the efforts undertaken to deal with the flood of foreigners into German society were anticipated by the eventually successful process of German immigrant integration into

American society. He maintains that the tendency of foreigners to live in the same neighborhood, form their own clubs, frequent their own houses of worship, etc., which has been criticized in Germany as "misdirected development" (2), may in fact be necessary steps on the road to integration. In the English-edition preface the translators describe their view of America as a multicultural nation, in which each element can be a source of strength and pride. They see Adams's essay as a reminder that "each generation is called upon to work toward ethnic and racial harmony and to overcome tensions born out of indifference, misunderstanding and distrust" (1).

The translation is almost flawless, with only one or two awkward phrasings and a misprint of the date of a federal law (the translation first gives 1855 [12], then the correct year 1885 [35]). In general, the translators have remained true to the original. Their adaptations consist mainly of short deletions (some of which are paraphrased elsewhere in the text), and the addition of several references of interest to the American audience. A few of the additions/omissions/adaptations are a bit puzzling. For example: the reference to "militant particularism among the 'Krauts'" (24) does not reflect any view this reader could find in the original; the change from "*der* intellektuelle Achtundvierziger" to "*an* intellectual Forty-eighter" confuses the question of source (38); the change from "Chancengleichheit für *alle* (europäischen) Tüchtigen" (German edition, 39 [emphasis added]) to simply "*all* hardworking and talented immigrants" (40) may make Adams's statement more "politically correct," but distorts his point somewhat. These are perhaps quibbles about well-considered editorial decisions. There are just as many useful and clarifying additions. For example: the reference to Pennsylvania German (26); the Kurt Vonnegut quote about anti-Germanism during the First World War (29); and the German-American chronology (42-43), which will be helpful for newcomers to the field as well as more experienced teachers and scholars. In the concluding paragraph the translators have shifted the focus from Adams's more limited concern with the Berlin acceptance of foreigners to a broader consideration of the challenges facing the realization of a "functioning multicultural society" (41), and they second Adams's belief that the German-American experience can contribute to this realization.

As noted, the German and English versions are intended for two different audiences: the German for a city that is increasingly riven by ethnic divisions and xenophobia; the English for a country that, although not free of ethnic divisions, has at least demonstrated in the example of the German-Americans that "foreign bodies" can be successfully integrated into the larger society.

The pictures on the respective covers reflect these differences: the German edition shows a political cartoon of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, with the admonition that the hyphenated German-American is no longer acceptable ("Now It Must Be One or the Other"); whereas the translation carries a picture of a bronze group at the harbor of Bremerhaven, "Parents with Two Children," funded by German-Americans and expressing a sense of hope that new roots will be found in the new land.

Ohio University *Barry G. Thomas*

Michigan German in Frankenmuth: Variation and Change in an East Franconian Dialect.
By Renate Born. Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture. Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1994. 135 pages, 2 maps. $59.00

Despite some relatively strong generalizations about German-American language islands and research on those dialects which are either misleading or erroneous, Born's study of the East Franconian dialect spoken in Frankenmuth, Michigan, is a welcome addition to the growing number of analyses of *Restsprachinseln* in North America, i.e., German settlement dialects which no longer serve an active communicative function in a speech community and are not being acquired by younger members of that community as their first language. Specifically, Born offers us a concise overview of both the sociolinguistic as well as the grammatical components of Frankenmuth German and contrasts the features of the German-American dialect with those of related dialects in the East Franconian area of Germany.

Born's first chapter deals with the settlement and the history of language use of the community whose origins are linked to attempts by the Lutheran Church in Franconia to convert Native Americans to Christianity. From its beginnings in 1845, the community has been dominated by immigrants from Franconia. A common religious (Missouri Synod Lutheran) and linguistic heritage firmly established it as a German enclave in Michigan. As in so many other German-American communities, the period between the two world wars marked the beginning of the transition to English in both literary and spoken varieties.

Chapters two and three provide descriptive analyses of the phonology and the grammar of the dialect. In addition to a thorough description of vowel and consonant inventories, Born also includes a section on phonotactics. In the grammatical description valuable comparative information is presented utilizing studies from the East Franconian dialect area in Germany. A discussion of case syncretism in

East Franconian reveals an acceleration of that process in Michigan which adds valuable information to the ongoing discussion of that topic in German-American dialectology.

A final chapter which briefly deals with the process of borrowing and discusses the types of linguistic variation and change detected in the Frankenmuth dialect, notably reduction of allomorphy and leveling of paradigms, is followed by three appendices: (1) sample texts in phonetic transcription; (2) a list of immigrants to Frankenmuth, 1845-85, with locality of origin and dialect region in Germany; and (3) a trilingual dictionary (Standard German, Frankenmuth German, American English) arranged according to semantic fields.

One problematic aspect of this volume is the apparent absence of any research context in German-American studies. This relates directly to several far-reaching assertions about dialect research within the field of German-American studies. For instance, the claim is made that Frankenmuth German represents the only example of an East Franconian speech community outside of Germany (xiii). There is no reference to the 1989 dissertation of Peter Freeouf on the dialects of Dubois County, Indiana, which include the pocket of East Franconian spoken in the northern part of the county surrounding the community of Haysville. Born also claims that there are no contrastive studies comparing a German-American dialect with the parent dialect in Germany (xiii). Again, the author appears to have no knowledge of Brian Lewis's work on the Swiss German of New Glarus, Wisconsin, spanning over twenty years which does precisely, and in much greater detail, what Born does in that regard for Frankenmuth German.

Such deficiencies would not have been so serious if Born had been somewhat more cautious in making sweeping generalizations. The same could be said about the claim made by the author that German language islands in the United States have dwindled to a mere handful (xiii). The reality is that there are still very many rural German-American communities where the last generations to have learned the immigrant dialect are still able to provide material for dialect research. This reviewer also questions Born's remark that a "female interviewer working alone has a decided advantage finding informants willing to cooperate" (xv). Finally, we should avoid labeling German-American dialects as "Michigan German," Texas German, Wisconsin German or the like—with the exception of the particular case of Pennsylvania German—unless there is some basis for doing so. We are actually dealing with a variety of German dialects in each state where significant German settlement occurred and which have very little, if any, connection to each other.

University of Kansas *William D. Keel*

The Golden Signpost: A Guide to Happiness and Prosperity.
Edited by Charlotte Lang Brancaforte and translated by Colin D. Thomson. Madison, WI: Max Kade Center for German-American Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1993. 391 pages.

As implied by the title, this is a book of advice on how life should be lived. It originally appeared anonymously in German in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1881, just before the crest of the last great wave of German immigration to the United States. We are told that it was sold door to door and enjoyed three printings. We are not told how large those printings were, but the original is extremely scarce in today's libraries.

The authorship is attributed to William Horn, a German immigrant who rose to become a bishop in the Evangelical Association (*Evangelische Gemeinschaft*), a German-American denomination which patterned itself after the Methodists. The book is comprised of chapters of two to five pages in length giving advice and exhortations on widely scattered subjects: love for siblings and parents, charm, friendship, honesty, social life, clothing, reading, music, motherhood, the dangers of lust, guidance for letter writing, etc.

Sections concerning abstract philosophical considerations are interspersed with sections on surprisingly practical matters. A chapter on the progress of humanity is followed by a chapter on caring for houseplants. We are told both about the centrality of character to success and how to clean flyspecks from gilt picture frames. The outlook is generally that of a pietistic Protestant, especially one of the Methodist persuasion. The following passage is characteristic of Horn's point of view: "The more one wishes well to all around him, and strives to bring happiness to others, the more happiness and contentment enter his own heart" (52). There is much Victorian romanticizing about morality in the vein, "An honest man is invincible" (60). A few dreadfully sentimental fictional vignettes are interspersed between the admonitory chapters.

The book does have something to say to us today. The reality of the human condition and how best to confront that reality do not change a great deal from one age to another. Moreover, in its obsession with duty to family and to society, the book serves as a counterweight to our age's obsession with rights, freedom, and personal liberation. But the Victorian treacle in which its wisdom is stewed will restrict the readership of this translation to only the most highly motivated readers.

What then will these readers find? Many sections of the work reveal an outlook not markedly different from that of a typical nineteenth-

century American minister of British descent. Only in a minority of sections does the differing German Weltanschauung clearly appear. We know we are reading a German text when the author urges young women "to take a post . . . in another house" (233), or when he says progress owes to the development of "spirit" in such a way that both senses of *Geist* are implied. The author wants all parents to insure that their children become fluent in German—*Hochdeutsch*, not the parents' dialect. Children are to be trained to be thrifty, and, of course, to obey their parents better than American children do.

As both Brancaforte's foreward and the well-researched introduction by Sara Markham indicate, the author's attitude toward gender issues is not so restrictive as one might suppose. He calls for the education of women so that they can support themselves if the need arises. By its examples, the book is aimed at a largely urban audience. But as Brent Peterson found with respect to the *Abendschule* of the 1880s, this work cannot come to grips with the industrial era. The author agonizes over the conflict between employer and employee, but his prescription for ameliorating the problem is to treat one's household servants as members of the family.

Brancaforte argues cogently for an interpretation of the book as a guide for the acculturation of immigrants in a new country. But the work could probably also be analyzed with profit as part of another genre—the Victorian bourgeois advice book. Horn is writing for the unassimilated as his choice of language demonstrates. At the same time, he is writing for middle-class or potentially middle-class people from a perspective which attempts to deny important changes occurring in America. Horn writes for people attempting to assimilate not just into America but into that social class which enjoyed cultural hegemony.

A smaller concern with the introduction also merits attention. The appalling complexity of American Protestant denominational history necessitates precision with names. Bishop Horn's Evangelical Association (*Evangelische Gemeinschaft*), sometimes called the Albright People after founder Jacob Albright, emulated the Methodists and was headquartered in Cleveland. It is easily confused with another German-American body which also had somewhat more than one hundred thousand adult members in the early 1880s, the German Evangelical Synod (*Deutsche Evangelische Synode*). The latter group emulated the Prussian Union and was headquartered in St. Louis. Although between 1922 and 1946, the group to which Horn had belonged did use the name "The Evangelical Church," the editor invites confusion by using the phrase "German Evangelical Church" (xiv) to refer to Horn's group in the 1880s.

Hendrix College *Robert W. Frizzell*

Yankee Dutchman: The Life and Times of Franz Sigel.
By Stephen D. Engle. Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press, 1993. 333 pages. $36.00.

Franz Sigel was one of the two or three most important leaders of the revolutionary uprisings of 1848-49 in Baden as well as the American Civil War general most revered by German immigrants. Yet, this is Sigel's first full-length biography. Engle's work, originally his doctoral dissertation, helps to direct attention both to the significant role played by Germans in the Civil War and to that war's relatively neglected western theater of operations. But this is not an entirely satisfactory effort. The author devotes only a twenty-three-page opening chapter to Sigel's exploits in Germany. Thus the complexities of the Revolution of 1848 have to be ignored. Engle describes all forces opposing Sigel as "Prussians" (10), whether they were Badenese troops loyal to Grand Duke Leopold or Hessians sent in response to Leopold's request to the German Confederation for military aid. He uses "little Germans" and "great Germans" in a way which seems to deny an understanding that the terms "großdeutsch" and "kleindeutsch" were alternative models for German unification.

If Franz Sigel, precise about detail to a fault, could read this account, he would likely be disturbed by other small inaccuracies. The "Confederates" (64) whom Sigel fought at Carthage, Missouri, in July 1861, were, in fact, Missouri State Guardsmen only allied with the Confederacy. A month earlier, General Lyon's troops had steamed, not "marched" (62) up the Missouri River to Boonville. It was not after "months" (88) of correspondence, as Engle implies, that Lincoln countermanded General Frémont's 1861 proclamation freeing the slaves of Missourians participating in the rebellion. Frémont issued his proclamation on 30 August. Lincoln sent Frémont a final directive in a letter dated 11 September. A modern-day Sigel might also be displeased with all the typographical errors in the bibliography.

The account of Sigel's efforts against Stonewall Jackson and Jubal Early in the Shenandoah Valley after his transfer to the eastern theater is more carefully crafted. But even in this section, Engle can confuse the reader. We are told that Sigel rallied the German-American population and that he was a master of retreat on the one hand, and that he could not interact effectively with American-born generals and was slow to attack the enemy on the other. Were his strengths and accomplishments or his flaws and failures more important?

Sigel faced serious obstacles as a general officer appointed because of his popularity with an ethnic group whose support was necessary for the Union cause. Both the nativists and the West Point graduates believed no foreigner or political general should have the rank Sigel achieved. Sigel's own shortcomings, including an oversized ego, made a difficult situation much worse. He was relieved of his commands and sat out the last months of the war.

German-Americans continued to hold Sigel in high regard. He partially redeemed himself by writing and holding public office after the war. He remained a symbol to German-Americans of their struggle to free themselves of despotic European governments and to be recognized and accepted as part of America. Although *Yankee Dutchman* is not the last word on Sigel, historians of German-Americana will want to read and refer to this biography.

Hendrix College *Robert W. Frizzell*

The Fortunate Years: An Amish Life.
By Aaron S. Glick. Intercourse, PA: Good Books. 1994. 251 pages. $9.95.

Aaron S. Glick's *The Fortunate Years: An Amish Life* is a delight. Rather than a structured autobiography that begins with the author's birth and follows his life faithfully, *The Fortunate Years* is a collection of vignettes not only of the author's past, but of rural America's as well. Glick has grouped the twenty-four chapters of *The Fortunate Years* into four parts, each covering roughly twenty years. In the first, "Growing Up—1903-1920," we are introduced to the author's family and Smoketown, Pennsylvania, in a time when Teddy Roosevelt was President and "things were less complicated" (1). Glick continues:

> Automobiles were few and far between. Not many country people had seen one, much less had a ride in one. Telephones, radios, and televisions were somewhere off in the undreamed-of future. Scotch tape was not yet invented. There were no trucks.

The notion of "growing up" characterizes not only young Aaron during this period, but also rural Lancaster County, which was becoming increasingly mechanized and modern. Writing of his father, Glick notes his pioneering work in the baby-chick-hatching business and his development of a mail-order plant business. We read of the local doctor's efforts to improve the roads in rural Lancaster County, the initiative to get Smoketown its first post office, and the formation of a local volunteer fire

department. Forecasting a primary theme of the book, we read about new farm machinery and changing farming practices: the harvesting of hay, plowing, and silo filling.

In part two, "The Roaring Twenties," we are introduced to the author's sisters and brothers. We read about train excursions, revival meetings, the author's trip west, and, finally, his marriage. During this time, the Glick family changes its church affiliation from the Old Order Amish to the more progressive Peachy Amish-Mennonite Church (later affiliated with the Beachy Amish-Mennonite Church). There are visits, work, and ball playing. By the end of the 1920s, the author has a family.

Part three, "Crash, Depression and Recovery," takes us from the stock market crash of 1929 through the 1950s. The author buys his first farm, a home with no plumbing or central heating. In a time of little money, the Glicks still traveled. War brought ration books and the Civilian Public Service. And, in the early 1940s, the Glicks became dealers for Hayfinishers—fans designed to finish drying hay once it had been stored. We read about hoboes, the Glick's attendance at Mennonite prayer meetings, and the author's trip through postwar Europe and the Middle East.

Part four, "The 1960s and Beyond," begins with the resumption of the draft for the Viet Nam War and the author's appointment to the Beachy Amish Alternate Service Program. Glick takes cattle to Crete and visits his youngest daughter in Tanzania. By the 1960s, Lancaster County has become a tourist attraction, and the Mennonite Information Center is established. In the 1970s and 1980s, there are deaths—wife, Anna Glick, and son, Jay Elvin. The author ends his story as a ninety-one-year-old looking back at the fortunate years, at peace with himself.

The work is hardly an academic one, and those who read this in an attempt to learn about the Amish will be sorely disappointed. For example, although religion has clearly played a major role in the author's life, Glick hardly discusses it. He notes that his family's decision to leave the Old Order was difficult, but he tells us neither why it should be so nor what issues were involved. In the seventh chapter of part two, the Glick family is placed under the *Bann* for leaving the Old Order Church, but, in chapter twelve, Glick notes that his mother was reconciled with her brother who had pronounced the *Bann* on her; no details are given. Glick does not mention the schism that occurred in the Peachy Church in the mid-1920s, nor does he tell us about his role in the establishment of the Pequea Amish-Mennonite Church in 1962.

Glick discusses other aspects of Amish life and Amish culture in equally cursory fashion. He comments, for example, that the Amish, "then, as now" are apolitical yet presents stories of an Amishman running for office on the Bull Moose ticket (33) and of a cornhusking at which politics almost brought some to blows (105).

The lack of detail is particularly frustrating because the view of Amish life presented in this work contradicts stereotypes of a people removed from the world and clinging to a pretechnological past. The author notes, for example, that when the Amish Church limited tractor use to stationary power, his father hid the crank to prevent brother Jake from using the tractor on the sly to plow. Why and how, the average reader will wonder, did the Old Order Church forbid tractors, especially when, as the book implies, their use was widespread. What was the reaction of other Old Order farmers? And how does this retreat from technology fit with other anecdotes that show Old Order farmers at the forefront of technical innovation?

Those who expect *The Fortunate Years* to be an orthodox autobiography will also be surprised, for this is not a record of Aaron Glick's life, but rather a record of his memories arranged somewhat chronologically. Children and grandchildren suddenly appear in the story without announcement of their births. Brother Dave's death is mentioned in passing without explanation of how he died. Siblings and offspring have spouses, seemingly without courtship or wedding. Even the author's own wedding gets little coverage: the one paragraph accorded it stands in sharp contrast to the description of hog butchering that follows and takes nearly three pages.

Yet, although neither an academic work nor a standard autobiography, *The Fortunate Years* is a delightful, compelling look at a bygone era. In reading this book, one may feel a bit like one has been given a chance to sit by a fire and listen to an old man tell one story after another. If a memory is too painful or private, then, perhaps, not much time is given to it; the storyteller pauses in some personal reflection and quickly moves on to something else. On the other hand, if it's a good story, it gets told. In the end, after the listening, one feels as if one knew the people too.

To read this book, I had to be fast enough to grab it every time my mother-in-law put it down. It was worth it, however. After reading *The Fortunate Years*, I feel I have a better understanding, not only of the Glicks of Lancaster County, but of the Lancaster community and rural towns in general, and a better sense of what the twentieth century has meant.

St. Lawrence University *Karen M. Johnson-Weiner*

George Grosz / Hans Sahl. So Long mit Händedruck: Briefe und Dokumente.
Edited by Karl Riha. Hamburg: Luchterhand Literaturverlag, 1993. 153 pages. DM 58.00

Increasingly the growing archives, preserving documents of twentieth-century German intellectuals—e.g., the Literaturarchiv in Marbach, the Deutsche Bibliothek in Frankfurt and the Leo Baeck Institute in New York—have become invaluable resources as well for the scholar of German-American intellectual history. As if to buttress this observation, the editor and critic Karl Riha has mined the Sahl and Grosz collections at Marbach to produce, pastiche-fashion, an incandescent portrayal of two vastly different refugees from Nazi Germany, tempest-tossed in January 1933 (Grosz) and 1940 (Sahl) onto the northeastern shores of the United States.

This is not the usual story of two resourceless Europeans, surviving, at least at first, in straitened circumstances as did their contemporaries Ernst Bloch and Julius Bab, or living, for the most part, in a hermetic circle of exiles as did Thomas Mann or, on a less exalted level, the denizens of Washington Heights in New York. The letters and documents in this book abound not only with the names of prominent fellow refugees, Walter Mehring and Erwin Piscator for example, but also with such American luminaries as William Carlos Williams, Edmund Wilson, Peter Viereck, and Thornton Wilder.

This is no mere "name dropping" on the part of the two correspondents. George Grosz, through his one-man exhibits, his teaching at the Art Students League, his occasional public lectures, and his sporadic penchant for bibulous parties; Hans Sahl through his translations of the foremost American fiction writers and dramatists—which earned him the Thornton Wilder Translation Prize—had stimulating access to the cultural life of the Eastern United States. For example, they both esteemed Edmund Wilson "as America's leading literary critic" (37, 51) and enjoyed the heady repartees at his house.

They were, each in his own way, bridge-builders between the two continents, both by their achievements and their personalities. This reviewer knew both, the ebullient painter George Grosz and the polemical writer and mild-mannered individual Hans Sahl. At parties in Huntington, Long Island, hosted by Karl and Lucy Frucht or by George and Eva Grosz, one would meet not only exiles, such as the Ashtons, i.e., Hertha Pauli and E. B. Ashton—incidentally one of the book's few victims of an identity-concealing typo (138)—or Robert Bendiner, then of the *New York Post*, but also the inhabitants of the Long Island art community and the fellow jazz musicians of son Peter Grosz. In the course of these riveting parties George Grosz displayed an undiminished *élan vital* and an admiration for women which also punctuate some of his letters. The more sedate meetings with Hans Sahl, mostly at the Leo Baeck Institute, centered around the often thwarted publication of his fiction and non-fiction books: major recognition came to Hans Sahl very late in life, and not until his return to Germany.

The letters reflect, down to their style, great mutual respect, affection, and admiration. It is amusing to see how Sahl's initially more formal style begins to imitate the ribald, occasionally mischievous and pun-filled style of George Grosz and how the latter lapses into a mock-academic style in response to Sahl's often witty, but definitely more puristic prose and poems.

Through the prisms of their letters we also can observe their reactions to the events of their times, the musings of two highly intelligent minds, ready to draw analogies across the entire spectrum of European history. They are not always right (Korea as the catalyst of World War III?) (34), but they are always fascinating to watch, especially how they combine nostalgia for the days of Weimar with fervent patriotism for America.

The letters, together with the reprinting of two essays by Hans Sahl about the painter and an afterword by Karl Riha, provide us with an entirely accurate picture of the two correspondents. The three essays erase once and for all the conception of an Americanized George Grosz, defanged as a social critic. He always alternated between the quest for beauty and the exposure of societal ills. In America these dual goals gain expression on the one hand in his Cape Cod seascapes and on the other in his Stickman series, a direct continuation of his acerbic drawings and paintings of social criticism during the Weimar Republic. Hans Sahl, appreciated usually for his cerebral poetry, stands out here as an art critic who sees and absorbs a painting down to the smallest but by no means insignificant detail. All the more the pity that he was all but blind during the last years of his life.

The volume was intended as a tribute to Grosz on his hundredth birthday, perhaps also as a supplement to the splendidly edited volume of Grosz's letters by Herbert Knust (Reinbek, 1979). It succeeds on both counts: it shows Grosz to the last as a pioneering figure in modern painting. Riha intimates that he pointed the way to Andy Warholism and to "happenings" (147). He might have added that he also parallels, if only in the deconstruction of words, the often scatological experiments of Arno Schmidt. His targets are, for example, the initials of an underappreciated Pablo Picasso and the first syllable of the erstwhile friend Piscator's name.

In a dual sense the collection of letters also becomes a tribute to Hans Sahl. It reveals a far more expansive, endearing, relaxed Hans Sahl—even while in the hospital—than emerges from his other texts. And the book appeared, if by coincidence, in 1993, the year Hans Sahl died in Tübingen, resolved after much vacillation to return to Germany as his permanent residence.

Wayne State University *Guy Stern*

Amish Society.
By John A. Hostetler. 4th ed. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993. xi + 435 pages. Cloth, $45.00; paper, $14.95.

The fourth edition of Hostetler's *Amish Society* is an excellent way to mark the 300th anniversary of the Amish/Mennonite schism. Although, on the whole, little changed from the third edition, this work remains the definitive study of Amish society for the general audience, providing the reader a detailed survey of Amish history, lifestyle, and interaction with the surrounding, dominant English society.

Amish Society remains, however, an uneven work. In its portrayal of Amish life it is unsurpassed. As one born and raised Amish, Hostetler brings the understanding of an insider to his subject. Nowhere is this more evident than in his description of the various facets of Amish life: dress, courtship, education, and religious practice. When the first edition of the book appeared in 1963, there were few general works on the Amish, and, so far as I am aware, none that portrayed the diversity of Amish culture. The Amish have since become a very popular subject, yet the tendency to present them as a homogeneous group characterized by an unchanging lifestyle of resistance to technology remains strong. Often, in such works, the Lancaster Amish are given as the norm, and groups elsewhere are, by implication, more or less Amish as they measure up to those in Lancaster.

Hostetler recognizes the diversity and lays it out for the reader. For example, the discussion in chapter thirteen of change and fragmentation suggests the numerous ways in which Amish groups can vary; Hostetler notes buggy types and colors, the use of dashboards and battery-operated lights on carriages, men's hair length, suspender styles, and even the speed at which the *Loblied* is sung. To make the extent of variation even clearer, Hostetler discusses the groups in the Kishacoquillas Valley in Mifflin County, Pennsylvania, beginning with the ultraconservative Old School Amish and ending with the Beachy Amish, and then links this Amish continuum to a similar Mennonite one. Although Hostetler does not survey Amish communities in other states, leaving unmentioned other large, distinct Amish groups (e.g., the Swartzentruber Amish of Holmes County, Ohio, and several other states), he enables readers, nevertheless, to realize the many ways in which groups differ.

Hostetler provides the reader with numerous examples, anecdotes, charts, and diagrams to clarify difficult points. In addition, the work is well indexed, with a very good bibliography and numerous photographs. Nevertheless, while Hostetler's descriptions of Amish life are accurate and

engaging, the analyses he makes of Amish culture are generally less than satisfying.

Little of the theoretical discussion in the Amish Society has been changed since the third edition, leaving the impression that recent theoretical developments in anthropology, sociology, and history have little to add to our knowledge of Amish life. More unfortunate is the impression that Hostetler's attempts to place his description of Amish society in a broader theoretical framework are "tacked on," perhaps because a text of this sort seems to need them in order to be an academic work. For example, Hostetler devotes considerable space in chapter one to a discussion of "models for understanding Amish culture," yet these figure not at all in later discussions of Amish life. Why choose these particular models, and what bearing did they have on the descriptions of Amish life that followed?

Further attempts at analysis prove equally unsatisfying. In chapter fourteen, for example, Hostetler asserts that "conformity," or acceptance of the goals of Amish life and the approved means of achieving them, and "ritualism," or overadherence to the rules, are "supportive" modes of adaptation. On the other hand, he argues that "innovation," or the use of "other than approved means" to achieve the society's goals, and "retreatism," or adaptation in which both cultural goals and institutional means are rejected, are threatening. Yet how, one must wonder, can "ritualism" be a supportive adaptation if, as Hostetler suggests, it usually occurs "at the cost of stagnation." And, one must ask, is innovation never useful in supporting the community? Hostetler goes on to contrast "retreatism" with "rebellion," a mode of adaptation in which the individual rejects his/her culture and alienates himself/herself "from the parent social structure" (305), and cites, as an example of the former, two families who, estranged from their communities, took to the road in canvas-covered wagons on which were printed Bible verses. Unclear is why these families, having removed themselves from the community, are not "rebellious."

In Hostetler's schema, the relationship between these different "modes of adaptation" is unclear. Even more unfortunate is his failure to bring these classifications into later discussions. For example, in chapter seventeen, which focuses on responses to change, Hostetler describes the tendency of individuals to "overconform" to rules, and illustrates this tendency with examples similar to those used in the earlier analysis of "ritualism"; nevertheless, Hostetler does not relate this "overconformity" to either "conformity" or "ritualism" or to any of the other modes of adaptation. Nor does he use the notion of "mode of adaptation" in his discussions of social control, change and restraint, social avoidance, and cultural contradictions, although each of these issues requires an understanding of individual actions and community response.

There are, unfortunately, other gaps as well. In his discussion of quilting, new to the fourth edition, Hostetler notes that it has become a source of economic subsistence but does not explore the effect, if any, this has had on the family. In another section new to the fourth edition, Hostetler focuses on Amish lawyering and the activities of the Old Order National Steering Committee, as well as on community-generated political activism and the assistance granted Amish communities by neighboring lawyers. He fails to note, however, that the steering committee may not speak for all Amish groups and does not explore why this is so. Nor does Hostetler investigate (or even mention) conflicts outside of Pennsylvania, such as the ongoing battle against the slow-moving-vehicle warning triangle, which the Swartzentruber Amish have waged in several states.

Less important but frustrating are small textual inconsistencies. Writing of Jakob Ammann, Hostetler notes (43) that "his 'mark' but not his signature appears on archival and government documents" and that "he did not know how to write"; nevertheless, two pages later, we read of variations in his signatures. The representation of dialect and terms is inconsistent, e.g., *Ordnungsgemee* (82), *Attningsgmee* (109). Finally, and particularly aggravating to those of us who use this work as a classroom text, the quality of the binding has declined sharply from that of the third edition. Despite its shortcomings, however, this work remains an essential tool for the researcher of Amish life and a wonderfully detailed introduction to the subject for the reader new to the subject.

St. Lawrence University *Karen M. Johnson-Weiner*

Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants Who Settled in America . . . Edited By Samuel Urlsperger. Volume XVII (1759-1760).
Edited and annotated by George Fenwick Jones; translated by David Noble (1759) and George Fenwick Jones (1760). Athens, GA, & London: University of Georgia Press, 1993. 326 pages. $40.00

In the Southeastern United States, from Virginia to Florida and west to Mississippi, no one group of German-Americans has been as extensively chronicled as have been the Georgia Germans of the Savannah River. This can be attributed to the more than three decades of seemingly tireless work by one individual, namely George Fenwick Jones, now professor emeritus of the University of Maryland. Jones not only produced two of the finest histories of German-American settlement, *The Salzburger Saga: Religious Exiles and Other Germans along the Savannah* (U. of Georgia Pr., 1983; reviewed in *SGAS Newsletter* 6.1 [1985]: 8), and *The Georgia Dutch: From the Rhine and Danube to the Savannah, 1733—1783* (U.

of Georgia Pr., 1992), but he has also translated and edited, to date, seventeen volumes of the *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants Who Settled in America*, the accounts—albeit highly expurgated—of the Reverend Johann Martin Boltzius, spiritual leader of the Savannah River Communities of which this is number seventeen (see my review of some earlier volumes in *YGAS* 25 [1990]: 232-33).

In a previous review of Jones's work I commended both him and the University of Georgia Press for their extraordinary devotion to realizing the completion of this project. There can be no doubt that these particular volumes might never have appeared were it not for the remarkable cooperation of these two. Publishers and scholars in other states should take a lesson from this welcome collaboration, especially given the wealth of unpublished diaries and journals still extent in the German-American community.

Approximately two hundred Lutherans from Salzburg, by way of Germany, arrived in the Georgia Colony in 1734. Having been sponsored in part by their church, it fell to Pastor Boltzius, a theological graduate of the University of Halle and a man of many talents including agricultural and commercial, to send his daily reports on the community back to Augsburg at the end of each year to be examined by church authorities and eventually published. The task of preparing these reports for publication was given to Samuel Urlsperger and he set about his work most zealously, deleting all references to adversity and unpleasantness within the Georgia settlement. This arrangement continued without interruption until 1759, when Urlsperger's son, Johann August, assumed editorship. Troubled by the publication of expurgated reports, Boltzius seized upon this opportunity to resign and turned his job over to Christian Rabenhorst, a younger assistant. As Jones notes in his introduction, Johann August Urlsperger was to prove an even more fervent censor than his father.

Needless to say, the daily entries in this volume bear great similarity in both style and detail to those appearing in the previously published reports. Births, deaths, and illnesses (including an apparent outbreak of botulism resulting in the deaths of several children in May 1759); the arrivals and departures of residents and their guests; the weather; and even agricultural conditions were all duly noted with great care. Perhaps of greatest interest to historians outside the field of German-Americana would be the copious references to the Cherokee Indian uprising occurring in the west of the colony, and the increasing local hostilities between the English and the French which we know would soon result in warfare (e.g., the entry of 30 November 1759).

For the months of June, July, and August 1759 separate entries by Boltzius and Rabenhorst are included; the former from his private journal; the latter from the official reports. The differences in both style and

substance are striking. Boltzius was obviously more concerned with spiritual matters, Rabenhorst with secular, as their separate entries for 12 June indicate. Boltzius mentions a meeting with the children from local confirmation classes and an afternoon prayer session at which Rabenhorst was present (62), whereas Rabenhorst writes of the continuing illness of a Mr. Lemke and the problem this has created for the school system (86). Note that no mention is made by Rabenhorst of a prayer session that day.

Once again the translated text is highly readable and quite entertaining. This work will surely join its companion volumes as a most useful resource for scholars in a variety of disciplines. I eagerly look forward to future volumes in this series to continue the story that is so well presented by Boltzius, Urlsperger, and, now, Jones.

Marshall University *Christopher L. Dolmetsch*

Today I Commanded the Wind / Heute befahl ich dem Wind.
By Lisa Kahn. Lewiston, NY: Mellen Poetry Press, 1994. 141 pages. $9.95.

There can be no doubt that Kahn is one of the premier German-American poets writing today, and there is no end to her versatility. In the past her poetic themes have ranged from scenes of a Greek island with a significant amount of social criticism, to scenes from East Texas with an equal mixture of love and detailed observation, to portrayals of works of art (i.e., paintings and statues), to the artistic process. The title of her latest collection offers not the slightest hint that something entirely new is at hand. An introductory one-page discursive statement introduces the seventy numbered poems as elegies to the poet's recently deceased ninety-six-year-old mother; writing them was therapeutic, a process that helped her "grapple . . . during the process of mourning" (vi). Here, as with the poems, German and English versions appear on facing pages.

The emotion expressed in these elegies is intense. The first word of the first poem sets the tone: "Immer" (3). At the beginning of the mourning period—although this is not the specific point of reference of the word in the context—the sense of loss is constantly, "always," present. In the concluding poem, there is light at the end of the tunnel: "Am Morgen / kommt die Sonne / ins Zimmer // . . . // Ich werde den Tag / überstehen" (141). Words related to time abound throughout the collection, contributing to the intense feeling of loss, the feeling of one generation yielding to the next. An especially poignant expression of this sense of change is found at the exact center of the book. In poem 35, the loss of the mother is felt especially deeply as a result of something that happened; and in poem 36, a different kind of loss is perceived in the

younger generation: the poet expresses her love of an apron her mother embroidered for her, and observes that she will do nothing comparable for her daughter: "sie würde die Liebe in der Handarbeit / nicht erkennen können obschon sie / keine Brille trägt" (73).

Kahn did the English versions herself (with, she acknowledges, the help of Edna Brown). We have, then, a very rare phenomenon: an established German-language poet who is virtually completely bilingual doing parallel poems in her native and adopted languages. I found it interesting that little attempt is made to retain verbal parallels, e.g., "hochfliegende" (135, lines 2 and 10) is translated first as "high-flown" and then as "lofty," and "Die Zeit . . . / ist nun vorbei" (91, lines 1-2 and 21-23) with totally different constructions. Most interesting, however, is how Kahn handles situations in which she addresses herself in the second person, as in poem 57, where "sie umringen dich / umstricken dich" (115) is translated "encircle me / surround me."

The decision to attempt to write a detached, objective review of these utterly personal poems was not an easy one, and it is rendered more difficult by the necessity of concluding with the observation that here, as in other of Kahn's recent collections, the number of typographical errors is excessive.

University of Cincinnati *Jerry Glenn*

Tagebücher 1951-1952.
By Thomas Mann. Edited by Inge Jens. Frankfurt/Main: S. Fischer, 1993. 928 pages.

This is the ninth volume of Thomas Mann's extant diaries published so far. Only the diaries from 1918 to 1921 had survived, by accident, the destruction of the earlier diaries, whereas the diaries from 1933 to 1955 have been preserved and chronicle the day-to-day events in Thomas Mann's life during his exile years, most of them spent in the United States. Mann noted the recurrent happenings of the day: sleep, meals, creative work, letters received and letters written or dictated, personal contacts, family problems, political events as reported in the media, and, on a regular basis, reviews of his books and the mentioning of his name in the media. Children and grandchildren came for visits, he insisted on his daily walk, duly recorded, and there were haircuts, visits to doctors, shopping, and last but not least his recurring ailments, prescriptions by the physicians, and their effect. During the summers of 1951 and 1952, the routine was interrupted by extended trips to Europe. Both times, he circled around Germany, spending most of the time in Austria and Switzerland. The summer trip of 1952 turned into a voyage with no

return. After agonizing debates and reflections, the decision still came somewhat unexpectedly, mostly dictated by the circumstances, such as the refusal of the U.S. Immigration Service to allow Erika Mann to reenter the United States, coming after the spectacular refusal to allow Charlie Chaplin to return to his home in California.

The diaries even record the packing and sealing of the previous diaries, that were to be opened not before twenty years after his death. The box carried the remark, "no literary value." This is correct: unlike Kafka's diaries, Thomas Mann's do not contain drafts of literary texts. Instead, they record the ordinary and extraordinary events of daily life, and that includes the circumstances of the writing of new texts, and the reception of the previous works that Mann followed eagerly. He wrote to authors of reviews and scholarly books, he was still proud and happy about honors and awards. He enjoyed most of all his direct contacts with audiences through lectures and readings; he liked to perform, and play a role. He was objective in his assessments of the performance, but was very proud when he was successful, and that was normally the case.

The diaries proper take up only three hundred and twenty-one pages, little more than a third of the volume. The text is followed by over four hundred pages of commentary, "Anmerkungen," and another one hundred pages of documents, mostly unpublished drafts of letters by Mann or letters to him. The index is sixty-seven pages long.

In 1951 and 1952, Thomas Mann was embroiled in many political controversies. The attacks came from two sides, but had the same underlying reason. In the United States, it was the season where the Cold War mentality dominated, and "communist traitors" had to be eliminated. Mann was obviously not a communist, but he had publicly supported Henry Wallace in his 1948 presidential campaign, and he was branded as a "fellow traveler" every time he lent his signature to a good cause, such as world peace. Albert Einstein suffered a similar fate. Mann never accepted the American point of view that communism would be so much worse than a third world war. He was appalled by the ongoing witch hunt for "traitors" and was opposed to the Korean War. It has to be remembered that he lived close to Hollywood which was wrecked by the hearings of Senator McCarthy and the House Committee on Un-American Activities. He knew what was going on in the academic world. In spite of his immense prestige, he was still suspect every time he supported a peace crusade. He was an American citizen and had planned to stay in this country, but his attackers called him, of course, a "German."

Even in his private circle, Mann was under pressure from two sides. His daughter Erika wanted him to get more involved, but his publisher Alfred Knopf cautioned him against it, and even more his friend and supporter Agnes Meyer, who was close to the events in Washington. So, while he seemed to live a rather secluded life in Pacific Palisades, he was

never above the political controversies, especially since he was not always aware of the effect of his signatures and statements.

Mann had a much clearer sense when he was hurting European, especially German, sensibilities; but he sometimes chose to do so. He deplored the separation of Germany and refused to take sides, as he was expected to do, especially by the Federal Republic of Germany. Seen in retrospect, his attitude may make sense, but in the fifties, his only protection was his fame and his advanced age. He could afford to be different, and when he decided to move to Switzerland, the Swiss were glad to be accepted by him. While his fame and prestige were enduring, he was not immune from attacks in Europe either, and he was especially sensitive about attacks from Germany.

In 1951-52 the cooler reception also translated into less success for his new books. It was the time of the publication and reception of the translation of *Der Erwählte*. Mann noted its much warmer reception in Europe, and he felt that when he moved, he would be among more sympathetic readers. It was also the time of the writing of *Die Betrogene* and *Felix Krull*, which was to have an unexpected success.

At this time, Mann began to feel more lonely. The diary keeps recording the death or serious illness of friends. The dominant feeling, however, is that of being threatened. He may have had the illusion that he had become an "American," a real immigrant, instead of an exile, but now he felt less and less welcome in the United States; he saw that Lion Feuchtwanger did not obtain his American citizenship, neither did Erika Mann, and he was so much less integrated than his friends Bruno Walter and William Dieterle. This was not only a question of language; but language certainly contributed to it. And in 1952, the diary records a growing obsession: Mann did not want to be buried in America. He wanted to move to Europe, he said to himself, not to live there, but to die there and to be buried in European soil.

In the end, Mann did not escape the fate of most German exile writers in the United States. They had identified with America's struggle against Nazi Germany until 1945, but then, in 1945, when return to Germany became thinkable, the real exile began. Unlike most of the other immigrants from German-speaking countries who were to become one of the most successful groups of immigrants ever, the writers, for the most part, never felt at home in the new country. Thomas Mann, whose political position was not that of Brecht, Feuchtwanger, or Stefan Heym, believed that he would feel good about staying in Pacific Palisades to the very end. But his circle there was almost totally "German," and America presented itself largely as an intrusion. It is remarkable that the "Americans" in these diaries are marginal: maids, lawyers, realtors, journalists, politicians, professors of German. He lived on an island, in a kind of splendid isolation.

Diaries of this kind are not a good reading for hero worshippers. While the routine, from breakfast to the listening to classical music (Wagner!) and his reading before going to sleep, is interesting, the diary, like any intimate document, reveals many weaknesses, supersensitivities, some paranoid fears and angers, the nervousness that comes with troubled times, and some signs of old age. It was indeed a time of personal crisis. The difficult decision to move to Europe disturbed his quiet life, and even more: the diaries record his preoccupation with the end of his productive life. He was also concerned about the end of the physical life, including the sex life. He felt elated by so many signs of praise and respect, but he knew he was becoming a legend. He belonged to the past. He saw the growing distance from his audience.

As far as it can be ascertained, the text has been edited with great care. Details about the commentary cannot be raised here. It may suffice to say that there is a great amount of information about Mann's last year in the United States and his move to Switzerland.

A last footnote: Mann never considered living in Austria, although he had liked to spend vacations there, and only once is there a serious mention of Germany: to rebuild the old house in Munich in a new style, and move there. That would have been a strange turn of events; but it only remained a mere possibility. Thomas Mann must have known that he could only "return" to Zürich. Considering such perspectives makes the reading of the diaries interesting beyond the often repetitive details.

Texas A&M University *Wulf Koepke*

Cincinnati German Imprints: A Checklist.
By Franziska C. Ott. New German-American Studies, vol. 7. New York, etc.: Lang, 1993. 378 pages. $58.95.

The imprint list under review may be evaluated as a small piece of a large puzzle—the bibliographic record of the German book trade in America since 1830. A sound foundation for this task has recently been provided by K. J. R. Arndt and Reimer C. Eck, eds., *The First Century of German Language Printing in the United States of America*, 2 vols. (1989). Still valuable are older bibliographies which go beyond 1830: A. L. Shoemaker's, for the counties of Lehigh and Northampton, Pennsylvania; Klaus Wust, "German Printing in Virginia"; and Felix Reichmann, "German Printing in Maryland," among others. However, it is not unfair to say the post-1830 emigration has not been so well served as far as publishing and the book trade is concerned. Thus Franziska Ott's contribution is most welcome.

Not so long ago, Heinz Kloss called for a bibliography of German-American imprints after 1830, a plea reiterated by Tolzmann in 1977 (Ott, viii). An essential first step would be a new edition of K. J. R. Arndt and M. E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals 1732-1953* (1965). Apart from revising the bibliography itself by correcting errors, adding new titles, and updating library holdings, an index of editors and publishers must be included. Such an index would be invaluable, since many of these individuals also participated in the book trade as printers, publishers, or authors.

Ott's checklist concentrates on known Cincinnati imprints as listed in certain bibliographies, catalogues, and data bases (3). Newspapers and periodicals were not consulted; and in most cases the books themselves could not be examined. This methodology inhibits explanatory notes on questions of authorship, readership, and historical significance. Another limitation is illustrated by Ott's summary of types of publishers and publications found (xv-xviii). Based on her own checklist these naturally are Cincinnati imprints. Taken at face value, her conclusions are a distortion of reality, for in addition to Cincinnati imprints there was a great diversity of German books available, from other American cities as well as imports from Europe.

A variety of German books were also published by Anglo-American firms and one important genre ought to be mentioned here: subscription books (American style). These were large, illustrated books with mass appeal, such as: self-help and domestic medical handbooks, religious and inspirational works, and volumes on American history and world geography. Subscription books were printed from stereotype plates and usually sold only by publishers' agents, who made use of sample chapters and specimens of available bindings to collect orders. This lucrative trade was a specialty of certain American entrepreneurs. Many such books, which by their nature enjoyed a wide distribution, were also made available in German versions. It is not generally known that these German translations frequently contained new material dealing specifically with German-American concerns. Number 125 in Ott's checklist is one such book: C. B. Taylor, *History of the United States . . .*, translated by Wilhelm Beschke and published by Mack R. Barnitz in 1856. (A note ca. 1844 by Ezra Strong appears on the verso of the title page.) The first American edition is dated 1831. Beschke's translation appeared in 1838, 1839, and 1843; expanded versions were published in 1855 and 1856. The 1838 German edition concludes with a supplement covering the years 1832-37 and a celebration of "Das Deutschthum" (535-600), all from Beschke's pen. The actual publisher of the editions mentioned above was the copyright holder, Ezra Strong of Connecticut, who owned the plates.

Bibliographic problems arising from stereotyping also marked the long career of Samuel Ludvigh, rationalist, freethinker, and anticlerical

speaker, best known as editor and publisher of *Die Fackel* (1843-69). Compelled to move his family from Baltimore to New York, and back to Baltimore, then to St. Paul and finally to Cincinnati, Ludvigh's stereotype plates remained his prized possessions. Some knowledge of Ludvigh's career would certainly clarify three entries found in Ott. For example, (no. 316) records the first German translation anywhere of the celebrated *Testament of Jean Meslier*, albeit of a corrupt text. Published first in Baltimore (1856), a second impression was immediately called for—also dated 1856. The third issue, from the same plates, was published in Cincinnati (1867). Following the same pattern, (no. 389), *Der Priester Spiegel*, Ludvigh's German version of Anthony Gavin's *Master-Key to Popery*, was first printed in Baltimore (1853), but the second stereotype issue has not yet been identified. A third issue was published posthumously in Cincinnati (1870) by Ludvigh's widow. Similarly, Ludvigh's *Reden und Vorlesungen* (no. 367) was first published in Baltimore (1850), with a second issue in 1854, and a third in Cincinnati (1869).

As useful as Ott's imprint list may be, its value would have been enhanced by a broader historical base. By that I mean: utilization of contemporary German-American newspapers; physical examination of more imprints; and recourse to primary and secondary sources. Needless to say, these suggestions go far beyond Ott's stated objectives and procedures (xviii-xix, 1-3). Another instance of buried significance is Ott's number 20, the fourth edition of Father Johann Martin Henni's historically important *Katechismus* (1844); Father Henni, the patriarch of German Roman Catholics in Cincinnati, published the first edition in 1835—but the first three editions are not listed in Ott.

It is common knowledge that the United States abstained from any international copyright treaties until the end of the nineteenth century. Consequently, an enormous amount of English literature, popular fiction, nonfiction, and translations of European literature was reprinted with impunity. (Cincinnati publishers were very active in this lucrative field.) The same conditions encouraged reprinters of German-language books. However, a glance at Ott's checklist reveals very few examples, and for two good reasons. Firstly, almost all the large-scale reprinters of German literature were located in New York, Philadelphia, and (after 1865) Chicago. These publishers could service the Cincinnati market easily and cheaply. Secondly, in Cincinnati as elsewhere newspapers and literary journals provided an abundance of reading matter ranging from the latest fiction to Georg Büchner's *Dantons Tod*—first serialized in *Die Turn-Zeitung* (Cincinnati), from December 1856 through January 1857. Samuel Ludvigh's *Die Fackel* reprinted not only *Dantons Tod*, but also Büchner's biography and letters, though only the letters were actually published in Cincinnati (vol. 19, 1866-67). Book pirates worked on both sides of the

Atlantic. In 1851 Eggers and Wilde published a German translation of Luther Stearns Cushing's *Manual of Parliamentary Practice* (Ott, no. 62). Their business acumen was confirmed when R. Kittler of Hamburg reprinted this volume in 1852.

There are many other entries in Ott's useful work that invite emendation or commentary. But there is also much that ought to stimulate new research as well as similar endeavors for other cities. Ott's checklist concludes with a number of appendices (some more useful than others) and separate indexes of publishers, titles, and names.

University of Kentucky *Robert E. Cazden*

Adventures of a Greenhorn: An Autobiographical Novel.
By Robert Reitzel. Translation and Introduction by Jacob Erhardt. New German-American Studies, vol. 3. New York, etc., Lang, 1992. vii + 94 pages. $35.95.

In his introduction Erhardt reintroduces us to Robert Reitzel (1849-98), a prominent member of the radical German-American community in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the subject of a monograph by A. E. Zucker in 1917, but today largely forgotten, even by specialists. As editor of and primary contributor to the Detroit weekly *Der arme Teufel* between its founding in 1884 and Reitzel's death in 1898, he continually delighted his adherents and raised the hackles of the more traditionally minded, in the German-American as well as in the Anglo-American community. Erhardt also gives a lively summary of the novel, which was originally serialized in *Der arme Teufel* (1886-88), and was later published as a book, first in an abridged version and later in complete but "faulty" form (viii); the translation is based on the original and complete version from *Der arme Teufel*. (I do not have access to the original source, a somewhat awkward position for a reviewer of a translation.)

The novel relates, in first-person form, the protagonist's adventures, beginning briefly with his emigration as a widely read but undisciplined twenty-year-old university dropout in 1870 and a brief but pleasurable interlude in Paris prior to arriving in New York. We are told in gleeful detail about his struggles upon his arrival: to find a scrap of bread, a glass of beer (or wine, or whiskey, or . . .), a warm, if temporary, place to sleep, and ultimately, of course, a job. At the conclusion of a series of events too strange to be fiction, he comes under the patronage of a pastor, and he himself becomes a minister, with his own church, after bluffing his way through the "theological exam which I had to take . . . before the honorable and laudable Board of the Reformed Synod of Maryland" (51); he was continually distracted from his studies by the likes of the "pagan"

Homer and—an author often mentioned as one of his favorites—the "carefree" Fritz Reuter (51). And then, of course, "The first sermon! The first students' duel, the first battle, the first declaration of love, the first hangover! It's all child's play compared to the first sermon" (55). While humor is certainly not lacking in the remainder of the book, the general tone does become more serious, as the narrator traces his development from a liberal preacher who makes token efforts to conform, to a radical freethinker, one who considers Heine to be a more appropriate subject for a sermon than the holy Trinity, and must eventually leave the ministry.

Social commentary of interest to German-Americanists is found throughout the book; one of the narrator's first realizations after landing in the New World is reflected in the observation: "I've never found people more indifferent to human misery than the German-American businessmen of New York" (13). The criticism becomes more persistent and more refined, reaching an early climax in a passage that might have influenced Brecht: "The servant of God admonishes us to pray and trust in God. This is wonderful advice, if praying would only fill an empty stomach and trusting in God would heat the house!" (30). His primary difficulty with the church is summed up in his musings on its failure to take seriously, in practice, the Biblical injunction that Love is the paramount virtue (e.g., 59), with the result that "I have not been proclaiming the religion of Christianity from this pulpit anymore but rather the religion of humanity" (83); ultimately the church is recognized as the enemy: "Indeed, this is the next task before me: I want to do battle against Christianity" (85). There are several recurrent minor themes in the book, including the narrator's difficulty with the English language (usually presented in a humorous fashion), and the reluctance of employers to hire a person who wears glasses (a situation in which little humor is to be found).

In general the translation seems professional, although there are signs of carelessness, such as an occasional awkward phrase, the misuse of commas, and (a different category) the somewhat frequent use of hyphens instead of dashes. And there is something I do miss: notes. Reitzel is fond of showing off his erudition, and whereas the reader of a translation might be counted on to recognize the name Goethe, and perhaps Heine, that is not true of many of the literary and historical figures who are quoted, mentioned, or alluded to. Reitzel is also fond of proverbial expressions. These appear in quotes, and some of them are familiar, even in translation; others, however, did not seem familiar, and I would have been grateful for information on when Reitzel was coining his own proverbs. I recommend additions of this sort if there is a second edition.

We can all be grateful to the translator and publisher for making this interesting work available to an English-speaking audience. It will be of

interest to scholars in a variety of fields, and could serve a useful role in courses on German-Americana taught in English.

University of Cincinnati *Jerry Glenn*

Palatines, Liberty, and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America.
By A. G. Roeber. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993. 432 pages. $49.95.

A. G. Roeber's book dispels any notions that the German immigrants assimilated easily into the Anglo-American culture of the British colonies. In his study of eighteenth-century immigrants from the Palatine, Württemberg, and Kraichgau regions, the author traces the various concepts of property and liberty in these groups. He does this in part one of the book by uncovering the source of these Germans' mentality, which lies rooted in religious thought, particularly Lutheran Pietism. Part two analyzes how the core concepts of liberty and property mutated in the cultural relocation to the American colonies, specifically to Philadelphia and areas in Virginia, Georgia, and South Carolina. The book's third and final section presents the German-American development of these ideas, an outgrowth which allowed them to be sympathetic supporters of the American Revolution.

Roeber's thesis is that German-American understanding of liberty and property were both unique and counter to the American cultural understanding of these terms. Two schools of thought characterized the German immigrants. For some, freedom meant being able to pursue the "good life" through hard work and its rewards. Others saw freedom as absence of constraint by ambitious lords. Neither view had a monopoly in America. It was not until German-Americans came to understand that the colonies wanted to protect private property that these immigrants agreed to support the patriot cause.

Freedom, which the immigrants understood primarily in religious terms, was for them a largely apolitical concept. Here Roeber sketches the deep roots of Pietism in the German southwest. Liberty meant freedom of conscience in the sense of Luther's essay "The Freedom of a Christian." This liberty is clearly distinguished from a political sense, such as the freedom to choose representation. Luther's teaching on the two kingdoms (*Zweireichlehre*) also shaped their thought. In this scheme there is a proper distinction between secular and spiritual authority. The rulers respect the private sphere of their subjects, and in turn, the citizens submit unquestioningly to secular authority.

Unlike Anglo-Americans, who equated liberty with security in one's property, the Germans, shaped by Pietist thinking, viewed property ambiguously. They viewed "worldly goods" with suspicion, while staunchly celebrating the virtues of the domestic hearth. Their thinking on the term was communal and marked by a tendency toward "inwardness." They retreated from secular authorities, and yet expected them to defend their property, as such defined.

Two types of cultural "brokers," argues Roeber, facilitated the transferal of these concepts. The first were Protestant pastors who were trained in Halle and embodied that city's brand of Pietism, emphasizing domesticity and withdrawal from secular politics. Most notable was Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg, who wielded power from the pulpit and in the conventicles. The second type of brokers were successful entrepreneurs, printers, tavern keepers, and booksellers. These brokers directed the German understanding of liberty and property toward confluence with Anglo-American thought. This aspect of Roeber's study is of much use to the scholar of German-Americana. With skill and insight the author fleshes a character like Mühlenberg, and demonstrates, based on sermons and writings, his substantial sphere of influence. Roeber likewise deftly demonstrates the role that printers and writers like Christopher Saur played in defining a German-American sense of key (legal) terms. The analysis of Saur's almanac, *Der Hoch-Deutsch Americanische Calender . . .*, and its use of the literary conversation (a popular genre of fictitious dialogue) is particularly effective.

Also interesting to the German-Americanist is the book's initial discussion of English words and their German counterparts, such as private and *privat*, property and *Vermögen*, liberty and *Freiheit* or *Freiheiten*. The author shows how key terms were often left untranslated in German documents, suggesting the immigrants' inability to fully grasp their implications in the cultural transfer.

The author demonstrates German-American scholarship in the truest sense of the term. A professor of early-American history, Roeber learned to read the old German handwriting used in the reams of archival documents he consulted. His research of the Germans before emigration is as thorough as his inquiry into their experience in the colonies. The sizable bulk of meticulous notes also testifies to Roeber's mastery of the subject matter.

This detail, however, is the chief culprit in the book's flaw. Too many anecdotes and minutiae saturate the 400 plus pages. Roeber is best in introducing and concluding sections. In between he slips into reconstructive narrative that overwhelms the reader with incidents, names, numbers, and statistics. The descriptive element of the book too often outweighs its analytical component. Nevertheless, Roeber makes a strong contribution to German-American studies with *Palatines, Liberty,*

and Property. The book does justice to the complexities of German immigration and convincingly demonstrates how domestic, social, and political concepts were inextricably tied to religious and cultural understandings. It reveals likewise the involved process by which the settlers arrived at a German-American understanding of liberty and property.

University of Cincinnati *Herman J. De Vries, Jr.*

Das Ohiotal - The Ohio Valley: The German Dimension.
Edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. New German-American Studies, vol. 4. New York, etc.: Lang, 1993. 211 pages. $49.95.

On 13 October 1990, the German-American Studies Program, in cooperation with the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures at the University of Cincinnati, sponsored a symposium: *Das Ohiotal - The Ohio Valley: A Saturday Symposium on the German Dimension.* According to the editor, the symposium was held to commemorate German-American Day by focusing on the German heritage in the Ohio Valley. The papers presented at this symposium, as well as other contributions, were collected and are presented in this volume.

The Ohio Valley, which follows the Ohio River, includes the states of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Kentucky. People of German descent make up the largest ethnic group in most of these states. However, written historical accounts of these states usually mention only briefly, if at all, the massive German immigration and the great impact Germans have had on this area. The editor hopes that this symposium and collection of essays will encourage further research into the history of the German element in the Ohio Valley.

The first section, entitled "Old and New World Dimensions," discusses the causes of the massive emigration of German-speaking peoples from their homelands to other parts of Europe and to the New World. Intense political, economic, and religious conditions in the many German states and principalities over the centuries resulted in an unstable environment which many were eager to leave behind. A second essay focuses on Cincinnati and the German "image" of this city on the Ohio River. German-language publications before 1830, along with eyewitness accounts, gave a positive image of the "Queen City," which resulted in a large influx of German immigrants in the nineteenth century.

Literary, linguistic, and architectural dimensions are presented in the second section of this work. The three essays in this section cover the German press in Ohio, a brief history of Germans in Ohio, and the impact of German immigration on a northern Kentucky community. In addition,

the third essay presents the architectural influence the German immigrants had on this Kentucky town.

Four essays make up section three and focus on the sociopolitical dimensions of Germans in the Ohio Valley. The first essay presents the life of General August Willich, a prominent German "forty-eighter" and a social republican. The failure of the German Revolution of 1848-49 resulted in Willich's departure from Europe, and found him eventually becoming editor of Cincinnati's *Republikaner*. His political thought, writings, wartime contribution as a commander in the Union Army, along with his "republican" insights, resulted in his being labeled a legacy on both sides of the Atlantic. A significant but largely unstudied German-American organization, the turners, is the topic of the next essay. The first turner societies in America were established in 1848 in Cincinnati and Louisville, and by 1851 there were twenty-two societies in the East and Midwest. These societies eventually formed a national organization and began publishing a national newspaper, the *Turnerzeitung*, and also began to hold regular athletic competitions. By the 1890s, there were over three hundred clubs nationwide with over forty thousand members, resulting in an organization which provided German immigrants with many athletic, social, and cultural programs. The turner movement also played a key role in the introduction of physical education programs in the public schools. The home of the national archives of the turner movement is Indiana University—Purdue University at Indianapolis, and was designated so in 1989 by the American Turners. Despite these archives containing two major collections, there are still many gaps in the written history of the turners. The German Day Celebration in Cincinnati, known earlier as the Pastorius Celebration, is the topic of the third essay in the sociopolitical section. The connection of this celebration with those held in Cleveland is examined, as are the history, purpose, and goals of these commemorative occasions which began in 1883. The fourth and final essay in this section, which claims to be in no way a comprehensive study, gives an overview of the history of the German *Vereine* in Indianapolis. A listing of various German organizations by type (educational, athletic, musical, veterans', etc.) is given, along with a discussion of the role these clubs played in the lives of German-Americans. A brief discussion of current German-American social organizations in Indianapolis concludes this essay.

The four essays which make up part four, "Educational Dimensions," present information on the education of German-American children as well as the influence Germans had on the school systems in Ohio, including the establishment of the University of Cincinnati. Statistics on the number of German-language and German-English bilingual public and private schools in Ohio (1853-69) are given along with enrollment statistics for Cincinnati's bilingual schools from 1841 to 1917. Most

Ohioans, including those of German descent, are probably unfamiliar with the number of public and private German-English schools which at one time could be found in almost every part of the state.

"Religious Dimensions," the fifth and final section of this work, gives a brief history of the German Evangelical churches in Cincinnati, including a more detailed account of Cincinnati's Third Protestant Memorial Church. This essay includes lists of the church's oldest members, a list of the congregation's presidents from 1839 to 1885, and a list of former church organists. Finally, a brief history of Louisville's largest German Protestant church is presented, focusing on the controversy surrounding the Rev. John G. Stilli, whose political views, patriotism, and loyalties were questioned upon America's involvement in World War I.

The appendix includes the printed program of the symposium, along with the 1990 United States Proclamation for German-American Day, which the symposium was to commemorate. The essays in this work cover briefly some of the many aspects of German-American life in the Ohio Valley. It is hoped that this collection will spark an interest in further study of the German element in the Ohio Valley. The impact that German-Americans had in this area should not be forgotten, and further research will help establish a more complete history of this area.

University of Akron *Peter Linberger*

Annual Bibliography of German-Americana: Articles, Books, Selected Media, and Dissertations

Giles R. Hoyt and Dolores J. Hoyt
in collaboration with the Bibliographic Committee of the
Society for German-American Studies.

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The Bibliographic Committee wishes to thank the IUPUI University Library for its 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 descendents.

Abbreviations:

AA	=	*Annals of Iowa*
AHR	=	*American Historical Review*
AJH	=	*American Jewish History*
BLT	=	*Brethren Life and Thought*

DR	=	*Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society*
GCY	=	*German-Canadian Yearbook*
GQ	=	*German Quarterly*
GSR	=	*German Studies Review*
HR	=	*Heritage Review*
HRBC	=	*Historical Review of Berks County*
HSR	=	*Historic Schaefferstown Record*
IHJ	=	*Illinois Historical Journal*
JAEH	=	*Journal of American Ethnic History*
JAHSGR	=	*Journal of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia*
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*

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