

YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Volume 30

1995





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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 Jürgen Eichhoff, Max Kade German-American Research Institute, S-324 Burrowes Bldg., Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA 16802. The *Newsletter* appears four times a year. Items for the *Newsletter* should be submitted to La Vern J. Rippley, Saint Olaf College, Northfield, MN 55057.

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

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## YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

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## FROM THE EDITORS

In addition to contributions from SGAS members in the United States, this volume of the *Yearbook* also features research by colleagues in Canada, Finland and Israel, attesting the international interest in German-American studies.

The works of Charles Sealsfield continue to fascinate scholars. New facets of his depiction and understanding of American society are being discovered. Jerry Schuchalter exemplifies this in his linking of Sealsfield's views and the frontier thesis of Frederick Jackson Turner. Discoveries of another kind are depicted in Paul Schach's description of the expedition of Maximilian Prinz zu Wied along the Upper Missouri.

In a meticulous study of sources and historical circumstances, Gerhard Friesen takes us back to the period of the American Revolution to establish the authorship of letters by a Hessian officer. The lack of criteria for the critical evaluation of the dialect literature produced by the descendants of the Colonial Pennsylvania Germans is of concern to William Fetterman.

Two articles treat the legal entanglements of German-Americans during the two world wars. Arnon Gutfeld portrays the impeachment trial in Montana of a judge of German descent in 1918, while Charles Barber sheds light on the struggle of the North American Sängerbund to retain its tax-exempt status in 1944.

Two reports conclude this volume. Maynard Brichard discusses the influence of German archival practices in America. Reinhart Kondert presents a critical overview of the literature dealing with German immigration and settlement in Louisiana.

At the request of the Executive Committee of the Society, this volume of the *Yearbook* includes the full text of the current SGAS Bylaws for the information of our membership.

Finally, the editors welcome Jürgen Eichhoff, Director of the Max Kade German-American Research Institute at Pennsylvania State University, to the editorial staff of the *Yearbook*. He will take over the editorial responsibility for our book review section. The editors are indebted to Jerry Glenn, University of Cincinnati, who initiated the book

review section ten years ago and brought to that task a high degree of scholarship and professional skill. We have thoroughly enjoyed our close working relationship with Jerry and understand his desire to focus on other scholarly pursuits.

*Max Kade Center for German-American Studies*  
*at the University of Kansas*  
Lawrence, Kansas  
March 1996



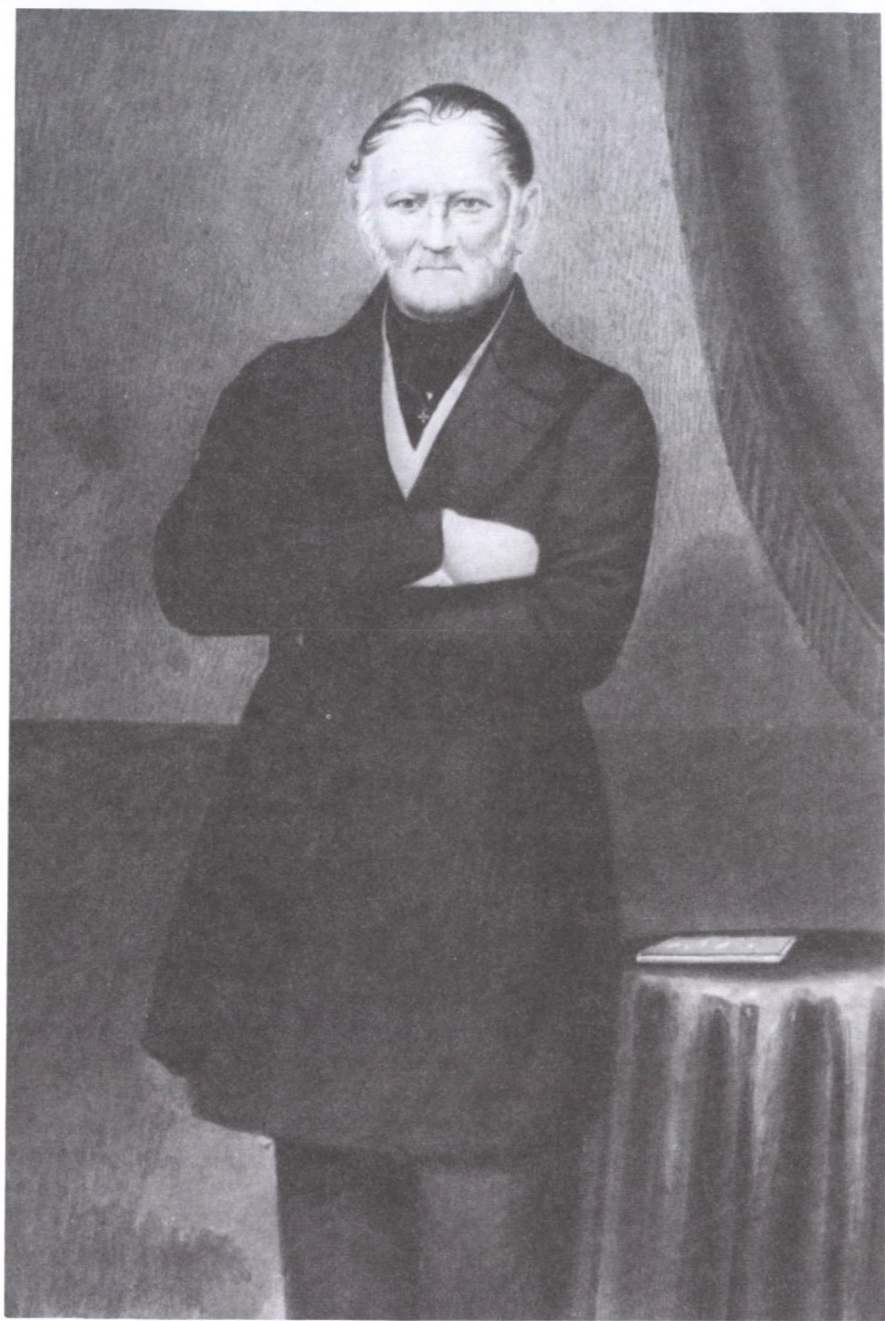
Paul Schach

Maximilian Prinz zu Wied  
Encounters *Landsleute* in the New World

It is not surprising that Maximilian, Prince of Wied-Neuwied, should regard his somewhat older *Landsmann*, Alexander von Humboldt, as his model, friend, and mentor. Both explorers had studied at Göttingen during its first *Blütezeit*, when it excelled in the sciences as well as in the humanities. Founded in 1734 by Georg August II, elector of Hanover and king of England, the Georgia Augusta University not only boasted the first modern university library; it was also "the first academic center of geography in Germany . . . and the first academic center of anthropology in history."<sup>1</sup> At Göttingen the two explorers came under the influence of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, who taught there from 1775 until 1840. Blumenbach is often referred to as the father of physical anthropology, but this accolade more properly befits his teacher, Christian Wilhelm Büttner. Büttner, a temperamental polyhistor, developed a course in which "man" (*der Mensch*) was depicted in all his complex, multifarious interrelations with his environment. It was under the guidance of Büttner that Blumenbach wrote his famous thesis on the topic *De generis humani varietate nativa* (On the Natural Variety of Humankind).<sup>2</sup>

In addition to teaching and writing—Blumenbach's widely used handbooks on comparative anatomy and medicine were repeatedly issued in revised editions—he helped create an unexcelled ethnographic collection at Göttingen including eighty-two human skulls, which he called his "Golgotha," and to which his students, including Maximilian, contributed from various parts of the globe.<sup>3</sup> His anthropological collection was facilitated by his active membership in the (London) Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa, which was directed by Sir Joseph Banks. Whether or not Blumenbach actually taught a course in the "art of traveling"—such a course was then offered at the "bulwark of the enlightenment"—he succeeded in inspiring several students to undertake scientific expeditions to distant, unexplored regions. Four dangerous undertakings of this kind ended in disaster: two of his students were murdered in Africa, and two died there of tropical





Prince Maximilian in later life. (Detail.) Artist unknown. Reproduction courtesy of Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska. Gift of Enron Art Foundation.

diseases.<sup>4</sup> Among the more fruitful expeditions were those of von Humboldt and of Prince Maximilian to the Americas.

When these men first met in Berlin in 1804, the exuberant, wealthy Prussian baron had just returned from his famous five-year exploration of large parts of Latin America, with a brief stop in Washington to advise Thomas Jefferson on vexing problems of foreign affairs.<sup>5</sup> By contrast, the somewhat younger, more sedate Rhenish prince of modest means was just completing his first four years of military service. According to family tradition this meeting was of decisive importance to the young prince:

The most important event of that time was his first meeting with Alexander von Humboldt. . . . This acquaintanceship exerted the strongest effect upon Maximilian, and there can be no doubt that his predominant interest in the American continent derived from the influence of the older and famous scholar, who henceforth was to remain his model, friend, and mentor. From this time on the prince's most ardent desire and firmest purpose was an overseas expedition.<sup>6</sup>

It is believed that von Humboldt encouraged Maximilian to explore Brazil, which he himself had not been permitted to enter. Thus the prince's observations would supplement his own Latin-American findings.<sup>7</sup> It is also possible that von Humboldt merely helped focus and fortify plans that Maximilian was already entertaining. The second possibility seems all the more likely when we review the prince's childhood, lengthy military career, and general education, which together seem to comprise not only an almost ideal preparation but also irresistible motivation for his two voyages to the New World. After the initial meeting of the naturalists they did not see each other again until 1814. Despite the prince's admiration for von Humboldt's scientific achievements, the major goals of the two explorers differed quite as radically as did their personalities. "Absurd as it sounds, [von Humboldt's] great synthetic picture of the world, which contains everything from stars and atoms to animals, omits nothing but one single item: man. This is no accident. Already in the [stated] goals of his American trip, man is absent."<sup>8</sup> There is general agreement, on the other hand, that Maximilian's most important contributions to human knowledge are his accounts of Indians, especially his pioneering, comprehensive treatises on the Botocudos of Brazil and the Mandans of North Dakota. Scarcely less significant—although this fact is generally overlooked—are his keen observations on Europeans in both North and South America.<sup>9</sup>

Alexander Philipp Maximilian was born on 23 September 1782 in the castle of Monrepos near Neuwied in the Rhenish countship of Wied about



ten miles north of Coblenz. His father was Count Friedrich Karl, whose ancestors in the male line can be traced in the Rhineland for almost eight hundred years. His mother was Maria Luise Wilhelmine, Countess of Sayn-Wittgenstein-Berleburg, a woman of superior intelligence and education. Although the house of Wied had long been protestant, the child's parents chose Maximilian Franz, coadjutor of Cologne and Münster, as his godfather. The youngest son of Empress Maria Theresa of Austria, Maximilian Franz became archbishop and elector (*Kurfürst*) of Cologne in 1784, the same year in which the house of Wied was elevated from a countship to a principality.

Since the small sovereignty of Wied had long been a place of refuge for victims of political and religious persecution, the young prince had the opportunity of growing up among people of diverse languages and religious beliefs. Most important of these groups for Maximilian were probably the Moravians, of whom there were two contingents: French-speaking Moravians from Switzerland and German Moravians who had come to Wied by way of Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf's estate Herrnhut in Saxony. This group, often called Herrnhuter Brethren, maintained close ties with their coreligionists in Pennsylvania, where they had established a substantial settlement as well as several missions among Indians. During the perilous years of conflict among French, British, Americans, and Indians, Count von Zinzendorf paid a visit to Moravian settlements and missions in Pennsylvania (1741-43).<sup>10</sup> No doubt Prince Maximilian in his youth heard (and also read) many exciting stories about peaceful and not-so-peaceful encounters between Germans and Indians in "Penn's Woods."

Princess Luise Wilhelmine seems to have exerted a decisive influence on the upbringing and early education of her children, at least several of whom shared her appreciation of the fine arts. Her daughter Luise and her son Karl both studied at the academy of art in Dresden. She also nurtured Maximilian's interest in natural science as well as his love of the beauties of nature. His journals and letters contain a profusion of descriptions of rivers, lakes, forests, sunsets, storms at sea, etc., as well as sketches of all kinds. Whereas von Humboldt's published works are a combination of narrative and scientific description, Maximilian's diaries and letters are often a medley of precise scientific classification and poetic effusion.

Maximilian spent much time in the Wied hunting preserves in and near the Westerwald with his tutor, Lieutenant Hoffmann.<sup>11</sup> Here he not only began a collection of flora and fauna, he also became an avid hunter while still quite young. At the age of six he shot a wild duck, which was mounted and added to his growing collection. His ingrained sense of history—his paternal ancestors were prominent in administrative affairs in Cologne in the thirteenth century—was sharpened through his



observation of the excavation of Roman ruins in Heddesdorf and Niederbieber directed by his tutor at the behest of Princess Luise Wilhelmine. It is not unlikely that he was persuaded by his tutor to study at Göttingen, where Lieutenant Hoffmann frequently consulted the renowned antiquarian, Professor Heyne, about problems connected with these excavations.

The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars took their toll of the house of Wied. At the outbreak of the revolution, Maximilian's father generously offered asylum to refugees from the French court, as a result of which the small sovereignty was brought to the brink of financial ruin. Four times during 1796 and 1797 Neuwied was a battleground, so that Princess Luise had to flee with the younger children to Meiningen in Saxony, where they remained for several years. Maximilian's eldest brother, Prince Christian, was killed in Bavaria in 1800 while fighting as a captain in the Austrian army. A younger brother, Prince Viktor, likewise a captain, was killed in 1812 while fighting against Napoleon with the Duke of Wellington during the peninsular campaign. Maximilian reports:

After it had been decided that I should serve with the Hessians, I received a commission as lieutenant in the Regiment Erbach in the imperial Austrian armed forces. Because of my stronger inclination toward Prussia and the personal promise of a commission by the king, I set out in 1800 for Potsdam, where I arrived at the time of the great autumn maneuvers. The king temporarily assigned me to the second battalion of the guard as a first lieutenant until I became familiar with military procedures.<sup>12</sup>

In 1802 Maximilian was called to the regiment of the king at the rank of captain. On 28 October 1806, Maximilian was captured by the French at Prenzlau. Upon his release in an exchange of prisoners, he returned to Wied to apply himself to his studies. During his "militärische Dienstzeit" he devoted his free time to sketching and painting Prussian officers in their colorful uniforms and Swabian peasants in their characteristic garb.

Concerning Maximilian's student years at Göttingen there has been some misunderstanding. Karl Viktor (p. 16) states that the prince studied natural sciences in the Georgia Augusta "um 1800 und 1812." Some sources indicate that he studied there for four years.<sup>13</sup> Actually he seems to have been a registered student for only one semester. On 16 April 1811 he entered his name in the matriculation register for members of the nobility: Max. Princeps de Wied-Neuwied. About ten days later he also enrolled in "die schönen Künste" (belles lettres).<sup>14</sup> At this time Göttingen attracted many American students, including Henry Wadsworth

Longfellow and William Backhouse Astor, second eldest son and heir of John Jacob Astor.<sup>15</sup> Born in Walldorf near Heidelberg, John Jacob Astor made himself one of the richest men in the United States, partly through clever real estate speculation in Manhattan and partly through his monopoly of the lucrative fur trade in the American West and on the west coast. About William Backhouse Astor, Maximilian tells us little. In his *American Tagebuch* (1:35) he states merely that both of them had studied at Göttingen in 1811-12. This is all the more surprising since John Jacob Astor owned the American Fur Company, which made it possible for the prince to study the cultures of the Mandan and several other Indian nations by providing transportation and protection from hostile Indians. Although Maximilian majored in the natural sciences while at Göttingen, he especially concentrated on Blumenbach's lectures and seminars. Like Büttner, Blumenbach illustrated and enlivened his presentations with numerous documented travel accounts. Among them were illustrated notes about Indians made by a German named Caspar Schmalkalden, who had traveled in Brazil in 1642.<sup>16</sup>

With the outbreak of the Wars of Liberation in 1813, Maximilian returned to active military service as a major in the Prussian cavalry. During this stint he engaged in twelve battles. For distinction in the battles of La Chaussée and Chateau Thierry the prince was awarded the Order of the Iron Cross second class. On 31 March 1814, the day after his last battle, Maximilian entered Paris with the victorious allies. It was on this occasion that he and Alexander von Humboldt met for the second time. In 1815 the king placed him on reserve status for the length of his long-planned expedition to Brazil; upon his return to Germany, he was granted an honorable discharge with the privilege of continuing to wear the Prussian uniform.<sup>17</sup>

In 1807 the royal family of Portugal fled to Brazil before the advancing armies of Napoleon. Although Brazil had long been a major source of wealth for Portugal, this enormous colony was still largely unexplored. In order to remedy this awkward situation, the Portuguese government subsidized scientists, many of them Germans, to explore, describe, and map this vast region. Upon the conclusion of the Peace of Paris (1815) Maximilian quickly completed his preparations, during the course of which he was in constant correspondence with Blumenbach. With two servants, his brother's huntsman and the family gardener—both of them on loan from the house of Wied—he sailed via London to Rio de Janeiro in seventy-two days. The explorers arrived in the beautiful harbor of Rio de Janeiro, admiringly described by the prince in great detail, on 16 July 1815.

Here they were welcomed by the Russian consul, Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff, who had taken his degree in medicine in 1797 with Blumenbach at Göttingen.<sup>18</sup> Like many of Blumenbach's students, von



Langsdorff also became a traveling naturalist. He took part in von Krusenstern's voyage around the world (1803-7) for the Russian government, explored the Aleutians, traveled from there along the coast to San Francisco, crossed Siberia on his return to Europe, and accompanied the German painter, Johann Moritz Rugendas, to the tropical interior of Brazil. Without the advice of this well-informed, experienced *Landsmann*—Maximilian was fond of the word and frequently found occasion to use it—the prince would scarcely have been able to plan in detail, much less to execute his extensive explorations. Von Langsdorff remained at his Russian diplomatic post in Buenos Aires until 1829, when malaria forced him to return home to Germany.

Two other German scientists who were of almost inestimable help to Maximilian also joined him here. They were the ornithologist Georg Wilhelm Freyreiss and the botanist Friedrich Sellow. In the introduction to his *Reise nach Brasilien*, the prince expresses his appreciation for the ornithologist's assistance and the hope that they might continue their scientific cooperation through correspondence. Sellow not only helped Maximilian identify numerous tropical plants, but he also made documentary sketches as illustrations for the prince's account of his expedition. With the two German scientists, his two assistants from Wied, ten native beaters and bearers, and twenty mules, Prince Max plunged into the primeval forest. The mules were laden with chests and crates of provisions. When empty, these were packed with collected natural science objects and transported to the coast for shipment to Wied. Sellow and Freyreiss remained in Brazil. Sellow's career as a botanist came to a tragic, untimely end when he drowned in the Rio Doce in 1831. Freyreiss joined a large group of German immigrants and helped them establish the colony Leopoldina on the Rio Peruípe.

There are conflicting opinions regarding the major purpose of Maximilian's expedition to Brazil. It is true that his collection and description of zoological specimens are still very highly regarded. On the other hand, his treatise on the Botocudo Indians is, as already mentioned, a truly pioneering ethnographic work. It is not insignificant that he chose to work in the dense jungles along the coast of Brazil between the twenty-third and the thirteenth degrees of southern latitude, where the Indians had not yet been "assailed" by European culture.

Upon returning to Europe, Maximilian was asked to publish a preliminary report on his exploration in the journal *Isis*. The editor of that journal, Lorenz Oken, was so overwhelmed by the prince's accomplishments that he could not refrain from affixing a brief addendum to the report:

We feel obligated to add what his highness, Prince Max, did not wish to impart here: Without ceasing, ten persons collected



plants and insects, shot birds, mammals, and amphibians. Some were dried, pinned up, or pickled; others were skinned, stuffed, mounted, or preserved in alcohol. As a result the prince, who had to supervise everything, make all decisions, and record the habitat, manner of life, and sounds of the animals, determine their natural color, sex, and scientific classifications, etc., scarcely had time to catch his breath. When one considers that it rains almost constantly in Brazil, and that one therefore, before retiring for the night, must build a shelter and dry one's belongings by a fire, then one simply cannot comprehend how all these many objects and activities could be compressed into a period of two years. Furthermore, no one escaped illness. For months they were hampered by fevers, but nevertheless had to work as hard as possible. All this could be accomplished only through the firm will of the prince, through his insight into the value of natural history, and through the great sacrifice from which he consequently did not shrink.<sup>19</sup>

Far from being an exaggeration, this paean on Maximilian's perseverance and assiduity is an understatement. It tells us little about his truly phenomenal achievements. A well-balanced, critical evaluation of the prince's accomplishments is found in a paper presented in Copenhagen in 1956 by Professor Baldus of the University of São Paulo. In a partial summary he states:

Maximilian, Prince of Wied, is the first scientist to write a monograph about a Brazilian [Indian] tribe. This fact, above all, accounts for his fame in the history of the ethnology of this country. The treatise comprises the first chapter of the second volume of his travel account and bears the modest title "Einige Worte über die Botocuden" (A Few Words about the Botocudos). Almost a century ago Ehrenreich called it "the classical presentation." Despite the voluminous literature on these Indians published since then, it has remained of fundamental significance.<sup>20</sup>

Throughout his detailed analysis of Maximilian's study, Baldus constantly reinforces his own opinions with reference to the views of this eminent ethnologist and Americanist. Especially important are Maximilian's precise recordings of Botocudo words and phrases. The prince had planned to write a grammar of this language and for this purpose had a young Botocudo named Quäck follow him to Wied. Unfortunately, however, Quäck succumbed to the lure of European

beverages of a potency not known to his people in Brazil. The Botocudo grammar remained unfinished.

Maximilian's account of his South American expedition, *Die Reise nach Brasilien in den Jahren 1815 bis 1817* was published in two volumes with an atlas of illustrations and maps in 1820-21. Since his sister Luise and his brother Karl did not approve of his sketches and paintings, he permitted them (and others) to contemporize them. The relative value of the prince's originals and their aesthetic improvements as documentary art has been thoroughly discussed.<sup>21</sup>

Even while toiling in the steaming jungles of Brazil, Prince Max was already considering the feasibility of extending his ethnological endeavors northward, as we can see from this brief note discovered among his papers by Josephine Huppertz: "It would be very interesting for me to see the North American Indian tribes for the purpose of comparing them with those of Brazil, and I intend therefore perhaps some day to undertake a journey there."<sup>22</sup> And that, as we know, is what Maximilian did as soon as he had published his voluminous Brazilian studies.<sup>23</sup> On the advice of his relatives and Alexander von Humboldt, Maximilian took the young Swiss artist, Johann Karl Bodmer, with him to America as his illustrator.

With Karl Bodmer and David Dreidoppel, who had served as his hunter-taxidermist in Brazil, Prince Max embarked for Boston on 17 May 1832 on a tiny American brig. After being alternately becalmed or battered by storms for seven weeks, they reached their destination in time to witness the celebration of Independence Day there. Although Maximilian described this ocean voyage in great detail in his *Tagebuch* (500,000 words), he omitted it in his published work (300,000 words) because crossings of the Atlantic had become so commonplace. Perhaps it would not be amiss to quote one brief passage that reveals both his vivid style and his love of nature even in her less lovely moods. After five days of violent storms, Maximilian writes under the date of 1 June:

Toward evening violent rain and storm again. The sea rolling toward us like high mountains, we plunge from crest to trough. With only the two small storm sails the ship groans and labors mightily. We seem to be sailing in a deep valley and cannot see as far as eighty paces. The waves break violently against the ship. . . . The entire surface of the frightfully seething ocean was lashed and torn into foam and spray. The sight is dreadful but terribly beautiful! I had never seen anything like this; not even on the entire Brazilian voyage did we have a taste of this. . . . We do not lie in bed; for several nights have not slept; cannot stand on our feet in the foul-smelling, crowded cabin. Five persons are housed here. We feel miserable and sick in this dismal captivity. (1:7)



After brief visits to New York and Philadelphia, Maximilian and his colleagues began a slow journey westward—slow because their baggage, including the prince's books and instruments, had not arrived.

The prince's inconvenience was a double blessing for his audience. As he slowly moved westward, he recorded with pen and ink the near pristine beauty of mountains and streams, dotted only occasionally by small farms and hamlets, while Bodmer captured with pencil and watercolor this portion of the New World "before the newness was gone."<sup>24</sup> And from the east coast as far as Pittsburgh Maximilian encountered *Landsleute* of all walks of life.

Upon his arrival in New York, the prince met several of his countrymen who helped make his brief stay there agreeable and meaningful. The Prussian consul, Mr. Schmidt, for example, entertained him at his country home at Bloomingdale.

In Philadelphia the prince found that in sections of the city German was spoken almost exclusively. Here, too, he was well received by eminent fellow countrymen. Mr. Krumbhaar, for example, a German to whom he had letters of introduction, received him with much kindness and introduced him to many agreeable acquaintances. How many such letters Maximilian had to prominent people in Brazil and North America is not known, but he mentions them quite often in his travel accounts.

Further evidence of the thoroughness with which Maximilian had planned his North American expedition is his reference to a tragic event connected with the missionary work of the Moravians around the middle of the eighteenth century. During his stay in Bethlehem (which was named by Count von Zinzendorf) Maximilian visited the site of a small settlement called Gnadenhütten that had been built by Moravian missionaries in 1746.

The Indians later attacked this town, burned down the houses, and murdered ten to twelve of the Brethren. In his history of Indian missions (pp. 415-16), Loskiel provides the following information about this occurrence.<sup>25</sup> "On November 24, 1755, in the evening hostile Indians attacked and burned the communal or pilgrim house of the Indian missionaries in Gnadenhütten on the Mahoning. Eleven persons lost their lives, nine of them in the flames. One of the Brethren was shot, another one cruelly slaughtered and then scalped. Three Brethren and a Sister (the wife of one of them) and a boy escaped, and, indeed, the woman and the boy by a lucky leap from the burning roof. One of those who escaped, the missionary Sensemann, who had gone out through the back door right at the onset of the attack to find out why the dogs were barking so loudly, and then



found the way back to the others, had been cut off, experienced the agony of seeing his wife perish in the flames."

Even now one can see underneath bushes the gravestone that bears their names. The congregation at Gnadenhütten was not re-established, but there are still individual farmers now living on the land that belongs to the Brethren. A strange person, apparently of a higher class and very well educated, lives here now. She came from Germany and, people say, from the Lippe region. Now she devotes herself fully to agriculture, does all the manual labor herself, milks the cows, etc., and has given names to all her domestic animals and tamed them. She has rented some land from the Brethren, and Mr. von Schweinitz, as head of the church council, is the principal director. (1:89-90)

Bodmer, who arrived several days later, cleared off the tombstone that covers the remains of the victims and copied it. The following is the inscription:

To the Memory of  
Gottlieb & Christina Anders  
    with their child Johanna;  
Martin & Susanna Nitschmann;  
Ann Catharina Sensemann;  
Leonhard Gattermeyer;  
Christian Fabricius, Clerk.  
George Schweigert;  
John Fredrik Lesly; and  
    Martin Presser;  
Who lived here at Gnadenhütten  
    unto the Lord!  
    and lost their lives in a surprize,  
    from Indian Warriors  
November the 24th  
    1755  
Precious in the sight of the Lord  
    is the death of his Saints.  
Psalm 116, verse 15

1788. And[rew] Bover:  
Philadelphia (1:93)

In Bethlehem Prince Max by chance met a German physician named Saynisch, who was the son of an apothecary in Dierdorf near Neuwied. Dr. Saynisch was pleased to learn the prince's true name. (As he had done in Brazil, Maximilian traveled in North America under the pseudonym

Baron von Braunsberg, derived from the name of an ancestral castle.) Dr. Saynisch, in turn, introduced the prince to the local minister, Mr. Seidel, who showed Maximilian the church and the Moravian school for girls. It is interesting to note here the gradual introduction of English into a German community. Although German was heard almost exclusively in the town, divine services were conducted alternately in German and English, and instruction in the school for girls was given entirely in English.

Even in Pittsburgh Maximilian found helpful fellow compatriots because of his letters of recommendation. One of them, Mr. von Bonhorst, had been an officer in the Blücher hussar regiment. Duke Bernhard of Weimar had recommended the prince to him. Another one had the kindness to accompany the prince to Economy, a remarkable colony on the Ohio founded by Swabian Harmonists in 1825 under the leadership of Mr. Rapp.<sup>26</sup> Here people still dressed in the manner of the country people of Württemberg, and members of the Rapp family declared that they would never give up their native speech and old German customs.

On Sunday morning Prince Max attended church services. The men sat to the right of the preacher, the women to the left, the old people in front, the younger people more to the rear. Mr. Rapp's family had first place.

When we were all seated—the church has neither organ nor pulpit—the elder Rapp entered with firm stride. He wore a completely dark blue suit, a robe, a pointed blue cloth cap on his head, and a hat over that. With a Bible under his arm, he strode firmly down the aisle, greeted us, and sat down at his table, which is on an elevated platform. He put on his glasses, announced a hymn, and the singing began at a rather rapid tempo without organ accompaniment. After five or six verses had been sung, the congregation stood for prayer; and then Mr. Rapp preached a sermon on a passage from the Bible, which he delivered quite prosaically and in a manner suitable for rural people, with dramatic images and expressions and accompanied by powerful, fiery gesticulations. When he had concluded, the congregation again sang several verses and then repeated a prayer that Rapp recited, whereby they remained seated, each one, however, with his body bowed forward and his head supported on folded hands. The word "Amen" was repeated by the congregation each time it was pronounced by the pastor. Then the women filed out first, the men remained seated until the last woman had left; then it was our turn. (1:107)



From time to time Maximilian encountered Germans whom he usually did not refer to as *Landsleute*. At Kingston, near New Brunswick, a group of peasants were welcomed by German-Americans. As the prince stated, they filled several stagecoaches and were quite boisterous and loud in their "low" German dialects, at which Americans laughed heartily. The region around Bethlehem was chiefly inhabited by descendants of German immigrants, who all preferred to speak German. During his stay at Bethlehem he frequently saw groups of German peasants arrive, most of whom came from Baden, Württemberg, or the Rhenish Palatinate. Most of them spoke only their local dialects, were without money, and had no relatives who could help them. Usually they were refused admittance at American inns. In such cases a Westphalian acquaintance of Prince Max, Mr. Wöhler, took it upon himself to help them on their way. For the most part the prince had sympathy with such immigrants, for he too had been laughed at for speaking English with a foreign accent. Sometimes he was annoyed and possibly embarrassed by what he considered their obnoxious behavior and crude dialects. Obviously he did not embrace Goethe's dictum: "Im Dialekt lebt die Seele der Sprache!" (In the dialect lives the soul of the language.) In general Maximilian gained a favorable impression of his fellow compatriots and their descendants in North America. He praised their well-cultivated farms and was pleased to learn that their fellow Americans spoke well of them.

The most important source of help and information to Prince Maximilian in his study of Indian cultures in North America was the German Canadian James Kipp (1788-1880). As an experienced hunter and trapper, he joined the Columbia Fur Company, which was later merged with John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company, in 1827. A man of intelligence and some education, he held positions of authority and responsibility within the company. His wife was the daughter of a prominent Mandan, and a good friend of his was Mató-Tópe, the second highest chieftain of the Mandan nation. Despite his rather small size, Mató-Tópe was a feared and famous warrior, as can be seen from Bodmer's realistic, documentary portraits of him.<sup>27</sup> He was also regarded as an authority on the history and customs of his people. Thus Kipp was in a unique position to be of help to Maximilian, especially since he is said to have been one of the first Caucasians to master the Mandan language. Maximilian frequently praised Kipp for his untiring patience in helping him establish a valuable word list of the language of the Mandans or, as they called themselves, the *Numangkake* (people, human beings). Kipp also interpreted for hours as Mató-Tópe and other Mandan informants, including Kipp's own father-in-law, related tales or explained tribal customs.

Maximilian's treatise on the Mandan is by all odds the most reliable and comprehensive ethnological study of an Indian tribe to be written in



the early nineteenth century. He presents a detailed description of the daily life of the people including such basic activities as hunting and farming, family and social life (including the complex division of men and women into bands or unions), and religious and superstitious beliefs and practices. By far the most remarkable of their various medicine festivals is the *Okipa* (or *Okippe*) penitential ceremony of the ark. The prince expresses regrets that he cannot describe this medicine festival as an eyewitness. In reality, however, no eyewitness would be able to understand what he saw without prior knowledge of the meaning of the ceremony and without knowing the language of the actors of this penitential drama that lasts for four days. Furthermore, much of the significant action takes place within several lodges behind the scene, so to speak. As an eyewitness Catlin described what he saw (but scarcely understood). With the skillful and patient help of Maximilian's interpreter, the prince spent many days recording and editing the narratives and expositions of old men who had personally experienced the torture to which the young penitents had to subject themselves.

Following his five-month sojourn among the Mandan Prince Maximilian began his journey to the east coast and eventually to his study in Neuwied, where he edited his field journals and notebooks into a narrative in the form of a diary. This *Tagebuch* in turn was the basic source for his two-volume *Reise in das innere Nordamerika*. Three years after Maximilian had returned to Europe, the Mandan nation was destroyed by smallpox. Their memory has been preserved through the cooperation of a German prince, his Swiss illustrator Karl Bodmer, and his "Landsmann" James Kipp.<sup>28</sup>

Unlike his model, friend, and mentor, Prince Maximilian never became a popular figure. His thirty scientific papers were not designed for the general reader. Even his two exemplary travel accounts, which fairly bristle with Latin binomials, require at least a basic knowledge of botany and zoology to be fully appreciated. Maximilian's fellow scientists, however, were not slow to recognize the significance of the specimens he brought from North and South America. His many visitors at Neuwied included the French ornithologist Charles Lucien Bonaparte and Coenrad Heinrich Temminck, director of the Rijksmuseum in Leiden. In return for a copy of the American *Reise*, von Humboldt presented Maximilian with an autographed portrait of himself; and in recognition of his scientific achievements the prince was awarded the title of major general in the Prussian army in 1840 and an honorary doctoral degree by the University of Jena in 1858. After the death of Prince Maximilian in 1867 the zoological collection that he had begun as a child on his hunting trips in the Westerwald was purchased by the American Museum of Natural History. This collection included "about 600 mounted mammals, 4,000 mounted birds, and 2,000 fishes and reptiles."<sup>29</sup> Maximilian's

*Tagebuch* and Bodmer's unexcelled documentary portraits and landscapes, a gift of the Enron Art Foundation, are housed in the Joslyn Art Museum in Omaha, Nebraska.

In Brazil, as we have seen, Prince Maximilian was enabled to achieve his two major scientific objectives through the substantial support of three German colleagues: his fellow disciple of Blumenbach at Göttingen, Dr. Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff; the ornithologist Georg Wilhelm Freyreiss from Frankfurt am Main; and the botanist Friedrich Sellow from Berlin. In North America, too, a *Landsmann* helped the prince preserve memories of an Indian tribe that was soon to be destroyed by warfare and disease. In this country, however, the prince's contacts with Germans and German-Americans were many and varied.

At that time the United States and the Western Indian lands were in a state of rapid transition, many aspects of which are reflected by Maximilian's keen observations. These include the arrival and settlement of immigrants, the preservation or loss of the German language, the establishment of farms and colonies and of missions among the Indians, etc. A selective reading of the massive *Tagebuch* yields an interesting and significant survey of German-American life at the turn of the century.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Erwin H. Ackerknecht, "George Forster, Alexander von Humboldt, and Ethnology," *Isis* 46 (1955): 46. This essay is the second in a series of studies stemming from my work with Prince Maximilian's *Tagebuch einer Reise nach dem nördlichen America in den Jahren 1832, 1833 und 1834* (Diary of a Journey to Northern America). The first article, "Maximilian, Prince of Wied (1782-1867), Reconsidered," appeared in the *Great Plains Quarterly* 14 (1994): 5-20. In order to keep cross-references to a minimum, I found it expedient to duplicate several short passages in these two studies.

<sup>2</sup> See Paul Schach, "Maximilian, Prince of Wied (1782-1867), Reconsidered." See also K. F. H. Marx, *Zum Andenken an Johann Friedrich Blumenbach* (Göttingen: Dieterich Verlag, 1840), 5-6.

<sup>3</sup> See Hans Plischke, *Die ethnographische Sammlung der Universität Göttingen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1931.) See also Schach, "Maximilian," 10.

<sup>4</sup> See Hans Plischke, *Johann Friedrich Blumenbachs Einfluss auf die Entdeckungsreisenden seiner Zeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1936), 15-47.

<sup>5</sup> See A. E. Zucker, *Amerika und Deutschland: Parallel Lives of Great Americans and Germans* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953), 50.

<sup>6</sup> Karl Viktor Prinz zu Wied, "Maximilian Prinz zu Wied: Sein Leben und seine Reisen," in *Maximilian Prinz zu Wied: Unveröffentlichte Bilder und Handschriften zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens*, hg. von Josef Röder and Hermann Trimborn (Bonn: Dümmler, 1954), 17.

<sup>7</sup> See Bernhard Gondorf, "Die Expedition von Maximilian Prinz zu Wied und Karl Bodmer in das innere Nordamerika," in *Prärie- und Plainsindianer: Die Reise in das innere*



*Nord-Amerika von Maximilian Prinz zu Wied und Karl Bodmer*, hg. von Ulrich Löber und Andrea Mork (Mainz: Hermann Schmidt, 1993), 40.

<sup>8</sup> Ackerknecht, "George Forster," 94. See also Loren McIntyre, "Humboldt's Way. Pioneer of Modern Geography," *National Geographic* 176 (1985): 318-50, and especially Cora Lee Nollendorfs, "Alexander von Humboldt Centennial Celebrations in the United States: Controversies Concerning His Work," *Monatshefte* 80 (1988): 59-69.

<sup>9</sup> See the casual comments by Plischke, *Johann Friedrich Blumenbach*, 116.

<sup>10</sup> See J. Taylor Hamilton and Kenneth H. Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church. The Renewed Unitas Fratrum 1722-1957* (Bethlehem, PA, and Winston Salem, NC, 1967), 88-93 and passim. For vivid eyewitness accounts of confrontations between the autocratic Reichsgraf and various Indian groups see Paul A. W. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser (1696-1760): Friend of Colonist and Mohawk* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945), 116-24 and passim.

<sup>11</sup> On the Westerwald, to which the prince repeatedly refers, see Hermann Josef Roth, *Die Westerwälder Seenplatte*, Rheinische Landschaften Heft 2 (Neuss: Neusser Druckerei, 1984).

<sup>12</sup> Quoted by Gondorf ("Expedition," 39) from Maximilian's yet unpublished manuscript "Meine militärische Dienstzeit von 1800-1808."

<sup>13</sup> See Gondorf, "Expedition," 50.

<sup>14</sup> See Gondorf, "Expedition," 40 and especially n. 10.

<sup>15</sup> On the influx of American students at German universities, primarily Göttingen and Heidelberg, see Anneliese Harding, *John Quincy Adams: Pioneer of German-American Literary Studies* (Boston: Goethe Institute and Harvard University Printing Office, 1979), 52-62 and passim. On John Jacob Astor see James P. Ronda, *Astoria and Empire* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990).

<sup>16</sup> See Plischke, *Blumenbach*, 6.

<sup>17</sup> See Gondorf, "Expedition," 39.

<sup>18</sup> See Plischke, *Blumenbach*, 60-64.

<sup>19</sup> Philipp Wirtgen, *Zum Andenken an Prinz Maximilian zu Wied, sein Leben und wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit* (Neuwied and Leipzig: Verlag der J. H. Heuser'schen Buchhandlung, 1867), 5. A slightly different version of this frequently quoted passage is found in Gondorf, "Expedition," 41. See also notes 16 and 17.

<sup>20</sup> See Herbert Baldus, "Maximilian Prinz zu Wied in seiner Bedeutung für die Indianerforschung in Brasilien," *Proceedings of the Thirty-Second International Congress of Americanists 1956*, (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1958), 97-104. See also Paul Ehrenreich, "Über die Botocudos der brasilianischen Provinzen Espiritu santo und Minas Geraes," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 19 (1887): 37 and passim.

<sup>21</sup> See J. Röder, "Der wissenschaftliche Nachlass von Maximilian, Prinz zu Wied," in *Proceedings of the Thirtieth International Congress of Americanists held at Cambridge 1952* (London, n. d.), 187-92.

<sup>22</sup> See Josephine Huppertz, "Textkritische Analyse und Vergleich zwischen schriftlichem Nachlass und Reisewerk," in *Maximilian Prinz zu Wied*, 75.

<sup>23</sup> See Vernon Bailey, "Maximilian's Travels in the Interior of North America," *Natural History* 23 (1923): 337-38. For a condensed, instructive survey see Hermann Josef Roth, "Prinz Maximilian zu Wied (1782-1867): Ein rheinischer Naturforscher und Amerikareisender des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Rheinische Heimatpflege* 29 (1992): 181-86.

<sup>24</sup> Bailey, "Maximilian's Travels," 343.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. George Henry Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*, tr. Christian Ignatius La Trobe (London, 1794), pt. 2, ch. 12, 166-67.

<sup>26</sup> For a recent study of Rapp see *Economy on the Ohio 1826-1834* compiled and edited by Karl J. R. Arndt. (Worcester: Harmony Society Press, 1984).

<sup>27</sup> See *Karl Bodmer's America*, ed. David C. Hunt and Marsha V. Gallagher (Omaha and Lincoln: Joslyn Art Museum and University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 308-9. See also Schach, "Maximilian," 15-17.



<sup>28</sup> On James Kipp see H. M. Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (Stanford, California: Academic Reprints, 1934), 324, 333-49; and *Early Fur Trade of the Northern Plains*, ed. W. Raymond Wood and Thomas D. Thiessen (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 40.

<sup>29</sup> Bailey, "Maximilian's Travels," 339.





Jerry Schuchalter

## Charles Sealsfield and the Frontier Thesis

When Frederick Jackson Turner in his posthumous study—*The United States, 1830-1850: The Nations and its Sections* (1935)—began to discuss American literature in the Age of Jackson, he noted a name that was doubtless unfamiliar to most of his readers: "Charles Sealsfield, a German writer living in the New Southwest, portrayed the pioneer life of that region in his Cabin books."<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately we are not informed how Turner profited from Sealsfield's "Cabin books" or if he read more of Sealsfield's works, since he never mentions Sealsfield again—at least not in his published letters.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless the fact that of all the writers who wrote about the Southwest (e.g., Timothy Flint) Turner found it noteworthy to mention Sealsfield perhaps suggests that Turner shared a certain affinity with this German-American writer, who for most Americans had become a forgotten name. At least from our perspective, reviewing the work of both these writers, the affinity seems unmistakable.

Of course, as has been amply documented, the frontier thesis has had a long history of precursors. In retrospect it appears as if an entire cultural narrative had been repeatedly searching for legitimacy, until Frederick Jackson Turner came along and gave it a formal scholarly sanction.<sup>3</sup> It is well documented that the narratives of the West and westward expansion had played a fundamental role in the discovery and development of the United States and were continually interpreted in fiction and other forms of literature up until the time of Turner's writings.<sup>4</sup> Otherwise it would be difficult to understand the enthusiastic reception of such programmatic pronouncements as "The true point of view in the history of this nation is not the Atlantic coast, it is the Great West" or "In the crucible of the frontier the immigrants were Americanized, liberated, and fused into a mixed race, English in neither nationality nor characteristics."<sup>5</sup> Yet it is more as an expression of a grand cultural saga partaking of a multitude of narratives that the frontier thesis seems interesting to us today. Traditionally, when Americans find their national identity being threatened, they retreat not only into the past, into history, but also into space, into the frontier.<sup>6</sup> James Fenimore Cooper is

perhaps the first American novelist to employ this theme in his works. In attempting to define the essence of the young American commonwealth, he chose to portray in his most significant fiction (the *Leather-Stocking Tales*) its ideological and political conflicts most vividly in the forests and prairies of North America.<sup>7</sup> Nearly three generations later, Frederick Jackson Turner, responding to what Richard Hofstadter has called "the psychic crisis" of the 1890s, attempted to locate American identity in the Mississippi Valley, in the West, in what a later historian was to define as the Garden of the World.<sup>8</sup>

It is almost transcending the bounds of good taste to repeat the platitude that if the frontier did not exist, it would have to be invented. Of course we know today that the ideas of existence and invention are too closely intertwined to admit of any clear demarcation. It is only interesting and surprising at first glance that the frontier and the frontier thesis received a most remarkable expression at the hands of a runaway Moravian monk. Born and raised in an obscure town in the Austro-Hungarian empire, achieving a notable success for a boy from the provinces by becoming the secretary of the monastic order of the Knights of the Red Cross in Prague, Charles Sealsfield appeared to fulfill an American rags-to-riches story in the most archconservative of European countries. However this apparent success story had a bizarre twist that was not contained in the original formula. In the year 1823 the Austrian police began searching for a certain Karl Anton Postl, a high monastic official, who was said to have disappeared without a trace. This same Karl Anton Postl arrived in New Orleans in the same year with a new name, a new passport, and a new profession. It is here that Sealsfield probably discovered in the frontier a vital metaphor to explain his own life.

That Sealsfield could appropriate the frontier and the West in his own writings is further proof that the frontier was not only an American narrative, but was thriving in Europe as well. Especially in the German-speaking world the idea of the frontier developed into a significant cultural narrative that was taken up again and again by novelists and writers of other literary genres.<sup>9</sup> Thus Sealsfield read Heinrich Zschokke and Gottfried Duden. Gerstäcker was familiar with Sealsfield. Balduin Möllhausen read Gerstäcker, and all of these writers in turn were widely accepted by the German reading public.<sup>10</sup>

The frontier thesis, as many critics have pointed out, owes its efficacy more to myth than to historical scholarship.<sup>11</sup> Implicit in the frontier thesis is one particular myth that has obsessed the European imagination up to the present. Humankind can be reborn in America, the myth claims, whether it be a return to the purity or innocence of the primeval self or a development to a deeper, more mature, more liberated self in the sense of citizenship in a republican commonwealth. The credo of a second chance found an ideal symbolic landscape in America. The limits to self,



society, and history could be dissolved, and the individual could be reborn in a virgin land.<sup>12</sup>

How this actually works is also explained by the myth. As Turner states:

The wilderness masters the colonist. It finds him a European in dress, industries, tools, modes of travel, and thought. It takes him from the railroad car and puts him in the birch canoe. It strips off the garments of civilization and arrays him in the hunting shirt and the moccasin. It puts him in the log cabin of the Cherokee and Iroquois and runs an Indian palisade around him. Before long he has gone to planting Indian corn and plowing with a sharp stick: he shouts the war cry and takes the scalp in orthodox Indian fashion. In short at the frontier the environment is at first too strong for the man. He must accept the conditions which it furnishes or perish, and so he fits himself into the Indian clearings and follows the Indian trails. Little by little he transforms the wilderness, but the outcome is not the old Europe, not simply the development of Germanic germs, any more than the first phenomenon was a case of reversion to the German mark. The fact is, that here is a new product that is American.<sup>13</sup>

This passage has been traditionally interpreted as an example of Turner's belief in "geographical determinism," or as Turner writes in another essay "the profound influence of the unity of its great spaces."<sup>14</sup> However it also illustrates in almost fairy tale-like form the grand narrative of cultural loss and rebirth in the wilderness with the additional narrative that rebirth leads to progress and a new kind of civilization.

Crèvecoeur made the first significant contribution to this narrative. In his celebrated *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782), Crèvecoeur shows "how Europeans become Americans."<sup>15</sup> Throughout his work Crèvecoeur finds recourse to such mystical categories as "regeneration," "invisible power," "metamorphosis" to explain this transformation. The result echoes Turner when he writes:

The American is a new man who acts upon new principles: he must therefore entertain new ideas, and form new opinions. From involuntary idleness, servile dependence, penury, and useless labour, he has passed to toils of a very different nature, rewarded by ample subsistence. This is an American.<sup>16</sup>

Crèvecoeur also attempts to offer less mystical explanations. The "laws" of an enlightened state and the "industry" of the new immigrants lead to the

conversion from a European to an American.<sup>17</sup> However, since the "freeholder," who is also of central importance in the Turner thesis, embodies Crèvecoeur's pastoral utopia, it follows that the soil, the land or "the salubrious effluvia of the earth," becomes the primary agent of Americanization.<sup>18</sup> In Crèvecoeur, Jefferson, and later Turner as well as in other representatives of the pastoral ideal, the earth then becomes the actor and the farmer or yeoman is its product. Of course we know that this variant of "geographical determinism" is only of limited value in explaining social change. Yet it is an essential element of the frontier thesis that gives substance to the Turnerian metaphor of the frontier as a "crucible," a concoction of forces—almost magical in nature—which metamorphoses a weary, corrupt European (at least according to the metaphor) into a young virtuous American.<sup>19</sup>

Sealsfield's own story is depicted here in almost formulaic fashion. A Catholic monk, living in the most feudal and despotic of European countries, flees his homeland and becomes Charles Sealsfield, writer, planter, (at least in his passport) Protestant minister, and as he liked to believe, American Democrat. The simplicity of the story and the literal rendition of the myth would perhaps discourage any further interest. However it is the obsessiveness with which the myth is repeated again and again in Sealsfield's work and the close analysis of the process of becoming an American that distinguishes Sealsfield from his contemporaries.

Sealsfield, like Turner, is also fond of gnomic utterances. In his *Lebensbilder aus der westlichen Hemisphäre* (1834-37), the narrator writes: "The European remains blind in America for seven years" [translation mine].<sup>20</sup> The frontier thesis also suggests the metaphor of "blindness," arguing that only those initiated into the mysteries of the land can grasp the essential processes of American culture. Turner's critique of the German-American historian Hermann von Holst develops this argument more precisely. Von Holst, according to Turner, cannot provide an adequate interpretation of American history because

the European inheritance and environment leave their own prejudices—the unitary state, the stationary populations, the rule of classes, bureaucracy, lack of popular activity except in a revolutionary way—these are some of the difficulties.<sup>21</sup>

What Sealsfield invokes as "blindness" is more concretely described by Turner in his essay on von Holst as cultural knowledge.<sup>22</sup> A profound anthropological truth is revealed here which was only to become fully enunciated in the twentieth century: our culture frames our perceptions, or as David Potter has put it, our culture acts as a filter, allowing only



those signs and symbols which carry meaning in it to be recognized and those which are alien to it to be shunted away.<sup>23</sup>

Equally modern is Sealsfield's description of the European's initial encounter with the New World. In his first novel, *Der Legitime und die Republikaner* (1833), he shows how the European—in this case, the young Englishman—suddenly lost in the woods, experiences a kind of existential terror and primal loss: "Nirgends war ein fester Punkt zu sehen. . . . Es war vielleicht dieses Gefühl seines Nichts und seiner Verlassenheit in der ungeheueren Gotteswelt, . . ." <sup>24</sup> That *der amerikanische Wald* is imbued with the spirit of the divine (although this theme also recurs in later works with striking similarity) is less significant than the European's response to the irresistible power of the land. The feeling of being lost, of being "mastered" by nature in the Turnerian sense appears again and again in Sealsfield's fiction. In the novel—*Die Farbigen* (1837)—the narrator informs us:

Der Europäer, dessen Auge an abgegränzte Fluren, Felder, Wiesen und Wälder gewöhnt ist, hat gar keine Idee von der Verwirrung, ja Bewilderung die den Neuling bei seinem Eintritt in diese endlos scheinenden Wiesen und Waldwüsteneien ergreifen. Es ist ein wahrer Schwindel, der ihn befällt—er fühlt, bewildert sinnlos, wenn er allein, oder in Gesellschaft Weniger sie betritt. Es ist ihm, als ob er in die Fluthen des Oceans gestoßen, mit dem die Sinne betäubenden Wellen kämpfte.<sup>25</sup>

Another vivid instance in Sealsfield's fiction of being compelled to reassemble one's perceptions in the new American landscape is in *Das Kajütenbuch* (1841) when Colonel Morse describes arriving in Texas for the first time:

Es ist aber auch eine ganz eigenthümliche Empfindung, nach einer dreiwöchigen Seefahrt in einen Hafen einzulaufen, der kein Hafen ist, und ein Land, das halb und halb kein Land ist. Noch immer schien es uns, als müßte es jeden Augenblick unter unseren Füßen wegschwellen.<sup>26</sup>

The theme of being compelled by the environment to restructure one's identity is often coupled with the theme of regeneration in both Sealsfield and Turner. When Turner writes, "this perennial rebirth, this fluidity of American life, this expansion westward with its new opportunities, its continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society furnish the forces dominating American character," he is also, in fact, defining the influences acting upon Sealsfield's protagonists.<sup>27</sup> In the second book of the *Lebensbilder* saga, *Ralph Doughby's Esq. Brautfahrt* (1835), the narrator,

initially an effete Virginian, begins to notice some remarkable changes taking place within him: "Man fühlt sich kräftiger, stärker auf Gottes verjüngter Erde."<sup>28</sup> "Liberated," as Turner said, from "the bonds of custom," the European in Sealsfield's world discovers his individuality amid the imperatives of a radically new environment. In short, the frontier for Sealsfield dissolves all vestiges of privilege and class distinction, liberating the European from what Sealsfield writes on another occasion is the powerlessness of being the monarch's subject and allows him to discover the freedom which only mature citizens can enjoy. The frontier then is a twofold process that enables the individual to rediscover the powers of youth, while at the same time paving the way for citizenship in a democratic polity.<sup>29</sup>

Sealsfield is also fond of explaining how the frontier works. In language redolent of Turner, his narrator in *Ralph Doughby's Esq. Brautfahrt* explains:

So berühren sich bei uns die Endpunkte sozialer Stellungen, und runden in steter Reibung, in fortwährend wie im Kreisel umherrollender Beweglichkeit ihre wechselseitigen Härten und Ecken ab. Der Senatorssohn baut seine Hütte auf einem Stück Waldlande, das an die Besitzung des Sprößlings eines schottischen Viehtreibers anstößt; das Weib dieses war vielleicht die Magd der Senatorstochter, die sie nun als Nachbarin begrüßt und ihre kleinen Dienstleistungen mit dankbarfrohem Entgegenkommen annimmt. So befördert bei uns gewissermaßen die Nothwendigkeit jenes republikanische Gleichheitssystem, das im Wesen [*sic*] seine Wurzel ausbreitet, tiefer schlägt, während es im Osten, im Gewühle unserer Seestädte, bereits starke Stöße erleidet.<sup>30</sup>

In almost the same language Turner describes how the frontier works to insure an egalitarian society:

Rather it [the democratic society in the West] was a mobile mass of freely circulating atoms, each seeking its own place and finding play for its own powers and for its own original initiative. We cannot lay too much stress upon this point, for it was at the very heart of the whole American movement.<sup>31</sup>

Both Sealsfield and Turner then invoke the image of a society *in fluidum*, a society that seems to possess an intrinsic resistance to the emergence of privilege and exploitation.<sup>32</sup>

At the core of Sealsfield's fiction as well as of the frontier thesis is the conversion experience. The European comes to America, is exposed to the



frontier environment, and eventually undergoes a profound change and becomes an American. This is in effect what happens to George Howard, Count Vignerolles, Colonel Morse—some of the principal characters in Sealsfield's major novels. They all begin as Europeans or Eastern gentlemen and then as a result of the Western environment and a pioneer mentor who embodies this environment and who initiates them into its secrets, they become true Americans. When Count Vignerolles—the sometimes narrator of the *Lebensbilder* tetralogy—exclaims:

Jetzt merkten wir, daß wir wirklich in einer neuen Welt, unter neuen Menschen uns befanden, deren Cultur, obwohl die Elemente europäisch, durch und durch amerikanische Formen oder vielmehr Natur angenommen hatten, himmelweit verschieden von der der Creolen und unserer importirten Landsleute, die mir in dem Augenblicke, wenn ich es frei gestehen soll, wie zweimal aufgewärmtes Ragout vorkamen,<sup>33</sup>

he is pointing to the central tenet underlying the Turner thesis—the notion of American exceptionalism. America is different, both Turner and Sealsfield would maintain, because the frontier has succeeded in creating a new American consciousness. In one of Sealsfield's most revealing passages, Count Vignerolles already adumbrates Turner's famous discussion of the so-called intellectual traits elicited by the frontier environment:

Inmitten dieser Tätigkeit frappte es uns zugleich nicht wenig, daß wir anfangen, über Dinge, die vor und hinter uns lagen, auf eine ganz neue Weise zu raisonnieren, auf eine republikanisch amerikanische Weise zu raisonnieren, möchte ich sagen; eine Weise, die mit unserer früheren Sprache und Denkungsart auch nicht im mindesten in Zusammenhange stand. . . . Es ging eine ganze Revolution in unserem Ideensystem vor: . . .—Dieß frappte uns nicht wenig; es war ein psychologisches Phänomen, und desto unerklärbarer, da wir über diese Gegenstände kaum je mit unsern Squatter-Nachbarn gesprochen, unsere Ideen daher spontaneös waren. . . .—Es schien uns, als ob wir aus einem langen Traume erwacht, der Kindheit, dem Leitbände entwachsen, das uns bisher hin und her gegängelt hatte.<sup>34</sup>

In a frontier society, both Turner and Sealsfield believe, the values of space become preeminent. The East has already succumbed to the forces of history, displaying the usual symptoms of decline and disorder. However as a counterweight to the Europeanized East (which is

synonymous in Turner's thought with the pernicious tyranny of history), there is the West, the frontier, which is characterized by the beneficent tyranny of space. The frontier, as long as it exists, will continue to exercise a tempering influence upon the ultimate rise and fall of societies, preventing the divisions that have traditionally rent European society. Hence consonant with his notion of a society of space, Sealsfield also employs his own "safety valve" theory:

Vielleicht ist es ein Glück für eben diese Staaten, daß sie gewissermaßen dieses fagend\*) an ihrem Lande besitzen, wo die wilden Leidenschaften austoben können; denn im Busen der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft dürfen sie viel Unheil anrichten.

\*) Fagend. Dieses unübersetzbare Wort dürfte einer nähern Bezeichnung um so mehr werth seyn, als es häufig gebraucht wird; fagend nennt man das ausgezupfte Ende eines Strickes, das Werthlose an irgend einer Sache; die Canadas z. B. werden ganz richtig das fagend von Amerika genannt. Hier heißen die Steppen zwischen dem Felsengebirge und Mississippi fagend<sup>35</sup> [see "fag end," *American Heritage Dictionary*].

There is a slight shift of emphasis here. Instead of the East being amid an irrevocable process of decline according to Turner, the East maintains its own order and purity by having a frontier outlet for its seemingly dissolute citizens. Sealsfield embraces here a common narrative that was quite persuasive at the time. The best example of this narrative can be found in Timothy Dwight's work, *Travels in New-England and New-York* (1821). Dwight was President of Yale College and an important literary figure in New England, and his views on the West enjoyed a certain popularity. Abiding by the same narrative as Sealsfield, Dwight notes:

All countries contain restless inhabitants, men impatient of labor; . . . Under despotic governments they are awed into quiet; but in every free community they create, to a greater or lesser extent, continual turmoil and have often overturned the peace, liberty and happiness of their fellow-citizens.<sup>36</sup>

It is significant that Dwight's narrative did not go unanswered. Only a few years later Timothy Flint felt it necessary to defend the reputation of the backwoodsman and the meaning of the frontier experience as well. In *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (1826), referring to Dwight directly, Flint deliberately chooses the *persona* of an Easterner who goes West in order to lend more force to his arguments. Traveling throughout the West, unarmed, Flint exclaims, "I scarcely remember to have experienced



anything that resembled insult, or to have felt myself in danger from the people.<sup>37</sup> Rather Flint redeems the frontier experience from a descent into lawlessness into a vindication of the triumph of civilization:

The backwoodsman of the west [sic], as I have seen him, is generally an amiable and virtuous man. His general motive for coming here is to be a freeholder, to have plenty of rich land, to be able to settle his children about him.<sup>38</sup>

Sealsfield's vision of the frontier contains the same ambivalence inherent in the frontier thesis. As Henry Nash Smith wisely says, the frontier is at once a paean to progress and to primitivism.<sup>39</sup> This was, as one literary historian has noted, the central dilemma facing the best minds in America in the antebellum period—the belief in nature as an alternative standard of value to European civilization and the doctrine of progress and material growth.<sup>40</sup> Turner resurrected this dilemma in a somewhat elegiac fashion for an entire generation of Americans who suddenly realized that they had far surpassed Europe in certain dubious aspects of civilization, including frightening urban landscapes. On the other hand, the frontier in Turner's eyes was never meant to pose a serious alternative to civilization. On the contrary, it became akin to a regulating mechanism which guaranteed that America stayed healthy and stable. It was, to use John Cawelty's term, a symbol of "revitalization" for a society that was experiencing the first shocks of modernity.<sup>41</sup> Turner's real dilemma—akin to Sealsfield's—was that, as American society began to enjoy "unparalleled progress," it also began to resemble European civilization, displaying all those signs of malaise, to which America was presumably immune. It also meant that the frontier would cease to exist and hence no longer exert a restraining influence on the inevitable decline of republican civilization.

What Sealsfield and Turner further have in common is that, as they both define the frontier as "a form of society," they also postulate the self-made man ideal. In an essay published after the celebrated essay in Chicago, "The Problem of the West" (1896), Turner writes, "The self made man was the Western man's ideal, was the kind of man that all men might become."<sup>42</sup> This is in fact a simple restatement of Sealsfield's own utopian longings—the fantasy of a society, unlike the Habsburg monarchy, free from the dictates of caste and deference. It is also the idea behind his great character Nathan, the squatter. Contrary to the ideal of the American Adam, which governed the imagination of many of Sealsfield's contemporaries, Nathan became the embodiment of acquisitiveness and manifest destiny, the belief in the ultimate triumph of militant agrarianism.<sup>43</sup> In the cultural dialogue centering on the problems of modernization and the values of civilization versus the values



of nature, Sealsfield gravitates toward the former. His pastoralism is decidedly not of the soft variety, but instead is based on expansion as well as on an uncompromising Protestant work ethic. Hence the two principal symbols in the *Lebensbilder*—the *Embryo-Pflanzung* and *das Vaterhaus*—are based on a state of siege mentality with the land and with one's own psyche. In a sense they suggest many of the attributes of Sealsfield's monastery in Prague.

"I assure you," one of Sealsfield's characters exclaims, that "there is no happier life than that of the American gentleman, who lives in harmony with his neighbor and who is lord and master of his own estate and in his own house. He is the only free man on earth" [translation mine].<sup>44</sup> This resembles Turner's statement in his frontier essay: "So long as free land exists the opportunity for a competency exists, and economic power secures political power."<sup>45</sup> This is perhaps the most pervasive formula in American political theory. It excludes, of course, those who do not possess economic power from exercising political influence. However Turner believed that the availability of free land would distribute economic power equally and provide democracy with a broad foundation. Sealsfield's notions were more complex. On the one hand, he celebrated the Jeffersonian dictum of a republic of small landowners. In his first book, *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika* (1827), he describes the Ohio Valley in terms strikingly similar to Turner:

Überall blickt ein Wohlstand hervor, der solid ist, denn er ruht auf festem Grunde, dem unerschütterlichen Eigenthumsprinzip des Einzelnen. Der rechtliche, kluge und thätige Mann lebt nirgends so gut, so frei, so glücklich, als in Amerika.<sup>46</sup>

On the other hand, in his earliest writings, Sealsfield was also attracted to the plantation system of the antebellum South. In his fiction Sealsfield invoked a pyramidal concept of democracy. His "American gentleman" is the patriarch of a large household that is carefully stratified according to family, race, education, language, and taste. As evinced by one of his finest characters—Ralph Doughby—the narrator, who is constantly assessing Doughby, is not so certain of Doughby's suitability to join the gentry class, because of what he regards as his crude frontier origins.<sup>47</sup> Further, in his *Pflanzerleben II* Sealsfield conducts a "Sklaven-Debatte" between what is presented as a naive, idealistic Frenchman who represents the European, Jacobean point of view and the mature, pragmatic (with Burkean sympathies) plantation owner who represents of course the vastly superior American point of view.<sup>48</sup>

The frontier thesis attempted to resolve the dilemma that Americans were habitually confronted with in the nineteenth century as the continent began to be increasingly more settled. Both Turner and Sealsfield would



have found a solution to James Fenimore Cooper's classically liberal treatment of the different kinds of equality:

Equality, in a social sense, may be divided into that of condition, and that of rights. Equality of condition is incompatible with civilization, and is found to exist only in those communities that are but slightly removed from the savage state. In practice it can only mean a common misery.<sup>49</sup>

The frontier acts as a continual guarantor of "equality of condition" and "equality of rights," for as Turner writes, liberty and equality were found on the frontier in degrees unknown to previous societies.<sup>50</sup>

"Thus, in the beginning," Locke said, "All the world was America."<sup>51</sup> This attractive fable was the starting point, both for Sealsfield's and Turner's meditations on what constitutes the good society and the new man. They both shared the belief that a nation that possessed vast tracks of free land harbored a utopian potential. It was only in the rendition of this utopian potential that both sharply differed. For Turner the West became, to use Henry Nash Smith's term, *the Myth of the Garden*. As Turner writes in his essay, "The Significance of the Mississippi Valley in American History" (1909-10), the Mississippi Valley offers the possibility of "an empire of natural resources in which to build a noble social structure worthy to hold its place as the heart of American industrial, political and spiritual life."<sup>52</sup> For Sealsfield, on the other hand, the West is transmuted into *the Myth of the Plantation*, where the American Southwest becomes the setting for his plantation utopia, which he compares to the Garden of Hesperides of classical mythology.<sup>53</sup>

Nevertheless the frontier thesis molded Sealsfield's and Turner's ideological and personal visions in remarkably similar ways. Both men thought of themselves as liberals and progressives and yet found themselves fighting a rearguard action to conserve a society of the past. Troubled by the Civil War and by the expansion of commercial capitalism, Sealsfield announced the end of the frontier and the beginning of a world which he regarded with disquietude:

Nun ist freilich die transatlantische Welt bevölkert, aber die Elemente dieser Bevölkerung heterogen, verdorben—lasterhaft, verbrecherisch zum Theil—diese Elemente haben zugleich die Crisis heraufbeschworen, eine Crisis aus der das Land gesunder hervorgehen, aber unter der es auch in Theile zerbrochen werden kann. . . .<sup>54</sup>

For Turner, of course, the starting point of his history was the end of the frontier, and the crisis that he continually invokes throughout his

work is the end of American exceptionalism and the fragility of a post-frontier society. Once there is no longer free land, how can nature continue its work of Americanization, its regeneration of American culture? More importantly, like Sealsfield, Turner believed that democracy in the classically liberal sense was in grave danger. The encroachments of collectivization, bureaucracy, socialism, plutocracy—all these forces were threatening to impose upon American democracy a European and hence negative form.

Thus despite their courageous moments of optimism, the ruling emotion of both Sealsfield's and Turner's achievement was quiet desperation. Despite all of Turner's appeals to sectionalism and the state university and the pioneer heritage, he was not able to find a way of transcending the implications of the frontier thesis and create a viable model of the future.<sup>55</sup> In Sealsfield's case as well, as he reached the end of his life, he was plagued by the same insight as Turner: America had finally become Europeanized. This may help to explain why Sealsfield did not publish any more works in the last years of his life. It also explains why Turner published only two books during his lifetime, only one of which was a historical monograph.<sup>56</sup>

Still Sealsfield's work perhaps comes closer to capturing the underlying significance of the frontier. In contrast to Turner, Sealsfield's epic of Western expansion is ultimately based on *Machtstreben*.<sup>57</sup> In this sense Sealsfield's West approximates more closely in temper Turner's contemporary Owen Wister. In his novel, *The Virginian* (1902), the narrator, who resembles Wister himself, exclaims:

It was through the Declaration of Independence that we Americans acknowledged the eternal inequality of man. . . . This is true democracy. And true democracy and true aristocracy are the same thing.<sup>58</sup>

This is almost identical with Sealsfield's notion of "the democratic aristocrat." In *Das Kajiütenbuch* his spokesman in the novel—the *Alcalde*—compares the Anglo-Americans in Texas with the Norman conquest of England. According to this analogy, the Texans, like the Normans before them, are supposed to sweep the old aristocracy aside and regenerate society. Their only claim to rule, as Sealsfield's mentor figure argues, rests ultimately on their will to power.<sup>59</sup> In this sense, then, Sealsfield is not only an important precursor of the frontier thesis, but in addition an unsettling voice in its ideological deconstruction.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Frederick Jackson Turner, *The United States, 1830-1850: The Nation and its Sections*, ed. Avery Craven (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith 1958), 582.

<sup>2</sup> Turner shows a great fondness for literature, frequently citing the poets of his day in his important essays. Still his important assessment of Edgar Allan Poe in the work already cited epitomizes Turner's approach to literature: "Perhaps the most original of the American writers of this generation was Poe, whose work was done between 1827 and 1849: [sic] but he was an individual genius, less expressive of his country and his period than some of the writers not so great in fame." See *The United States, 1830-1850*, 581.

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of Turner's precursors, see Ray Allen Billington, *The Genesis of the Frontier Thesis: A Study in Historical Creativity* (San Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, 1971).

<sup>4</sup> The literature on this theme is seemingly inexhaustible. A more recent work of interest, however, which examines travel literature and its relation to the settlement of the West, is Bruce Greenfield, *Narrating Discovery: The Romantic Explorer in American Literature, 1790- 1855* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992).

<sup>5</sup> Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1920), 1-38.

<sup>6</sup> Of course cultures usually preserve two dimensions of retreat—both time and space. Frontier societies probably prefer the latter, but are also capable of conjuring up visions of the former. For example, the United States has found solace in the Founding Fathers and the Constitution as one ready example of a retreat into the past. In fact as the dimension of space seems to recede, the dimension of time gains in importance in setting up alternatives to the much maligned present.

<sup>7</sup> Robert Clark, "The Last of the Iroquois: History and Myth in James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans*," *Poetics Today* 3, 4 (1982): 123-24. See also his later work, *History and Myth in American Fiction, 1823-1857* (New York: St. Martins Press, 1987).

<sup>8</sup> Hofstadter's analysis of the 1890s makes clear that the Turner thesis fits into the scheme of *Angst* in "Cuba, the Philippines, and Manifest Destiny," in *The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), 184.

<sup>9</sup> This fact has been amply documented by Sealsfield scholars such as Alexander Ritter, Walter Grünzweig, and Franz Schüppen in various essays and monographs. These critics have focused mainly on literary genre (the Western, the pastoral), cultural symbolism (the "middle ground"), and ideology and myth (manifest destiny and the doctrine of progress). For a more recent study of Sealsfield and the significance of the West, see Günter Schnitzler, *Erfahrung und Bild: Die dichterische Wirklichkeit des Charles Sealsfield (Karl Postl)* (Freiburg: Rombach, 1988). Furthermore, two recent publications focus on various aspects of Sealsfield's work, including Sealsfield's relationship to westward expansion. See Charlotte L. Brancaforte, ed., *The Life and Works of Charles Sealsfield (Karl Postl)* (Madison, Wisconsin: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, 1993) and Franz B. Schüppen, *Neue Sealsfield Studien: Amerika und Europa in der Biedermeierzeit* (Stuttgart: M & P Verlag für Wissenschaft und Forschung, 1995). Still, the actual connections between Sealsfield's achievement and Turner's frontier thesis have never been adequately documented.

<sup>10</sup> For studies on the German *Amerikanroman*, see Juliane Mikoletzky, *Die deutsche Amerika-Auswanderung des 19. Jahrhunderts in der zeitgenössischen fiktionalen Literatur* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1988).

<sup>11</sup> There are two principal schools of thought regarding the frontier thesis. One school represented by Henry Nash Smith regards the frontier thesis as an essential part of American mythology. The other school, perhaps best represented by William Appleman Williams, regards the frontier thesis as an effective ideology.

<sup>12</sup> This interpretation of American culture and letters, propounded by such scholars as Henry Nash Smith, R. W. B. Lewis, Richard Chase and others, has had an enormous impact



on American Studies. Unfortunately these scholars often substitute ideology and myth for historical criticism, thereby only touching upon the surface structure of American culture and not upon its deeper complexity. For a refreshing critique of this approach, see the above-mentioned work by Robert Clark, *History and Myth in American Fiction, 1823-1857*.

<sup>13</sup> Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," 4.

<sup>14</sup> Turner, "The Significance of the Mississippi Valley in American History," in *The Frontier in American History*, 180.

<sup>15</sup> J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1957), 44.

<sup>16</sup> Crèvecoeur, 40.

<sup>17</sup> Crèvecoeur, 38.

<sup>18</sup> Crèvecoeur, 12.

<sup>19</sup> Turner, 23. Of all the metaphors which Turner employs to invoke the frontier, the "crucible" is perhaps the most vivid and illuminating. The "crucible" captures that amalgam of myth and fairy tale underlying the frontier thesis and hence makes it such a persuasive explanation of American exceptionalism. The "crucible" is also present in Crèvecoeur when he writes, "Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labours and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world" (39).

<sup>20</sup> Charles Sealsfield, *Das Pflanzlerleben II und Die Farbigen* (Hildesheim, New York: Olms Presse, 1976), 121.

<sup>21</sup> Frederick Jackson Turner, "Dr. Von Holst's History of the United States," in Wilbur R. Jacobs, *Frederick Jackson Turner's Legacy: Unpublished Writings in American History* (San Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, 1965), 90. Hermann von Holst (1841-1904) belongs to those German-American historians who once enjoyed a wide following as a result of his tome *Verfassungsgeschichte der Vereinigten Staaten (1876-1892)*, but has since disappeared into oblivion. There are several reasons for this, one being of course the difficulties in reading Holst in the original German and perhaps the other being that his so-called Prussian interpretation of American history violated too many implicit cultural norms in writing American history.

<sup>22</sup> Turner often vacillates between a pastoral interpretation of American history in which the land plays a fundamental role to an anthropological explanation in which culture and learned experience are of crucial importance.

<sup>23</sup> David Potter, *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and American Character* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), 34-37. This is a restatement of what psychologists call today "cultural dissonance."

<sup>24</sup> Charles Sealsfield, *Der Legitime und die Republikaner: Eine Geschichte aus dem letzten amerikanisch-englischen Kriege* (1833; rpt., Hildesheim, New York: Olms Presse, 1973), 288.

<sup>25</sup> Sealsfield, *Das Pflanzlerleben II und Die Farbigen*, 231-32.

<sup>26</sup> Sealsfield, *Das Kajütenbuch oder Nationale Charakteristiken* (1841; rpt. Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1979), 21.

<sup>27</sup> Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier," 2.

<sup>28</sup> Sealsfield, *Ralph Doughby's Esq. Brautfahrt* (Hildesheim, New York: Olms Presse, 1976), 56.

<sup>29</sup> In his fiction as well as in his travel books, Sealsfield contrasts the citizen of a republican commonwealth with the subject of a monarchy. See, for example, *Die deutsch-amerikanischen Wahlverwandtschaften* (1839-40; rpt., Hildesheim, New York: Olms Presse, 1982) for the differences in national character between the Americans, the Germans, and the English. Sealsfield adds an interesting variation to American ideology here, reversing the significance of childhood and adulthood in this schema. Instead of America being, as many Europeans have envisaged it, a place where one returns to primal innocence, in Sealsfield's work it becomes a place where one achieves true political maturity, because, as Sealsfield argues, as long as one is oppressed, one can never develop one's faculties and hence will always remain in a childlike state. See, for example, *Die Farbigen*, 218-20.



<sup>30</sup> Sealsfield, *Ralph Doughby's Esq. Brautfahrt*, 230-31.

<sup>31</sup> Turner, "The West and American Ideals," in *The Frontier in American History*, 306.

<sup>32</sup> Once again the significance of Crèvecoeur for Sealsfield's work is unmistakable. Using almost the exact same syntax and imagery as Sealsfield with respect to social levelling, Crèvecoeur writes about the process of Americanization and nonsectarianism: "and it may happen that the daughter of the Catholic will marry the son of the seceder, and settle by themselves at a distance from their parents" (46).

<sup>33</sup> Sealsfield, *Nathan, der Squatter-Regulator, oder der erste Regulator in Texas* (1837; rpt., Hildesheim, New York: Olms Presse, 1976), 9.

<sup>34</sup> Sealsfield, *Nathan, der Squatter-Regulator*, 376-77.

<sup>35</sup> Sealsfield, *George Howard's Esq. Brautfahrt* (1834; rpt., Hildesheim, New York: Olms Presse, 1976), 197.

<sup>36</sup> Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New-England and New-York in The American Scene: Contemporary Views of Life and Society, 1600-1860* (New York: Bantam, 1964), 269-70.

<sup>37</sup> Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years in The American Scene*, 272.

<sup>38</sup> Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years*, 273.

<sup>39</sup> Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1950), 257.

<sup>40</sup> For an eloquent restatement of this theme, see Larzer Ziff, *Literary Democracy: The Declaration of Cultural Independence in America* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981), 4.

<sup>41</sup> John Cawelti, *Adventure, Mystery, and Romance: Formula Stories as Art and Popular Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), 226.

<sup>42</sup> Turner, "The Problem of the West," in *The Frontier in American History*, 213.

<sup>43</sup> In this sense Sealsfield's frontiersman resembles more the frontiersman found in Timothy Flint's work than in the *Leather-Stocking Tales*. See Flint's description of the pioneers in *Recollections of the Last Ten Years*.

<sup>44</sup> Sealsfield, *Nathan der Squatter-Regulator*, 331.

<sup>45</sup> Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier," 32.

<sup>46</sup> Sealsfield, *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, nach ihrem politischen, religiösen und gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse betrachtet* (1827; rpt., Hildesheim, New York: Olms Presse, 1972), 201.

<sup>47</sup> *Ralph Doughby's Esq. Brautfahrt* illustrates more clearly than his other novels Sealsfield's confusion concerning what constitutes the American ideology. Ralph Doughby becomes acceptable to the planter society of Louisiana as soon as he acquires property and slaves—but with the reservation that he is not a gentleman.

<sup>48</sup> For one of the most interesting literary treatments of the slavery question, see "Die Sklaven-Debatte" in *Pflanzerleben II* (1837).

<sup>49</sup> James Fenimore Cooper, *The American Democrat or Hints on the Social and Civic Relations in the United States of America* (1838; rpt., New York: Vintage Books, 1956), 40.

<sup>50</sup> In Turner's essays both terms appear quite frequently, viz., "the democratic pioneers" and "creative competition." Turner returned to Cooper's arguments when he recognized that America was a frontier society. See, for example, "The Ohio Valley in American History" (1909) in *The Frontier in American History* when Turner talks about "a naturally radical society" (165).

<sup>51</sup> John Locke, "An Essay Concerning the True Original Extent and End of Civil Government," in Ernest Barker, ed., *Social Contract* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), 27.

<sup>52</sup> Turner, "The Significance of the Mississippi Valley in American History," 179.

<sup>53</sup> Sealsfield, *George Howard's Esq. Brautfahrt*, 5.

<sup>54</sup> This citation is taken from a Sealsfield letter in the Albert B. Faust collection appended to his *Charles Sealsfield: Der Dichter beider Hemisphären* (Weimar: Emil Felber, 1897), 272-73.

<sup>55</sup> For Turner's struggle to create a model of a post-frontier society, see Gene Wise, *American Historical Explanations: A Strategy for Grounded Inquiry* (Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1973).

<sup>56</sup> Turner's relative lack of productivity has been explained as a personal problem by some critics as well as an ideological conundrum from which he could not escape by others. In his lifetime Turner published a volume of essays, *The Frontier in American History* (1920), in which his famous address to the American Historical Society in 1893 is included and *The Rise of the New West* (1906), along with the work already cited—*The United States, 1830-1850* and *The Significance of Sections in American History* (1933)—the latter two works being posthumously published.

<sup>57</sup> It must be qualified here that Turner's conception of the frontier was also based on power, since he defined the frontier for the most part as "free land" or empty space. As Bruce Greenfield points out, this was an American narrative rather than a European or British one, which by contrast conceived of the West as being populated by native peoples. According to Greenfield, this narrative became discernible in 1842 in John Charles Frémont's account of his expedition to the Rocky Mountains. Greenfield further points out that Turner ignored the earlier meanings of the frontier as boundaries or borders shared with other peoples or "nations." See Bruce Greenfield, *Narrating Discovery*, 72-74.

<sup>58</sup> Owen Wister, *The Virginian: A Horseman of the Plains* (New York: Pocket Books, 1956), 5.

<sup>59</sup> Sealsfield, *Das Kajütenbuch*, 1:127-34.



Gerhard K. Friesen

## The Authorship of the *Vertrauliche Briefe aus Kanada und NeuEngland vom J[ahre] 1777 und 1778*

During the American Revolution, *August Ludwig Schlözer's Briefwechsel meist historischen und politischen Inhalts*,<sup>1</sup> probably the most widely read periodical of the German Enlightenment, featured contributions by several soldiers serving with the German contingents on the British side. A partial listing for the purpose of this paper includes the following eight communications, in the order of their publication by Schlözer:

Ref. No.	Schlözer's Briefwechsel Year	Theil	Heft	No.	Pages	Letter(s) Sent from	Dated
1	1778	III	13	5	35-42	Duer House (NY)	Aug. 31, 1777
2	1778	III	17	36	275-282	Castleton (NH)	July 20, 1777
3	1778	III	18	42	320-340	Bastiscan (Canada)	Nov. 2, 1776
4	1779	IV	22	46	278-279	Cambridge (MA)	Oct. 10, 1778
5	1779	IV	23	49	288-323	Ste. Anne (Canada)	March 9, 1777 to Apr. 20, 1777
6	1779	IV	24	51	341-387	Cambridge (MA)	Nov. 15, 1777 to Oct. 10, 1778 [sic]
7	1779	V	29	38	267-279	Bastiscan (Canada)	Nov. 2, 1776
8	1779	V	30	59	413-417	Staunton (VA)	June 1, 1779

Two of these items, by one and the same writer whose identity Schlözer chose not to reveal, evidently were so well received that he had them immediately reissued as a separate publication under the title-page imprint *Vertrauliche Briefe aus Kanada und NeuEngland vom J[ahre] 1777. und 1778. Aus Hrn. Prof. Schlözers Briefwechsel, Heft XXIII und XXIV. Göttingen im Verlag der Wittwe Vandenhoeck 1779.*<sup>2</sup> The *Vertrauliche Briefe aus Kanada* consist of an unnamed Brunswick officer's eight letters written between 9 March and 20

April 1777 from his winter quarters in the parish of Ste. Anne (on the northern shore of the St. Lawrence River and about 70 km southwest from the city of Quebec), to his family and friends in Germany. These letters offer engaging descriptions of the army's living conditions; the geography, climate, flora and fauna of Canada; and the lifestyles and characteristics of the French, English, and Indian population. Written at Cambridge near Boston between 15 November 1777 and 12 June 1778, the *Vertrauliche Briefe aus NeuEngland* relate the Brunswickers' participation in Burgoyne's ill-fated campaign that ended with his surrender at Saratoga (under the terms of a convention signed by both sides on 16 October 1777) and the British-German army's subsequent march into *de facto* captivity. Also included are accounts of the prisoners' experiences in Cambridge and keen-eyed observations on the life, manners, and customs of New Englanders. Abandoning his usual editorial detachment, Schlözer praised the anonymous author as an eyewitness, "der überdies die seltene Gabe hat, so zu erzählen, daß seine Leser selbst sich dünken Augenzeugen zu seyn."<sup>3</sup> While admitting that these letters had not been intended for publication, Schlözer judged them more informative than anything similar that had hitherto been published, and he declared:

Stolz muß Deutschland auf einen solchen ReiseBeobachter seyn! Er lebt jetzo in Virginien. Hilft ihm einst der Himmel glücklich ins Vaterland zurück: so läßt er sich vielleicht zur Bekanntmachung mererer Nachrichten bewegen. Nur bis dahin mache sich keine litterarische Klatsche ein Geschäftte daraus, seinen Namen auszuspähen, und solchen in monatlichen oder wochentlichen Nachrichten zu verraten. Dies dürfte sonst, einem Manne von des Hrn. Verfassers Stand und Alter, eine hinlängliche Ursache werden, auf immer zu schweigen.<sup>4</sup>

Along with other Americana from Schlözer's *Briefwechsel*, these letters were translated by Stone in 1891<sup>5</sup> and Pettingill in 1924<sup>6</sup> and have frequently been cited by historians of the American Revolution as the vivid and authentic accounts of an unidentified Brunswick officer.<sup>7</sup>

Two years ago I set out to positively establish the identity of this author, whose anonymity has been protected long enough by Schlözer's caveat, and who thanks to his remarkable narrative talent and historical value surely deserves to be known to posterity. Emil Meynen, in his 1937 bibliography, attributed the *Vertrauliche Briefe* to August Wilhelm Du Roi,<sup>8</sup> an adjutant and lieutenant in the infantry regiment Prinz Friedrich. But, since Du Roi and his regiment never advanced further than Ticonderoga before returning to Quebec,<sup>9</sup> he could not have been an eyewitness at Saratoga and Cambridge. Contrariwise, the *Vertrauliche Briefe* and the letter entitled "Erster Feldzug der Braunschweiger in Kanada im J[ahre] 1776," which Schlözer subsequently



published (Ref. No. 7) and ascribed to the same anonymous author,<sup>10</sup> allow us to conclude that the latter

was a proud, witty, and gregarious Brunswicker with good connections to influential circles in the Dukedom;

was well-educated, had an exceptional knowledge of Latin, classical mythology, and French, displayed uncommon familiarity with agriculture, and delighted in outdoor activities;

took part in the 1759 defense of Krofdorf (near Gießen) by an allied army of British, Brunswick, Hanoverian, and Hessian troops under Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick (Du Roi did not enter the Brunswick army until 1762);

landed in Quebec on 24 September 1776, with the second Brunswick division commanded by Colonel Johann Heinrich Specht (whereas Du Roi arrived there on 1 June with the first division under Major General Friedrich Adolf von Riedesel);

in an official capacity accompanied Specht (who was named Brigadier on 28 October 1776) in Canada and the U.S.

All this internal evidence supports that Schlözer's author is Heinrich Urban Cleve,<sup>11</sup> who was born on 17 August 1733 in Wolfenbüttel as the son of the *Hofcommissarius* Justus Heinrich Daniel Cleve and died on 2 January 1808 in Salzgitter. He belonged to a prominent family who owned estates at Riede (near Bremen) and Scheppau (near Königslutter) and whose sons held important appointments in the army and the government of the Dukes of Brunswick. His military career is circumscribed by the following dates:

- |         |   |
|---------|---|
| 1757    | 21 March – Ensign in the infantry regiment von Imhoff, which was named <i>von Koppelow</i> in 1768 and <i>von Rhetz</i> in 1773   |
| 1757-63 | Served with this regiment during the Seven Years War  |
| 1758    | 19 May – Lieutenant   |
| 1759    | 13 April – Wounded in the battle of Bergen, near Frankfurt am Main  |
| 1765    | 15 May – Captain  |
| 1776    | Staff Captain in the infantry regiment von Rhetz<br>September – Arrived with his regiment in Quebec and was subsequently appointed Brigade Major under Brigadier Specht |
| 1777    | 17 October – Captured at Saratoga with the Convention Army  |

- 13 December – Signed the Cambridge Parole List as "H U Cleve Maj[or] of Brig[ade]"
- 1778-79 December to January – Accompanied the Convention Army on its march from Cambridge to Charlottesville, Virginia<sup>12</sup>
- 1781 January – Exchanged, together with Specht, and sent to New York City. (For health reasons, Specht returned to Brunswick that spring, where he was ennobled in 1785 and died in 1787.)
- 1782 In charge of Brunswick recruits sent to Penobscot, Maine
- 1783 16 September – Arrived at Stade with a detachment of returning Brunswick soldiers
- 29 September – Appointed *Kriegsrath*.

Cleve served under Specht's regimental command from 1767 until 10 January 1776, when the second battalion of von Rhetz became the regiment Specht. Both regiments were among the seven, totalling 4,300 men, sent to Canada under the 1776 treaty between the Duke of Brunswick and the British crown. Together with one infantry regiment and one artillery company from Hessen-Hanau, these German troops 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 less than one half of its former strength. Cleve left the army because of impaired health, and his appointment in the ducal *Kriegscollegium* (war office), at a time when many other officers were also available, is a measure of his ability and his good connections. The military diary which Cleve kept during the Seven Years War, the only known one by a Brunswick officer of that period, has provided essential documentation for studies on Duke Ferdinand's campaigns against the French.<sup>13</sup>

This was the extent of my determinations until I discovered that the Library of Congress owns two different sets of letters by Heinrich Urban Cleve, both of which have hitherto been overlooked by scholars.

One set is in the library's collection of papers purchased in 1867 from the eminent American historian Peter Force (1790-1868) after the federal government suddenly ceased to subsidize the publication of his monumental series *American Archives*.<sup>14</sup> Unfortunately the listings in the *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections*<sup>15</sup> and in the volume *Manuscript Sources in the Library of Congress for Research on the American Revolution*<sup>16</sup> misidentify Heinrich Urban Cleve as "aide-de-camp to Major General Friedrich Riedesel," thus confusing him with his younger brother Friedrich Christian Cleve (7



October 1738–6 January 1826). Since this confusion persistently occurs elsewhere,<sup>17</sup> I offer this brief outline of Friedrich Christian Cleve's career:<sup>18</sup>

- 1759      *Gefreiter-Corporal* in the regiment von Imhoff, with which he took part in the Seven Years War  
2 May – Ensign
- 1760      18 September – Lieutenant
- 1768      On half-pay. Entered Dutch service as Aide-de-camp of the Acting Stadholder and Field Marshal, Duke Ludwig Ernst of Brunswick
- 1776      Returned to Brunswick service as Aide-de-camp in the General Staff of Major General von Riedesel, whom he accompanied to North America  
1 June – Arrived at Quebec
- 1777      17 October – Captured at Saratoga with the Convention Army  
13 December – Signed the Cambridge Parole List as "Cleve aide de Camp"
- 1779      November – With Riedesel paroled to New York City
- 1780      March to September – Sent to Brunswick by Riedesel to convey confidential information to Duke Ferdinand  
2 April – Captain  
September – Exchanged together with Riedesel
- 1782      Returned from New York City to Quebec
- 1783      Returned to Brunswick and joined the newly established infantry regiment von Riedesel
- 1784      Re-entered the service of Duke Ludwig Ernst at Aachen
- 1786      Accompanied him to Eisenach where the Duke until his death in 1788 remained in close touch with the court at Weimar (Duchess Anna Amalia was his niece.)
- 1788-94   Aide-de-camp of Riedesel, who commanded a Brunswick contingent sent to Holland
- 1788      23 December – Major
- 1798      22 December – Lieutenant Colonel
- 1801      1 April – Colonel
- 1815      17 January – Major General.

Although he had a more illustrious career than his brother Heinrich Urban, Friedrich Christian Cleve was not nearly as good a writer. As Riedesel's aide he maintained the official diary of the Brunswick contingent.<sup>19</sup> Marred by solecisms, its style is often wooden and pedantic, as is that of a letter dated 23 June 1776 at Montreal, in which he tells his families that he is overburdened with his official duties and wishes Urban a safe ocean voyage.<sup>20</sup> A possible connection between the younger Cleve and Schlözer is suggested by the fact that Schlözer was commissioned to write the seven-hundred-page tome *Ludwig Ernst, Herzog zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg, kaiserl. königl. und H. Römischen Reichs FeldMarschall etc. Ein actenmäßiger Bericht von dem Verfahren gegen Dessen Person so lange HöchstDerselbe die erhabenen Posten als FeldMarschall, Vormund und Repräsentant des Herrn ErbStatthalters, Fürst Wilhelms V von Oranien, in der Republik der Vereinten Niederlande, bekleidet hat* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1786), to defend the former acting stadholder against Dutch charges of misgovernment.

The letters of Heinrich Urban Cleve in the Peter Force Papers consist of 113 handwritten quarto pages (each measuring 23.5 x 33.5 cm) numbered 1 to 114, without any page numbered 48. Page 1 includes the superscriptions "pr[aesentatum] den 1. Aug. 1777" and "Briefe von Cleve aus Amerika. N[o]. 20," while page 49 is superscribed "N[o]. 21" (although logically that designation should be on the previous page), which is repeated at the bottom of page 114. No. 20 consists of eight letters, dated and addressed as follows:

1. St. [sic] Anne den 9ten März 1777.  
Hochgeehrtester Herr Hofgerichts Assessor! (1-9)
2. St. Anne den 10ten März 1777.  
Hochgeehrteste Frau Mutter! (9-14)
3. St. Anne den 11ten Merz [sic] 1777.  
Mein Herr Bruder Hartwig Cleve. (14-23)
4. den 4ten Merz 1777.  
Hochgeehrtester Herr Cammer Rath Schaper! (23-30)
5. den 20ten Merz 1777.  
Mein liebster Freund Herr Doctor Schrader! (30-34)
6. St. Anne den 24ten Merz.  
Mein lieber alter Freund Herr Hauptmann Bähge. (34-37)
7. den 26ten Merz.  
Mein liebster Freund Herr Ober Kriegs Commissaire. (37-43)
8. den 29ten Merz.  
Mein lieber Bruder George Cleve! (43-47)



Whereas the first seven letters are unsigned, the eighth is followed by a postscript dated "den 20ten April" that concludes with "Dein treuer Bruder H U Cleve" (47). Combined with the facts that the texts run on continuously and that all eight letters were received on August 1, 1777, this indicates that they were actually written and sent as one serial letter to be read by all eight recipients. The texts correspond substantially to the *Vertrauliche Briefe aus Kanada* published by Schlözer, who made the orthography conform to his own idiosyncratic standards<sup>21</sup> and purged all references that might reveal the identity of the author and the addressees.

No. 21 is addressed to "Vielgeliebte Freunde" and consists of seventeen successive instalments dated "Cambridge den 15ten Nov. 1777" (49) up to "Den 2ten Aprill," and it is signed "Ihr aufrichtigster Freund C." (113). This is followed by a postscript of 12 June 1778 and a list of eight addressees (114) whose titles and names have been abbreviated but can be shown to coincide essentially with the addressees of No. 20. Undoubtedly No. 21 was likewise intended as a serial letter to be shared by the eight recipients. The text is largely identical with the *Vertrauliche Briefe aus NeuEngland* published by Schlözer with his customary discretion and editorial license, although there are some major transpositions and deletions. One such omission is that of an entire page concerning the landscape and the young ladies of New England (50). This can, however, be explained by the fact that Schlözer had previously published a letter with some of the same formulations, entitled "Aus Cambridge, bei Boston in NeuEngland, den 10 Oktob. 1778. Von einem Braunschweiger Officier" (Ref. No. 4). That officer was none other than Heinrich Urban Cleve, and Schlözer simply wanted to avoid unnecessary verbatim repetition. This letter's date, incidentally, may also explain how the subtitle of the *Vertrauliche Briefe aus NeuEngland* came to include the misleading 10 October terminus, when the final date is actually 12 June 1778.<sup>22</sup>

According to contemporary usage, all the German texts in No. 20 and No. 21 are written, with capricious fluctuations in spelling, in Gothic script (*Kurrentschrift*), while Latin characters are used for names and non-German words. If one discounts the sequential page numbering (which was probably inserted at the Library of Congress) and the superscriptions on pages 1 and 49,<sup>23</sup> there is only one handwriting manifest in all the letters. Although Sellers et al. refer to the entire manuscript as a contemporary transcript, it is actually an original autograph by Cleve, since the handwriting matches that of his letter, dated 6 May 1783 at Penobscot in Maine, to Duke Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand of Brunswick.<sup>24</sup> Whereas the careful calligraphy of pages 1 to 47 is indicative of the leisure and relative comfort of the long winter months in Ste. Anne, the appearance of the remainder reflects the precarious and constrained circumstances of Cleve's Cambridge captivity. The ink is of exceptionally poor quality, and many pages are disfigured by deletions and



insertions since, as he reports, paper was outrageously expensive and his primitive living quarters were unbearably cold.

Another set of Cleve letters is found among the Library of Congress's photostatic copies of militaria belonging to the *Kriegs-Archiv des Großen Generalstabes* of the former *Preußisches Geheimes Staatsarchiv* in Potsdam, which was destroyed in the spring of 1945. Originally owned by Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick (1721-92), who held the rank of a Prussian field marshal and declined George III's offer to lead the British forces in the American Revolution, these documents (known as Rep. 15A, Kap. XXXIV, No. 853) were photocopied for the Library of Congress in 1929.<sup>25</sup> The German inventory of that manuscript volume refers to the letters as "Briefe des Generalstabsadjutanten u. Kapitäns Cleve," thus also failing to properly distinguish between the two brothers. The documents under consideration are exact contemporary copies, clearly designated as such and made in duplicate by two different scribes, of the eight letters Heinrich Urban Cleve sent from Ste. Anne. In addition there are duplicate transcripts of two hitherto unpublished letters addressed to "Vielgeliebte Freunde," signed only "Cleve," and dated "Lager bei Crown-Point [New York] den 29ten Jun. 1777" and "Lager bei Cassel-Town [Castleton, which before the existence of Vermont as a state was in New Hampshire] den 11ten Jul. 1777," respectively. Internal evidence confirms that both letters are indeed by Heinrich Urban Cleve. In the first he states that he is writing part of this letter near the Bouquet River (where Burgoyne issued his bombastic and counterproductive proclamation of 20 June 1777), in the luxurious bateau recently provided for the exclusive use of Brigadier Specht. The second letter shows that he continues to accompany Specht in Burgoyne's southerly advance from Lake Champlain towards the Hudson and Albany.

The Brunswick militaria copied for the Library of Congress in 1929 also include a 287-page manuscript referred to as the "Journal of Colonel von [sic] Specht, commander of the 2d Brunswick division, Feb. 1776-Nov. 1777."<sup>26</sup> Strictly speaking, that designation applies only to the first eighty-one pages.<sup>27</sup> Since Specht was appointed Brigadier on 28 October 1776, the remainder (82-287) is actually the journal of his brigade, one of three formed in the fall of 1776 by the Brunswick and Hessen-Hanau troops. Several letters by Specht to Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, which are interspersed, show that the latter was sent the successive installments of this journal. In the section entitled "Zweite Fortsetzung des Journals bei der Brigade des Obristen Specht, vom 16.ten Junii bis den 28.ten Junii 1777," (123-32) much of the phraseology is identical with that in Cleve's above-mentioned letter from Crown Point of 29 June 1777. Similarly, the installment "Dritte Fortsetzung des Journals bey der Brigade Specht des Obristen Specht[,] vom 29ten Junii bis den 10ten Julii 1777" (133-43) evinces many textual agreements with Cleve's letter from Castletown dated 11 July 1777. In addition, numerous verbatim correspondencies exist between the following:



## Specht Brigade Journal

"Vierte Fortsetzung [etc.]" (145-48)

"Sechste Fortsetzung [etc.]" (161-72)

"Siebente Fortsetzung [etc.]" (183-267)

## Letters

"Castle-Town in New Hampshire, 20 Jul. 1777" (Ref. No. 2)

"Aus dem Lager bei Duar House,<sup>28</sup> den 31 Aug. 1777, von einem Braunschweigischen . . . in der Burgoyne'schen Armee" (Ref. No. 1)

"Vertrauliche Briefe aus NeuEngland" (Ref. No. 6).

The explanation for all these textual congruities is quite simple. As Specht's brigade major, Heinrich Urban Cleve was in charge of the brigade's records, including its journal.<sup>29</sup> The various handwritings in it are those of several different clerks assigned to regimental and brigade staff officers. For the factual basis of his private letters to his family and friends in Brunswick, Cleve routinely used the brigade's journal that he conscientiously maintained as part of his regular duties, and enriched it with personal notes not found in the official version.

The style and the chronology of all the letters identified above as Heinrich Urban Cleve's make it very likely that he was also the author of two others for which, unfortunately, no known manuscript versions exist:

"Von Kanada, aus den Briefen eines deutschen StabsOfficers, dat. Batiscamp [*sic*] (einer Paroisse in Kanada) den 2 Novemb. 1776" (Ref. No. 3);<sup>30</sup>

"Staunton in Virginien, 1 Jun. 1779" (Ref. No. 8).

To recapitulate: Heinrich Urban Cleve is demonstrably the author of the *Vertrauliche Briefe aus Kanada und NeuEngland* (largely identical with the autographs of Ref. Nos. 5 and 6) as well as of the four letters listed above as Ref. Nos. 1, 2, 4 and 7. It is highly probable that he also wrote the ones designated Ref. Nos. 3 and 8. Two previously unpublished letters by him should also be included in a necessary future critical edition of all these documents which I hope to publish soon.<sup>31</sup>

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Hans Krauss, "Nachwort," *Deutsche Chronik auf das Jahr 1777*, by Christian Daniel Schubart (rpt., Heidelberg: Schneider, 1975), xxvii. The *Briefwechsel* reached a maximum distribution of 4,400 copies, according to Ferdinand Frensdorff, "August Ludwig Schlözer," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 31:584. The ten volumes published 1776-82 are available in only a few North American libraries. I have consulted the set owned by the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor.

<sup>2</sup> Apart from this, Schlözer also had entire volumes reprinted 1780-82, including Theil 3 (third ed.), Theil 4 (second ed.), and Theil 5 (second ed.).

<sup>3</sup> Translation: "Who, moreover, has the rare gift of narrating in such a way that his readers imagine themselves to be eyewitnesses." — In an editorial footnote to the first page of Ref. No. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Translation: "Germany must be proud of such an observant traveller. At present he lives in Virginia. If Heaven helps him to return safely to his native land, he may be prevailed upon to publish more such reports. But until then no literary busybody should ferret out his name and tattle about it in monthly or weekly periodicals. For a man of the author's position and age, that would be sufficient cause to silence him forever." — "Inhalt," *Schlözer's Briefwechsel* Theil IV, Heft 24 (1779): 419-20.

<sup>5</sup> *Letters of Brunswick and Hessian Officers During the American Revolution*, tr. William L. Stone (1891; rpt., New York: Da Capo, 1970).

<sup>6</sup> *Letters from America 1776-1779: Being Letters of Brunswick, Hessian, and Waldeck Officers with the British Armies During the Revolution*, tr. Ray W. Pettingill (1924; rpt. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat, 1964). This includes a complete list (267-70) of all the Americana published in Schlözer's *Briefwechsel* 1776-82.

<sup>7</sup> Max von Eelking, *Die deutschen Hülfsstruppen im nordamerikanischen Befreiungskriege 1776 bis 1783*, 2 vols. (1863; rpt. Kassel: Hamecher, 1976), 1:286-87, 313, 328-29; Edward J. Lowell, *The Hessians and the Other German Auxiliaries of Great Britain in the Revolutionary War* (New York: Harper, 1884) passim; Hoffman Nickerson, *The Turning Point of the Revolution, Or Burgoyne in America*, 2 vols. (1928; rpt. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat, 1967), 2:485; Walter Hart Blumenthal, *Women Camp Followers of the American Revolution* (1952; rpt. New York: Arno, 1974), 100; Christopher Ward, *The War of the Revolution*, 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 2:538-39, 901; William M. Dabney, *After Saratoga: The Story of the Convention Army* (Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 1954) passim; Yorck Alexander Haase and Harold Jantz, *Die Neue Welt in den Schätzen einer alten europäischen Bibliothek. The New World in the Treasures of an Old European Library. Ausstellungskataloge der Herzog August Bibliothek 17* (Braunschweig: Waisenhausdruckerei, 1976), 146-47; Karl J. R. Arndt, "New Hampshire and the Battle of Bennington: Colonel Baum's Mission and Bennington Defeat as Reported by a German Officer under General Burgoyne's Command," *Historical New Hampshire* 32 (1977): 198-227; John R. Elting, *The Battles of Saratoga* (Monmouth Beach, NJ: Philip Freneau, 1977), 73; Ida H. and Paul A. Washington, *Carleton's Raid* (Canaan, NH: Phoenix, 1977), 81; Jean-Pierre Wilhelmy, *German Mercenaries in Canada*, tr. Honey Thomas (Beloeil, Can.: Maison des Mots, 1985), 125-37; Max M. Mintz, *The Generals of Saratoga: John Burgoyne and Horatio Gates* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1990), 261, 263-64, 267, 269.

<sup>8</sup> Emil Meynen, *Bibliographie des Deutschthums der kolonialzeitlichen Einwanderung in Nordamerika* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1937), 272. See also Philipp Losch, *Soldatenhandel. Mit einem Verzeichnis der Hessen-Kasselischen Subsidienverträge und einer Bibliographie* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1933), 103.

<sup>9</sup> See my article "Who Wrote the *Journal of Du Roi the Elder*?" *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 29 (1994): 59-67.

<sup>10</sup> In an editorial footnote to the first page of Ref. No. 7.

<sup>11</sup> For his life and career I have obtained information from these sources: Johanne Sophie Friderike v. Unger, geborene Cleve, and Friedrich Bodo v. Unger [untitled announcement of Heinrich Urban Cleve's death], *Braunschweigische Anzeigen*, 3tes Stück (Jan. 1808): 109; Ernst Schüler von Senden, "Denkwürdigkeiten aus den hinterlassenen Papieren," *Zeitschrift für Kunst*,



Wissenschaft und Geschichte des Krieges 8 (1839): 137-89; Max von Eelking, *Leben und Wirken des Herzoglich Braunschweig'schen General-Lieutenants Friedrich Adolph Riedesel, Freiherrn zu Eisenach*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1856), 3:238, 244, 393, 411; Alfred von Unger, *Geschichte der Familie von Unger im Umriss dargestellt* (Hameln, 1895), 12; Otto Elster, *Geschichte der stehenden Truppen im Herzogthum Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel*, 2 vols. (1899-1901; rpt., Bad Honnef: LTR-Verlag, 1982), 2: passim; Paul Zimmermann, "Eine Berichtigung," *Sonderabdruck aus der Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Niedersachsen*, (1910); Hermann Kleinau, *Geschichtliches Ortsverzeichnis des Landes Braunschweig*, 2 vols. (Hildesheim: August Lax, 1967-68), 2:538-39; Karl J. R. Arndt, "The 1777 Saratoga Surrender of German Mercenaries and Its Importance for German-American Genealogical Research," *Genealogical Journal* 6 (1977): 194; Peter Düsterdieck, ed., *Die Matrikel des Collegium Carolinum und der Technischen Hochschule Carolo-Wilhelmina zu Braunschweig 1745-1900* (Hildesheim: August Lax, 1983), passim; Georg Ortenburg, *Braunschweigisches Militär* (Cremlingen: Elm, 1987), 24; Letters of 19 July 1993, 7 March and 12 April 1994 from the Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv in Wolfenbüttel; Letter of 18 July 1994 from Diplom-Bibliothekarin Renate Köhler of the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel.

<sup>12</sup> In the so-called *Diary of Du Roi the Elder*, in a segment which I have identified elsewhere (see n. 9) as the work of August Wilhelm Du Roi's younger brother Anton Adolf, the latter relates that he acted as interpreter when George Washington met Brigadier Specht and Brigade Major Cleve at Fishkill, NY, on 29 November 1778.

<sup>13</sup> Elster, 2: V, 226; Reginald Savory, *His Britannic Majesty's Army in Germany during the Seven Years War* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966), 515.

<sup>14</sup> Ralph V. Harlow, "Peter Force," *DAB* 6: 512-13.

<sup>15</sup> (Washington: Library of Congress, 1979), 202, MS 78-1702.

<sup>16</sup> John R. Sellers et al., comps., *Manuscript Sources in the Library of Congress on the American Revolution* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1975), 43, no. 196.

<sup>17</sup> Edmund B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Orderly Book of Lieut. Gen. John Burgoyne, from His Entry into the State of New York until His Surrender at Saratoga, 16th Oct., 1777* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1860), 165; Eelking, *Hilfsstruppen*, 2: 209; Wilhelmy, 260; *An Eyewitness Account of the American Revolution and New England Life. The Journal of J. F. Wasmus, Germany Company Surgeon, 1776-1783*, tr. Helga Doblin, Contributions to Military Studies 106 (New York: Greenwood, 1990), 268, 300. See also my description of the documents referred to in n. 25.

<sup>18</sup> For information on his life and career, I have relied on the following: Eelking, *Riedesel*, 2: 23, 30, 331-33; 3: passim. A biographical sketch appended (3: 398-400) is replete with errors; Friederike Charlotte Louise von Riedesel, *Letters and Journals Relating to the War of the American Revolution* [etc.], tr. William L. Stone (Albany: Joel Munsell, 1867), 22; August Hirsch, "Johann Friedrich Cleve [sic]," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 4:332. This article is as unreliable as Eelking's sketch; Elster 2: passim; Arndt (see n. 11) 194; Letters of 19 July 1993 and 7 March 1994 from the Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv in Wolfenbüttel.

<sup>19</sup> The original, running from 29 Aug. 1777 to 15 Jan. 1779, is owned by the Stadtarchiv in Braunschweig under *Bestandssignatur* H VI 6: 78. The Library of Congress has a partial copy among the militia cited in n. 25.

<sup>20</sup> A copy erroneously ascribed to "Captain Cleve" (Friedrich Christian was not promoted to that rank until 1780) is at the Library of Congress among the militia referred to in n. 25.

<sup>21</sup> Frensdorff 594.

<sup>22</sup> The table of contents in *Schlözer's Briefwechsel*, Theil IV, Heft 24 (1779):419 lists them correctly as "Vertrauliche Briefe aus NeuEngland, bis zum Jun. 1778."

<sup>23</sup> The entries "Briefe von Cleve aus Amerika. N[o]. 20" and "N[o]. 21" are in the same handwriting as several additions made around 1854 to the manuscript of the so-called *Diary of Du Roi the Elder*, as described on page 61 of my article (see n. 9).

<sup>24</sup> No. 32 B Alt 248 in the Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv in Wolfenbüttel. I am grateful to Ms. Christina Schröder for sending me a copy of this item.

<sup>25</sup> Sellers et al., 219, no. 1234.

<sup>26</sup> Sellers et al., 219, no. 1234. Specht was not ennobled to *von* Specht until 1785.

<sup>27</sup> Entitled "Diarium Von dem Marche der 2.ten Division Herzogl. Braunschweig. Lüneburg. Troupen, bestehend aus den Regimentern von Rhetz, Specht und dem Bataillon von Baerner," this section was written by Anton Adolf Heinrich Du Roi (1746-1823), Adjutant in the regiment Specht, and is essentially identical with the anonymously published *Tagebuch der Seereise von Stade nach Quebec in Amerika durch die zweyte Division Herzoglich Braunschweigischer Hülfsvölker* (Frankfurt and Leipzig: n.p., 1776).

<sup>28</sup> Belonging to William Duer (1747-99), a Member of Congress.

<sup>29</sup> The segment covering the events from 29 June to 10 July 1777 is identical with the part designated "No. 7" in the so-called *Journal of Du Roi the Elder*; see n. 9.

<sup>30</sup> Brigadier Specht's headquarters were in Batiscan from 29 October until early December 1776, when they were moved to Ste. Anne. Cf. Schüler von Senden, 157-58; "Journal of the Brunswick Corps in America under General von Riedesel," tr. V[alentine] C[hables] Hubbs, *Sources of American Independence. Selected Manuscripts from the Collection of the William L. Clements Library*, ed. Howard H. Peckham, 2 vols. (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1978), 1:231-32. Hubbs fails to identify Friedrich Christian Cleve as the author of this journal, which runs from 6 Nov. 1776 to 10 July 1777.

<sup>31</sup> Several months after completing this paper, I finally obtained a copy of Hermann Handlow and Carl Kämpe, *Braunschweigische Offiziere als Freimaurer in Nordamerika und Holland*, Sonderdruck aus dem *Freimaurer-Museum*, vol. 6 (Zeulenroda: Sporn [1931]). It shows (19) that the description of a masonic funeral in Montreal, in Heinrich Urban Cleve's letter dated Batiscan, 2 Nov. 1776 (Ref. No. 7) and sent to his friend, Cammer-Rath Johann Heinrich von Schrader, was read to the lodge *Carl zur gekrönten Säule* in Braunschweig on 16 Jan. 1777. The essay also documents (18,43) that on 14 June 1780 Cleve was received into the German branch, organized by Brunswick officers, of an English military lodge in Charlottesville, VA. He became a member of the Braunschweig lodge on 19 Jan. 1784.



William Fetterman

## Pennsylvania German Dialect Verse and Its Criticism

This essay is concerned with the intersections, and the lack of intersections, between Pennsylvania German dialect poets and Pennsylvania German dialect literary scholars and critics. Since the 1860s there has been no real lack of verse production—dialect verse, as well as prose and plays, continues to be written today. The poets I take as being both the most aesthetically significant as well as historically representative are Henry Harbaugh and Henry Lee Fisher in the second half of the nineteenth century; John Birmelin and Ralph Funk from the mid-twentieth century; and Russell Gilbert and Anna Faust from the latter twentieth century.<sup>1</sup> The major published scholastic and critical studies of Pennsylvania German dialect verse are by Harry Hess Reichard (1918; 1940; 1942), Preston A. Barba (1938; 1951; 1968; 1970), Earl F. Robacker (1943), and Earl Haag (1988).<sup>2</sup> The complete list of contemporary dialect literature scholars is difficult to cite, for my experience is that most dialect literature criticism by authorities such as Richard Beam, Richard Druckenbrod, Susan Johnson, Eugene Stine, and Don Yoder exists primarily in personal conversations and letters rather than in a more formal written context.

What past criticism has been, and what present criticism has become, is directly influenced by the historical and aesthetic, as well as personal and social content and context of the dialect poets themselves. Scholarly criticism has also had a reciprocal influence with the direction of dialect poetry (beginning in the late 1920s and early 1930s), particularly in the latter twentieth century; however, historically this has been at best a minimal influence on verse production. Given the relative rarity of Pennsylvania German dialect writers and their readers, it may or not be that the future of the dialect literature will depend more upon academic input, but this is as yet an unanswerable question.

My writing about Pennsylvania German dialect literature is concerned almost exclusively with the theatre; and have, in consonance with Reichard, Barba, Beam, and Haag, been concerned more with

biography, and appreciative aesthetics within a historical context, than with actual literary criticism. This is a direct result of the pioneering work by Reichard, which has significantly influenced all dialect scholars from Barba through the present; and in turn, both enriched as well as circumscribed literary dialect activity.

Before addressing criticism of Pennsylvania German dialect poetry, an abridged review of the six mentioned poets follows since for many readers, their work is often obscure or unknown. It is for that exact reason that the tradition of Pennsylvania German critical scholarship has been concerned with biography and appreciative aesthetics within a historical context.

Henry Harbaugh (1817-67) grew up on a farm in Franklin County and worked his way through school as a carpenter, millwright, and teacher. He was ordained as a minister in the Reformed Church (now United Church of Christ) in 1843; served as pastor at Lewisburg, Lancaster, and Lebanon; in 1863 became the chair of didactic and practical theology at the Mercersburg Seminary (which he taught until his death); and in 1850 founded *The Guardian*, a monthly Reformed Church magazine which he edited and wrote for until his death. It was in *The Guardian*, beginning in 1861, that Harbaugh published his seventeen dialect poems. After his death, the Reformed Church Publication Board issued fifteen of these poems (four with Harbaugh's English versions) as *Harbaugh's Harfe* (1870; revised and reissued 1902). I would characterize Harbaugh's verse as being very nostalgic and sentimental, sincerely heartfelt but not intellectually insightful or profound and as such is very typically Victorian American in content and tone.

Henry Lee Fisher (1822-1909) was a distant relative of Harbaugh. Born in Franklin County, he attended the same one-room school house that Harbaugh later mythologized in "Das Alt Schul-Haus an der Krick" (The Old School-House at the Creek). After teaching in Ohio and his native county from 1846-48, he took up law, and was admitted to the bar at Chambersburg in 1848; at Gettysburg in 1850; and in 1853 at York, where he worked and lived until his death. In 1875 Fisher became sick and in convalescence wrote one hundred stanzas related to the York marketplace in preparation for the United States of America centennial, titled "'S Marik-Haus Mittes in d'r Schtadt" (The Marketplace in the Middle of the City). Encouraged by these first attempts at versification, Fisher wrote "Die Alte Zeite" (The Olden Times), which was published with "'S Marik-Haus" in 1879. Fisher would later rework his dialect poems from "Die Aldte Zeite" and publish them in English as *Olden Times, or Pennsylvania Rural Life, some fifty years ago* in 1888. His later poetry was more formal, with the publication of *Kurzweil un Zeitfertreib* (Leisure and Amusement) in 1882 (republished 1896); while the title points to Fisher's conception of writing poetry as an occasional, fun activity, it is a very self-



consciously literary work, comprised of many translations into Pennsylvania German dialect from poets such as Longfellow, Hebel, Burns, Whittier, Felner, Bryant, Poe, and Byron. I would characterize Fisher's best work as being "'S Marik-Haus" and particularly "Die Alte Zeite" and *Olden Times*, for their documentary value of everyday life—the folklore recorded by another reluctant artist.

John Birmelin (1873-1950) was born in Long Swamp Township, Berks County, and moved to Allentown, Lehigh County, in 1901. Although he did not formally graduate from high school, he studied music privately, and became choirmaster and organist for the Church of the Sacred Heart in Allentown, in which he served shortly before his death. His verse was published in Preston Barba's weekly newspaper column "'S Pennsylvawnish Deutsch Eck" (The Pennsylvania German Corner), and collected in *Gezwitscher* (Bird-Peeps) (1938), and the two posthumous publications *The Later Poems of John Birmelin* (1951) and *Mammi Gans* (Mother Goose) (ca. 1952). I would characterize Birmelin's most masterful work to be his dialect translations of the English "Mother Goose" rhymes and selected poems from Robert Louis Stevenson's *A Child's Garden of Verses*. The musicality of his verse, in both meter and rhyme, is of a quality I don't foresee ever being surpassed by later dialect poets; and Birmelin is considered to be the greatest Pennsylvania German dialect poet.

Ralph Funk (1889-1969) was born in Stockertown, Northampton County. He attended Muhlenberg College for two years, but discontinued his education to work with the engineering corps of the Lackawanna Railroad. He was granted a certificate of registration in civil engineering, and later worked for the Lehigh and New England Railroad and the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company. His poems were often published in Barba's "Eck" column, and shortly before his death he selected 112 poems for publication by the Pennsylvania German Society in 1968. I would characterize Funk's verse as being conservative both technically and with content. His meter and rhyme suffers in comparison with Birmelin, but he shares a common sensibility with all the previously mentioned poets in small themes of nostalgia, everyday life, or personal, simple fun. Funk was also, of all the poets discussed, the most meticulous as a scholar. His thousands of notecards, cataloging individual poems and authors, is now housed in the Pennsylvania German Archive at Muhlenberg College.

Russell Gilbert (1905-85) was born in Emmaus, Lehigh County, and received his doctoral degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1943. He taught as a professor of German at Susquehanna University from 1930-70, and died at Selinsgrove. His two books of verse are *Bilder un Gedanke* (Pictures and Thoughts) (1975) and *Glutz un Schliwwere* (Clump of Tree and Splinters) (1987); and a selection of dialect hymn versions



appears in *Der Reggeboge* (1975). Apart from his dialect hymns, Gilbert is not as widely read or appreciated as are the other poets discussed. His best work dates from his last twenty years, and is primarily intellectual rather than emotional in content.

Anna Faust (1918-89) grew up on a farm near Bernville, Berks County, and lived in Bernville from age eleven until her death. She had a high school education, but was an avid reader throughout her life. She worked as a housekeeper, and in a hosiery mill; married in 1941 and was a housewife and mother. In 1966-78 she returned to work as a receptionist at a local medical center. Her poetry, produced in the mid-1980s, was published in newspaper columns edited by C. Richard Beam; and in *Da Ausauga* and *Der Reggeboge*. Her complete poems, with full English translation by the author, were edited by her niece Betsy Reifsnyder and privately published by her family. I would characterize the best of her work to be her many poems concerning life on the farm when she was a little girl. While not experimental with structure (like Gilbert), Faust's verse has the ease and polished "just right" feel of Birmelin, with the documentary value of Fisher, and the nostalgic flavor of Harbaugh, all told through an individual voice.

Of these poets, Reichard and Robacker wrote of Harbaugh through Funk; Barba and Haag of Harbaugh through Gilbert; Johnson on Gilbert; Beam and myself on Gilbert and Faust. By far it is Reichard who established Pennsylvania German dialect literature criticism, and with the exception of Johnson, there remains no real alternative point of view or methodology.

Reichard stated in 1918 that the "poetics of dialect literature has never been written . . ." and uses Karl Weinhold's designation of folk literature as being the "Feelings, Thoughts, and Expression of the People" (1918, 37-38). Of the poets and content of typical poems, Reichard succinctly states: "They have lingered long and lovingly around the old homestead . . . literally from the cradle to the grave and the new home beyond the grave . . .", with childhood, chores, the seasons, festivals and seasonal events, and character sketches as common themes (1918, 38-41).

This line of thought is continued in the work of Earl Haag, who follows Reichard by stating that the Pennsylvania German dialect truly "presents the folk- and family life of the Pennsylvania Germans," revealing "pictures of how the Pennsylvania Germans live, think, and feel," thus truly mirroring "the soul of the people" (1988, 26). Haag also follows Reichard in his general evaluation of the actual quality of the verse. Reichard would write in 1940: "There is much good [literature] here, when judged by the standards that should obtain in judging any dialect literature" (1940, xviii). Haag echoes this in 1988 when he writes: "In fact, I believe the critic will find that the best of the good is superb" (1988, 25).



But, what real critical standards do Reichard and Haag employ? First of all, Pennsylvania German culture is historically a trilingual society—High German or "Bibel Deutsch," the dialect or "die Mutterschproch," and English. With the exception of Robacker, Reichard and all the later scholars concentrate only on the dialect as being the most valid "folk" expression of the culture. It is certainly a unique language, however lurking behind the focus upon the dialect is the very real lessening of dialect usage in favor of English in everyday conversation. When Harbaugh wrote his dialect poems in the 1860s, this was originally viewed as the swan song of a dying language. We now know that Harbaugh was instead the touchstone for more prolific developments.

The written dialect literature thus has had, from its very beginnings in the mid-nineteenth century, a sentimental, nostalgic caste. Preston Barba would write in 1938 that "the dialect dislikes general and abstract conceptions, and prefers more direct imagery" (1938, v). Only a few years before his death, Barba would write in 1968: "Dialects are the untutored voices of the heart—simple flowers of field and meadow, growing close to the soil and glowing with unrestrained warmth and passion. In them we listen to surging primeval tones, multitudinous heartbeats, age-old voices dimly calling from blood to blood. Let us listen reverently!" (1968, 124).

What is disturbing is the fact that, while much dialect verse is admittedly sentimental and nostalgic, this is basically the same point of view employed by the critical scholars. With such a critical view, how can one then differentiate mediocre from exceptional literature? While a poem may be very trivial in its structure and content, if it is a "typical" expression of "thoughts and feelings of the people," it is thus a "good" poem. Behind this critical view is the latent academic patronization of "low" versus "high" literature, where one employs different standards to the poetry of, say, Robert Frost and Edgar Guest. The patronization held in academic circles towards folk or popular culture is deeply ingrained and understandable, but is no longer a viable methodology. What is required is to remove this double standard. In doing so, much of Pennsylvania German dialect verse is, I think, only of sentimental, nostalgic, personal value in terms of shared communal expression, and thus its real value is more sociological or linguistic rather than literary in importance.

The exclusion of Pennsylvania German High German and English literature thus presents a very biased view of Pennsylvania German consciousness. The dialect is, among the "worldly Dutch" (i.e., Lutheran and Reformed in the greater Lehigh Valley), now used more as a special expression for Grundsow Lodges, Fersommlinge, and dialect plays or church services, rather than for everyday conversation. The Amish continue to use the dialect regularly in everyday discourse, but as the

studies of Lois Huffines have shown, while theirs is not as a linguistically "pure" form as found among the worldly Dutch of the Lehigh Valley, it is still a living language, being increasingly influenced by English syntax and vocabulary (Huffines 1980).

Robacker (1943) presents the (to date) only general historical and aesthetic study of Pennsylvania German literature as found among all three linguistic formats. It is primarily a chronological summary of important writers and works, divided into five eras:

1. The Period of Greatest Religious Significance (1683-1800), characterized by travel literature, and in particular the religious work of Pastorius, Kelpius, and Beissel, the prevailing language being High German.

2. The Period of Transition (1800-61), characterized by the decline of literary work in High German, a preoccupation with the affairs of everyday life with a "constant disinclination on the part of the people to alter their way of life for any circumstance not of their own creating," a resurgence of primitive superstition; and with the enactment of the 1834 school act guaranteeing children a public education in English, the gradual emergence of Pennsylvania German as a literary language.

3. The Language-Conscious Period (1861-1902), characterized by the rise of Pennsylvania German dialect in written form primarily restricted to short topics in verse or newspaper columns and letters to the editor, with themes "near to the heart of the common people"—nostalgic, backward-looking material "which serves to perpetuate Pennsylvania German language and traditional culture, in the face of an impending amalgamation."

4. The Local-Color Period (1902-28), characterized by the continuance of dialect writings "without any marked degree of change," the appearance of English language "local-color" writings about the "Pennsylvania Dutch" in novels and short stories and essays, the effect of World War I putting a stop to dialect writings as well as "all save the most prolific of the local color artists," and then after the war a lack of direction through the latter 1920s.

5. The Folk-Conscious Period (1928-[1942]), characterized by a proliferation of English language interest in folk art in America and the "Pennsylvania Dutch" (typically represented as curious and amusing), and the revitalization of dialect literature, particularly with the new forms of the play, novel, and literary essay, which usually overemphasize the Pennsylvania German cultural heritage in self-defense by combining "at once the good,



bad, and indifferent qualities" of thought from the earlier periods (Robacker 1943, *passim*).

While Robacker deals with a great volume of material, he does not present a complete picture of "literature"—for instance, "How-to" works such as manuals on beekeeping, cookbooks, and children's books are excluded from his range of materials. Also, for Robacker, as well as Reichard, Barba, Beam, and Haag, "literature" excludes "oral literature" which, while a seemingly self-destructive term, exists both on the tongues of speakers as well as in the pages of folklore studies. Again, an academic double standard exists between "high" and "low" literature, which obscures a more objective basis of material for scholarly and critical consideration.

The dialect literature has become more flexible in subject matter yet is still self-conscious, and what will happen in the future, no one can say. Russell Gilbert is the only poet thus far who transcends Barba's view that the dialect does not deal in generalizations or abstractions. Gilbert's verse, particularly during his last twenty years, was a rather philosophical and often fragmentary tone of voice in comparison with other dialect poets before or after. This brings up the question, is Gilbert really a "folk poet"? While written in Pennsylvania German dialect, his work does not adhere to the standards of Reichard and the later dialect literature scholars, yet Barba, Haag, and Beam all share a deep admiration for Gilbert's verse. Related to this is Gilbert's rather conventional, but still viable, definition of "folklore" as being "the superstitions, beliefs, traditions, and customs of a people" (1971, 62). Gilbert wrote on common, communal themes such as the Christmas tree, the Easter rabbit, *Faasnachtkuche*, and pretzels, but in practice much of his own definition of "folk"-related material is only occasionally found in his poetry. Much of his mature verse was purposefully not designed as a communal but as a personal expression. In his often difficult language usage and philosophical content, he was not necessarily a spokesperson for "the people." In turn, if one takes Gilbert's definition of folklore and applies it to the other mentioned dialect poets, the work of Fisher, Funk, and Faust would most closely adhere to this documentary conception. By contrast, the work of Harbaugh and Birmelin is really more an artistic expression of the emotionally ambient character of the Pennsylvania German community.

Who were these six poets? All came from rural or small town environments, and grew up learning the dialect as their first language. All were, with the exception of Anna Faust, highly esteemed professionals within their respective communities. They were not necessarily "ordinary people" but rather, all exceptional individuals. Most important is that all six poets shared a very stable, middle-class economic social status, and so it is not surprising that they share a "bourgeois" sensibility. They took

poetry to be a personal leisure activity—reluctant artists who took their poetry seriously, but didn't take themselves seriously as artists. All of them, also, began earnestly writing verse only during the later years of their lives, which perhaps explains why their work so cogently informs and reveals, in various ways, the Pennsylvania German psyche as filtered through the mature life experiences from middle-to-advanced age.

What is disturbing about the scholarly critics is that, while all are also middle-class, there is no questioning of these values, only an acceptance and—through positive appreciation of the dialect poets—a reinforcement of such values. Yes, I am also middle-class, but middle-class is not necessarily synonymous with middlebrow. I do not insult the Pennsylvania German poets nor the scholars, and indeed my previous studies are also in line with Reichard's work. What I address are the fundamental assumptions of definition and methodology. With the exception of Susan Johnson's 1988 paper on Russell Gilbert, there has been no real "in-depth" literary reading and criticism of the Pennsylvania German dialect poets or their work.

In conclusion, I have only unanswered questions. What I am hoping is that future critical studies will not rely merely upon the positivistic, appreciative approach, but seriously rethink the previous, and currently ingrained viewpoint, which is inexact, ill-defined, and ultimately acritical in content. I do not know if there is truly any place for hard-nosed literary criticism with Pennsylvania German dialect poetry. Few people actually read the poets; and the poets and their work are not regularly included in college or university curricula. The dialect is dying out, and all scholars from Reichard onwards have used their authority to encourage the continued production of dialect literature. Yes, those who do write anything in the dialect, I believe, should be encouraged to do just what they want to do. That is one matter. But, I ask again, is there any place for real literary criticism of Pennsylvania German dialect poetry?

Allentown, Pennsylvania

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> This brings up the matter of which poets to include or exclude. There is no consensus by contemporary dialect scholars as to who and how many to include as being "most important." My list of six covers the three major periods of dialect creativity, but obviously reflects my own personal taste as well. I omit the latter nineteenth-century poet Eli Keller in my focus on verse; but within the tradition of playwriting and amateur theatrical productions, his Sunday School Christmas Program poems, and his verse dialogue "Mer Wolle Fische Geh" certainly place him in the forefront of the dialect literature in general, and in particular importance with the development of dialect plays. Don Yoder has expressed to me his own personal interest in Keller's contemporary, Calvin Ziegler; Ziegler was also



a favorite of Reichard. With living poets, one must especially mention Gladys Martin of Ephrata, and William Betz of New Tripoli. Obviously, for the purposes of this brief article, I can not attempt an all-inclusive survey of dialect poets.

<sup>2</sup> The omission of Elizabeth Kieffer's book on Henry Harbaugh (1945) is because it is a biography and not a literary critique. Kieffer, however, provides a useful appendix printing Harbaugh's original versions of his poems, several which were heavily edited and altered by Benjamin Bausman for publication in the posthumous *Harfe* (1870).

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Arnon Gutfeld

## "Stark, Staring, Raving Mad": An Analysis of a World War I Impeachment Trial

On 26 January 1991 the Montana state senate, by a vote of 46 to 0, passed Senate Resolution No. 2. The resolution exonerated Charles L. Crum, judge of the Fifteenth Judicial District in Eastern Montana, from his wrongful impeachment on 22 March 1918.<sup>1</sup>

The Senate Resolution was a direct result of an article by Dave Walter in the *Montana Magazine*. Walter's article told the story of Crum's impeachment and focused on Crum's background, personality, family life and personal tragedy.<sup>2</sup> University of Montana historian, Senator Harry Fritz of Missoula, cosponsored the unique resolution to try to undo a historical injustice.<sup>3</sup>

Crum's impeachment story is an outstanding example of the fear, hatred, and paranoia that swept Montana and the nation during the World War I period. The transcript of the Crum impeachment trial provides a unique opportunity to examine and analyze the ideas and words used by common people who testified during the trial to damn the judge and to demonstrate their own patriotism. The trial provides an unusual opportunity to study the background of the hysteria and to consider the criteria regarded as appropriate for patriotic language and behavior during World War I.

Our interest in the Crum case, then, does not focus on the interesting history of an individual judge. Rather attention to the transcript illuminates some of the cultural and political fabric of a trying time in American history. It was a time when immigrant outsiders or "others" did everything possible to present themselves as American as possible. That Judge Crum was of German descent was an integral though unstated part of the impeachment proceedings against him. The trial provided the "good" German immigrants in America with a showcase to display their undivided loyalty to the United States.

The outbreak of World War I was a great shock to American society. The deep-rooted American belief in human rationality and the idea of

progress came under severe challenge. One reaction was the emergence of rampant patriotism. Thus, anti-espionage and sedition laws, a number of lynchings and murders, public beatings and passionate denunciations of those who did not conform to "100 percent Americanism" became the order of the day. Those who believed in "class wars"—not national ones—were labeled traitors, and arrested, expelled, assaulted or even, on occasion, murdered. Congress enacted laws that were interpreted to mean the suspension of personal rights guaranteed by the constitution. Anarchists, radicals, pacifists and German-Americans who dared dissent found themselves defenseless in the new hysterical atmosphere. Schools were closed, professors fired, books burnt, demonstrators harassed—all in an effort to protect the United States from foreign, alien, "anarchist" dangers.<sup>4</sup>

President Wilson had opposed American participation in World War I. He told a newspaper editor of his fears that once war commenced, Americans would forget the meaning of tolerance.<sup>5</sup> This was exactly what occurred. Americans began to believe that anything and everything associated with Germany meant treachery. Therefore it was forbidden to study or pray in German or to play German music. Frankfurters became "freedom sausages" and sauerkraut now was "liberty cabbage." Patriotic mobs searched for "spies" and "traitors" and attacked and sometimes murdered them. The courts played an important role in efforts to create a national consensus by prosecuting and persecuting "traitors."<sup>6</sup> Laws, such as the National Espionage Act of 15 June 1917, sought to squelch sedition. This act defined making "false statements intended to interfere with the operations or success of the armed forces, or to promote insubordination within their ranks" as a crime. It also made it a federal offense to obstruct the recruitment and enlistment of men for military service.<sup>7</sup> Most judges interpreted this law as broadly as possible, making it an effective tool in suppressing dissent.

The Espionage Act of 1917 also specified a fine of twenty thousand dollars and twenty years in jail for support rendered to the enemies of the United States. The law was used mainly against opponents of war, pacifists and anarchists, in an effort to create a patriotic national consensus through the punishment of those viewed as a threat to the accepted order. The National Sedition Act of 1918 extended the legal crackdown on dissent to the point that people who opposed the sale of government bonds were considered criminals. A film producer who showed the British in a negative fashion in a movie about the American Revolution was sentenced to ten years in jail.<sup>8</sup>

Most of those who were prosecuted and punished were socialists and radicals. Victor Berger, a socialist member of the House of Representatives, was convicted for his editorials opposing the war as a capitalist conspiracy. Eugene V. Debs, leader of the Socialist Party, was



sentenced to twenty years in jail for uttering words interpreted as opposition to the draft. One hundred syndicalist leaders were accused in Chicago of opposition to war—all were convicted. Many people were expelled from the United States without any procedural protection, most of them immigrants with political views contrary to what was considered the national consensus. The nation was conducting an orgy of book burning, witch-hunting, hysteria, and superpatriotism.<sup>9</sup>

Compounding the World War I problems was the fact that the nation was led by Woodrow Wilson, who proved incapable of accepting criticism with indifference. The war, in his mind, quickly turned into a crusade. One of the immediate results was that the World War I period became a period of almost unprecedented government power and control. One of the major agencies established by Wilson to promote American success in the war effort was the War Industries Board. It was created in July 1917, and it had very broad powers.<sup>10</sup> As head of the board, Bernard Baruch in effect, became the overseer of America's industrial war effort. Wilson did not protest or interfere when, in the name of the war effort, the board planted agents and "spies." There is a great deal of evidence that these agents acted as provocateurs who encouraged unions to undertake illegal action so that the unions could be prosecuted and destroyed.<sup>11</sup> Much of the hysteria was created and directed by representatives of industry who were as interested in crushing legitimate demand for social and economic reforms as they were in the defeat of Germany. War and patriotism were cruelly and cynically used to silence protest and dissent. Wilson, who came to power on the high wave of Progressivism, became one of the main agents of its destruction—bringing that age of American reform to a crashing halt.

Wilson, the moralist reformer, saw his opponents as anti-Christ; the leaders of the business community saw the war as a golden opportunity to support the president and at the same time destroy the labor and other reform movements that, in spite of the hostilities, still demanded reforms. Samuel Gompers and the American Federation of Labor suspended many demands for reform and opposed strikes. This proved to be a masterstroke of genius for them in the long run and it was important in the eventual acceptance of unionism by the American political system.<sup>12</sup>

In addition, the industrialists, who had a major voice in the policies formulated by the federal government, attempted to crush the American labor movement by claiming that the latter ostensibly supported the "Huns" by going on strike during the crusade against the German enemy. Most public opinion supported the crusade. But what fueled the panic and loss of sanity? A partial answer is that, for the first time in United States history the federal government had the power, authority, and means to lead such a campaign. World War I was a total conflict which caused all involved to turn to extremism. From this vantage point, events



in the United States during this period were not very different from those in many European nations.

Another important reason was that the war provided a chance to create consensus in a society undergoing fundamental changes that had been going on since the previous gravest of crises, the American Civil War. Since 1865, drastic change affected every phase of life in the United States. This half century witnessed the decline of the importance of traditional-Jeffersonian America, the rise of urban-industrial America, and a vast immigration, most of which was not white-Anglo or Nordic. Many Americans developed a nostalgia for a seemingly simpler, more beautiful "lost" age. The goal—the return to the "lost world of Thomas Jefferson"—was unrealistic and unattainable. But it helped foster the extremism, panic, hysteria, irrationality, and intolerance characteristic of the World War I period.

An outstanding example of the clash of these themes occurred in the state of Montana. There one could find fundamental economic colonialism; Anaconda, a giant mining corporation, high-handedly controlled the state. Social and radical labor organizations opposed Anaconda as did representatives of Progressivism who wished to save American capitalism from its own excesses. Their attempts to change Montana's economic and political reality failed. The Anaconda Copper Mining Company, assisted by the federal government, made effective use of the hysteria and superpatriotism surrounding World War I to destroy all legitimate opposition. Thus, Montana provides an excellent microcosm to examine the major conflicts that characterized that era. Moreover, Montana produced some of the most antidemocratic, anticivil liberties legislation in American history.<sup>13</sup> In the only nation in the world where nationality is defined by its constitution, law, and legal system, this problem of civil liberties, like virtually every other major problem in American history, reached the courts.

The "patriots" of Montana hoped to eradicate all opposition to the war by use of the Federal Espionage Act of 1917. Indeed, in January 1918 the first men in the nation to be indicted under it were brought to trial in Montana. But the "superpatriots" were rudely surprised. The bench was occupied by a very unusual, courageous federal district judge named George M. Bourquin. Bourquin found that Ves Hall, a rancher from Rosebud County, did make "unspeakable" statements against the president and armed forces of the United States, but Bourquin could not support a verdict of guilty. Hall had made his statements in a small Montana town of sixty people, sixty miles from the nearest railroad, with "none of the armies or navies within hundreds of miles." Furthermore, Hall had made them in a hotel kitchen, at a picnic, in the street, and in a "hot and furious saloon argument." Bourquin found no intent to interfere with the military. He illustrated his decision with the analogy that "if 'A'



shot at 'B' with a .22 pistol from a distance of three miles, 'A' could not be convicted of attempted murder."<sup>14</sup> Until this decision, judges had used the Espionage Act as an open-ended and effective tool against "disloyalty." Bourquin intentionally set about establishing a contrary precedent.<sup>15</sup> But his decision also "brought on a tornado of criticism which swept away free speech safeguards."<sup>16</sup>

The governor of Montana, Sam Stewart, could not do anything against a federal judge, so instead he called the Montana legislature into special session. The legislature adopted the Montana Criminal Syndicalism Act and the Montana Sedition Law.<sup>17</sup> Senator Henry L. Myers introduced the Montana Sedition Law to the United States Senate and, almost verbatim, it became the Federal Sedition Act of 1918.<sup>18</sup> Thus it was the Hall case that directly triggered the Federal Sedition Law. That case was also instrumental in the impeachment by the Montana state legislature of a state judge. The judge's crimes were that he was of German parentage and did not demonstrate sufficient zeal for the war. Moreover, he served as a character witness for Ves Hall in the Ves Hall trial. Unlike Bourquin, that judge, Charles Crum, could be brought to account by the representatives of the people of Montana.

On 20 March 1918 the senate of the state of Montana, sitting as a High Court of Impeachment, convened in the Matter of the Impeachment of Charles L. Crum, who was the judge of the Fifteenth Judicial District in Eastern Montana. This followed a decision on 25 February 1918 by the Montana house of representatives to present articles of impeachment against Judge Crum.<sup>19</sup>

During the house debate, it became clear that these representatives had had "enough" of "pro-German traitors" and were willing to spend large amounts of money to guarantee that the disloyal would not "go scot free without trial or attention from the court."<sup>20</sup> After the unanimous house vote, to present impeachment articles, the leading newspaper in the state capital—one of the most influential in Montana and the paper representing the views of the state's ruling elite—printed the following melodramatic comments:

Solemn, earnest, grim and determined—standing up to their stern obligation and duty with courage and high spirit—the men and women of the house of representatives, in movements that will be historic in Montana, yesterday morning voted that Charles L. Crum, incumbent of high office, wearer of the ermine of the judiciary, arbiter of the fortunes of his district, . . . should be brought to the bar of the senate of Montana, there to be tried upon charges of disloyalty to his state and to his country, of high crimes and misdemeanors, of malfeasance in office, of seditious utterances and acts approaching in gravity that most



heinous of all crimes in the penal category—treason to the United States.<sup>21</sup>

The clamor for action against the "disloyal" in Montana had increased until it reached panic proportions. A decade before Lindbergh crossed the Atlantic, for example, there were repeated reports of German planes landing in Montana.<sup>22</sup> Many saw the courts as the best instrument for combating dissent. Burton K. Wheeler, at that time United States district attorney, described how hundreds of cases were brought to his office for prosecution, many by local police authorities. "Most of them were inspired by old grudges, malicious gossip, barroom conversations."<sup>23</sup>

Wheeler refused to prosecute. It was Judge Bourquin who suggested that Wheeler send him some sedition cases in order to defuse the attacks on Wheeler. Felkner (Fritz) Haynes, a Rosebud County attorney who acted as special prosecutor during one of Wheeler's absences from the district, presented the charges against Ves Hall. After Bourquin acquitted Hall, Wheeler commented that few other judges in the country would write such decisions in the face of the great demand to punish the "disloyal."<sup>24</sup> Years later he wrote: "One reason why I was oppose [sic] to F.D.R. packing the Supreme Court in 1937, was because of my experience during that time [World War I]—the local courts were crazy. . . . Judge Bourquin and a few other Federal Courts stood up."<sup>25</sup>

After Hall's acquittal, a local patriotic group in Rosebud County asked Crum to resign. He categorically refused. Only after charges against Crum were presented to the Montana house of representatives did he decide to resign. But this did not stop the impeachment proceedings. Wheeler summed up Crum's story as a tragedy for a "fine and honorable man."<sup>26</sup> In addition, many representatives in the house sought to find some way to attack Bourquin and Wheeler for dereliction of duty, but the Montana legislature simply did not have jurisdiction over federal officials.

An analysis of the Crum impeachment trial demonstrates that Crum actually was tried for crimes of heresy and otherness. His otherness stemmed from his German heritage and his implied socialism and anti-imperialism. His heresy derived from his unwillingness to assign to secular objects, such as the flag, sacramental status. Thus the charges against him were paradoxically both specific and unsaid.

The main offenses said to have been committed by the judge were specified briefly. Crum allegedly said that the United States was duped by England to enter the world war on her behalf unnecessarily. The judge, having contributed to this process, was a traitor to his country.<sup>27</sup> Even the people who supported Crum, such as the citizens of Roundup, Montana, were confused as to the nature of the impeachment trial against him. A witness, an attorney named G. J. Jeffries, defended Crum as if he were on trial for treason: "I believe that [it] is necessary to secure a fair and



impartial trial, especially where the public mind is in the condition it now is and where a man is on trial for treason."<sup>28</sup>

In fact, Crum was not on trial for treason. The only sanctions the senate trial had available was to remove the judge from office and to prevent him from seeking a position of public trust again. In the consciousness of both friends and enemies, however, Crum's loyalty, as a hyphenated American of German ancestry, was what was on trial. Actually, the whole idea of the impeachment trial was moot. Why bother to impeach someone who had already resigned? Clearly the public punishment for otherness was more important to the senate than the removal of a judge who had become a political embarrassment. Crum was also charged with being on the side of Germany in the *Lusitania* affair and with having no sympathy for American civilian casualties. He was also supposed to have accused President Wilson of being a "tool, hireling and puppet of the British Empire and of Wall Street and of the bankers and financial interests of the United States who had made loans to prosecute the war."<sup>29</sup> In the subtext of the impeachment trial, the judge was "accused" of being a socialist, if not Marxist, sympathizer who opposed imperialist and antilabor legislation and policies. Crum was also supposed to have claimed that the very act of declaring war and sending the armed forces abroad—to fight beyond the realm of America—was unconstitutional. Therefore, he supposedly did his utmost to convince people to disobey the draft laws.<sup>30</sup>

Perhaps the only true crime Judge Crum committed, though not necessarily of an impeachable nature, was to threaten the prosecuting attorney of Rosebud, Felkner Haynes, with a loaded revolver: "You have circulated in Montana reports that I am a traitor and I will kill you like a dog."<sup>31</sup> Certainly this was a great mistake as a political matter, because in his testimony Haynes freely admitted that he was the one who subsequently "got the ball rolling" in the investigation of Judge Crum.

Crum was said to have attempted to disqualify two members of the Overseas Club from serving on the jury in his court because of that organization's support of England against Germany.<sup>32</sup> Whatever the truth of the matter, Crum almost surely despised that organization's motto:

We sail'd wherever ship could sail  
We founded many a mighty state,  
Pray God our greatness may not fail  
Through craven fears of being great <sup>33</sup>

One might juxtapose Tennyson's verse—a direct continuation of Kipling's "take up the white man's burden"—with Crum's vision of dead American bodies in the trenches of Europe, young men who perished in

a war he believed was none of America's affair. As a matter of ideology, clearly the Overseas Club and Judge Crum were diametrically opposed.

An additional charge against the judge was his responsibility for feeding and clothing three jailed members of the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.) against the explicit orders of the sheriff of Rosebud County.<sup>34</sup> The last two charges were so obviously trumped-up that the somewhat courageous Senator Fred Whiteside actually voted for acquittal on these specific charges. He noted that for a German defendant, Joe Holtz, to challenge a member of a jury—at the suggestion of Judge Crum—because the potential juror belonged to the Overseas Club, might be Crum's method of insuring an impartial jury.<sup>35</sup> But according to the senator, even more important was the case of feeding the prisoners:

He [Crum] is also charged with having interfered with the Sheriff and County Attorney in an endeavor to keep some prisoners in Rosebud County on bread and water. Now there is no law which authorizes officers of the county to confine prisoners in that way; and if the matter was called to the attention of the Judge, it certainly was his duty to see that the law was observed. It is a strange circumstance indeed, if a man is to be impeached because he has enforced the law. I vote "not guilty."<sup>36</sup>

But perhaps the whole point of this trial was that in America, a public official could, in a time of great stress, be impeached in Alice-in-Wonderland fashion precisely because he had "enforced the law." In Crum's case, concern for the constitutional rights of the individual, in an atmosphere of warmongering, was too much for many in Montana to bear. This was especially so when the judge had advised Ves Hall to leave Forsyth to avoid prosecution for sedition.<sup>37</sup>

The judge had dared to criticize the United States in a public speech, which was now deemed criminal because "said speech was delivered with a tone and inflection of the voice that showed clearly the malignity on the part of said Crum against the United States, and its participation in the war. He said . . . that WWI was a rich man's war."<sup>38</sup> Criticism of the war in terms of the nature of capitalism was unbearable to the Montana patriots. No one was interested in hearing that a son might die in a war for "Wall Street" or J. P. Morgan. Therefore, it became legitimate to criticize Crum's tone of voice as a reasonable grounds for impeachment. It also seemed fair to accuse Crum of being "disloyal and unpatriotic"<sup>39</sup> because he refused to adopt the properly militant "tone" of his neighbors.

Crum was not alone in having to worry seriously about his credibility in Montana. Governor Stewart seemed excessively nervous in explaining why he initially agreed to Crum's resignation in return for



discontinuing the impeachment proceedings. In the middle of the proceedings, the impeachment court read out a letter of explanation by the governor which revealed his deep fear of appearing unpatriotic enough to "spoil" the senate's proceedings: "My only reason for withholding the acceptance of the resignation [Crum's] was that I did not desire to hinder or embarrass the members of the pending proceedings."<sup>40</sup> The "tone" of the governor's letter made it clear that he was preoccupied with his own political survival, even if it meant that he had to ignore the agreement he had with Crum. Since Crum had resigned, the judge saw no reason to defend himself in the senate, which pleased most of the senators. As one noted, "it seems to me that it is trifling with this august body now sitting as the highest court in this state to, at this time, appoint anyone to go out and defend Judge Crum, either in this body or beyond it."<sup>41</sup> Only Senator Whiteside noticed the perversity of "trying dead issues"<sup>42</sup>—but he objected to no avail. The impeachment of someone who had already resigned continued.

One of the witnesses, D. J. Muri, clerk of the district court, testified to an ever more serious crime by the judge. That was Crum's continued desecration of the flag. Muri accused the judge of claiming that many Americans would fight on the side of Germany and that "the United States' flag would be a rag."<sup>43</sup> Like the senate impeachment court, Muri sacerdotalized a secular object. Calling President Wilson names was also an implied impeachable offence.<sup>44</sup> Muri, it seemed, just "happened to be" the chairman of the executive committee of the One Hundred Club, a patriotic organization.

Another revealing offence was Crum's alleged denial of the superiority of Western civilization. Elizabeth Snook, deputy clerk of the court—and clearly a "good" German—accused Crum of being an inverted Huck Finn, claiming that the judge had said he planned to "sell out what he had and take his family to the Fiji Islands, where they were civilized."<sup>45</sup> To discredit Crum, Snook's origins were carefully established. The revelation that she, too, was of German descent showed that there were "good" Germans. Judge Crum was simply not one of them. Otherwise, he certainly would never have been seen in conference with a number of people later accused of violating the Espionage Act, as Snook said he was.<sup>46</sup>

The examination of another "good" German, a Presbyterian minister by the name of A. T. Klemme, reveals that Judge Crum suffered from his inflexibility. Klemme had supported Germany until he saw the light.<sup>47</sup> He thus stood in contrast to the judge, who would not abandon his heretical beliefs. That the impeachment trial presented the struggle between these two men of German origin in terms of heresy was clear in Montana house of representatives member Ronald Higgins's question to Klemme: "Did Judge Crum ever attempt to reconvert you to your former views



concerning the war?"<sup>48</sup> Conversion takes place, after all, in the realm of religious activity.

G. Flege, a bookkeeper for the Bank of Commerce, was another example of a good immigrant and naturalized citizen, though he was from Norway. Flege merely repeated previous charges by others of disloyalty on the part of Crum. The judge was once again accused of supporting Germany, justifying the *Lusitania* incident and hating England. The war was being fought, as Flege quoted the judge, to support the robber barons and was as unjust as America's imperialistic policies in the Spanish-American War. What was new about Flege's testimony was its aftermath. When he had completed his testimony and was about to step down, Senator Gwen F. Burla began to interrogate the witness as to his process of obtaining citizenship, specifically as to how many years had passed before he received his final citizenship papers.<sup>49</sup> These interruptions suggested that those who did not comply with the majority might well have a completely different experience in procuring American citizenship. The threat of sanction against difference was left hanging in the air of the legislative hearing.

R. A. Martin was also called to testify against Crum. His profession was the "sheep business," ironically suited to the impeachment hearing. As the father of a boy serving in France, Martin had little patience with the judge's hatred of battle and his claim that American children were being sent abroad to be slaughtered in Europe for a cause that had nothing to do with the average American. The judge, it seemed, was a foreigner, a Marxist sympathizer, and a peace-activist, all completely unacceptable for a judge or anyone else.

The legitimacy of being a judge, part of the American legal system, had to be denied Crum; otherwise the entire American legal system would be tainted by tacit acceptance of the judge's views and values. To further discredit Judge Crum, George Farr, an attorney from Miles City, was called to testify. His examination by State Representative Ronald Higgins, who acted as a manager on behalf of the Montana house of representatives in the impeachment proceedings, was meant to suggest that Crum was a spy for Germany, possessing privileged information. Higgins's questions of Farr implied that Crum was able to discuss with authority the amount of German submarine tonnage "as facts within his own knowledge" rather than "prophecy."<sup>50</sup> Higgins's strategy was clever. He realized that it was not necessary to directly accuse the judge of being a spy. Innuendo would suffice to ensure the judge's impeachment. All that Higgins had to do was prove Crum's otherness. When Elizabeth Snook was recalled to add that she had heard the judge conversing in German, Crum's otherness was bolstered. Fortunately, for both Snook and her audience, she was sufficiently removed from her origins to be



unable to understand German. Lack of expertise thus actually enhanced her testimony.

Crum was also accused of admiring the American progressive movement, especially its most noted representatives, Senators La Follette and Stone. By standing up for their patriotism, Crum was implicitly accused of the opposite. Progressives also played the role of outsiders.<sup>51</sup>

Before the impeachment proceedings, One Hundred Club members took it upon themselves to conduct an investigation of Judge Crum. Despite all the defamatory coverage in the newspapers—District Judge A. C. Spencer accused Crum of judicial malpractice, paying back an attorney in a civil suit who had done him an "awful good turn"<sup>52</sup>—members of the club had to be coerced into voting against the judge. The large majority had initially refused to vote, but as Bussert, the chairman of that organization, testified:

When the question was put for vote three or four would vote on one side and four or five on another side, and I finally had to threaten that if they did not vote, I would count them as one side or another, and worked with them to get a full, free expression from everybody on the different questions that had been answered by Judge Crum.<sup>53</sup>

It seemed that even within a most patriotic association, there was an initial reluctance to condemn the judge, albeit soon overcome by coercion. The vote to ask Crum to resign eventually became unanimous. The club's oath of membership once again confused the sacred and the profane. The oath of the "One Hundred" ended as follows: "In token of my sincerity in these declarations I do now kiss the flag of the Republic spread upon the open pages of the Holy Bible."<sup>54</sup> One of the "real" crimes of Judge Crum was his inability or unwillingness to confuse the secular notion of the flag with the religious foundations of the Bible.

There was one community, however, representing the lone voice of sanity in these impeachment proceedings. That was the town of Roundup, which actually published a number of resolutions in defense of Judge Crum. What the townspeople objected to most was the fact that the charges against Crum had been published in the newspapers before the impeachment proceedings began.<sup>55</sup> Therefore, the case was decided beforehand.<sup>56</sup> By forcing the witness Jarrett, an attorney from Roundup, to read the resolutions out loud, Higgins manipulated matters so that Jarrett, Roundup, and the resolutions were on trial. The senate's obsession with the resolutions suggests that the senators hardly felt secure that they were giving Judge Crum a fair and balanced hearing. But their overwhelming concern, Crum's basic otherness, was never far away. The most revealing question put to Jarrett in connection with the Roundup



resolutions was that asked by Senator N. T. Merzhon: "Mr. President I would just like to ask what proportion of Roundup citizens are foreign born citizens or naturalized citizens?"<sup>57</sup> The fact that there were only two hundred such citizens, and the majority of them Austrian rather than German, did little to mitigate the impact of the question. Roundup could only pass such resolutions, it was implied, through manipulation by its "foreign" citizens, those unaccustomed to the true American ideal. That Roundup was struggling precisely for the American ideal in its pristine version made no difference. There could be no adequate response to the charge of otherness.

Perhaps the ultimate perversion of American justice in the entire story of this hearing was the testimony of a Mrs. Tillman. She was called in connection with her signing of the Roundup resolutions. Since she had no intention of incriminating Judge Crum for disloyal or unpatriotic behavior, anything positive she had to say about the judge was quickly dismissed as hearsay. Higgins ingeniously insisted that Mrs. Tillman prove that Crum did *not* make various incriminating statements: "But further than your belief that he did not say or do these things, Mrs. Tillman, you cannot enlighten this senate, can you, upon these matters?"<sup>58</sup> Since when must a witness prove what was not said by the accused? Where was the burden of proof? The unsaid may have an important place in textual analysis, in the very transcript of this trial itself. In theory, however, it should have had no place in the American legal system.

Higgins continued his unorthodox prosecution of the case by requesting that "the ladies retire from the senate chamber" because the testimony to follow would surely "shock the sensibilities of the ladies present."<sup>59</sup> Higgins was doing more than exhibiting his sexism; this gesture was also an *a priori* condemnation of the judge since it was clear that crimes even more heinous were about to be discussed. What followed, however, was the usual body of charges; the *Lusitania* episode, draft laws, Crum's warning of a new revolution, slander of Wilson, sympathy for Russia.<sup>60</sup> Despite his earlier resignation, Judge Crum was impeached.

This brief review of the charges and testimony against Judge Crum should suffice to show that his actual "crimes" had little to do with the official charges brought against him. The events in Montana provide an important lesson as to the excesses that have been committed in a democracy that feels itself in jeopardy. The volume of testimony in the Crum trial affords the historian a unique opportunity to examine attitudes and views of people who were not the elite of society, but were most definitely swayed by the ideology of America's dominant institutions.

Refusing to be swayed by the patriotic mobs, that other courageous Montana federal judge, George M. Bourquin, aptly summed up the position of the courts during World War I. Quoting George Bernard Shaw,



Bourquin noted: "During the war the courts in France, bleeding under German guns were very severe; the courts in England, hearing but the echoes of those guns, were grossly unjust; but the courts in the United States, knowing naught save censured news of those guns, were stark, staring, raving mad."<sup>61</sup>

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> *Laws and Resolutions of the State of Montana*, Montana Legislative Council, Denver, 1991.

<sup>2</sup> Dave Walter, "The Tragedy of Judge C. L. Crum," *Montana Magazine* 104 (Nov.-Dec. 1990): 56-63. For a study on German Americans during the period, see Frederick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I* (DeKalb, IL, 1974).

<sup>3</sup> Walter, *Montana Magazine* 106 (Mar.-Apr. 1991): 29.

<sup>4</sup> See H. C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite, *Opponents of War 1917-1918*. (Madison, 1957); William Preston, *Aliens and Dissenters: Federal Suppression of the Radicals 1903-1933* (Cambridge, 1963); Richard Polenberg, *Fighting Faiths: The Abrams Case, the Supreme Court, and Free Speech* (New York, 1987); Zechariah Chafee, Jr., *Free Speech in the United States* (Cambridge, 1941); Melvin Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World* (Chicago, 1969); Donald Johnson, *The Challenge to American Freedoms* (Lexington, KY, 1963); Paul L. Murphy, *World War I and the Origins of Civil Liberties in the United States* (New York, 1979); Robert K. Murray, *Red Scare* (Minneapolis, 1955).

To describe the United States as infected by an atmosphere of hysteria is not an exaggeration. The *Detroit Free Press* of 4 March 1918 quoted a preacher saying: "The person who claims to be neutral ought to be exported, jailed, interned, labeled, or . . . rendered powerless" (Peterson and Fite, 194). During that same time thirty-five people were subpoenaed by the "Council of Defense" in South Dakota in order to find out if they were loyally supporting the war effort (195). Theodore Roosevelt backed the attempts to abolish the teaching of German in the country's schools. Professor Knight Dunlap of Johns Hopkins declared the German language to be a "barbarous tongue," lacking in cultural worth and without commercial importance. Lewiston, Montana, experienced the burning of German books at a local high school. People less than enthusiastic about the war might find themselves painted yellow by superpatriots. American mobs beat people and even resorted to the use of tar and feathers, like the seventeen I.W.W.'s at Tulsa. Joe Polaras, a Mexican living in Seattle, was tarred and feathered because he was supposedly unpatriotic (198). A Pennsylvania mob, composed of women munitions workers, attempted to lynch a man who was supposed to have made seditious remarks (199). On 24 March 1918, in the small town of Hickory, Oklahoma, a Bulgarian was shot and killed by a policeman for having said something "seditious." On the same day in Tulsa, Joe Spring, a waiter, was killed by an operative of the County Council of Defense for making pro-German remarks. The most infamous case of American excess was the mob lynching of Robert Prager, a man of German descent who was supposed to have talked about the virtues of "Socialism" to a miners' union in Collinsville, Illinois, a small town near St. Louis (202).

In Montana, Frank Little, of the General Executive Board of the I.W.W., was lynched on 1 August 1917 in Butte. See Arnon Gutfeld, "The Murder of Frank Little: Radical Labor Agitation in Butte, Montana, 1917," *Labor History* 10 (1969): 177-92.

LaVern J. Rippley, *The Immigration Experience in Wisconsin* (Boston, 1985), especially the chapter on WWI and his articles "Conflict in the Classroom: Anti-Germanism in Minnesota Schools, 1917-1919," *Minnesota History* 47 (1981): 170-83, and "F. W. Sallat and the North Dakota Freie Presse," *North Dakota History* 59 (1992): 2-21, provide excellent materials for comparative analysis.

See also Franziska Ott, "The Lynching of a German-American as Reported in the Local English-Language Press," a paper presented at the 19th Annual Symposium of the Society for German-American Studies, Louisville, Kentucky, April 1995. Also see her "The Anti-German Hysteria: The Case of Robert Paul Prager: Selected Documents," in: Don Heinrich Tolzmann ed., *German-Americans in the World Wars: A Documentary History*, Volume 1: *The Anti-German Hysteria of World War One* (München, 1995).

<sup>5</sup> See M. J. Heale, *American AntiCommunism: Combatting the Enemy Within 1830-1970* (Baltimore, and London, 1970), 51.

<sup>6</sup> See Allen Churchill, *Over Here! Informal Re-Creation of Home Front in World War I* (New York, 1968) and David Kennedy, *Over Here, the First World War and American Society* (New York, 1980).

<sup>7</sup> 40 Stat. 219 (1917).

<sup>8</sup> *United States v. Motion Picture Films "The Spirit of '76,"* 252 Fed. Rep. 946.

<sup>9</sup> Peterson and Fite. Even President Wilson was unable to ignore the patriotic excess. On 11 June 1918 he issued a statement condemning the violence, largely because of the international embarrassment caused by the Prager incident: "There have been many lynchings, and every one of them has been a blow at the heart of ordered law and humane justice. No man who loves America, no man who really cares for her fame and honor and character, or who is truly loyal to her institutions, can justify mob action while the courts of justice are open. . . ."

<sup>10</sup> Bernard M. Baruch, *American Industry in War* (New York, 1941); Robert R. Himmelberg, "The War Industries Board," *Journal of American History* 52 (1965): 43; R. B. Kesten, "War Industries Board," *American Political Science Review* 34 (1940): 655; Melvin I. Urofsky, *Big Steel and the Wilson Administration* (Columbus, Ohio, 1969).

<sup>11</sup> See, for example, U.S. Department of Justice, Record Group 60, Records of the Department of Justice, Glasser File. Washington D.C., National Archives, 1964.

<sup>12</sup> Frank L. Grubb, Jr. *Struggle for Labor's Loyalty: Gompers, A. F. of L., and Pacifists, 1917-1920* (New York, 1968).

<sup>13</sup> See Arnon Gutfeld, *Montana's Agony: Years of War and Hysteria 1917-1921* (Gainesville, FL, 1979). Hereinafter cited as Gutfeld, *Hysteria*.

<sup>14</sup> 248 Fed. Rep., 153. (D. Mont. 1918).

<sup>15</sup> *Idem.* at 151.

<sup>16</sup> Richard Polenber, *supra* note 3. Hereinafter cited as *Faiths*.

<sup>17</sup> Montana, *Laws Passed by the Extraordinary Session of the Fifteenth Legislative Assembly* (Helena, MT, n.d.), 14.

<sup>18</sup> For a complete account, see Arnon Gutfeld, "The Ves Hall Case, Judge Bourquin and the Sedition Act of 1918," *Pacific Historical Review* 38 (1968): 163-78. Also Gutfeld, *Hysteria*, chapter 4, 103-78; "George Bourquin: A Montana Judge's Stand Against Government Despotism" *Western Legal History* 6 (1993): 51-68. Polenber, *Faiths*, 27-36.

<sup>19</sup> *Helena Independent*, 20 Feb. 1918. The impeachment process consists of bringing charges, similar to a grand jury indictment, against a public official by the lower house of a legislature. The U.S. Constitution, according to Article One, Section Two, prescribes that the decision to bring charges against a public official is reserved to the lower house. Once articles of impeachment are presented, the upper house, according to Article One, Section Three, prosecutes the offender and must reach a two-thirds majority to convict.



In the case of a federal process of impeachment, the Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court presides. In a state process of impeachment, the Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court presides. In state impeachments, the legal process is based on the state constitutions patterned according to the model of the U.S. Constitution. The U.S. Constitution, in Article Two, Section Four, defines impeachable acts as "Treason, bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors." A precise definition of "high Crimes and Misdemeanors" has yet to be reached. Historically, it is clear that this ambiguous phrase has been very loosely interpreted by political enemies of the various impeached officials.

Throughout American history there have been only twelve federal impeachments and eleven went to trial. Seven of the officials, most of them judges, were acquitted. State impeachment trials have also been infrequent and have usually been politically inspired.

For a thorough discussion of the impeachment process see: Lawrence M. Friedman, *A History of American Law* (New York, 1973), 113-15, 325; Alfred H. Kelly and Winifred A. Harbison, *The American Constitution*, 5th ed. (New York, 1976), 22, 444-46; Raoul Berger, *Impeachment: The Constitutional Problems* (Cambridge, 1973.)

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 24 Feb. 1918.

<sup>22</sup> Burton K. Wheeler with Paul F. Healy, *Yankee From the West* (Garden City, NY, 1962), 152-62. Hereinafter cited as Wheeler, *Yankee*.

<sup>23</sup> Burton K. Wheeler to author, 12 July 1967.

<sup>24</sup> Wheeler, *Yankee*, 154-55.

<sup>25</sup> Burton K. Wheeler to author, 12 July 1967.

<sup>26</sup> Wheeler, *Yankee*. 155. Though not the focus of this inquiry, Crum, indeed, was an "honorable man." And his personal history during this trying period should be categorized as tragic.

Crum was born on 9 January 1874, in Underwood, Indiana, to James W. and Sarah Houghland Crum. After two years of college, Crum secured a job as court reporter in El Reno, Oklahoma Territory. He began to study law in his free time and eventually passed the bar and opened his own law office.

In 1896 he married Jessie Helen Mitts of El Reno. Because of his wife's poor health, Crum moved his family to Montana in 1906. He combined work on his homestead along with a small legal practice. In 1909 he undertook the practice of law on a full-time basis in the county of Rosebud. He was known as an efficient, diligent and conscientious attorney. Crum was elected County Attorney as a Republican in 1910. In 1912 he won a four-year judgeship in Montana's Thirteenth Judicial District. Despite his personal misfortunes — his wife Jessie had died at the age of 31, leaving Crum five children to raise — Crum had an excellent reputation in his first term as a judge. He ran unopposed for his second term in 1916.

But as the war hysteria spread in Montana in 1917, Crum began to come under heavy criticism for his so-called anti-American or pro-German sympathies. And from there his life became one long series of disappointments. Although he was to live on until 1948, he was never the same man after his impeachment. From the time of the events leading to the impeachment until the end of his life, Crum suffered from alcoholism and depression. For a more detailed biographical sketch, see Walter, n. 2.

<sup>27</sup> State of Montana, *Proceedings of the Court for the Trial of Impeachments: The People of the State of Montana by the House of Representatives thereof Against Charles L. Crum, Judge of the District Court of the Fifteenth Judicial District of the State of Montana* (Helena, 1918), 10.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 142 (italics mine).

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 160.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 54.

- <sup>34</sup> Ibid., 16.
- <sup>35</sup> Ibid., 180.
- <sup>36</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>37</sup> Ibid., 171.
- <sup>38</sup> Ibid., 17.
- <sup>39</sup> Ibid., 18.
- <sup>40</sup> Ibid., 50.
- <sup>41</sup> Ibid., 25.
- <sup>42</sup> Ibid., 26.
- <sup>43</sup> Ibid., 29.
- <sup>44</sup> Ibid., 33.
- <sup>45</sup> Ibid., 36.
- <sup>46</sup> Ibid., 38.
- <sup>47</sup> Ibid., 117.
- <sup>48</sup> Ibid., 120.
- <sup>49</sup> Ibid., 43.
- <sup>50</sup> Ibid., 54.
- <sup>51</sup> Ibid., 70.
- <sup>52</sup> Ibid., 76.
- <sup>53</sup> Ibid., 83.
- <sup>54</sup> Ibid., 85.
- <sup>55</sup> Ibid., 133.
- <sup>56</sup> Ibid., 142.
- <sup>57</sup> Ibid., 139.
- <sup>58</sup> Ibid., 144.
- <sup>59</sup> Ibid., 147.
- <sup>60</sup> Ibid., 147, 151.
- <sup>61</sup> Ex parte Starr, 263 *Fed. Rep.* 145. (D. Mont. 1920).



Charles M. Barber

## **The Nordamerikanischer Sängerbund versus the U.S. Treasury Department, 1944-46**

### **Background**

The heartbreak experienced by German-Americans, as their former homeland went to war with their native or adopted land, was not confined to World War I. Attacks on their loyalty to America sounded forth in World War II as well. On 27 January 1944 the U.S. Treasury Department revoked a ruling of 9 September 1941 which granted tax-exempt status to all of the German-American choruses which belonged to the Nordamerikanischer Sängerbund (NASB). In a letter to one of the groups, the Teutonia Männerchor of Pittsburgh of 21 September 1944, the Commissioner of the Internal Revenue Service, Joseph D. Nunan Jr., explained that the groups were suspected of "furthering pro-Nazi and Pan-German movements."<sup>1</sup>

The nightmare of nativism that haunted all German-Americans in World War I had returned to vex the largest of their nationwide singing organizations in World War II. Eventually, a vigorous defense by the NASB executive committee in Pittsburgh, Louisville, Ohio, and, above all, Chicago, was successful in defeating the IRS attack, but not before a significant number of German-Americans had once more been forced by their government to jump the hurdles of 100 percent Americanism.<sup>2</sup>

In outlining the strategies of the Nordamerikanischer Sängerbund which thwarted the renewed attack on their patriotism, this article will seek to answer two interesting questions raised by these documents concerning the history of German-Americans from 1917-46. If German-American assimilation during and after World War I was as complete as many historians have indicated, how did the U.S. Treasury Department get the idea that German-American singing groups represented a pro-Nazi danger and how did the NASB gather the sufficient morale and political authority to stifle this attack on German-Americans' allegiance to the United States?

The immediate and traumatic impact on German-Americans of their country's decision to enter World War I against Imperial Germany has been amply documented by LaVern Rippley, Frederick Luebke, Melvin Holli, and Rudolf Hofmeister, among others.<sup>3</sup> There is little disagreement among these authors that the intent of the U.S. government and many Americans was to enforce a rigid, patriotic conformity upon its largest minority in the war years of 1917-18, and even afterwards to the point that: "there was no let up in the vigilance of the superloyalists."<sup>4</sup> It is also agreed that:

World War I had the effect of accelerating the assimilation of most German-American groups, . . . in the wink of an eye, Germans threw away their *Deutschtum* as an embarrassing possession.<sup>5</sup>

There is less unanimity, however, on the long-range effects of the anti-German campaigns of World War I. Luebke says that:

a sort of cultural amnesia characterized the new generation of persons of German antecedents who grew up between the first and second world wars. They were thoroughly Americanized; they spoke almost no German and knew little of German culture. Few participated in ethnic associational activities of any kind.<sup>6</sup>

Holli is even stronger:

Not only were the haughty *Herrenvolken* [sic] attitudes to be swept away but also the transplanted German high culture. . . . The war damaged German ethnic, linguistic, and cultural institutions beyond repair.<sup>7</sup>

With reference to Chicago, Hofmeister agrees with Holli and Luebke that: "Chicago's German element received a staggering blow from which it has never fully recovered," and that: "in the case of singing clubs, it took a long time after the war before German songs were popular again, which certainly did not help to stimulate interest in joining these clubs."<sup>8</sup>

Rippley, on the other hand, looking at German-Americans in Wisconsin and the Upper Midwest, sees them as less totally intimidated:

Although German-American political power had dissipated, humanitarian concern for ethnic brothers in the Old World burned brightly after hostilities ceased . . . many Americans of German descent called for the shipment of relief food to Germany. At first, Congress was opposed . . . therefore, church groups, singing societies, and individuals in the German-American communities worked independently. Beginning in 1919, however, a variety of



programs were coordinated under Herbert Hoover and the American Friends Service committee.<sup>9</sup>

This author disagrees with the cataclysmic conclusions of Luebke, Holli and Hofmeister. In supporting Rippley's more optimistic conclusions I would argue that the word "Kultur" [culture with a "K"], as a hard-edged concept, representing an elitist [even racist] notion of German superiority over non-Germans, was jettisoned in the heat of World War I's patriotic hysteria, and did not return. But "Kultur" [culture with a "c"] as a soft-edged reference to German-American language, music, dress, food and social organizations was not eliminated. German-American culture as such goes on despite the direct pressures of World War I and the indirect pressures of World War II. What took place between 1917 and 1946 was not a thoroughgoing melting of Germans into the American pot, but a transition from a "Kaiserliche Kultur" [culture with a "K"] which reflected the jingoism of its time to a "German-American culture" [culture with a "c"] more in keeping with contemporary ideals which stressed a mosaic of ethnicities in the United States.

Evidence for the survival of German-American culture with a "c" can be found in the festival program and advertising books of the many singing societies that comprised the NASB from World War I to the present. An examination of two program books for festivals held in Chicago in 1924 and 1938 shows that this thriving group of singing organizations was only temporarily set back by World War I, functioned well in the 1920s, and expanded its children's choruses dramatically in the 1930s. These books and other records also show that the NASB was well prepared to survive an attack on its members' patriotism, and its tax-exempt status in 1944-46.<sup>10</sup>

### **World War I and the Diamond Jubilee Festival, 1914-24**

German-American culture with a "c" was well established by 1914, and had succeeded in the nineteenth century in the teeth of much Know-Nothing nativism. As Kathleen Conzen points out:

Festive culture was an important weapon in both facets of the campaign . . . to mold German immigrants into a group capable of preserving the valued parts of the homeland culture and defending it through the vote if necessary, [and] . . . to convince non-German Americans . . . that the American republic could survive, even thrive, without cultural conformity, and that German cultural differences were valued contributions to America.<sup>11</sup>

The festive culture strategy satisfied intellectual definitions of commentators in German-American journals as well as "the German masses,

[who], when [they] re-created in America accustomed and comforting forms of public celebrations, they were importing a vocabulary of celebration that spoke almost unthinkably in nationalistic, and therefore ethnic, accents."<sup>12</sup>

"Then," as Phyllis Keller put it, "came the First World War. Its effect was to draw German-Americans together: the threat that it posed to their status gave them an urgent need for self-defense and ultimately for self-assertion."<sup>13</sup> In Chicago, German songs could not be heard in public for several years after the war. The Chicago Symphony Orchestra, which had been founded by Theodor Thomas and bore his name until 1913, was put out of business for the years 1918 and 1919 simply because the orchestra was composed almost exclusively of Germans.<sup>14</sup>

What was needed after World War I was a festival strategy for the twentieth century. While culture with a "c" could be proudly pursued, its integration into a civic setting could only succeed with an accompanying assimilationist politics. Such a counteroffensive was undertaken by the Chicago Germans of the NASB. As John Dizikes points out in *Opera in America*, Chicago had become a focal point for German musical success well before World War I.<sup>15</sup> This city now became the rallying point for German festival culture against the renewed outbreak of nativism which characterized much of the anti-German sentiment produced by World War I. In examining a series of festival programs, one can observe the combination of culture and politics in German Chicago begun between 1918 and 1924. There was one important difference. The men who led this revival were politically savvy and, in some cases, political office holders.

One of the first of these men was Ernest Kreutgen, a lithographer by trade, vice-president of the Chicago Sing-Verein, president of the Germania Club, 1915-16, 1917-23 and postmaster of Chicago, 1933-41. On 10 November 1918, in a speech celebrating Chicago's centennial at the Lincoln Club, he poignantly described the agony of German-Americans forced to take up arms on behalf of their adopted country against the country of their heritage:

Faithful and loyal Americans as the German Americans are, they cherish the memory of their childhood days, their literature and their music. A man may give his son for his adopted country, or may even shed the last drop of his blood for it, but the man who could change the love for his own, his native land into hatred could never become a good and trustworthy citizen of any other country.<sup>16</sup>

In 1919 Theodor Thomas's successor, Frederick Stock, was reinstated as conductor in time for the fall season of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra. In 1920 Kreutgen attempted an early revival of nineteenth-century festive culture with a German Day festival in 1920, but it failed to draw much interest.<sup>17</sup> Four years later he was much more successful. Frederick Stock



appeared on the program of the Diamond Jubilee concert of the NASB. The festival president was Ernest Kreutgen, appearing in the welcoming ceremonies with Chicago Mayor, William E. Dever. Kreutgen would become Chicago postmaster in the 1930s, by which time the German vote had become more obvious than in the 1920s, a major political force in the election of Mayor Anton Cermak.<sup>18</sup>

Since the singing festival in Chicago in 1924 was the first for the NASB in ten years, a brief reference to World War I was included:

And now we come to Chicago, the young giant on the shores of beautiful Lake Michigan. . . . The organization has just passed through the most trying time of its existence, but it can now be said that, like a noble ship, it has successfully weathered the storm. Owing to conditions created by the late war, ten years have rolled by, without seeing one of these gigantic musical festivals staged, festivals that have done so much toward instilling a love for the very best in song and music in the hearts of the American nation.<sup>19</sup>

The festival program listed the name of virtually every participant, from symphony orchestra member to usher. It also listed each of the 5,748 adult singers by section [Tenor I, Bass II, etc.] from each of the 184 singing groups in each city and state.<sup>20</sup> Chicago had the largest representation, including many church choirs and a *Kinderchor* of 2,363 children especially organized for the occasion.<sup>21</sup> There obviously was quality to go along with the quantity. Besides the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, the festival featured soloists like Alexander Kipnis, who went on to an illustrious career with Samuel Insull's Chicago Civic Opera.<sup>22</sup>

The 1924 Diamond Jubilee featured five concerts. The Chicago Symphony Orchestra opened 11 June with the Chicago Sngerfest Male Chorus, and the Chicago Sngerfest Mixed Chorus. Five of the ten numbers were by Wagner.<sup>23</sup> On Thursday afternoon the United Male Chorus of St. Louis was added. The emphasis on Wagner was replaced by Weber, Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, Mozart, Glck and Brahms-Dvorak.<sup>24</sup> On Thursday the orchestra and soloists were joined by the massed Male Choir, which sang traditional German folksongs and the Scottish "Annie Laurie."<sup>25</sup> Friday afternoon featured the Sngerfest Children's Chor.<sup>26</sup>

On Friday evening a specifically American touch was added. The massed Male Chorus performed a composition by Edward Strubel which had received first prize in a contest instituted by the United Male Choirs of Chicago. Strubel's "When Evening Shadows Fall" was set to James Whitcomb Riley's poem of that name. The second and third prizes were awarded also to songs set to poems in the English language ["A Little Song for Two" and "My Stout Old Heart and I"].<sup>27</sup> The contest was held "purely out of a desire to enrich the stock of American folksongs."<sup>28</sup> Was this the gesture of culture

with a "K," or culture with a "c"? Perhaps a bit of both, but the effort to remain true to German folksong tradition and American soil is unmistakably there, an effort reminiscent of nineteenth-century festival strategy.<sup>29</sup>

The program listings for all five concerts included a brief reference to the composers and often a complete listing of the lyrics, in German and English. Two examples are: "[Franz] Abt is the composer of more than 700 songs, of which some have become folksongs"; "Rimsky-Korsakov, one of the most renowned of Russian composers, is especially prominent in two fields: in the opera and in the orchestra composition."<sup>30</sup> Also contained in the program was a brief history of the German folksong movement from the late eighteenth century through 1924, along with synopses of the histories of the German Male Chorus and the North American Sängerbund. On the last page a brief history of the United Male Choruses of Chicago is included.<sup>31</sup>

### **The Depression, Hitler and the Thirty-Ninth National Singing Festival, 1929-38**

The Depression and the rise of Hitler brought new economic and political challenges to members of the Nordamerikanischer Sängerbund. Like other Americans, German-Americans were deeply affected by the ravages of the Depression, but not so much that they did not have time for music, or the willingness to pay for it. Ludwig Lohmiller, a prominent director in the 1938 and 1949 singing festivals, came over with the large 1920s wave of German immigrants and made a good living solely from his earnings as a director of twenty-two German-American men's, women's, mixed, and children's choruses in the Chicago and Milwaukee area; something that today's directors of the remaining groups could not hope to do.<sup>32</sup>

Like the executive committee of the NASB, Lohmiller and his fellow choral directors did not fall victim to any temptation to nurse grievances from World War I. He, therefore, did not succumb to Nazi overtures for a renewed emphasis on German culture with a "K."<sup>33</sup> One of Lohmiller's fellow 1920s immigrants was Fritz Kuhn, founder of the stridently pro-Nazi German-American Bund. According to Luebke, however, that group represented no more than 1 percent of the German-American population:

Kuhn . . . contended unsuccessfully with the leaders of the older, gentler, established German ethnic organizations-moderate men whose memories of 1918 remained vivid. Even though the latter were sympathetic to Germany, they were determined to remain within the American consensus.<sup>34</sup>

Ripley concurs:



Few of the Germans in America responded positively to the Fuehrer's dictates. If anything, the blatant propaganda caused them to sever whatever loyalty they still felt for the Fatherland. . . . There were nearly seven million persons of German stock in the States, but over 75 percent of these were born in America. The mere 600,000 more recent immigrants from German represented a tiny minority in a total U.S. population of 124 million. . . . Both the Justice department and the F.B.I. held to an estimated membership in the [German-American] Bund of about 6,500—the same figure reported secretly in 1938 to the German Foreign Office.<sup>35</sup>

Lohmiller and the NASB executive committee went to great lengths to avoid the Nazi embrace and to make sure that the doings of the NASB were strictly within the realm of culture with a "c." They made sure, for example, to order music from New York University, the only place to get authentic, up-to-date choral sheet music in the German language without swastikas printed on it.<sup>36</sup> Among other documents of these cultural efforts is the program for the Thirty-Ninth National Sngerfest of the NASB in Chicago in the International Amphitheater, 22-24 June, 1938. As in 1924, the 96-page festival book once again has the singers listed by name and by group, 181 attending choruses, with 5,953 singers.<sup>37</sup> Whether that total actually showed up for one or more of the concerts is less likely, owing to illness or other unforeseen causes. Nevertheless, the names are there, a declaration of the strength of the NASB and the intention of its membership to participate in the festival.

In 1938, as in 1924, there were five concerts, assisted by sixty members of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra. The reception concert on Wednesday evening, 22 June, featured the 1,500 Chicago Male Chorus and 2,000 member Chicago Mixed Chorus. Works included Wagner, Schumann, Beethoven, Richard Strauss and Carl Maria von Weber. The closing song was Francis Scott Key's "Star Spangled Banner," which had not been on the program at any of the 1924 concerts, and which reflected the trend toward using an American national anthem at public programs in the early 1930s.<sup>38</sup>

Thursday's matinee concert featured choruses from Ohio and St. Louis. Compositions by Schubert, Johann Strauss, Silcher and Brahms were on the program.<sup>39</sup> Thursday evening's concert began with Wagner, added Mozart, Bizet, Romberg, and Glck, and ended with Edvard Grieg.<sup>40</sup> Friday's matinee concert featured the Chicago Children's Choruses and Humperdinck's *Hansel and Gretel*, Franz Abt's "Waldeinsamkeit," Rubenstein-Rich's "Welcome Sweet Springtime," Lowell Mason's "Wildwood Flowers," Nana Zucca's "Big Brown Bear," and Mendelssohn-Bartholdy's "Abschied Vom Walde."<sup>41</sup> Friday evening's final concert added Tchaikowsky, two Irish folk Songs and "My Country 'Tis of Thee" to a program of Wagner, Silcher and von Weber.<sup>42</sup>

Synopses of symphonic presentations and the scores for all of the *Lieder* were included for each concert. Also included were short historical essays on

"the German Folk Song," "The German Element in American Music," "Richard Wagner," "The Early History of Choral Singing and the North-American Sängerbund," and "The United Male Choruses of Chicago," in German and English.<sup>43</sup> In German language only were histories of the men's and women's choruses of the Northwest Singers Union, a history of *Lieder* among students in nineteenth-century Germany, and the account of the decision to establish permanent children's choruses throughout the Chicago area in 1935. These *Kinderchöre* were founded in four groups [Northside, Southside, Westside, and Northwestside] in order to preserve German songs and the German language among the German-Americans in Chicago.<sup>44</sup>

As in 1924 there were no advertisements. There was, however, a politically revealing list of guarantors and the amounts they contributed, between \$15 and \$1,000, for a total of \$9,110.<sup>45</sup> Box ticket holders for all five concerts and other sponsors included numerous business and political luminaries of the time, among them, Oscar Mayer; Mayor Edward J. Kelly; Joseph Gill, Clerk of Municipal Court; and Charles H. "Charlie" Weber, the boss of the Forty-fifth Ward when it comprised the western end of Lakeview, now the Thirty-second and Forty-seventh Ward areas.<sup>46</sup> Charlie Weber, like Ernest Kreutgen, Matthias "Paddy" Bauler [Forty-third Ward], and Judge John Gutknecht, was one of a growing number of German-American office holders in Cook County and Illinois.<sup>47</sup>

### World War II and the U.S. Treasury versus the NASB, 1944-46

The crucial challenge for the Nordamerikanischer Sängerbund came when the United States, once again, was plunged into war with Germany. Pearl Harbor guaranteed that the specific wrath of Americans would be focused mostly on Japanese-Americans, but as the war wore on, and as Nazi atrocities became more apparent, anti-German sentiments increased. On 27 January 1944, as mentioned above, the NASB was targeted by the Internal Revenue Service as a pro-Nazi organization and entered a two-year struggle to regain its tax-exempt status as a non-profit organization. The virtual indictment by the IRS read as follows:

The ruling of January 27, 1944 . . . was due to the fact that a general investigation had disclosed that a very large proportion of these German-American societies of various kinds throughout the United States, including the singing societies, have been grouped into roof organizations through which they have been made use of in furthering pro-Nazi and Pan-German movements, and that some of the members of many of the component societies have participated in such movements. . . .



... It appears that you are a member of the North American Sängerbund, which is reported to be a roof organization of the type above described. ...<sup>48</sup>

In order to gain back their tax-exempt status each local singing group was ordered by the Treasury Department to: 1) sever its ties with the "roof organization" [NASB] and show that it had "purged itself of all pro-Nazi and Pan-German members ...," and 2) provide affidavits from the president and secretaries that the purge had taken effect.<sup>49</sup>

Despite the severity of the ruling, the IRS was providing little in the way of information as to how it had come about. As of 17 October 1944 a lawyer, and friend of William H. Kroeger, president of the Akron [Ohio] Liedertafel, Dow Harter, could ascertain from Nunan only that "the man who made the investigation with reference to the German Society was a lawyer by the name of Clauss who has been in Europe and who is expected back here this week."<sup>50</sup> On 12 January 1945 Harter wrote the first vice president of the NASB, Gustave F. Kappauf of Pittsburgh, to explain the severity of the situation:

At the request of my friend, Mr. William H. Kroeger, ... I am enclosing Power of Attorney, in my favor, which has been requested by the General Council [sic] of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, before he or the Commissioner will discuss with me any charges which they may have against individuals connected with the North American Singers Union. ...<sup>51</sup>

Kappauf in turn wrote to Andrew Nauth, secretary of the NASB, enclosing letters from Kroeger and Harter:

... Talking to John Kraker (Treasurer, Akron) over the phone last night. We figured that conditions for our organization by our government are not in favor of us on account of some doing by some of our members, and I want you to write every one of our Executive members to come to Akron Ohio on Feb. 4 Sunday afternoon 1 o'clock for a special Meeting as I don't intend to take this step by myself [sic]. [Fred] Nuetzel (Honorary President, Louisville, Kentucky) [Paul] Wagner (Librarian, Chicago) [John] Daum (2nd Vice President, Cincinnati) Kraker also [Justus] Emme (President, Chicago) and yourself [sic]. You can explain this to them why this special meeting is called. Expense will have to be stood by our organization. ...<sup>52</sup>

Before the February meeting, however, Honorary President Fred Nuetzel wrote Secretary Andrew Nauth that to surrender the authority of the Society to an attorney-in-fact was too extreme and farfetched a step:

. . . I profess that I can see no relation between the matter of taxation and pro Nazi elements which may exist in the organization. As you stated, it cannot assume responsibility for the personal conduct or political views of members. . . .

. . . From cursory reading, this power delegates absolute power to commit the Society to whatever course he desires even to the dissolution thereof without further consent of the members and without recourse or restraint.

Of course, if specific charges of disloyalty have been brought against the N.A.S.U., that is another matter. So far as I know, this is not true. I take it too, that our funds were invested in U.S. War Bonds, as I proposed at Chicago several years ago. Therefore, I am at a loss to know what this is all about. . . .<sup>53</sup>

Although the February meeting produced no immediate action on the power-of-attorney proposal, the fate of several hundred choruses in major and minor cities between Pittsburgh and Omaha, New Orleans and Minneapolis, were affected by the decisions of these men. A few months later, on 1 May, Kroeger wrote Kappauf, Kraker and Nauth that Dow Harter had postponed the idea of using a power-of-attorney, owing (presumably) to the death of President Roosevelt:

. . . The purpose of this letter is to tell you that I have again talked with Mr. Harter and discussed things and he advises now not to do anything, especially as the change in Washington brought on a different feeling which may also affect the attitude of the Treasurer and Internal Revenue Departments. I thought perhaps we should wait sixty or ninety days to see if they do anything, and we could be guided by their action as to what action we should take. I would suggest that when you write Mr. Wagner in Chicago that he have the Chicago attorneys contact Mr. Harter the next time they are in Washington and they discuss the matter together and determine the course to pursue. . . .<sup>54</sup>

When it became clear that the IRS would not change its position, each of the member groups of the NASB was faced with four choices:

Severance—They could resign from the North American Singers Union and attempt thereby to disassociate themselves from the taint of pro-Nazism;



Acceptance [Affidavits/Purges]—They could accept the validity of the Treasury Department charges and swear out affidavits or resolutions that all pro-Nazi elements were out of their groups in particular and hope that the IRS would accept their appeal;

Resistance—They could fight back in the courts; or

Lobbying—They could lobby Washington for a reversal of the decision.

Each group elected to pursue one or more of these options.

Between January and September 1944, some efforts had been made by individual members of the North American Sägerbund to mitigate the IRS ruling. One was defensive, reminiscent of the frantic efforts of German-Americans to prove that they were 100 percent American during and after World War I. A report of a Chicago area group on 1 April indicated that their members had been canvassed for information on their citizenship, propertied status, contributions to Victory Bonds, service of their men in the Armed Forces of the U.S. and service of their women in the Red Cross.<sup>55</sup> The preliminary answers of the Harlem Männerchor, Forest Park, Illinois, were in pencil and crossed out. They indicated forty-four active and thirty-seven passive members and that, among other things, they had contributed \$25,600.00 in Victory Bonds; twenty-seven members, sons and grandsons were in the Armed Forces; seventeen wives, daughters and granddaughters were in Red Cross work and auxiliary service of the U.S.; thirty-seven members, children and grandchildren owned their own homes and that sixty-eight members, and their families, were regular contributors of money to the Red Cross or U.S.O.<sup>56</sup>

While the response of the Harlem Männerchor was similar to the responses of German-American groups in World War I,<sup>57</sup> the singing groups did not cease their activities. The Schwäbischer Sängerbund held their Fifty-Year Golden Jubilee Concert in Chicago's Orchestra Hall on Sunday, 23 April 1944.<sup>58</sup> Their director, Ludwig Lohmiller, noted that an F.B.I. agent was present; not, as he told Lohmiller, to investigate any of the members of the Sängerbund, but to make sure that the festivities were not disrupted by anyone whose patriotic fervor had gone to the point of confusing Nazis with German-Americans.<sup>59</sup>

A more aggressive response, dated 22 May 1944, was submitted by two Chicago German-Americans who were lawyers, Oscar A. Stoffels and Charles F. Pattlock. Addressed to the commissioner of Internal Revenue, it was combative in nature and took the form of an eleven-page legal brief on behalf of Chicago-area singing groups and other societies such as "German Relief" and "German Day Association" for the purpose of "establishing right to exemption from payment of taxes under Revenue Act Section 101."<sup>60</sup> It is a remarkable document which not only serves as a defense of the

Nordamerikanischer Sängerbund, but also as a contribution to the history of German-American musical and festival culture.<sup>61</sup>

Oscar Stoffels was also the compiler and editor of the *Lieder Harfe*, a collection of songs designed for the Chicago Kinderchor, published in 1941 and made available to *Kinderchöre* all over the United States. These songs were intended to "... almost automatically teach the rudiments of the German language and give the student a vocabulary of at least 2500 words."<sup>62</sup> There are 104 songs in the book. The first one is the "Star Spangled Banner" and ten of the first eleven are contemporary American folk and patriotic songs, all in English. The rest are traditional German folksongs and Christmas carols with a strong emphasis on Friedrich Silcher.<sup>63</sup> The music was selected by the directors of the Kinderchor, H. A. Rehburg, Ludwig Lohmiller and Reinhold Walter. Funds to publish and distribute the *Lieder Harfe* were provided from the trust of Ernest and Anna Kreutgen.<sup>64</sup>

Oscar Stoffels was well aware of the suspicions which still attached themselves to German-Americans from World War I and which were intensified by the rise of the Nazis. In his introduction to the *Lieder Harfe* he explained:

All the people in the United States can trace their ancestry, be it near or remote, to some other country. Those who still think with fondness of their motherland appreciate generally only her cultural treasures and rarely claim to owe their allegiance to her. Our fair-minded administrative leaders recognize this fact, and therefore, no group of citizens should ever adopt an attitude of criticism and censure toward those who, due to family ties, suffer the sweet ache of a cherished memory.

To bolster his argument Stoffels quoted from Woodrow Wilson: "We have no criticism for men who love the places of their birth and the sources of their origin. We do not wish them to forget their mothers and their fathers, running back through long laborious generations, who have taken part in building up the strength and spirit of other nations."<sup>65</sup>

Stoffels was also aware that, on a practical, day-to-day basis, the Chicago-area members of the Nordamerikanischer Sängerbund already had had to prove in the 1930s that they were free of the taint of Nazism. Lohmiller recalls that the recording secretaries of his singing groups had to turn their board of directors' minutes over to the F.B.I. for scrutiny. Lohmiller also refused to take a group of the Kinderchor over to Germany during the 1936 Olympics, even though some members of the Kinderchor board of directors were flattered by the invitation of the German government.<sup>66</sup>

In their brief to the commissioner of Internal Revenue, Stoffels and Pattlock first noted in a "Statement of Facts" that their groups had always been in compliance with the laws of the state of Illinois:



Each and every one of said Societies was duly incorporated under the laws of the State of Illinois as a 'corporation not for profit.' Under this law said Societies are not authorized to have and never have had any capital stock or shares, or capital, or shareholders, or stock holders, and have only members who have not at any time received and do not have the right to receive from the Societies any dividends or pecuniary profit or assets, or cash by way of dividends, distribution or otherwise. . . .

. . . While none of the Societies have ever received a substantial income yet a special occasion such, for instance, as a golden anniversary or diamond jubilee usually results in larger than average income, but such surplus is never distributed but is used to defray current and future expenses, since lean years on income always follow major events which called for unusual activity. While the Societies may have a net income that mere fact does not make it taxable. In the case of *Trinidad vs. Sagrada Orden de Predicadores*, 263 U.S. 578, the Supreme Court of the United States in passing on this question under similar circumstances states: "Two matters bearing on the face of the clause go fully towards settling its meaning. First, it is recognized that a corporation may be organized for \* \* \* educational purposes and yet have no net income. Next it says nothing about the sources of the income but makes the distribution of the income an ultimate test of exemption."<sup>67</sup>

Secondly, after a brief introduction,<sup>68</sup> the cultural objective was stated:

To afford training in singing as a male chorus, group singing and other branches of music, to foster and advance an interest in choral work with special emphasis upon the rendition of American and German folk songs for the esthetic and social benefits derivable therefrom, also to provide for the delivery and holding of song festivals and concerts, not only in Chicago, but in the entire United States, calculated directly or indirectly to advance the general cause of culture and musical education.<sup>69</sup>

Thirdly, the brief stated that "these Societies never 'carry on any propaganda' nor has any one of them attempted to 'influence legislation.'"<sup>70</sup>

Under point four of the brief's complaint, it was noted that the IRS wanted the groups to file tax returns dating back to 1933, but had not really explained why, especially since there had been no change in the law and no change in the behavior of the societies, and the IRS had been granting exemptions to the NASB groups from 1933-44.<sup>71</sup>

"Operation," "Membership," and "Repertoire" were then covered, with emphasis on their nonpolitical nature:

[Operation] Each of the above mentioned Societies excepting only the German Day Association may be described as a chorus, the members gathering at a convenient hall once a week for the purpose of rehearsal and the mastery of classic songs.<sup>72</sup>

[Members] Each Society has two classes of members. Active members are those who sing; they are expected to attend every rehearsal. Their dues are usually \$.50 per month. . . .

. . . The passive members as a rule attend meetings only on festive occasions. . . .<sup>73</sup>

Stoffels and Pattlock were careful to point out that repertoire included the simplest folksongs as well as operatic arias, and in the past thirty years many songs written by American composers, but that there was also: "an absolute restriction in respect to the songs so selected. In no case may the song present any foreign ideology nor so-called hymns of freedom or battle hymns. All German songs so selected are idealistic and treat of friendship, nature, seasons and parting, etc."<sup>74</sup>

After pointing out that, with the exception of monthly routine business meetings, "all Meetings are in the nature of rehearsals and are held once every week," the brief specified the nonpolitical nature of the singing societies:

. . . Since the members of the various Societies belong to various creeds and are fairly equally divided between the two larger political groups it is a rule that no political or other controversial matter may be discussed. No political speeches are permitted at any time, no foreign ideology is voiced, no current questions are brought up for debate. None of these Societies has ever carried on any propaganda of a political or civic nature nor has any of them individually nor have they collectively ever attempted to influence legislation. . . .<sup>75</sup>

The brief then went into the organization of the Nordamerikanischer Sängerbund ("Central Body,"<sup>76</sup> "National Organization,"<sup>77</sup> "United Ladies Chorus"<sup>78</sup>) with a brief history of its focus:

Since 1849 when the first song festival was celebrated at Cincinnati, Ohio, a similar festival was celebrated about every four years. Chicago has been chosen as the festival city in 1868—1881—1924 and 1938 and the last was held June 22, 23 and 24, 1938 at which time



over 8,000 singers from the Middlewest attended. All of these took part in one or more of the five concerts during the festival. However, all these festivals were so well known nationally and so favorably commented on by daily papers of the festival city that little need be written about their cultural value. A festival which was to be held in 1942 has been postponed indefinitely as too many singers are in military service.<sup>79</sup>

On the matter of "Affiliations" and the "German American National Alliance,"<sup>80</sup> Stoffels and Pattlock touched on what might have been a case of guilt by association, or even mistaken identity. The German American National Alliance had been under attack in 1918 and along with the "Friends of the New Germany" and Fritz Julius Kuhn's *Deutschamerikanischer Volksbund* had come under the scrutiny of Congress as well as the Treasury Department in the mid 1930s.<sup>81</sup> One also needs to speculate on how non-German-speaking members of Congress and Treasury might easily have confused the "-bund" in Kuhn's German American *Volksbund* with the "-bund" in the North American *Sängerbund*. The brief asserts that the *Nordamerikanischer Sängerbund* had no connection with such groups as Kuhn's, or the German American National Alliance:

The question has frequently been raised whether these Societies became affiliated with the German American National Alliance. It seems an investigator of the Treasury Department reported such affiliation on the part of most of these Societies. Such report, however, upon investigation is found erroneous. It may be true no doubt that some individuals, misled by the object clause in the charter of that organization, joined individually before the war, but it would seem that they became decidedly disinterested once they discovered that the lofty principles proclaimed by the charter of that organization were not adhered to. The number of those joining the G.A.N.A. was but transitory and the few organizations that sent a delegate for observation soon withdrew their delegate so that when our war began there was a complete severance.<sup>82</sup>

The brief then describes the "German American Children's Chorus" which had been formed in the 1930s<sup>83</sup> and the German Day Association, which had as its purpose the celebration of the landing of the first group of Germans on 6 October, 1683: ". . . an American affair. On this day the participants rededicate themselves to our country and redeclare their loyalty."<sup>84</sup> Stoffels and Pattlock went on to wrap the NASB in the mantle of Carl Schurz, who had spoken at a German Day celebration in Chicago on 12 August 1871, with events in Germany very much on his mind:

Nothing to me lies farther removed than the thought of a separate political organization of Germans in this Republic. Here we are American citizens—nothing more, nothing less. And it should be the pride of every German to be identified with the best of citizens. We have no special interests here other than those of the community of citizens.

Indeed we may point with proud satisfaction to the fact that in the hour of tragedy as in the hour of joy our new fatherland has never made a demand which the German citizens have not performed in the fullest measure with their purse and their blood.

More than that, when our fatherland forced by an overwhelming event [Franco-Prussian War] called our fathers and brothers to arms which rekindled our inborn love to our homeland even in this country into a great flame—even then our deep sympathy with our blood never sought to give expression in a manner which would be contrary to the laws of our Republic.

Even then we did not forget for a single moment that we are American citizens and we constantly remind ourselves of the duties of such citizenship.

And what we have proven in the past we shall not deny in the future.

The American Republic will always consider her German born citizens among the most loyal, law abiding and devoted children. Nor will our national origin ever impede our loyalty to our adoptive land.<sup>85</sup>

The brief then adds: "History records that the American citizens of German extraction have faithfully abided by this principle from the very beginning of our history to the present day."<sup>86</sup>

The brief then included a defense of two Swabian-American organizations dedicated to support and entertainment—the Schwäbischer Unterstützungs-Verein<sup>87</sup> and the Schwaben Verein.<sup>88</sup>

The "Schwäbisch-Badischer Frauenverein No. 1," and the "German Relief Society" were added in an addendum because their notifications of revocation of exemption from taxes were received after the brief was in type. The latter, better known as the German Aid Society, was organized in 1853 and incorporated in 1868 and had continuously devoted itself to aiding citizens and residents of the city of Chicago who found themselves in financial distress. Like the other societies defended in the brief, the German Aid Society was nonpolitical, and it was noted that it "at no time engages in any propaganda except only to solicit funds for charity purposes. . . ."<sup>89</sup>

Under the heading of "Loyalty," the authors had quite a bit to say:



... a canvass of 20 singing societies shows that the various members own and hold more than 1¼ million dollars of Victory Bonds, 590 members or their sons and grandsons are serving in the military forces of the U.S., 654 of their wives, daughters and granddaughters are engaged in Red Cross or similar work or are inducted into various women's auxiliary services, 1147 own their own homes, 3163 persons belonging to the immediate families are regular contributors to the Red Cross, U.S.O. and similar organizations. The Societies, out of their meagre funds, have purchased and own \$8200 in Victory Bonds and the Societies have contributed \$1849.00 to the Red Cross. There are 2630 children born in the United States to the families of these singers.

The Chicago singers, in their various organizations, have been an institution of which Chicago is very proud. The first male chorus is referred to as early as 1833 when Chicago was but a village. ...

... When the body of Lincoln came through Chicago where it temporarily rested in the Court House, the German singers added solemnity to the sorrowful event when they sang at the bier of the martyred president. ...<sup>90</sup>

The brief then argued that German Singers of Chicago were like any other citizens of that city:

... These singers have always been an inseparable part of the city and it would be the height of folly on their part to hope for or aid in the destruction of the very things that they created after choosing Chicago as their home. These families pray for the security of their homes and the safety of the land that shelters them and their descendants. ...<sup>91</sup>

And the authors deplored, yet understood, the double standards of loyalty that plagued German-Americans during World War II:

... These Societies should be judged by the same standard that is applied in judging all other good citizens. It is quite natural that due to the present world war the sons of some nationals unfairly accord the citizens of German American extraction a treatment far less generous than they receive from the accused. German Americans seek the friendship of their fellow citizens; they are imbued by the real spirit of America, however never join in such unfair and undemocratic demonstrations. The German American element has nothing to fear for it knows that the percentage of disloyal in its ranks is negligible.<sup>92</sup>

Stoffels and Pattock then touched on a phenomenon which was not really understood until well after the war, the matter of isolationism and German-American feelings left over from World War I:

It is often stated that citizens of German extraction opposed entry into the present war—many no doubt did—in fact, all Americans hoped that such entry might be averted. So strong was this feeling that it became a campaign issue during the last presidential election when it became necessary for our president-elect in all sincerity to assure our people again and again that not a single American would be called upon to fight on foreign soil.<sup>93</sup>

In fact, many German-American voters did not trust President Roosevelt's word on the matter of war, and voted against him in 1940 in parts of the country he had carried in 1932 and 1936. This phenomenon was not discovered, however, until political pollster Samuel Lubell visited these areas, after Harry Truman's defeat of Thomas Dewey in 1948 had tarnished his profession as prognosticator. Lubell found that Truman's greatest gains had come in the German-American counties that had handed Roosevelt his biggest losses in 1940: "In view of the closeness of the 1948 election, the German-American swing can definitely be credited with giving Truman his margin of victory<sup>94</sup> . . . Truman made no special appeal to these German-Americans (even after the swing took place, he did not know what had happened). Still, German-Americans all over the country shifted together, as if in response to some subconscious instinct."<sup>95</sup>

Lubell concluded that the previously held theory of a shift in Midwest farm votes away from Roosevelt in 1940 and back to Truman's "Fair Deal" in 1948 had to be modified:

The Midwest's defection from the Democratic party in 1940 was largely a revolt of German-American farmers against involvement in war with Germany. With the war's end and Roosevelt's passing, many of these same farmers returned to the Democratic fold. Nor was this German-American swing merely an agricultural one. My postelection surveys in 1940 and 1948 showed the same pattern for German-American precincts in the cities.<sup>96</sup>

Lubell had prefaced his observations by strictly upholding the loyal attitudes of German-Americans and other isolationists: "Disloyalty is not involved. That should be stressed. Isolationist voters sent their sons to war and those sons served as patriotically and heroically as any Americans."<sup>97</sup>

What the dispassionate political scientist Samuel Lubell argued in 1951 was passionately put forth by Stoffels and Pattlock in 1944:



Pearl Harbor changed all of this and due to its large percentage of the population the blood of heroic German American sons spilled in war torn Europe and the jungles of the South Sea is far greater than that of many other nationalistic groups, but one hears neither complaint nor murmur, they willingly back every effort to bring the war to a successful conclusion. American democracy means all to them.<sup>98</sup>

The brief then pointed out the accidental nature of German-American birth:

German American citizens find themselves in the situation that quite by accident without any consent or choice on their part they were born in a country that now is at war with us. . . . No doubt it fills the hearts of many of these German Americans with sorrow, but they recognize that it is one of the exigencies of life, they have chosen America as their new home, have renounced forever their obligations and allegiance to the land of their birth, and have chosen America as the home in which their children and children's children might continue to build and live in peace. It would, therefore, seem that any attempt to make the existence of these people more trying and more difficult is uncharitable and un-American.<sup>99</sup>

The experience of General Albert C. Wedemeyer underlines the accident-of-birth phenomenon. As a German-American planner for the U.S. Army he had had unique access to the friendships and views of members of the German General Staff like Ludwig Beck and Alfred Jodl, the latter sending him a blow-by-blow description of the Wehrmacht advance into France in May 1940, which Wedemeyer promptly translated and passed on to G-2 (Intelligence).<sup>100</sup> These same attributes made him highly suspect to others in Washington, D.C., who passed on information anonymously to the F.B.I. that it was "common knowledge in Washington" that Wedemeyer was in sympathy with the Third Reich.<sup>101</sup> The fact that he held isolationist views like many other German-Americans, and non-German Americans like the *Chicago Tribune's* Robert L. McCormick, caused further suspicion to fall on him. After an intensive scrutiny by the F.B.I., which produced a clean bill of political health, Wedemeyer went on to be a major asset in the U.S. war effort, but his experiences had been searing:

Those who suspected my actions because of my German ancestry ignored the fact that many of our senior and most distinguished leaders in the military service had Germanic

backgrounds: Krueger, Nimitz, Eichelberger, Ollendorf, Stratemeyer, Spaatz, and Eisenhower....

... This was not to be my last experience with guilt by association, but it was then that I realized for the first time the seriousness of probing into and sometimes transgressing an individual's rights and dignity, prodding one's heart, searching one's mind, scrutinizing one's associations.<sup>102</sup>

The sections under "Intolerance" and "Feigned Patriotism" speak for themselves:

The German American element has frequently been charged with intolerance. Frequently this question has been raised in respect to our Jewish citizens. Such charge, however, is utterly unjust, for in the societies we find Jews who enjoy the same privileges and command the same respect as all other good members. The tolerance of these Societies goes so far that at the late song festival in 1938 there was a group of small Chinese children singing with the Children's Chorus and in almost every concert there were groups of negro singers who came with some misgiving but were made quite comfortable.

History records that German Americans have never taken part in any movement of intolerance of which there were several during the short history of our country. They have always displayed civil and personal decency in their conduct, are law abiding, industrious, avoid becoming a public charge and furnish exceedingly few inmates to corrective institutions.<sup>103</sup>

Is the patriotism of these German Americans superficial? Is it a loyalty under duress? Contact proves that this is not true. The German American citizen has never been a curbstone applauder. The American flag may be used by some others to cover up many things, but German Americans have never misused nor abused the American flag. The Declaration of Independence is their Charter of Freedom and the Constitution is their political bible.

When two years ago Governor Green of Illinois called for a Loyalty Day in which all nationalists [*sic*] were invited to take part it was found that about 45,000 responded. As each group was given distinctive admittance cards, and when these were counted it was found that almost 21,000 were of the German group. With them had come a chorus 800 strong made up of the various Societies. This chorus led in the singing of the national anthem, and in the arena German Americans put on a marvelous historic pageant that was generously applauded by all present.<sup>104</sup>



As to charges that the German element was not easily assimilated into American society, the authors quoted some material from H. L. Mencken's *The American Language*:

... in 1930, of the foreign born 13,366,407 whites only 3,407,021 spoke the American language, but that those of the older generation had made good progress. Of the half of the Scandinavians who had arrived before 1900 less than 2% were unable to speak the American language and of the 58.3% of the Germans who had arrived before 1900 all but 2.9% could speak our language whereas 12% of the Slavic races and 15.7% of the Italians could not speak our language.

The 1930 census further shows that of the 12.7% of Germans who came here after 1925 95% were already able to speak our language fluently. In Chicago where there are according to various estimates from 400,000 to 700,000 German Americans, the German language has become merely a cultural adjunct. There is but one German daily paper which has a very limited circulation. In fact there are but ten daily German language papers in the entire country although there are 5,236,612 of German stock. Merely by way of illustration it is suggested that the Dutch with only 372,384 in this country, have ten Dutch and two Flemish language papers and the Italians of whom there are 4,594,780 in this country, are served by 105 periodicals and eight daily papers.<sup>105</sup>

As more specific proof of assimilation, Stoffels and Pattlock referred to the 600 member children's chorus and 150 member youth chorus which had participated in the 1938 song festival, among the other 2,200 voices, and before an audience of more than 5,000 for their afternoon concert: "These are young America—the coming generation. . . . What a travesty it is to have a careless investigator classify them as a group that is influenced by foreign ideology."<sup>106</sup>

In conclusion the authors declared themselves ready to answer any specific charge not already touched upon in the brief, that the purpose of the Revenue Act was to provide exemptions from taxes to "such Societies because of the benefit derived by the public from the cultural activities of such Societies" and that "we, therefore, respectfully pray that the exemption in behalf of the above petitioning Societies be immediately reinstated that the order of revocation of such exemption from the payment of taxes heretofore entered by the Comissioner be vacated and set aside."<sup>107</sup>

Despite the lengthy and eloquent brief, the Treasury Department was not moved to vacate the order to pay taxes and issued its declaration of 21 September 1944 to that effect.<sup>108</sup> In addition, as mentioned above, the IRS had insisted that it would not discuss the matter any further until the NASB gave

power of attorney to Dow W. Harter, who had already been negotiating on their behalf with Commissioner Nunan.<sup>109</sup> Although such power could include the dreaded option of dissolving all the singing groups, Andrew Nauth of Cleveland called a meeting of the NASB board of directors for 4 February 1945 in Akron, Ohio, at which time the power of attorney was discussed, but not acted upon:

... According to law, we are exempted, but we have been advised by the Treasury Department of the United States that some individuals, or some of our organisations, are pro-Nazi inclined or not supporting the war effort. Naturally we have no control over such matters due to the fact that we are only a *loose association* of singing societies with no power to dictate to each Singer or Society what to do, or what not to do. ...<sup>110</sup>

On 30 January 1945, Andrew Nauth and the NASB executive committee received an irate reply to his 20 January letter from the Clifton Heights Singing Society of Cincinnati, Ohio:

Gentlemen:

Referring to your letter of January 20 concerning a matter of taxes, we wish to give you the following patriotic information:

We have 226 members [*sic*] in our organization. These members [*sic*] have purchased more than \$300,000.00 worth of War Bonds. They contribute annually more than \$2,000 to the Community or War Chest. They contribute annually more than \$1,000.00 to the Red Cross. Our members [*sic*] and their children contribute annually over 200 pints of blood to the Red Cross. We have over 100 members and members [*sic*] children in the armed forces. There are no *Pro-Nazi* in our organization. How could there be with such a fine record?<sup>111</sup>

Indecision still dogged the NASB executive committee, but the feistiness of the Clifton Heights letter had provided some inspiration. A note to the Cincinnati reply suggested a larger twist on the tack taken by the Harlem Männerchor of Forest Park, Illinois, the previous April:

By multiplying the figures given to us be [*sic*] the Clifton Heights Singing Society by the amount of members in our organization, say 70, we could then build up a brief for our attorney to submit to the Treasury Department as follows:

To the Treasury Department of the United States.



Gentlemen:

The members of our organization have purchased more than twenty-one million dollars worth of war bonds. They contribute annually seventy thousand dollars to the Red Cross. Then [sic] contribute annually fourteen thousand pints of blood to the Red Cross. There are seven thousand members and members [sic] children in the armed forces. Etc.<sup>112</sup>

On a less combative note, Second Vice President John Daum, had recommended on 30 January that the NASB executive committee require each singing society to prepare two copies of such a patriotic work sheet, or else be "... dropped from our organization."<sup>113</sup>

On 12 February Dow Harter was able to report to his friend William Kroeger that, in his opinion:

... our conversations with officials of the Bureau of Internal Revenue have been helpful to the North American Singers Union and individual societies which are members of the same. None of the present officers of the North American Singers' Union are under any charge or even suspicion of improper activities. At least, this was the impression I got on my last conference in the General Counsel's office. ...<sup>114</sup>

Harter did not think that anything further should be done except in the instances where individual societies wished to claim tax exemption on the grounds that they "... are corporations not for profit. In such instances there should be no hesitation to file applications for each local group that claims exemption. ..."<sup>115</sup>

The following day, Kroeger wrote Harter back, explaining that the IRS was already moving in Chicago: "... some of the [Chicago] societies are in this position: exemption from income tax will not be granted unless they sever their connection with the North American Singers' Union ..."<sup>116</sup> He petitioned Harter once again to consider the strategy of patriotic enumeration of war bonds, pints of blood, German-Americans in armed services, etc.

The ... information will plainly show the picture in a very definite manner and should prove that these organizations are loyal to America. Then we could ask the Department to take a definite stand and either show where some subversive acts have been committed by the officers or members of the societies, or absolve them of the cloud which they are now under.<sup>117</sup>

In what was possibly a reference to Commissioner Nunan's agent, Mr. Clauss, Kroeger added: "Confidentially, I wish to state that the Department

was certainly not tactful or fair in sending a man of the Jewish race to investigate a German society. You can feel that they were 75% guilty before he started."<sup>118</sup>

On 19 February Paul Wagner wrote Andrew Nauth that their lawyer in Chicago, Oscar Stoffels, was getting in touch with Dow Harter on the tax matter. He also included copies of the questionnaires that Chicago singing societies were using to compile their patriotic enumerations.<sup>119</sup>

In early May, as mentioned above, Dow Harter still counseled patience, given the death of President Roosevelt,<sup>120</sup> but by the end of May it was clear. Treasury had not changed its position.<sup>121</sup> By October 1945 individual societies in Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania were severing their relations with the NASB, and Secretary Nauth was getting desperate as groups wrote him to say that they felt that they had no choice but to leave the Nordamerikanischer Sängerbund, or else go under financially.<sup>122</sup> In Chicago and Washington, D.C., however, a different response was being prepared.

Direct lobbying by Oscar Stoffels had convinced him that Treasury's actions were unconstitutional. He did, however, accept one more attempt to get the IRS to change its mind by John Gutknecht, Judge of the Circuit Court of Cook County, and brother-in-law of Colonel Henry Crown, the head of the giant building supply company, Material Service:

On October 12th I was again in Washington and again tried to get relief from the Treasury Department in connection with the tax exemption matter, but I achieved no results.

Some time ago Judge Gutknecht assured me that he could get the objection waived, and as he was going to Washington at the time, I allowed him to make his effort in this respect.

He saw Mr. O'Connor, who, he said was the chief counsel for the income tax department, and he stated that in his presence Mr. O'Connor called in a department head and instructed the department to cancel the order withdrawing the exemption. He stated also that the department reclassified the singing societies as pleasure clubs.

To make absolute certain I questioned Judge Gutknecht as to whether he might have misunderstood Mr. O'Connor. He stated definitely this change has been made and you will not need to do anything further. I suggested that it would be proper to have something in writing. He then assured me that he would write to the department asking them to verify the matter in my letter.

Several days later he assured me that his letter had been written. No answer, however came until finally I received a letter from the department dated August 31st, 1945, of which a number of copies are enclosed.



Since then I have again spoken to Judge Gutknecht and he assured me that it was not a serious matter; all we had to do was to write a general letter that the matter had been taken care of and nothing further would be heard from it. . . .

. . . It is my opinion, and Mr. Pattlock concurs in this with me, that the entire matter is unconstitutional . . . under the law the societies are entitled to the exemption.<sup>123</sup>

Given the stubbornness of the government, and its "real reason" for attacking the NASB, Stoffels saw only two ways open, other than the arduous and expensive one of filing tax returns for the years 1933 to the present:

For the first time it appears what is the real reason back of the Government's action; namely, that German-Americans and their societies shall have no 'roof organization.' I need hardly tell you that this is a discrimination against a certain class of citizens. You will also remember that they have found no objection to the societies. No reason was ever stated in their letter, so it is only the desire that citizens of German extraction may not have any organization that consolidates them, not even for cultural purposes.

So far for explanation.

There are two ways open. The first would be the logical one to appeal to the tax court, and upon failing to receive our rights, to appeal to the higher courts, winding up with the Supreme Court. I am positive that we would gain our point.

Through technicality, no doubt, the case would be delayed until such a time that the fury of war hysteria has died down, and then we would receive a favorable decision, just as a similar question in respect to the use of the German language was treated during the last war. However, the objection to this procedure is the cost. It would be an expense far greater than the societies would be willing to pay.

The other plan open to the societies would be to comply with the letter; namely to send a letter of resignation in accordance with the instruction to the societies mentioned, and to execute an affidavit according to the instructions by the president and secretary of each society. This proof would then be submitted to Washington, and as they state, a further investigation would be made. I assume if their requests are complied with, the tax exemption would be reinstated.

I must advise, however, that if such an affidavit and such resignations are executed, the societies would tacitly admit themselves guilty, and therefore I cannot recommend that such a step be taken.<sup>124</sup>

Oscar Stoffels was convinced that the tax assessment itself was illegal: "... To demand taxes for years when the exemption was in force is clearly illegal in my opinion ... our Government since 1930 is acting on entirely different principles. Any act that, in the opinion of certain departments, is undesirable from the point of Washington, even though there is no illegality involved, is attacked by invoking the revenue act. . . ." <sup>125</sup>

As more and more groups continued to sever their relationship with the NASB <sup>126</sup> Paul Wagner wrote Andrew Nauth of a new strategy to be adopted. In negotiations with Treasury and the Attorney General's Office, Judge Gutknecht and Dow Harter had discovered that reapplication of the NASB for its tax-exempt status as being composed of "social" rather than "educational clubs," combined with a resolution of no affiliation with "roof organizations," would do the trick. <sup>127</sup> In a postscript to a letter to the executive committee by Paul Wagner concerning internal matters, Andrew Nauth wrote his colleagues excitedly: "Die Steuer Angelegenheit hat wieder eine Änderung erfahren. Wir sind jetzt anders [klassifiziert]. Anstatt Educational, we are a *Social Club and therefore Tax [Exempt]*. Mehr davon später." <sup>128</sup>

Upon returning to their labors in Washington, Gutknecht and Harter discovered that the government still saw the NASB as connected with the German American National Alliance in Chicago, and also responsible for flying the Nazi flag at the St. Louis Sängersfest in 1934. <sup>129</sup> Paul Wagner kept the NASB executive committee informed of their progress and promised to keep in touch with Judge Gutknecht in order to avoid any further pitfalls:

... Richter Gutknecht war 2 Wochen zurück in Washington und verhandelte mit den verschiedenen Herren im Steueramt. . . . Zuerst besuchte er Dow Harter da er ausfinden wollte was er soweit erreicht hat und mit wem er verhandelt hat. Harter muss dem Richter Gutknecht erzählt haben daß er nichts unternommen hätte. Daraufhin ging dann Richter Gutknecht zu verschiedenen Herren erklärte ihnen diese Angelegenheit, daß sie ihm versprochen hatten uns anders zu classifizieren und alles wäre in bester Ordnung. Jetzt sagt er wenn wir ein Schreiben einschicken daß wir nicht mehr zu der Germ. Am. Natl. Alliance in Chgo gehören das würde genügen. Wir sollten den N.A.S.B. gar nicht erwähnen. Er meinte der N.A.S.B. sollte für Tax Exemption in Washington einreichen, das würde uns dann von selber reinwaschen. Wir würden untersucht und dadurch würden die Vereine auch frei sein. Nun muss ich aber erst nochmal persönlich mit Richter Gutknecht sprechen, damit wir uns nicht wieder in eine andere Klemme setzen. <sup>130</sup>



On 29 December Wagner sent Secretary Nauth a handwritten draft to Ralph H. Dwan, assistant chief counsel for the Treasury Department, which reprised the brief put together by Stoffels and Pattlock in 1944.<sup>131</sup>

. . . The essential fact [*sic*] of the North American Singers Union are as follows: The Nord Amerikanischer Sangerbund [*sic*] (North American Singers Union), was organized in 1849 at Cincinnati, Ohio, for the following purposes:

The purpose for which said corporation is formed is the formation of a National Union of German Singing Societies in the United States, for the purpose of promoting German song, the German language, and a fraternal intercourse of the Germans in the United States of America and other Countries.

The only activity of the organization is the holding of a National Song Festival which are held usually every 3 or 4 years—the date and locations in the past being as follows. . . .<sup>132</sup>

The only finances are an income of \$.25 per member of each subordinate member society. The annual income amounts to about \$500 or \$600.00 a year. of which \$480.00 goes to the secretary and the balance goes for necessary mailing expenses, flowers, for deceased officers, and gifts to societies on anniversaries, and traveling expenses.

The song festival is handled by the local committee with no profit accruing [*sic*] to the North American Singers Union. The finances of the festival are handled by the local committee.

The officers are as follows. . . .<sup>133</sup>

There have been no Anti-American or Pro-Nazi or Pan German activities on the part of a member of the society or of any of its officers and the only activities that in the opinion of the officers, could have caused any suspicion of the officers or misunderstanding on the part of government officials is [*sic*] the following: Songbook question 1934, Local Committee in St. Louis, 1934 permitted Swastika Flag for Ambassador, Local Committee in Chicago, 1938 permitted Swastika for German Counsel, only

because flag was recognized by our Government, as the official flag of Germany.

The officers of our organization are all American citizens of excellent reputation, and are gald [sic] to furnish all organization records or present themselves for any interview, that may be requested.<sup>134</sup>

In addition to the letter to Dwan, a resolution was drawn up by Paul Wagner and adopted at a special meeting of the NASB held at Erie, Pennsylvania, on 14 January 1946, where the executive committee had gathered for the seventy-fifth anniversary celebration of that city's Male Chorus.<sup>135</sup> The resolution detailed its earlier arguments in a series of whereas's and concluded: "... Be it therefore resolved . . . that the said North American Sngerbund is going on record that to the best of its knowledge and belief it has purged itself of any pro-Nazi and Pan-German members, and that it will not enter into any connection with any other roof organization until it has cleared itself with the Bureau."<sup>136</sup>

In addition, on 5-7 February, affidavits as to the loyalty of members, addressed to Ralph Dwan of the U.S. Treasury Department, were signed and certified by the president and secretary of the NASB and forwarded by Charles Pattlock to J. P. Wenchel, chief counsel, Bureau of Internal Revenue:

February 6, 1946  
Mr. J. P. Wenchel  
Chief Counsel  
Bureau of Internal Revenue  
Washington, D. C.  
IN RE: NORTH AMERICAN SAENGERBUND

Dear Sir:

The enclosed document is being submitted to you in line with the conversation had by the Honorable John Gutknecht of Chicago and you. Kindly take this matter under advisement, and, after proper verification of the representation made in the submitted document, we would appreciate having you report your decision herein at your earliest convenience.

Respectfully yours,  
NORTH AMERICAN SAENGERBUND

By \_\_\_\_\_  
Title of Officer  
CFP-F  
Encl.<sup>137</sup>



On 8 February, Secretary Nauth wrote the new president of the NASB, Gustave Kappauf, concerning the signing of the documents:

Erhielt gerade eben von Chicago die Resolution die noch Deine Unterschrift benötigt. [Es] ist nun alles fertig für Washington. Bitte returniere dieselbe sofort, sodass Ich die restlichen Papiere zum Versand machen kann. Eile tut not. Ich werde nun alles fertig machen und einen Brief an all die Verine [sic], einschlieslich [sic] Rechnungen etc., senden, sodass wir wiederum ins Rollen gelangen. Ich werde von jetzt an die Steuerfrage zum Abschluss bringen können, da ich von Waschington [sic] bereits eine Aussage und die noetigen Papiere habe. Also endlich einmal ...<sup>138</sup>

Kappauf replied immediately in English, and a day later in German:

Enclosed find Sworn Statement filled out as per your instruction. You do the balance and get things Moving to Washington and when you hear from them let me know as we should take steps to notify our Organization of the Result. ...<sup>139</sup>

Resulation [sic] erhalten unterschrieben findest sie einliegend. Freut mich sehr dass Wir soweit gekommen sind. Was Paul [Wagner] anbetrifft würde Ich einen Brief in der nächsten Zeit aufsetzen Ihn zum ersten Vize Pres. ernennen da wir nichts anders machen können bis zum nächsten Sängerfest. Auch sollte das Archivar Amt in Chicago bleiben. Wegen der Mehrheit der Sänger. Wegen Briefbogen Wir sollten die Namen und correcten Adressen von den neuen Beamten auf diesen Papieren haben nicht zu viel bestellen da doch eine Umänderung in der nächsten Wahl geschehen wird. ...

Mit Sängergruss  
Dein Freund  
Gustave<sup>140</sup>

On 19 March 1946 William T. Sherwood, acting commissioner of the IRS, informed the "Nord-Amerikanischer Sangerbund [sic] (North American Singers' Union)" that they were "exempt from Federal income tax under the provisions of section 101(8) of the Internal Revenue Code and corresponding provisions of prior revenue acts" and that "accordingly, you will not be required to file income tax returns, Form 1120, unless you change the character of your organization, the purposes for which you were organized, or your method of operation. ..."<sup>141</sup>

On 7 May Arthur Nauth wrote the following to Judge Gutknecht:

In behalf of the North American Singers Union, I would like to take the opportunity at this time, to thank you, for your kind services in regard to our Tax Problem. I am forwarding to you, a copy of the latest report from the Tax Bureau in Washington, and as you can readily see, the matter has been settled satisfactory [sic] in our favor. Since this matter has been settled once again, we are able to continue with our social activities, always being indebted to men of your Character, who stood by us at the time we needed help mostly [sic].<sup>142</sup>

Judge Gutknecht went on to represent the regular democratic organization of Cook County as state's attorney until defeated by Benjamin Adamowski in the Eisenhower sweep of 1956.<sup>143</sup>

The Nordamerikanischer Sängerbund successfully celebrated its one-hundredth anniversary in Chicago in 1949.<sup>144</sup> That city had provided the crucial support for the NASB in the sheer numbers of its singers and the political sagacity and connections of its executive committee leadership. The periodical concerts of the Nordamerikanischer Sängerbund continue the ethnic festival tradition of German-Americans to this day.<sup>145</sup>

Northeastern Illinois University  
Chicago, Illinois

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Internal Revenue Service, Washington D.C., *Income Tax File: Nordamerikanischer Sängerbund (North American Singers Union)* [hereafter cited as NASB/IRS].

<sup>2</sup> Evidence of these strategies has surfaced in the correspondence of the executive committee of the NASB which Frank Pascher, the past secretary of the NASB has very generously allowed me to copy. The correspondence is for the years 1928-59 and includes a folder labeled "Income Tax File" for the years 1944-46. This file holds tax forms, affidavits, and letters exchanged between the Treasury Department and the board of directors of the NASB.

<sup>3</sup> LaVern J. Rippley, *The German-Americans*, Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1984; Frederick Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German Americans and World War I*, DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974; Melvin G. Holli, "The Great War Sinks Chicago's German Kultur," *Ethnic Chicago* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. Eerdmans, 1977), 460-511; Rudolf Hofmeister, *The Germans of Chicago*, Champaign, IL: Stipes, 1976.

<sup>4</sup> Luebke, *Bonds*, 309.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 329 and Rippley, *German-Americans*, 185.

<sup>6</sup> Luebke, *Bonds*, 329.

<sup>7</sup> Holli, "Kultur," 499, 511.

<sup>8</sup> Hofmeister, *Germans of Chicago*, 60, 126.

<sup>9</sup> Rippley, *German-Americans*, 193.

<sup>10</sup> Sängerfest Chicago: Diamantenes Jubiläum des Nord-Am. Sängerbundes, Chicago: Coliseum, 11-14. Juni, 1924, 144pp.; 39. Nationales Sängerfest des Nordamerikanischen Sängerbundes, Chicago: International Amphitheater, 22.-24. Juni, 1938, 96pp.; 100 Jahre Deutsches Lied 1849-1949: Zentenarfeier des Nordamerikanischen Sängerbundes, Chicago:



Chicago Stadium and Ashland Auditorium, 9., 10. und 11. Juni 1949, 177pp. I am grateful to Dr. Alfred Gras, former director of the Rheinischer Gesang Verein and current director of the German-American Singers of Chicago and the Elmhurst Damenchor for making the 1924 and 1938 festival volumes available to me. Also, the author of this article has, since 1976, been active with two groups affiliated with the NASB, The Rheinischer Gesang Verein of Chicago and the German-American Singers of Chicago.

<sup>11</sup> Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Ethnicity as Festive Culture: Nineteenth-Century German America on Parade," *The Invention of Ethnicity*, Werner Sollors, ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 55; see also John Dizikes, "Leopold Damrosch and the Triumph of Wagner," *Opera in America: A Cultural History* (New Haven: The Yale University Press, 1993), 231-46.

<sup>12</sup> Conzen, "Ethnicity," 55-56.

<sup>13</sup> Phyllis Keller, *States of Belonging: German-American Intellectuals and the First World War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard U. Press, 1979), 1.

<sup>14</sup> Hofmeister, *Germans of Chicago*, 78.

<sup>15</sup> Dizikes, *Opera in America*, 247-56.

<sup>16</sup> Hofmeister, *Germans of Chicago*, 62, 78, 84, 106, 121, 224.

<sup>17</sup> Dizikes, *Opera in America*, 78, 220.

<sup>18</sup> *Sängerfest Chicago* (1924), 24; Hofmeister, *Germans of Chicago*, 78; Len O'Connor, *Clout: Mayor Daley and His City* (New York: Avon Books, 1975), 10-11, 38-39, 46; Len O'Connor, *A Reporter in Sweet Chicago* (Chicago: Contemporary Books, Inc., 1983), chap. 13.

<sup>19</sup> *Sängerfest Chicago* (1924), 15.

<sup>20</sup> *Sängerfest Chicago* (1924), 75-117; see also Hofmeister, *Germans of Chicago*, 225. Hofmeister claims that "151 German singing clubs from all over the United States sent 3,870 singers." He also is in error when he mentions that the 1924 festival was held in May rather than June. His lively and interesting account of the Germans of Chicago is marred by the lack of source citations throughout the book.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 108-17, 119-30. The discrepancy between the Hofmeister figure of 3,870 singers and the festival names of 5,748 singers is possibly accounted for by the many Chicago area church choirs in attendance which were not officially members of the NASB.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 24, 25, 39, 65; and Dizikes, *Opera in America*, 418.

<sup>23</sup> *Sängerfest Chicago* (1924), 24; The Program: 1. Wagner, "Meistersinger-Vorspiel"—Chicago Symphonie-Orchester; 2. Attenhofer, "Harmonie," "Das Deutsche Lied"—Chicago Sängerfest Männerchor a capella; 3. Wagner, "Arie: Dich teure Halle—Aus 'Tannhäuser'"—Marie Sundelius u. Orchester; 4. G. F. Händel, "Hallelujah. Aus dem 'Messias'"—Chicago Sängerfest Gemischter Chor u. Orchester; 5. Willkommengrüsse—Ernest J. Kreutzen, Festpräsident, Hon. William E. Dever, Bürgermeister von Chicago—W. A. Mozart, "Bundeslied: Brüder reicht die Hand zum Bunde"—Chicago Sängerfest Männerchor a capella; 6. Liszt, "Symphonische Dichtung No. 3. Les Préludes"—Chicago Symphonie-Orchester; 7. Bortniansky, "Du Hirte Israels"—Chicago Sängerfest Gemischter Chor a capella; 8. Wagner, "Wotans Abschied. Aus 'Die Walküre'"—Alexander Kipnis u. Orchester; 9. Wagner, "Pilgerchor aus 'Tannhäuser'"—Chicago Sängerfest Männerchor Chor u. Orchester; 10. Wagner, "Choral und Finale 'Meistersinger'"—Chicago Sängerfest Gemischter Chor u. Orchester.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 39; The Program: 1. Weber, "Overture—Euryanthe"—Chicago Symphonie-Orchester; 2. Beethoven, "Die Ehre Gottes"—Chicago Sängerfest Gemischter Chor u. Blas-Orchester; 3. Schubert, "An die Musik," "Allmacht"—Kathryn Meisle u. Orchester; 4. E. Köllner, "Das ewige Lied," C. Attenhofer, "Dort liegt die Heimat mir am Rhein"—Vereinigter Männerchor von St. Louis a capella; 5. Schumann, "Domszene," "Finale, aus 'Rheinische Symphonie in Es-dur'"—Chicago Symphonie-Orchester; 6. F. Melius-Christiansen, "Beautiful Saviour"—Chicago Sängerfest Gemischter Chor a capella and Kathryn Meisle; 7. Mozart, "In diesen Heil'gen Hallen" aus 'Zauberflöte'; Wagner, "Blick ich umher" aus 'Tannhäuser'"—Alexander Kipnis und Orchester; 8. Brahms-Dvorak, "Ungarische Tänze. 17 bis 21"—Chicago Symphonie-Orchester; Friedr. Glück, "In einem kühlen Grunde"—Chicago Sängerfest Gemischter Chor a capella.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 49.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 57.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 65.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>29</sup> Conzen, "Ethnicity," 55-56.

<sup>30</sup> *Sängerfest Chicago*: (1924), 51, 69.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 10-18, 144.

<sup>32</sup> Ludwig Lohmiller's career is examined at length in my paper "The Preservation and Performance of German Lieder in Chicago, 1928-1986," Great Lakes History Conference, Grand Rapids, MI, 18 April 1986; Ludwig Lohmiller, Personal Interviews, Chicago, 19 March and 6 May 1985.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Luebke, *Bonds*, 330-31.

<sup>35</sup> Rippley, *German-Americans*, 198, 205.

<sup>36</sup> Barber, "Preservation," and Barber, "The German-American Kinderchor of Chicago: How It Started; How it Grew, 1935-1985," Symposium of the Society for German-American Studies, Lincoln, NE, April 1985; Lohmiller, Personal Interviews, 19 March and 6 May 1985.

<sup>37</sup> 39. *Nationales Sängerfest*, 78-96.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 36.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 48.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 58.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 64.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 70.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 7-12, 15-24, 27-31, 42-46.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 32, 47, 69.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 76.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., and David K. Fremon, *Chicago Politics Ward by Ward* (Bloomington, IN: The University of Indiana Press, 1988), 299.

<sup>47</sup> Fremon, *Chicago Politics*, 284-85, and O'Connor, *Clout*, 109-10, 120-21.

<sup>48</sup> *NASB/IRS*, "... It is believed that a great majority of your members are loyal American citizens and that they will desire to separate themselves and their society from all subversive activities of the kind above described."

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., Nunan to Teutonia Männerchor, 21 Sept. 1944, "... Accordingly, if you will furnish this office with (1) a resolution of the society, duly adopted, showing that it has purged itself of all pro-Nazi or Pan-German members, and severed its connection with the above named roof organization and all other roof organizations having pro-Nazi or Pan-German activities or purposes and will not renew or enter into any connection with the same or other roof organizations until they have cleared themselves with the Bureau, and (2) affidavits from your president and secretary to the effect that, to the best of their knowledge and belief, there is no one in the organization who is connected with any Pro-Nazi or Pan-German activities, the action of the Bureau in the ruling of January 27, 1944 will be reconsidered, subject, of course, to a proper verification of the representations made in the documents submitted by you."

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., Dow W. Harter to William Kroeger, President, South Akron Savings Association, Akron, Ohio, 17 October 1944.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., Dow Harter to Gustave Kappauf, Washington, DC, 12 January 1945.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., Kappauf to Andrew Nauth, Liberty National Bowling Alleys, 925 Liberty Avenue, Pittsburgh, PA, 16 Jan. 1945.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., Nuetzel to Nauth, 30 January 1945: "My dear Andrew: Your carbon copies of letter dated Jan. 20, 1945 and a proposed Power of Attorney received. Inasmuch as the letter confirms exemption of the Society from taxation, there would seem no need for legal counsel thereon. On the other hand, if the Treasury or some other constituted government authority has challenged or is considering a change in the tax status of the organization, and the incumbent officers, who should have full knowledge of the situation feel they require the advice of counsel, that is a matter for them to decide. But to surrender the authority of the Society to an attorney-



in-fact as this instrument appears to do seems extreme and farfetched. Why? . . . I for one, under no conditions would offer legal or any other support or protection to any such disloyal citizens. If such do exist, they can and should be prosecuted without let or hindrance from the Society—and good riddance. In fact, the Society's constitution should provide for expelling any disloyal members. I can therefore, see no need for endowing an attorney or any other than the elected officers with such liberal powers as set out in the proposed instrument. And I doubt if the Society's constitution permit such a transfer of authority or responsibility in any event. . . . Lacking such information prevents me from offering any competent suggestions. I trust, therefore, you will give full consideration to the matter and give complete details to all members of the Society for their action. . . ."

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., Wm. H. Kroeger to G. F. Kappauf, 1 May 1945, copies to John Kraker, Akron, Andrew Nauth, Cleveland.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., no date, "Members Canvas: 1—State the face value of all Victory War Bonds. 2—How many sons and grandsons are in the Armed Forces? 3—How many women, including daughters and granddaughters are in service or doing Red Cross work? 4—How many homes are owned by you, your children and grandchildren? 7—How many members of your family have regularly contributed to the Red Cross or U.S.O.? 8—How many members of your family, including wife, children and grandchildren, were born in U.S.A.?"

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., "Report"—1 April 1944.

<sup>57</sup> Rippley, *The German-Americans*, chap. 14.

<sup>58</sup> Schwäbischer Sängerbund (Schwabens Male Chorus), Festival Book, *Golden Jubilee Concert, 1894-1944*, 136pp.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 7, and Ludwig Lohmiller, Personal Interviews, 19 March and 6 May 1985.

<sup>60</sup> NASB/IRS, "Commissioner of Internal Revenue Washington D.C. United States of America. A Brief in respect to certain Societies for purpose of establishing right to exemption from payment of taxes under Revenue Act Section 101."

<sup>61</sup> Ibid. "The undersigned, Oscar A. Stoffels and Charles F. Pattlock, both of the City of Chicago, County of Cook and State of Illinois, duly licensed to practice law in said State and licensed to practice before the Treasury Department, do herewith respectfully submit this brief in behalf of the following Societies:

Orpheus Male Chorus  
Male Singing Society Recollection, also known as  
Gesangverein Erinnerung  
Arion Männerchor der Südseite  
Frohsinn Mozart Singing Society  
Schleswig Holsteiner Sängerbund  
Gesangverein Calumet of South Chicago  
Schiller Liedertafel  
Sennfelder Liederkranz  
Singing Society Harmony, also known as  
Sängerkranz Harmonie  
Harlem Männerchor  
Steirer Ladies Chorus  
German American Childrens Chorus  
German Day Association, Inc.  
Ambrose Arion Male Chorus, also known as  
Arion Männerchor der Nordseite  
Columbia Ladies Singing Society, also known as  
Columbia Damen Chor  
Schwäbischer Sängerbund von Chicago  
Schwabens Verein  
Schwäbisch-Badischer Frauenverein  
German Relief Society  
All of said societies are for purposes of brevity hereinafter referred to as "Societies."

<sup>62</sup> Oscar A. Stoffels, *Lieder Harfe: Eine Sammlung von Liedern für den Gebrauch des Deutsch-Amerikanischen Kinderchors* (Chicago: 7 December 1941), 3.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 7-69, The Index lists by topic: Frühling [10 songs] Sommer [1] Herbst [1] Winter [2] Weihnachtsen [13] Abend [6] Morgen [3] Heimat [7] Natur [19] Wandern [6] Scheiden [2] Wiegenlieder [2] Kinderlieder [16] Religiöse Lieder [5] Treue [2] and American [10].

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 3, 6.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>66</sup> Ludwig Lohmiller, Personal Interviews, 19 March and 6 May 1985.

<sup>67</sup> NASB/IRS, Stoffels and Patlock, "Brief," 1-2, "... Said Societies have since their respective incorporation strictly complied with all requirements of the laws of the State of Illinois regulating corporations not for profit. Likewise, they have in every respect complied with the laws of the United States of America in the regulations of the Treasury Department. As stated there are no earnings to inure to the benefit of any private individual or member. The sole income of said Societies is derived from membership dues and from the proceeds of occasional public concerts and entertainments all in keeping with the object clause of the various Societies as expressed in their charters. Expenses are paid by annual membership dues of active and passive members and the net income from public events. In any period when the money so received exceeds the expenditures there would be some cash on hand but such cash was never distributed to any one but was retained for the purposes of meeting future expenses. ..."

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 2, "2—Objective of Societies—"It is represented that the object as stated in the respective charters of these Societies is one of culture only and the object clauses in the respective charters of the above enumerated Societies conform with and in most cases are stated literally as follows: ..."

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, "3—Propaganda—While the law provides that an exemption shall not be granted if the corporation or society carries on propaganda or attempts to influence legislation as a *substantial* part of its activities, it is stated that these Societies never 'carry on any propaganda' nor has any one of them attempted to 'influence legislation.' Each Society confines its efforts solely to the purposes stated in its charter so that in each case the purpose is clearly non-partisan, non-controversial and solely for education and sociability among their respective members."

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 2-3, "4—Complaint—It is represented that upon proper application and satisfactory showing the Commissioner of Internal Revenue has heretofore granted to said Societies an exemption from payment of income and corporation tax in accordance with Section 101, Sub-paragraph 6. Since the granting of such exemptions these Societies have received letters from the Commissioner of Internal revenue revoking such exemption from the payment of taxes and demanding the filing of tax returns for various years subsequent to 1933.

It is submitted that none of such letters set out the reason for the revocation and since there has been no change in the law nor in the character or object of the Societies nor in the method of operation of said Societies, such revocation should be recalled since said Societies appear to be justly entitled to continue the enjoyment of exemption from the payment of taxes as set out in Section 101, Sub-paragraph 6 of the Internal Revenue Code which provides:

Corporations—operated exclusively for—literary or educational purposes, no part of the earnings of which inure to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual and no substantial part of the activities is carrying on propaganda or attempting to influence legislation.

Since the members of these Societies also seek pleasure and recreation by the study of music and songs it would seem that Sub-paragraph 9 of said Section 101 would also be in point:

Clubs organized and operated exclusively for pleasure and recreation and other non-profitable purposes no part of the earning of which inures to the benefit of any private share holder."

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 3, "5—Operation—... Each Society has its own permanent director who is proficient in music and voice. He is not a member of the Society and receives compensation as



an independent contractor, said compensation depending upon the size of the Society and the director's qualifications, varying from \$15.00 to \$50.00 per month for instruction once a week."

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., "6—Members—... Passive members do not enjoy the right to vote. They have joined the Society as a friendly gesture and usually pay \$5.00 to \$10.00 per year. The object of the Societies in admitting passive members is to increase the income since the dues of the active members in no instance are sufficient to defray expenses. . . .

... The meetings of the various Societies are held in convenient neighborhood halls for the use of which they pay \$15.00 per month or more depending upon the value of the premises. These meetings are public, they are never held behind closed doors, they are open to visitors and particularly those interested in singing."

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 3-4, "7—Repertoire—Every Society is careful in the appointment of a capable music committee, which in cooperation with the musical director selects the songs to be prepared which vary from the simplest folk songs to operatic arias. . . .

... During the past thirty years the tendency has greatly increased to sing more American songs, all choruses already have an extensive collection of songs written by American composers. It is the desire of every Society to attract as many fellow citizens as possible to their periodic concerts and therefore the utmost care is exercised in selecting only such songs as are likely to be agreeably received by the public."

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 4, "8—Meetings—... Once every month after a shortened rehearsal, a business meeting takes place. At such business meetings the usual routine matters are taken up, plans for concerts are made, reports of the music committee are received, dues are collected and other business matters are attended to. . . .

... After rehearsals members enjoy sociability usually with cards while refreshments are served upon individual order. Frequently 'family evenings' are arranged. These are social events when a member may bring his immediate family and household friends."

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., "9—Central Body—All Societies act independently. Yet in order to establish uniformity of action a central body has been created known as the United Male Choruses. This organization is made up of delegates from the various Societies and the purpose of the larger organization is to maintain a reasonable and acceptable standard of singing and to guard against and prevent the deviation on the part of any member organization from the accepted presentation of song and to coordinate the events of the Societies in the accomplishment of larger festivals. The United Male Choruses meet once a month and its business is strictly limited to the welfare of individual Societies. No dues are collected by the United Male Choruses from these Societies. No political ideological or other controversial discussion or presentation is permitted nor is it permitted to distribute objectional printed matter. The organization carries on no propaganda nor has it ever made any attempt to influence legislation."

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., "10—National Organization—The Societies through the United Male Choruses become members of a national organization known as North American Singers Union. This society is still more limited and exists merely for the purpose of organizing song festivals on a large scale and to award engrossed certificates of merit to Societies upon anniversaries. . . ."

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 5, "11—United Ladies Choruses—The several ladies choruses which are operated in like manner as the United Male Choruses are consolidated under an organization known as United Ladies Chorus which conforms in all matters with the practice of the United Male Choruses."

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 4-5, "10—National Organization."

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 5, "12—Affiliations—None of the Societies has foreign affiliation nor has any of them been officially affiliated with any organizations whose tendencies are or might be considered un-American, nor has there been an influx of members during the past years. A careful census indicated that the Societies have enjoyed only a normal growth, that since January 1, 1940 to May 1, 1944 the Societies have lost by death, infirmity, disinterest or removal, 266 members and due to a special effort 361 new members have been secured during the same period. Most of these new members were, however, secured before January 1, 1942. At the present date the larger Societies among which are those enumerated herein have 1293 active and



989 passive members. None of the Societies has in any way been connected with any Eastern group. They have had no association with any un-American group or individuals nor have they been subject to the influence of any individual whose principles are opposed to the tendencies and traditions of our Government; should any such succeed in acquiring membership, he is dismissed as a member immediately upon discovery."

<sup>81</sup> Rippley, *German-Americans*, 190-91, 203-6.

<sup>82</sup> NASB/IRS, Stoffels and Pattlock, "Brief," 5.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 5-6, "14—German American Children's Chorus—To further show the falsity of the charge made we direct attention to the German American Children's Chorus and the affiliated Young People's Chorus. These groups are divided into seven classes and consist of approximately 600 children and 150 youths. None of these classes or groups have ever had any connection with any other organization and this statement is made by Oscar A. Stoffels, the president of the organization and one of the writers of this brief. When it appeared that such a report had been made the matter was bitterly resented. These young people are fine Americans. They are a new generation for the most part born in the United States and will soon take our places, they deserve the full respect of every other American.

It has also been reported, it seems, that Orpheus Male Chorus was affiliated with the German American National Association. Again this is not true. When this Chorus was urged to join the association the president frankly told his members that if they joined he must resign and since they flatly refused to join it is not conceivable that anyone could make such an erroneous charge. As to the so-called Bund or any of its branches it can be stated emphatically that none of these Societies subscribed to the tenets of that organization nor did they ever become part of it. The object of these Societies is to conform strictly to Americanism and the charge of affiliation with any Bund organization, local or of the East, is therefore a question that hardly needs discussion."

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 6, "15—German Day Association—This association has as its purpose the celebration of German Day which commemorates the landing of the first group of Germans on October 6, 1683 at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, from where they shortly left to settle the old city of Germantown, now a part of Philadelphia. The day does not commemorate any epoch of the fatherland. It is limited to the event above stated and is therefore an American affair. On this day the participants rededicate themselves to our country and redeclare their loyalty.

Due to the uncertainty of weather in October, the celebration usually takes place in the summer months. Many thousands of citizens of every extraction come to these festivals. In Chicago the event was made permanent on August 12, 1871 shortly before the Chicago Fire when the first large festival of this kind was held here. On that occasion Carl Schurz, a German American patriot of Civil War days addressed the gathering in the following words: . . ."

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 7, ". . . It has happened that during recent years a few would come to these celebrations to cause trouble and turmoil. Fortunately the Society has generally been able to prevent such disturbances by having the grounds properly patrolled. It is understandable, however, that in a crowd of over 25,000, trouble-makers have ample opportunity to attempt their nefarious work. The net proceeds, according to the object clause of this Society's charter, are used exclusively for charity and such proceeds are divided among various recognized charitable organizations in Chicago. Always, however, a portion is given to the Red Cross. When the event is over the organization becomes dormant until early in the next year when a new group is formed to decide if, when and how a celebration should be held. No financial benefits of any kind accrue to any of the members of this organization. Complete distribution is made among recognized charities."

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, "16—Schwäbischer Unterstützungs-Verein—The objects of this Society are 'aid in case of sickness and death, to cultivate fraternal spirit, to promote material, spiritual and social relationship among its members.' Every citizen of German descent is eligible to membership. The Society was incorporated in the year 1883 under the laws of the State of Illinois as 'a corporation not for profit,' and would come under Section 101, Subparagraph 10 of the Internal Revenue Code, although it does not limit itself exclusively to the payment of small life



insurance benefits, but provides generally for help in case of the distress of its members. The Society has no capital stock, pays no dividends or other benefits to any of its members as such, but payments are limited strictly to charity granted in individual cases. The initiation fee is \$3.00 for persons between the ages of 18 and 40 and \$5.00 for persons over 40 years of age. The former pay monthly dues of \$.50 and the latter \$1.00. In the event of death of any one member the surviving members contribute \$1.00 each as a death benefit. In the event of the death of a wife of a member such payments are \$.50 per member. The Society, as of January, 1944, had 152 members. The Society does not engage in any kind of propaganda nor does it at any time attempt to influence legislation, nor is it affiliated directly or indirectly with any other group or organization."

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 7-8, "17—Schwaben-Verein— This Society was originally founded in 1878 and was incorporated in the State of Illinois—"not for profit"—on November 19, 1889. Paragraph 2 of its constitution provides:

The Society shall be dedicated to the promotion of sociability and pleasure in adjustment with local customs and manners and to the advancement of any worthy endeavor toward the maintenance and improvement of our own home in this country.

It obligates itself especially to provide for the annual celebration of a harvest festival known by the name of 'Canstatter Volksfest.' The Society admits any 'American familiar with the German language whose integrity has been vouched for,' and charges an admission fee of \$3.00. Annual dues are likewise \$3.00. All net income from the festival as well as other events of a social nature that may be held during the year are used strictly for charity. Distribution is made among recognized local charitable organizations, in which distribution the Red Cross is included. No member receives any benefits of a financial nature. There is no capital stock issued nor are any dividends or other distributions at any time paid. The annual festival has developed into a civic affair which is attended by citizens of every national extraction. The Society has never engaged in propaganda. It is non-political and never attempts to influence legislation. All meetings of the Society are open meetings to which every member has admittance. This Society is not affiliated directly or indirectly with any other group or organization. According to the latest report, dated April 21, 1943, there are 1088 members. The statistics referred to as to holding of Victory Bonds, etc., do not include a census of this Society. It is sufficient to state that most of these members own their own homes and the family of every member is a substantial holder and regular subscriber to the purchase of Government bonds and are liberal contributors to the Red Cross."

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 11, "The following Societies conform in all respects with the statements contained in this petition. Notification of revocation of exemption from taxes was received after the petition was in type and these Societies are hereby added to the list and this addenda is hereby made a part of the petition in the same manner as if these Societies were included in the original. 24—Schwäbisch-Badischer Frauenverein No. 1 - This Society is incorporated under the laws of the State of Illinois October 3, 1897, as a corporation 'not for profit.' It is a ladies' society established for mutual financial benefit in case of sickness or death. It admits American citizens of German descent between the ages of 18 and 50 years. Section 2 of the Constitution provides that members shall cultivate a sisterly spirit and shall promote and encourage their respective material, spiritual and social relationship and to aid one another in cases of sickness, death and need. The initiation fee is \$2.00; dues are \$1.00 for every three months per member. Meetings are similar in form as those of a small lodge with limited rituals. Death benefits are provided by an assessment of \$1.00 per member. 25—German Relief Society—This Society was organized in the year 1853. The original charter was lost in the Chicago fire. However, it was incorporated September 22, 1868, and is sometimes, to more accurately describe its purposes, known as German Aid Society of Chicago. The Society has been in continuous existence and operation since the date of its founding and its object always has been and is limited to this day to aiding

citizens and residents of the City of Chicago who find themselves in financial distress. Its operation consists in re-establishing such families by securing employment and granting temporary relief. No part of its fund has ever been contributed to any foreign country or foreign object. The Society is non-political, at no time engages in any propaganda except only to solicit funds for charity purposes. It never enters into any political controversy or the discussion of current affairs and has never attempted to influence any legislature, nor has the Society any connection with any un-American movement. The Society has no capital stock, engages in no business, and no one in connection with said Society receives any benefits, financial or otherwise. Exemption was granted under Section 101, sub-paragraph 6 since it is operated exclusively for charity purposes. It is prayed that the exemption be continued and the order revoking same recalled."

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 8, "18—Loyalty—To clearly prove the loyalty of the Societies it is submitted that . . . a canvass . . . a village. . . . Today one of the Societies is over 90 years old. About 4 have 75 years and probably 12 have 50 years to their record. It is not recalled that a new Society has been organized in the last 10 years. These Societies have always been an acceptable unit of communal life. . . ."

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>94</sup> Samuel Lubell, *The Future of American Politics*, (Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor, 1951), 142-43, ". . . Ohio's twenty-five electoral votes, for example, were carried by only 7,107 votes. In six largely German-American counties in western Ohio alone, Truman picked up more than 6,700 votes over Roosevelt's 1944 showing, while the Republicans lost 13,000 votes."

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 142.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> NASB/IRS, Stoffels and Pattlock, "Brief," 9.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., "19—Accident of Birth—. . . That would, of course, apply equally to any other group if the war were with their homeland. . . ."

<sup>100</sup> General Albert C. Wedemeyer, *Wedemeyer Reports!* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1958), 32-33.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 24.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 22, 30, 34-35, 41, 42.

<sup>103</sup> NASB/IRS, Stoffels and Pattlock, "Brief," 9.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 10, "22—Assimilation—It is frequently charged that the German element is not easily assimilated. Let us examine this question upon the facts as noted by Menken (*sic*) in his book 'The American Language.' The immigration Act of 1924 limited allowable immigration to 2% of the nationals residing in this country in 1890. That year was chosen because previous thereto the overwhelming majority of entrants had come from Great Britain, Germany and the Scandinavian countries, but after that year those from Italy, Russia and Austria-Hungary had taken the lead, and it was felt that those from Eastern and Southern Europe were harder to assimilate than those from Western and Northern Europe. For example, in 1914, 917,550 came from Italy, Russia, and Austria-Hungary but only 138,542 came from the United Kingdom, Ireland, Germany and Scandinavia. According to the Act of 1924 Germany was allowed a quota of 27,370 per annum."

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., ". . . But there is more specific proof of such assimilation.

The German American Children's Chorus of about 600 and Young People's Chorus of about 150 voices, largely children and grand-children of members of the Chicago singing societies have in the short period of their existence since 1935 gained high praise for their accomplishments. These young people are thoroughly Americanized. On many occasions they have entertained Chicago audiences with their Christmas and Easter concerts. . . . When in 1938 they sang at a song festival in a chorus of 2,200 voices with more than 5,000 sitting in the audience of an afternoon concert they received unusual applause and when the concert was over scores of men



and women of all races and creeds came to the president to express their gratitude for the hours of pleasure in hearing these young Americans sing. . . ."

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 10-II, "23—Conclusion—One could go on indefinitely, ranging proof upon proof to show that these Societies for whom this plea is made are thoroughly American and this brief has been lengthened only because no specific charge for revoking the exemption was advanced. We submit, however, that we are ready to answer any specific charge not touched upon herein once it is communicated. It is the purpose of our Revenue Act that exemptions from the payment of taxes be granted to such Societies because of the benefit derived by the public from the cultural activities of such Societies. They contribute to the public welfare and such welfare and the spirit of contentment resulting from their efforts is of vast importance to the happiness of our Nation. We, therefore, respectfully pray that the exemption in behalf of the above petitioning Societies be immediately reinstated that the order of revocation of such exemption from the payment of taxes heretofore entered by the Commissioner be vacated and set aside. Respectfully submitted this 22nd day of May A.D. 1944

Oscar A. Stoffels [and] Charles F. Pattlock."

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., "Nunan to *Teutonia Männerchor*."

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., "Dow Harter, Attorney at Law & Councellor [*sic*], 303 Hibbs Bld., Washington, D.C. to William Kroeger, President of South Akron Savings Association, Akron, Ohio, and President of the Akron *Liedertafel*, Oct. 17, 1944 and Nov. 2, 1944"; "Kroeger to Harter, Jan. 10, 1945"; and "Harter to Gustave F. Kappauf, Proprietor, Liberty National Bowling Alleys, Pittsburgh, PA, and Vice President [Acting President], NASB, Jan. 12, 1945."

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., Nauth to Emme, Kappauf, Daum, Kraker, Wagner, and Nuetzel, Cleveland, 20 January 1945, "Enclosed please find copy of power of attorney, received from Mr. Dow W. Harter, Attorney at Law, Washington D.C. and concerning the matter of taxes, which are now requested to be paid by our Societies for the period of 1933 up to and including the present fiscal year. . . .

. . . To get a clear understanding and discuss the entire tax problem I bid you Gentlemen to attend a meeting of the Board to be held at Akron, Ohio, Sunday February the 4th, at one P/M, at the Liedertafel Hall, 147 s. Exchange St. . . ."

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., The Clifton Heights Singing Society, 3257 Rolis Street, Cincinnati, Ohio, Christian Weishaupt, President; to The North American Singer's Union, Mr. Andrew Nauth, Secretary, 30 January 1945, ". . . The society uplifts musical culture and is known to give free entertainment for the underprivileged men and women in our community.

The little money that finds its way into our treasury from the dues of these members and the concerts that are given is used for music, directors fees, taxes, maintenance to our building where the rehearsals and studies are held, donations for the sick, departed and the members in our armed forces. It is solely [*sic*] a musical and charitable organization, and the tax exemption we have been receiving from the state and Federal Government; through ticket sale of our concerts and dues should continue to be exempted as in the past twelve years."

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., undated note.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 30 January 1945, The North American Singers Union: "Gentlemen: I offer herewith the following resolution to be adopted at this board meeting. That our society be advised to notify each singing society to submit two copies of a letter to him, stating in said letter just what each society has done for the war effort. A work sheet to be enclosed helping them to make up their prospective brief or report. One copy to be forwarded to our attorney in Washinton, and the other to be kept in file. Each society to be given a definite time to have this letter in our possession. Those failing to do so will be automatically dropped from our organization. John B. Daum, Vice President."

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., Dow W. Harter to William H. Kroeger, Akron, Ohio, 12 Feb. 1945, "Regret that I did have to leave the fine celebration of the 90th Anniversary of the Liedertafel before it was over. However, it was imperative that I be in Washington the following morning and I had to catch the Baltimore and Ohio AMBASSADOR at 9:25 P.M. . . .



... I do not feel like making any charge in this matter. My long association with the Liedertafel and its fine membership prompts me to make this small contribution of my time and effort in something that is of interest to it."

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., William H. Kroeger to Dow W. Harter, Akron, Ohio, 13 Feb. 1945:

"I have your letter of February 12th and am making copy of same to send to Messrs. Kappauf, Nauth and John Kraker. I am sure that they will appreciate your fine spirit in not making any charge in the matter. However, I know they would have been glad to pay you for the time spent in this connection."

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> Paul M. Wagner to Andrew Nauth, Chicago, 19 February 1945: "Nun die Steuer Angelegenheit habe ich mit unserem Rechtsanwalt Stoffels besprochen, ihm erklärt daß auch er sich mit Dow Harter in Verbindung setzt, was er wohl bereits getan hat. Auch lege ich Dir einige Fragebogen bei die wir hier in Chgo. benutzt haben. Wann Du selbige fuer gut befindest, kannst Du ja Deine genau so auslegen. Den kleinen Fragebogen haben die Sänger ausgefüllt, den grossen der Verein (Total), welchen [sic] dann an unseren Rechtsanwalt uebergeben wurde. Ich hoffe daß Du davon Gebrauch machen kannst. Blood Donations sollte vielleicht noch auf den Fragebogen sein. Falls ich weitere Nachricht von unserem Rechtsanwalt erhalte, werde ich Dich benachrichtigen. . . ."

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., Kroeger to Kappauf [copies to Kraker and Nauth], 1 May 1945;

Nauth to Paul Wagner [copies to Emme, Kappauf, Daum, Nuetzel and Kraker], Cleveland, OH, 9 May 1945.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., Wagner to Nauth, 25 May 1945, "... So war es auch, gestern Nachmittag waren wir in seiner [Oscar Stoffels's] Office und es wurde uns die traurige Nachricht zuteil, daß wir Einkommensteuer bezahlen müssen"; Nauth to Emme, Kappauf, Daum, and Kraker [copy to Paul Wagner], Cleveland, OH, 5 July 1945.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., Indianapolis Männerchor, 1 Oct.; Indianapolis Liederkrantz, 18 Oct."; Harmonie Männerchor, Ambridge, PA, 14 Nov.; Akron Männerchor, 20 Nov.; Nauth to Wagner, Cleveland, 18 October, 1945, "Die Steuerfrage scheint immer brennender zu werden. Bekam von Kappauf den Auftrag Dir sofort zu schreiben und um naechere Eniselheiten [sic] nachzusuchen. Wenn die Vereine in Chicago anderst klassifiziert wurden, so kann auch eine Änderung in der Ausstellung der noch verbleibenden Bundesvereine nicht ausbleiben. Leider kommen weitere Zuschriften an die einzelnen Vereine und zwar mit dem Ersuchen aus dem Bund auszutreten. Jeder klardenkende Mensch muss sich nun sagen, dass die Zugehoerigkeit zum Bund mit der Einkassierung von Einkommensteuer rein garnichts zu tun hat. In anderen Worten, man setzt den Vereinen die Pistole auf die Brust und sagt Vogel friss oder stirb. Habe im Laufe der Woche ebenfalls ein Schreiben erhalten, das heisst fuer meinen Verein, worin die gleichen Bedingungen gestellt werden."

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., Stoffels to Wagner [copy to Pattlock], Chicago, 19 Oct. 1945, 1, and Len O'Connor, Clout, 108-9, 149.

<sup>124</sup> NASB/IRS, Stoffels to Wagner, 19 Oct. 1945, 2, "... I need not go into the merits of the various societies to which a resignation should be sent. All know that none of these had the element of disloyalty to this country. But at least in the one case where boisterous meetings were held, much resentment were [sic] shown by those present and frequently ill advised remarks came from the floor. So also the racial question in respect to Jews was often brought to the floor quite undiplomatically, and where such a large gathering takes place, it is not difficult for an investigating group to secure information as to what transpired."

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., 2-3, "Finally, there is the difficult way of dismissing the question by filing tax returns from the year 1933 to the present date. Each society must, therefore, file 12 or 13 annual corporation tax returns. That will incur much work not contemplated by the attorneys. The result would be that each society would then be on a tax basis for the years that they show a profit. The tax would be computed according to the tax rate current for that year. To this would be added the penalty for having failed to file the tax return. Here again I must call attention to



the fact that in my opinion this too, is an illegal request, since the societies were entitled to a tax exemption until the time when that exemption was revoked. . . .

. . . We attorneys, however, cannot do anything about that matter either, since it is a principle well established and relief can only be obtained at the expenditure of great sums. I want to assure your committee now that your attorneys have diligently attended to your case at all times. Nothing was left undone. Every avenue was thoroughly investigated. I have personally visited Washington four times, and I have had several long distance calls in connection with this case. To such who resent the fact that they have paid money to the attorneys who have done nothing, I will not answer. Both of us have given far more than [*sic*] we would ordinarily do for the fee that we received. I hope that no further criticism of that kind will come to my ears personally. Your committee should now carefully examine this letter, read the enclosures. If further questions arise in your mind, either of the attorneys will be glad to answer, but any work in the future would necessarily require the payment of a fee commensurate with the work involved."

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., Columbus Männerchor, 23 Nov., Harmonie Gesang-Verein, Cincinnati, 24 Nov.; Bloomfield Liedertafel, Pittsburgh, 3 Dec. 1945; Schwäbischer Sängerbund, Cleveland, 9 Dec. Some of the resignations were simple and straightforward, with a seal from the local society impressed into the document—"We hereby tender our resignation as a member of the Nord-Amerikanischer Sängerbund to take effect immediately"—Bloomfield Liedertafel Singing Society to Andrew Nauth, Secretary, Nord-Amerikanischer Sängerbund, 3 December 1945. Others were more elaborate, and legalistic, attested to by a Notary's Seal—"RESOLUTION: Whereas the Schwäbischer Sängerbund did at their annual General Meeting held on December 9th 1945, at the East Side Sachsenheim, 1400 East 55th Street in the city of Cleveland, unanimously adopt this resolution. To sever any and all connections and affiliations with the North American Singers Union also known as the Nord Amerikanischer Sängerbund."; Hermann Bitzer—President and Wilhelm Gebert—Secretary [signatures]; [Notary] "Personally appeared before me Hermann Bitzer who being first duly sworn deposes and says that he is President of the Schwäbischer Sängerbund, and also Wilhelm Gebert who deposes and says he is Secretary of said organization, both state that the above resolution was adopted as above set forth and the facts herein stated are true as they verily believe."; Hermann Bitzer—President and Wilhelm Gebert—Secretary [signatures] -Sworn to and subscribed in my presence this the 15th day of January 1946, Carl Ernst, Notary Public [My commission expires Mar. 3, 1948].

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., Paul M. Wagner to Andrew Nauth, 30 Oct. 1945, "Habe Deinen Brief erhalten, in welchem Du nun die eilige Aufklärung ueber die Steuerangelegenheit anfragst. In der Zwischenzeit bekam ich auch einen Anruf von Bill Kroeger das er & John [Kraker] hoehstwahrscheinlich am Donnerstag nach Chicago kommen wuerden, speziell wegen der Steuerangelegenheit. Nun zurueck zu kommen auf mein letztes Schreiben in welchem ich Dir mitteilte, dass wir anstatt, Educational, Social Clubs sind, so wurde uns dieses durch einen Judge der in dieser Angelegenheit in Washington war, berichtet. . . ."

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., Paul Wagner to Fred O. Nuetzel, Justus Emme, Gustav F. Kappauf, John G. Daum, John Kraker; Anmerkung by Andrew Nauth, Chicago, no date, letter context indicates early November 1945.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., Wagner to Nauth, 30 Oct. 1945, ". . . Das empoerte natuerlich unseren Richter Gutknecht sodass er sich entschlossen, noch diese oder naechste Woche nach Washington faehrt um diese Angelegenheit erneut mit den Sachverständigen im Tax Dept und Atty Generals office aufzunehmen. Ich habe Richter Gutknecht genuegend Auskunft ueber den N.A.S.B. erteilt, er wird sich mit Dow Harter in Verbindung setzen, sodass beide gemeinschaftlich dran arbeiten koennen, nun heisst es wieder abwarten. So geht es nun bereits ueber 2 Jahre."

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., Wagner to Nauth, 27 Nov. 1945, "Ich werde Dir, falls etwas neues noch dazu kommen sollte alles ausfuehrlich wissen lassen. Ich frag Richter Gutknecht was wohl gegen den N.A.S.B. vorliegen koennte, so meinte er vielleicht haette das St. Louis Sängerfest etwas damit zutun weil der deutsche Gesandte da war. Ich werde ihn auch noch in dieser Angelegenheit mehr fragen . . . N.B. . . . Habe ähnlichen Brief zu Kappauf & John Kraker geschrieben."



<sup>131</sup> Ibid., Wagner to Nauth, 29 December 1945, and Nauth to Dwan, January 1946,

"Ralph H. Dwan  
U.S. Treasury Dept.  
Washington D.C.

Dear Sir:

We are sending herewith our resolution together with a statement of essential facts concerning the North American Singers Union. These are being forwarded to you in accordance with the conversation between Counsel O'Connell and Judge John Gutknecht of Chicago and yourself. The purpose of this application is to secure the classification of the North American Singers Union, as a tax-exempt cultural and educational society and to clear it of any suspicion of being a roof organization of a subversive type as defined in the department letter of Aug. 31. 1945 from Commissioner Numan [sic] Jr. directed to certain societies . . ."

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., Nauth to Dwan, January 1946, "1849 Cincinnati, Ohio,—Louisville Ky. 1850,—Cincinnati, Ohio 1851,—Columbus, Ohio 1852,—Dayton, Ohio 1853,—Canton, Ohio, 1854,—Cleveland, Ohio, 1855,—Cincinnati, Ohio, 1856,—Detroit, Mich. 1857,—Pittsburgh, Pa., 1858,—Cleveland, Ohio, 1859,—Buffalo, N.Y., 1860,—Columbus, Ohio, 1865,—Louisville, Ky., 1866,—Indianapolis, Ind., 1867,—Chicago, Ill., 1868,—Cincinnati, Ohio 1870,—St. Louis, Mo. 1872,—Cleveland, Ohio, 1874,—Louisville, Ky., 1877,—Cincinnati, Ohio 1879,—Chicago, Ill., 1881,—Buffalo, N.Y. 1901,—St. Louis, Mo., 1903,—Indianapolis, Ind., 1908,—Milwaukee, Wis., 1911, Louisville, Ky., 1914,—Chicago, Ill., 1924,—Cleveland, Ohio, 1927,—Detroit, Mich. 1930,—St. Louis, Mo., 1934,—Chicago, Ill., 1938. . ."

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., "This election was held in 1934, and still stands today. 3 changes, Fred Nuetzel—Honorary President,—Louisville, Ky. 1934, Justus Emme, President,—Chicago Ill.,—Died 1945,—1934, Gustave Kappauf, 1st Vice President,—Pittsburgh, Pa.—1934, John Daum, 2nd Vice President,—Cincinnati, Ohio, —1938, Andrew Nauth Secretary,—Cleveland, Ohio,—1938, John Kraker, Treasure [sic],—Akron, Ohio,—1934, Paul M. Wagner, Librarian,—Chicago, Ill.,—1938. The elected President Justus Emme, a man 83 years old, of excellent character and reputation died Dec. 20, 1945. Vice President G. Kappauf has now succeeded [sic] him."

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., ". . . Respectfully yours, North American Singers Union . . . Andrew Nauth Secretary Sworn to and subscribed [sic] this day of January 1946 (Notary Signature and seal)."

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., Wagner to Nauth, 27 Dec. 1945, and Typescript Resolution, 14 Jan. 1946.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., Typescript Resolution, 14 Jan. 1946, "WHEREAS, The Treasury Department of the United States Government, through its Commissioner, Joseph D. Numan, has requested that a resolution of certain Singing Societies be adopted, showing that they have purged themselves of all pro-Nazi and Pan-German members, or that they have severed their connection with any roof organizations having pro-Nazi or Pan-German activities or purposes, and that they will not renew or enter into any connection with the same, or other roof organizations until they have cleared themselves with the Bureau, and WHEREAS, the North American Saengerbund was never originally formed and later incorporated to promote pro-Nazi or Pan-German movements, and never desired any connection with any person, or persons, or organizations having such purposes, and WHEREAS, the North American Saengerbund was founded and established at Cincinnati, Ohio, in the year A.D. 1849 for the purpose of creating a lasting National League of German-American Male Choruses for the mutual fostering of German and American folksongs, German customs and language, as well as patriotic stimulation and fraternal intercourse of the German-Americans in the United States of America, thereby most likely encouraging German immigrants to become loyal American citizens, as is more clearly stated in the Articles of Incorporation, issued by the Secretary of State of Ohio, under date of June 21, A.D. 1897, and WHEREAS, the said North American Saengerbund has engaged in such activities since the year 1849 until the present time, during the course of which it has had members in all the wars of the United States, the said members having served the United States well and honorably, the said North American Saengerbund having a roll of honor in its archives of members personally engaged in World War II, on the side of the United States of America; NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, by Resolution adopted by the North American



Saengerbund at its special meeting held at Erie, Pennsylvania, on the 14th day of January, A.D. 1946, called for that purpose, that the said North American Saengerbund is going on record that to the best of its knowledge and belief it has purged itself of any pro-Nazi and Pan-German members, and that it will not enter into any connection with any other roof organization until it has cleared itself with the Bureau. Resolution adopted the 14th day of January, A.D. 1946

ATTEST:                      President                      Secretary

Certification:

I, the undersigned, Secretary of the North American Sngerbund, a corporation organized under the laws of the State of Ohio, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of a Resolution duly adopted by the delegates of the North American Sngerbund, at its special meeting held on the 14th day of January, A.D. 1946, as taken from the minutes of said meeting, and compared by the undersigned with the original of said Resolution recorded in said minutes. IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Corporate Seal of said North American Saengerbund, a Coporation [sic], to be hereunto affixed, this 14th day of January, A.D. 1946. \_\_\_\_\_ Secretary."

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., AFFIDAVIT OF PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY AS TO LOYALTY OF MEMBERS

Mr. Ralph H. Dwan  
U.S. Treasury Dept.  
Washington, D.C.

Before me, the undersigned authority, personally  
appeared \_\_\_\_\_, President  
of \_\_\_\_\_, Secretary of

\_\_\_\_\_, who depose and say, that to the best  
of their knowledge and belief there is no one listed as a member of \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_, who is connected with any pro-Nazi or Pan-German  
activities; and further, that they are loyal citizens of the United States of America.

Sworn to and subscribed [sic]

this 5th day of February,

1946 . . . (Signed) \_\_\_\_\_

President

(Notary Signature and Seal) (Signed) \_\_\_\_\_ Secretary;

Charles Pattlock to Nauth, 6 February 1946, "Mr. Paul M. Wagner, of this city, has requested me to prepare and forward to you the enclosed resolution in duplicate. You and your president are to sign the original at the respective places marked for you, and to affix the corporate seal, and then to forward the same, together with an appropriate transmittal letter, addressed to Mr. J. P. Wenchel, Chief Counsel, Bureau of Internal Revenue, Washington, D.C."

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., Nauth to Kappauf, 8 February 1946, ". . . Findest Du die Vorbereitung fr neues Priefpapier [sic], wegen Paul Wagner, fr ntig? Wie steht es mit dem Archivar? Brief von Ernennung von l.Vize Prsident wird folgen, da die Steuergeschichte ich erst aus dem Wege haben mchte.

Gebe Paul Kopie dieses Briefes, sodass die verlangten Karten (Emme) auch den Briefen beifgt werden knnen. Habe Rechnungen, Briefumschlge etc. bereits alles fertig und sobald ich von Washington hre, kanns los gehn. Erwarte sofortige Returnierung der Steuerpapiere und verbleibe bis dahin . . ."

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., Kappauf to Nauth, 8 Feb. 1946

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., Kappauf to Nauth, 9 Feb. 1946

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., Sherwood to Nauth, 19 March 1946, TREASURY DEPARTMENT Washington 25,

Mar. 19, 1946 IT:P:T: 1 BMH

Nord-Amerikanischer Sngerbund [sic]

(North American Singers' Union)

c/o Andreas Nauth, Secretary

19330 Renwood Avenue

Cleveland 19, Ohio

Gentlemen:

It is the opinion of this office, based upon evidence presented, that you are exempt from Federal income tax under the provisions of section 101 (8) of the Internal Revenue Code and corresponding provisions of prior revenue acts.

Accordingly, you will not be required to file income tax returns, Form 1120, unless you change the character of your organization, the purposes for which you were organized or your method of operation. Any such changes should be reported immediately to the collector of internal revenue for your district in order that their effect upon your exempt status may be determined.

You will be required, however, to file annually beginning with your current accounting period, an information return on Form 990 so long as this exemption remains in effect. This form may be obtained from the collector of internal revenue for your district and is required to be filed with him on or before the fifteenth day of the fifth month following the close of your annual accounting period.

The collector of internal revenue for your district is being advised of this action.

Very truly yours,

Wm. T. Sherwood

Acting Commissioner.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., Nauth to J. J. Gutknecht, 7 May 1946.

<sup>143</sup> O'Conner, *Clout*, 149.

<sup>144</sup> 100 Jahre Deutsches Lied, Zentenarfeier des Nordamerikanischen Sängerbundes, Chicago, 9.-11. Juni 1949, 177pp., 103 choruses, 3,190 singers.

<sup>145</sup> 1952, Cincinnati, OH [69 choruses] (2146 singers); 1955, Detroit [102] (2000); 1958, New Orleans [28] (700); 1961, Milwaukee [65] (2200); 1964, St. Louis [106] (2300); 1967, Pittsburgh [66] (1800); 1970, Columbus, OH [68] (2100); 1973, Milwaukee [72] (2400); 1977, Chicago [69] (1800); 1980, Detroit [59] (1400); 1983, Columbus, OH [69] (2300); 1986, Cleveland [73] (2400); 1989, Louisville, KY; 1992, Omaha, NE; 1995, Canton, OH.



Maynard Brichford

## German Influence on American Archival Development

On 29 January 1941, Ernst Posner read a paper on "The Role of Records in German Administration" at a Federal Records Conference in Washington. In the paper, which was published as *National Archives Staff Information Paper 11*, Posner stated that he and an American archivist had concluded that the "overwhelming success" of the German army in June 1940 "was attributable to the fact that they had entered the war with a better filing system." He went on to refer to "German efficiency" and "talent for organization, their sense of order, their devotion to minute detail." He also explained how the registry or *Registratur* office controlled the flow and retention of correspondence, the three-hundred-year history of the registry system and its rational, organic subject matter filing system.<sup>1</sup>

Superior record keeping had long historical origins in the German archival tradition. Literacy brought an impulse to record and a demand for the technology of recording. Printing presses provided a means of extending the market for archival documents and manuscripts and increasing the production of official records. Between 1517 and 1520, thirty publications by Martin Luther sold well over three hundred thousand copies. Jack H. Hexter has noted that "battles between religious zealots" made statesmen "more concerned" about "securing a stable civil order." The establishment of state offices, registry systems and archives were key factors in securing civil order.<sup>2</sup>

In the four and one-half centuries between 1348 and 1799, fifty-four German cities established universities. These municipal ventures, the equivalent of today's emerging centers of "world class" excellence, met continuing public needs for clergy, lawyers, government clerks and cultural education. By 1781, only six of them had closed. The universities taught the classical curriculum and welcomed new learning. They were committed to the organization, preservation and dissemination of information. More specifically, their registries and archives were engaged in these activities. In 1571, the first text on archival and registry practice

was published by Jacob von Rammingen, son of the Württemberg archivist. The critical analysis or authentication of sources in Germanic countries extended back more than eight hundred years. The development of diplomatic science in the late seventeenth century brought between 1699 and 1804 the publication of German diplomatic and archival texts in the university cities of Giessen, Jena, Halle, Nürnberg, Köln, Heidelberg, Strasbourg, Göttingen, Vienna, Hamburg and Braunschweig.<sup>3</sup>

The multiple sovereignties within the Holy Roman Empire had created bureaucratic opportunities in many competitive states. In 1457, Stephen Wirsing was appointed leader of the prince bishop's archives at Würzburg. Forty-seven other archives were established in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and fifty-five more in the eighteenth century. Many were established in the state-building period following the Thirty Years War. By the early nineteenth century, the 103 German archives included eighty-three national and state archives, twelve city archives and eight Austrian archives. With the collapse of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806, the mediatization process brought the consolidation and strengthening of archival programs.<sup>4</sup>

Baron Heinrich Karl vom Stein, a leading statesman of the Napoleonic era, believed that knowledge of the medieval empire would "serve the cause of German nationhood." In 1821, he sent Georg H. Pertz to Vienna and Rome on a manuscripts search and then appointed him as editor of a series of source books on German history from 500 to 1500. The first volume of *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* appeared in 1826, and Pertz began his duties as archivist at Hanover in 1827. Six years later, Leopold von Ranke began his seminar at the University of Berlin. Among its members was Georg Waitz, who succeeded Pertz as general editor of the *Monumenta* in 1873. Often in close association with the Prussian State Archives, the *Monumenta* was "a nursery of professors and archivists." It obtained a preeminent place for German medievalists and a position of prestige and influence in the German university system that trained professors and clergy and attracted American scholars.<sup>5</sup>

While the *Monumenta* provided a national research enterprise and training in the interpretation of sources, there was a parallel increase in archival publications. The first German archival journal appeared at Bamberg in 1806. In 1834-36, the second journal was published in Hamburg by archivists from Berlin, Münster and Stettin. A third journal was published in 1847-53 at Gotha. In 1876, Franz von Löher, director of the Bavarian state archives, began publishing *Archivalische Zeitschrift*, the first German archival journal that has survived. Between 1765 and 1811, thirteen texts on archival and registratur practice were published. Two more appeared in 1854 and 1859. Von Löher's *Archivlehre*, the first modern archival text, appeared in 1890. After devoting 197 pages to the seven ages of German archival history, the author treated the principles



of archival management in the next three hundred pages. In 1905, the Dutch handbook by Muller, Feith and Fruin was translated into German.<sup>6</sup>

Heinrich O. Meisner was a leading German archival writer in the twentieth century. He published *Aktenkunde* in 1935, *Urkunden- und Aktenlehre der Neuzeit* in 1950 and *Archivalienkunde* in 1969. In 1937, Meisner discussed German archival appraisal at the Gotha archives conferences. His remarks, published in the 1939 *Archivalische Zeitschrift*, drew the distinction between primary, or administrative, and secondary, or historical, values. He also discussed informational and evidential content and advocated a rational appraisal decision, rather than scholarly intuition. Adolf Brenneke's *Archivkunde* remains the most comprehensive text on archival history. Based on 1938 lecture notes from the archival school at Berlin-Dahlem, this book brought together several decades of German scholarly investigation of the archival past. Written after the first 150 years of the modern archival movement, it represented an emerging profession's search for its roots and traditions.<sup>7</sup>

History professor Albert Brackmann was appointed director of the Prussian state archives in 1929 and director of the German state archives in 1935. His 1931 lecture on "archival training in Prussia" was published in 1939 as the *National Archives Staff Information Paper* 1. Brackmann was retired in 1936 as a "pillar of liberal and pro-Jewish academicism." He continued to play a role in archival affairs, but has recently been attacked for his wartime support of German *Ostpolitik*. While some of Brackmann's ideas had been acceptable to leaders in the Third Reich, Veit Valentin was dismissed from his position as research archivist at Potsdam in 1933. Ordered to leave the country by the Nazis for his political activities, Valentin published his *Geschichte der Deutschen* in 1946 in Washington, DC. He died in 1947, and the German edition of his history was published in 1979. Postwar contacts with German archivists have been through the meetings and publications of the International Council on Archives and personal visits.<sup>8</sup>

The major German influence on American archival development has been through German immigrants. America, from "Zion" to "Melting Pot" to "Multiculturalism," has received European linguistic and national groups with their cultural traditions. Political and religious allegiances were based on literacy and record keeping. Between 1880 and 1885 more than a million Germans migrated to the United States. They brought German record keeping, archival traditions and linguistic skills to America. In 1909, Julius Goebel estimated that German immigrants were one-third of the United States population. The German "element" has been successful. Herbert Hoover and Dwight Eisenhower achieved the presidency and two German-Americans have served as archivist of the United States. Hoover chaired the commission on the reorganization of



the executive branch of the federal government, which modernized the National Archives.<sup>9</sup>

Arriving as linguistic foreigners, the first archival activities of German immigrants occurred in their religious congregations. German sects in the Reformation era had a strong sense of history. In the 1570s Peter Walpot appointed Kaspar Braitmichel "to organize the correspondence and documents, and establish an official chronicle so that the heritage of the Hutterites would not be lost." In 1683, Francis Pastorius led the first group of Krefeld Mennonites to Philadelphia. By 1709, thousands had left the Palatinate for America. In 1735, continued wars, religious communitarianism and economic conditions resulted in a Moravian emigration to Georgia. Count Nicholas L. von Zinzendorf of Herrnhut in Saxony sent August G. Spangenberg to plan the settlement at Savannah. Educated at the Jena university, Spangenberg employed his "splendid organizational ability" to superintend the Georgia colony and moved on to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in the following year. The Moravian archives date from this time. By 1755, "very detailed records were kept, down to every egg that was laid." Bishop Spangenberg managed the church colony like "a military camp." Joined by a second bishop in 1746, their correspondence with Zinzendorf covered the "minutest details." Non-German bureaucrats also had a "penchant for paperwork." In 1629, Massachusetts Bay Company officials called for a register of all persons in the colony and semiannual records "of the daily work done." In America, their request was ignored. In contrast, the Germans kept the record of "every egg that was laid."<sup>10</sup>

With German-trained clergy, the Lutheran Church brought a strong archival tradition to America. In the early nineteenth century, the Pennsylvania synod had a chapter on the "Archives of the Ministerium" in its regulations. The archives were "to be kept with care" and not carried about. All documents were "to be carefully preserved" and bound in packages with the year "carefully noted" on the outside. The pastor in charge of the archives was "bound to keep it in order and to render an account" when required. He was not permitted "to loan out any document, much less to alienate or destroy it." These German-American archival regulations are more than one hundred and fifty years old. In 1838, Carl Vehse, curator of the Saxon state archives, drew up a complex organizational plan for the Reverend Martin Stephan's conservative Lutheran emigrants. Vehse's Department VIII was responsible for "Library, Archives and Chronicles." Emigrants were to keep journals on the voyage to America and the secretary of the council was to keep legal records. In Chicago in 1847, German immigrants founded the "German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and other States." At the founding session the secretary of the synod was designated archivist and charged with the preservation of the documents and historical records of



the church. The 1854 church constitution provided that the secretaries of the general synod and secretaries of the district synods were in charge of the archives.<sup>11</sup>

The Mennonites, Moravians and Lutherans are examples of many German immigrant groups with strong religious ties. After 1766, the United Brethren and Evangelical churches and the German Methodist conference provided a church home for a million German Americans. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, thousands of German Catholics joined the migration to America. The term "Forty-Eighters" was applied to political and economic immigrants from Germany in the pre-Civil War period. Conservative Catholic and Lutheran immigrants in the 1850s outnumbered the Forty-Eighters two to one. The Saxon group of 1839 excelled with higher education standards and cultural attainments. For most, economic opportunity became a more important factor in the decision to emigrate to America than religious and political freedom. Though their employment and financial resources were primary concerns, the church provided a cultural link to Europe and the political party provided a link to their new homeland.<sup>12</sup>

German immigrants and their descendants have been among the leading figures in developing American archival practice. In 1920, Ernst Posner received his doctorate in history at Berlin and joined the Prussian state archives, where he was a colleague of Heinrich Meisner for eleven years. Moving to the new building at Dahlem in 1923, he became editor of the *Acta Borussia*, a documentary series on Prussian administration. Under Nazi persecution, he left Germany in February 1939 and joined the American University faculty in Washington. In collaboration with Solon J. Buck, he began teaching "The History and Administration of Archives." Buck was the son of Clara Luther Buck and a native of Berlin, Wisconsin, who became archivist of the United States in 1941. Posner exerted a strong influence on Buck and his successors Wayne Grover, Robert Bahmer and James Rhoads. Hundreds of other American archivists also learned the "basics" at Posner's institutes. Like the best teaching, a class with Posner was both the beginning of a personal friendship and continuing contact with a worthy professional exemplar. The 1967 Posner festschrift, with sixteen articles and a seventy-six-item bibliography, demonstrated the range of his contributions to American archival literature and understanding. As Rodney Ross noted in 1980, Posner was "regarded as the preeminent spokesman for archival interests in America." His *American State Archives* (1964) and *Archives in the Ancient World* (1972) reflected his standing among archivists in America and the world and his influence on American archival practice.<sup>13</sup>

The grandson of a German immigrant from southern Russia, Theodore R. Schellenberg also played a major role in the maturation of the American archival profession. His grandfather was a Mennonite



Brethren elder and his father was editor of German-language church publications in Kansas. The ten thousand Mennonites from Russia had a "strong sense of obligation to government and society." With a 1934 Pennsylvania doctorate, Schellenberg moved to a position with the American Council of Learned Societies' Joint Committee on Materials for Research. He joined the National Archives in 1935 and became head of the Department of Agriculture archives in 1938. In his July 1939 *National Archives Staff Information Circular* 5 on "European Archival Practice in Arranging Records," he cited ten sources. Six of them were German, including two German accounts of French practices. Schellenberg's views reflected the times and conditions in which he worked. While engrossed in the appraisal of the mass of federal records created in the 1930s, he was also engaged in filling the huge archives building at Eighth and Pennsylvania with records of research value. From 1950 to 1961, he was head of the Office of the National Archives and active in promoting in-service training programs. He wrote *Staff Information Papers* 17, 18, 19 and 20 (1951, 1955), the *National Archives Bulletin* 8 on archival appraisal (1956) and two textbooks, *Modern Archives* (1956) and *The Management of Archives* (1965). The former book was translated into German. Between 1956 and 1968, he contributed seven articles to *The American Archivist* and four to other journals. In a 1970 eulogy, Lester Cappon wrote that Schellenberg was "propelled by that Germanic persistence and thoroughness that leave no source uninvestigated and construct a substantial, carefully planned scaffolding that sometimes remains after the building is completed."<sup>14</sup>

All American archivists since World War II have been influenced by the German archival tradition. In 1954, I attended American University's first Institute of Records Management, which was directed by Ernst Posner. In 1967, Theodore Schellenberg was the first visiting lecturer in our archival education program at the University of Illinois. In addition to Posner and Schellenberg, there has been a strong German-American group in the Society of American Archivists. Lester Kruger Born, an "American Posner" in postwar Germany, helped to restore German archival education and wrote on archival origins, including an article on Jacob von Rammingen. G. Philip Bauer, Schellenberg's assistant, collaborated with Herman Kahn in the first major discussion of archival appraisal in *Staff Information Paper* 13 (1946). Additional German names include Robert Bahmer, Richard Berner, Jesse Boell, Mabel Deutrich, Meyer Fishbein, Kenneth Munden, John Ness, Morris Rieger, Charles Schultz and August Suelflow. A quick survey of the 1964 Society of American Archivists *Biographical Directory* shows more than 20 percent of the membership to be German-Americans.<sup>15</sup>

The contributions of Germans and German-Americans to American archival theory and practice are substantial and have continued throughout our history. No discussion of the influence of German



archival science would be complete without the consideration of twentieth century nationalism and the disruptions of World Wars I and II. Ernst Posner was termed an "enemy alien" in a congressional hearing. Schellenberg and Born, who drew on European archival traditions, never gained the full confidence of American archival administrators. By education and employment, archivists have strong attachments to the nations and institutions that they serve. These ties raise questions posed by the uses and users of modern German archives. Some writers maintain that it is possible to abandon one's heritage. Others impute a knowledge of subsequent events to an earlier period, e.g., a knowledge of the Holocaust to persons in 1935. A third group would condemn language as well as actions. It can be difficult to distinguish between the verbal positions represented by twentieth century academic and political credos and the actions taken by nations. In maintaining an impartiality in dealing with sources and users, archivists should be sensitive to the misuses of research in the name of national and personal "history."

As described by librarians and historians, archival origins are related to library and history traditions. Librarians relate how the settlers of the North American continent revered the book and its technology, established subscription and public libraries, hungered for a romantic national past and applied their pragmatic skills to organizing information resources. Historians cite the emergence of scholar historians. George Bancroft, John W. Burgess and Herbert B. Adams sought German training in the investigation of the past and discovered that to write history "wie es eigentlich gewesen ist" required archival and manuscript sources. Göttingen-educated George Bancroft's *History of the United States* also sold thousands of copies. Upon returning to American research institutions, these pioneering historians formed professional associations, which sponsored the Public Archives Commission, Historical Manuscripts Commission and missions to study and copy European and colonial source material. In 1884, the American Historical Association elected Leopold von Ranke as its "first and only honorary member." In 1909, Marion Learned reported to the American Historical Association that American archives were far behind German state archives "in the care and treatment of archives." In 1910, Gaillard Hunt from the Library of Congress and Waldo G. Leland of the Carnegie Institution's Department of Historical Research participated in the first International Conference of Archivists and Librarians in Brussels, which endorsed the German archival principle of provenance. Hunt told the American Historical Association that the archives in Berlin "are in better condition, receive better care, and are better housed than any official archives in Washington." Users of archives have given us graduate schools, vast quantities of publications, professional meetings and the historical probes that would reveal each generation's "new history." Through it all,

migrating German archival concepts and immigrant German archivists have played an important part in keeping the record.<sup>16</sup>

University of Illinois  
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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> National Archives Staff Information Paper 11 (July 1941): 1.

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth Eisenstein, "The Advent of Printing and the Protestant Revolt: A New Approach to the Disruption of Western Civilization," in Robert M. Kingdon ed., *Transition and Revolution* (Minneapolis: Burgess, 1974), 235, 263.

<sup>3</sup> Josef Engel and Ernst Zeeden, eds., *Großer Historischer Weltatlas* (München: Bayerischer Schulbuch-Verlag, 1981), 2:80, 3:3; Harry Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1931), 1:32-36; Adolf Brenneke, *Archivkunde* (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1953), 45-46.

<sup>4</sup> Wolfgang Leesch, *Die deutschen Archivare, 1500-1945* (München: K.G. Saur, 1985), 23-204.

<sup>5</sup> David Knowles, "Great Historical Enterprises III: The Monumenta Germaniae Historica," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th Ser., 10 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1960): 130, 132-34, 136, 141, 147, 149.

<sup>6</sup> Brenneke, 52-53.

<sup>7</sup> Winfried Baumgart, *Buchverzeichnis zur deutschen Geschichte* (Nördlingen: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1983), 85; Heinrich O. Meisner, "Schutz und Pflege des staatlichen Archivgutes mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Kassationsproblems," *Archivalische Zeitschrift* 12 (1939): 42, 46-48.

<sup>8</sup> *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1953), 2:504-5; National Archives Staff Information Paper 1 (1939); Michael Burleigh, "Albert Brackmann and the Nazi Adjustment of History," *History Today* 37,3 (March 1987): 42-46; Veit Valentin, *Geschichte der Deutschen* (Köln: Knaur, 1979), 11-14.

<sup>9</sup> Julius Goebel, "The Place of the German Element in American History," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1909* (Washington: 1911), 183-89.

<sup>10</sup> Leonard Gross, *The Golden Years of the Hutterites* (Kitchener: Herald Press, 1980), 200; Klaus Wust and Heinz Moos, *Three Hundred Years of German Immigrants in North America* (Baltimore: Heinz Moos Publishing, 1983), 16, 23, 75; Edwin A. Sawyer, "The Religious Experience of the Colonial American Moravians," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 18,1 (1961): 62, 109, 111-13; David Cressy, *Coming Over* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 132-33.

<sup>11</sup> Ernest L. Hazelius, *History of the American Lutheran Church* (Zanesville: Edwin C. Church, 1846), 277; Roy Ledbetter, "A Rich Resource for Family History," *MSS for Illinois Libraries* (1992); Walter C. Forster, *Zion on the Mississippi* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953), 58, 125, 575, 582; Carl S. Meyer, ed., *Moving Frontiers, Readings in the History of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964).

<sup>12</sup> Frederick A. Norwood, *The Story of American Methodism* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1974), 111-18, 286-89; Forster, 247-48.

<sup>13</sup> Rodney A. Ross, "Ernst Posner: The Bridge Between the Old World and the New," *The American Archivist* 44,4 (Fall 1981): 304-12; Leesch, *Die deutschen Archivare*, 30; Ken Munden, ed., *Archives & the Public Interest* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1967).

<sup>14</sup> Jane F. Smith, "Theodore R. Schellenberg: Americanizer and Popularizer," *The American Archivist* 44,4 (Fall 1981): 313-26; Theron F. Schlabach, *Peace, Faith, Nation*



(Kitchener: Herald Press, 1988), 293; Theodore R. Schellenberg, "European Archival Practices in Arranging Records," *National Archives Staff Information Circular* 5 (July 1933): 1-12; Lester J. Cappon, "Prodigious Worker and Archival Envoy," *The American Archivist* 33,2 (April 1970): 190-91.

<sup>15</sup> Kenneth Munden, "Lester Kruger Born," *American Archivist* 33,1 (January 1970): 79; *Biographical Directory of the Society of American Archivists* (Lawrence KS: Allen Press, 1965).

<sup>16</sup> James W. Thompson, *A History of Historical Writing* (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1967), 2:180; "Archival Principles, Selections From the Writings of Waldo Gifford Leland," *National Archives Staff Information Paper* 20 (March 1955).





Reinhart Kondert

## The Germans of Colonial Louisiana: A Bibliographical Essay

Numerous articles and books have been written documenting the role of the Germans in Louisiana's colonial history. These works, as might be expected, vary greatly in quality. Some are of the highest scholarship, others the product of amateurs and propagandists. It is a bibliographical maze that even the most seasoned historian must negotiate with care. It is the purpose of this essay to critically evaluate the published secondary sources that deal with this topic and to sort out those works which have value from those that are essentially worthless. Such an exercise will enable the prospective students in this field to establish bibliographic guideposts on which to chart their own scholarly endeavors. For specialists and nonspecialists alike, an essay such as this might provide, as well, an important lesson in the art of writing history. It is the lesson that the great German historian, Leopold von Ranke, taught his students over one hundred years ago when he admonished them with the famous phrase: "Man muß Geschichte schreiben, wie es eigentlich gewesen ist." It is an admonishment which was clearly ignored by many writers included in this survey.

Any bibliographical essay which endeavors to evaluate the works of authors who have contributed to the history of Louisiana's colonial Germans must begin with an assessment of the writings of J. Hanno Deiler. Deiler was a professor of foreign languages at Tulane University at the turn of the century who dedicated his life to uncovering the role of the German people in Louisiana's past. He became Louisiana's most prolific and passionate writer on this topic. His commitment to his cause led him to publish about ten essays, pamphlets, and books in his beloved field.<sup>1</sup> Only one of Deiler's many literary contributions actually dealt with the Germans in the colonial era. This was his celebrated work, *Die ersten Deutschen am unteren Mississippi und Creolen deutscher Abstammung* (New Orleans: Im Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1904), which appeared five years later in an expanded English version as *The Settlement of the German Coast*

of Louisiana and the Creoles of German Descent (Philadelphia: Americana Germanica Press, 1909).<sup>2</sup> Through this book Deiler established his reputation as the leading expert on the history of the Germans in Louisiana's colonial past. As we shall see, it was a reputation not entirely deserved.

In his groundbreaking work, Deiler examined the arrival of the first Germans on Louisiana soil under the aegis of John Law and the Company of the Indies and their subsequent role through the colonial era. Deiler determined that many thousands of German *engagés* (contractual laborers), were brought to the Louisiana colony and that a sizeable German settlement was established along the Mississippi's banks some twenty-five miles above New Orleans. This large German colony, which the French referred to as the *Côte des Allemands*, quickly flourished and became, according to Deiler, the agricultural breadbasket of the colony. This role they performed throughout the colonial era. Nevertheless, despite their economic importance, the Germans never attained an equivalent cultural or social significance. This was due to the fact they had arrived as illiterates and were, therefore, subjected to an almost instant Gallicization process. It is here, in his discussion of this assimilation process, that Deiler makes his most important historical contribution. Being unable to write down their names, the Germans were forced to transmit this important part of their identity orally to the French scribes and record keepers. Thus, on the shiplists and the later census tables, German names were instantly transformed into French variants. Through this Gallicization of German names, where Huber became Oubre, Troxler was turned into Troxclair, Traeger was changed to Tregle, Zehringer was transformed into Zeringue, and Zweig was actually translated into Labranche, it is possible that historians before Deiler diminished or overlooked entirely the German presence in colonial Louisiana.<sup>3</sup> In all, Deiler traced over seventy "French" names back to their German originals. In doing so, he performed an invaluable service for future generations of historians.

Despite Deiler's remarkable achievements, primarily as a genealogist and linguist, his place within the historiography of colonial Louisiana is shaky. Indeed, as a historian, he left much to be desired. Many of his conclusions, primarily those concerning the numbers of Germans involved in the migration to the Louisiana colony, were based on erroneous research and false speculation. Ultimately, Deiler came to believe that ten thousand Germans were recruited by the agents of the Company of the Indies for settlement in Louisiana, that out of these ten thousand, about six thousand actually departed French ports for the New World, that some two thousand of these Germans survived the hardships of the Atlantic crossing to land on the beaches of the Mexican Gulf, and that, finally, eight hundred lived to become permanent settlers in the



Mississippi delta. We know that these are highly inflated figures and that we must speak in terms of hundreds rather than thousands. We also know that these settlers did not come in waves spanning the years 1718-21, as Deiler maintained, but that they all arrived in 1721.

How had Deiler arrived at his erroneous conclusions? It appears that in his eagerness to accept those inflated numbers, he relied on dubious French and German secondary sources which exaggerated the German influence. He chose to accept these sources rather than the official census tables and other primary accounts which were available to him<sup>4</sup> which clearly indicated that the total population of the German community never exceeded three hundred individuals in the first decade of its existence. It is possible that a handful of German settlers were scattered in various regions of the Louisiana colony and were thus not counted in the official census tolls, but their number would have been negligible, at best. Instead, Deiler chose to rely on such French observers as André Penicaut, Pierre de Charlevoix, and Guy Soniat Dufossat. Penicaut was a French carpenter stationed in the colony at the time of the arrival of some of the Germans who indicated in his memoirs that twelve thousand Germans had been shipped to Louisiana in the 1720s by the directors of the Company of the Indies.<sup>5</sup> Charlevoix, a Jesuit priest traveling through the lower Mississippi region in those years, suggested in his journal that nine thousand Germans were brought to Louisiana.<sup>6</sup> Dufossat, a naval officer who was stationed in Louisiana in the middle of the eighteenth century, who may have been the most reliable source, wrote in his history of Louisiana that six thousand Germans departed from French ports for life in this part of the world.<sup>7</sup> It is also possible that Deiler chose to be influenced by certain German authors, such as H. A. Rattermann, an otherwise respected German-American intellectual of the late nineteenth century who stated in his article, "Die Mississippi Seifenblase: ein Blatt aus der Geschichte der Besiedlung des Mississippi Thales," *Der Deutsche Pionier* 7, 7 (September 1875): 267, that seventeen thousand Palatinate Germans were persuaded by John Law to leave their homelands for Louisiana.<sup>8</sup>

Deiler's acceptance of these inflated figures, apparently made legitimate through their publication in an otherwise excellent book, severely retarded historical inquiry into the field of German ethnic studies in Louisiana's colonial past. For many years thereafter, writers working in this area began with the premise that Deiler's views could not be questioned. They found it difficult to shake his conclusions that thousands of Germans had emigrated to Louisiana and that their influence was, therefore, pervasive.

Who were some of the authors that followed Deiler's line? There was, for example, Heinrich Walter, a German historian, who remarked in his article, "Die Ursprünge der deutschen Siedlungen am Mississippi,"



*Vierteljahrsheft des Vereins für das Deutschtum im Ausland* 6 (1910): 282, that ten thousand Germans were sent by the Company of the Indies to settle Louisiana and that their descendants were as "numberless as the sands in the ocean." Reverend Louis Voss, a native of New Orleans and an acquaintance of Deiler, perpetuated this same theme—that the Germans arrived in the Louisiana colony in droves—in his short pamphlet, "The German Coast of Louisiana," which appeared in *Bulletin No. 9 of the Concord Society* (1928): 1-19. In it he wrote that "many French Creoles are largely Germans" and that it was the Germans who almost single-handedly "changed the colonial wilderness into a paradise." Yet another writer who adopted wholesale the arguments of Deiler was Frederick G. Hollweck whose article, "Origins of the Creoles of German Descent," *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review* 2 (April-July 1920): 114-22, betrays its indebtedness to Deiler by its very title.

There were others who were slightly less beholden to Deiler but who, nevertheless, displayed his influence. Lyle Saxon, the highly respected author, journalist, and raconteur, reaffirmed the belief that the German colonists were highly industrious and productive as agriculturalists by proclaiming in his brief essay, "German Pioneers in New Orleans," *The American-German Review* 7, 3 (February 1941): 28-29, that German farmers "twice saved the city [New Orleans] from famine" (possibly true but never substantiated). There was also an essay written by J. M. Lenhart entitled "German Catholics in Colonial Louisiana (1721-1803)," which appeared in *Central-Blatt and Social Justice* 25 (June 1932): 17-19, 53-55, 89-91, and 127-29, that showed considerable independence from Deiler by its broader chronological scope and greater reliance on primary sources. Nevertheless, Lenhart propagated the theme, clearly borrowed from Deiler, that the Germans were omnipresent in colonial Louisiana and that they exercised an influence that corresponded to their inflated numbers.

Finally, there was the short essay by Jacob Heinz, "Kurfürstlicher Blut in Louisiana," *Pfälzisches Museum: Pfälzische Heimatkunde* 22 (1926): 12-16. Heinz, like Lenhart, retained his distance from Deiler by drawing conclusions based on a greater variety of sources (French colonial archives). Thus, Heinz was able to reject Deiler's notions that many thousands of Germans were recruited for settlement in the Louisiana colony. Even so, while being able to discard Deiler's figures on German immigration to Louisiana, Heinz was unable to abstain from accepting other false assertions made by Deiler. Thus, for example, Heinz acceded to Deiler's belief that the first shipments of Germans were made already in 1719, and that a large contingent of German farmers settled on John Law's huge Arkansas estate in 1720.<sup>9</sup> By accepting these unfounded conclusions, and by making every effort to emphasize that the bulk of Louisiana's German immigrants were from the Palatinate region of Germany, Heinz seriously undermined the effectiveness of his article.



Deiler's influence, made more secure by writers such as those discussed above, extended into the works of some of Louisiana's most respected scholars. Henry E. Chambers,<sup>10</sup> Edwin Adams Davis, and Joe Gray Taylor are examples of authors apparently influenced by Deiler. The latter two in particular betrayed at least a trace of the Deiler hyperbole when they commented on the nature of the German contribution in Louisiana's colonial past. Davis, in his *Louisiana, a Narrative History* (Baton Rouge, 1965), p. 58, wrote that the "Germans probably saved the Louisiana colony" (a conjecturable statement, at the very least). Taylor was less effusive in his praise of the Germans, but, nevertheless, suggested a similar sort of role for these people when he stated that the introduction of settlers from outside France was probably "the most important contribution that the Company of the Indies made." This was the conclusion reached by Taylor in his highly regarded *Louisiana, a Bicentennial History* (New York, 1976), p. 10. Both of these books reached an audience of countless readers by virtue of the fact that they were adopted as textbooks in several Louisiana universities.

Davis and Taylor, as well as the other writers mentioned above, might well have been able to avoid some of their misconceptions about Louisiana's colonial Germans had they been willing (or able?) to extend their scholarly gazes beyond Deiler. Within three years after the publication of Deiler's, *The Settlement of the German Coast*, a convincing refutation of his conclusions was penned by Alexander Franz, a leading German historian and an expert on the colonization of Louisiana under French rule.<sup>11</sup> In an exhaustively researched article ninety-two pages in length, Franz offered a decisive rebuttal to Deiler's main presumptions concerning the numbers of Germans that arrived in the Louisiana colony. Franz published his conclusions in one of America's leading journals dealing with German-American affairs, the *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* 12 (1912): 190-282. Its title was "Die erste deutsche Einwanderung in das Mississippital, eine kritische Würdigung." Using essentially the same sources that were available to Deiler, Franz correctly surmised that fewer than thirteen hundred Germans boarded the ships of the Company of the Indies for settlement in Louisiana and that fewer than three hundred survived to be successfully transplanted along the banks of the Mississippi. In arriving at his conclusions, Franz relied especially heavily on Jean-Baptiste de la Harpe's, *The Historical Journal of the Establishment of the French in Louisiana*,<sup>12</sup> and to a lesser extent on such other contemporary accounts as Charles Le Gac's, *Immigration and War, Louisiana: 1718-1721*,<sup>13</sup> and the already mentioned accounts of Charlevoix and Penicaut. Through a critical reading of these sources, Franz reconstructed a list of all ships, and the probable number of passengers on each, that sailed from France to Louisiana between 1718 and 1721. He determined that a total of seventy-nine vessels had transported 7,020



passengers to Louisiana in those years, and that of this number no more than thirteen hundred could have been German. Subsequent losses on the gulf's beaches caused by exposure, starvation, and diseases reduced this number to fewer than three hundred who survived to become the inhabitants of the *Côte des Allemands*.

Franz's summations proved correct in all of their essentials. It was a formidable work of scholarship. His figures needed only to be confirmed by the official records available in the French colonial archives. Such confirmation came twelve years later with the publication of René le Conte's, "Les Allemands à la Louisiane au XVIIIe siècle," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris* 16 (1924): 1-27. Relying almost entirely on the official governmental archives, Le Conte determined that sixteen hundred Germans (a slightly larger figure because he includes in his number some Swiss and Alsatians not counted by Franz) were sent to Louisiana by the Company of the Indies between 1719 and 1721. With greater certitude than Franz, Le Conte was able to specify which ships sailed from France with German passengers, how many were on board, when they departed, and when they reached their destinations. Although a few minor discrepancies between Franz and Le Conte did exist,<sup>14</sup> their overall conclusions were remarkably the same. There was now no longer any doubt as to the wrongness of Deiler's assertions.

Not surprisingly, the scholarly conclusions of Franz and Le Conte were not immediately incorporated into the mainstream of American scholarship dealing with Louisiana history and its ethnic elements. As indicated, textbooks on Louisiana history still reflected Deiler's thinking well into the 1970s. On the whole, Louisiana's historians were not inclined, or perhaps not equipped, to deal with the discoveries of apparently "obscure" (though highly reputable), foreign historians. Although the findings of Le Conte were eventually brought to the attention of American students of Louisiana history through the translation of his article by Glenn Conrad in 1967,<sup>15</sup> Franz's article, the more substantial of the two, remained hidden in almost total obscurity for at least another decade. For American scholars of Louisiana history, the work of German experts seemed nonexistent.

In the meantime, as the discoveries of Franz and Le Conte were languishing in relative obscurity, a German geographer-historian from the University of Kiel produced, what turned out to be, the most important work yet on the Germans of the colonial era. For the first time, an effort was made by a trained scholar to cover in one volume the entire panorama of the German experience in colonial times, and to do so with an almost total reliance on the French and Spanish colonial archives. The monograph in question was Helmut Blume's, *Die Entwicklung der Kulturlandschaft des Mississippi-deltas in kolonialer Zeit, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der deutschen Siedlung*, Kiel, 1956. Blume had given a



hint of his impressive scholarship on the Germans of Louisiana with the publication of a brief essay in the *Jahrbuch der deutschen Gesellschaft für Amerikastudien* 1 (1956): 177-83, entitled "Deutsche Kolonisten im Mississippidelta," which appeared just prior to his main work.

Blume was perhaps the first historian writing on the Germans of colonial Louisiana who was not appreciably influenced by Deiler. He wrote neither to condemn nor to praise his important predecessor. Nor was he in any way limited to the parameters established by Deiler in terms of content, context, and chronology. Blume went significantly beyond Deiler, as well as the other authors mentioned thus far, by examining the historical, economic, and geographic background of the German settlement. Of particular interest to Blume were the geographical factors influencing the development of the Germans as farmers. According to Blume, French and Spanish colonial officials repeatedly encouraged the German farmers, as well as the large concessions, to grow cash crops for export—crops such as indigo and tobacco. Although some success was attained in raising these crops, especially on the larger concessions, the Mississippi River delta region proved, on the whole, to be unsuitable for these crops. Throughout the colonial era, German agriculturalists concentrated on producing the vegetables, fruits, and meat products to satisfy the markets of New Orleans.

Blume also examined the role of slavery and its relationship to the development of the sugarcane industry on the German Coast. It was during the late Spanish era that many farmers turned their attention to growing this plant, as more sophisticated refining methods were being developed by such inventors as Etienne de Boré. Although a number of farmers began to experiment with sugarcane, it was not until after the American takeover that the real shift toward large scale sugarcane production dependent on slavery occurred.<sup>16</sup> Blume's study, although primarily concerned with economic matters, also offered much useful information on political and cultural aspects of the German colony. It was in every respect an impressive work based on research completed in the archives of Paris, Madrid, and Seville, as well as other important research centers.

Like Franz and Le Conte before him, Blume found little reception of his works in this country. Several decades passed before his contributions in this field began to gain recognition. Starting in the 1970s, the present writer began to incorporate some of the ideas of Blume in his own research on Louisiana's Germans. More recently, a translation of Blume's book into English has appeared in print, giving his monograph the kind of publicity it deserves.<sup>17</sup> These developments will not only enhance our understanding of the German role in Louisiana's past, but should also, perhaps once and for all, break Deiler's hold in this area of research.



Partially as a result of coming into contact with the writings of Blume, the present author began his own researches into the history of the Germans of this region. Inspired by Blume, and recognizing that virtually nothing good on Louisiana's colonial Germans existed in English (with the exception of Conrad's translation of Le Conte's article), I embarked on my own research enterprises. As I became aware of the literature in this field, I soon realized the presence of Deiler's pervasive influence, and thus felt compelled to begin my work with a critique of this man's findings. Three essays followed whose main purpose was to reveal the deficiencies of the great pioneer of German studies in Louisiana. The first essay, "German Immigration to French Colonial Louisiana: A Reevaluation," in *Proceedings of the Fourth Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society* 4 (April 1979): 70-81, ridiculed Deiler's notion that thousands of Germans were sent to Louisiana between 1718 and 1721. Then came "Germans in Louisiana: The Colonial Experience, 1720-1803," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 16 (1981): 59-66, which contained a critique of Deiler, but which also went beyond that to provide a brief historical overview of the German colonial involvement. Finally, the short essay, "Louisiana's German Pioneers: The Early Years," *New Orleans Genesis* 22 (April 1983): 135-42, again briefly revealed Deiler's distortions, but recounted as well the modest agricultural successes of the Germans in the early years.<sup>18</sup> All three essays relied heavily on the previously neglected works of Franz, Le Conte, and Blume, as well as the archival holdings of the University of Southwestern Louisiana's Center for Louisiana Studies.

Other efforts to advance the state of scholarship in this field of interest followed. These efforts were less concerned with disproving Deiler than with broadening the areas of research. Of particular interest was the role played by Charles Frederick D'Arensborg in the founding and early history of the German colony. D'Arensborg's name was frequently mentioned in the official archival records, catching, for example, the eye of Governor Bienville, who described the former as an "intelligent, valorous, and handsome figure." Indeed, Bienville thought so highly of this Swedish officer that he placed him in charge of the German Coast settlement, where he served as commander and judge for forty-seven years.<sup>19</sup> These and other conclusions, as well as an overall assessment of D'Arensborg's place in the history of the German colony were made in my article: "Charles Frederick D'Arensborg (1693-1777)," *New Orleans Genesis* 20 (September 1981): 395-401.

Four years later I developed the theme that I had touched upon in the previous article—the role of D'Arensborg and his people in the 1768 rebellion against Spain. This topic was expanded into an article and published in *Louisiana History* 26, 4 (Fall 1985), with the title: "The German Involvement in the Rebellion of 1768." This work elaborated on the causes for the German participation in the abortive revolt against Spanish



authorities. The Germans joined the rebellion to oust the Spanish principally for three reasons: Governor Antonio de Ulloa's "highhanded" expropriation of grain from German farmers (to feed the newly arrived and destitute Acadians); Ulloa's restrictive economic decrees and monetary policies which were viewed by the Germans as a threat to their well-being; and D'Arensbourg's close familial ties to the conspiracy's main leaders.

All of my research and writing efforts were brought together with the publication of a book-length monograph on the history of Louisiana's colonial Germans. This slender work appeared in 1990 as volume five in the series, *American-German Studies*, edited by Cornelius Sommer and William C. McDonald, and published by the Academic Publishing House of Stuttgart, under the title *The Germans of Colonial Louisiana, 1720-1803*. My concluding study on the Germans of colonial Louisiana suggested that these people, though small in number, influenced the land they settled in a positive way. Their most significant impact came as tillers of the soil. They were one of the colony's chief agricultural producers, providing, above all, the capital city with some of its food requirements. In other areas of endeavor, the Germans played a much more negligible role. Politically, they were important only briefly during the rebellion against Spain. Culturally speaking, they appeared almost nonexistent. It is interesting to note that the Germans left behind hardly a single document in their own language (with a few exceptions)<sup>20</sup> pointing to their presence in the Louisiana colony.

A number of additional studies on Louisiana's colonial Germans have appeared in the last two decades that suggest that the level of scholarship in this area of interest has finally come into its own. An examination of these works will round out our bibliographical survey. The first is an article by Glenn Conrad evaluating the arrival of Alsatian immigrants to Louisiana in the 1750s. Conrad's conclusions were published as an essay entitled, "Alsatian Immigration to Louisiana, 1753-1759," and appeared in *New Orleans Genesis* 14 (June 1975): 221-26. According to the author, roughly one hundred German-speaking Alsatians emigrated to Louisiana and settled down among their compatriots on the German Coast. They were political and religious exiles (most of them were Lutheran), who were given the choice of life in distant Louisiana or imprisonment and torture in France. They were forced to abjure their Protestant faith, and accept the Catholic religion before their departure to the New World. They arrived in Louisiana in three stages over the years 1753, 1756, and 1759. Those who left in the latter two years apparently followed their relatives who had departed earlier. These immigrants were readily received by their compatriots and the colony's officials. Governor Louis Billouart de Kerlerec, who presided over their arrival, openly praised these immigrants in his reports to the home government. Their



arrival added significantly to the overall productivity of the German Coast region and, no doubt, helped the German colony to revitalize its ethnic identity.<sup>21</sup>

Another recent scholarly contribution by Conrad was a translation of a chapter entitled "L'Immigration Allemande," which appeared originally in Marcel Giraud's *Histoire de la Louisiane Française*.<sup>22</sup> Conrad's translation was published as "German Immigration," and appeared in the journal *Louisiana Review* 10 (1981): 143-57. The article offered to its English readers the most authoritative account yet of the initial German immigration to Louisiana. Ultimately, this translation changed very little the overall picture of the German colonization of Louisiana that had been provided by Franz, Le Conte, and Kondert in their earlier works. However, some interesting details not known before were brought out in Conrad's translation, thereby helping a wider reading audience to understand more intimately the nature of the German immigration to colonial Louisiana. Conrad's translation disseminated Giraud's conclusions on such important matters as the exact number of Germans recruited by the Company of the Indies, the origins of these recruits, where they assembled, and why so many of them died and how they died, before, during, and after the Atlantic crossing.

Adding significantly to our understanding of the origins of the first "German" colonists who settled in Louisiana are two articles that examined the part played by the Swiss immigrants. David Hardcastle's "Swiss Mercenary Soldiers in the Service of France in Louisiana," *Proceedings of the Fourth Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society* 4 (April 1979): 82-91, brings into focus the role of Swiss troops in the Louisiana colony. According to Hardcastle, Swiss mercenaries were avidly recruited by the French government for service abroad. Swiss soldiers were renowned for fighting abilities. Colonial officials considered each Swiss soldier to have the value of three of his French equivalents. About two hundred Swiss workers and soldiers arrived in Louisiana in 1721 as part of a contingent known as the Merveilleux Company (also called the Von Wunderlich Company). Some of these men married German girls and settled down among their German-speaking compatriots on the German Coast when their terms of enlistment had expired. These Swiss, like the Alsatians, must have contributed to strengthening the colony's ethnic cohesiveness. At the very least, they helped to keep alive the German language.

The last article to be considered is Ellen C. Merrill's "The Swiss and German Connections: The First Migration to the Gulf Coast Under French Colonial Rule," *Gulf Coast Historical Review* 3, 2 (1988): 42-61. Merrill's study offers an insightful look into the methods employed by agents of the Company of the Indies as they attempted to entice Swiss workers and soldiers for settlement in Louisiana. For the most part, these agents were



unscrupulous propagandists (such as Merveilleux), who misleadingly painted life in Louisiana as a paradise on earth. Much of Merrill's research was completed in Switzerland, where she was able to uncover many of the original broadsides that were being disseminated by the Company's salesmen. Merrill's translations of some of these propaganda tracts, as well as her thoughtful analysis of the reaction that this literature evoked from Swiss officials (who tried desperately to halt this traffic in human beings, to the point of offering a large reward for the capture of Merveilleux), provide a fascinating view of the recruitment methods and responses in early eighteenth-century Switzerland.

What conclusions can we draw now that we have completed our bibliographical survey? One thing is certain, and this point bears repeating, the roughly thirty works that we have reviewed vary greatly in quality. The "scholarship" employed ranges from the first rate to the amateurish. To a large extent, Deiler, with whom we began our discussion, exemplifies both of these extremes. He was both an insightful scholar and a gullible dilettante. He has probably not been the only historian who has combined these attributes. Certainly, his German nationalism caused him to make many mistakes. Nonetheless, we must credit him with bringing the history of the colonial Germans into the limelight. Many who followed him in his field of endeavor were not his equal. They lacked his insights and passion and passed on only his distortions. But, there were others who were creatively inspired by Deiler, who made the necessary corrections and added new discoveries. Among the latter were certainly Franz, Le Conte, Blume, Conrad, and several others.

Where does the scholarship of the Germans of colonial Louisiana go from here? There are a number of topics that could be beneficially pursued by students interested in this general area of study. I would suggest that much more work needs to be done on the question of the religious backgrounds of the German colonists, and the issue of religious toleration among the German Coast's inhabitants. D'Arensbourg, their leader, was Lutheran. Many others were adherents of various Protestant persuasions. Approximately 20 percent of the original three hundred German settlers were Protestants. The one hundred Alsatians who came in the 1750s were originally Lutheran before their forced conversion to the Catholic faith. Did any of these Protestants make any effort to practice their faiths in the New World? History suggests that they would have. Throughout time, men and women have been willing to sacrifice everything for the right to worship as they please. Were Louisiana's Protestants so different? Perhaps Protestant congregations did worship in private. Whatever the case, this entire question bears further examination.<sup>23</sup>

Another topic which could be pursued with greater precision is the economic role of the Germans. How did they fit into the overall economy of the Louisiana colony? Did they ever transcend their purely local agricultural importance? Blume suggested that a few farms reached plantation status at the end of the Spanish era, some with fifty or more slaves. Did they produce crops for export? And what kinds? What was the relationship between the growth of the German Coast's economy and the free-trade policies adopted by the Spanish in the 1780s? Other questions could be asked concerning the development of slavery. By 1803, there were almost thirty-three hundred slaves on German farms. What kinds of masters were the Germans? Where did most of these slaves come from? Did slavery grow more quickly on the German Coast than elsewhere? And so on.

Also, there is the important issue of assimilation. Yes, German names disappeared quickly. But what about the German language? How long was it spoken on the German Coast? Eye witness observers traveling through the German Coast region reported not only that German was spoken there, but also related that the Germans had retained many of their customs and ways as late as the early years of the nineteenth century. Perhaps their cultural and physical assimilation did not occur as rapidly as Deiler and others had maintained. The sources clearly indicated that the German Coast's inhabitants were set apart in their manners and in their physical appearances from the rest of the population, even at the time of the American takeover.<sup>24</sup>

Other questions could, of course, be posed. The enterprising student will find the necessary documentation to answer some of these questions in the secondary sources evaluated above, in the records of Dupre Library's Center for Louisiana Studies at the University of Southwestern Louisiana, and in the overseas archives of Louisiana's colonial masters. If this essay can offer the necessary inspiration for a further examination of these, and other, issues raised, it will have performed its requisite purpose. If the prospective researcher performs his duties properly, he will have attained the noble heights to which Ranke called the members of his profession.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Deiler wrote the following works on the Germans of Louisiana: *Germany's Contribution to the Present Population of New Orleans. With a Census of the German Schools* (New Orleans, 1886); *Das Redemptionssystem im Staate Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1901); *Zur Geschichte der Deutschen Kirchengemeinden im Staate Louisiana. Mit einem Census der New Orleanser*



deutschen Schulen und der fremdgeborenen Bevölkerung von 1850 bis 1890 (New Orleans, 1894); Louisiana, ein Heim für deutsche Ansiedler (New Orleans, 1895); Geschichte der Deutschen Gesellschaft von New Orleans. Mit einer Einleitung: die Europäische Einwanderung nach den Vereinigten Staaten von 1820 bis 1896. Jubiläumsschrift (New Orleans, 1897); Die Europäische Einwanderung nach den Vereinigten Staaten von 1820 bis 1896. Special Edition (New Orleans, 1897); Eine vergessene deutsche Colonie. Eine Stimme zur Verteidigung des Grafen de Leon, alias Bernhard Müller (New Orleans, 1901); Geschichte der New Orleanser deutschen Presse (New Orleans, 1901); and the two works listed in the text.

<sup>2</sup> The republication of this book in 1970 suggests that Deiler's views on Louisiana's colonial Germans have remained current in some circles. See his *The Settlement of the German Coast of Louisiana and the Creoles of German Descent*, with a preface, chronology, and index by Jack Belsom (Baltimore, 1970).

<sup>3</sup> Examples of historians who did not accord the Germans their proper due were: Charles Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, 4 vols. (New Orleans, 1965); Francois-Xavier Martin, *The History of Louisiana, from the Earliest Period* (New Orleans, 1882); and Alcée Fortier, *A History of Louisiana*, 4 vols. (New York, 1904).

<sup>4</sup> The Louisiana Historical Society acquired transcripts of documents (only twenty-nine typescript pages) from the French colonial archives relating to shiplists and early census tables in December 1904. These were used by both Deiler and Alexander Franz (see n. 11) to reconstruct their findings on the numbers of German colonists brought to Louisiana between 1718 and 1721 (with different results of course).

<sup>5</sup> See André-Joseph Penicaut, *Annals of Louisiana* in Benjamin Franklin French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida* (New York, 1869), 151.

<sup>6</sup> See Pierre F. X. Charlevoix, *Journal of a Voyage to North America*, 2 vols. (Ann Arbor, 1966), 2:247.

<sup>7</sup> See Guy Soniat Dufossat, *Synopsis of the History of Louisiana: From the Founding of the Colony to the End of the Year 1791*, trans. Charles T. Soniat (New Orleans, 1903), 15.

<sup>8</sup> See also Rattermann's *Gesammelte Ausgewählte Werke* (Cincinnati, 1912), 147-53. One other German author who might have influenced Deiler to some extent was Rudolf Cronau, *Drei Jahrhunderte deutschen Lebens in Amerika. Eine Geschichte der Deutschen in den Vereinigten Staaten* (Berlin, 1909), p. 12, where he maintains that 3,000 German immigrants landed in Louisiana in the 1720s.

<sup>9</sup> See Arnold S. Morris, "The Myth Of John Law's German Colony on the Arkansas," *Louisiana History* 31, 1 (1990): 83-87.

<sup>10</sup> See his *Mississippi Valley Beginnings, an Outline of the Early History of the Earlier West* (New York, 1922), 66-68.

<sup>11</sup> For Franz's main work on Louisiana's colonization under French rule, see *Die Kolonisation des Mississippitales bis zum Ausgang der französischen Herrschaft* (Leipzig, 1906).

<sup>12</sup> Jean Baptiste de la Harpe, *The Historical Journal of the Establishment of the French in Louisiana*, trans. and ed. Glenn R. Conrad (Lafayette, 1971).

<sup>13</sup> Charles le Gac, *Immigration and War, Louisiana: 1718-1721*, trans. and ed. Glenn R. Conrad (Lafayette, 1970).

<sup>14</sup> As indicated, Franz and Le Conte disagreed slightly on the number of Germans sent to Louisiana because of their differences on who should be counted as German. They also disagreed on when the German colony was founded along the western shores of the Mississippi. Le Conte said June or July 1721. Franz, who made the better case and who examined the question much more thoroughly, insisted that the founding of the German settlement occurred in February 1722.

<sup>15</sup> See René le Conte, "The Germans in Louisiana in the Eighteenth Century," trans. and ed. Glenn R. Conrad, *Louisiana History* 7 (1967): 67-84.

<sup>16</sup> A detailed discussion of the relationship between slavery and the cultivation of sugar cane in colonial and antebellum Louisiana can be found in Helmut Blume, *Zuckerrohranbau am unteren Mississippi* (Regensburg, 1954).



<sup>17</sup> Helmut Blume, *The German Coast During the Colonial Era 1722-1803 (the Evolution of a Distinct Cultural Landscape in the Lower Mississippi Delta in the Colonial Era)*, trans. and ed. Ellen C. Merrill (Destrehan, LA, 1990).

<sup>18</sup> This article was originally published in French translation. See Reinhart Kondert, "Les Allemands en Louisiane de 1721 à 1732," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française* 33, 1 (June 1979): 51-65.

<sup>19</sup> Additional information on D'Arensborg can be found in H. J. de la Vergne, "Charles Frederick D'Arensborg," *Publications of the Louisiana Historical Society* 7 (1913-14): 124-26. De la Vergne's brief discussion of the German commander did not merit being included in the text of my bibliographical essay. An extensive record of the civil proceedings over which the German leader presided can be found in Elizabeth Becker Gianelloni, *Calender of Louisiana Documents: The D'Arensborg Records, 1734-1769*, St. Charles Parish (Baton Rouge, 1965).

<sup>20</sup> A total of only three documents in the German language have been discovered by researchers that date back to the colonial era. Blume found a marriage contract between Christoph Hubert and Catrine Foltz written in the German script dated 9 September 1747. Deiler uncovered a building contract of 1763 which stipulated that Andreas Bluemer had agreed to build a house for Simon Traeger "for 2,000 livres, a cow, a heifer, and a black calf." In a third document of 1795, the inhabitants of the German Coast protested the levying of slave indemnities. The grammar and spelling in that document were extremely poor, suggesting that the authors of that petition were barely literate. See Blume, *Die Entwicklung der Kulturlandschaft*, 105; Deiler, *The Settlement of the German Coast*, 118; and Anne A. Baade, "Slave Indemnities: A German Coast Response, 1795," *Louisiana History* 20, 1 (Winter 1979), 102-9.

<sup>21</sup> Also helping to maintain the ethnic vitality of the German Coast was the arrival of a group of Maryland Germans in 1769. These eight families (fifty-seven individuals), settled at Fort Iberville along Bayou Manchac. They were placed here by Governor Alejandro O'Reilly as an outpost helping to guard the border against British incursions. Later, many of these Germans moved and joined their compatriots on the German Coast. Deiler mistakenly believed that the Maryland Germans reached Louisiana in 1774. The official records proved him wrong. For the most recent information on the Maryland Germans, see Reinhart Kondert, *The Germans of Colonial Louisiana*, 61-63.

<sup>22</sup> See Marcel Giraud, *Histoire de la Louisiane Française*, vol. 4, *La Louisiane Après le Système de Law (1721-1723)* (Paris, 1974), 154-67.

<sup>23</sup> Deiler examined the religious history of Louisiana's Germans at great length, but he concentrated his study on the nineteenth century. Only eleven pages of his one-hundred-and-forty-five-page monograph deal with the colonial Germans. See his *Zur Geschichte der Deutschen Kirchengemeinden im Staate Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1894). There is a good English translation of this work. See J. Hanno Deiler, *A History of the German Churches in Louisiana*, trans. and ed. Mary Stella Condon (Lafayette, 1983).

<sup>24</sup> Two interesting descriptions of the German Coast and its inhabitants are given by C. C. Robin and Berquin Duvallon. Both were Frenchmen who visited the German Coast between 1802 and 1805. Robin remarked that the "Germans lived in the midst of the French and preserved their taciturn character, their language and their customs." Duvallon noted that the "Germans are somewhat numerous, and are distinguished by their accent, fair and fresh complexion, their inhospitality, brutal manners, and proneness to intoxication." See C. C. Robin, *Voyages dans L'Intérieur de la Louisiane*, vol. 1 of James Alexander Robertson, ed., *Louisiana Under the Rule of Spain, France, and the United States*, 2 vols. (Freeport, 1910-11), 224; and Berquin Duvallon, *Travels in Louisiana and the Floridas, in the Year 1802, Giving a Correct Picture of These Countries*, trans. and ed. John Davis (New York, 1806), 78.



## Book Reviews

Edited by Jerry Glenn  
*University of Cincinnati*

**Hans Reimer Claussen, 1804-1894: A Sketch of His Life.**

By La Vern J. Rippley. Davenport, IA: Hesperian, 1994. 87 pages. \$6.00.

**The Sioux Uprising in Minnesota, 1862: Jacob Nix's Eyewitness History.**

Edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Indianapolis: Max Kade German-American Center and Indiana German Heritage Society, 1994. 165 pages. \$12.80.

In his classic work, *Refugees of Revolution*, Carl Wittke stated that immigration at all times requires "an extraordinary amount of determination" (52). So it could be said of scholars seeking to make a place for German-Americans in the American historical mainstream. In the books under review here, Tolzmann and Rippley have made welcome contributions to our understanding of nineteenth-century German Americana. Because of their determination to translate German into English, both editors deserve high praise for making their works available to the large English-speaking readership, particularly because of the works' historical relevance.

Through the keen eye of editor and translator Don Tolzmann, the long-forgotten Sioux uprising that occurred in Minnesota in August and September 1862 has been revisited through the eyewitness account of Jacob Nix. Indeed, it was the purpose of Nix and Tolzmann to provide scholars with an accurate account of one of the many sideshows of the Civil War. The Sioux uprising in southwestern Minnesota began 17 August and lasted until 23 September. The Sioux Indians, allegedly facing semistarvation on their reservation revolted against the white settlers who apparently showed little sympathy for their wretched conditions. After murdering settlers near Acton, Minnesota, on 17 August, the depredations continued and federal soldiers were ambushed on 18 August at Redwood Ferry. More troops under former Minnesota

governor Henry Hastings Sibley were excited into action and successfully defended New Ulm and Fort Ridgely and finally defeated the Indians at Wood Lake 23 September. More than one thousand Indians were captured and on 26 December, thirty-eight Sioux were executed at Mankato, Minnesota. Although the number of white casualties during the six-week uprising was unknown, Jacob Nix placed the number around eight hundred men, women, and children.

According to Captain Nix the commandant of New Ulm and former participant in the German Revolution of 1848, the uprising was caused by the breach of contract by the U.S. government which had contracted to pay the Sioux Indians in gold in return for the large tract of land which they had given up. In August, when the U.S. paymaster arrived to pay the Indians, the official had paper money, which the Indians refused to accept fearing the currency had no value. The paymaster left Minnesota with the promise to return with gold but never did. Consequently, when the local merchants refused the Indians credit, the Indians, already enduring terrible living conditions, decided to retaliate. Although Nix embraces the prevailing anti-Indian bias of his time, he places the cause solidly on the shoulders of the officials of the U.S. government Indian agencies, as well as those of the traders. He points to their greed and the generally unscrupulous treatment of the Sioux as the central cause of the uprising.

Aside from his military duties and community activities, Nix found time after the Civil War to write his eyewitness history of the Sioux uprising which appeared in German in 1887. It was clear at the time that he had several intentions for writing such a volume. First, he considered that the lack of monolingual sources on the affair would serve to greatly bias historical accuracy. Thus, he assumed that his German account was as valid as those accounts written in English. Perhaps he was right, though his account is no less sketchy than those American contemporaries who wrote of the massacre. Nix also addresses the question of crime and punishment by arguing for the execution of the Indians in Mankato. Of the two thousand Indians who surrendered, Nix's estimate, nearly five hundred were given a military trial, of whom 306 were sentenced to death and eighteen to imprisonment. President Abraham Lincoln then commuted the death sentences of all but thirty-eight, maintaining that only those who could be proven guilty of murder and rape should be executed. Finally, Nix goes to great pains to record the names of those who played an important role in the various aspects of the uprising. Apparently, as Tolzmann remarks, Nix felt that his own role as New Ulm commandant, as well as that of the New Ulm defenders, had not been appropriately appraised.

Perhaps what is important about Nix's story of the Sioux uprising is not that his account has any more historical accuracy than his American



counterparts, but rather that he realized the need for his story to be told even though his account was in German. In this regard, Nix's account proves useful for historians seeking to place the German-American of the nineteenth century in the context of one who saw himself not as a victim of circumstances, but rather one who could help determine the past. In this way, the importance of Nix's account lies beyond the battlefield and extends to the realm of German-American identity. In the case of Minnesota, where the German-American element is the single largest ethnic group, German-American sources are not only significant and important, they are absolutely essential to Minnesota history.

Edited and introduced by La Vern J. Rippley, *Hans Reimer Claussen: A Sketch of His Life* is a collection of six short essays written in German and English, which analyze the political life and times of Claussen, political refugee of the failed German revolution turned Iowa politician. They were published in conjunction with the 1994 Society of German-American Studies symposium to commemorate the Hans Reimer Claussen Centennial, 1894-1994. Although these essays are different in their approach to analyzing Claussen, they are similar in tone and emphasis. Nikolaus Schmidt depicts Claussen as a man of strong convictions who was neither an idealist nor a pioneer, but rather a man who in the main was more moderate than extreme. He opposed those who possessed power and took the part of those in society who were excluded from influencing political objectives. Freedom of expression, according to Schmidt, was the very heart of his political activity, and by the time he arrived in America in 1851, he had considerable experience in working actively for reforms in politics and the legal system. In the second essay Joachim Reppmann focuses on Claussen's influence as a representative of Schleswig-Holstein in the 1848 parliamentary debate in Frankfurt. Although unsuccessful in swaying the representatives of the need for a liberal democratic central authority for the whole of Germany, Claussen continued his political activity in Schleswig-Holstein energetically supporting establishment of the first political workers' societies. William Roba focuses on Claussen's acculturation in America and his local, state and regional influence in the Midwest's cultural and political interests. He argues that Claussen's influence transcended Davenport, Iowa, and reached thousands of Midwestern German-Americans seeking to fit into the American political mainstream. Richard Lord Acton delineates Claussen's career as an Iowa senator from Scott County, 1869-73, contending that Claussen championed the causes of his German-American constituents. Claussen advocated against temperance laws and women's suffrage. According to Acton, Claussen championed against women's suffrage probably because he "feared that if women received the vote, the temperance movement—long supported by women reformers—would triumph" (51).

In an attempt to lay out the intellectual and political framework in which Claussen's ideological dye was cast, Ernst-Erich Marhencke analyzes the political environment of Claussen's Germany. He concludes that though Claussen was an outstanding fighter for liberalism and democracy in Germany, the transformation of state and society which he hoped for failed in the end largely because in Schleswig-Holstein, for example, the interests of the great powers were infringed upon because of the dynastic and geographical circumstances. In a final essay Joachim Reppmann places Claussen's political activities in the context of larger European political considerations of the 1840s.

Taken as whole these essays are a comprehensive collection of German-American political and intellectual history. Through Hans Reimer Claussen the causes and consequences of the 1848 German Revolution are considered. Rippley is to be commended in bringing together various elements of Claussen's life which provide a framework for not only looking at the events that shaped German and American history, but also looking at those who helped shape those events.

In the final analysis these two works have considerable merit. Not only do these English translations reach a wider audience, they add significantly to the existing literature of nineteenth-century German-American history. They serve as a useful reminder to semibilingual historians, like myself, that bilingualism is an asset not to be considered lightly when considering the enormity of the German-American influence on American history.

Florida Atlantic University

Stephen D. Engle

### **Dictionary of German Names.**

By Hans Bahlow. Translated by Edda Gentry. Madison: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, 1993. xxxix + 641 pages. \$22.50.

*Dictionary of German Names* is an English-language version of the 1967 publication *Deutsches Namenlexikon*, by the noted researcher of meanings and origins of family names, Hans Bahlow. Of Bahlow's publications in this area, *Deutsches Namenlexikon* is recognized as his most comprehensive and authoritative guide to surnames, with some 15,000 German names catalogued, and their etymological meanings clarified. For this and other reasons, the book has served as a desirable reference guide, especially for those interested in genealogy and German-Americana.

During the last three decades, a new and widespread interest in genealogy has furthered interest in Bahlow's work, particularly in the United States, where the German element remains the largest ethnic group. Unfortunately, the usefulness of Bahlow's research has been



limited here by the fact that increasingly fewer Americans have a reading knowledge of German. As a consequence, much valuable information for researchers has been rendered inaccessible.

With this in mind, Edda Gentry has undertaken the task of translating *Deutsches Namenlexikon* into English. *Dictionary of German Names* begins with an introduction to the English translation, in which the need for an English-language edition of the book is explained, acknowledging the exhaustive, though necessarily incomplete, nature of the original work. Further, the introduction offers English-speaking readers several suggestions regarding how best to use the entries, citing the possibility of variant spellings of names due to Anglicization, and the frequency of direct German to English translations of names (such as "Stein" to "Stone"). Also in the introduction, several concrete examples from the book are cited, in order to clarify the format of the work and illustrate some of the many abbreviations used in the entries.

The remainder of *Dictionary of German Names* is a more or less direct translation of the Bahlow original. The translation seldom strays from the German-language original; no substantive additions or changes were made in bringing the text into English. In the author's foreword, faithfully rendered into English by Peter Erspamer, Bahlow explains the premise under which he worked, namely the need for a reference work which would show the original sound structure and regional roots of German names. The author's introduction, also capably translated by Erspamer, further serves to clarify the changing face of German names from the Middle Ages to the present, and the need for a concise reference book to trace their evolution. Here Bahlow discusses in depth the medieval origins of German surnames, and the many factors which contributed to their development. Geographical and occupational factors are given special emphasis in an engaging and informative discussion. Erspamer's translation enhances the Bahlow discussion of language and names; translations of colloquial German names, based on descriptive adjectives and compound nouns, reflect the rapid development of urban community life in the German-speaking area, with surnames seen to develop from prominent physical features ("Hals"), human temperaments ("Brausewetter"), conditions of poverty ("Krumeneter"), and even the tax system ("Dreiheller") (xx-xxi).

Several helpful features precede the body of the text, to assist the reader in understanding the information presented. Abbreviations of terms referring to language areas and dialects, place names, and bibliographic sources, among others, are clearly presented. This is especially helpful for novice researchers who otherwise might be discouraged from using the book; as discussed in the introduction, abbreviations are used with frequency, in the interest of saving space. Also of benefit are maps of the German, Austrian, and Swiss areas, and

of Middle High German literary dialects, which serve well those researchers less familiar with German and German-speaking Europe. The bibliography includes a generous selection of general, regional, and local source materials, among others, and gives researchers a wealth of primary and secondary sources for consultation. Problematic, however, is the placement of the bibliography; located inconspicuously before the maps and body of the text, it is easily overlooked, and calls attention to another flaw: there is no table of contents.

The lexicon of names is remarkable for its scope and breadth, noteworthy for the degree of detail Bahlow incorporates. The entries are translated admirably by Gentry, with precision and a lack of variance from the original, but also with a smooth style which reads well in English. Cross-references for names are provided regularly, to simplify the process of finding a desired name. For example, one looking up the name "Straub" is given not only the origin of that particular name, but also is guided towards the names "Straube," "Sträuble," "Straibl," the Low German "Struve," and even "Strobel" and "Struwelpeter" (546). The exhaustive research undertaken by Bahlow is evident in countless passages; a reference to the name "Hanke" refers to predecessors such as Hanek Randorf, in Randorf, Bohemia, in 1371; and Hanke (Hannus) Cranch, a court judge near Liegnitz (209). Similarly, those interested in the name "Perdöhl" find its origin in Perdöl, in Holstein and Mecklenburg, with a further reference given for the name "Predöhl" (405).

Such examples illustrate the tremendous service *Deutsches Namenlexikon* provides for researchers interested in their German heritage, and for scholars looking to understand better the roots of the German element in America. *Dictionary of German Names* provides no less important a service, by translating an invaluable reference book and making it available for the first time to those without a background in German. In filling this critical gap it will be welcomed as a definitive reference work for those interested in genealogy, German-American studies, and even German history.

San Antonio, Texas

Timothy J. Holian

**Branching Out: German-Jewish Immigration to the United States, 1820-1914.**

By Avraham Barkai. New York, London: Holmes and Meier, 1994. 269 pages. \$40.00.

Until recent decades, the historiography of nineteenth-century German-Jewish immigration to the United States typically narrated a tale of mostly single and poor German Jewish males fleeing socioeconomic



discrimination who crossed the Atlantic between the 1820s and 1860s in search of enhanced opportunities. These immigrants, the plot continued, eventually brought over family members, Americanized quickly, and acculturated or thoroughly assimilated as they ascended the economic ladder in a veritable rags-to-riches success story. Some among them rose to become the established elite of American Jewry into the twentieth century only to see their numbers overwhelmed and social status eroded by the post-1880 influx of millions of East European Jews, whose intense, varied expressions of Jewishness called into question the presumed tepid Jewish identities of erstwhile German Jews and their descendants.

Thanks to the work of Naomi Cohen, Michael A. Meyer, and Hasia Diner, among others, this simplistic picture has given way to more nuanced and searching analyses of American German-Jewish life, which not only have framed in clearer perspective German-Jewish contributions to American Jewish society, but which have also probed the contours of the American German-Jewish identity and rejected uniform depictions of German Jews as "mere assimilationists." To this list of significant works revising our understanding of German Jews in America one must add Avraham Barkai's excellent study, *Branching Out: German-Jewish Immigration to the United States, 1820-1914*.

Synthesizing existing secondary scholarship while evaluating new archival resources such as memoirs, diaries, autobiographies, as well as the German-Jewish press, Barkai offers a comprehensive, historically sophisticated evaluation of the demographic patterns of German-Jewish immigration to America—where in Germany they came from, when they came, where in America they went to, as well as useful, if often derivative, socioeconomic profiles of the immigrants and their occupational and residential patterns. The book also discusses the immigrant relationships with German non-Jews in the United States and with East European Jews at the turn of the century; Barkai's tracing of the impact of German-Jewish emigrants on German Jews who stayed behind and the ongoing interaction between the new immigrants and the Old World proves especially revealing and refreshing.

Barkai's central thesis is novel and provocative. Contra inherited wisdom which has asserted that German-Jewish immigration essentially ceased when the waves of East European Jews began to arrive in the 1880s, he argues that German-Jewish immigration to America did not stop by the 1870s, that in fact, there were two waves of German-Jewish immigration: the first, consisting primarily of Bavarian Jews and Jews from western and southwestern states like Baden and Württemberg, numbered about 140,000 and lasted from the 1820s to the Civil War; the second, featuring a majority of Jews from Posen, Silesia, and West Prussia, totaled about 70,000 and took place from the 1870s to World War I. Much



of the book delineates the different social features of the two waves of immigration and their historical and cultural consequences.

Barkai contends that the first movement of German-Jewish immigration, although concurrent with the general German immigration to America, was an autonomous Jewish phenomenon motivated by the "push" factors of discriminatory socioeconomic legislation directed specifically at Jews. Immigration, therefore, was a substitute strategy for Jewish emancipation, which in the first half of the nineteenth century had yet to be fully realized. Consisting initially of mostly single young people, more men than women—although already between 1835-70, almost 50 percent of the emigrants were already married—and forbidden by restrictive *Matrikel* laws from marrying and settling families, German Jews emigrated in search of better conditions and opportunities. Again, contra inherited wisdom, Barkai claims that most of these immigrants were not destitute upon arrival, that in fact, many had trades, crafts, and some education. Moreover, their emigration did not result in a profound breach with their families or native lands, as they kept up diligently with personal letters as well as correspondence to the German press. Indeed, the author suggests, German Jewish immigrants in America saw themselves as but a transplanted branch of German Jewry. Once having arrived, the relocated immigrants constituted a "pull" factor for family members, and in some cases, whole communities, to join them.

German-Jewish immigrants in the later Gilded Age, Barkai asserts, left a Germany in which the Jewish socioeconomic and legal situation had dramatically improved. Consequently, whereas push factors had been paramount in motivating the first wave of German Jews to leave, the pull factors of family connections and economic enterprises were more significant for the second wave of immigrants. Hence, this cohort of people had a more equal distribution of men and women, featured more modernized, urban, well-to-do and proud German Jews; almost all knew where they were going—to relatives—when they landed, thus making them less mobile than the first immigrant wave.

I think Barkai has forced us to rethink the issue of scope and extent of German-Jewish immigration, and for that he is heartily commended. The problematic area of his thesis, however, concerns both the numbers and the very concept of a second wave of German-Jewish immigration. As he himself points out, the numbers--extrapolated from a variety of sources--ultimately derive from educated guesses. But more significantly: is it the case that Jews from Posen and Silesia are to be considered German? Or were they really Polish Jews? Who is to say, and based on what criteria? On this point, Barkai does not probe sufficiently; he would have benefited from engaging Hasia Diner's analysis in *A Time for Gathering: The Second Migration, 1820-1880*, which raised the question



about the appropriate characterization of Posen's Jewish immigrants in the 1860s; the question remains relevant for the later period as well.

Notwithstanding this comment, this book represents a first-class piece of scholarship, replete with historical insights and helpful historiographical perspectives on the nature, role and place of German-Jewish immigration to America during the nineteenth century; it is heartily commended to the readership of this journal.

*University of Cincinnati*

*Benny Kraut*

**The Life and Works of Charles Sealsfield (Karl Postl) 1793-1864.**

*Edited by Charlotte L. Brancaforte. Madison: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies. University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1993. xxxix + 302 pages. \$22.50.*

Charles Sealsfield, i.e., Karl Postl, has long been regarded as being on the periphery of German language literature. This may be a result of his life which began in Austrian Moravia and then brought him to the emerging United States. His literary works received minimal recognition in German-speaking Europe and even less in English-speaking America. Due to the dedicated work of our late colleague, Karl J. R. Arndt, who brought out the new edition of these works in 1972 (Hildesheim and New York: Olms), Sealsfield has emerged as a major literary figure for German and German-American literature and literary research.

In the autumn of 1988 a major symposium dealing with the life and works of Sealsfield was held at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, which easily and finally establishes Charles Sealsfield as a major German-language author of the nineteenth century. The papers presented at the symposium are extensive and varied and deal with many aspects of Sealsfield's oeuvre. Scholars from Europe and the United States establish the significance of this Austrian-American artist among the major authors of our literature. Even if Sealsfield was often ignored by the mainstream of literary research, one has now come to a new evaluation of his impact on the German-language literature and even on the English-language literature on both sides of the Atlantic.

This volume, consisting of the papers presented at the symposium, deals with the extensive and varied works and views of this most versatile literary giant. The topics are so extensive that it is difficult to enumerate them all. The essays deal with Sealsfield's relation to the nineteenth-century Austrian Empire and the Catholic restoration, to his early experiences in the emerging United States, his personal development as a result of the encounter with the New World, the strong philosophical connection with his European homeland, his stylistic differences from



Central European authors, his contact to contemporary political and social developments in the New World, and most interesting despite all, his close ties to the values of his European homeland. Essays also deal with Sealsfield's views of aesthetics, the position of women in the society of the New World, the influence of Romanticism and the Biedermeier period upon his works, his views on Goethe and others. Sealsfield's fascination for the development of the American political tradition is parallel to that of de Tocqueville in his well-known work on American democracy and his high regard for President Jackson. One also learns of his views on the financial development in the New World. Initially enthusiastic about that which he regarded as an equalitarian society, a developing disillusion sets in as he recognizes the importance of those of wealth who represent, he believes, a new aristocracy in the United States which seemed to correspond to the aristocracy of the Old World.

Sealsfield is also most concerned about the treatment of the American Indians. He does not fall into the cliché of the "noble savage," but one learns he realized what was happening to these proud nations. Having been brought up in the tradition of the Enlightenment and the conservatism of Austrian Catholicism, Sealsfield was a priest in the Church, he was well versed, one reads, in the new liberal ideas as well as in the significance and importance of tradition. As much as he was positively inclined to judge the democratic experiment in the New World, he was also not blind to negative aspects he also experienced. As a result of his extensive travels, partly on the East Coast but more extensively in the South and then West of the United States, he was able to draw a distinction, often to his disappointment, between the capitalistic-oriented society of the East and the "purer" life of the western frontier areas. His tendency, one learns, favors the western areas; the views especially of Texas, although probably never visited, are most enthusiastic. These are only negatively presented through his opinions of the Mexicans. This may, perhaps, be partly due to his growing skepticism of the Roman Church or his unfamiliarity with the lifestyle of Latin countries. The pastoral nature of the new frontier attracts Sealsfield. He finds equality and respect there. These seem to be among his major themes since they parallel his ideals for a better society.

The works of Charles Sealsfield have finally not only been regarded critically by scholars in the United States and Europe, one learns, but also in Africa. Indeed, Sealsfield's reputation is becoming international. The many essays are arranged in a logical manner. Each deals with a specific topic in Sealsfield's works and integrates valuable biographical material as it relates to his perspective of the New World. Each essay also furnishes extensive footnotes and bibliographical references. Perhaps one might note a slight negative comment. Although each essay deals with a single topic, be it political, social, financial, etc., and is easily definable



by titles, it would have been helpful, if difficult, to have added an index to this valuable study. This work will furnish the foundation for future Sealsfield research. One can only congratulate the authors and the editor for this milestone in the research of the works of Charles Sealsfield.

*Lehigh University*

*Alexander Waldenrath*

**A Hessian Officer's Diary of the American Revolution.**

*Translated from an Anonymous Ansbach-Bayreuth Diary as Originally Written by Johann Ernst Prechtel. Translated and edited by Bruce E. Burgoyne. Bowie, MD: Heritage, 1994. 318 pages. \$24.50.*

In 1990 Bruce E. Burgoyne (U.S. military, retired) translated and published one of only seven known diaries kept by soldiers serving in the Ansbach-Bayreuth (Hessian) regiments during the Revolutionary War. That diary, by Private Johann Conrad Döhla, offered a refreshingly different perspective on the War for American Independence from that generally found in most standard history books (cf. YGAS 26 [1991]: 295-96). Not only was Döhla a German fighting in the service of an English king; he also had little—save, of course, for his own life—invested in the final outcome of the conflict, and so could write with a certain degree of detachment about the political and military events as they unfolded around him.

Now Burgoyne has brought forth yet another of these diaries, this one by a Lieutenant of the von Voit or First Regiment of Ansbachers, Johann Ernst Prechtel. Little appears to be known about the author of this work; this in sharp contrast to Döhla about whom a great deal of background information was available. He is believed to have been born in 1737, possibly in Ammendorf, and was more than likely a professional soldier, rather than a mere conscript, as was the case for Döhla. What especially sets Prechtel's diary apart from Döhla's, however, is the existence of two complete versions of the text; the first being the actual account kept on a daily basis during the war; the second being an extensively revised and greatly embellished edition, probably intended, so Burgoyne concludes, for public consumption. Both complete diaries appear in translation here.

Prechtel, it must be said, was a keen observer and meticulous chronicler of those events which specifically affected his German comrades. He carefully noted the illnesses, the deaths, the desertions, the mishaps, and even the executions of his fellow soldiers in such detail as to make these events come alive for the reader. For example, on 30 July 1779, while quartered at Newport, Rhode Island, Prechtel wrote as follows:

The deserter, Private Schaeffer, who deserted on 3 June, was arrested on the 26th of this month, in Holms' house on the island, and brought to the regiment at Newport. This morning, at a courtmartial [*sic*] his sentence was pronounced. Schaeffer, because of his disloyal desertion and his intention to go over to the enemy, was to be executed by hanging. After half an hour, he was informed that instead of paying with his life, he must run a gauntlet of two hundred men, 36 times in two days. (162-63)

Clearly, Prechtel understood the seriousness of this poor soldier's actions, and one can only wonder how the cruel punishment that was eventually inflicted affected his subsequent thinking on the subject.

Although Prechtel spent time in a number of strategic locations, New York, Philadelphia, Newport, and Yorktown among them, he, like Döhla, was involved in relatively little combat until October 1781. On the few occasions that he did come under fire, he tended to write about these experiences in the third person as on 27 August 1778: "At one 'clock [*sic*] tonight, 2nd Lieutenant Prechtel, of the von Voit Regiment, at the forward post with 23 men, was attacked by the enemy, who had a strength of about two hundred men" (148).

With the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, Prechtel was selected by lot to be one of the officers accompanying the conscripts into what became a prolonged detention, first at Winchester, Virginia, and then at Frederick, Maryland. At no time during this latter period did he appear to be tempted by the frequent offers made to those wishing to remain in America. On the contrary, Prechtel remained with his unit until a general amnesty was declared in May 1783, after which he journeyed back to Ansbach. There his diary abruptly ends on 9 December 1783.

As with Burgoyne's edition of Döhla's writings, his translation of Prechtel's diary is highly readable and appropriately annotated. One could perhaps have wished for a somewhat more polished look to the text itself, which was obviously generated as inexpensively as possible via computer. On the other hand, one easily forgives such shortcomings when engrossed in such a lively and captivating text. Whereas Burgoyne seems to think this work should have a particular appeal to those primarily with genealogical interests (xi), this assessment tends to overlook a potentially wider market of those who just want to know more about the Revolutionary War from an insider's point-of-view (cf. xx). This, it must be said, is the real value of a work such as this, and



Burgoyne should both be congratulated for his past labors, and encouraged in his future endeavors.

Marshall University

Christopher L. Dolmetsch

**Nordlichter / Northern Lights.**

By Ingeborg Carsten-Miller. Silver Spring, MD: Carmill, 1994. 58 pages. \$9.50.

A brief preface to this collection of fifty-seven poems explains that Carsten-Miller was born in Pomerania and at the age of eleven fled the Russian advance near the end of World War II. While knowing this at the outset is helpful, the attentive reader could just as easily glean this information from the poems. In "Pomerania," which opens the volume, Carsten-Miller wryly proclaims "I / am / a / Pomeranian / who / does / not / bark / or / bite" (1). The columnar arrangement of the words lends the poem visual impact, with the key word "Pomeranian" asserting its dominance and setting the tone for the entire volume. Carsten-Miller reminds the reader that a Pomeranian is not just a breed of dog, but also a native of a land that has been carved up between two political entities. In "Pomerania in 1989" the poet says that her homeland, which once "bloomed / far in the North," is "now a blank void / Pomerania / a land of the past" (3).

Many of the poems in *Northern Lights* represent Carsten-Miller's attempt to fill in the blank void that is now Pomerania. Memories of that land form the basis of poems like "Barther Bodden," "Herthasee," and "The Firestone from the Island of Rügen," while more general recollections of life during wartime Germany inform "Heaven Forbid," "War," and "On the Anniversary of D-Day 1984." The volume also includes a variety of nature poems inspired by the Baltic landscape most closely associated with that part of Europe. For example, sandwiched between poems with specific geographic references, "Winter Wind" and "The Fish Come Singing" can only evoke memories of life in Pomerania, though they make no specific mention of that region. The poems of Pomerania make up only part of the volume, but it is arguably the most effective part and is certainly of greater interest to German-American studies than the more commonplace verse that populates the middle of the book.

Indeed, a number of the poems in this collection fail to make much of an impression if isolated from the others. For example "Friends," which advises "Value / your / friends / they / are / the / evergreens / among / flowers" (30), borders on platitudinous when pulled out of context. Yet that poem, and others like it, is really a fragment of a personality. When those predominantly free verse fragments are read in

quick succession, a distinct world view begins to emerge from the thoughtfully ordered poems. For maximum effect, therefore, *Northern Lights* should be read front to back, from cover to cover.

In her better poems, Carsten-Miller searches for identity by exploring her past. Having fled a land that in many ways has ceased to exist, she is in essence a permanent exile, caught between here and there. She says as much in "From One World to Another": "I am walking / from one world / to another // A chameleon / forever / changing color // I wander / in different worlds / stumble in another language // Accept / adapt to / misunderstandings // How far will I go / before I know / when and where to settle" (18). As proof that the poet straddles cultural boundaries, seven poems are printed in German with English translations. These poems number among the nicer offerings in the volume, leading one to speculate that a liberal application of this approach could prove fruitful for Carsten-Miller.

Those poems which directly address Carsten-Miller's pursuit of her Pomeranian past likely will prove most engaging to SGAS members. Yet many poems that do not explicitly deal with her search for identity still are somehow imbued with the spirit of Pomerania. Thus this entire volume may be of general interest to German-American studies.

Washington and Jefferson College

J. Gregory Redding

### **Gedichte 1953-1991.**

By Richard Exner. Stuttgart: Radius, 1994. 317 pages. DM 38.

The poetry appearing in Exner's *Gedichte 1953-1991* is the first collection spanning all ten of his volumes of poetry, of which nine are no longer in print. Also included in the collection are five poems published between 1963 and 1975, and previously uncollected. From the primarily out-of-print poetry that makes up the collection, Exner selected poems well-suited to being read aloud. "Jeden Text dieses Bandes habe ich (und viele davon mehrmals) laut gelesen. Dadurch eröffnet sich--und der Vorleser muß durchaus nicht der Autor selbst sein--ein weiterer Zugang zum Text" (303). One of my earliest professional memories is hearing Richard Exner read his poem "Dtschld" aloud ("Und die sieben / Lettern so oft hinaus- / geschrien wie / verschwiegen / sind keine / Flügel" (80). Before an assembled group of graduate students and faculty at the University of Texas at Austin, his reading of the poem struck me as intensely personal, yet detachedly political. Now, twenty years later, when I read "Ich bin wie du / zerrissen / und bin nicht mehr / ganz" (79), it is this, Exner's association with Germany that marks his poetry as historically and artistically profound.



Unlike those poets from Germany who sought refuge in America during the thirties and forties, it was Exner who exiled his country rather than the other way around: "es vertrieb mich jetzt keiner und damals stieß mich Glücklichen keiner in das gelobte Land hinein das ich nach vierzig Jahren verlasse" (258). The first lines of "Dtschld" (75) echo this sentiment:

Nein  
ich war  
nicht dabei  
als geschah  
weshalb ich dieses Land  
ohne dessen Sprache  
ich verkomme  
von ferne  
in der Schrift  
verstümmle.

Exner arrived in America in 1950 at age twenty-one, five years after the end of World War II. Just as he is not a poet of German exile literature, it is not even clear whether he is a German-American writer. If it is true, as Jerry Glenn asserts in the fall 1994 issue of *Monatshefte* focused on German-American issues, that real German-American literature communicates primarily a sense of being "at home" in America, Exner's poetry leaves no record of having established a "home" here (352). Wulf Koepke in the same *Monatshefte* number asks, "how German did they feel? How American did they become" (363)? He describes German-American studies as dealing with "immigrants who wanted to come here, who were determined to make this their new home, and who had definite ideas about what they wanted to achieve" (363). I believe that, only in his leaving America, an act that is accentuated by this volume, does Exner present his view of America. That view, while Exner was in America, was often directed either internally, toward his own thoughts and feelings, or externally, back toward Germany and its meaning for the world after Auschwitz.

As Exner writes about his work "Exodus Exodus," "dieser Text thematisiert meine Rücksiedlung aus den USA nach Deutschland nach zweiundvierzig Jahren. Mit wenigen Ausnahmen, die eher die Regel bestätigen, sind meine Texte außerhalb des deutschen Sprachraums entstanden, jedenfalls die in diesem Sammelband vorgelegten" (309). In the lyrical prose passage Exner presents a return to Germany as provoking mixed emotions: "während die kinder mit fingern auf mich zeigen und sagen was soll aus uns werden wenn der vater zurück geht und nicht mehr vorwärts" (258). What, then, is the role that America has

taken in this work of Richard Exner; what force does Germany exert over his writings, his life?

The first and last poems, positioned like bookends for these, his many volumes, embrace and illuminate the themes central to this work. The first poem describes a reunion, a time and place where one's identity is recognized (7):

begegnung

wen  
du verläßt  
oder begräbst oder  
verrätst:

erst wenn  
das weizenkorn stirbt  
bringt es  
frucht:

dann  
kommt vielleicht  
einer auf dich zu  
und ihr erkennt euch  
in den augen und  
gesteht aus  
einem  
mund:

ich bin's

(1991)

The last poem speaks of waiting, perhaps to close the circle, as one waits for the promised one, the Messiah (295):

LEBENSLAUF

warten

auf den augen-  
blick ohne stimmen  
ohne wörter zwischen  
dir und mir



nur mit  
dem atem

auf den  
augenblick  
zwischen uns

wie  
auf den  
messias

warten

Both poems echo the sense of such phrases from "Exodus Exodus" as "und gehe ja wohin denn wieder nach Hause" (258) and "jetzt schließt sich endlich der Kreis" (259). Such verse leads one to view Exner as a writer linking his historic and artistic identity to that of his rejected homeland. Those personal questions surfacing so often in his verse are also directed toward Germany, questions of existence, of guilt, of judgment.

The last work of the volume, also in lyrical prose, the story "Wem die Amsel schlägt (Ein Stück Leben)," leaves a strong impression that the writer is fated to return to this homeland toward which his feelings are so ambivalent. The blackbird, whose song he attaches to the death of an aunt, is not associated with America, but Germany. "Am Pazifik habe ich sie, glaube ich, nie gehört. Aber sollt ich wieder nach Deutschland, ins Land der Ur-Szene, zurückkehren, wird sie am ersten Abend schlagen. . . . Und ich werde wieder das Zimmer sehen, und wer weiß, wessen Sterben sie dann gerade übertönt" (300). Only now, in this collection of his complete works, does a profile of Exner emerge as a poet who would not ever call America home, a poet drawn to return to Germany, the homeland he exiled so many years before: "Flog ich zu früh / davon und komm ich / jetzt zu spät" (79)?

*Northern Arizona University*

*Suzanne Shipley*

**John Lewis Krimmel: Genre Artist of the Early Republic.**

*By Anneliese Harding. Winterthur, DE: Winterthur Publications, 1994. 268 pages. \$60.00.*

John Lewis Krimmel (1789-1821) was America's first major genre painter. Born Johann Ludwig Krimmel in Ebingen, Württemberg, he emigrated to the United States in 1809 and settled in Philadelphia, where an older brother was already established in business. Determined to

become an artist, the young German immigrant trained himself by such means as were at hand, particularly from English drawing manuals and from association with local artists. These were not wanting, as Philadelphia was then the largest city in the infant American republic and also its principal cultural center. Among the colony of artists in Philadelphia at that time were such eminent figures as Thomas Sully, the Peale family, Thomas Birch, and the German immigrant painter Alexander Rider.

During his brief career, Krimmel stood apart from other American artists in his determination to create works containing a realistic narrative depiction of everyday life as he experienced it. Although handicapped by a lack of access to models on which to base his work, he found inspiration in the English master William Hogarth and the contemporary Scotch genre artist David Wilkie. In draftsmanship he was initially under the spell of the French neoclassical school, but this later gave way to influences emanating from German Romantic painting. After a two-year visit in Germany in 1818 and 1819, Krimmel's painting was characterized by a new feeling for depth and by a willingness to include large masses of vivid color in his work. The subject matter of his painting also underwent a change, the early absorption in scenes of urban life yielding to a greater interest in rustic subjects such as sleighing parties and country dances. As Harding suggests, Krimmel's awakened interest in such material may have been stimulated by exposure in Europe to the works of such Dutch and Flemish masters as Pieter Breughel the Elder and Jan Steen, while a general interest in rural folk life is also one of the facets of German Romanticism. In any event, Krimmel's interest in this type of material was to exert a strong influence on the generation of American artists which followed him. Harding convincingly demonstrates that William Sydney Mount and George Caleb Bingham were consciously influenced by Krimmel's example, as was the repertoire of subjects depicted in the color lithographs produced by the New York firm Currier and Ives.

The body of Krimmel's major works is not extensive, though it is augmented by many small watercolors, often of topographical subjects, and by a number of sketchbooks filled with drawings. To support himself as an artist he sometimes accepted portrait commissions and had to satisfy his clients' demand for copies of works by celebrity artists. Harding has rendered invaluable service by her careful study and analysis of Krimmel's sketchbooks and other minor works.

The Philadelphia that Krimmel knew had an important German-American component, and there is evidence that he had some contacts with this part of the community, partly on account of the close contact he maintained with his brother's family and partly because of his association with a local German Lutheran church. He also evidently had contacts



among the Moravian Brethren, as his works include a portrait of the Moravian missionary John Gottlieb Erastus Heckewelder and a genre scene depicting a Moravian wedding.

Harding's book is in 8¼ x 11½ inch format and is handsomely illustrated with 146 figures, many of which are in color. It can be recommended to both the casual reader and the art historian looking for a serious assessment of Krimmel's work.

Florida Atlantic University

Peter C. Merrill

### **Stones from the River.**

By Ursula Hegi. New York: Poseidon, 1994. 507 pages. \$23.00.

The award-winning fiction writer Ursula Hegi spent the first eighteen years of her life in Germany. Now associate professor of creative writing at Eastern Washington University, Hegi proves herself once again to be master of both the English language and modern German-American fiction.

A literary treat, *Stones from the River* is simultaneously fascinating and disturbing as Hegi transports the reader to Germany's troubled past--as seen through the eyes of a dwarf. Trude Montag, born in 1915 in the middle of the First World War, witnesses and chronicles the rise of Nazism as it slowly and insidiously eats away at her village's moral fabric. Along with Trude, the reader experiences and survives the uncertainties of the Great Inflation of the early 1920s, the terror of totalitarianism which slowly and almost imperceptibly seeps into everyday German life, the devastation of the Second World War and its debilitating effects on a small Rhineland town and its inhabitants, and the hard questions of personal responsibility toward others.

The author's premise of a dwarf's experiences of the Third Reich is fresh and original. Trude Montag is not just another run-of-the-mill heroine, but a hoarder and dispenser of secrets who sees into the souls of others. Complex, sometimes tender, sometimes cruel, Trude sees through all pretensions. Although the character of Trude is far too wise and insightful during childhood, Hegi nevertheless has spun a highly imaginative yarn that will reward those who appreciate fine fiction.

*Stones from the River* is a companion book to Hegi's previous novel, *Floating in My Mother's Palm*, a charming series of vignettes which captures life after the Third Reich in a small Rhineland town and picks up where *Stones* leaves off.

San Antonio, Texas

Paula Weber

**Seasons of Plenty: Amana Communal Cooking.**

By Emilie Hoppe. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1994. 248 pages. \$21.95.

It is nice to see a university press paying attention not only to German-American studies in general, but also more specifically to the neglected subdiscipline of foodlore and cookery, in this case within the relatively small "Community of Inspirationists" of the Amana townships in eastern Iowa.

*Seasons of Plenty* is broken down into six major sections which, in turn, are divided into chapters. In the first section the author gives a brief introduction to the history and structure of the group, telling how the seven Amana villages came to be established by members of the Community of True Inspiration, which had been founded in Germany in 1714. This is followed by a general overview of work division according to gender and age and brief descriptions of several aspects of daily life and labor in the early Amana Colonies.

Here, also, Hoppe describes the communal kitchen system that was so central to life in the Amanas. Although families did live in their own homes, the houses did not include cooking facilities. Instead, all cooking and serving of meals was done in communal kitchens, which were run by a *Küchebaas* ("kitchen boss," the German-English title assigned to the woman in charge of a "kitchen house"). Almost all of the fresh produce for the kitchens was supplied by the big garden assigned to each kitchen house. The author records that when communal life was at its peak, there were ninety-five communal kitchens serving thirty to forty-five residents each. Even after 1900, when the structure of the religious community began to change, the kitchen houses still did the cooking, although members of each family now picked up the meals at the assigned kitchen and carried them home to eat.

This primarily historical information introduces the true heart of the book: the four seasonal sections of recipes and foodlore. "Spring," "Summer," "Autumn," and "Winter" comprise a total of fifteen chapters, most of which cover a single food category (such as soups, salad, canned or pickled foods, meats, and so forth) and include not only representative recipes and instructions but also narrative background information as well. The seasonal grouping serves mostly to give a picture of life and work in the Amanas throughout the year; there are few instances of association of specific recipes with a particular season, although there are interesting reminders (for those of us spoiled by the age of refrigeration and long-distance trucking) that meal preparation in those days depended very much on the time of year. In the winter, for example, one ate potatoes and other root-cellar vegetables, or things that had been canned or pickled, while fresh salads and vegetables were a welcome luxury of the spring and summer months.



One interesting aspect of Hoppe's book is the devotion of four full chapters to what most readers will consider to be desserts: two chapters of hearty cooked or baked "desserts" that were usually eaten as a meatless main-meal dish on particular days of the week (as was—and is—common among many German-American groups and can still be seen in many areas of Germany today); and two chapters devoted to cakes, reflecting the prestige associated with fine baked goods in this community. Again, this is found among other German-American groups as well, and would make for an interesting comparison.

The final section, "The Great Change," briefly (too briefly for interested readers!) discusses the end of the communal era. This involved, among other things, the change from communal to private ownership and, therefore, from communal kitchen houses to private kitchens: a change which necessitated the installation of kitchens in each house—no small undertaking.

Although *Seasons of Plenty* is, on the whole, a fine book, some weaknesses should be mentioned. Stylistically, while it is understandable that the author is nostalgic about her group's cultural past, the reader may feel that she occasionally waxes too poetic when describing the simplicity of communal life. In addition, Hoppe's presentation would have benefited from a brief introductory clarification of methods, procedure during interviewing, and so forth. Finally, some mention should be made of the Amanas' idiosyncratic bilinguality and particularly of the guidelines—if any—used by the author in the spelling of German recipe titles: even to the German-speaking reader, it is impossible to differentiate between dialectical variations and simple mistakes in transcription.

*Seasons of Plenty* is, then, much more than a cookbook, but less than a fully elaborated scholarly study—which, indeed, it does not claim to be. It provides a simple, interesting introduction to the Amana Germans and their food ways, bedding a solid collection of recipes in an entertaining mixture of history, narrative, statistics, and anecdotes.

Wendlingen, Germany

Rebecca S. Rodgers

### **Hermann Broch und die Demokratie.**

By Monika Klinger. *Tübinger Schriften zum Staats- und Verwaltungsrecht*, vol. 24. Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1994. 179 pages. DM 78.

Hermann Broch (1886-1951), the Austrian-born Jew who lived as an exile on the East Coast of the United States from 1938 to his death in 1951, owed his fame to novels such as *Die Schlafwandler* (1931), *Der Tod des Vergil* (1945), and *Die Schuldlosen* (1949). But a curious kind of ingratitude caused him to belittle his fiction and to set great store by his theoretical



work, a considerable amount of which is political in nature. Klinger's monograph, originally presented as a dissertation to the faculty of law at Tübingen, is the first devoted to Broch's political writings. The work is not as clearly focused on Broch as the title and the introduction would lead us to believe. Though written in a vigorous, if academic style, it strikes one as a mix of heterogeneous elements which do cohere, but loosely. The main divisions of the text's body derive from the issues on which Broch wrote, and the author does present Broch's basic views, but produces no thorough critical treatment of those views. Since this was a legal dissertation, one might have expected a critique of Broch's legal terminology, the weakness of which is mentioned in the introduction, but all we have are brief asides regarding the "pathos" of Broch's diction. Moreover, it is well and good for the author to place Broch's work in its historical and legal context, but what disappoints is that the context receives more attention than Broch. Furthermore, I found the choice of secondary literature a bit puzzling: the bibliography abounds with more recent contributions to legal theory (those of Carl Schmitt being a prominent exception), while classic statements of political theory and even statements by major contemporaries of Broch are lacking. The latter two could have allowed her to situate Broch's thinking within the contexts of the tradition of political theory and of the political theory of his day, respectively.

In spite of the work's heterogeneity, it does present Broch's basic political contributions. The author indicates a break in Broch's political writings between the early articles, which respond to the specific political situation of post-WWI Austria, and the later writings of exile, which address questions of world order through the League of Nations and the UN. This division might well confirm the thesis that the state of exile has a definite effect on authors' productions.

With the end of the Hapsburg monarchy, Austria found itself in the position of having to create a viable form of government. Some proposed a soviet-style republic, as was being attempted in Bavaria. The worker's soviets were to have extensive powers, yet not all classes of citizens would be represented by them. Broch rejected the soviet system because it placed the citizens not represented at risk. This form of government violated Broch's first principle: that a state must preserve the human dignity (*Menschenwürde*) of all. Neither was Broch satisfied with the parliamentary system: parliament was too divided, the parties seeking only their own interests, neglecting the interest of the Austrian people at large. Herein Broch showed himself to be, as Elias Canetti once described him, a "Hund seiner Zeit": like many of his contemporaries, he was in a sense apolitical and disliked partisan politics. As a corrective to parliament's divisiveness, Broch proposed the establishment of a second



chamber, charged with fostering cooperation between government and economic forces.

In the late 1930s, Broch's attention turned to international relations. He proposed measures to buttress the power of the League of Nations: the formation of a propaganda department to promote democratic ideals; that actions which would violate human dignity should not receive protection under the guise of "internal affairs," and should be under the jurisdiction of the League of Nations; and that a catalogue of punishable actions which violate human dignity should be drawn up. All these initiatives, however, ran into the stumbling block of national sovereignty, which states participating in the League of Nations did not want to relinquish. The same problem faced Broch's proposal for the United Nations. Broch recommended the United Nations adopt a bill of rights and responsibilities, of which the section on responsibilities would provide for punishment of human rights violations. Finally, in his national-economic contribution to the "City of Man" manifesto, published in 1939 by a group of intellectuals including Thomas Mann, Broch emerged as a supporter of a "third way" between capitalism and socialism, of a marriage of government and business that would be able to forestall the economic crises to which capitalism has been subject.

Klinger's Broch is a staunch defender of democracy, for him the only form of government firmly committed to the principle of human dignity. But a lasting democracy must be *wehrhaft*: it must possess the legal means of defending itself from its enemies. Thus, the protective cloak of freedom may not extend to activities which would endanger the democracy. Finally, Broch approved of investing international organizations with the power to intervene in the affairs of countries where human rights are being violated. Broch placed his faith in just government: a faith which, like numerous others, has since lost many adherents.

*University of Cincinnati*

*Jeffrey Todd*

### **Intellectuals in Exile: Refugee Scholars and the New School for Social Research.**

*By Claus-Dieter Krohn. Translated by Rita and Robert Kimber. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993. 255 pages. \$15.95.*

Dorothy Thompson once called the New School for Social Research an "outpost of free and independent scholarship" manned by the most significant group of German émigré scholars. Claus-Dieter Krohn's book, published in 1987 under the German title *Wissenschaft im Exil*, is now available in English in an excellent translation. It offers the first

thoroughly competent account of the development between the years of 1933 and 1945 of a very unusual academic institution which grew out of desperate times when Nazi policies depleted Central Europe's intelligentsia so thoroughly that it can be argued that the consequences are felt up to this day, both in impoverished Europe and in America which was enriched by this exodus. Two previous attempts at dealing with this topic, by Lewis Coser and the team of Peter M. Rutkoff and William B. Scott, respectively, left much to be desired.

This review of immigration of one particular group of people to the United States gains much by its narrow focus upon not only the "University in Exile," quickly renamed "The Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science" by the first group of its émigré professors, but also by using as its center not all of the subjects taught at the Graduate Faculty. This would have widened the scope of the book to unmanageable proportions. Instead, Krohn pays attention primarily to the New School's economists who formed the largest coherent group within the school.

An appendix listing the 183 scholars and artists helped by the New School from the beginning to the end of the Hitler period shows that ninety of them came directly from Germany and Austria, the rest from France, Italy, and countries occupied by Hitler's troops. They were brought here through the untiring efforts of the New School's cofounder and director who realized that this was his chance to broaden his experimental adult education institution into a university, albeit primarily devoted to the social sciences. Alvin Johnson ran it on a shoestring with donations from various sources, first among them the Rockefeller Foundation whose policies during those years Krohn discusses in a separate chapter.

What makes this book particularly valuable is its author's familiarity with the political and intellectual climate both in Europe and during the years of the New Deal in America. This enables him to sketch not only American economics during the New Deal but to discuss as well the intellectual origins and the theories espoused by the newcomers. In other words, he puts into context their work and is also able to explain how it contrasted or added to ideas which were already current in this country.

There has been a tendency in previous literature to dismiss the Graduate Faculty as the oddity it certainly was, a European enclave destined to last only for a short time. But Krohn points out that, in contrast to Horkheimer's Frankfurt Institute for Social Research at nearby Columbia University, these scholars in downtown Manhattan had frequently had practical experience in government or business which showed up in their work and that they did, in many cases, contribute to American fiscal and general economic policies and to American economic theory. That many of them are not mentioned today, he explains with the general return to conservatism in American economics since the death of



Franklin D. Roosevelt which tends to suppress a more liberal orientation in the field at universities as well.

Bolstering his thesis that the impact of the Graduate Faculty was much more intense and far-reaching than is often assumed, he mentions in passing the introduction of gestalt psychology by Max Wertheimer and his students Rudolf Arnheim and Solomon Asch, Arnold Brecht's many publications in the field of political science, including his book *Political Theory*, still a standard work today, Albert Salomon's work on the French origins of sociology, and Alfred Schutz's introduction of phenomenology into social theory, to mention just a few.

One chapter is devoted not only to the founding of the Graduate Faculty but to the difficulties encountered by Alvin Johnson in bringing these immigrants to America. He confirms what is known primarily to historians of that period that far from being the accessible haven for the persecuted, the United States was hostile to these newcomers and academic institutions less than welcoming.

The methodology employed in this monograph is derived from Karl Mannheim's sociology of knowledge, something the old New School professors would have approved of. A most useful foreword by the American sociologist Arthur J. Vidich further illuminates the book's central thesis, and an index of names and key concepts helps readers interested in particular topics orient themselves.

This well-written book is a definite contribution to our knowledge of German immigration in this century and should be of interest to anyone studying the history of ideas, economics, recent political history here and in Central Europe, and the development of the social sciences in this country. I recommend it warmly and without reservation.

*Ft. Collins, Colorado*

*Sabine D. Jordan*

**From Knights to Pioneers: One German Family in Westphalia and Missouri.**

*By Anita M. Mallinckrodt. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994. 516 pages. \$45.00.*

The cousins Julius and Emil Mallinckrodt of Dortmund in the Ruhr Basin were among the first Latin Farmers to come to the Missouri Rhineland, immigrating in 1831, only two years after the publication in Germany of Gottfried Duden's famous book lauding the Missouri frontier. Each had been educated at Dortmund's *Gymnasium*. Julius's brother Conrad, who settled along the Missouri River beside his brother in 1836, was even more a Latin Farmer, having attained a degree in philology from the University of Munich.

The author, a descendant of Conrad, has written not just an account of her immigrant ancestors, but a life and times of the Mallinckrodt family from thirteenth-century Germany to Missouri in the 1890s. While thousands of genealogically-minded Americans of German descent search in vain for noble ancestors, Anita Mallinckrodt has all one could wish, extending back to knight Ludwig in 1241. Just before 1500, some members of the family left their estate on the Ruhr near Wetter for the town of Dortmund. There they were transformed into patricians of the cloth merchants' guild. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they were especially active as councilmen and mayors of Dortmund.

Emil Mallinckrodt came to America because his father, a civil servant and reforming journalist censored by both the French and the Prussians, left him with only a debt-ridden estate. After a short time in rural Missouri, he moved near St. Louis to become a farmer and real estate developer. His sons, trained in analytical chemistry at German universities, founded the Mallinckrodt Chemical Company. In the 1940s, that company purified the uranium for America's first atomic bomb.

Julius settled on a river bluff near the future town of Augusta. His efforts to found a town failed, but he became a successful nurseryman and farmer. Conrad married his patrician cousin Sophie Mallinckrodt before immigrating, and they planned to operate an advanced school on the frontier. Sophie, remarkably well educated for a German woman of her time, divorced Conrad in Missouri after only seventeen months of marriage. The author reconstructs a fascinating tale of immaturity and disappointment from early Missouri court records.

Although none of the Mallinckrodt's played a major role in the Civil War or in their adopted state's Radical Republican regime, the author devotes over one hundred well-researched pages to slavery, the Civil War, and reconstruction in Missouri. As did most Germans in Missouri, a slave state, the Mallinckrodt's opposed slavery in principle. But Julius, his brother Hermann, and cousin Emil all purchased slaves in the 1830s and 1840s as the only feasible way to obtain workers. In 1860, Julius, like a surprising number of Anglo-Missourians, was a slave-owning or formerly slave-owning Union man who supported John Bell's Constitutional Union Party. Given this fact, the author devotes a surprising amount of attention to the more radical German Republicans, led, as they were, by a later immigrant generation.

This very ambitious book uses a wide variety of primary and secondary sources in both German and English, but most importantly, 208 Mallinckrodt letters written on both continents between 1809 and 1900. The book is beautifully produced with ample illustrations and full scholarly apparatus.

Given its breadth of time, place, and culture, one is not surprised to find small errors of fact and interpretation in this work. The author often



refers to the Hapsburg *Kaiser* in his relationship to Dortmund prior to 1803 as "king" rather than "emperor." She refers to Bismarck as Chancellor of Prussia when he was Chancellor of the Second Empire and Minister-President of Prussia. In writing about Arnold Mallinckrodt's efforts on behalf of the Prussian peasantry during the Napoleonic Era, the author often uses the term "serf." It is misleading not to explain that the condition of the peasants under *Grundherrschaft* in the Prussian County of Mark surrounding Dortmund was much better than the condition of those peasants who had to cope with *Gutsherrschaft* in the East Elbian provinces of Prussia. The author is misled by an unreliable source to say that over half of all African slaves were taken to English colonies in English ships. James Rawley, working with Philip Curtin's figures, estimated that about 30 percent of Africans were taken in English ships and 22 percent were taken to English colonies, the vast majority of these to Jamaica and Bermuda.

Although the author goes astray on these and other minor points, the book remains a tour de force. One of its best sections is an analysis of how Germans so liberal in the pre-Civil War context could oppose suffrage for Blacks in 1868 and later. The author opens a window through which we watch while in Missouri, the country Mallinckrodt and the St. Louis city Mallinckrodt diverge over the decades after immigration, partly because of differing economic opportunities. We see the family, as German rationalists, having to come to terms with an increasingly religious German-American community. We grimace at the sour editorials which Emil wrote late in his life for the *Westliche Post*. Forty years earlier when he immigrated, he had been so optimistic! Yet when we read of Emil's consternation at the James Gang's use of revolvers, we wonder if he is speaking to our present problems with guns and lawlessness.

This truly important piece of German-American scholarship proudly takes its place beside two other excellent but quite different studies of Westphalian immigration to Missouri published in the last decade, Walter Kamphoefner's *The Westfalians* (Princeton, NJ, 1987), and Jette Bruns's collected letters, *Hold Dear As Always* (Columbia, MO, 1988).

Hendrix College

Robert W. Frizzell

**"Freiheit, Bildung und Wohlstand für Alle!": Schleswig-Holsteinische "Achtundvierziger" in den USA 1847-1860.**

By Joachim Reppmann. *Schriften zur schleswig-holsteinischen Amerikaauswanderung*. Wyk auf Föhr: Verlag für Amerikanistik D. Kuegler, 1994. 266 pages.

Participants in the unsuccessful revolutions of 1848 fleeing Central Europe became known as "Forty-Eighters." Associated with the failure of these upheavals, this expression long implied that many people departing Europe at midcentury left for political reasons. Then almost seventy years ago M. L. Hansen argued in a revisionist article that political motivations among German emigrants had been vastly exaggerated. According to Hansen, Germans emigrating to the United States in the middle of the nineteenth century went for economic reasons; at most a "few thousand" were political refugees or defeated revolutionaries.<sup>1</sup>

Adolf E. Zucker and Carl Wittke published books in the early 1950s that implicitly qualified Hansen's revisionism, but neither work discussed at length the issue of the numbers of political refugees.<sup>2</sup> Since the 1950s Hansen's position has held sway.<sup>3</sup> His thesis has seldom been attacked frontally, although the late Günter Moltmann and a few other historians made oblique criticisms. Describing German emigration during the nineteenth century as a "social protest movement,"<sup>4</sup> Moltmann implicitly downgraded Hansen's emphasis on economic distress as a "push" factor in emigration. Moltmann depicted many of the emigrants as resisting conservative and reactionary governments in the only effective way they could: by walking away--legally if possible, illegally if necessary--from the problems of their societies and taking up life anew in America.

A recent book by Bruce Levine seeks at last to refute Hansen's thesis. Levine suggests that Germans were highly politicized during the 1840s partly along class lines and that many more people than simply a small number of intellectuals became politically disaffected: the political émigrés came from a broad spectrum of German society that included large numbers of craftsmen prompted by both political and economic grievances to attempt to build a new social order in both Europe and America.<sup>5</sup>

Joachim Reppmann's "shortened and slightly revised" (7) version of his Kiel University doctoral dissertation cites all of the works mentioned above and contains much data incompatible with Hansen's position. Reppmann insists that by 1846 emigrants from the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, two largely German possessions of the Danish crown, departed for political, not economic reasons. Yet rather than dismantling Hansen's thesis, he contends that the duchies constitute a special case.

Of course it is not difficult to demonstrate the peculiarities of Schleswig-Holstein. Attempts under the Danish Kings Christian VIII



(1839-48) and Frederick VII (1848-63) to incorporate the Duchy of Schleswig into their kingdom, as well as the Danification policy pursued by Copenhagen in Schleswig and Holstein, provoked much opposition in both conservative and liberal circles in the duchies, and led Prussia and Austria to wage war against Denmark in 1864. The two major Central European powers acted officially as agents of the Diet of the German Federation on behalf of Holstein, which, unlike Schleswig, belonged to the federation.

Was the situation in the duchies truly unparalleled? No, many Germans not under foreign rule also opposed their governments at mid-century. Reppmann might have used his material to question seriously the Hansen thesis rather than suggesting its modification merely for Schleswig and Holstein.

Focusing on two German settlements in the Midwest, Reppmann examines the role of Schleswig-Holsteiner in Davenport, Iowa, and New Holstein, Wisconsin. Both areas had large proportions of emigrants from the duchies. Plausibly attributing these concentrations to chain migration, he claims that recruitment by American immigration agencies, such as those established by individual U.S. states, had little success. Reppmann gives far more credit as a determinant of immigration to letters sent back home by Schleswig-Holsteiner already in the United States.

Much of his book is taken up by accounts of the experiences and activities of Schleswig-Holsteiner in America. He argues that despite some endeavors characteristic of the midcentury era to create "New Germanies" abroad, German immigrants accommodated themselves rapidly to their new environment. Provocatively he describes their acculturation as an inevitable process, the tempo of which was not retarded by their presence in compact German settlements. His controversial conclusions about acculturation and assimilation should not cause us to lose sight of the thrust of his argument: that almost all emigrants came or decided to remain in America.

German doctoral dissertations in the field of history these days tend to be poorly written and are directed to a very narrow audience, even among scholars. Reppmann's work stands up well by comparison, but many minor blemishes are disconcerting. There are numerous typos including frequent misnumberings of footnotes; apparently many of the notes were not converted from a system of numbering consecutively by chapter to a system of numbering by page. One compensation is that we find the notes at the bottom of the page where they belong. On the other hand, Reppmann quotes excessively. He closes his book with a mammoth quotation sprawling over the equivalent of two full pages. This quotation is, in accordance with German practice, enclosed in a single set of quotation marks, and neither indented nor set in special type. Many a casual reader will assume that Reppmann himself wrote the concluding

paragraph of his monograph. The book contains a good index of names, but neither places nor concepts are indexed. A bolder use of his findings on the Forty-Eighters might have helped Reppmann's work to transcend its flaws.

City College/City University of New York

Walter Struve

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> M. L. Hansen, "The Revolutions of 1848 and German Emigration," *Journal of Economic and Business History* 2 (1929-30): 630-58.

<sup>2</sup> Adolf E. Zucker, ed., *The Eighteen Forty Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848* (New York, 1950); Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters* (Philadelphia, 1952).

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, the essays by James F. Harris and Theodore S. Hamerow in Charlotte L. Brancaforte, ed., *The German Forty-Eighters in the United States* (New York, 1989).

<sup>4</sup> Günter Moltmann, "German Emigration to the U.S. during the First Half of the Nineteenth Century" in Hans L. Trefousse, ed., *Germany and America: Essays on Problems of International Relations and Immigration* (New York, 1980).

<sup>5</sup> Bruce Levine, *The Spirit of 1848: German Immigration, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War* (Urbana and Chicago, 1992), 6-7.

#### **Der Wanderer: Aufsätze zu Leben und Werk von Walter Bauer.**

*Edited by Walter Riedel and Rodney Symington. Canadian Studies in German Language and Literature, vol. 41. Bern: Lang, 1994. 234 pages. \$45.95.*

Most evident upon reading this collection of essays is that the life and work of Walter Bauer are virtually inseparable. Therefore this review will begin with a biographical sketch of one of Canada's most significant immigrant writers.

Born in the Saxon town of Merseburg in 1904, Bauer made his literary debut in the late twenties. With the publication of the poetry volume *Stimme aus dem Leunawerk* (1930) and the novel *Ein Mann zog in die Stadt* (1931) Bauer established himself as a gifted young writer with a deep compassion for the plight of the proletariat. Although his early works were banned after Hitler came to power, he remained in Germany and persevered as a writer. Nazi authorities considered Bauer's writing after 1933 too apolitical to warrant censorship, and his essays, stories, and portraits appeared regularly in journals and newspapers. After being drafted in 1940, he achieved popular success with his *Tagebuchblätter aus Frankreich* (1941). By war's end he had reached the rank of officer; nevertheless he bitterly detested the cause for which he had been fighting. In fact, his complicity with the Third Reich would trouble him for the rest of his life. Disillusioned with postwar West German society as well as the growing commercialism of the book market, Bauer emigrated to Canada in 1952. At the age of fifty he enrolled as a student at the University of



Toronto where he eventually became associate professor of German. Continuing to write in his native tongue, the prolific Bauer published an average of one book for each of his twenty-four years of voluntary exile. Among the more celebrated titles are *Die langen Reisen*, his biography of the Norwegian explorer Fridtjof Nansen which earned the Albert Schweitzer Prize for Literature in 1956, a group of autobiographical short stories, *Fremd in Toronto* (1963), the diary *Ein Jahr: Tagebuchblätter aus Kanada* (1967), and a retrospective collection of poems *Lebenslauf: Gedichte 1929-1974*, published one year before his death in 1976.

The eight authors of this volume examine the various facets of Bauer's versatile literary career. Günter Hess contributes three essays surveying Bauer's professional life as a teacher, his literary and personal relationship with Stefan Zweig, and the special burden of his European "luggage" during the immigrant years in Canada. Coeditor Walter Riedel provides four essays, two of which are insightful studies of Bauer's biographies and artist portraits demonstrating how the assorted subjects served as models for Bauer's personal life and his literary pursuits. In a third essay Riedel regards Bauer's amazing production as a diarist not only as a key for understanding specific literary works but also as confirmation of the autobiographical nature of nearly everything he wrote. Finally Riedel offers an analysis of the myth of the arctic in Bauer's writing, a parallel piece to Johannes Maczewski's convincing essay revealing the undeniable European heritage at work in Bauer's Canada poems. The humanistic strain of Bauer's writing is a common theme throughout this book, especially in Hans-Martin Plesske's study of Bauer's prose works and Joachim Bielert's review of his dramas, in particular the postwar radio plays. Jürgen Jankofsky presents an engaging sidelight with his report on Bauer's "underground reputation" among selected young writers in the German Democratic Republic during the 1980s. Henry Beissel, Bauer's personal friend and English translator, adds an investigative touch with his look into Bauer's unpublished poetry manuscripts. Coeditor Rodney Symington closes the collection with a penetrating look at the problems of the writer in exile. As might be expected in essays written by friends and admirers of Bauer, an objective detachment and critical edge at times may seem wanting to the outside reader. Thus the concluding essay by Symington is noteworthy for its more impartial assessment of Bauer's place in German letters.

Readers unfamiliar with Walter Bauer will find this volume an excellent introduction to his life and work. Supplementing the first-rate scholarship found in these thirteen essays are autobiographical prose pieces by Bauer, numerous samples of his poetry, plus an extensive bibliography. As an immigrant writer Bauer suffered a dual alienation: nearly forgotten in his homeland and with limited readership in Canada as he continued to write in German. Such somber facts notwithstanding,

this aptly titled text, *Der Wanderer*, confirms Walter Bauer as a pre-eminent voice in German-Canadian literature.

St. Louis, Missouri

Greg Divers

**German-Bohemians: The Quiet Immigrants.**

By La Vern J. Rippley, with Robert Paulson. Northfield, MN: St. Olaf College Press, 1995. 279 pages.

What exactly is so German about Minnesota's most German city, New Ulm, where as late as 1970 over four of ten inhabitants claimed German as their mother tongue? This book demonstrates that, more than previously assumed, it is the German-Bohemian element--the "quiet immigrants"--that gives this region its teutonic character.

*German-Bohemians* succeeds in constructing an ethnic history which has remained largely unwritten and, until recent efforts by the German-Bohemian Heritage Society of New Ulm, had been rapidly slipping into forgotten past. The book's subtitle implies the author's central theme that the German-Bohemian immigrants of Brown County, Minnesota, were relatively uneducated, rustic, and hard-working people who loved the land and cherished family and tradition. Unfortunately for present and future historians, these "quiet immigrants" were not given to written reflection on their culture or experiences. The book constructs, in nine chapters, the history of this ethnic group's settlement during the previous century and its development to the present.

The book's introduction details how the German-Bohemian settlement in Minnesota was a phenomenon of chain immigration, i.e., people followed friends and family who had gone before them. Contrary to frequent assumption, their immigration was propelled not by religious persecution, but rather economics, and America appealed to the opportunistically minded.

Chapter one provides a context for understanding the hybridized nature of this people as "German-Bohemians." Rippley offers a splendid historical overview of Western Bohemia and demonstrates how the rise in Czech nationalism during the nineteenth century fostered tensions in Bohemia between Czechs and the Germans whose presence had previously been welcome in the region. Migrating to America soon became an appealing alternative.

With careful documentation, the remaining chapters recount the settlement of these immigrants, how and where they worked, and what shaped their culture and everyday lives. Initially they made their homes on the outskirts of town, urbanizing only later as economics necessitated. Various cottage industries, such as lace making—which is still practiced



today—thrived, but never rivaled hard manual labor as their main source of income.

Chapter five clearly traces a notable irony of Brown County, with respect to the German-Bohemians and the Forty-Eighter Germans—many of them turners—who had initially settled the region. Aside from the linguistic similarities of these two groups, they were, in many respects, diametrically opposed. Turners were politically and civically involved. German-Bohemians avoided these aspirations and clung to the familial sphere. The former were vocally anticlerical, while the latter practiced a pious and devout Catholicism. The irony of this dynamic is that while the Forty-Eighters initially shaped the culture of New Ulm, it is primarily the German-Bohemian element which has survived in the region. Turners, because of their utopian political vision, sought to infiltrate the local culture, and actually worked as a force for Americanization. In addition, educated turners soon became professionals in a region that could not support such occupations; thus they moved away. German-Bohemians, by contrast, remained and perpetuated their language and customs.

Roughly the second half of the study examines German-Bohemian folklore, their world of work, their music, and their relation to national politics. Two of these sections call for attention here. Chapter six typifies the scholarly clarity marking this book. After opening with a discussion on the term "folklore" and its subgroups (such as folk life, folk customs, and folk arts) the author systematically surveys the gamut of German-Bohemian folklore. Evidence shows that the community maintained traditions such as those of weddings and funerals, while discarding much of the folklore that had revolved around the old country's close communal living.

The musicality of the German-Bohemians in Europe not only carried over to the new country, but thrived to the point that Brown County, in the 1950s, became a national capital for "old time music." Chapter eight traces this phenomenon with an overview of many notable groups such as the "Whoopie John Band" and "Six Fat Dutchmen." The section convincingly illustrates that the German-Bohemians played an unparalleled role in this musical genre.

*German-Bohemians* is a well-written and handsome book accompanied by scores of archival photographs. Only the absence of a map of Brown County, such as those of Bohemia provided, is unfortunate. Interesting to the general audience and penetrating for the scholar, this book is sure to satisfy its readers.

*University of Cincinnati*

*Herman J. De Vries, Jr.*

**The German Language in America, 1683-1991.**

*Edited by Joseph C. Salmons. Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute, 1993. viii + 337 pages. \$22.50.*

This work is a compilation of seventeen revised and expanded papers originally presented at the symposium "The German Language in America, 1683-1991" held in October 1991 in Madison by the Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies. The editor states that the conference as well as the book reflects changes in German-American linguistics and represents the various branches of research being done on the German language in North America (vii). The book is divided into five sections, each dealing with a different area of linguistic research.

The two articles in the first section, "Historical Studies," concentrate on the written discourse of early German-Americans. The second, "Problems in Language Maintenance and Shifts," contains four papers focusing on the difficulties of maintaining the integrity of a minority language. The constant encroachment of English and the "outside world" on various German dialects in the United States and Canada is the subject of three of these papers. Each author observes that finding fluent speakers of these dialects is becoming more difficult. One author, Manfred Prokop, even predicts the death of German in Alberta, Canada. The papers of the third group, "Problems in Linguistic Description," are all descriptively oriented works, chiefly addressing the morpho-syntactic characteristics of the *Fuldisch* dialect in Wisconsin and Illinois, the *Plautdietsch* dialect of the Russian-German settlement in South Central Kansas, and the Volga-German dialect of Schoenchen, Kansas.

In the fourth section the emphasis is no longer placed on German and how it has been affected by English, but rather the impact of German on English. Two of the articles concentrate on regional variants of English and the influences of German on syntax, semantics, and lexical items of English in various areas of the United States. One paper goes beyond the regional impact and analyses how commercial America has been influenced by the use of German in advertising. The articles of the final section take a theoretical approach in investigating German dialects in the United States. The authors of these final five papers not only describe the linguistic information of the dialects, but go beyond this and suggest reasons for their findings by employing different theories and methodologies. For example, in "The Matched-Guise Technique in Practice: Measuring Language Attitude within the Pennsylvania German Speech Community," Achim Kopp studies the attitudes of German speakers in Pennsylvania towards other speakers of German in their region by applying the matched-guise technique, and Mark Loudon's "Patterns of Sociolinguistic Variation in Pennsylvania" investigates the distinct patterns of variation in the Pennsylvania German dialect by



examining various sociolinguistic elements of the communities, such as plain versus nonplain, diglossia, and Amish/Mennonite differences.

Each of the contributions is thoroughly researched, clearly written, and, insofar as possible, arranged within the thematic categories, thus giving the reader a sense of cohesion. I think in particular of sections II and V, where a rather general, broader-scoped paper is first presented ("Sprachinselsoziolinguistik: Beobachtungen und Überlegungen an deutschsprachigen Sprachinseln" by Klaus Mattheier in section II and "Dying by Convergence? Pennsylvania German and Syntactic Change" by Marion Lois Huffines in section V), to be followed by articles that are more specific and narrower in concentration but, nevertheless, deal with a related subject. Although not every paper has a direct relationship to others in its section, the general thematic cohesion of each section remains a strong unifying factor throughout the collection.

Universität Hamburg

Michael H. Rice

### 31 x Klee.

31 Bilder von Paul Klee mit Gedichten von Margot Scharpenberg und einem Vorwort von Sabine Fehleemann. Kunst- und Museumsverein Wuppertal, 1995. 87 S.

Die Affinität der Lyrikerin Margot Scharpenberg zur Bildenden Kunst ist ihren Lesern hinreichend bekannt, denn acht ihrer zweiundzwanzig Gedichtbände befassen sich mit Themen über Kunstwerke. Es seien hier nur *Spuren* (1974), *Neue Spuren* (1975), *Bildgespräche in Aachen* (1979), *Fundort Köln* (1979) und *Augenzeugnisse* (1991) erwähnt. Paul Klee ist ihr Lieblingsmaler.

Im Vorwort von Sabine Fehleemann erfährt der Leser, wie die Sammlung dieser einunddreißig Werke Klees zustande kam. Es sind Arbeiten in Öl Tempera, Aquarell, Federzeichnungen und Radierungen. Da Klee eine intensive Beziehung zur Literatur hatte, kann man bei diesem Band von einer seltenen Komplementierung der Lyrikerin und dem Maler sprechen, vielleicht von einer spirituellen Verwandtschaft. Klee war der Poetik sehr zugetan, hatte schon in jungen Jahren Voltaires *Candide* illustriert und auch in seinen Tagebüchern poetische Fragmente notiert. Sein Sohn Felix hat nach dem Tode des Vaters dessen Gedichte 1960 in Zürich veröffentlicht. Wie Fehleemann erwähnt, war sich Paul Klee "lange nicht im klaren, ob er mehr zur Musik, zur Malerei oder zur Dichtkunst tendierte" (7). Dieses intime transzendierende Verständnis zwischen Dichterin und Maler überrascht und besticht den Leser.

Linien, Farben, Kompositionen, Perspektiven werden kongenial in Sprache übersetzt, sodaß auch die Originalität, der Humor, die Kühnheit

des Künstlers ihre Korrespondenz im Ausdruck der Lyrikerin finden. Bei dem Feder-Aquarell "Im Circus" (34) arbeitet Scharpenberg mit Versatzstücken von Sprichwörtern wie "frisch vom Fleck", "auf Treu und Glauben", "ich . . . / . . . weiß den Clown zu spielen", "auf hohem Roß" und "was wäre / ob Krieg ob Zirkus / ginge keiner hin". Solche knappen einfallsreichen, oft witzigen Teile von Redensarten und Sprichwörtern werden stückweise in viele Gedichte gebaut.

In einer Reihe von Gedichten verwendet sie geschickt Lautmalerei der Vokale, z.B. "in voller Fülle / Sprühen und Blühn" (60) oder "wie kichernde Kinder / im Flimmerlicht" (60) oder "gehen die Blüten auf // üppig wie Farben / die Düfte, eine / labyrinthische Lockung" (42).

Es ist nahezu unmöglich, bei der Fülle der Themen ein Lieblingsbild, ein Lieblingsgedicht zu bestimmen, da so viele den Beschauer und den Leser bezaubern. Aber es sei gewagt, eines zum Abschluß auszuwählen:

#### Figurine des bunten Teufels

Bunt ist wie Singen  
im dunklen Wald  
Bunt macht aus Ängsten  
ein Lachen

du Teufel im bunten  
Flickenkleid  
was treibt dich um  
du spielst doch nur  
die Rollen die  
sonst keiner mochte

und was da früher war  
der Part des himmlischen  
Rebellen  
dein Engelspart  
den hast du längst vergessen

wie kannst du da  
ein echter Satan sein  
zum abgestürzten Licht  
das Gegenbild  
aus Höllenschwärze

du bist nicht Fisch noch Fleisch  
du Tölpelkobold  
Kaspar und Hanswurst



statt Angst zu machen  
hast du selber Angst

mir tust du leid  
im Grunde bist du nämlich  
menschenähnlich  
nur ein armer Teufel (68).

Klees vieldeutige poetische Bilder werden einer interessanten Interpretation von Scharpenberg unterworfen, einer Deutung, die überzeugt, oft schmunzeln läßt, zuweilen nachdenklich stimmt. Der kleine Band ist eine Augen- und Ohrenweide.

*Houston, Texas*

*Lisa Kahn*

**The Iskenius Letters from Germany to New York, 1726-1737.**

*Edited and translated by F. J. Sypher. Camden, ME: Picton Press, 1994. 119 pages. \$19.95.*

This carefully edited and well-produced work contains thirteen letters, three of them extant in full, the others as fragments, which are reproduced in their original German spelling and in smooth English translation. Eight of the documents were written by Görg (George) Thomas Iskenius (d. 1739), two by his brother Peter (d. 1735), both then living in Orfgen, and three by their sisters Elsa, married to a Demuth, and Maria Catharina. They were the offspring of Ludwig Ernst Iskenius (1638-99), the Reformed pastor of Flammersfeld, a town located south of Orfgen and some eighteen miles southeast of Bonn. The letters were addressed to their sister Catharina Elisabetha Clements, born Iskenius, who had lost her husband in 1709, and to her two sons Johannes Peter (1702-80/81) and Moritz Ernst (1700-70). Johannes Peter had moved with a group of emigrants from the Flammersfeld region to New York Province, settled at Philips Manor (now Tarrytown) located on the Hudson, and joined its Reformed Church on 25 April 1726. Two years later his mother and brother followed him and joined the same parish on 15 October 1726. The book's informative introduction (1-10) sketches the writers' background, the emigrants' likely journey, and the documents' significance for an understanding of the background world of the emigrants. Useful annotations (91-98), three maps, well-reproduced photographs as well as two letter pages in facsimile (101-12), and two name indices of places and persons conclude the work.

The letters are significant from various perspectives. They reveal the otherworldly orientation of the Reformed spirituality with its keen sense for the transitoriness of life, its biblical and Christocentric outlook, and its stress on strict morals. Görg Iskenius's texts also show that a potential emigration decision was decisively dependent on the consent of his wife and mother-in-law, and all the letters reflect the tightly knit communal organization of village life with its mutual support system and its form of social control by the means of reputational pressure. Görg Iskenius also fondly refers to his little daughter's special letter he had enclosed and, later, the nine-year-old child's desire to receive an echo to her parents' unanswered letters. In his serious consideration of emigration, the documents show, he tried to balance the burdens of war, such as the quartering of Danish soldiers in his village and much requisitioning, with the uncertainty of a transfer of the value of his property, his age, and the possibility of his and his wife's death on the journey. The well-being of his children appeared to be paramount in his deliberations and finally convinced him to drop considering the move.

The difficult to decipher texts of the German originals are given in their original spelling and orthography. This is most welcome since it allows one to compare the translation with the German sources, although it makes their reading quite difficult. An additional rendition in modern German would have helped immeasurably those not conversant with early eighteenth-century textual forms. The translation, although smooth and generally ingenious, is at times insufficiently accurate and misleading. Three examples may illustrate this: In Letter 1 Görg Iskenius wishes "daß sie als Reben ahn dem wahren wein stock Jesu Christi in Einem gross . . . anwachsen." This should read: "that they as vines at the true vinestem Jesus Christ may grow large," not: "that they like the stem of the grapevine Jesus Christ grow large" (13/15). In Letter 2 "aber sie haben nichtß Eigentlicheß können Erfahren" should read: "but they have been able to find out nothing substantial," not: "but they have been able to discover nothing on their own" (19/21). In Letter 7 "all die weilen sie noch alle tag dar von singdt, sie wolte noch dortt hin sobald Eß wieter gelegen heit gäbe" means: "all the while she [Elsa in the Palatinate, not Catharina in New York] sings of it every day, [that] she would [go] there as soon as there would be an opportunity," not: "she [Catharina] sang out all day that she would tell [about how the trip went] as soon as an opportunity arose" (43/45). Despite such occasional limitations, however, this work is most welcome. It offers rare and difficult to come by documents in usable form. Scholars of history and linguistics are well served by this work which reflects genuine expertise and the high quality characteristic of the publications of Picton Press.



**Louisiana's German Heritage: Louis Voss' Introductory History.**

*Edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Bowie, MD: Heritage, 1994. 122 pages. \$14.50.*

Just what are *Germans* doing in the land of Cajuns, tabasco sauce, and jazz? Every school child knows that Louisiana was settled and colonized by France and Spain. But there's more to the story. Although the population of the state of Louisiana is predominantly French (nearly one out of every four Louisianians claims French or French-Canadian ancestry), the German element is also sizeable at nearly 12 percent (1990 U.S. Census). Nevertheless, traditional historians have paid scant attention to the socioeconomic, political, and cultural contributions that German-Americans have made in Louisiana, particularly in the greater New Orleans area, where German settlers arrived as early as 1718. It will come as a surprise to many that up until the anti-German hysteria of the First World War, German-Americans were a respected, admired, and integral minority who contributed much to the rich cultural life associated with the South's largest port city. Until recently, when interest in exploration of ethnic heritage gained popularity, even scholars all but ignored the flourishing German-American community that molded New Orleans into the thriving commercial, industrial, cultural, and educational center it is today. Indeed, in the nineteenth century so many of the city's movers and shakers were German that a new Creole saying evolved: "It takes German people to do that!"

Don Heinrich Tolzmann's introduction to Louis Voss's history of Louisiana's German past ties this important 1927 ethnic study neatly together and brings the reader up to date on the status of German culture and heritage in Louisiana today. Appendices and notes provide further sources of information for a more in-depth study. The Voss history itself is an all-inclusive compendium of the *Who's Who* of Louisiana's German past, a fascinating glimpse into the life of turn-of-the-century New Orleans, and a study of German immigration and contributions to the United States in general. Voss and other essayists of yesteryear spotlight famous German-Americans now considered to be the heroes of history for all Americans: General von Steuben, Mollie Pitcher, Carl Schurz, and Union General Franz Sigel. Finally, the book highlights the pivotal roles played by the port of New Orleans, the state of Louisiana, and the Mississippi River in the German settlement of America's heartland.

Recommended especially for Louisianians who want to explore their German heritage, this book is also ideal for anyone with an interest in Southern or Trans-Mississippian studies and history. Residents of and

visitors to New Orleans will take a whole new look at the Crescent City after reading Voss's excellent little history.

San Antonio, Texas

Paula Weber

**The German-Language Press in Indiana: A Bibliography.**

Compiled by James P. Ziegler. Max Kade German-American Center, Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis, and Indiana German Heritage Society, vol. 6. Indianapolis: Max Kade German-American Center, Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis, and Indiana German Heritage Society, 1994. vii + 61 pages. \$12.80.

In his "Foreword" Ziegler makes an important point. The Indiana-German press (and we might add, like the German-American press of other states) is hardly known by today's public. Ziegler notes: "Papers contained religious or political articles, installments of novellas, local, state, national, and international news, advertisements, poems, jokes, and cartoons. There were papers for children, for voters, for workers, for club members, and even for missionaries attempting to convert Indians" (v). In spite of the fact that these newspapers and periodicals contain a remarkable amount of information that is useful for research in many areas, they are often overlooked as sources of information by scholars.

Ziegler first combined the information on the Indiana-German press found in the three major bibliographic listings: Arndt and Olson's *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732-1955*; Oscar L. Bockstahler's "The German Press in Indiana"; and John W. Miller's *Indiana Newspaper Bibliography*. Ziegler then did additional research (38 items are listed in his bibliography) and finally he has checked the previously reported holdings by visiting or writing the libraries. Checking the holdings of libraries, he has discovered that some that had been reported have disappeared, some have moved to new locations, and he has also discovered new holdings, and new periodicals not previously listed. Thus this volume is the most up-to-date listing of sources of Indiana-German newspapers and periodicals.

Ziegler's bibliographic citations are arranged alphabetically by county of publication, subdivided alphabetically by city, then subdivided alphabetically by title of periodical. When a periodical undergoes a major change, a new entry is made for the new title with reference notes leading from the old to the new title and vice versa. Information contained in the citations include: dates of publication, frequency of publication, the usual number of pages in an issue, the subtitle, notes on former or subsequent titles, title variations, variant places of publication if some issues were published in another place, circulation numbers when available, names of



editors, and the dates they were active. There are also other notes about the newspaper where research has turned up information such as its possible audience, or the sponsoring organization if it is an organ of a group. Finally, the entries inform us what libraries have copies of the newspapers or periodicals and what issues or years they have. Ziegler has also noted whether the available issues are originals or microfilm copies.

Ziegler provides title and personal name indexes to the bibliography and a city index to counties. The volume includes a map which indicates by shading which counties had German-language newspapers and periodicals. It also contains facsimile examples of mastheads and title pages, as well as examples of editors' inaugural statements and farewell statements (with English translations). These last items would seem to be useful for the classroom teacher.

Now that we have an up-to-date bibliography of the Indiana-German press, perhaps a next project might be a subject analysis and index of the contents of each newspaper/periodical. Ziegler's book should be valuable for persons engaged in research in many areas not just topics relating to Indiana, or German-American studies. Of course it will be very useful for genealogists with German-American lines in Indiana. This bibliography is a basic research tool for libraries, and especially for libraries of Indiana. The only criticism I would have of the book is the poor quality of the binding.

*University of Cincinnati*

*Frances C. Ott*





## **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 descendants.

### Abbreviations:

AA	=	<i>Annals of Iowa</i>
AHR	=	<i>American Historical Review</i>
AJH	=	<i>American Jewish History</i>
ASHHSN	=	<i>American/Schleswig-Holstein Heritage Society Newsletter</i>

BLT	=	<i>Brethren Life and Thought</i>
DR	=	<i>Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society</i>
GCY	=	<i>German-Canadian Yearbook</i>
GQ	=	<i>German Quarterly</i>
GSR	=	<i>German Studies Review</i>
HR	=	<i>Heritage Review</i>
HRBC	=	<i>Historical Review of Berks County</i>
HSR	=	<i>Historic Schaefferstown Record</i>
IHJ	=	<i>Illinois Historical Journal</i>
JAEH	=	<i>Journal of American Ethnic History</i>
JAHSGR	=	<i>Journal of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia</i>
JLCHS	=	<i>Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society</i>
MFH	=	<i>Mennonite Family History</i>
MH	=	<i>Monatshefte</i>
MHB	=	<i>Mennonite Historical Bulletin</i>
MHR	=	<i>Missouri Historical Review</i>
ML	=	<i>Mennonite Life</i>
MQR	=	<i>Mennonite Quarterly Review</i>
NSGAS	=	<i>Newsletter for the Society for German-American Studies</i>
PF	=	<i>Pennsylvania Folklife</i>
PMH	=	<i>Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage</i>
PMHB	=	<i>Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography</i>
SIGA	=	<i>Studies in Indiana German-Americana</i>
TMHS	=	<i>Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society</i>
WHQ	=	<i>Western Historical Quarterly</i>
WMH	=	<i>Wisconsin Magazine of History</i>
YGAS	=	<i>Yearbook of German-American Studies</i>

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# **SOCIETY FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES**

## **BYLAWS**

### **Article I - Name and Purpose**

1. The name of Society shall be the Society for German-American Studies.
2. The purpose of this Society shall be:
  - A. To engage in and promote interest in the study of the history, literature, linguistics, folklore, genealogy, theater, music and other creative art forms of the German element in the Americas.
  - B. To publish, produce, and present research findings and educational materials of the same as a public service.
  - C. To assist researchers, teachers and students.
  - D. To improve cross-cultural relations between the German-speaking countries and the Americas.

### **Article II - Membership**

1. Membership in the Society shall be open to all persons and organizations interested in German-American Studies.
2. Application for membership shall be made in the manner prescribed by the Membership Committee.
3. If any person being a member of the Society shall at any time be guilty of an act which is prejudicial to the Society, or to the purpose for which it was formed, such person shall be notified of his/her right to submit a written explanation of such acts within thirty days after formal notification. If the clarification is not acceptable to the Executive Committee, then at its discretion the individual's membership can be terminated.

### Article III - Officers

1. Except as otherwise required by Law or provided by these Bylaws, the entire control of the Society and its affairs and property shall be vested in its Executive Committee as trustees.
2. The Executive Committee consists of the elected officers of the Society and the editors of its publications.
3. The term of office in the Society shall be for two years.
4. Officers are elected at the annual meeting.
5. The officers of the Society shall be a: president, first vice president, second vice president, secretary, and a treasurer, all of whom are members of the Society, and are elected at the annual meeting of the members, and shall hold office for two years.
6. The duties of the officers are as follows:
  - A. The president shall perform the function as the official spokesman of the Society, serve as chair of the Executive Committee, and preside over the annual meeting.
  - B. The first vice-president shall maintain the procedures for the annual meetings, and coordinate the annual meeting schedule.
  - C. The second vice-president shall coordinate the annual awards for outstanding achievement in the field of German-American Studies.
  - D. The secretary shall function as the secretary of the annual meetings, and will also be the coordinator of all membership drives of the Society.
  - E. The treasurer shall keep the financial records of the Society, and shall present an annual report at the annual meeting to the membership.
7. The resignation of any officer shall be tendered to the Executive Committee.



8. If any vacancy should occur the Executive Committee shall elect a member of the Society to fill such vacancy for the unexpired term of the person whom he or she replaces.
9. No organization shall serve as a member of the Executive Committee.
10. No officer shall receive directly or indirectly any salary, compensation, or emolument from the Society. The Society may, however, pay compensation to employees or agents who are not members of the Society.

#### **Article IV - Meetings**

1. The Society shall hold an annual meeting and symposium.
2. The Executive Committee shall meet at the annual meeting.
3. A quorum of any meeting of this Society shall constitute a majority of the members present.

#### **Article V - Order of Business and Parliamentary Procedures**

1. Robert's Rules of Order shall be the authority followed for parliamentary procedures at all meetings of the Society.
2. The order of business at any meeting of the members of the Society shall be as follows:
  - A. Call to order
  - B. Reading of minutes of the last meeting
  - C. Reports of officers
  - D. Reports of committees
  - E. Unfinished business
  - F. Communications
  - G. Election and installation of officers
  - H. General business
  - I. Adjournment
3. The order of business at any meeting may be changed by a vote of the majority of the members present. A motion to change the order of business shall not be debatable.

## **Article VI - Dues and Finances**

1. The annual dues of all members are on a calendar year basis payable in advance by 31 January. Non-payment of dues will result in a cancellation of membership.
2. The funds of the Society shall be deposited or kept with a bank or trust company. Such funds shall be disbursed upon order of such officers as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee.
3. The fiscal year shall be from January through December.
4. The amount of dues and assessments shall be set by a vote of the membership at the annual meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose.

## **Article VIII - Nominations and Elections**

1. The Executive Committee shall appoint an Election Committee. It is this Committee's duty to conduct the election of the officers.
2. The Election Committee shall not consist of persons who have been nominated for an office.
3. Election of officers will be at the annual meeting during the general business meeting of the membership.
4. All officers shall take office on 1 June of the year in which they were elected.

## **Article IX - Affiliates**

1. The Executive Committee shall determine regulations pertaining to affiliate membership in the Society.
2. The Executive Committee shall have sole discretion, subject to these Bylaws, in authorizing the approval of affiliates of the Society.



## Article X - Committees

1. The Executive Committee consists of the elected officers and editors of the Society.
2. The Executive Committee shall supervise the affairs of the Society and regulate its internal economy, approve expenditures and commitments, act for and carry out the established policies of the Society, and report to the membership through the president at its annual meeting. Four members of the Committee shall constitute a quorum.
3. Except as otherwise provided by these Bylaws, the president shall annually designate committees other than the Executive Committee and the Election Committee, and at the time of the appointment shall designate their chairpersons.

## Article XI - Publications

1. The official publications of the Society are its quarterly *Newsletter* and its annual *Yearbook of German-American Studies*.
2. The editors of SGAS publications shall be appointed by the Executive Committee.
3. Copyright in all publications of the Society is held by the Society for German-American Studies.

## Article XII - Amendments

Alterations or amendments to these Bylaws shall be considered at any meeting of the members of the Society and become effective if a majority of the members present at such meeting, either present in person, or by mail ballot, vote in favor of such change in the Bylaws, provided that notice of the proposed amendment has been mailed by the secretary to the members of the Society with provision for voting by secret mail ballot.

## Article XIII - Dissolution

Upon the dissolution of the Society, the Executive Committee shall, after paying or making provision for the payment of all of the liabilities of the

Society, dispose of all of the assets of the Society exclusively for the purposes of the Society in such manner, or to such organization or organizations organized and operated exclusively for charitable, educational, religious or scientific purposes as shall at the time qualify as an exempt organization or organizations under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (or the corresponding provision of any future United States Revenue Law), as the Executive Committee shall determine.



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