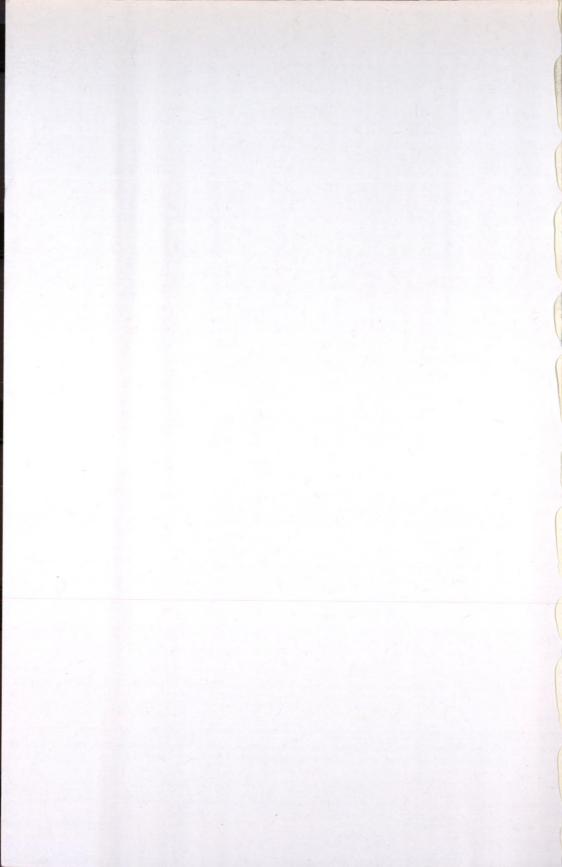
# YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Volume 31

1996



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1996

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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, preferably, 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, Department of German, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA 16802-6203. 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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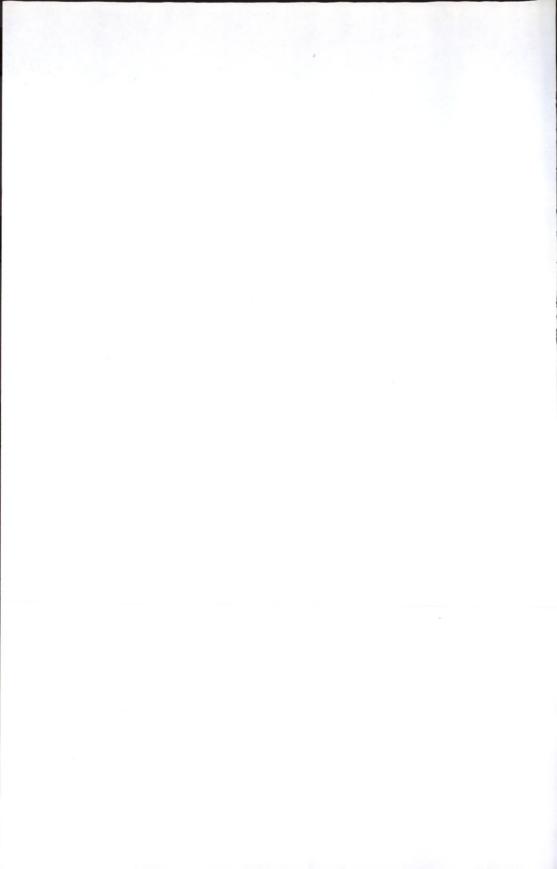
#### YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

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#### FROM THE EDITORS

The 1996 volume of the Yearbook introduces our readers to what we hope will be a welcome innovation. For the first time, it has been possible to include color reproductions among the illustrations in this issue. We wish to acknowledge the generous support of the University of Texas at San Antonio in enabling us to publish twenty color reproductions to accompany Charles Wickham's article on the portrayal of Native Americans by nineteenth-century German painters. Wickham analyzes the changing perceptions of Native Americans by Europeans through their paintings. The work of another painter, the twentieth-century German-American artist, caricaturist and writer, Albert Bloch (1882-1961), the only American member of Der Blaue Reiter, is documented in an exhaustive annotated bibliography by John Richardson.

A number of the essays in this volume lead the reader to surprising discoveries and new insights. Leroy Hopkins depicts the attraction of German idealism and philosophy for nineteenth-century African-American intellectuals. Gerhard Friesen takes us behind the scenes of the Harmony Society and sheds light on the human foibles of one of its leaders. The unexpectedly strong support of the Catholic press for the plight of the American worker in the post-Civil War era is revealed by Walter Kamphoefner. Ernst Stuhlinger, one of the rocket scientists who came to the United States with Wernher von Braun after World War II, offers us an inside glimpse of his first encounters with American society in a personal reminiscence.

New aspects of early German immigration to the New World are provided by three articles dealing with seventeenth-century mineral experts in Colonial Virginia, eighteenth-century song writing in the Ephrata Cloister, and eighteenth-century emigration from Würzburg, respectively. Ulrike Skorsetz takes a critical look at nineteenth-century German tavern culture. Carl Schurz's thoughts on the dual loyalty to his native land and to his new homeland—"German-Americans constitute the hyphen between Germany and America"—as recounted by Hans Trefousse, would appear to be valid for immigrants across the centuries.

The editors again wish to express their deepest appreciation to the members of the editorial board without whose meticulous evaluation of submitted manuscripts it would not be possible to publish the *Yearbook*.

Max Kade Center for German-American Studies at the University of Kansas Lawrence, Kansas April 1997

#### Hans L. Trefousse

### Carl Schurz and the Politics of Identity

For immigrants in the nineteenth century, as for their successors today, the politics of identity was always a problem. Were they true Americans? Did they owe allegiance merely to the United States or did their country of origin still have some claims upon them? Were they to identify completely with the new country or continue to depend, at least in part, on the old? Was there perhaps some middle way between these alternatives?

Questions of this type have always loomed large, and of all the German-American generals during the Civil War, the one who addressed them most effectively and resolutely was Carl Schurz. To be sure, he expressed his solutions most succinctly in later years, but his example and his attitude toward the fundamental problems facing immigrants were always highly influential.

Schurz's career was truly astounding. Born in Liblar near Cologne in 1829, the son of a local teacher and storekeeper, he attended the Marcellen-Gymnasium in Cologne and enrolled at the University of Bonn, where he fell under the influence of Gottfried Kinkel, a high-spirited professor of art history, who became a leader of the most extreme republican and democratic faction during the revolution of 1848. Enthusiastically taking part in this upheaval, Schurz assisted his professor, joined the revolutionary army in Baden and the Palatinate, and was almost taken prisoner at Rastatt, besieged by the Prussians who might have dealt severely with him had he not managed to escape through a sewer before the surrender of the fortress and reach the French side of the Rhine.

The professor was less fortunate. Captured by the Prussians, he was condemned to life imprisonment, and Schurz determined to free him. He returned to Germany incognito, bribed a guard at the prison in Spandau near Berlin, where he had Kinkel lowered from the roof by means of a rope, and then took him by relays to the Baltic coast of Mecklenburg. From there, the two made their escape to Scotland, so that Schurz became famous at the age of twenty-one, the liberals recognizing him as one of the heroes of the failed revolution.

After some time in Great Britain and France, Schurz, anxious to reenter politics, emigrated to America. His decision was made easier because in 1851 he married Margarethe Meyer, the daughter of a wealthy Hamburg merchant, so that he did not have any immediate financial worries. Eventually settling in Watertown, Wisconsin, he engaged in journalism, real estate speculation, politics and the law. Even before his naturalization process had been completed, he obtained the Republican nomination for lieutenant governor but was defeated in spite of a general victory of his party. Remaining loyal to the Republicans even after failing to win the gubernatorial nomination in 1859, he was rewarded with the chairmanship of the party's state delegation to the National Convention in Chicago in 1860. After campaigning strenuously for Abraham Lincoln and the Republican ticket, he was appointed American minister to Spain, but returned early in 1862 to enter the army as a brigadier general.

Schurz's military career was not distinguished. Although he performed well at the Second Bull Run and was promoted to major general, at Chancellorsville as well as at Gettysburg his division was overrun, and after he was transferred to the vicinity of Chattanooga, Joseph Hooker accused him of delay at Wauhatchie. A court of inquiry acquitted him, but his active military career was practically at an end. He campaigned for Lincoln in 1864 and ended

the war as chief of staff in Henry Slocum's Twentieth Corps.

After Appomattox, he resumed his journalistic career, writing first for the New York *Tribune*, then for the Detroit *Post*, and finally for the St. Louis *Westliche Post*, of which he became editor and part owner. At the same time, he broke completely with Andrew Johnson, who had sent him on a trip to the South, where Schurz found the president's policies were not working. Johnson rejected his report, but Congress printed it, and it was used as a radical campaign document.

In 1869 Schurz, who had been temporary chairman of the Republican National Convention which nominated U. S. Grant, was elected United States senator from Missouri, but he soon fell out with the administration. Critical of its attempt to annex the Dominican Republic, its failure to enact effective civil service reform, and its refusal to abandon congressional Reconstruction policies, he was one of the founders and leaders of the liberal Republican movement. He had returned to the Republican party by 1876, was appointed secretary of the interior by President Rutherford B. Hayes, and served until 1881, when he retired to New York City to engage in journalism, business, and civil service reform. A prominent Mugwump, he supported Grover Cleveland in 1884, again sustained the Republicans in 1896, but as a determined opponent of imperialism, after the Spanish-American War, broke again with the party. He died in New York in 1906.<sup>1</sup>

Schurz decided to emigrate to America after the failure of the revolutions in Europe, seemingly confirmed by the coup of Louis Napoleon in France, rendered any possible return to the fatherland most problematical. In England, he wrote while in London, citizenship for the alien was merely formal. What

he was looking for in America was the chance to gain full legal citizenship. "If I cannot be a citizen of a free Germany," he added, "then I would at least be a citizen of free America." Of course he was also aware of the political opportunities which awaited him in the United States. Thinking of lecturing there, he believed his political connections would help him succeed.<sup>2</sup>

Schurz's Americanization proceeded very rapidly. When in 1851 he arrived in the United States, he was captivated by the new country. His wife might chide him for finding every shanty charming, but he was truly impressed with the spirit of freedom, individual enterprise, and absence of governmental interference. Although at first he was still in touch with German revolutionaries who wanted to renew the upheaval of 1848, as time went on, his concern with such plans lessened, and he became ever more firmly rooted in America.<sup>3</sup>

In order to participate fully in American life, it was necessary for Schurz to perfect his English. In England, his initial reaction to the new language had not been favorable. He thought that because of what he called its "impure vowels, many sibilants, and hissing consonants" he would never learn it. Moreover, he found its sound and cadence unmusical. But once in America, he overcame these prejudices, energetically applied himself to the study of English, and eventually became one of the foremost orators in the country.<sup>4</sup>

The Americanization of Carl Schurz was helped considerably by his entry into politics after his removal to Watertown. He had settled there deliberately because of its large German population which provided a base for an eventual rise in public life. The only trouble was that the German-Americans tended to support the Democratic party, and Schurz, with his devotion to freedom, was repelled by the Democrats' espousal of slavery in the South. Consequently, when after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act the antislavery Republican party was founded, it was natural that he agreed to campaign among his countrymen and seek to wean them away from their former allegiance.<sup>5</sup>

The success of his efforts, at least in the minds of his Republican sponsors, caused him to be nominated for lieutenant governor in 1857, obviously a boost to Americanization. Nativist influence among Republicans led to his defeat, but he was not discouraged, and his prominence at the 1860 Republican convention, followed by his apparently successful campaign for Abraham Lincoln, could only strengthen his devotion to his new country.<sup>6</sup>

His wartime service was not only bound to buttress further his American patriotism but also to set an example for his fellow countrymen. Having already, at least in his own mind, won over many German-Americans to the Republican ticket in the 1860 campaign, he asked for permission to raise German troops before he even left for Spain and was instrumental in so doing in New York.<sup>7</sup> As a proud American diplomat in Madrid, he sent some postage stamps to his little daughter and used the opportunity to explain that those from Spain carried the picture of the queen who was neither very pretty nor as good as George Washington, who appeared on American stamps. "Although Washington was not a king, he was much better than any king that ever lived,"

he added.<sup>8</sup> Neither could he forget his cordial welcome at the White House, where he played the piano for Lincoln. In fact, he thought his influence with the president so great that he ventured to give unasked political and military advice, suggesting to Lincoln in November 1862 that recent electoral setbacks were the administration's own fault. It had appointed enemies to military command and had wanted energy. Let these faults be corrected, and all would be all right. The president rejected this admonition, but Schurz continued his hectoring, only to receive a sharp reply from the now exasperated chief executive. The German-American hastened to Washington, where Lincoln received him most amicably and put him at ease with his friendliness. This renewed mark of the president's confidence most likely strengthened the general's identification with America.<sup>10</sup>

Yet his Americanism was to be severely tested during the war. When his Third Division, part of the XI Corps, was overrun at Chancellorsville, the Germans in general and Schurz in particular were widely blamed for the defeat because of their prominence in these units. "I fights mit Sigel and I runs mit Schurz," was the refrain, and the general was deeply offended. To be sure, his standing among his compatriots was not affected; they vigorously defended him and their good name, but the carping against the XI Corps continued, especially after the battle of Gettysburg, where on the first day, the unit was chased through the town. Although it did well on Cemetery Hill, it could never live down its bad reputation. Schurz's relations with Hooker remained strained, and though the court of inquiry after Wauhatchie cleared the German-American general, he was deeply disappointed. Nevertheless, he again sought to rally his fellow countrymen to the cause in the presidential struggle that followed.<sup>11</sup>

While Schurz had become a symbol for German-American loyalty during the Civil War, it was during his postwar career that he most fully developed his ideas about political identity. That he never lost his American identification he showed clearly when in 1868 he visited Germany and met Otto von Bismarck. Somehow or other, the chancellor was much taken with the rebel of 1848, and he asked his guest whether he was still as firmly convinced a republican as he had been before he went to America and studied republicanism from the inside. The general answered in the affirmative. While in personal experience he had found the republic not as lovely as he had imagined it in his youthful enthusiasm, it was much more practical in its general beneficence to the great mass of the people. With considerable pride, he added that the American people would hardly have become the self-reliant, energetic, and progressive nation that they were had there been a privy councillor or a police captain standing at every mud puddle to keep them from stepping into it. In a democracy with little government, things might go badly in detail but well on the whole, while in a monarchy with an omnipresent government, things might go very pleasingly in detail but poorly on the whole. In addition, he praised the self-reliance of the American soldier, who, without the formal training of his European counterpart, he contended, would still be a match for any European force sent against him. With this

positive attitude toward his adopted country, it was not surprising that he chose

to disregard hints to come back to the fatherland.12

After his return to the United States, Schurz became ever more active in the Missouri Republican party. After his election as temporary chairman of the 1868 National Convention that nominated General Grant for president and his strenuous campaign for the ticket, in January 1869 he used the opportunity afforded by his contest for the United States Senate to make clear his identity as a German-American. Responding to an attack on the Germans by Senator Charles D. Drake, he stated categorically that he was in the field as an American. "I am not the candidate of the Germans . . . ," he continued. "I was brought out by my American fellow citizens, and I am proud of it, and if the Germans are proud of the fact, I have no reason to be ashamed of it." Expressing satisfaction in having been born in Germany, he recalled the services of his fellow countrymen in defense of the Union in 1861. Then, when his quest was successful, he was widely regarded not merely as the senator from Missouri, but as the "German Senator" and spokesman for his compatriots in the Upper House. 13

This reputation caused him to receive letters from German-American soldiers in trouble and asking him for help, from German office seekers imploring his assistance, and from German-Americans expressing their pride in his achievements. The *Missouri Democrat* called him a "private ambassador to superintend the enlightenment of the German mind upon the opportunities and resources for settlement . . . of the West," and he became by far the most prominent German-American.<sup>14</sup>

It was during his Senate years that his attachment to the new country was almost, at least for a moment, overshadowed by his interest in the old. The outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 and the series of German victories which followed had a pronounced effect upon the German-American population. Schurz, too, was not immune to this enthusiasm. As he said at a mass meeting in Baltimore on 21 July, though loyal to the United States and abiding by its laws, he was German-born, and every German heart beat evenly for the old and new fatherland. Did not hundreds of Germans fight for the Union?<sup>15</sup>

In private, he was more outspoken. Writing to his wife in August that because of all the enthusiasm about the victories he could hardly collect his thoughts, he added, "Today Germany is the world's greatest military power. Long live the old fatherland! Amen." He raised the black, white, and red flag of the new Germany at the Westliche Post's editorial room. He wrote that the whole building was in bunting, and exulted, "I can only say one thing: Hurrah." Shortly afterward, when Napoleon III surrendered at Sedan, the senator was even more enthusiastic. "The Germans are now the greatest and mightiest nation of the Old World," he bragged, "and nobody can deny them that rank. This fact marks so huge a contrast with the past that the German himself can hardly

realize it, and yet, no matter how coldbloodedly we observe the facts, it is true. May it remain thus, Hallelujah!"<sup>16</sup>

This passionate absorption in the affairs of the Old World even made him think of returning to Germany. As he confessed to Mrs. Schurz, "When I read about all these great events, from time to time the desire to be there overcomes me, and I thought I might leave politics here this fall and then ask permission to ride into France with the General Staff and take all of you to Europe." <sup>17</sup>

But his idea of moving did not last long. Within four days of writing this letter he was repelled by the fact that the king of Prussia was still treating Napoleon as emperor. The monarchical ways of Europe reminded him of the advantages of the United States, and he reaffirmed his devotion to the Great Republic. "No matter how great was the heroic performance, the political situation does look better from the outside than the inside after all, and in the end, I find it a beautiful thing, to be an American sovereign," he commented.<sup>18</sup>

His realization of the difference between German and American ways and his preference for the latter was highlighted once more by the criticism of his brother-in-law, Adolph Meyer, of his break with Grant and one of his speeches attacking the president. Explaining that he found Meyer's exposition of the differences in the speaking styles of the two countries interesting, he nevertheless insisted that he realized it would be difficult to transplant him into public life in Germany "because free exchange of opinion cannot easily be unlearned." As time went on, he was ever more estranged from the illiberal developments in the German Empire. 19

The Franco-Prussian War provided him with the best opportunity to set forth in the Senate his ideas on German-American identity. Because of irregularities in arms sales to France, Charles Sumner introduced a resolution of inquiry, and when the supporters of the administration resisted, it fell to Schurz to bear the brunt of the affirmative argument. After first answering Roscoe Conkling, who charged that the Missouri senator merely wished to detach the Germans from the Republican party in order to deliver them to the Democrats—"no man owns the German-Americans of this country," he replied—he entered into a stringent debate with Senator Frederick T. Frelinghuysen of New Jersey, who accused him of being more loyal to Germany than to America. "Let me tell the Senator from New Jersey," he retorted,

that although I am certainly not ashamed of having sprung from that great nation whose monuments stand so proudly upon all the battlefields of thought; that great nation which . . . seems at this moment to hold in her hands the destinies of the Old World; that great nation which for centuries has sent thousands of her children to foreign shores, with their intelligence, their industry, and their spirit of good citizenship, while I am by no means ashamed of being a son of that great nation, yet I may say I am proud to be an American citizen. This is my country. Here my children were born. Here I

have spent the best years of my youth and manhood. All the honors I have gained, all the aims of my endeavors, and whatever of hope and promise the future has for me, it is all encompassed in this my new fatherland. My devotion to this great Republic will not yield . . . to that of any man born in this country.

To underline his philosophy, he insisted that "those who meanly and coldly forget their old mother cannot be expected to be faithful to their young bride."20

Schurz's break with the Grant administration, as was to be expected, again brought forth charges of primary loyalty to Germany rather than to the United States. One of his complaints against the president's policies, his indictment of their high tariff predilictions, led Senator Drake to maintain that his colleague favored low tariffs, not to benefit America, but to help his old country, an accusation Schurz indignantly denied.21 The Liberal Republican campaign of 1872 exposed him to additional accusations, and though his Americanism received a new boost with his appointment as Rutherford B. Hayes's secretary of the interior, some of his policies of protecting forest lands were again criticized as originating in monarchical Prussia rather than in republican America.<sup>22</sup> By that time, however, he was no longer troubled by any desire to return to Europe. As he wrote to his friend Friedrich Althaus in October 1879: "At any rate things are better here than with you over there. . . . All in all, the Old World looks very disturbing to me, economic regression and economic reaction. . . . Although many things over here are not the way they ought to be, nevertheless the comparison may be consoling." And to his brother-in-law he confessed in January 1881: "Your conditions over there make me feel quite uncomfortable, in fact so uncomfortable that I don't like to think about them. What the papers here printed about your Jew-baiting we Germans could not read without being ashamed." He was also troubled by Germany's economic conditions, reactionary currents, and unsettled international relations. How much better were things in the United States! Continued illiberal and nationalistic developments in the German Reich reinforced his opinions, and when in 1884 Bismarck refused to accept American condolences on the death of Eduard Lasker, his political opponent who had died in New York, Schurz suggested that the administration recall its envoy from Berlin.<sup>23</sup>

Schurz felt so secure in his Americanism that he consented to deliver a memorial address in 1888 on the occasion of the death of William I, the same prince whom he had fought in 1849 and who might have had him executed had he captured him at that time. No longer worried about possible charges of divided loyalty, he handsomely paid his respect to the monarch, who, though no democrat, had become the unifier of Germany. The speech was well received in his old home, and when he visited there later in the year, he was cordially welcomed by Bismarck and the crown prince. Telling all who would listen about the greatness of America, he showed once more that he was a proud

citizen of the Republic.24

During the entire course of his political rise, Schurz had never failed to make use of his ethnic identity. He obtained the diplomatic post in Madrid after making it clear to leading Republicans that his countrymen, whom he held responsible for Lincoln's victory in 1860, expected him to be honored; he finagled his promotion to major general in the same way; he appealed to Missouri party faithful again by stressing his influence in German-American quarters, and his appointment as secretary of the interior also owed much to his supposed standing among his fellow citizens. That his assessment of his countrymen's role in the election of 1860 did not correspond to the facts made no difference; it was widely believed and certainly taken for granted by himself.<sup>25</sup>

The question of how to reconcile his Americanism with his loyalty to his origins remained to be resolved. He always considered himself, and was considered by others, a role model for German-Americans; after all, he reached the two highest positions attainable by naturalized citizens in the United States. Consequently, he had to give his compatriots some idea of how to master the difficulties of assimilation, cultural identity, and language. He sought to solve the problem by advocating a fusion of loyalties, a most politic answer to the

problem confronting all immigrants.

His solution was anchored in his multicultural concept of American nationality, an idea forcefully expressed as early as 1859 in his speech, "True Americanism," which he delivered at Faneuil Hall in Boston. He had been invited at a time when the Know-Nothing-controlled Massachusetts legislature had passed an amendment barring naturalized citizens from voting for two years after obtaining their final papers in order to counteract the tide of nativism. Defining Americanism as the love of liberty and tolerance, he pointedly set forth his views of the contributions of immigrants to the American character, thus defining his own well-developed sense of identity. He reviewed the course of European immigration to this country and concluded, "Every people, every creed, every class of society has contributed its share to that wonderful mixture out of which is to grow the great nation of the New World. It is true, the Anglo-Saxon establishes and maintains his ascendancy, but without absolutely absorbing the other national elements. They modify each other, and their peculiar characteristics are to be blended together by the all-assimilating power of freedom. This is the origin of the American nationality, which did not spring from one family, one tribe, one country, but incorporated the vigorous elements of all civilized nations of the earth."27 This view of American nationalism was his answer to the question of dual loyalty.

As time went on, Schurz worked out fully his concept of Americanization. Stressing integration, he also furthered ethnic pride. In spite of his excellent mastery of the English language, he insisted on speaking and writing German with Germans; a sign in his house proclaimed, "Hier wird deutsch gesprochen," and he strongly defended the retention of the old tongue.<sup>28</sup> As he explained in

a speech at the Deutscher Liederkranz in New York in 1897,

it is sometimes expected of our compatriots in America that they should entirely cast aside the old mother tongue. This is unwise advice. Nobody will dispute that the German-American must learn English. He owes it to his new country, and he owes it to himself. But it is more than folly to say that he ought, therefore, to give up the German language. As American citizens we must become Americanized; that is absolutely necessary. I have always been in favor of sensible Americanization; but this need not mean an abandonment of all that is German. It means that we should accept the best traits of American character and join them to the best traits of German character. By doing so we shall make the most valuable contribution to the American nation, to American civilization.<sup>29</sup>

He repeated these sentiments in a speech in reply to tributes paid to him on his seventieth birthday, when he again insisted that the German immigrant must learn that the United States was his country, but that this process of Americanization did not imply "that he should at once discard in the new fatherland the good and desirable ways of thinking, qualities and customs brought from the old." Keeping faith with this philosophy, he wrote the first volume of his *Reminiscences*, the part dealing with German affairs, in German, and the second and third in English. Moreover, he not only taught his children German, but also sought to enlighten his lady friend, Fanny Chapman, about the mysteries of the language.<sup>31</sup>

Schurz's emphatic Americanism, combined as it was with loyalty to his German origins, was no great problem as long as the relations between the two countries were friendly. When, however, diplomatic disputes arose between

them, the German-American leader was in trouble.

This difficulty manifested itself especially during the Spanish-American War. A convinced anti-imperialist who strongly disapproved of American colonial expansion, he nevertheless felt called upon to defend the United States against attacks in Germany. Accordingly, he wrote an article for the Berlin Nation, which was widely republished and criticized in the German press. Defending himself, he pointed out that while Germans called him a jingo, Americans accused him of the opposite. But his annoyance was real.<sup>32</sup> "No matter how we may think about our war with Spain," he wrote to Henry Villard, "the criticism directed at America over there is partially at least outrageous."33 And the worsening of relations between Germany and America continued to trouble him. Not only the Spanish-American War, but German interference in Venezuela in 1902 caused difficulties, so that Schurz used every opportunity to attempt to smooth the waters. At the German Day in St. Louis in 1904, for example, he said: "We German-Americans constitute the hyphen between Germany and America. We are the living proof that a great population can be transplanted from one country to another to be totally loyal to the new country until death while preserving respectful love for the old country." Then

he came to the point he thought necessary to make. Declaring that no international friendship could be more natural than that between the two countries, he asserted that nothing could disturb it.<sup>34</sup> And in the last printed letter in his *Speeches*, *Correspondence*, and *Political Papers*, he wrote that it was a matter of course that every proper effort should be made to guard against the disturbance of the friendly relations between Germany and the United States as there was no possible reason to disturb them. The letter to an unknown correspondent was dated 8 April 1906; he died little more than a month later.<sup>35</sup>

During his lifetime, Carl Schurz, one of the most prominent of the German-American generals during the Civil War, had thus managed to fuse the identities of his heritage and his new environment. He had become a good American while yet retaining his affection for his German roots, a solution which served as an example to his countrymen, whose loyalty to the Union he was able to strengthen. His answer to the age-old question facing immigrants was a viable one, and it is as valid today as it was in the 1860s. It deserves to be widely publicized.

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#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Hans L. Trefousse, Carl Schurz: A Biography (New York, 1982), passim.

<sup>2</sup> Carl Schurz, *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, 3 vols. (New York, 1907), 1:399-401; Schurz to Adolph Meyer, 19 April 1852, in Joseph Schafer, ed., *Intimate Letters of Carl Schurz 1841-l869* (Madison, WI, 1929), 107-11.

<sup>3</sup> Schurz to Charlotte Voss, 20 October 1852; Schurz to Malwida von Meysenburg, n. d., in Frederick Bancroft, ed., *Speeches, Correspondence, and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, 6 vols. (New York, 1913), 1:1-8; Schurz to Gottfried Kinkel, 10 April 1853, in Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 116-21.

<sup>4</sup> Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 1:337; 2:9-12; George William Curtis to his sister Effie, 21 February 1872, Schurz Papers, LC; Horace White to Carl Schurz Memorial Committee, 31 January 1910, George McAneny Papers, Seely G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University.

<sup>5</sup> Eberhard Kessel, ed. "Die Briefe von Carl Schurz an Gottfried Kinkel," *Beihefte zum Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien*, 12 (Heidelberg, 1965), 122-24; La Vern J. Rippley, *The German-Americans* (Boston, 1976), 53; Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:66ff.

6 Ibid., 81-81, 176-83, 198-207.

<sup>7</sup> Schurz to Mrs. Schurz, 15, 16 August 1860, in Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 217-19; Schurz to Lincoln, 27 April 186l, Lincoln Papers, LC; Lincoln to Simon Cameron, 13 May 1861; Lincoln to Schurz, 13 May 1861, in Roy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 9 vols. (New Brunswick, NJ, 1953), 4:367-68; Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy* (Baton Rouge, 1951), 99.

<sup>8</sup> Schurz to Agathe Schurz, 27 November 1861, Schurz Papers, Hogue Collection, LC.

<sup>9</sup> Tyler Dennett, ed., *Lincoln and the Civil War in the Diary and Letters of John Hay* (New York, 1988), 23.

<sup>10</sup> Schurz to Lincoln, 8, 20 November 1862; Lincoln to Schurz, 10, 24 November 1862, in Schurz, *Speeches*, 1:209-21; Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:393-96.

<sup>11</sup> New York Times, 5 May, 3 June 1863; Carl Wittke, The German Language Press in America (Lexington, KY, 1957), 151-52; James S. Pula, For Liberty and Justice: The Life and Times of Wladimir Krzyzanowski (Chicago, 1978), 92 (quotation); Schurz, Reminiscences, 3:51-53, 85-91.

12 Ibid., 265ff., 276ff.

- <sup>13</sup> St. Louis Missouri Democrat, 13, 14 January, 3 March 1869; Peter Parrish, Missouri Under Radical Rule (Columbia, MO, 1965), 244ff., 259ff.
- <sup>14</sup> Frederick Meyer to Schurz, 22 March 1870; Adolph Becker to Schurz, 17 December 1870; Frederick Brunner to Schurz, 4 July 1871; F. Ternow to Schurz, 9 March 1872, Schurz Papers; St. Louis Missouri Democrat, 22 April 1870.

15 St. Louis Missouri Democrat, 24 July 1870.

<sup>16</sup> Schurz to Mrs. Schurz, 9, 15 August, 3 September 1870, Schurz Papers, Hogue Collection.

<sup>17</sup> Schurz to Mrs. Schurz, 6 September 1870, Schurz Papers, Hogue Collection.

- Schurz to Mrs. Schurz, 10 September 1870, Schurz Papers, Hogue Collection.
   Schurz to Adolph Meyer, 23 April 1871, Schurz Papers, Hogue Collection.
- <sup>20</sup> Cong. Globe, 42d Cong., 2d Sess., 1008-11, 1041-48, App. 58-67, 67-74, 110, 111; New York Belletristisches Journal, 23 February, 4 March 1871.

<sup>21</sup> Cong. Globe, 41st Cong., 3d Sess., 53, 118-28.

<sup>22</sup> Cong. Record, 45th Cong., 2d Sess., 1721.

<sup>23</sup> Schurz to Friedrich Althaus, 10 October 1879; Schurz to George Edmunds, 9 March 1884, Schurz Papers; Schurz to Adolph Meyer, 2 January 1881, 2 January 1883, Schurz Papers, Hogue Collection.

<sup>24</sup> "Emperor William I," in Schurz, Speeches, 4:495-505; New York Times, 1, 7 May 1888; Schurz

Diary, l, 7, 11 May 1888, Schurz Papers.

- William O. Shanahan, eds., Nationalism: Essays in Honor of Louis L. Snyder (Westport, CT, 1981), 141-55. For the role of the Germans in the election of 1860, cf. Frederick Luebke, ed., Ethnic Voters and the Election of Lincoln (Lincoln, NE, 1973); the German vote was apparently not decisive, except perhaps in Illinois, cf. James M. Bergquist, "People and Politics in Transition: The Illinois Germans, 1850-1860," 196-226.
- <sup>26</sup> A. H. Luttwitz to Schurz, 10 May 1879; R. C. Knoephel to Schurz, 10 March 1877, Schurz Papers.

<sup>27</sup> Schurz, Speeches, 1:48-72, esp. 54 for quote.

<sup>28</sup> Frankfurter Zeitung, 31 May 1906; Trefousse, Schurz, 293.

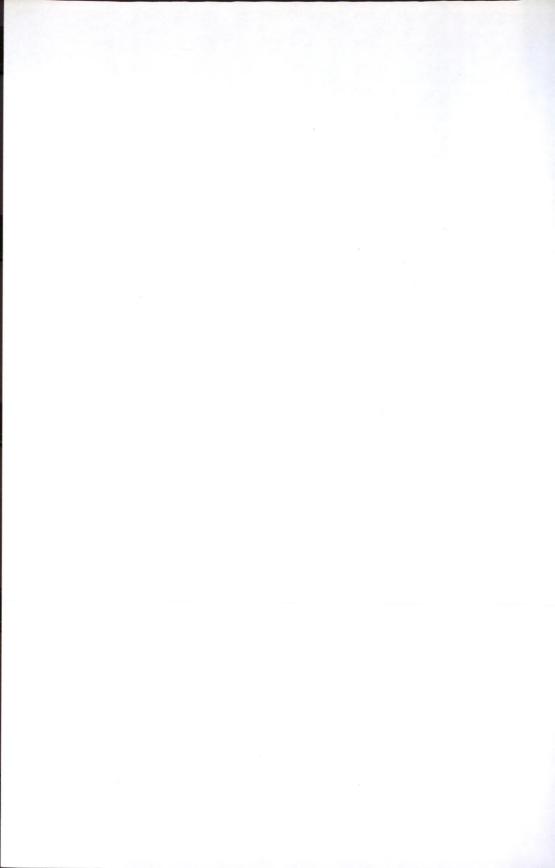
<sup>29</sup> New York Staats-Zeitung, 10 January 1897.

30 New York Times, 9 March 1899.

- <sup>31</sup> Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 1:4-5; Walter Vulpius, "Carl Schurz, The Man and Friend: Personal Reminiscences," *German-American Review* 7 (December 1940): 11; Schurz to Fanny Chapman, 20 November 1883, Schurz-Chapman Correspondence, University of Münster, Germany.
  - <sup>32</sup> Berlin Nation, 9 June 1898; Kieler Zeitung, 26 June 1898, in Schurz Papers.
     <sup>33</sup> Schurz to Henry Villard, 6 August 1898, Villard Papers, Harvard University.

34 Westliche Post, 7 October 1904.

35 Schurz, Speeches, 6:444-45, Schurz to unknown, 8 April 1906.



## Walter D. Kamphoefner

# Liberal Catholicism and Its Limits: The Social and Political Outlook of the Louisville Katholischer Glaubensbote, 1866-86

The Catholic Church through most of the nineteenth century has often been regarded as a bulwark of conservatism and an inveterate foe of liberalism. But particularly in America, its outlook on the labor question was highly ambivalent. On the one hand, the church was largely comprised of poor immigrant workers, so sympathy toward their plight might be expected from the Church and particularly its ethnic parishes and institutions. But on the other hand, the hierarchy strongly believed in civil order and abhorred the violence which often ensued in labor conflicts. Still, it is doubtful whether the laity was always so unquestionably obedient to the clergy as enemies of the church often feared.

A narrowly focused study of one German Catholic newspaper, the St. Louis Amerika, revealed a surprisingly sympathetic stance toward the labor movement during the great railroad strike of 1877, but an almost diametrical reversal of opinion in reaction to the Haymarket affair of 1886. It remains unclear, however, to what extent this shift was attributable simply to a change in editorship of the paper in early 1878, and whether the Amerika was at all typical of the German Catholic press generally.1 An opportunity for a broader examination of Catholic views in another heavily German river city is presented by a complete run of the Louisville Katholischer Glaubensbote. While labor continues to be one of the main focuses of this study, it also examines the general political world view reflected in the Glaubensbote (the name means "messenger of faith"), a lay-run and financed paper with clerical blessing.<sup>2</sup> Particular attention is focused on issues that placed Catholicism in conflict with other principles such as democracy and republicanism, egalitarianism, racial and ethnic pluralism, and not least a German national pride, that were present or prevalent in other elements of German-American society. The religious press, although certainly not reflecting without distortion the views of the Catholic rank and file, at least provides a midlevel perspective, thus supplying an important

corrective to the old institutional religious history largely focused on and identifying with the church hierarchy. The outlook of the *Glaubensbote* manifests a more liberal outlook and a broader degree of German-American consensus than most scholars have realized.<sup>3</sup>

Though best known for the radical "Louisville Platform" of 1855, this city's Germans included a substantial Catholic element which by the end of the Civil War had founded four ethnic parishes and was capable of supporting a weekly paper. But Catholics, too, partook of the spirit of the age. The pages of the Glaubensbote from its founding in 1866, reflect the existence, as well as the limits, of German Catholic liberalism. Officially independent in politics but with clear Democratic leanings, the paper nevertheless showed some striking contrasts to its southern Anglo counterparts. It unequivocally supported union and emancipation, stating in its first issue in April 1866: "We endorse the emancipation of the blacks with all our heart; freedom and self determination are necessary for every human being to reach his destination; but what we do not support is that the Negro be pushed into the foreground at the expense of the white population. . . . It is impossible with the stroke of a pen to transport a race out of slavery's shackles into the House of Representatives. That is not the right way to make out of the Negro that to which he as a human being is every bit as entitled as the white."5

Although the Glaubensbote opposed immediate suffrage for freedmen, it blamed their shortcomings entirely on environment, stressed their full human equality, and strongly supported educational and religious efforts among blacks. For example, an article of June 1866 remarked upon black criminality, but then went on to say: "One can't expect much else of the Negro, when one considers that he was born and raised in slavery, had no schools or churches, was treated and traded like a head of livestock." In August of the same year, the paper endorsed plans for building a black Catholic church in St. Louis and, two months later, related the bishop of Savannah's support for improving the spiritual education of blacks.<sup>6</sup> As late as 1886, the paper stressed that there was "no more inviting field" for the church than work among black Catholics. It carried under the bold headline, "The First Colored Catholic Priest in the U.S." an extensive report on an ordination in Quincy, Illinois. And it still celebrated the total elimination of slavery in Britain and the U.S. as one of the moments which earned a gleaming crown of fame, taking first place in the nineteenth century.7

Occasionally the paper showed more strongly racist undertones, particularly where politics was involved. While the German population of Louisville grew by only one thousand during the 1860s to reach 14,380, the number of black inhabitants more than doubled, slightly surpassing the Germans and replacing them as the city's largest minority. Against this background, the Glaubensbote related under "Humor" an attempt to teach apes to pick cotton, which failed because it required ten men for each ape instead of vice versa, and concluded: "If the experiment had succeeded, the radicals [i.e., Republicans]

would have surely given the apes the right to vote." Still, it reported without further comment an incident which had raised quite a spectacle in Bloomington, Illinois: With the passage of the 15th Amendment in 1870, a German Republican paraded arm in arm with a young black woman, preceded by a brass band, the whole affair resulting from a bet.

Although not without traces of antisemitism, the *Glaubensbote* in its first years spoke out against the oppression of Eastern European Jews in tones more reminiscent of liberal forty-eighters than of Catholics. For example, an 1866 article on Jewish persecution in Rumania characterized it as a staged rabble-rousing, as vandalistic and despicable as any experienced in the century. Later the same year, a report on the harassment of Jews in Poland spoke of an outrageous attempt to give them the choice of conversion or deportation. Four years later, President Grant was decried as a "fanatical Methodist and a obdurate hater of Catholics and Jews." Even during this era there were occasionally less benevolent overtones and frequent emphasis on Jewish wealth and power. In 1866 Prussia's foreign policy was decried as a "regular Jew-deal, and Austria as usual played the fall guy"; though several months later a headline featured "Patriotic Prussian Israelites" among soldiers and civilians in the war.<sup>11</sup>

But the "ingratitude" of Rome's Jews toward the beleaguered Papacy in 1870 appears to have brought the latent antipathies toward Jews out into the open, precipitating charges that "modern Jewry shifts its loyalties with the change of political conditions as swiftly as quicksilver in a barometer varies with a change of weather." Admittedly, the Jews were not the only ones to come under fire for their treatment of the Vatican: "A bunch of riff-raff [Lumpenpack] is the right word for the Italian people," was the verdict of the Glaubensbote. But two weeks later it was running headlines like "The Jews Rule the World" and stating that it would be no wonder if persecution should break out. The next year, commenting on Russia, it asked: "Isn't it . . . a disgrace to the government when it 'intervenes' in favor of this lousy Jewish riff-raff?" 12

Although one might expect a policy of "first Catholic, then German" on the part of the *Glaubensbote*, German interests in America or Europe were strongly defended on its pages, even where they would appear to conflict with Catholic interests. It is not surprising that the paper objected to the Protestant tone in public schools and agitated for the division of school funds among all confessions on a pro rata basis. Since this article complained about paying double for both parochial and public schools, one would think its author would especially object to German language instruction in public schools, a measure that not only drove up costs but also tended to undermine parochial education. But not so; the *Glaubensbote* found it "gratifying, that German language instruction has already been introduced into the public schools of most of the large cities of the Union," adding that not only German children benefitted from this. A few months later an article combatted the impression that German instruction in public schools would hinder the Americanization of the German element, and continued its arguments under the headline, "The Advantages of

the Knowledge of the German Language."<sup>13</sup> In 1886 the paper was proud to report that thirty-eight teachers were providing German instruction to nearly six thousand children in Louisville public schools. An article the next week argued that young men and women who could speak English and German received

better jobs and higher pay than those who spoke English alone. 14

Political and religious historians have often argued that freethinking forty-eighters were anathema for German Catholic voters and had no influence with them. Yet more than once one sees the *Glaubensbote* citing Carl Schurz when he happened to agree with their cause. For example, as the Liberal Republican movement was getting under way in 1870, it reported on the uneasiness of Germans such as Schurz with their Republican allies, and a month later headlined the news that "President Grant [of whom the paper was certainly no admirer] declares war on Karl Schurz." Similarly, the paper in 1886 reported Schurz's impressions of the popularity of the Democratic President Cleveland. 16

On the European side as well, the causes of democracy and German unity took precedence over purely Catholic interests. Within its first month the *Glaubensbote* was complaining about European royalty in radically egalitarian terms: "Upon bleached bones the emperors, kings, princes and dukes have built up their thrones, and from there with the title 'by divine right' they crack the whip upon their slaves." This, it argued, was what often drove people to emigration out of "the desire for freedom and self determination." The religious question was not in the foreground when war broke out between Protestant Prussia and Catholic Austria. The *Glaubensbote* argued that not Catholicism, but the parasitic nobility and its "cancerous damage" to the Habsburg throne was at the root of Austria's backwardness. Above all it was "this vermin" which fettered the process of development. "Since the bishops' seats . . . are no longer in the hands of the nobility, the Catholic religion has blossomed anew." The article went on to denounce the nobility as dumb, lazy, and immoral.<sup>17</sup>

The Protestantism of the Prussian state did not cause the *Glaubensbote* to throw its support to Catholic Austria in 1866, much less to France in 1870. In 1866 it tendered the pious hope "that the blood of the German *Volk* will not have been shed in vain, that from this bloody seed the tree of freedom will sprout up and the German nation can pluck the golden fruit of *freedom* over the graves of its fallen sons." The war was over by the next month, but the results remained unsatisfactory because "Germany is not unified. Germany is not free." The European war of 1870 presented the *Glaubensbote* with fewer problems of loyalties. Although respecting the [local] patriotism of those from Hannover, Hesse, Nassau, and South Germany, when it came to "defending the German Fatherland from a foreign conqueror, we despise every German who does not step into the fray." In fact, the war was portrayed not as Franco-Prussian, but as Franco-German; directed not against the Catholic French people, but against a Napoleonic dictatorship. 19

A common Catholic faith was not enough to bridge the gap between Irish and German immigrants. The *Glaubensbote* presented a stern rebuttal to a New

York Irish paper's opposition to German unity and its identification of Germany with Protestantism, calling it an insult to the Germanic race and Catholic Germany. For good measure, it added that the Irish exaggerated the worth of the Catholicism and the independence of Ireland. Irish Catholics in general met with little sympathy. Their illiteracy and mortality rates (attributed to poor sanitation), were duly noted by the paper. Even an 1871 riot against a Protestant Orangemen's parade in New York brought the *Glaubensbote*'s firm condemnation of the Irish "rabble" who were by no means "our people." <sup>20</sup>

The German Catholic press in Louisville showed a lively interest and a surprisingly friendly face towards labor in the great railroad strike of 1877, noting on 25 July that other topics had been dropped to provide more room for coverage. Although the headlines screamed "Revolution, Robbery, Murder and Arson in Pittsburgh," the text, while condemning violence, showed considerable empathy with the workers' plight. "It goes without saying that we are not on the side of the revolutionaries and arsonists, but we must say this: the demands of the railroad workers are not unjust."

The next week a lead article devoted itself to an exposition on "Who Was Right?" It listed a number of facts for consideration: The railroad workers had started the strike; however they had done so not out of insolence but out of privation. "The railroad companies, through their unjustified [ungebührliche, emphasis in original]—to put it mildly—reductions in wages, precipitated the strike and forced laborers to take matters into their own hands." The federal and state governments as well as city mayors and militias "placed themselves prematurely and overzealously [emphasis in original] on the side of capital." This in turn aroused the workers by undermining their belief in equality before the law. It was only here, under its sixth point, that the Glaubensbote came around to condemning labor's resort to "the law of the jungle [Faustrecht], not a legitimate means for obtaining a just end." But it soon returned to its original point of departure, "that man not be used or rather misused as a machine, a machine which the companies and rich capitalists need supply nothing more than the necessary oil." "22"

More than once the paper stressed the need for government neutrality in disputes such as these: "The man of capital dare not have greater rights before civil authorities than the laboring man; if this is not the case, then our freedom is lost." At times the *Glaubensbote* argued in terms almost reminiscent of its Marxist antagonists: "The people are being robbed, lied to, skinned and deceived; it's no wonder that workers hope for improvement only through self-help." In promoting the solution of "justice for all and no privileged theft," the paper in one swipe implicated both heartless capital and the government which protected it.<sup>23</sup>

Occasionally more conservative tones showed through in the Catholic press. The *Glaubensbote* distinguished between legitimate and illegitimate means of redressing grievances. It stressed a return to "true Christianity" as the solution to the social question, and lectured employers, and to a lesser extent laborers, on

their social responsibilities in a paternalistic "family." But while reminding workers that social distinctions were ordained by God, it also took the opportunity to castigate the purely materialistic view of life promoted equally by anticlerical radicals and conservative capitalists. "The reigning liberalism has robbed the working classes of their highest good, their religion; materialism has withheld from them the temporal goods. Thus it is no wonder that the oppressed turn to violence to obtain their rights."<sup>24</sup>

In all of these points, there was a close congruence in 1877 between the views of the Glaubensbote and the St. Louis Amerika. The latter bandied about terms such as "proletariat" and "plutocrats" [Geldprotzen, spelled with "b" instead of "p"], holding up as an example for the latter the elder Vanderbilt, "who regarded labor as just a commodity, and gave his workers no greater attention than the horses who pulled his wagons."25 The Amerika's analysis of the strike's origins resembled that of the Glaubensbote; it did not subscribe to any conspiracy theories of labor violence. Rather, it argued that "socialistic, or if you will, socio-political reform movements" were the best way to restrict the influence of the Communist International.26 The need for action was evident, and the simplistic and moralistic advice offered by the "experts" of the day had proven inadequate. Workers were already economizing to the limits of their ability. Repression was no real answer to the crisis either; the Amerika obviously had no stomach for "Prussian standing armies and Bismarckian spiked helmets." Instead, the paper supported a program of federal public works, and though normally leaning toward the Democrats, argued that narrow partisan orthodoxy opposing "the subsidy theory of the old Whig party" should not stand in the way of needed reforms.27

By the year 1886, little had changed in the *Glaubensbote*'s positions or its empathy towards the plight of workers, except perhaps a heightened degree of awareness. In both 1877 and 1886, the paper used the terms "capital" and "monopoly" almost as interchangeably as any writer in the former East Germany. There was now a regular column headlined "Capital and Labor," reporting on disputes around the country and occasionally in Europe.

The serialization of a preposterously stereotyped novella set in Germany, "The Social Democrat," might be seen as a sign of conservatism. The plot involved an agitator named Schwarz (black) inciting the workers against a factory owner named Engel (angel), who was willing to give a 25 percent raise but balked at the workers demand for 50 percent, along with eight-hour day and 6-hour night shifts. In the ensuing strike and violence, troops are called out and fire on the mob; the protagonist Hartmann takes a bullet in the breast but is saved (temporally and eternally) by his mother's prayer book which he had stuck in his pocket to light his pipe with.<sup>28</sup> But a melodrama of this kind was probably run mostly out of convenience, for it contrasts strongly with the paper's dominant tone.

For the most part the *Glaubensbote* followed the line of the Knights of Labor. It reported extensively on the debate within the Catholic church on the

legitimacy of the Knights and their compatibility with the Catholic faith. While both sides of the question were covered, the paper's sympathy was clearly with the Knights. It gave much favorable attention to their proceedings and to the pronouncements of their leader Terence Powderly on various subjects.<sup>29</sup> This did not, however, translate into any sympathy for the Haymarket anarchists on the part of the *Glaubensbote*. Its first reaction to the affair on 9 May 1886 led off with the headline, "Knights of Labor Against Anarchists," citing Powderly's statement branding the anarchist idea as un-American and pointing out that none of anarchist leaders were Knights. During the next months, there were repeated references to Powderly and the Knights in opposition to anarchism.<sup>30</sup>

One of the big concerns of the *Glaubensbote* was that "the shameless demeanor of the German anarchist gang . . . would give new and increased nourishment for nativism," directed particularly against Germans.<sup>31</sup> In May the paper had repeated Powderly's denials that immigrants were the ones primarily responsible for violent strikes. Another article cited the *New Yorker Staatszeitung* to the effect that the leader of the conspiracy had been "the full-blooded Yankee Parsons," and that most of his correspondents were "by no means Slovaks, Pollocks, Germans and other 'Foreigners'" but people of English mother tongue, Parsons's fellow citizens.<sup>32</sup>

Reports during the first week or two after Haymarket did include some wild rumors, but thereafter the paper's sober, unemotional coverage stood in strong contrast to the bloodthirsty hysteria of much of the English-language press. In fact, the Glaubensbote did not expect the anarchists to be convicted for murder, only to be imprisoned for inciting a riot. In July 1886 the paper devoted most of a column to "'Wise' Sayings from the Koran of Monopoly." The Glaubensbote opined that the New York Herald and railroad magnate Tom Scott should be on trial alongside the anarchist bombers for their statements to the effect that strikers deserved to be shot. The fashionable Protestant preacher Henry Ward Beecher's admonition that workers should be satisfied with bread and water was countered with the negative German version of the Golden Rule: "don't do unto others what you wouldn't like done to you." The Glaubensbote's strongest ire was reserved for the Chicago Tribune's recommendation that handouts for tramps be laced with strychnine: "Assassination was never preached more meanly and cynically even in the 'Arbeiter-Zeitung,'" the organ of the condemned anarchists.33

Right at the peak of antilabor agitation on 23 May the *Glaubensbote* spoke out for the recognition of labor organizations as bargaining agents, calling this an absolute requirement for the common good. "Workers have drawn the lesson from bitter experience that their sole guarantee against exploitation lies precisely in organization. . . . The idea of regarding a firmly united association of thousands of people as simply non-existent, is on its face absurd and laughable." The paper even announced a planned speech by the German socialist Karl Liebknecht in Louisville, noting that here he could say what he wanted: here

Bismarck, (the old nemesis of German Catholics as well as socialists), had no say.<sup>34</sup>

In its analysis of the root causes of anarchism and labor violence, the *Glaubensbote* reiterated many of the same themes it had advanced in 1877. A 23 May piece, "On the Recent Disorders," began with the observation that America's free institutions did not preserve it from conflicts similar to those in Europe. First on its list of causes was the "ruthless exploitation of laborers by egoistic, unscrupulous, and unmerciful monopolies and giant industrialists, who regard their people simply as machines from whom the greatest possible output must be extracted for the least possible wages, and who thereby trample upon all the commandments of Christian brotherly love." Next in line came the "press, which denies God and all Christian principles." Only then did the paper get to the culpability of the "constant agitation and incitements of so-called labor leaders." 35

As in 1877, the *Glaubensbote* enunciated a "plague on both your houses" against the materialist world view shared by labor radicals and conservative capitalists. An article adopted from the St. Louis *Amerika* argued:

if the most vehement opponents [of anarchism] would take a few moments to reflect, they would find that they themselves are its fathers. When they through word and print try to sell the people on the systems of Darwin and Haeckel or of Büchner as indisputable truth, when they scorn the belief in the divine origins of the human soul or a future reward, when they promote with all their might the view that only sensual things are worth striving for and that man is a beast, then the coming generation of young people cannot help being transformed into a horde of nihilists.<sup>36</sup>

This was one of the few points of correspondence between the Glaubensbote and the Amerika in 1886, though they also shared the well-founded fear that the anarchists would provoke a revival of nativism.<sup>37</sup> But for the most part, the Amerika could offer the laborer nothing but pious platitudes, "pie in the sky by and by," in the derisive words of a labor ditty from the turn of the century. In articles that sounded more like sermons than editorials, it contrasted the patience of European Catholics under the Kulturkampf with the impatience of American anarchists.38 Countering the views of a priest who had pointed out the extenuating circumstances leading laborers to sabotage or violence, the Amerika dogmatically argued that "Divine Providence lets the virtuous enjoy the fruits of their toil and good works, but subjects the evil-minded to the fruitless pains of severe divine and human punishment."39 The Amerika did admonish the "millionaires' churches, the Episcopalians and Presbyterians," who "instead of bringing humanity together in equality before God, separate the poor from the rich." But it had little besides abstractions to offer instead: "The great hope, the single hope of the poor is real, observed Christianity. When the world follows

the teaching of Jesus Christ and not sooner, the wounds of society will be healed and the brotherhood of mankind established."<sup>40</sup>

A comparison with the Louisville Glaubenshote makes the shifting attitudes toward labor of the Amerika stand out all the more. There is little doubt that the change in editorship of the St. Louis paper in early 1878 was crucial. And although there are no smoking guns, it seems probable that the initial editor was forced out.41 Anton Hellmich, a schoolteacher from Mud Creek, Illinois, was replaced by Dr. Edward Preuss, who had been raised a devout Lutheran, earned doctorates at both his native Königsberg and at Berlin, taught for ten years, numbering among his students Prussian royalty, but ultimately converted to Catholicism and emigrated because he found Lutheranism to be an insufficient bulwark against liberal Protestantism. An ecclesiastical history argues that Hellmich was merely a figurehead and that Preuss, his assistant, had been "the real editor from the start."42 But it is as inconceivable to have Preuss railing against plutocrats (Geldprotzen) as it is for the man from Mud Creek to offer his beleaguered and downtrodden readers nothing but the cold comfort of theological abstractions. And it is obvious that Hellmich could be a thorn in the flesh of the wealthy lumber merchant who headed up the "Catholic Literary Society" which financed the Amerika. 43

These findings also have broader implications. Of the two journals, the Louisville paper appears more typical of the German Catholic press generally. The waning nineteenth century saw increasing, not decreasing sympathy for labor in the Catholic church and its publications. It is also important to realize that the German Catholic press and its editors did not operate in isolation from the larger social forces around them. The principle of a democratic and egalitarian society—even if it manifested certain shortcomings in practice—colored their political views on America and Germany. American liberties contrasted starkly with German censorship, standing armies, and parasitic royalty. On the other hand, pride in being German, the reflected glory of a united Germany and the heightened respect it brought German-Americans in their adopted country, led Catholics as well as other Germans who otherwise had little sympathy for Bismarck or Prussia to join in the jubilation of 1870-71. Not even the German Catholic press was always Catholic first and German second; there is even less reason to expect the rank and file to have been so.

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#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Walter D. Kamphoefner, "The St. Louis Amerika from 1877 to 1886: The Immigrant Catholic Press and the Labor Question," unpublished paper, History 356, University of Missouri-Columbia, 1974. <sup>2</sup> The Louisville Katholischer Glaubensbote [hereinafter cited as LKG] in its initial number of 14 April 1866, p. 4, contained letters of approbation from the bishops of Louisville and Covington. William J. Weber, Jr. served as editor from 1866 to 1871, followed by Edward Neuhaus, 1866-75, and F.W.A. Riedel, 1876-78, with Jakob Kooper & Co. as publisher from 1871-77 and George D. Denser as editor and publisher from 1878-85. There were no noticeable shifts in editorial policy with changes in editors, and it is not known whether Weber was the son of liberal St. Louis journalist Wilhelm Weber. Karl J. R. Arndt and Mary E. Olson, German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732-1955: History and Bibliography, 2d ed. (New York: Johnston Reprint Corp., 1965), 169-73, 250. Some general background on the ethnic community is provided by Thomas P. Baldwin, "The Public Image of Germans in Louisville and in Jefferson County, Kentucky, 1840-72," Yearbook of German-American Studies 29 (1994): 83-90. However, he does not mention the existence of the Glaubensbote.

<sup>3</sup> The definition of liberalism employed here is a specifically German-American one based on the heritage of the 1848 revolution and its sympathizers in America. In its support of ethnic pluralism, it differs from the so-called liberalism of the Catholic "Americanizers" described in works such as Robert D. Cross, *The Emergence of Liberal Catholicism in America* (Cambridge, MA, 1958), esp. chapters 5 and 7, though both types of liberals were in broad agreement on the labor question.

<sup>4</sup> Jay Dolan, *The American Catholic Parish*, vol. 1 (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist, 1987), 245-48, 254, 281. A conservative Catholic daily, the *Louisville Adler*, founded in 1852 specifically to combat the "destructive tendencies" of the forty-eighters, folded within a couple of months. Arndt and Olson,

169.

<sup>5</sup> LKG, 14 April 1866, p. 6. The *Glaubensbote*, had the highest circulation of any German paper in Louisville in 1870, ca. 5,300, but it also catered to Catholics in surrounding rural areas including southern Indiana. Of the two competing dailies, the Republican *Volksblatt* had less than half the cirulation of the Democratic *Anzeiger*. Arndt and Olson 169-73. Louisville Germans had been strongly unionist according to Baldwin, "Germans in Louisville," 87.

<sup>6</sup> LKG, 16 June 1866, p. 6; 18 Aug. 1866, p. 6; 6 Oct. 1866, p. 6; cf. 24 Nov. 1866, p. 4. Louisville's first black Catholic parish was established in 1869. Dolan, *American Catholic Parish*, 260.

<sup>7</sup> LKG, 3 Oct. 1886, p. 3; 25 July 1886, p. 4; 17 Oct. 1886, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> George C. Wright, Life Behind a Veil: Blacks in Louisville, Kentucky, 1865-1930 (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1985), 16, 32; Population of the U.S. in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census (Washington, D.C., 1864), xxxii; Ninth Census, Volume I: The Statistics of Population of the U.S., 1870 (Washington, D.C., 1872), 389.

9 LKG, 23 Nov. 1870, p. 8; 6 Apr. 1870, p. 6.

10 LKG, 11 Aug. 1866, p. 3; 1 Dec. 1866, p. 2; 6 Apr. 1870, p. 4.

11 LKG, 12 May 1866, p. 2; 13 Oct. 1866, p. 4; cf. 3 Nov. 1866 on the Rothschild family.

12 LKG, 7 Dec. 1870, p. 4; 4 Jan. 1871, p. 4; 18 Jan. 1871, p. 4; 19 June 1872, p. 1.

13 LKG, 6 Apr. 1870, p. 4; 27 July 1870, p. 4; 18 Jan. 1871, p. 4.

<sup>14</sup> LKG, 9 May 1886, p. 5; 16 May 1886, p. 4. In all, 5,979 children were taking German; only two of the instructors were male.

<sup>15</sup> A good example is Sister Audrey Olson, "The Nature of an Immigrant Community: St. Louis Germans, 1850-1920," *Missouri Historical Review* 66 (1972): 342-59, here esp. p. 348.

- <sup>16</sup> LKG, 14 Sept. 1870, p. 5; 5 Oct. 1870, p. 6; 1 Aug. 1886, p. 4. It should be remembered that Schurz himself was a lapsed Catholic, and that there was some liberal Catholic support for the 1848 revolution in the Palatinate and Rhineland Prussia. Jonathan Sperber, *Rhineland Radicals: The Democratic Movement and the Revolution of 1848-1849* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 47-48, 281-83, 451-54.
  - 17 LKG, 28 Apr. 1866, p. 2; 25 Aug. 1866, p. 2.

18 LKG, 4 Aug. 1866, p. 2; 8 Sept. 1866, p. 2.

19 LKG, 17 Aug. 1870, p. 1; p. 2.

- 20 LKG, 24 Aug. 1870, p. 4; 26 May 1866, p. 3; 19 July 1871, p. 4-5.
- 21 LKG, 25 July 1877, p. 3.
- 22 LKG, 1 Aug. 1877, p. 4.
- 23 LKG, 1 Aug. 1877, p. 4.
- 24 LKG, 15 Aug. 1877, p. 3.
- <sup>25</sup> St. Louis Amerika [hereinafter cited as SLA], 8 Aug. 1877, p. 6.

26 SLA, 8 Aug. 1877, p. 6.

<sup>27</sup> SLA, 1 Aug. 1877, p. 4; cf. 15 Aug. 1877, p. 4, "More Military?"

28 LKG, 15 Aug. through 12 Sept. 1886, usually on p. 6.

- <sup>29</sup> LKG, 23 May 1886, p. 4; 12 Dec. 1886, p. 3. Support for Powderly and the Knights is the more remarkable because it required Germans to overcome serious anti-Irish prejudices. At the 1887 Central Verein convention, one opponent of the Knights reportedly stated that "Germans ought to consider it a disgrace to be ruled by Irish ignoramuses," but his resolution identifying the organization with "anarchists, socialists, and prohibitionists" ended up being tabled. Henry J. Browne, *The Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1949), 291.
  - 30 LKG, 9 May 1886, p. 1; 17 Oct. 1886, p. 4; 24 Oct. 1886, p. 1; 2 Jan. 1887, p. 1.

<sup>31</sup> LKG, 3 Oct. 1886, p. 3; cf. 29 Aug 1886, p. 4.

<sup>32</sup> LKG, 16 May 1886, p. 3; 30 May 1886, p. 4.

33 LKG, 15 Aug. 1886, p. 4; 25 July 1886, p. 5. 34 LKG, 23 May 1886, p. 4; 22 Aug. 1886, p. 8.

35 LKG, 23 May 1886, p. 7.

36 LKG, 23 May 1886, p. 4; original in SLA, 19 May 1886, p. 4.

<sup>37</sup> "Results of the Anarchist Putsch," SLA, 19 May 1886, p. 4, reflected fears that a prohibitive \$800 head tax would be levied on immigrants. Cf. "Anarchists and Germans," LKG, 29 Aug. 1886, p. 4.

38 SLA, 26 May 1886, p. 4.

39 SLA, 19 May 1886, p. 6.

40 SLA, 16 June 1886, p. 7.

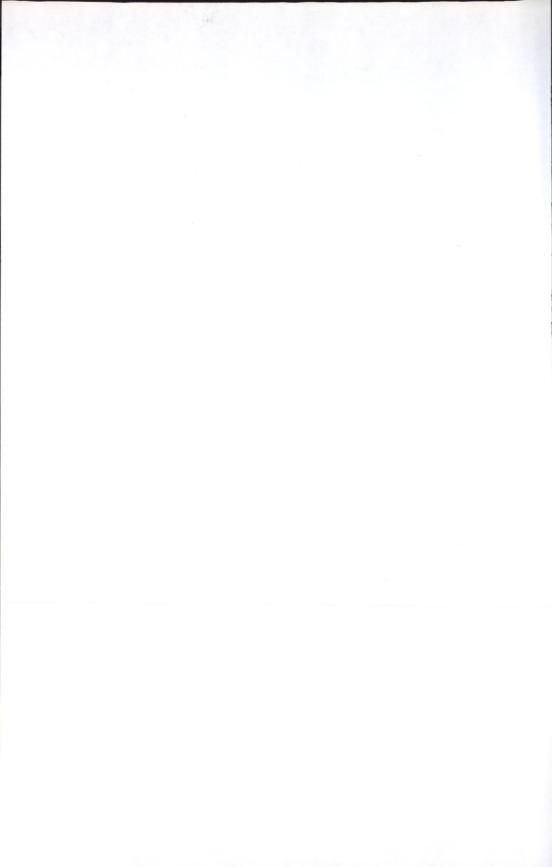
- <sup>41</sup> Archbishop Kendrick of St. Louis was one of two members of the Bishops' Conference who voted for condemnation of the Knights of Labor. Browne, Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor, 211, 244-46.
- <sup>42</sup> Rory T. Conley, "Arthur Preuss, German Catholic Exile in America," U.S. Catholic Historian 12,3 (1994): 41-50; John E. Rothensteiner, "A Sketch of Catholic Journalism in St. Louis," Pastoral Blatt 58 (1924): 90.

<sup>43</sup> Like the *Glaubensbote*, the *Amerika* was not strictly speaking an ecclesiastical organ, but was published by the German Literary Society of St. Louis, a Catholic lay organization that appears to have been organized specifically for that purpose. Its president throughout this period, William Druhe, appears in 1878 as a lumber merchant and by 1885 as president of the Druhe-Eastman Hardwood Lumber Company at the same address, according to Gould's *St. Louis City Directory*.

<sup>44</sup> Browne, Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor, 134-6, 182-83, 212-13; Jay P. Dolan, The American Catholic Experience (New York: Macmillan, 1985), 334-37; David O'Brien, Public

Catholicism (New York: Macmillan, 1990), 83-87.

<sup>45</sup> In Louisville all schools and city offices were closed for the victory parade; Arndt and Olson, 168. For statements by two immigrant Catholics of South German origins of a willingness to accept Prussian preeminence as a price of German unity, see the letters of John Dieden, 31 May 1862, and Edward Treutlein, 21 May 1869, both in the Bochumer Auswandererbrief-Sammlung, Ruhr University Bochum. For reactions to 1870-71 from otherwise apolitical immigrants see Walter D. Kamphoefner, Wolfgang Helbich, and Ulrike Sommer, eds., *News From the Land of Freedom: German Immigrants Write Home* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 141-42, 162, 430, 585-86.



# Spiritual Fatherland: African-American Intellectuals and Germany, 1850-1920

In recent years there has been an increase of scholarly interest in the interaction of Germans and Africans. Most studies have been one-dimensional because they are restricted to German reactions to slavery or German views on race and the African. The African-American or African perspective is usually neglected. Germans and German-Americans had pro- and antislavery views but how did African-Americans view Germans both here and abroad? How and why did these views evolve? Were they totally subsumed in the competition and conflict that have characterized the interaction of African-Americans and ethnic groups since the eighteenth century?

To suggest some answers to these questions I have selected the period 1850-1920 because of its importance to the Americanization process of both groups. German immigration would reach unprecedented heights during the period and nativism, xenophobia, and nationalism were competing forces that helped create the German-American community. The Americanization process for Africans was much slower and more complex. In 1850 the majority of Africans in the United States were slaves. The free Africans in the North were not only victimized by institutionalized discrimination but also denied the basic rights of citizenship. Once slavery had been abolished, it was soon replaced by officially sanctioned racism in the form of poll taxes, sharecropping, Jim Crow laws, *Plessy v. Ferguson*, and lynching.

Despite seemingly overwhelming pressure to marginalize and dehumanize them, the Africans persevered in the slow process of defining themselves as African-Americans. Coming to terms with this dual identity figured prominently on the agenda of Black intellectuals during the period and, in fact, permeates their literary production. This search for identity coincides with an intensification of the relationship between Germans and Africans.

To reconstruct the African-American image of Germans and Germany it is necessary first to turn to the antebellum period. Although interaction between Germans and Africans in the New World dates from the sixteenth century when German merchants engaged in the slave trade, there is only

scattered evidence of the African image of Germans before 1800. The reasons for this paucity of documentation are manifold. For the most part, Africans were routinely denied access to literacy and thus seldom had the means to record their thoughts and feelings for posterity. In those situations in which the Africans had access, e.g., as part of the religious instruction provided by Lutherans, Moravians, Quakers, etc., the range of subject matter was inherently limited and seldom touched on temporal or mundane concerns.

The strictures placed by the majority community on the African's access to literacy in the eighteenth century meant that only the growth of a free African community that could achieve a certain autonomy and the intensification of the abolition campaign could create a literate African-American elite capable of reflecting on its social status and able to develop strategies to effect change. Thus it is in the first half of the nineteenth century that we find two texts that typify that African elite's perception of Germans.

Commencing in 1830 members of a nascent African-American middle class met in a series of national conferences to develop strategies that would address the pressing needs of the day: education, employment, civil rights, etc. At the 1852 convention held on January 14, 15, 16, 17, and 19 in Cincinnati the assembled delegates adopted a preamble which stated:<sup>2</sup>

Whereas, a most cruel and bitter prejudice exists in the United States against the colored race—a prejudice unjust, unnatural, and opposed to the civilization of the age. And whereas, if this state of things is changed and the colored people assume their proper station, it must be by virtue of their own individual action.

The assemblage then adopted thirty-one resolutions that included four rather interesting statements of intent:<sup>3</sup>

- 13. Resolved, That we should unite ourselves in business transactions with the masses of whites, so that the distinction of Irishmen, German, and African may be lost in the general appellation of American citizens.
- 15. Resolved, That we recommend the teaching of the German Language in our schools, believing that it will prove a great auxiliary to our cause.
- 17. Resolved, That we sympathize with the oppressed Hungarians and German Socialists in their efforts to throw off the yoke of despotism and reestablish their liberty, and that we hail Gottfried Kinkle [sic] and Louis Kossuth, and their representatives on this continent as the true apostles of European liberty.

19. Resolved, That tyranny in Russia, Austria and America is the same and that tyrants throughout the world are united against the oppressed, and therefore the Russian Serf, the Hungarian Peasant, the American Slave and all other oppressed people, should unite against tyrants and despotism.

These resolutions are rather revealing.

These delegates were obviously concerned with setting aside the differences that put them at odds with the ethnic groups. This was especially germane in Ohio since it was here in the 1820s that the enactment of draconian Black codes designed to expropriate African-Americans and the eruption of anti-Black urban riots had prompted Bishop Richard Allen of the A.M.E. Church to convene the first of the national meetings in Philadelphia in 1830. More important than desiring to eliminate conflicts with groups that economic competition had placed on a collision course with them, the assemblage urged solidarity with the political struggles that had forced some of the immigrants to leave their homelands.

Not just content to provide lip service to the revolutionary movements in Europe, the convention took the extraordinary step of urging German-language instruction in the African schools. It must be recalled that prior to the Civil War African-Americans in the North primarily attended segregated schools and even after de jure segregation had ended, de facto segregation continued until well into our century. Given the social, economic, and political restrictions imposed upon Africans by antebellum America, one must ask what possible utility the convention delegates hoped from having their children learn German in segregated schools ostensibly designed to prepare them for a segregated society.

The appeal of German to African-Americans was more than just exoticism. The Ohioans characterized it after all as "a great auxiliary to [their] cause." Africans had been exposed to the language since the colonial period. Advertisements for runaways and slaves offered for sale document in some cases the slave's proficiency in languages, especially in German. In 1839 Ohio school law was amended to permit the teaching of German and it is possible that before the Civil War some African children may have attended Cincinnati's bilingual schools.4 African-American interest in German should probably be seen in the context of the advances which Cincinnati's German-speaking population made in promoting their own cultural identity. Also, especially in Pennsylvania, the proximity and economic interdependence of Africans and Germans in locations such as Bethlehem, Lancaster, York, and Reading resulted in the Africans becoming not only proficient in German-the African members of the Moravian brotherhood traveled between the Caribbean, North America, and Europe-some also acquired a command of Pennsylvania German through marriage or daily contact. There is considerable anecdoctal evidence of this proficiency acquired through necessity.

African-Americans' admiration of German language and culture most certainly resulted from their awareness of the high esteem in which white Americans held both. It was, after all, in the first half of the nineteenth century that American intellectuals such as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, George Ticknor, Margaret Fuller, and John Quincy Adams were discovering modern German thinkers and writers and introducing them to the American reading public. The proximity of some of these intellectuals to the antislavery campaign would guarantee that African-American intellectuals would be aware of their writings.

It is perhaps a measure of the extent of the African participation in the growing American fascination with things German that Ira Aldridge (1807-67), the greatest African-American actor of his day and arguably one of the greatest Shakespearian tragedians of the century, began his stellar career in New York City in 1820-21 playing "Rolla" in an English-language adaptation of August von Kotzebue's *Pizarro*. During a triumphant tour of the continent Aldridge was accompanied by a German troupe. They recited in German and he apparently spoke entirely in English, resorting to German to cue the end of a soliloquy.

African-Americans were fascinated by German culture and civilization but they also appreciated the more mundane aspects of the Germans themselves. In the antebellum period Africans struggled to define themselves culturally and resist actions designed to rob them of their heritage and reduce them to eternal servitude. These forces were colonization, institutionalized racism, and a pervasive discrimination that jeopardized the meager progress they had made into the nation's economic mainstream.

African-American newspapers played an important role in this process of self-definition. In the pages of *Freedom's Journal* and *Colored American*, the first Black periodicals, one finds advice and recommendations for building respectability and self-esteem. Temperance and industry are, of course, touted as important virtues and in an 1838 editorial the "simple, yet rational management" of a German family was praised as an example worth emulating. German culture, civilization, and mores were idealized as standards but this perspective was neither undifferentiated nor uncritical as our second antebellum document proves.

Frederick Douglass (1817-95) had a special relationship to Germans and Germany especially in the 1850s. Soon after the appearance of the second edition of his autobiography he had a fateful encounter. Ottilie Assing, the niece of Karl August Varnhagen von Ense (1785-1858), sought him out in Rochester. The resulting friendship lasted three decades. Together they launched a project which they hoped would have an impact on the central issue of the day: slavery. The decision to translate the autobiography into German was part of a strategy to attract German immigrants to the abolition cause. With the assistance of Varnhagen von Ense and Ludmilla Assing, Ottilie's sister, a suitable publisher in Germany was found and in 1860 the autobiography was issued by Hamburg's

and Hoffmann and Campe, the publishers of Heine and the writers of "Junges Deutschland."

Terry Pickett has described how Douglass's relationship to Ottilie Assing made German liberal ideas accessible to the abolition movement, but Ottilie was also apparently an important contact for Douglass to the German immigrant community in New York City. Douglass was a confidant of John Brown and after the debacle at Harper's Ferry he was in danger of being apprehended as a coconspirator. Ottilie played a signficant role both in Douglass's involvement with John Brown and in his successful escape from the authorities after the insurrection had gone awry.

In his autobiography Douglass mentions the charlatan Colonel Forbes, an English soldier of fortune who was to train John Brown's men. Forbes visited Douglass in Rochester seeking financial support for the project. Douglass contributed from his own funds and then sent Forbes to Ottilie who introduced him to some of Douglass's German friends in New York. <sup>10</sup> It is unclear whether the funds ever benefitted Brown and his men but after their capture at Harper's Ferry, Ottilie and another of Douglass's friends helped Douglass avoid capture in New York City and safely reach Rochester and eventually Canada.

Who were Douglass's German friends in New York City? A clue is given in an editorial from the August 1859 issue of his newspaper. Titled "Adopted Citizens and Slavery" the article examines Irish and German immigrant attitudes on the slavery issue. Douglass excuses Irish duplicity in the proslavery camp because of that group's impoverished condition and because they had been deceived into believing that abolition would mean they would lose their jobs to the hordes of freed Africans that would swarm North. Consequently, the Irish supported the enemy: the proslavery Democratic Party and its leader President James Buchanan.

Although the Irish are mentioned, the main subject of Douglass's editorial are the Germans. That he holds them in high esteem is clear from his assessment: "A German has only to be a German to be utterly opposed to slavery. In feeling, as well as in conviction and principle, they are anti-slavery." High praise indeed, if somewhat idealistic. Douglass shows himself, however, to be knowledgeable about the German-American political scene—perhaps thanks to Ottilie who wrote for the German-American press. He accuses New York's Staats-Zeitung of demagoguery because it misled its readership, German mechanics and laborers, into believing that the Republican Party was allied with the Know-Nothings and nativists in a campaign to deprive immigrants of their rights. Similiar tactics in the last presidential election had duped the immigrants into voting for Buchanan and Douglass feared a repeat performance in 1860.12

The Staats-Zeitung's campaign of misinformation was in Douglass's mind deliberate and pernicious. He considered the slavery question the alpha and omega of American political life and the newspaper's obstructionist tactics deprived the abolition camp of one of its potentially greatest allies. He did not, however, believe the deception would have any permanence. The antislavery

activities of Germans in Missouri and Texas encouraged him that the Germans would eventually follow their true nature. Rather than a question of principle or inclination Douglass considered German support of the Democratic Party the result of their ignorance of English. Since they only had access to the Germanlanguage press, deceptions such as that perpetrated by the *Staats-Zeitung* were possible.

Douglass obviously had great hopes for the forty-eighters, the political refugees who were also lauded by the delegates in Cincinnati seven years before. These immigrants—unlike the older, more conservative German settlers—subscribed to liberal and socialist thought. They seemed a heaven-sent source of support for Douglass and his abolitionist friends. A sizeable community of the newcomers lived in New York City and, interestingly enough, it was also in New York City that German freemasons would brand nonrecognition of Prince Hall Freemasonry as racism and agitate for its acceptance into the world community of freemasonry.<sup>13</sup>

Another champion was the socialist Karl Daniel Adolf Douai (1819-88), editor of the *San Antonio-Zeitung* and noted educator. His abolitionist views incited popular feeling against him and he was forced to sell his newspaper to his enemies for a pittance and leave Texas in 1856. Reportedly, after leaving Texas he went to Philadelphia where its African-American residents honored him in a public rally and offered to finance a newspaper for him.<sup>14</sup> Douai declined the offer and settled in Boston. After the Civil War he received a newspaper from Texas that carried this announcement:<sup>15</sup>

This paper, which is owned, edited, and whose types are set by Negroes, is printed upon the same press which Dr. Adolf Douai first battled for the emancipation of the black man. He has the gratitude of the colored race who will ever remember his endeavors in behalf of freedom.

One can characterize the African-American perception of Germans during the antebellum period as that of an important ally in the struggle for freedom and self-determination. The recent immigrant, especially the intellectual fleeing political oppression in Europe, was directly courted by African-American leaders such as Douglass who perceived an intrinsic love of personal freedom in the German character. This idealized image of the German united two seemingly diametrically opposed forces: the liberalism of the revolutionary and the conservatism of German family values. To the African-American, however, both impulses were extremely valuable in the struggle against a system that threatened him on an individual and group level.

The Civil War's elimination of slavery was only an interlude in the African-American's ongoing struggle for rights and dignity. From 1865-1920 African-Americans slipped or were pushed into what historians term the "Nadir," a time when the rights and freedoms gained through war were brutally

taken away under the accompaniment of perennial mob frenzies of lynching, murder, and intimidation. During this dark period from the end of Reconstruction to the end of World War I Germany and Germans were seen by African-American intellectuals in a new but largely positive light. Representative for this new phase are the academically trained intellectuals such as W. E. B. Du Bois (1868-1963) or Alain LeRoy Locke (1885-1954).

Ingeborg Solbrig has convincingly traced the influence of Herder on these two intellectual giants but in the case of Du Bois the influence was much broader based than Herder. Du Bois was a product of his age. In the second half of the nineteenth century Germany represented not only the epitome of learning but also the ultimate credentializer. Du Bois notes in his autobiography that the German doctorate was the entree which he—and many other academics also—considered essential to a successful career. Germany was, however, more than just a vehicle for Du Bois's ambition.

He was a man on a mission who felt such a deep obligation to his race that all other considerations were secondary. If we are to believe his autobiography, then his commitment to improving his race dictated his choice in a career and in a wife. Du Bois's decision to pursue German credentials was both a result of the Eurocentric education provided African-American intellectuals after the Civil War as well as the affinity which he felt to the new nation. The German Reich was born in that phase of American history, Reconstruction, when African-Americans were filled with hope for the future by the granting of suffrage, the appearance of men of color for the first time in state legislatures and in Congress, as well as the creation of African-American colleges and universities.

Prior to the Civil War only twenty-eight African-Americans had received degrees from recognized American colleges. <sup>18</sup> Clearly, the future of African-Americans depended in large part on the type of education to which they would be allowed access. From early on the alternatives were either manual training or higher education. In the institutions specifically created for African-Americans such as Lincoln University (1853), Wilberforce (1856), or Fisk (1865) classical training was at the core of the college curriculum. When Du Bois attended Fisk (1885-88), he also studied German—a language which had apparently been taught there since 1869 when the college department was organized. <sup>19</sup> The affinity which Du Bois had developed for Germany was apparent in the speech which he gave at the 1888 commencement exercises. As he recalled, his speech on Bismarck was the result of his enthusiasm "at the rise of the new German Empire" under that leader. <sup>20</sup>

Du Bois probably continued his study of Germany at Harvard since in his autobiography when citing the dominance of German Ph.D.s at Johns Hopkins and the then new University of Chicago, he notes that "even Harvard had imported Munsterberg [sic] for the new experimental psychology, and Kuno Frank [sic] had long taught there." Du Bois refers, of course, to Hugo Münsterberg (1863-1916), the eminent psychologist, and Kuno Francke (1855-1930), who had taught German at Harvard since 1884 and in 1896

published *Social Forces in German Literature*—a sociological approach to literature that might have appealed to Du Bois. Unfortunately, there is no other indication that Du Bois was exposed to the thoughts of this most influential Germanist.

Du Bois's real exposure to things German occurred, of course, during his visit to Germany 1892-94. Meagerly supported by the Slater Fund he was able to spend four semesters at the University of Berlin. The academic and extra-academic experiences deeply affected him and he variously described his *Wanderjahre*—his term—as showing him "something of the possible beauty and elegeance of life" and permitting him to look "at the world as a man and not simply from a narrow racial and provincial outlook."

Besides the many human contacts—in this regard one can mention the Marbachs in Eisenach, the unnamed shop clerk with whom he lived in Berlin, and fellow students such as the Englishman John Dollar or Stanislaus Ritter von Estreicher, a future victim of the Holocaust,<sup>24</sup> who invited him to visit Poland—Du Bois also developed important intellectual contacts. During his studies at the university he had written two papers in German: for Professor Gustav Schmoller "Der Groß- und Klein-Betrieb des Ackerbaus in der [sic] Südstaaten der Vereinigten Staaten, 1840-90" and for Professor Adolph Wagner "Die landwirtschaftliche Entwicklung in den Südstaaten der Vereinigten Staaten."

Du Bois had hoped to develop this economic study of the South into a doctoral dissertation but was denied admittance to the oral examination because of a technicality: he had not spent enough semesters in attendance. Thus, temporarily denied his German doctorate in economics, Du Bois returned to Harvard to receive the Ph.D. in history and embark on his historical career as a pioneer in the emerging field of sociology. At least one contact which he maintained from his Berlin days was Max Weber. Weber had taught there before accepting an appointment at Heidelberg. In 1904, while in the United States, Weber visited Du Bois and a year later wrote him to obtain permission to translate *The Souls of Black Folk*. That did not occur immediately but in 1906 Weber published Du Bois's article "Die Negerfrage in den Vereinigten Staaten" in his journal *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*.<sup>25</sup>

Throughout his long and distinguished career Du Bois made frequent reference to Germany in his speeches and writings. He began his academic career teaching Latin, Greek, German, and English at Wilberforce in 1894. Between the two world wars and during the cold war he visited Germany again. On the first occasion he was commissioned to report on conditions in Hitler's Germany and on the later occasion he visited the German Democratic Republic to receive the once-denied doctorate in economics from the Humboldt University. There is a marvelous consistency in Du Bois's apparent inconsistency on things German. An admitted admirer of Bismarck and Wilhelm II—Du Bois patterned his own beard after the latter's—he despised Hitler and extolled the virtues of socialism in the German Democratic Republic.

It is clear from references in *The Souls of Black Folk*, his first great work after his dissertation, that for Du Bois Germany was essentially the Germany of Frederick Douglass. They both saw and appreciated the Germany of "Dichter und Denker," of Herder, Goethe, and Schiller, and of music and art. The political element was also strong, especially the liberal tradition. In 1892 Du Bois noted that he frequently attended the meetings of the Social Democrats to whom he was strongly drawn. By contrast, he was also astonished by the "pageantry and patriotism" displayed by most Germans. Such feelings were alien to him as the member of a marginalized minority.<sup>26</sup>

Du Bois's image of Germany would shift in time because of his development of a Pan-African, anticapitalist *Weltanschauung* that centered on an African diaspora characterized by colonialism, racism, and economic exploitation. Within that historical perspective, he perceived the German Democratic Republic as the legitimate heir to nineteenth-century German liberalism and *Humanität*—a view shared by many progressive German writers and thinkers such as Heinrich Mann, Anna Seghers, Bertolt Brecht and others who rejected the rejuvenated capitalism in West Germany after World War II.

Between 1850 and 1920 African-Americans saw in Germany a "Spiritual Fatherland," a locus amoenus of philosophical traditions emanating from the Enlightenment. The underlying focus on human rights appealed to them in the midst of their own struggle for dignity. The prominence of German-Americans such as Carl Schurz and Adolph Douai in the antislavery struggle perhaps blinded African-Americans to the contributions which Germans made to the emerging pseudoscience of scientific racism; even Du Bois, perhaps the most racially-minded thinker since Martin R. Delany, chose to ignore the imprecations of von Treitschke on the inferiority of mulattoes. Nevertheless, it was the "other" Germany that appealed to African-Americans; the Germany of Dora Marbach to whom Du Bois was attracted because she saw him as a man and not just a man of color. It is ironic, however, that in the 1850s African-Americans would seek Germans as allies in the fight against slavery and in 1918 when Germany was the political enemy their relationship would be considered treasonous.

A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, socialist activists of the period, published the decidedly antiwar journal titled Messenger: World's Greatest Negro Monthly. In 1918 they printed an editorial with the provocative title "Pro-Germanism among Negroes." In it they discussed a recent convention of the NAACP in which Justin Carter of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, had publicly criticized racist outrages committed against Black soldiers in France by their white comrades. Carter's comments provoked a representative from the Department of Intelligence who was apparently monitoring the convention to state that it was believed that African-Americans had become the dupes of German propaganda.

The Messenger noted that it was not so much Pro-Germanism as Anti-Americanism or antilynching sentiment that had moved Blacks to speak out against racism and discrimination. The real situation was one of choice: "The Negro may be choosing between being burnt by Tennessee, Georgia or Texas mobs or being shot by Germans in Belgium." Apparently this editorial was construed as being seditious because Randolph and Chandler were arrested and sentenced from one to two-and-one-half years in prison and the journal was denied second-class mailing privileges. <sup>28</sup>

Between 1850 and 1920 African-American intellectuals perceived Germany and Germans to be their spiritual kin. Humanitarianism, liberalism, indeed culture itself were synonymous with Germany. With this image African-Americans shared the general attitude of nineteenth-century American intellectuals for whom an education was not complete without training at places such as Heidelberg, Berlin or Göttingen. For African-Americans, however, the identification with Germany's liberal traditions was doubly important because of their own struggle to create and nurture their own cultural identity in the midst of a racist society. The twentieth century's clash of opposing ideologies would challenge that identification or idealization and compel African-American intellectuals such as Chandler, Randolph, and Du Bois to formulate a differentiated view of German society and culture. But in every case Germany and Germans served as touchstone against which American society was measured.

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#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the brief bibiliography by Leroy T. Hopkins, "Expanding the Canon: Afro-German Studies," *Unterrichtspraxis* 25, 2 (1992): 121-26. Since that time there have been several new publications such as: Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *White on Black: Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture* (New Haven, CT: Yale U, 1992); Regine and Gerd Riepe, *Du Schwarz Ich Weiss* (Wuppertal: Peter Hammer Verlag, 1992); Allison Blakeley, *Blacks in the Dutch World: The Evolution of Racial Imagery in a Modern Society* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana U, 1993).

<sup>2</sup> Philip S. Foner and George E. Walker, eds., *Proceedings of the Black State Conventions*, 1840-

1865 (Philadelphia: Temple U, 1979), 1:276.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 277.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Carolyn Toth, German-English Bilingual Schools in America: The Cincinnati Tradition in Historical Context (New York: Peter Lang, 1990), 61.

<sup>5</sup> Herbert Marshall and Mildred Stock, *Ira Aldridge: The Negro Tragedian* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois UP, 1968), 39.

6 Ibid., 235

<sup>7</sup> Samuel Cornish, ed., Colored American 2, 33 (Sat., 6 October 1838), p. 1, col. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Rayford W. Logan, ed., *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, repr. from the rev. ed. of 1892 (New York, 1962), 309.

<sup>9</sup> Terry H. Pickett, "The Friendship of Frederick Douglass with the German, Ottilie Assing," The Georgia Historical Quarterly 73, 1 (Spring 1989): 88.

10 Logan, 317.

11 Douglass' Monthly (August 1859), col. 1.

12 Ibid., col. 2.

<sup>13</sup> A brief account of the nineteenth-century relations between German and African-American freemasons can be found in: Joseph A. Walkes, Jr., Black Square & Compass: 200 Years of Prince Hall Freemasonry (Richmond: Macoy Publishing & Masonic Supply Co., Inc., 1974), 99-115.

14 Philip S. Foner, American Socialism and Black Americans: From the Age of Jackson to World

War II (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977), 23.

16 Cf. Ingeborg Solbrig, "American Slavery in Eighteenth-Century German Literature: The Case of Herder's 'Neger-Idyllen,'" Monatshefte 82,1 (Spring 1990): 38-49.

17 Aptheker, Herbert, ed., The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois (New York: International

Publishers, 1968), 150.

- 18 Cf. Peter M. Bergman and Mort N. Bergman, The Chronological History of the Negro in America (New York: Mentor Books; The New American Library, 1969), 224.
  - <sup>19</sup> Cf. Joe M. Richardson, A History of Fisk University, 1865-1946 (U of Alabama P, 1980), 15.
- <sup>20</sup> "A Pageant in Seven Decades," W.E.B. Du Bois Speaks: Speeches and Addresses, ed. Philip S. Foner (New York: Pathfinder, 1970), 1:28.

21 Op. cit.

22 Ibid., 156.

23 Ibid., 159.

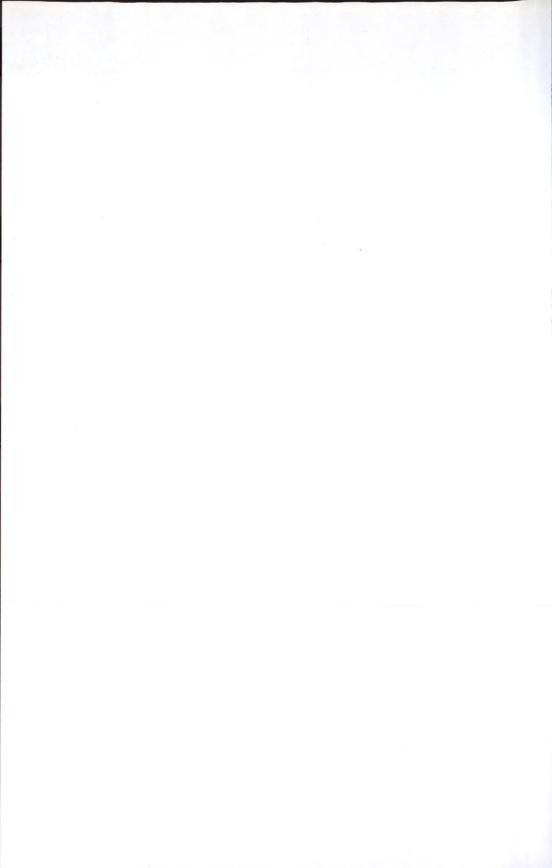
24 Ibid., 175.

<sup>25</sup> Letter is found in Herbert Aptheker, ed., The Correspondence of W.E.B. Du Bois, vol. 1, Selections, 1877-1934 (U of Mass. Press, 1973), 106f. Du Bois's article appeared in volume 22 (1906): 31-79 of Weber's publication.

26 Autobiography, 168.

27 Messenger, New York (March 1918), 13.

28 The Chronological History of the Negro in America, op. cit., 386f.



### Ulrike Skorsetz

Der Franzose wechselt die Mode, wir Deutschen dagegen wechseln die Wirtshäuser: Wirtshäuser und Bierkonsum aus der Sicht deutscher Einwanderer im neunzehnten Jahrhundert

Während der Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts verstärkte sich die Tendenz, den deutschen Einwanderer nicht nur als fleißigen, gewissenhaften, zuverlässigen, gut ausgebildeten Arbeiter anzusehen, sondern auch als Trunkenbold, der mehr Alkohol konsumiert als er verträgt und dann gewalttätig gegen Fremde, Freunde und sogar die eigene Familie wird. Vielfach wurden die Deutschen in diesem Zusammenhang mit den Iren auf eine Stufe gestellt. Zeitungen griffen verstärkt das Thema Trunkenheit und Gewalttätigkeit auf, berichteten über Morde, Schlägereien, Vergewaltigungen, Selbstmorde, Mißhandlung von Frauen und ähnliche Delikte, die von Immigranten, speziell deutschen und irischen Immigranten im Zustand der Trunkenheit begangen wurden.

Alle diese Berichte waren Wasser auf die Mühlen der Temperenz-Bewegung. 1826 wurde die "American Temperance Society" gegründet, danach kamen die "American Temperance Union" (1833), die "Washington Temperance Society" (1840), die Geheimgesellschaft "Sons of Temperance" (1842) und andere. Für 1843 wird für Chicago angegeben, daß von 7 580 Einwohnern 1 989 einer der vier existierenden Temperenz-Gruppen angehörten. 1848 wurde in Maine das erste staatsweite "Prohibition Law" verabschiedet (nach zwei Jahren wieder aufgehoben). 1872 stellte die "National Prohibition Party" mit James Black sogar einen eigenen Präsidentschaftskandidaten auf, der immerhin 5 608 Stimmen erhielt.

Als zu Beginn der fünfziger Jahre die Einwanderung deutlich zunahm und die Lebensmittelpreise anstiegen, schien der übermäßige Alkoholgenuß ebenfalls zuzunehmen, und die Temperenz-Bewegung fand stärkeren Zulauf. Wisconsin hatte trotz eines überdurchschnittlich hohen Anteils von Deutschen unter der Bevölkerung 1850 etwa 3 000 Temperenzler, Illinois 1852 mehr als 10 000.

In einigen Gegenden engagierte sich die protestantische Kirche besonders. So ist in den "Conference Journals" der Missionsjahresfeste der südlichen deutschen Konferenz der Methodisten (South German Conference Journals) und den Jahressitzungen der South Indiana Konferenz evangelischer deutscher

Kirchen in den siebziger und achtziger Jahren jeweils ein eigenständiger Abschnitt dem Thema Temperenz oder Mäßigkeit gewidmet. Die Kirchen stellten fest, daß das "Große Übel der Trunksucht immer mehr um sich greift" und Tausende "an Leib und Seele zum Verderben" führt. Die Kirchen sahen ihre Aufgabe darin, dem "Übel der Unmäßigkeit entgegenzuwirken", "Verwirrte und Verlorene zurückzuführen" und "durch Wort und Exempel das Laster zu bekämpfen".

Auch die Katholische Kirche wurde in dieser Richtung aktiv. Wie aber wurde dieses Problem nun von denen gesehen, gegen deren Liebe zum Alkohol sich die Bewegung richtete, denen die Schuld an zunehmender Brutalität und Kriminalität angelastet wurde, die teilweise allein wegen ihrer ethnischen Herkunft als Trunkenbolde galten? Das Thema wurde von der deutschsprachigen Presse auffällig häufig aufgegriffen. Der Deutsche Pionier von Cincinnati widmete dem Thema Wirtshäuser und Bier eine ganze Artikelserie. Aber auch andere Zeitungen, wie die Freie Presse für Texas, San Antonio, äußerten sich zum Thema Temperenz und Abstinenz. Natürlich ging es nicht darum, übermäßige Sauferei, Krawalle und Schlägereien zu verteidigen, vielmehr war es ein Versuch, das Verhältnis der Deutschen zu einem Glas Bier oder Wein als Teil der Kultur und den Besuch des Wirtshauses als Bestandteil des sozialen Lebens zu erklären. Mitunter wurde dabei allerdings über das Ziel hinausgeschossen wie in einem Artikel der Freien Presse für Texas vom 5 Juli 1873, in dem, ausgehend von der Feststellung, daß Temperenz Mäßigkeit und nicht Enthaltsamkeit ist, geschlußfolgert wird:

Der Abstinenzler, und so sollte man den Wasser saufenden Mucker nennen, hat entweder kein Vertrauen in seine eigene Willenskraft und Charakterstärke, oder er heuchelt. Die Selbsterkenntniß, dem Einfluß berauschender Getränke sich nicht entziehen, den Lockungen derselben nicht widerstehen zu können, ist ein Geständnis eigener Unvollkommenheit, eigener Unmännlichkeit und defekter Seelenstärke. Es wäre nur logisch, wenn man alle Menschen, welche sich selbst für Abstinenzler erklären, als nicht im Vollgenuß ihrer geistigen Kräfte, und folglich nicht würdig und fähig, irgend ein Amt, eine Stelle, eine Würde zu bekleiden erklärte . . . Betrachten wir uns den Wassersimpel von welcher Seite wir wollen, so kommen wir immer wieder zu dem Schluß zurück, daß er unfähig zur vollen Ausübung der bürgerlichen Ehrenrechte, weil partiell geistesverwirrt ist, und hoffen wir zu erleben , daß diese unläugbare Thatsache, die Unmündigkeitserklärung solcher traurigen Subjecte zur Folge haben wird.

Sicher ist den Wirtshäusern eine soziale Funktion im Sinne der Förderung und Erhaltung des Deutschtums nicht abzusprechen, denn sie waren es, die neben den Kirchen in erster Linie den lokalen Rahmen für Vereine und Organisationen verschiedenster inhaltlicher Ausrichtung (von den Turnern über Literaturzirkel, Sängervereine bis hin zu politischen Gruppierungen) boten. Freilich hing der deutsche Mann (die deutsche Frau) auch an seinem/ihrem Bier, dem Lagerbier, das mit dem amerikanischen Getränk gleichen Namens nicht immer zu vergleichen war, und das erklärt auch, warum sich zahlreiche deutsche Brauereien etablierten, bzw. deutsches Bier in großem Umfang importiert wurde. Im Cincinnati Pionier, Heft 4, Juni 1869, werden beispielsweise im Marktbericht die Preise für vierzehn verschiedene Biersorten ausgewiesen, von denen wenigstens die Hälfte deutsche Importe sind. Während das amerikanische Bier aufgrund seines Herstellungsverfahrens mit obergäriger Hefe einen stärkeren Geschmack und Geruch hatte, wie zum Beispiel Ale, Porter oder Stout, war das untergärig gebraute deutsche Bier heller, schäumte stärker und enthielt weniger Alkohol.

Hier sollen nun einige zeitgenössische deutschsprachige Pressestimmen zu diesem Thema zu Worte kommen: Immer wieder wurde und wird dem deutschen Einwanderer der Vorwurf gemacht, daß er die Gastwirtschaft mehr liebt als sein trautes Heim, daß er mehr trinkt als er verträgt und anschließend gewalttätig oder gar kriminell wird. "The immigrant thus began to acquire a collective image: he drank, he was violent." Dem hielten die Deutschen entgegen, daß die Amerikaner ihre Saloons, die Türken ihre Café- und Rauchkabinette, die Briten ihre Schnapsbuden und die Franzosen ihre Restaurants hätten, aber während diese hauptsächlich dem Gaumenkitzel dienten, hat die deutsche Gastwirtschaft für den Einwanderer wie für jeden Deutschen viele Funktionen zu erfüllen, und deftiges Essen und Bier und Wein werden mehr oder weniger als angenehme Begleiterscheinung eines Wirtshausbesuches angesehen.

Auch oder schon auf der Reise in die Neue Welt fanden die am Wege liegenden Wirtshäuser besondere Beachtung. So schrieb 1870 ein Emigrant im Cincinnati Pionier: "Noch weiß ich mich recht lebhaft zu erinnern, daß meine sehr hoch gespannten Hoffnungen auf der Reise mehr und mehr abnahmen, je kleiner die Weingläser wurden und je mehr es kostete, sie zu füllen."4 Amerika enttäuschte diesen Mann nicht, die Gläser waren nicht kleiner als in der alten Heimat, der Reben- und Gerstensaft nicht teurer, und wo immer sich Deutsche niederließen, war auch ein Wirtshaus zu finden, mitunter eher als eine Kirche, was Moralisten und Yankees beanstandeten, die Kirchen und Wirtshäuser als etwas Gegensätzliches verstanden. Anders war es bei den deutschen Einwanderern. Für sie waren Kirche und Wirtshaus zwei gleichrangige Institutionen ihres sozialen und geistigen Lebens. "Geburt und Tod schon, und zwischendrin als die rechte Mitte, das Heirathen bringt uns zum Pfarrhaus, und einen großen Theil der übrigen (schönen) Zeit füllen die Wirtshäuser aus,"5 war ebenfalls im Cincinnati Pionier zu lesen. So ist es nicht weiter verwunderlich. daß Stanley Nadel in seiner Unterschung über das deutsche Wohnviertel in New York zu dem Ergebnis kommt: "Kleindeutschland boasted thousands of beer

halls, saloons, wine gardens, concert halls, club rooms, and other places where wine and beer was sold."6

Gemäß dem Ausspruch "Am Bier kann man viel lernen, beim Bier vielleicht noch mehr" sieht der Deutsche in den Wirtshäusern Bildungsanstalten, deren Besuch freiwillig, angenehm und gewinnbringend ist. Hier trifft man sich, tauscht Neuigkeiten aus, diskutiert die lokale und die große Politik, streitet und verträgt sich, teilt Freud und Leid, macht Geschäfte, redet und findet Zuhörer. Da sich in den Kneipen allerhand Volk traf, waren die Gastwirte am besten über die lokalen Verhältnisse und durch Reisende darüber hinaus über die Geschehnisse im größeren Umkreis informiert. So kam ihnen sehr schnell eine gwisse Führungsrolle zu, die sie nur zu gern übernahmen. "Er [der Gastwirt in Amerika] war das Mundstück seiner Landsleute in allen öffentlichen Angelegenheiten, der Vermittler der Landverkäufe, der Unterbringer von Arbeitern, kurzum das allgemeine Faktotum," schrieb der Cincinnati Pionier 1871 zur Verteidigung des Ansehens der Gastwirte.

Hinzu kam, daß der Gastwirt in Siedlergebieten der erste am Orte war, der mehr oder weniger Geld einnahm, während alle anderen, der Kolonialwarenhändler ausgenommen, zunächst nur zahlten und auf Einnahmen aus Ernte- oder Viehverkäufen warteten. So mancher ließ beim Wirt "anschreiben" und begab sich damit in eine gewisse Abhängigkeit. Aber auch in den Städten gehörten die Gastwirte zur Elite der deutschen Bevölkerungsgruppe. Auffällig häufig betrieben Männer Gastwirtschaften, die in Deutschand bildungsmäßig zur Oberschicht gehört hatten und nicht zum Farmerleben taugten und auch als Handwerker ihren Lebensunterhalt nicht verdienen konnten. So fand der alte Spruch "Wer nichts wird, wird Wirt" auch hier seine Bestätigung. "Das Wirthsgeschäft verschlang eine Masse dieser Lateiner. Diejenigen, die etwas Geld hatten, richteten sich eigene Lokale ein, während diejenigen, die keins hatten—(und diese waren in der Majorität)—sich zu Barkeeper- und Aufwärter-Stellen bequemen mußten."8

Die Wirtshäuser waren ohne Zweifel eine wichtige Institution zum Erhalt des Deutschtums.

Wo der Gebrauch des Wirtshauses als Mittel des Zwiegespräches verschwindet, da stirbt auch immer bald das eigentliche deutsche Wesen ab; und so kann man das Fortleben deutschen Sinnes an der Gebrauchsweise der Wirtshäuser messen . . . Daß wir in Wirtshäusern wirklich stundenlang sitzen, ist also eine Tatsache von entscheidender Wichtigkeit in der Beurteilung unserer Sitten. Uns ist gar keine deutsche Sittsamkeit denkbar ohne gute Wirtshäuser, wo man sitzt, trinkt und sich ausspricht.<sup>9</sup>

Nicht nur die Männer verbrachten einen guten Teil ihrer Freizeit in Gasthäusern. Besonders an den Wochenenden trafen sich die Familien "mit Kind und Kegel" in den Biergärten. "Through the shop window you see the German

worker sitting around a large table with his whole family—and ranting about politics." <sup>10</sup> In den Wirtshäusern bildete sich eine Atmosphäre heraus, die Einwanderer an ihre alte Heimat erinnerte, an die Dorfkneipe, in der man am Abend nach getaner Arbeit Nachbarn und Freunde traf, sich zum Kartenspielen zusammenfand, an den Biergarten und an den Saal, wo am Wochenende zum Tanz aufgespielt wurde. "Traditional German elements were used in decorating the saloons, in an effort to attract customers and make them feel at home. On the walls one could find paintings representing the best of German art and artists. . . . Statues and busts of German cultural greats also could be seen, while vases filled with fresh-cut, fragant blooms added a bit of color to the wood furnishings." <sup>11</sup>

Nicht ohne Grund wurde die Idee zur Gründung der verschiedensten deutschen Vereine zumeist in Gastwirtschaften geboren, wo dann auch deren regelmäßige Zusammenkünfte stattfanden. Je nach örtlicher Gegebenheit suchten sich die verschiedenen Vereine, Berufsgruppen, Kirchengruppen, Immigranten aus gleichen Teilen Deutschlands, politische Gruppen etc. ihre Stammlokale, die jedoch aus den unterschiedlichsten Gründen hin und wieder gewechselt wurden. Nur hier in der Gastwirtschaft war jedermann bereit zuzuhören und mitzureden. Und gerade das Mitreden hat für den Deutschen eine besondere Wichtigkeit. Während andere Völker sich damit zufriedengeben, Reden anzuhören, also angesprochen zu werden, will der Deutsche mitreden, und das kann so mancher besser, wenn er seine Kehle zuvor und zwischendurch anfeuchten kann. "Der Deutsche hört (aber auch) besser, mit einem Glas Bier vor sich, und applaudieren kann er vollends gar nicht, wenn neben der fließenden Rede nicht auch sonst etwas Flüssiges dabei ist,"12 weiß der Cincinnati Pionier 1870 zu berichten. Gleichzeitig war es für die Gastwirte lukrativ, Vereine zu beherbergen, denn sie trafen sich regelmäßig. Ihre Mitglieder erschienen oft schon vor den Versammlungen, um etwas zu essen oder zu trinken, blieben häufig nach dem offiziellen Sitzungsende noch in der Gastwirtschaft, um zu reden, und verschafften dem Besitzer des Etablissements so gesicherte Einnahmen. Und hier bevorzugt der Deutsche in der Regel Bier, in Ausnahmefällen Wein. Nur wo es Bier gibt, fühlt der Deutsche sich wirklich heimisch. "German-American life, despite its proclaimed emphasis on Teutonic Kultur, was unthinkable without the free flow of beer."13 Nicht ohne Grund wird das Bier auch als "flüssiges Brot" bezeichnet. Daher kommt auch den Brauereien eine besondere Bedeutung zu. "Wenn eine Karavane Araber in der Wüste eine Quelle finden, können sie nicht angenehmer erregt werden, wie die deutschen Pioniere es werden durch die Nachricht 'Das Bier ist da!'", 14 vermeldet der Cincinnati Pionier.

Wärend die ersten Brauer in der Neuen Welt hauptsächlich Engländer, Schotten und auch Iren waren, kam mit dem großen Zustrom deutscher Einwanderer im neunzehnten Jahrhundert auch die Nachfrage nach deutschem, sprich bayerischem Bier und so entstanden vielerorts die ersten deutschen Brauereien, bzw. nutzten existierende Brauereien zunehmend deutsche

Methoden, Gerätschaften und Rezepte. Nach anfänglichen Schwierigkeiten gelang es den talentiertesten Brauereibesitzern, ein Bier zu produzieren, das die Anerkennung selbst der aus Bayern eingewanderten Deutschen fand. Obwohl vielleicht nicht dem heutigen deutschen Reinheitsgebot entsprechend, vollzog das deutsche Bier einen Siegeszug durch die Neue Welt und wurde nicht nur von den Deutschen getrunken. So erscheint es auch nicht weiter verwunderlich, daß überall dort, wo es deutsche Siedlungen gab, Brauereien entstanden, die schnell zu einer starken Konkurrenz wurden. Nadel führt für New York diesbezüglich folgende Zahlen an: 1855 waren 190 Brauer und Destilleure Deutsche, was einem Anteil von 53% in dieser Berufsgruppe entsprach. 1870 betrug der Anteil der Deutschen an diesem Geschäft bereits 70% (482) und zehn Jahre später 74% (1 243). Die einzige Brauerei in Wilmington, Delaware, gehörte Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts dem Deutschen Christian Krauch. 16 1850 waren in St. Louis von 350 aus Deutschland eingewanderten Grundbesitzern 5 Brauer, 1 Destilleur und 1 Likörhersteller.<sup>17</sup> Von Chicagos 668 Saloons und anderen Einrichtungen, die 1855 Alkohol verkauften oder herstellten, waren 311 in deutschem Besitz.18 Es sei nicht vergessen, daß die wohl berühmteste amerikanische Brauerei "Anheuser-Busch" von dem 1805 im Rheinland geborenen Eberhard Anheuser und seinem in Kastel bei Mainz geborenen Schwiegersohn Adolphus Busch gegründet wurde und damit auch eine "rein deutsche" Angelegenheit war.

Aber auch der Import neuer Biersorten fand in der deutschen Presse große Beachtung. So findet sich z.B. am 24. Juli 1875 in der Freien Presse für Texas, San Antonio, eine längere Anpreisung eines neu eingeführten Bieres der berühmten Brauerei Caspar Wild aus Bayern. "Was wir also anpreisen, ist ein echt baierisches Bier, dunkelfarbig, malzreich, mit reinem Hopfengeschmack. . . . San Antonio hat jetzt so ziemlich für jeden Geschmack gesorgt, und wem das Caspar-Bier nicht schmeckt, von dem kann man getrost sagen, er hat keinen Geschmack."

Neben dem Wohlgeschmack wird die positve Wirkung des Bieres auf die Gesundheit und die allgemeine Kultur besonders hervorgehoben, was die Amerikaner nicht zu verstehen schienen. Nach Ansicht der Deutschen hat das Bier zur Verbesserung des gesellschaftlichen Lebens sowie zur Milderung der Rohheiten beigetragen, "welche durch den ausschließlichen Gebrauch des Whiskeys als aufregendes Getränk wenn nicht erzeugt, so doch gesteigert worden waren. So wie das Bier in einer neu bevölkerten Gegend Eingang findet, hört auch das wüste hinterwäldlerische Wesen auf." Darüber hinaus war den Deutschen auch daran gelegen, die gesundheitsfördernde Wirkung des Alkohols, solange er in Maßen genossen, zur Rechtfertigung gegenüber den Abstinenzlern hervorzuheben. "Ob es je gelingen wird, dem Amerikaner begreiflich zu machen, daß Bier wie Wein, ja alle Alkohol enthaltende Getränke, nur Präparate sind, deren Bestimmung ist, dem Magen einen Theil seiner mechanischen Arbeit zu ersparen und also, wie alles Kochen oder Vorbereiten von Speisen, eine

Berechtigung in der menschlichen Oeconomie hat,—diese Frage ist nicht leicht zu entscheiden."<sup>20</sup>

In der Tat war das Thema Prohibition sowohl für die eingewanderten Deutschen als auch für die Amerikaner ein wichtiger Punkt, der die Deutsch-Amerikaner einte und ein beachtenswertes Hindernis auf dem Wege der Assimilierung in die amerikanische Gesellschaft darstellte. Die Deutsch-Amerikaner stellten sich mehrheitlich gegen die Temperenzbestrebungen, von denen Tyrell sagt:

They had no respect for diversity of cultures, as the attempts to supress deviant ethnic subcultures through prohibition in the 1850s suggest. Temperance reformers sought to root out localistic, traditional customs and create a uniform moral standard throughout the country. They wished to create a predictable universe of sober, industrious individuals—a homogeneous America.<sup>21</sup>

Prohibitionbestrebungen waren für die deutschen Immigranten Angriffe auf ein mitgebrachtes Element deutscher Kultur und Lebensweise und eine Einschränkung der persönlichen Freiheit, um deretwillen nicht wenige Deutschland verlassen hatten.

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### Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Vgl. Sitzung der Südlichen deutschen Konferenz 1879, 1884, 1886 und Sitzung der South Indiana Konferenz 1884.
  - <sup>2</sup> Mark Wyman, Immigrants in the Valley (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1984), 175.
  - <sup>3</sup> Cincinnati Pionier 2,4 (Juni 1870): 111.
  - <sup>4</sup> Cincinnati Pionier 2,2 (April 1870): 48.
  - <sup>5</sup> Cincinnati Pionier 2,3 (Mai 1870): 82.
  - <sup>6</sup> Stanley Nadel, Little Germany (Chicago: U Chicago P, 1990), 105.
  - 7 Cincinnati Pionier 2,12 (Februar 1871): 374.
  - 8 Cincinnati Pionier 7,3 (Mai 1875): 115.
  - 9 Cincinnati Pionier 2,4 (Juni 1870): 112.
  - 10 Nadel, 105.
- <sup>11</sup> Timothy J. Holin, "Cincinnati and Its Brewing Industry: Their Parallel Development Through the German Community," Yearbook of German-American Studies 29 (1994): 76f.
  - 12 Cincinnati Pionier 2,4 (Juni 1870): 112.
  - 13 Klaus Wust, The Virginia Germans (Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1969), 243f.
  - 14 Cincinnati Pionier 2,9 (November 1870): 273.
  - 15 Nadel, 63.
- <sup>16</sup> Vgl. Julius Emil Abeles, "The German Element in Wilmington from 1850 to 1914" (M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 1948), 22.
  - <sup>17</sup> Vgl. Audrey L. Olson, St. Louis Germans 1850-1920 (New York: Arno Press 1980), 35.
  - 18 Wyman, 173.
  - 19 Cincinnati Pionier 2,9 (November 1870): 274.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Cincinnati Pionier 4,1 (März 1872): 29.
 <sup>21</sup> Jan R. Tyrell, "Temperance and Economic Change in the Antebellum North," Alcohol, Reform and Society, Jack S. Blocker, Jr., ed. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979), 61.

# German Mineral Specialists in Elizabethan England and Early English America

Mineral experts from Germany played an important role in helping to establish or modernize the English mineral and metal industry under Queen Elizabeth I. German mineral specialists accompanied Martin Frobisher, the seeker after the Northwest Passage, in 1577 and 1578. At least one accompanied Sir Humphrey Gilbert when he tried to establish the first English colony in the New World in 1583. Joachim Gans, a German Jew from Prague, took part in the first English settlement in what is today the United States. It was established in 1585 under Sir Walter Raleigh in an area the settlers called Virginia and we know today as the Outer Banks of North Carolina. David B. Quinn, the world authority on this colony, believes that it included also a group of German miners. Samuel Eliot Morison states that German miners in addition to Gans were present in this settlement.

# German Mineral Experts in England

The first English explorers and colonizers eagerly sought metals such as gold, silver and copper. Within Elizabeth's domain, immigrants from Germany were among those deemed most versed in locating and working minerals. According to A History of Technology, by "the middle of the sixteenth century Germany led Europe in the practice of mining and metallurgy." "Germany was the great school of metallurgy for the rest of Europe," declares the Journal of Chemical Education, "and it was due to the wise foresight of Queen Elizabeth that German workers were invited to England to instruct her subjects in this art." According to British historian William Rees:

The pre-eminence attained by the Germans in certain aspects of metal working by the first half of the sixteenth century . . . is abundantly evidenced by the large number of experienced technicians recruited from Germany to direct the growing native industry in Britain. . . . <sup>3</sup>

German experts were called to England in the early years of Elizabeth's reign to extract the silver from the base coins and to re-mint the coinage.4 In 1564, Elizabeth gave exclusive rights to the Augsburger Daniel Höchstetter and the Englishman Thomas Thurland to mine and smelt ores of gold, silver, copper and mercury in eight counties and in Wales. In 1565, Höchstetter and Thurland along with other shareholders formed the Society of the Mines Royal. Höchstetter represented Augsburg capitalists, who were the major underwriters of the enterprise. In the same year, William Humfrey, master of the mint, Christopher Schütz from Annaberg, Saxony, and three English partners received from Elizabeth the sole right to undertake prospecting and smelting in the areas not included in the grant made to the Mines Royal. Their organization, the Society of the Mineral and Battery Works, also received the exclusive right to produce brass and to make iron and copper wire. (Battery refers to the process of hammering or battering metal into useful shapes.)<sup>5</sup> For the Mineral and Battery Works, "German experts provided the necessary guidance as key-men in the early states . . ." and for the Mines Royal, German skill and capital "provided the mainspring of development," declares Rees. 6 Although the shareholders of the Mineral and Battery Works were critical of the fact that the corporation did not turn a quick profit, Humfrey believed that without the German specialists "the recent progress would not have been possible. . . . With them the realm had attained within a relatively few years to a standard of development which had taken Germany many hundreds of years."7

In 1567, Höchstetter, the managing director of the Society of the Mines Royal, headquartered in Keswick, Cumberland, was able to send Elizabeth samples of the first copper smelted in England. The society, which employed a total of 150 German-speaking workers using the German copper-smelting process, produced about 350 tons between 1568 and 1576.8

In summary, Germans made extensive contributions to the English mineral and metal industry in the period before 1585. They discovered new deposits of metallic ores, and they taught English and Welsh miners to mine at greater depths. They introduced iron-clad stampers (Stampfer) driven by waterwheels to break up ores. They introduced the jigging sieve for separating ore from dirt. They were the first in England to discover deposits of calamine ore, a necessary ingredient in the manufacture of brass, and likewise the first to produce brass and copper. They introduced the process of separating silver from copper and lead. They replaced the manual method of drawing wire with one using waterwheels. In short, German miners and metallurgists played a key role in hastening England's industrial development by introducing certain technological innovations.

# German Mineral Specialists Participated in English Explorations

The first two English explorers of North America—Frobisher and Gilbert—took along German mineral specialists. Martin Frobisher brought

along Jonas Schütz, a metallurgist from Annaberg in the Erzgebirge, the range between Bohemia and Saxony that was the most important copper mining area of Bohemia in the sixteenth century, to supervise the mining of stones from Frobisher Bay off Baffin Island in 1577. Another German mineral expert by the name of Gregory Bona (Gut?) accompanied Frobisher both in 1577 and 1578.9

When Sir Humphrey Gilbert set out in 1583 to "inhabit and possess Western lands," as called for in his patent from Queen Elizabeth, one of his major ambitions was to discover precious metals. We know the name of at least one German mineral expert who took part in this the first English attempt to establish a settlement in America. It was Master Daniel, a mineral specialist and refiner from Saxony. But there were also other "mineral men and refiners" aboard; these were apparently under his charge, since he is the only one singled out by name and entitled master. They may also have been German. Unfortunately, Daniel, along with most of the prospective settlers, drowned in a storm off Sable Island after prospecting for silver in Newfoundland.

### The First English Colony in the Present United States

The first English settlement in what is today the United States was established in 1585 under the leadership of Gilbert's half brother Sir Walter Raleigh. It was carried out under a patent from the queen similar to Gilbert's. On 26 June 1585, Raleigh's ships under the command of Sir Richard Grenville arrived at the barrier islands known today as the Outer Banks of North Carolina (near Cape Hatteras). On 29 June, the pilot of the flagship known as *Tyger* tried to get her to a safe harbor in the sound beyond the outward islands, but the inlet was too shallow and the 160-ton ship ran aground. To get her free, the crew had to jettison valuable provisions. They spent most of July exploring the coastal islands and adjacent mainland in smaller vessels. Finally, on 27 July, they found a passable inlet for the *Tyger*. Shortly thereafter they began to build a fort and settlement on Roanoke Island situated in the middle of the sound. (This settlement site is preserved today by the National Park Service as Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, Manteo, North Carolina. It is identical with the site of the better-known but later "Lost Colony.")

One of the primary objectives of the colony of 1585 was to win valuable metals for Raleigh and his queen. Since metals were so important to Sir Walter, we can assume that he would have wanted to utilize the most up-to-date methods of finding them. The most effective way to accomplish this would have been to employ German mineral men. Ivor Noël Hume, America's leading historical archaeologist, believes that the men running metallurgical assays and scientific tests on Roanoke Island were "a blue-ribbon team, and like most scientific research efforts today, quality of mind brushed aside barriers of race, religion, or national origin. . . ." Quinn, chief historian of early English settlements, described the mineral experts as follows:

One group of specialists was of considerable importance, namely the "mineral men"—metallurgists and miners. The leading metallurgist in the list [of settlers] was Dougham Gannes, otherwise Joachim Ganz, a Jewish expert from Prague, who had been involved in the locating and working of copper mines in England. He would be considered to be "Dutch" or German in the nomenclature of the time.<sup>12</sup>

### In Search of Metals

During the exploration of the mainland in the spring of 1586, some of the colonists traveled up the Roanoke River in search of what one native chief described as rich mineral deposits at the falls. A "marvelous and most strange mineral" was to be found there, their commander Ralph Lane reported later.<sup>13</sup> However, he was forced to turn back because of Indian attacks and lack of food. In reporting to Raleigh about the search for copper, Governor Lane passed along the following opinion of his chief metallurgist: "And touching the mineral, thus does M[aster] Yougham affirm, that though it be but copper, seeing the savages are able to melt it, it is one of the richest minerals in the world."14 What Joachim Gans apparently meant was, even if this mineral is only copper, it must be copper in its purest form, seeing that the natives are able to smelt it with their simple equipment. His opinion, if it was indeed accurately reported, contradicts the assumption of modern historians who hold that the indigenous people of what is today the United States could do no more than cold-work the native copper; only the inhabitants of Mexico and the Andean region are believed to have been capable of smelting the metal.

According to Quinn, Joachim Gans, as the chief metallurgist of the colony, "tested metal objects found in Indian hands . . . to find out whether the copper was of good quality and also whether these objects contained any gold or silver." The English naturalist Thomas Hariot [also Harriot] reported later that some Indian copper was "found by trial to hold silver." (Hariot's account, A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia, was published in 1590 in Frankfurt.) Two chunks of surface-pitted but pure copper, 12 and 21½ ounces, were discovered by archeologist Jean Carl Harrington on the island. According to Quinn, "there seems little doubt that they were smelted on Roanoke Island and that Ganz had a furnace capable of reaching the almost 2,000 degrees Fahrenheit necessary to melt copper. . . . "18

Locally made bricks from an assay furnace probably built under the direction of Gans have been found on Roanoke. "Many of the bats were heavily burned at one end, and several had been ground down so that one side was deeply concave," declares Noël Hume. These concave bricks formed the arches of the two openings of the assay furnace. This raises the question, why did Gans not have a portable assay furnace of European manufacture on Roanoke Island, as did Jonas Schütz in Frobisher Bay and Master Daniel in Newfoundland? Why did he have to build a makeshift one from locally made



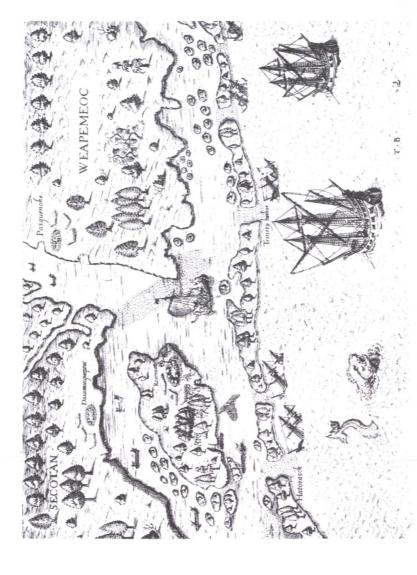
Engraved title page of the English edition of Thomas Hariot's report of the discoveries made by the English in their settlement of Virginia in 1585-86. Hariot's book was published in Frankfurtam-Main in 1590.



Map of "Virginia" engraved by Theodor de Bry, a citizen of Frankfurt, and published in 1590 in Hariot's report. It depicts the area explored by the first English settlers and German mineral specialists in 1585-86. It includes what are today called the Outer Banks of North Carolina (bottom)



and Chesapeake Bay (right). Roanoke Island, their place of settlement, is at the bottom, center, just inside the barrier islands.



Detailed map of Roanoke Island, Virginia (today, North Carolina), the settlement site of the first English colony in America. German mineral specialists participated in this settlement of 1585-86 at what has been called "America's first science center." The map was published by de Bry in Frankfurt in 1590 as part of Hariot's report.



Title page of the German edition of Hariot's report of Virginia. The German, English, Latin and French editions were published by Theodor (Dietrich) de Bry in 1590 in Frankfurt and printed by Johannes Wechel.

bricks? Assayers normally carried their portable furnaces with them. Gans's may have been thrown overboard by the sailors trying to lighten the *Tyger* when it ran aground at the barrier islands. Luckily, Gans knew how to make one from scratch.

In 1849, a visitor had reported finding "glass globes containing quicksilver, and hermetically sealed." Noël Hume believes that they were from Gans's metallurgical laboratory. In addition to assaying copper, Gans or an assistant also produced iron, because we read in Hariot's report:

In two places of the country specially, one about fourscore and the other six score miles from the Fort or place where we dwelt, we found near the water side the ground to be rocky, which by the trial of a mineral man, was found to hold iron richly....<sup>21</sup>

Noël Hume indicates that evidence of scientific and technological activity on Roanoke Island is spread over about fifty square meters at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site. He reports many fragments of crucibles such as would have been used in metallurgical work, flat tiles of European manufacture that were used on Roanoke in an assay or smelting furnace, antimony used to separate metals, slag from metallurgical activity, a lump of copper ore plus two pieces of smelted copper (referred to earlier), as well as fragments of assayers' flasks. He calls the locus of the assaying and distilling work "America's first science center."<sup>22</sup>

# The Identity of the Mineral Specialists at the First Colony

As we have seen, Joachim Gans was the leading mineral expert of the first English settlement in North America.<sup>23</sup> He was originally from Prague. In 1581, the German-speaking George Needham, clerk of the Society of the Mines Royal, had brought the mining engineer Joachim Gans "up to Keswick to explain and develop the brilliant new ideas he had about mineral dressing and smelting," relates Maxwell Bruce Donald, the chief historian of the Society.<sup>24</sup>

We know from official depositions that Gans was born in Prague, Bohemia,<sup>25</sup> probably around the middle of the sixteenth century. He is believed to have been a member of the prominent Gans family of that city.<sup>26</sup> The best-known member of the family was the Renaissance astronomer, mathematician, geographer and chronicler David Gans (1541-1613), who was born in Lippstadt, Westphalia.<sup>27</sup> Joachim Gans may have acquired his knowledge of the smelting and refining of copper, lead and silver in the Erzgebirge. Georgius Agricola (Georg Bauer), the father of mineralogy, described the highly developed mining and smelting techniques employed in the Erzgebirge in his book *De Re Metallica* published in 1556.

An important Elizabethan personality who may have been instrumental in inducing Gans to go to America in 1585 was Sir Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth's

principal secretary of state and the governor of the Society of the Mines Royal since 1580. Sir Francis was acquainted with Gans's abilities as a mineral expert, because Gans had proposed to the Secretary in 1582 methods for improving the smelting operations of the Mines Royal. We are told by Quinn that Sir Francis was "a subscriber to the 1585 venture, in which a number of members of his household took part." Did Walsingham induce German miners from the Mines Royal to accompany Gans? This question invites further research.

"There are certainly names of Germanic character in the list [of settlers]. . . ." declares Quinn.<sup>29</sup> And he suggests Erasmus Clefs, Edward Ketchemen, Thomas Skevelabs, Smolkin, Haunce Walters and Daniel as possible German miners among the 108 settlers.<sup>30</sup> Morison states that two German miners were present, in addition to Gans, but he does not give us their names.<sup>31</sup>

One of the men mentioned by Quinn as a possible German mineral man appears as Haunce Walters in the list of colonists. Hans is, of course, a contraction of the German or Dutch given name Johannes. A Hans Wautter was the butler of the Society of the Mines Royal at Keswick; Wautter appears

Anglicized as Walters in the local parish register.32

Only the first name is given for two of the settlers—Daniel and Robert. The compiler of the list may not have bothered to write down their last names, because they were either boys or foreigners. In the sixteenth century, the English frequently referred to German mineral experts solely by their first names, perhaps because they had difficulty with German last names. (As we have seen, Lane called Joachim Gans "Master Yougham.") Quinn believes that Daniel was Daniel Höchstetter, Jr., the son of Daniel Höchstetter, Sr., who was the first managing director of the Society of the Mines Royal.<sup>33</sup>

Daniel, Jr., was born in 1562 in Augsburg, his mother being Radagunda Stamler of a South German merchant-banker family. Next to the Fuggers and Welsers, the Höchstetters were the most important South German merchant family in the first decades of the sixteenth century. They had established a branch in Antwerp (where Höchstetter Street was named after them) from whence they engaged in extensive financial dealings with English sovereigns. King Henry VIII gave Joachim Höchstetter, the father of Daniel, Sr., monopoly over the mining of gold and silver in England. For a while, the Höchstetters played a leading role in the extraction of silver and copper from mines in the Tyrol. The family enterprise collapsed, however, in 1529 due to a disastrous speculation in mercury. It was under Henry's daughter Elizabeth and Joachim's son Daniel, Sr., that the proposed German-English mining enterprise was realized in the form of the Society of the Mines Royal.<sup>34</sup>

In 1585, Daniel Höchstetter, Jr., would have been twenty-three, a good age for an adventure in America. His father had died in 1581; therefore, he was free of fatherly restraints, and he had as yet no wife. (He would marry Jane Nicholson in 1590 and become managing director of the Society around 1597, but in 1585 he had no such responsibilities, the company being managed by his brother-in-law and by his older brother.) Since the Society of the Mines Royal

held the official monopoly over mining and smelting in much of England, it would have been the logical organization to be involved in mining and smelting in the English part of the New World. Daniel would have been the appropriate person for the Society to send overseas to investigate potential new sources of metals. Being the brother of the managing director, he was in a good position to represent the interests of the company; being the younger brother, he could be spared at home. If the Haunce Walters of the colony was indeed identical with the Hans Wautter who was the butler or provisioner of the Society, this old family retainer would have been sent along to look after the young Höchstetter. Daniel's interest in the New World may be gauged by the fact that an inventory he made shortly before his death in 1633 listed a folio edition of Thomas Hariot's A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia as well as the Natural and Moral History of the East & West Indias.<sup>35</sup>

### Conclusion

On 17 June 1586, the leadership of the colony abandoned the Virginia settlement, because of lack of supplies from England and trouble with the native Americans, which they themselves had provoked. They returned to England with Sir Francis Drake after having spent a year in the New World.

Despite this setback, Gans and his mineral men offer an inspiring picture. We saw them land in the American wilderness and forthwith set up their assaying equipment to investigate their new environment and study its natural resources. The ground-breaking scientific and technological work of Joachim Gans and his miners should be measured not by its immediate results but by the groundwork it laid for future success. The plan by the English to start a mineral industry through the talents of Continental experts at the very first tiny settlement in the wilderness was too grandiose to succeed (even if there had been exploitable minerals in Tidewater North Carolina). But history shows that few human enterprises of any importance, particularly one of such magnitude, succeed without initial failures.

Although the Spaniards and the French early established their presence and influence in North America, the United States developed primarily out of English America. The participation of Jonas Schütz, Gregory Bona and Master Daniel in the first English explorations, the presence of Joachim Gans and his assistants at the first English settlement, as well as the subsequent appearance of German glassmakers, house builders, mineral specialists and sawmillwrights at Jamestown, Virginia, the first permanent English colony, demonstrate that Germans were present at the very creation of this country.

Washington, D.C.

# Acknowledgment

I wish to thank Bradford W. Miller, Jr., for his valuable editorial assistance. The author also acknowledges the kind permission of Dover Publications, Inc. to reproduce several illustrations and maps from the Dover edition of Thomas Harriot's *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (New York: Dover Publications, 1972), 1, 42-43, 45. The illustration of the German title page is from the collections of the Library of Congress.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Charles Singer, et al., eds., A History of Technology (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 3:678.

<sup>2</sup> Eva V. Armstrong and Hiram S. Lukens, "Lazarus Freker and His 'Probjerbuch' Sir John

<sup>2</sup> Eva V. Armstrong and Hiram S. Lukens, "Lazarus Ercker and His 'Probierbuch' Sir John Pettus and His 'Fleta Minor," *Journal of Chemical Education* (Division of Chemical Education of the

American Chemical Society) 16,12 (December 1939): 559.

<sup>3</sup> William Rees, *Industry Before the Industrial Revolution* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1968), 25. Herbert Clark Hoover, the future president of the United States, and Lou Henry Hoover stated, "There can be no doubt... that in copper mining in Cornwall and elsewhere in England, the 'Dutch Mynerall men' did play a large part in the latter part of the 16th Century" (*Georgius Agricola De Re Metallica* [London: Salisbury House, 1912], 282-83).

<sup>4</sup> Maxwell Bruce Donald, Elizabethan Monopolies: The History of the Company of Mineral and

Battery Works from 1565 to 1604 (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1961), 26-27.

<sup>5</sup> Rees, Industry Before the Industrial Revolution, 386-87.

6 Ibid., 397.

7 Ibid., 394.

8 George Hammersley, "Technique or Economy?: The Rise and Decline of the Early English Copper Industry, ca. 1550-1660," Schwerpunkte der Kupferproduktion und des Kupferhandels in Europa:

1500-1650, ed. Hermann Kellenbenz (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1977), 4-5.

William W. Fitzhugh, ed., Archeology of the Frobisher Voyages (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1993), 138. Fitzhugh states that during Frobisher's second expedition (1577) "there were three assayers ('goldfiners') with Jonas Shutz [Schütz], an experienced German metallurgist, in charge. With him were Gregory Bona, another German metallurgist, and Robert Denham, a London goldsmith." Fitzhugh relates that during the third voyage in 1578 Frobisher was accompanied by several assayers including Gregory Bona. "Bona may have been prospector as well as assayer because, distinct from the others, he is listed as goldfinder in the second and third voyages . . . . " Fitzhugh indicates that he had found evidence of mining and metallurgical work performed by the Frobisher expeditions. Mining was done on islands and peninsulas in Countess of Warwick Sound, off Baffin Island in Frobisher Bay. Headquarters were on Countess of Warwick Island (Kodlunarn I.) Fitzhugh continues on page 143: "The technology of fire assaying was well advanced by the time of the voyages. Available publications included Georgius Agricola, Lazarus Ercker and Vannoccio Biringuccio. Jonas Shutz, chief metallurgist in the second voyage, was from an active mining region in present-day East Germany [Erzgebirge] and must have been acquainted with this technology." The English were not the first explorers or settlers to employ German mineral experts in America. Almost fifty years earlier, German specialists had been brought to the Spanish possessions: "Im Jahre 1528 schloß Hieronymus Sailer im Auftrage Heinrich Ehingers für die Gesellschaft der Welser mit der Krone einen Vertrag über die Anwerbung und Überführung von fünfzig deutschen Bergleuten nach Santo Domingo ab. Die Bergleute sollten von der Welsergesellschaft in Deutschland angeworben werden und in den verschiedenen Kolonialprovinzen als Lehrmeister und Vorarbeiter für die Kolonisten und für die eingeborenen Hilfskräfte dienen. Dem Bergbau wurde in den neuentdeckten Ländern von Anfang an ein lebhaftes Interesse entgegengebracht, und anscheinend ging den deutschen Bergleuten schon damals der Ruf voraus, Meister in ihrer Arbeit zu sein, so daß es für zweckmäßig befunden wurde, 'mineros alemanes' nach Amerika zu holen, 'para que con su industria y saber se hallan las minas de oro y plata y otros metales en las tierras e islas.' . . . In dem Vertrag über die Bergleute wird ausdrücklich betont, daß diese in Amerika die gleichen Vorteile genießen würden wie alle in den Minenbetrieben von Galicia (Spanien) bereits tätigen deutschen Bergknappen. Ferner wird ausdrücklich hervorgehoben, daß es Aufgabe der deutschen Bergwerksmeister (maestros mineros) sein

solle, auf allen Inseln und in allen kolonialen Provinzen nach Erzlagerstätten zu forschen und zu deren Erschließung beizutragen. . . . Der größte Teil der Bergleute wurde in S. Joachimstal bzw. im sächsischen Erzgebirge angeworben. . . . Zunächst wurde in Sachsen ein Transport von vierundzwanzig Bergleuten abgefertigt, der im Herbst 1528 in Antwerpen eintraf [und dann] nach Sevilla geführt [wurde]. . . . Im Laufe des Jahres 1529 sind noch weitere fünfundzwanzig Leute von S. Joachimstal und eine kleine Anzahl, die man in Schwaz angeworben hatte, von Leipzig nach Sevilla abgefertigt worden. Ein Teil der Bergleute ist wahrscheinlich mit der ersten für Venezuela bestimmten Flotte der Welser unter dem Befehl Garcia de Lermas nach Santo Domingo gefahren, der größere Teil aber erst mit der Expedition, die unter dem Befehl von Nikolaus Federmann im Oktober 1529 von Sevilla auslief. . . . Höchstwahrscheinlich sind die Bergleute an den verschiedensten Stellen tätig gewesen. . . . Anscheinend haben aber nur wenige Bergleute einen dauernden Gewinn won ihrer Tätigkeit in Amerika erlangt. . . . Vollkommen erfolglos ist die Überführung der deutschen Bergleute nach Santo Domingo nicht gewesen. Die Welsergesellschaft dürfte kaum einen Gewinn erzielt haben, wohl aber auf die Dauer die spanische Krone. Der Kupferbergbau der Cotoy-Minen auf der Insel Española [Haiti and the Dominican Republic] und die Silberminen in der Nähe von Zultepeque in Mexiko, welche bald eine große Bedeutung erlangten, sind zweifellos mit Hilfe der deutschen Bergleute ausgebaut worden. . . . Unwahrscheinlich ist es nicht, daß sich die Welser an der Goldgewinnung auf Española beteiligt und hierfür ebenfalls deutsche Kräfte verwandt haben." In addition, a German mining engineer and copper smelter, Hans Tetzel, was active in Cuba around 1546 to 1550 (Karl H. Panhorst, Deutschland und Amerika: Ein Rückblick auf das Zeitalter der Entdeckung und die ersten deutsch-amerikanischen Verbindungen unter besonderer Beachtung der Unternehmungen der Fugger und Welser [Munich: Verlag Ernst Reinhardt, 1928], 112-21).

10 Richard Hakluyt, "A report of the voyage and successe thereof, attempted in the yeer of our Lord 1583 by sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, with other gentlemen assisting him in that action, intended to discover and to plant Christian inhabitants in place convenient, upon those large and ample countreys extended Northward from the cape of Florida . . . written by M. Edward Haes gentleman, and principall actour in the same voyage, who alone continued unto the end . . . ," reproduced in Early English and French Voyages, Chiefly from Hakluyt, 1534-1608, ed. Henry S. Burrage (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906). Gilbert "was most curious [inquisitive] in the search of metals, commanding the mineral man and refiner especially to be diligent. The same was a Saxon born, honest and religious, named Daniel. . . . " After prospecting near St. John's harbor in Newfoundland, Daniel "brought at first some sort of ore" which seemed to be iron. The next time the Saxon found ore, he brought it to Gilbert "with no small show of contentment." He said that if silver were the thing which might satisfy the general and his followers, there it was; they needed to seek no further. On this he swore to stake his life, which was "as dear unto him as the Crown of England unto her Majesty," to "use his own words." Gilbert would have liked to have stayed in Newfoundland, he maintained, to find more of the silver, but he felt compelled to continue his journey in order to bring more lands under his sway before his patent from Queen Elizabeth expired. He sent the ore on board ship to have it tested at sea by Daniel. On 20 August 1583, the fleet departed St. John's and sailed south for more prospecting on the American mainland and to establish a settlement. In the morning of 29 August, "the wind rose, and blew vehemently" toward the mainland, bringing with it rain and thick mist, "so that we could not see a cable length before us." Somewhere near Sable Island, Daniel's ship struck bottom and was broken up by the waves. "Here also perished our Saxon Refiner and discoverer of inestimable riches, as it was left among some of us in undoubted hope" (205-12).

11 Ivor Noël Hume, "Roanoke Island: America's First Science Center," Colonial Williamsburg

16,3 (Spring 1994): 20.

David B. Quinn, Set Fair for Roanoke: Voyages and Colonies, 1584-1606 (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 92. Israel Abrahams in The Jewish Encyclopedia describes "GAUNSE (Gaunz, Ganse, Gans) JOACHIM (Jeochim, Jochim)" as a "German mining expert who ... was born at Prague, and was therefore in all probability a connection of David Gans, who settled there in 1564; he certainly shared his scientific interests" (Isidore Singer, ed. [New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1925], 5:576). Gans is also identified as "German" by the U.S. Government at its National Park Service Visitors Center at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site, Manteo, NC. Gans is so characterized in connection with a display of a copper nugget found on Roanoke Island and attributed to him. Herbert Hoover and his wife describe Gans as "an imported German" in footnote 1 of Book 8 of Georgius Agricula De Re Metallica. A word of explanation is in order for the variations

in the spelling of the surname of the German-Jewish metallurgist from Prague. There was, of course, no fixed spelling of last names in England in the sixteenth century. The name is spelled "Gannes" in the list of Virginia settlers. He himself spelled it "Gaunz" in a document he wrote around 1589; this was apparently his attempt to Anglicize his name. Quinn, professor emeritus at Liverpool University, uses the spelling "Ganz." I am using "Gans," because that is the way the name is spelled by the Prague family from which Joachim is probably descended.

<sup>13</sup> Report by Governor Ralph Lane in *The principall navigations, voyages and discoveries of the English nation*, edited by Richard Hakluyt, the younger (London: G. Bishop and R. Newberie. 1589).

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. Passages in Elizabethan English have been rendered in modern spelling throughout this

15 Quinn, Set Fair for Roanoke, 92.

16 Thomas Hariot, A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia . . . (Frankfurt am Main: Theodor de Bry. 1590), 10. This book, one of the first about the East Coast of North America, was published by Theodor (Dieterich) de Bry, a citizen of Frankfurt, and printed in English, German, French and Latin by Johann Wechel and sold in the Frankfurt bookstore of Sigismund Feyerabend. The complete title of the English edition of 1 April 1590 is A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia, of the commodities and of the nature and manners of the naturall inhabitants. Discourred by the English Colony there seated by Sir Richard Greinuile Knight In the yeere 1585, Which remanined under the gouernement of twelue monethes, At the speciall charge and direction of the Honourable SIR WALTER RALEIGH Knight lord warden of the stanneries who therein hath been fauoured and authorised by her MAIESTIE and her letters patents: This fore booke Is made in English By Thomas Hariot seruant to the aboue named Sir WALTER, a member of the Colony, and there imployed in discouering CVM GRATIA ET PRIVILEGIO CAES. MAT'S SPECIAL. The title of the German edition of 3 April 1590 reads: Wunderbarliche/doch Warhafftige Erklärung/Von der Gelegenheit vnd Sitten der Wilden in Virginia/welche newlich von den Engelländern so im Iar 1585 vom Herrn Reichard Greinuile/einem von der Ritterschafft/in gemeldte Landschafft die zu bewohnen geführt waren/ist erfunden worden/In verlegung H. Walter Raleigh/Ritter vnd Obersten deß Zinbergwercks auß vergünstigung der Durchleuchtigsten vnnd Vnvberwindlichsten/Elisabeth/Königin in Engelland/etc. Erstlich in Engelländischer Sprach beschrieben durch Thomam Hariot/vnd newlich durch Christ. P. in Teutsch gebracht. Mit Römischer Keys, Maiest, Freyheit auff vier Jar nicht nachzudrucken,

<sup>17</sup> Jean Carl Harrington, Search for the Cittie of Ralegh: Archeological Excavations at Fort Raleigh National Historic Site (Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior,

1962), 21-22.

18 Quinn, Set Fair for Roanoke, 405.

19 Noël Hume, "Roanoke Island: America's First Science Center," 20.

20 Ibid., 17.

<sup>21</sup> Hariot, A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia, 10.
<sup>22</sup> Noël Hume, "Roanoke Island: America's First Science Center," 14-28.

<sup>23</sup> Gary C. Grassl, "Joachim Gans of Prague: America's First Jewish Visitor," *Review of the Society for the History of Czechoslovak Jews* 1 (1986-87): 53-90. Quinn believes that Gans was clearly "a major figure and his choice to go to Roanoke indicated that minerals—gold, silver, copper, lead, iron—were significant objectives in the colony's activities" (personal communication from Quinn, 27 March 1993).

<sup>24</sup> Donald, Elizabethan Copper: The History of the Company of Mines Royal, 1568-1605 (London: Pergamon Press, 1955), 76. Donald uses the term "the Company of Mines Royal," although the arms

issued "Aug. 26, 1568. Anno 10, Eliz.," entitle it "the Society of the Mines Royal."

<sup>25</sup> Domestic State Papers, Elizabeth I, vol. 226, no. 40 (covering A.D. 1589). "To the Righte honorable our very good Lordships the Lordes of her majesties moste honorable pryvie Counsell. 17 September 1589 from the Maior and Aldermen of Bristowe [Bristol] with the examination of Jochim Gaunz." This document declares that the city fathers of Bristol had arrested Gans for denying the divinity of Christ before a Christian minister—a capital offense. This happened after Gans had returned from America. He defended himself by declaring that he did not believe any Christian doctrines, because he had not been raised as a Christian. He affirmed that he was a circumcised Jew born in the city of Prague and that he had never been baptized. Nevertheless, the Bristol officials decided to send him for trial to the highest court of the land, the Privy Council in London. It was around this time that Gans translated a treatise by the German mineral expert Lazarus Ercker into

English. It provided the English with a scientific guide to the production of saltpeter, an essential ingredient of gunpowder as well as an important flux for metallurgy. The manuscript, which is preserved in the Hatfield House near London, is dedicated to Secretary of State Sir Francis Walsingham, the head of the Privy Council. Gans concludes his translation as follows: "Knowing therefore your Honor to be a profitable [productive] member of the Commonweal has caused me to dedicate this book unto your Honor, and although it be small yet is it profitable for many. Hoping that your Honor will take this small travail in good part and favor it under your protection. Hoping thereby to be defended from all adversaries in this my good meaning, beseeching God to bless your Honor with happiness of long life to continue. Your Honor's most humble at commandment, Joachim Gaunz of Prage" [emphasis added]. Gans's manuscript bears no date, but since it is addressed to Walsingham, it must have been written before 6 April 1590, the date of his death. In it Gans asks nothing for himself-no monopoly, no special privileges. He offers his work to the English freely so that they can make saltpeter at good profit. All that he asks of the highest English official is protection "from all adversaries." What adversaries could Gans be facing? The manuscript on saltpeter must be seen as an inducement to Walsingham to defend him before the Council against the blasphemy charges. Gans apparently wanted to prove to Walsingham how useful he could be to the English alive and productive. And to make his point, he chose a key subject-saltpeter-so important to the English defense industry in the struggle against Spain. Did he write this book in prison while awaiting trial-perhaps in the Tower? If so, there would have been precedents. Nothing is known about the deposition of Gans's case. The records of the Privy Council covering this time period have been lost through fire, but we would certainly know from other sources had Gans been executed. Gans was probably forced to leave England. No tombstone bearing the name Joachim Gans has been found in the Old Jewish Cemetery of Prague, where David Gans is buried. Therefore, it is unlikely that he returned to the city of his birth.

<sup>26</sup> Jirina Šedinová, "Ergänzung zur Abhandlung über David Gans," *Judaica Bohemiae* 12, 1

(1976): 30.

<sup>27</sup> The New Encyclopedia Britannica, 1974 ed., Micropaedia, 5:766.

<sup>28</sup> Quinn, The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590: Documents To Illustrate the English Voyages to North America Under the Patent Granted to Walter Raleigh in 1584 (New York: Dover Publications, 1991), 1:123, n. 3.

<sup>29</sup> Personal communication from Quinn (11 Sept. 1992).

30 Quinn, Set Fair for Roanoke, 92.

<sup>31</sup> Samuel Eliot Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages AD 500-1600* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971) 632. Morison states: "The names of the colonists...are preserved for us by Hakluyt.... There were a couple of German miners, and a Jewish mineral expert from Prague named Joachim Ganz, who appears on the list as Doughan Gannes." Noël Hume suggests that in addition to Germans, miners from Cornwall, England, also took part in the pioneer settlement: "With the expedition having Raleigh's input, and he being a West Country man, it seems likely that Cornish miners may have been recruited" (personal correspondence, 9 Oct. 1996).

<sup>32</sup> Elizabethan Keswick: Extracts from the Original Account Books 1564-1577, of the German Miners, in the Archives of Augsburg, transcribed and translated by W. G. Collingwood (Highgate, London: Titus Wilson, Publisher, 1912), 33, 48 and 177 for the years 1567 to 1571. The Account Books of the Society of the Mines Royal are preserved in the Augsburg Stadtarchiv in the form of twelve large document files written in German and entitled "Die Keswicker Bergwerke betreffend." They may contain clues toward the identification of the miners on Roanoke Island.

33 "Who's Who in the Roanoke Colonies?" Presentation by William S. Powell (University of North Carolina) at National Park Service Symposium "Roanoke Decoded," Elizabeth II Shrine Club,

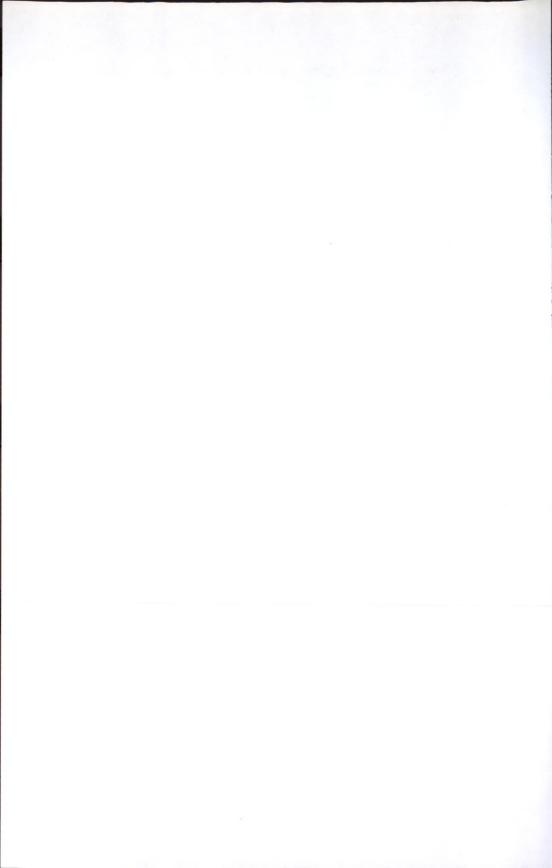
Manteo, Roanoke Island, NC, 14 May 1993.

<sup>34</sup> Friedrich Hassler, "Augsburger Kaufleute und Tiroler Bergarbeiter im 16. Jahrhundert in England," Beiträge zur Geschichte der Technik und Industrie: Jahrhuch des Vereines Deutscher Ingenieure,

ed. Conrad Matschoss (Berlin: Verlag Verein Deutscher Ingenieure, 1927), 82.

<sup>35</sup> Notes by Daniel Höchstetter, Jr., dated October 1633 and entitled "English Bookes left in my Study." Entry in notebook kept by Daniel, Jr., now in the Duke of Northumberland's manuscript collection in Alnwick Castle, England (His Majesty's Manuscript Commission Sixth Report, No. Y II 7, p. 121 r). Reproduced in *Daniel Hechstetter*, the Younger: Memorabilia and Letters,

1600-1639, Copper Works and Life in Cumbria, ed. George Hammersley (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1988), 126.



# Christopher J. Wickham

# Oil and Water: The Development of the Portrayal of Native Americans by Nineteenth-Century German Painters

No inventory of images of the Native American in the nineteenth century would be complete without the contribution of Germans. In literature Charles Sealsfield,2 Balduin Möllhausen,3 and (nontraveler) Karl May,4 provided fictional representations. The travel reports of explorers such as Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, Adelbert von Chamisso,5 and adventurers like Rudolf Friedrich Kurz offer firsthand accounts of experiences with Indians. In linguistic studies the work of Franz Boas (1858-1942) on Indian languages permitted students and scholars to form an image of the language and thought of the indigenous peoples, and at the same time created a foundation for the development of structural linguistics as a science. In painting, the work of German artists holds an unchallenged place in the gallery of pictorial representations of the Native American.6 Names like Karl Bodmer and Albert Bierstadt belong in discussion of the art of the American West as legitimately as do George Catlin and Frederic Remington. But while the work of German artists has been acknowledged as a significant component in the collective portrayal of the Indian and the West, it has not been examined as a German contribution to the production of Native American images. This survey presents the work of these artists and proposes a flexible framework for their systematic analysis.

The accomplishments of nineteenth-century German painters of Native Americans do not cohere neatly into a body of work characterized adequately by key words such as "German," "Nineteenth Century," and "Native American," since the products of these artists are as different as their own backgrounds, training, experience, objectives, and, not least, microhistorical context. Nevertheless, these artists are united by the fact that their paintings document the encounter between the cultures of two continents. Indeed the relationship of the paintings to the collision of cultures goes beyond that of a mirror, since the paintings are themselves products of the same economic, ideological, and aesthetic values that determined the course of the history of the American West. The unfolding of the pictorial record of Germans' perceptions

of the North American tribes thus incorporates important chapters not only in German and North American cultural history but also in the complex

interrelation of art and social development.

Scholarship on artists of the American West is in no short supply. The approaches range from surveys of artistic interpretation of the West, such as those by Ewers, Gallagher, Hunt, and Porter (1984), Goetzmann (1966), Goetzmann and Porter (1981), Goetzmann and Goetzmann (1986), Hassrick (1977), Horan (1972), Hunt (1982), Taft (1953), and Trenton and Hassrick (1983), to extensive and often copiously illustrated monographs evaluating the achievement of individual painters, among them Anderson and Ferber on Bierstadt (1990), Baigell on Bierstadt (1981), Harper on Krieghoff (1979), Hendricks on Bierstadt (1972, 1974), Hodges on Wimar (1908), Huseman on Möllhausen (1995), Josephy on Rindisbacher (1970), Karl Bodmer's America (1984), Kendall on Gentilz (1974), Kläv and Läng on Kurz (1984), McDermott on Eastman (1961), McGuire on Iwonski (1976) and Lungkwitz (1983), Newcomb on Petri (1978), Rathbone on Wimar (1946), and Stewart, Ketner, and Miller on Wimar (1991). Frequently these publications are simultaneously catalogues supporting exhibitions of the artist's work. The specifically German artistic accomplishment in America is the subject of a few studies and catalogues in addition to those devoted to individuals. Among these contributions are the catalogue published by the Goethe Institut Boston America through the Eyes of German Immigrant Painters with interpretive text by Anneliese Harding (1975-76), von Kalnein, Andree, and Ricke-Immel's The Hudson and the Rhine (1976), Rudolf Cronau's section on "Well Known Artists, Sculptors and Architects" in his German Achievements in America (1916, 1995), A. B. Faust's chapter on painting in The German Element in the United States (1909, 1927, 1969), and McGuire's 1980 essay on German artists in Texas. Yet while the portrayal of Native Americans by German artists invariably earns mention in such accounts as these, it is never the focus of sustained primary attention.<sup>7</sup> The following discussion makes the representation of the Indians its central focus and traces constitutive threads through the development of this body of art work. The painters considered here are Karl Bodmer (1809-93), Balduin Möllhausen (1825-1905), Peter Rindisbacher (1806-34), Charles Wimar (1828-62), Friedrich Richard Petri (1824-57), Rudolf Friedrich Kurz (1818-1871), Christian Schussele (1824-79), Cornelius Krieghoff (1815-72), and Albert Bierstadt (1830-1902). Passing reference is also made to F. W. von Egloffstein (1824-85), Gustavus Sohon (1825-1903), Arthur Schott (1813-75), Charles Preuss (1803-54), and Emanuel Leutze (1816-68).

The corpus of Indian paintings produced by these artists can usefully be considered as comprising three phases of development, which I label "Exploration," "Immigration," and "Commodification," according to the relationship between the artists on the one hand and the Indians and their environment on the other. The phases are identified by a coincidence of socioeconomic and aesthetic criteria, as well as chronology. It is, therefore, not

simply a question of when a particular Indian image is produced, but what are the circumstances of its genesis and what is the aesthetic consequence. Put another way, what factors determine the production of the image (contract work, scientific documentation, creative impulse, market forces) and what characterizes the resulting portrayal (ethnographic fidelity, object's individualization, degree of detail, relationship to surroundings, prominence, mood, activity, passivity, attitude, genre)?8

## Exploration

The first group of German painters, who worked in the 1830s and the following decades, is made up of visiting explorers and graphic documenters, recording, as conscientious nineteenth-century data-gatherers, images of the underexplored American West. Our representatives are Bodmer and Möllhausen.

German image making among the native population of North America begins in earnest with Karl Bodmer, the twenty-three-year-old Swiss who accompanied Maximilian Prinz zu Wied on his exploratory trip up the Missouri from April 1833 to May 1834. Bodmer's extraordinarily detailed work includes individual watercolor portraits of Indians, landscapes, riverscapes, sketches of zoological specimens and Indian artifacts, and composite scenes created after the fact from sketches. These were the images of the American West seen by Europeans when many of Bodmer's watercolors were exhibited in Paris in 1836, five years before George Catlin's exhibition of Indian portraits arrived. Bodmer's paintings were key to the formation of European perceptions of the West and its natives. Eighty-one of Bodmer's watercolors appeared as aquatint engravings in 1841 with a set of maps accompanying the German, French, and English versions of Maximilian's publication.9 Because of the expense of this work it did not become well known in the United States. Bodmer's Indian portraits are remarkable in three ways. They present their subjects as individuals; each face and each posture conveys a unique personality. Bodmer was clearly fascinated by the diversity of physiognomies he encountered among the native population and went to considerable trouble to render facial detail. The portraits further contain a wealth of ethnographic minutiae in attire, body markings and ornamentation, and artifacts. Specific objects have since been identified on the basis of his depictions, ethnographers have verified his accuracy from independent sources, and his Indian subjects themselves were impressed by the faithfulness with which he was able to render their world. Finally, the portraits are vividly genuine, unmannered, and unpretentious. They are devoid of the classical poses found in the Indian paintings of Lino Sanchez y Tapia (Berlandier) and Kurz, and at the same time free of the naiveté and exaggerated simplicity of Rindisbacher and Theodore Gentilz.

Bodmer's portrait of the Hidatsa man, Péhriska-Rúhpa (*Two Ravens*)[1], shows his thinly braided hair, his hair decoration at the forehead, and his bearclaw necklace. The care and attention to detail are striking.

The shirt is trimmed with bands of bright yellow quillwork and is elaborately fringed with ermine, locks of human hair and dyed horsehair. He also has on a striped woolen breechclout and quilled leggings. . . . [The] grizzly bear claws [are] fastened to an otter-skin band and spaced with blue and white beads. . . . Only the claws of the forepaws were used, preferably from animals taken in the spring when the claws were large, comparatively unworn, and showing white tips. (Karl Bodmer's America, 318)

In March 1834 Péhriska-Rúhpa posed for Bodmer a second time, now in the regalia of the Dog Society of his village. Maximilian praised Bodmer's rendering of this dress and described it in his published account of the trip:

Auf dem Kopf trugen vier von ihnen, das sind die echten Hunde, eine große, weit über die Schulter hinausreichende Mütze oder Haube von Raben- oder Elsterfedern, an deren Spitze kleine weiße Flaumfedern angeklebt sind. In der Mitte dieser unförmigen Federmasse ist der ausgebreitet aufrecht stehende Schwanz eines wilden Truthahns oder des Kriegsadlers angebracht. Um den Hals tragen diese vier Haupthunde einen langen Streifen von rotem Tuch, der über den Rücken hinab bis auf die Waden hängt und in der Mitte des Rückens in einen Knoten zusammengeknüpft wird. (Maximilian, 2:212)

The relationship between Maximilian's text and Bodmer's illustration work is shown clearly by this example. Bodmer complemented the written account with graphics which both give visual representation to what is described and go beyond the words in conveying details and mood. Bodmer was recording information according to a contractual agreement; he was interpreting it according to his aesthetic sensibility.

Bodmer's watercolor of Péhriska-Rúhpa was the basis for the aquatint engraving [2] included in the set of prints published with Maximilian's account of the journey. The aquatint puts *Two Ravens* in a crouch position and gives him concentrated facial tension to evoke the dynamism of the Dog Dance. Clearly, commercial interests have been allowed to intrude on the faithful ethnographic record compiled by Bodmer. The energy of the published version would certainly contribute to its popular appeal. <sup>10</sup> George Catlin, the American painter, had visited Péhriska-Rúhpa just a year before Maximilian's party arrived. In Catlin's painting Two Ravens is shown only from the chest up so that the full grandeur of his attire is not evident. Nevertheless, the thinly braided hair, forehead decoration, and necklace are clearly represented.

Another individual painted by both Bodmer and Catlin was Mató-Tópe (Four Bears)[3]. Both Maximilian and Catlin wrote extensively about this man, who was one of the best-known Indian personalities of the nineteenth century. He was himself a painter and observed Bodmer and Catlin closely as they worked. He wears a leather shirt, trimmed with ermine tails, locks of hair, and long panels of beaded quillwork. On the shoulders he has painted symbols of brave deeds. The red spatter marks on his front recall old wounds. The war bonnet shown by Bodmer was reserved for only the most distinguished leaders. The spear is adorned with the scalp of an enemy stretched on a hoop (Karl Bodmer's America, 308). Catlin's portrait is more regal in posture and more imposing in his stature; the detail of the clothing is less finely drawn than in Bodmer's painting, but the dyed hair on the shirt, the beaded leggings and moccasins, and the wolf tails attached to the heels are very clear. Catlin's image seems stiffer, more self-important, perhaps more designed to conform to his preconceived notion of the noble savage, while Bodmer's is less assuming.

Four Bears was a credentialed warrior. In a portrait of the same man as a warrior [4], Bodmer makes evident the symbols of his accomplishment. In his hair is a wooden knife (also visible in Catlin's and Bodmer's other portrait). This is a carved facsimile of one he wrested from a Cheyenne in combat. The six colored wooden sticks, each tipped with a brass nail, represent gunshot wounds he had received. The split turkey feather stands for an arrow injury. The other upright feathers are probably symbols of warlike feats. The cluster of painted owl plumage at the back of his head marks him as a member of the Dog Society. Barred stripes on his arm indicate more warlike activity, while the painted hand on his chest signifies he has captured prisoners (Karl Bodmer's America, 309).

In addition to portraits, Bodmer also recorded invaluable cultural information. His representation of the inside of a Mandan clay hut [5] is one of the few records remaining of such a domestic interior. Bodmer's eye for detail captures the heavy central supporting pillars and roof beams, the shields, lances, and medicine symbols of the warrior, the paraphernalia of everyday life such as cooking jars and utensils on the floor, the hanging pouches and powder horns and the boxlike family bed against the far wall. Even the horses have been penciled in on the left. These lodges also appear in Bodmer's painting of the Mandan bull dance or buffalo dance.

In assessing the artistic accomplishment of Bodmer's work we must consider that he painted Indians as part of his contractual agreement with his patron Maximilian and in large part had to do what he was told. His paintings are a part of the documentation of the scientific expedition and must therefore be seen in the light of the requirements of data gathering rather than artistic vision. Bodmer's work is for the record and needs to answer to no other standard than the demands of his sponsor for accuracy of detail and a visual complement to the verbal account. Nevertheless, the translation of what is seen and experienced via the media of line, shape, light and color into an image worthy of the original calls for skill, technique, and sensibility. In these Bodmer

excelled. With a minimum of interpretive embellishment he presents a record of the observed data with such fidelity that not only was Maximilian pleased with the results and happy to accept them as a worthy supplement to his published account, but also the Indian subjects themselves—and in later years their descendants—recognized the likenesses as valid representations.<sup>13</sup>

Bodmer was one of several Germans to accompany exploratory expeditions to the American West. Because of their outstanding training other Germans were selected for American-sponsored trips during the 1840s and 1850s. Among these were Balduin Möllhausen, F. W. von Egloffstein, <sup>14</sup> Gustavus Sohon, <sup>15</sup> Arthur Schott, <sup>16</sup> and the cartographer, Charles Preuss. <sup>17</sup> While Möllhausen and von Egloffstein portrayed Native Americans in a nonsystematic way, compared to the ethnographic rigor of Bodmer's work, their depictions nevertheless give valuable insight not only into Native American life and culture beyond the fringes of white settlement but also into the perspectives, attitudes, and interests of the Europeans who depicted them.

Möllhausen, in particular, merits mention as a mediator of the West in paint and print. Born in Bonn in 1825, he made three trips to North America. During the first (1849-52) he became attached to the expedition of Herzog Paul von Württemberg (1851), which visited the Mississippi, Missouri and Platte Rivers from New Orleans to Fort Laramie. After his return to Germany he was invited to be the topographical artist for Lieutenant Amiel Weeks Whipple's party, which explored the 35th parallel between Fort Smith, Arkansas, and Los Angeles for the U. S. Army as a possible railroad route (1853-54). Three years later he traveled with Lieutenant Joseph Christmas Ives's expedition, which ventured up the Colorado River to its highest navigable point from Fort Yuma (1857-58). Intensely interested in ethnography, Möllhausen not only painted and sketched Native Americans in individual and group portraits, but also placed emphasis on games (such as the Mojave ring game), 18 dance, body painting, attire, modes of transportation, habitation styles, interaction with whites, use of tools, and artifacts. Möllhausen's scene of two Omaha boys breaking ice to attract water fowl to a lake for hunting adds a vivid visual complement to his own description of this practice [6]. While his work does not approach the technical quality of Bodmer's, the ethnographic information it contains, the range of content, and the variety of tribal sources make it an invaluable documentary resource.<sup>19</sup> Möllhausen's travels on the Whipple expedition alone brought him into contact with Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Delaware, Shawnee, Comanche, Kichai, Kiowa, Waco, Navajo, Apache, Laguna Pueblo, Santa Domingo Pueblo, Zuni, Chemehuevi, Mojave, Southern Paiute, and Yuma groups (Otte, 18f.). His writing and painting reveal his awareness of the destructive impact of European contact on native cultures and he identifies levels of cultural dilution as he moves westward. The Choctaw and Shawnee, who had been relocated after 1830 to the Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) and whom Möllhausen met in 1853, showed more evidence of contact with European culture than the Kiowa further west and especially the isolated Mojave (Otte, 21).

Möllhausen's most striking Indian painting is a study of Chief Me-sic-éhota, seated on a blanket which wraps over his knees, hunched over, and naked but for a feathered headdress [7]. More impressive for its mood and the posture of its subject than for ethnographic information, this portrait reveals much of the inner self of the Mojave chief and, far from glorifying the aging leader, interprets him in his humanity and vulnerability. Though many of Möllhausen's Indian paintings show simple full-length representations of two or three standing subjects side by side in frontal or profile views, like scientific specimens, this portrait demonstrates his desire to avoid clichéd representation. He seems to distinguish scientific from artistic intent. Möllhausen's depictions have a unique style which is only in part attributable to his uncoached hand. Rarely do his pictures suggest an artificial pose; their impression of authenticity derives from their directness of experience and unpretentious technique.

Möllhausen's encounters with Indians formed the basis for nearly forty adventure novels set in the American West and written between 1861 and his death in 1905. Praised as the "German Fenimore Cooper," he was, according to Preston Barba, "read by young and old, by all classes. It is safe to say that in the sixties and seventies there was no more popular, no more widely read, no more beloved German novelist than Balduin Möllhausen" (Hartmann, 73). In recent analyses of his writing, Andreas Graf has pointed to Möllhausen's indebtedness to his friend and mentor Alexander von Humboldt, from whose Ansichten der Natur (1826) he adapts passages, and to the exploitation of his work by Karl May, who used Möllhausen's description of his half-Indian girlfriend for his characterization of Winnetou's sister (Graf 1993, 49; 1991, 92). Möllhausen's writing about the West becomes relevant again in the context of Friedrich Kurz.

# Immigration

The explorers and artists on expeditions captured invaluable images of Native Americans in their cultural and geographical context, but they remained outside observers and documenters. Bodmer and Maximilian, to be sure, spent the winter of 1833-34 with the Mandan, but Hartmann remarks that Möllhausen spent no more than a couple of days with Indian groups (78). The immigrant artists, on the other hand, who lived on the frontier or near it, could draw on their personal experience of extended day-by-day involvement. They could know the everyday routines of the native population firsthand and develop an intimacy with their subjects impossible for the visiting explorer, who remained a guest. The work of Wimar, Rindisbacher, Petri, and Kurz marks the second phase in the development of German artists' encounter with native cultures in North America.

Carl Ferdinand Wimar came to America with his mother and step-father's family in 1843 at the age of fifteen. The family settled in St. Louis on the

outskirts of town close to the campsites of Indians who came to trade. Young Wimar befriended an Indian boy and learned Indian ways from him. His contact with the natives and his physical appearance led many to the false assumption that he had Indian blood in his veins (Rathbone 16). It is striking, given Wimar's widely documented affinity for Native Americans and close daily contact with them that so much of his work focuses on conflict situations where the Indian is either the offender against the white man or the perpetrator of an unlawful act. For all its drama, Wimar's Indians Stealing Horses (ca. 1858) labels the protagonists as thieves in its title. Similarly, in Attack on the Emigrant Train (1856) the Indians appear as aggressors against the underdog pioneers who are handicapped by their cumbersome wagon. Close examination of other paintings, however, reveals an underlying sympathy with the Indian's condition which is not apparent at first sight. Dawn Glanz remarks, justifiably, that "as a partisan of the wilderness and the frontier, he was more likely [than Leutze] to be disturbed at the changes it was undergoing." She identifies an underlying melancholy in his depiction of emigration (82). In Indians Pursued by American Dragoons (1855) [8] conflict between Indians and the American army dominates, though the focus and sympathy are clearly with the hopeless predicament of the Indians. The three Indians fleeing in the foreground are given an identity and individuality which the attacking dragoons do not have. Impossibly outarmed, they are presented as fearful, vulnerable humans, while their attackers are uniformed, mounted, charging, and the epitome of a machine of aggression in motion.

It is harder to locate sympathy with the plight of the Natives in Wimar's interpretation of the Abduction of Daniel Boone's Daughter by the Indians (1855) [9]. The classical composition of the Düsseldorf Academy's style is again evident. The helpless woman is at the center of the frame and immediately attracts the eye, reinforcing the preconception of the innocent female victim suffering at the hands of savage male abductors. She immediately claims the sympathy of the viewer who is familiar with this topos as a metaphor for innocence and civilization threatened by the brutal savage. Yet on closer inspection the Indians are far more interesting. It is their physical prominence which dominates the image. They seem oddly unconcerned about the woman, they are not touching her, threatening her, or even looking at her. They are composed and elegant, and their dignity almost asks us to accept their role in this scene as justified. Nevertheless, the sympathies of the artist notwithstanding, the dominant theme, as in so much of Wimar's work, is the dramatic representation of the clash of irreconcilable cultures.

Many of Wimar's most impressive Western works—including these—were painted when the artist was in Düsseldorf between 1852 and 1856-57. At the Düsseldorf Academy he studied under Josef Fay and later advanced to the tutelage of German-American Emanuel Leutze, best known for his *Washington Crossing the Delaware*.<sup>23</sup> The painstakingly thorough techniques taught at the Academy are evident in Wimar's seventeen Düsseldorf paintings, eleven of which

have Indian themes. His teachers demanded full-scale preparatory drawings and stressed factual detail while respecting nature and naturalism. Subjects of a

heroic, historical, or nationalistic character were preferred.

Wimar applied the techniques to three other themes which became definitive of notable subgenres in the representation of American Indians. The first is the buffalo hunt which, among other things because of its inherent dynamism and potential for the dramatic moment, is to be found in the oeuvre of Bodmer, Möllhausen, Rindisbacher, Kurz, Bierstadt, Alfred J. Miller, Charles M. Russell, Catlin, and Remington. The second is the Mandan buffalo dance or bull dance, which Catlin (1832) and Bodmer (1833) had already depicted. By the time of Wimar's trip up the Missouri in 1858 the Mandan tribe had been reduced by smallpox to only sixty-four men. The third popular subgenre to which Wimar contributed was the Indian raid on the pioneer wagon train, which he portrayed twice. Leutze, Bierstadt, and Remington also worked with this theme.

How significant a painter of Indians was Wimar? A recent and meticulously thorough evaluation of Wimar's work summarizes: "His art, particularly after his student period, contained many ethnographically accurate details, but its overall effect, conditioned by his historical and cultural milieu, was mythic" (Stewart, Ketner, and Miller, 27). Mythic, certainly, in that Wimar selectively worked numerous Western and universal topoi in a way that would appeal to his clientel and satisfy its need for affirmation.27 At the same time, however, he placed emphases that deviated from pure popular conformity. At one and the same time he employed the affirmative style and technique of the Düsseldorf Academy and offered alternatives to the prevailing view of the Indian as threat and persistent nuisance in the path of European westward expansion. He simultaneously drew on his own highly accurate ethnographic sketches and adjusted his own experiences to suit a vision of the wilderness and its inhabitants that had already passed (cf. Stewart, Ketner, and Miller, 155). His work thus mediates in the dialogue between the ethnographic fidelity of Bodmer and the romantic excess of Kurz.

William Hodges, an American critic, assesses Wimar's importance in terms of his foreignness:

It is most strange that none of our early painters seemed conscious of the existence of the Indian save as the blood-thirsty and implacable enemy of the white man, and it is possible that race hatred blinded their eyes to his pictorial virtue, and that it was reserved to one foreign-born, with a mind unclouded by the recollection of centuries of relentless warfare to perceive with an artist's eye a virgin field unequaled in dramatic and pictorial interest. (Hodges, 29)

While it is evident that Wimar's painting is by no means free of the elements Hodges castigates in the work of his American countrymen—conflict, bloodshed,

and hostility are crucial ingredients to Wimar's pictures—and that he needed to be mindful of prevailing tastes in the market, there may be some truth in his basic assertion that as an outsider Wimar—as other Germans, for that matter—was not encumbered by accumulated American psychological baggage.

The same might be said, for instance, of Peter Rindisbacher, perhaps the first immigrant German (actually Swiss) to portray Native Americans. Rindisbacher immigrated at the age of fifteen with his parents to Lord Selkirk's Red River colony on the edge of the high plains in Western Canada. His Family from the Tribe of the Wild Sautaux Indians on the Red River (ca. 1822) [10] provides a few details of clothing, custom, and culture, but is a singularly static group portrait, conspicuously flat, in spite of its foreground versus background structure. Historian Bernard DeVoto is uncompromising in his dismissal of Rindisbacher: "... both the Indians and the whites in his pictures are usually dressed in vaguely Swiss costumes. He has almost entirely vanished from human knowledge and the sixty odd paintings of his that remain are difficult to get at. They are also exceedingly crude: his buffalo, for instance, have a strong resemblance to llamas . . ." (393-94). DeVoto's criticism is not only uncharitable, it is also unfounded. Rindisbacher does not approach Bodmer in his eye for cultural detail nor in his skill, but his Blackfeet Hunting on Horseback (1833) was convincing enough to provide the buffalo image for Republic of Texas currency. DeVoto continues: "His Indians were of the marginal Plains tribes, . . . but none of his landscapes is truly Western, the crudity of his work could hardly be overstated, and he appears to have had no effect at all" (394). While Rindisbacher assuredly does represent only a minor bristle in the collective brush which painted the West, let us not forget that Bodmer met him in St. Louis and in all likelihood saw his paintings (Karl Bodmer's America, 5), and while influence on Bodmer's work may not be evident we cannot say definitely that Bodmer learned nothing from that meeting.

German settlers in Texas in the 1850s convey a different spirit from Rindisbacher and the Düsseldorf student Wimar. This was due, among other things, to training. Friedrich Richard Petri graduated from the Dresden Academy of Fine Arts having attended that institution during the turbulent years preceding the 1848 revolution. Petri had been admitted to the Dresden Academy at age fourteen (1838) and had been a pupil of Ludwig Richter and Julius Hübner. While at the academy he followed their preference for Biblical themes and romantic interpretations of German legends. Later, in Texas, where he arrived with his sister and brother-in-law, the landscape painter Hermann Lungkwitz, in 1851, Petri drew everyday scenes from frontier experience and domesticity. His scenes of family life on the farm are strongly reminiscent of the Biedermeier and late Romantic products of Germany and may be compared in style to works by Ludwig Knaus (Volksfest 1850), Wilhelm von Kobell (Jäger auf der Alm 1828), Joseph Anton Koch (Serpentara—Landschaft mit Hirten ca. 1830), and Franz Krüger (Die Ausfahrt 1847).

Petri's Indians are drawn from his personal experiences with the Lipan Apaches around the family's homestead at Liveoak Creek near the Pedernales River southwest of Fredericksburg, Texas. Petri produced a number of sensitive studies of Indian life. His *Plains Indian Girl with Melon* shows careful attention to detail in the clothing and great affection for the subject. What we might for today's taste read as a saccharin romanticization fit for mass-produced greeting cards was not yet clichéd in the 1850s and represents a valid attempt at capturing a spiritual innocence.

The bachelor Petri never tired of sketching and painting family groupings, often with mules or horses [11]. This is presumably how he often saw the Indians of the area he had settled. Intimacy is a hallmark of Petri's Indian paintings; his subjects are never threatening or bellicose but rather withdrawn and deferential. The dramatic moment preferred by Wimar gives way in Petri's work to humility, domesticity, even passivity. It is said that soon after the immigrants Petri and Lungkwitz settled their farm,

a group of Indians paid them a surprise visit, surrounding the cabin, then approaching it in pregnant, stealthy silence. The tension became almost unbearable, but it was finally broken when Petri set up his easel in the middle of the cabin, opened the door wide, and began to paint. Petri nodded a friendly greeting as the most curious of the visitors peeped inside, and soon the cabin was filled with Indians, intrigued with the paints and the paintings of the strange white man. (Newcomb, 87)

Petri was clearly a close observer of Indians and may have known some individuals well, however, names of his subjects are generally not recorded. His figures, anonymous though they are, nevertheless are portrayed as social beings,

often in company, and frequently engaged in everyday activities.

Petri's relationship with the Indians was good and this seems generally to have been the case in German communities in Texas at the time, following the Meusebach treaty with the Comanches in 1847.<sup>28</sup> And yet Petri's attitude was not entirely unambiguous. Two days before purchasing their farm in July 1852 Petri and Lungkwitz had signed a petition along with eighty other residents of Gillespie County urging Governor Peter H. Bell to have the local Indians removed. The charges leveled against them—killing and stealing stock, destroying fences and crops, breaking into houses, violation of women—were largely spurious (Newcomb, 84ff). Further, the German community in Fredericksburg had, as German communities did, established the usual complement of clubs and organizations, including a Schützenverein. These clubs were active in organizing the 1853 Fourth of July celebrations. In a letter home describing these festivities German immigrant Carl Hilmar Guenther enumerates the activities he participated in, then writes: "After that we had target shooting, the target being a beautifully painted Indian in life-size" (Newcomb, 91). Petri's

watercolor of an aggressive-looking Indian holding a perfectly round shield [12] is almost certainly a draft for the target Guenther describes. Today the placing of a racially defined image as a target for the firearms of another group would cause a public outcry. Perhaps we should be cautious about applying the standards of one age to another, nevertheless it is conspicuous that the humanitarian forty-eighter Petri apparently saw no contradiction in this piece of work.

While Petri's portrayals of American Indians are informed predominantly by his liberal, humanitarian sensibilities and the aesthetics of the German Biedermeier, those of the Swiss Rudolf Friedrich Kurz, which like Petri's emphasize harmony and tranquility over conflict and drama, originate in a lifelong desire to represent the romantic life of the Native American. Kurz was born in 1818 in Bern and reports in the journal he wrote in America that it was only with difficulty that he managed to persuade his parents to let him become a painter but that his one ambition was to paint the wildlife and the natives of the wilderness of America. The genesis of this passionately pursued goal is unclear, but it was certainly fed by the novels of James Fenimore Cooper and may have been fueled further if Kurz saw the three Osage Indians who visited Bern with a traveling show in 1828 (Kläy and Läng, 12). At twenty-one he had met Alexander von Humboldt, who encouraged him in his aspiration, recommending Mexico as a promising destination. Kurz also sought the counsel of Bodmer, with whom he was acquainted in Paris. Bodmer-perhaps out of fear of a rival, perhaps out of recognition of the weaknesses of Kurz's skills—discouraged Kurz's plan and sent the young man into temporary depression (Kläy and Läng, 14-16).<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, in 1846 Kurz traveled to New Orleans, whence he proceeded, like Bodmer and Wimar, to the Missouri. His sojourn in North America, which lasted until 1852, was dominated by a quest to find the Indians who fit his romantic preconception of a natural, noble, wildness:

War mein Hang zur Darstellung der Urnatur schon früher so groß gewesen, daß mir mein malerisches Vaterland nicht genügte, so war jetzt durch den Anblick des Urwaldes, wilder Thiere und ächter Naturkinder derselbe zur wahren Leidenschaft worden. Ich war so glücklich mich in meinen Erwartungen nicht getäuscht zu sehen, ich fand den Urwald reicher, origineller, die Indianer edler in ihren Formen, als ich je geschwärmt. (Kläy and Läng, 34)

His ideal, which is borne out at every turn in his sketches and paintings, derived from the idealized human forms of Greek antiquity. He places his subjects repeatedly in classical postures and even applies the terminology of Greek mythology to some representations (*Die Grazien*, Kläy and Läng, 44). Kurz's art represents a confluence of the ideas of Winckelmann, Herder, and Rousseau. It becomes apparent that the Indians are for Kurz a means to a personal artistic end

and that, his sincere affection for them notwithstanding, his role as a documenter of the conditions of their existence is secondary to that of the aesthete seeking fulfillment: "... denn während meiner Studien stieg mein Ideal immer höher, selbst über die Antike, ja selbst über Raphaels Meisterwerke; so daß selbst der Indianer nicht mehr mein höchstes Ideal blieb, sondern mir bloß als lebende Antike zum Modell dienen sollte" (Kläy and Läng, 45).

Kurz's predilection for nude studies and sketches left incomplete before the details of apparel were added, indicates a greater interest in abstract properties of human form than in specific ethnographic documentation.<sup>30</sup> There are, nevertheless, among Kurz's work detail studies to be found: feathered headgear, necklaces, decorated bows and animal pelts (including buffalo hides), lodges (interior and exterior views), dogs with travois, ceremonies (including an Omaha buffalo dance), and body decoration are included.<sup>31</sup> The fact that many of the detail studies show single artifacts in isolation, rather than in use or as part of a larger scene, suggests that Kurz copied them from life for their own sake, probably with the intention of incorporating them later into a larger work (such as *Omaha bei Belle Vue auf die 'St. Ange' wartend*, Kläy and Läng, 40). His eye for detail is not infallible, however, since he paints buffalo cows to look like domestic Swiss cows, lacking the shoulder hair of the American bison (*Indianer auf Bisonjagd*) [13].

After experiences with Iowa, Hidatsa, Omaha, Mandan, Sauteurs, and other Native American groups, including a two-year spell as grocer-cum-tavern keeper in St. Joseph, Missouri, Kurz returned to Switzerland in 1852. He was never able to make a living from his North American work nor even to publish his journal, though six of his watercolors did form the basis for illustrations to a six-part series written by Möllhausen for the *Gartenlaube* (Leipzig) in 1862.<sup>32</sup> He died in 1871. While he was not strictly a settler, Kurz's intimate familiarity with Indian culture, especially of the Iowa (he married an Iowa woman), over an extended period allows us legitimately to include him with Petri and Rindisbacher. Their work shares not only familiarity with everyday aspects of Indian life acquired by daily intercourse, but also an interest in domesticity and harmonious social interaction as themes. Wimar, because of his Düsseldorf-fostered glorification of culture clash, is more difficult to reconcile with this category, though he too shows sympathy with the Indian point of view even as his natives combat the encroaching Europeans.

Although he does not lend himself to convenient organization into the tripartite model adopted here, Christian Schussele cannot go unmentioned. He came to America in 1848, having been born in Gebweiler in Alsace and trained in Strasbourg and Paris. As part of a project which set out to capture in oils significant moments from the history of his adopted country Schussele selected the 1767 meeting of the Moravian missionary David Zeisberger with the Munsee Indians at Goschgosching in western Pennsylvania [14]. He probably used the biographical sources available at the time by de Schweinitz and Loskiel and in all likelihood tried to visualize the words from Zeisberger's diary which de

Schweinitz quotes: "Never yet did I see so clearly depicted in the faces of the Indians both the darkness of hell and the world-subduing power of the Gospel" (Michel, 260, Olmstead, 21). Zeisberger Preaching to the Indians or The Power of the Gospel, which was completed in 1862 and measures six feet by nine and onehalf feet, hangs in the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.33 Enveloped by near total darkness, a group of about twenty native figures, showing varying degrees of animation but uniform gravity, is bathed in the brilliant orange glow of a wood fire. Zeisberger stands full length at the right of the picture, dressed in black, hands held aloft, with his face and hands reflecting the light of the fire back toward most of the Indian group. Clearly an allegorical value is intended for the light and darkness. The Indians are given mostly leather clothing and neck- and head-wear, easily identifiable with an Indian image by a nineteenth-century public. The postures of the listeners suggest different emotional responses ranging from dismay and awe to fascination and excitement, such that these studied reactions become a topic of the painting. Even though each native figure is painted with care and detail, the overriding impression is that of the single white man who, with the power of his words and his message. is able to dominate the group. It is the mid-nineteenth-century interpretation of a historical event already a century past, which shows the native population with sympathy but without power, and with otherness but in the process of acculturation. It is a representation which unambiguously serves the ideological interests of white America. Schussele makes a step in the direction taken more purposefully by the painters of the third group.

### Commodification

In the 1860s, the historical relationship between immigrants and Indians and the tastes determining the market for paintings of Indians had changed. The third group of painters, represented by Cornelius Krieghoff and Albert Bierstadt, had to contend with these changed conditions. These are the professional landscape and genre artists, for whom the Native American comes to be an ornament in a natural scene.

Recognizing that Indian cultures were dying, German painters were among those who sought to preserve what could still be saved. But at the same time, as the nineteenth century progressed and Native American culture steadily lost its status as a perceived threat, the Indian increasingly acquired a symbolic value and became a commodity to be marketed. The image of the Indian evolved into a sanitized projection of lost selfhood safely enshrined in landscapes produced for the parlor or incorporated into large-scale, operatic oil paintings glorifying the natural beauty of the American West and civilization's appropriation of it.

Krieghoff's early work (1840s, including Little Pine Chief and The Eclipse [Chief Tanaghte] both ca. 1848) shows a genuine interest in Native American culture, though he was short on the skill necessary to portray it effectively. The two most interesting aspects of Krieghoff's output in our context concern

acculturation and commodification. Krieghoff's Indians become incorporated into city life and acquire the trappings of immigrant culture, such as *The Indian Woman Basket Seller*, who has evidently become integrated into the immigrant economy (1850s), or the *Marie de Montréal, Indian Squaw/Moccasin Seller* [15] in Montreal (late 1840s) draped in a blanket and clutching moccasins and a decorated pouch which, with an appealing look in her eyes, she seems to offer to the observer for purchase. Increasingly Krieghoff's images of the Native American take on the quality of a commodity whose raison d'être derives from an environment of supply and demand. This is a reflex of both the artist's motivation in painting for dominant tastes in the market and the situation of the Indian in the contemporary social as well as the aesthetic economy.

Krieghoff was born in Amsterdam in 1815, but the family moved to Mainberg, near Schweinfurt, in 1822, where his father ran a wallpaper production company in the castle. Familiarity with color and design thus came early. It is likely, because of family connections, that Krieghoff studied art at the Düsseldorf Academy, where Wilhelm Schadow had become director in 1826. The increasing popularity of subjects from everyday life at the academy among such instructors as Johann Peter Hasenclever may have influenced Krieghoff's direction (Harper, 5). Krieghoff came to America in 1835 or 1836 with his brother Ernst, and headed first to Florida with the U. S. Army, which was engaged in subduing the Seminoles. No Krieghoff paintings from this period have survived. His extant work was produced in upstate New York (Rochester) and, after a study visit to Paris, in Canada (Toronto, Montreal, Longueuil, Quebec City). Krieghoff's paintings came to be included as symbolic of the highest Canadian achievement at national and international exhibitions (Harper, 163). Krieghoff died in Chicago in 1872.

Autumn: Chippawa Indians at Lake Huron (from 1864) [16] is typical of the modest nature scene, produced to comply with the contemporary taste for natural beauty (in this case the autumnal colors of the Canadian woods) and Indians, as people of the forest. The Indians have no individuality or identity other than a general "Indianness" of dress, physical appearance, and canoe, but they are depicted as being in harmony with their natural surroundings. This example demonstrates the direction Krieghoff's interest in the Native American takes after his early interest in a faithful, detailed pictorial record. Together with Hunting Scene on the St. Maurice (1860), it conforms to the recipe of a genre. The paintings share distinctive features of location, and similar activities are taking place. The rock wall at the water's edge and some of the trees are the same, although the point of view has shifted. Indian figures in both are loading a musket and attending to a slain deer, though their positioning too has changed. The Canadian woods offered attractive fall colorings which city dwellers delighted in hanging on their walls and the Indian motif added an extra authenticity while, at the same time, satisfying a deep-seated longing of the urbanite for an idealized, simpler way of life. Krieghoff's sensitivity to his market gains the upper hand over his sensitivity to his Indian subjects. As J. Russell Harper puts it: "... scenes of the harsh side of Indian life would have been as unacceptable to his patrons as pictures of the Quebec slums. He deliberately excluded all that was uncomfortable: the shivering cold and the howling winds, the huddling in inadequate shelters, the arthritis and sickness from exposure and the shortness of lives" (137). Thus the Native American is commodified as an eminently marketable decorative feature for the middle- and upper-class home.

The increasing commodification of the Indian can be traced also in Albert Bierstadt's paintings. Perhaps Bierstadt's credentials make him a questionable candidate for inclusion among German painters: Though born in Solingen in 1830, he emigrated with his family at the age of two to New Bedford, Massachusetts. However, he did return to Germany (1853-57) to learn his art in Düsseldorf from Hasenclever, who was his mother's cousin. He was therefore in Düsseldorf at the same time as Wimar and Leutze. Bierstadt was never enrolled at the Düsseldorf Academy, and Hasenclever had died before Bierstadt arrived, nevertheless he did have contact with eminent members of the Düsseldorf art world, including Worthington Whittredge and Leutze, and clearly learned much.

On his return to North America he joined the Lander expedition to the Rockies in 1858 and had his first encounter with the spectacular landscapes, the interpretation of which would dominate his subsequent work. Six years later Bierstadt's *The Rocky Mountains* (1863) [17] catapulted him to national attention. Both its sheer size (six by ten feet) and the spectacular scenery contributed to its impact.<sup>34</sup> Bierstadt's Indians appear as landscape furniture in this painting as in many of his others. They exist in the darkened foreground and some ethnographic details are included, but the eye travels straight to the middle ground, where the waterfall is bathed in sunlight. Beyond the waterfall the towering peak appears, rendering the human element insignificant. The view itself is a fantasy and depicts no specific location. The Indian village and villagers are used to further the effect of sublime nature.

Yet Bierstadt's Indians had not always been this way. Early paintings show Bierstadt's sympathetic depictions of Indian villages without the bombastic scenic backdrop. Some sketches of Indians from 1859 and an early portrait (1857) of Martha Simon [18], a Nemasket Indian woman who lived near New Bedford, (one of Bierstadt's very few portraits), show a fondness missing later. But while Bierstadt in later life still paid lip service to the need for artists and writers to concern themselves with the history of the Indian, he also referred to them as "appropriate adjuncts to the scenery"—as "adjuncts" they are props or accessories in the service of another purpose (Baigell, 10).

Bierstadt, though often castigated by critics, was adored by the public and achieved enormous popular and financial success. He clearly was in tune with the public taste at the height of his career during the 1860s and 1870s. Peter Hassrick notes: "Following the Civil War, America's popular attention was somewhat drawn away from frontier genre themes and turned instead toward a nationalistic identification with the grandeur of the Western landscape, portrayed

in scenes often devoid of human presence and evocative of universal truths found only in nature where man's intrusion had not been evident" (American Frontier Life, 22). How is Bierstadt best characterized? Perhaps as an artistic articulator of Manifest Destiny, the appropriation of the other by his own civilization; perhaps as a painter who could construct images that would unite a nation of immigrants as they gazed in awe at the supposed natural splendor of the land they had entered (Baigell, 11). In any event, he was able to find an aesthetic mix that was commercially successful. That formula included over time a steady decline in prominence and status for the Indians he portrayed. The decline represents both the historical reality of the diminishing importance of Indian cultures in the American psyche (as threat and heritage) and the aesthetic preferences of the buying public, since for the professional artist the market is a prime determinant in the selection of subject matter. Unfortunately for Bierstadt, the fashion changed around 1875 and by the 1890s Bierstadt's work was no longer in vogue. He declared bankruptcy in 1895.

What conclusions are to be drawn from these observations? First, it is evident that the lines of development in the portrayal of the American aboriginal population by German artists in the nineteenth century emerge with considerable clarity. They move from the visitor's interest in ethnographic and cultural detail (Bodmer, Möllhausen) to the settler's perspective of shared experience of the North American environment (Petri, Wimar, Rindisbacher, Kurz), from there to the professional's relegation of the Indian to near irrelevance in a landscape appropriated by immigrant culture and valued in art for its inherent aesthetic qualities (Krieghoff's fall colors) and sublime theatricality (Bierstadt's mountains). And the lines of development move simultaneously from the motivation of scientific data-gathering (Bodmer, Möllhausen, von Egloffstein, Sohon), through depiction of frontier experience and social interest (Rindisbacher, Wimar, Petri, Kurz), to unabashed production of a commodity for a market (Schussele, Krieghoff, Bierstadt). They move likewise from depiction of the Native American as subject and agent with individual and group identity (Bodmer, Möllhausen, Sohon, Rindisbacher, Petri) to a social being in precarious juxtaposition with an alien culture (Wimar, Kurz, Schussele, early Krieghoff, early Bierstadt), to a collection of a few distinctive features marking "Indianness" (Krieghoff, Bierstadt).

The composite scene, by Bodmer from 1833, of the encounter between Maximilian's party (shown on the right) and the Minnetaree Indians [19] suitably symbolizes the early stages of an irreversible process. The explorers are on the margin at the right, Maximilian in the black coat, Bodmer himself in the brown hat at the far right, and between them David Dreidoppel (Maximilian's hunter and taxidermist). The Minnetarees hold center stage and capture the attention, especially the chief in the stovepipe hat with its adornments, the horse, and the gesturing Indian who seems to be introducing the Europeans. The two groups are separated from each other by a clear vertical line incorporated as part of the wall of the fort. The white man's cultural trappings, though, have already

crossed the line in the form of the chief's hat. More telling yet is the fortified stockade of the army post, which forms the backdrop to the scene on which this tableau is staged. Compare this with Bierstadt's depiction of the arrival of Columbus in the New World [20], painted in 1893 to commemorate the fourhundredth anniversary of the landing and intended for display at the Paris world fair. Here Columbus's party is bathed in light while the Indians hover at the margins in the darkness of ignorance. Those Indians who venture into the halflight fall to their knees, acknowledging the superiority of the new arrival and worshiping him. The power relations are unambiguous; they are reaffirmed by every representational trick, subtle and not-so-subtle, that Bierstadt can muster, even to the point of projecting this scene as the indigenous inhabitant's "pointof-view." Again, as in Bodmer's painting, the force of white armament is present in the form of Columbus's ships. In the sixty years which elapsed between Bodmer's and Bierstadt's paintings the place and role of the Native American as interpreted by the German and German-American psyche had changed radically and irrevocably.

The historical decline of American Indian cultures is paralleled by shifts in the qualities of the artist's representation of Native Americans in sketch, oil, and water. But this is not a straightforward correlation in which the step-by-step progression of images tracks the decline at distance. Rather it is a more complex interrelation which includes the motivational, sociological, and economic determinants of the artists' circumstances of production as well as the dynamics of the predicament of the Indian. Indeed, the factors determining the context of production in which the artists work (Who are they painting for? What is the quality of their personal experience of and interest in their subject? What are the prevailing tastes and market forces?) are aspects of the progress of North American civilization which promotes the very decline of native cultures in the first place. The developments in this body of painting are possible only at the expense of its subject.35

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#### Notes

<sup>2</sup> Charles Sealsfield (pseudonym of Karl Postl), Das Cajütenbuch oder nationale Charakteristiken

(Zürich: Friedrich Schultheß, 1841).

<sup>4</sup> Among May's many Western titles are Im fernen Westen (1880), Helden des Westens (1890),

Winnetou (3 vols. 1893-1910), Old Shurehand (1894).

<sup>1</sup> The term "German" is used here to refer to German speakers and therefore includes Austrians, Swiss, and Alsatians.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> In addition to fiction, Möllhausen also wrote Tagebuch einer Reise vom Mississippi nach den Küsten der Südsee (Leipzig, 1858), which was translated into English and Danish, and Reisen in die Felsengebirge Nord-Amerikas: bis zum Hoch-Plateau von Neu-Mexico (Leipzig, 1860), soon to appear in an English translation by David Miller (University of Arizona Press).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Chamisso discusses the treatment of Indians by the Spanish mission at San Francisco.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Goetzmann and Porter, Hassrick, Goetzman and Goetzmann.

<sup>7</sup> Hugh Honour's *The European Vision of America* contains a section "Indians in the Nineteenth Century" (315-36), which includes discussion of works by Rindisbacher, Bodmer, and Frank Buchser (1828-90).

<sup>8</sup> William H. Goetzmann has offered in his numerous publications the most complete analysis of image making in the American West. My approach differs in several notable respects from his. German artists' portrayal of Native Americans is never a central topic for Goetzmann; the scope of his work precludes such selective focus and his discussion of German artists usually in the service of a broader analysis. An exception is his exemplary essay on Bodmer in Karl Bodmer's America. Goetzmann's central category to discussing the nineteenth century is Romanticism; this term proves to be inadequate for creating necessary distinctions and highlighting contrasts within the nineteenth century. Further, as Goetzmann explains, the term is itself subject to flux as different subcategories of the Romantic vie for dominance through time (1981, 12). Goetzmann identifies useful subcategories such as the pastoral, the elegiac, the sublime, the melodramatic, the theatrical, the epic heroic, and the nostalgic (12), but marginalizes motivational aspects of the production context (contracts, assignments, the market).

<sup>9</sup> Goetzmann 1986, 14. Mildred Goosman notes that delivery of the publication was not made

until 1843 (Thomas and Ronnefeldt, 12).

<sup>10</sup> A crude reproduction of Bodmer's aquatint was used for the design of a 29-cent postage stamp issued by the U.S. Postal Service in 1994 as one of the series "Legends of the West." It bears the

inscription "Native American Culture."

<sup>11</sup> Kurz also prepared a sketch of such a hut interior, unoccupied (Kläy and Läng, 135). Catlin's *Torture Scene in the Medicine Lodge* also shows the interior of a Mandan lodge, in this case the purpose-built, flat-ended lodge as used for the O-Kee-Pa "torture" ceremony. (Goetzmann and Goetzmann, 23 and Bowers, 111-63, give accounts of this ceremony). Exteriors occur in other images by Catlin (Goetzmann and Goetzmann, 28f.) and Bodmer (*Karl Bodmer's America*, 19). Von Egloffstein's *Interior of a Moquis House* was interpreted in a lithograph by John James Young for the report of the Ives expedition (1861). Rindisbacher painted what is probably the first interior of a tipi sometime between 1829 and 1834 (Honour, 323).

<sup>12</sup> William J. Orr describes the terms of Bodmer's employment as follows: "[Maximilian] would pay passage to and from Europe as well as a monthly salary of thirty-three thalers for a journey of approximately two years' duration. While Maximilian would supply paper and other needs, Bodmer must bring his own drawing instruments. All pictures would remain the property of the Prince; Bodmer would be permitted to make copies but could exhibit them only with his employer's

permission" (Karl Bodmer's America, 352).

<sup>13</sup> On 6 January 1835, Maximilian wrote to Karl Friedrich Philipp von Martius: "Der interessanteste Theil unserer Ausbeute ist wohl der Atlas, eine Sammlung von 300-400 Zeichnungen, die zum Theil sehr schön sind. Herr Bodmer hat nämlich selbst die Menschen, die verschiedenen Stämme der Indianer sehr treu und ähnlich dargestellt, und im Fache der Landschaften war er immer

Meister" (Läng, 127-28).

<sup>14</sup> Von Egloffstein traveled with John Frémont in the winter of 1853 to map a central route across the Rockies to the Pacific. He left the trip in February 1854 but joined E.G. Beckwith's survey of a route through Utah, Wyoming, Nevada, and California. He later joined Möllhausen on Joseph C. Ives's survey of the Colorado River (1857-58). Many of Egloffstein's drawings of Western scenes are included in Beckwith's and Ives's published reports (*Pacific Railroad Report*, vols. 2, 11; *Report upon the Colorado River of the West.*) Huseman notes that von Egloffstein was the first white man to visit the Supai and that he produced some of the earliest images (originals now lost) of the Hopi

<sup>15</sup> Sohon was born in Tilsit, East Prussia, in 1825 and emigrated to the U.S. at seventeen. In 1852 he enlisted in the U.S. Army and served as an artist on several government expeditions to the West. From 1858 to 1862 he was a guide and interpreter for military roadbuilders in the Pacific Northwest. In 1862 he moved to San Francisco, where he operated a photographic studio until 1865. He then returned to Washington, DC, where he managed a theater until his death in 1903 (Hunt, 132-34). Sohon's pencil sketches of Flathead (Salish), Pend d'Oreille, and Iroquois individuals from 1854 have been discussed by Ewers (1948): "Sohon's pencil technique is characterized by clean, sure lines, and a very realistic three-dimensional quality" (63). The head-and-shoulder portraits reprinted by

Ewers show "selective adaptation of traits of the white man's culture (62), including flat, visored caps (which Ewers speculates may have originated with Hudson's Bay Company traders), shirts with turned-over collars and buttons at the neck and crucifixes (63). Group scenes include a sketch of the Battle of Spokan Plains on September 5, 1858, the Flathead Treaty Council July 1855, and Flathead Indians Playing Ring. Colored lithographs by Sohon appeared in the report of the Mississippi to Pacific railroad exploration (1860) and in Mullan's report of road construction from Walla Walla to Fort Benton (1863). Half-tone reproductions of Sohon's drawings appeared in Hazard Stevens' book about Isaac Ingalls Stevens (1900). See also Trenton and Hassrick, 85-87.

16 See Goetzmann 1966, 220, 321.

<sup>17</sup> In spite of the fact that he considered John Frémont "childish," the melancholy and obstinate Preuss accompanied him on three of his five expeditions, including the first in 1842. He also went with Robert S. Williamson's Pacific Railroad Survey, after which he became very ill and killed himself in September 1854. In Herman J. Viola's assessment, Preuss's diary provides a "remarkably blunt and candid appraisal of the Pathfinder [Frémont], as well as important, on-the-scene accounts of early western exploration" (66). Preuss's diary has been translated into English and published as *Exploring with Frémont*. It includes some of Preuss's sketches, some of which contain Indians, though not rendered with detail and precision. His maps, on the other hand, are models of modern cartographic technique.

<sup>18</sup> Ring games are depicted also by Sohon (Ewers 1948, opp. 18) and Bodmer (Karl Bodmer's

America, 19).

<sup>19</sup> Peter Bolz follows Mary Gordon in defending Möllhausen against criticism by Goetzmann and others who had remarked on the unsuccessful Indian depictions by the German in the published account of the Whipple expedition. In fact, Bolz states, the published lithographs do not do justice to Möllhausen's originals, indeed the artist had himself expressed dismay at the renderings fearing they might damage his reputation (Otte, 19). That Möllhausen was sensitive to his lack of training as an artist emerges from the fact that after returning from his second expedition he took lessons from the landscape painter Eduard Hildebrandt in Berlin. Huseman notes major changes in Möllhausen's artworks in late 1854 and 1855 (27). An evaluative review of the recent increased scholarly interest in Möllhausen can be found in Bolz (1995). See also Taft, 22-35.

<sup>20</sup> Wimar painted two renderings of this theme, known as the "canoe" version (1853) and the

"raft" version. My comments refer to the "raft" version.

<sup>21</sup> For further discussion of this theme see Glanz, 67-69.

<sup>22</sup> Glanz goes so far as to interpret nature in this image as working in consort with the captors (69).

<sup>23</sup> Though celebrated for his Western images assembled in his mural for the U.S. Capitol Building, Westward the Course of Empire takes its Way, Leutze, who was born in Schwäbisch Gmünd, is not discussed at length here, since his interest in the Native American is limited. Groseclose indicates five paintings by Leutze with Indian themes: Indians and Captive (date unknown), which echoes the theme of Wimar's two paintings of the capture of Daniel Boone's daughter and almost certainly derives from Leutze's knowledge of Wimar's work (97), Indians Attacking a Wagon Train (1863), which is also indebted to Wimar and actually contains no Indians (98), Indian Girl, a 'neoclassic' Indian pose worthy of Kurz (99), Columbus' First Landing in America (1863, unlocated; Indian content uncertain) (99), and Prairie Bluffs at Julesberg, South Platte, Storm at Sunset (1863) (97). The Hudson and the Rhine contains a reproduction of a sketch (ca. 1852)by Leutze of a white man (above, before a forest) preaching to Indians (seated below, looking up). (Kalnein et al., item 112).

<sup>24</sup> For a perceptive discussion of the buffalo hunt paintings as documentation and aesthetic

artifacts, see Stewart's article in Stewart, Ketner, and Miller, 156-63.

<sup>25</sup> Herman J. Viola doubts that Wimar witnessed the dance, but suspects he drew on Catlin and

Bodmer (American Frontier Life, 145-49; cf. Stewart, 164).

<sup>26</sup> Glanz adds the prairie fire to the list of Western genre topics to which Wimar contributed (72). Wimar's interest in the attack on the emigrant train theme was originated with his reading of Gabriel Ferry's *Impressions de voyages et aventures dans le Mexique*, *la haute Californie et les régions de l'or (American Frontier Life*, 19, 147).

<sup>27</sup> Rick Stewart concludes in "An Artist on the Great Missouri," his remarkably detailed day-by-day, sketch-by-sketch account of Wimar's excursion up the Missouri in 1858-59, that Wimar's paintings are characterized most conspicuously by their romanticism. "Although many of his field

studies remain valuable as historic documents, Wimar's finished paintings depict primitive glory and adventure, closer in spirit to the romantic descriptions by James Fenimore Cooper than to his own time" (Stewart, Ketner, and Miller, 156). Their omissions are as telling as their images. These strike me as an important observation, though we must be careful not to mistake them for negative judgments. I would state more forcefully than Stewart does that the artist will and cannot but interpret. Just as Schiller, the historian, interpreted the stories of Wallenstein and Mary Stuart, the facts of which he knew well, to suit his aesthetic ends, so Wimar interpreted what he knew of the West subject to aesthetic and pragmatic considerations.

<sup>28</sup> The Meusebach treaty ensured peace betweent the German settlers and the Comanches. According to the agreement, the Comanches were to be treated as friends in the German settlements, while the Germans would be allowed to establish a settlement on the Llano River and survey land to its north. The Comanches would receive \$3,000 worth of presents two months later (Newcomb, 58).

<sup>29</sup> According to Kurz's own account Bodmer's counsel was accepted as appropriate. The introduction to his journal states: "[Bodmer] stellte mir mit Recht vor, ich sollte mich nicht übereilen, sondern zuerst im Zeichnen und Malen der Landschaft, der Thiere und Menschen so vorbereiten, daß mir das Technische durchaus keine Schwierigkeiten mehr darbiete und ich mit Leichtigkeit den eigenthümlichen Charakter der dortigen Natur auffassen und darstellen könne" (cited in Kläy and Läng, 16; in English, Journal of Rudolph Friedrich Kurz, 3).

<sup>30</sup> In a letter to Möllhausen from Bern, dated 18 July 1862, Kurz comments further on his aesthetic: "Schön nenn ich Alles, wo die Äußere Form der innewohnenden Idee entspricht. Je vollkommener diese Idee und ihre entsprechende Hülle, desto höher die Schönheit; der Mensch, der unverhüllte, als das vollkommenste Geschöpf unserer sichtbaren Welt, muß also auch künstlerisch

das Schönste sein, was ein Maler darzustellen hat" (Graf 1991, 371, Augustin).

<sup>31</sup> The aesthetic and scientific pretensions of his paintings and sketches are expressed by Kurz in these words: "Die Hauptaufgabe dieses Werkes ist die getreue Darstellung des Indianers in seiner romantischen Lebensweise, der größeren Pelzthiere, des Urwaldes und der Prärie nach eigener Anschauung. Die Bilder sollen naturgetreu, aber malerisch aufgefaßt und ästhetisch ausgeführt sein, sie sollen den Naturhistoriker sowohl, als den Künstler befriedigen, die Kenntnisse des Laien erweitern und seinen Geschmack ausbilden helfen" (Kläy and Läng, 23).

<sup>32</sup> Kläy and Läng, 91. Kurz's letter to Möllhausen of 18 July 1862 refers to this project and includes extended narrative of Kurz's own experiences as a basis for the articles. Kurz expresses pleasure that a writer of Möllhausen's competence is to provide the narrative, perhaps obsequiously since at the close of the letter he seeks Möllhausen's help in preparing his journal for publication and

asks for a recommendation to Möllhausen's publisher (Graf 1991, 371-74, Augustin).

<sup>33</sup> The date on the painting reads 1862, though Michel argues for a completion date of 1859 (Michel, 258). The Moravian Archive also houses a second painting by a German painter who includes Indian images: *First Fruits* by John Valentine Haidt (1700-80) is an allegorical work signifying the success of the Moravian mission throughout the world (reproduction, Olmstead, 33).

<sup>34</sup> The picture was a conscious challenge to the dominance of landscape painting by Frederic Edwin Church, whose *Heart of the Andes* (inspired by Alexander von Humboldt) was completed in 1858. The two paintings have often been exhibited together. It has been noted that Bierstadt's painting shows the influence of the landscape vision of the Düsseldorf artist Wilhelm Schirmer (1807-63) (Kalnein et al., 41).

35 I am indebted to Rolf Dencker, Dora Guerra, Ben Huseman, James Hutson, Vernon Nelson, and Sherry A. Whitmore for assistance at various stages in the preparation of this essay.

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## Postscript

Since the completion of this article, two important new publications have made contributions to this topic. Although neither of them calls for any revision of the theses presented here, brief comment on them is justified. Peter C. Merrill's German Immigrant Artists in America: A Biographical Dictionary (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 1997) provides essential biographical data and valuable source information for all of the artists discussed here and hundreds of other German artists in the United States. Vice Versa. Deutsche Maler in Amerika—amerikanische Maler in Deutschland 1813-1913 (Munich: Hirmer, 1996), Katharina and Gerhard Bott, eds., is the catalog of an extensive exhibition displayed in the fall of 1996 by the Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin. The section entitled "Eingeborene und Sklaven" (326-54) includes an image by Emanuel Leutze captioned Der letzte Mohikaner (ca. 1850), showing a downcast warrior in a statuesque pose with arms crossed as he gazes toward the blazing prairie; an eagle soars behind his back (329). (Cf. my note 23). The volume contains seventeen original essays, including a survey of German immigrant artists to the United States by Merrill.



Karl Bodmer, Péhriska-Rúhpa, Hidatsa Man
 Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska; gift of the Enron Art Foundation



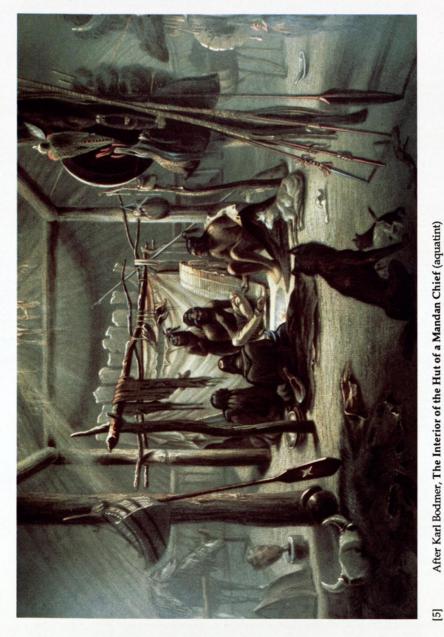
[2] After Karl Bodmer, Péhriska-Rúhpa, Mœnnitarri Warrior in the Costume of the Dog-Danse (aquatint) Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska; gift of the Enron Art Foundation



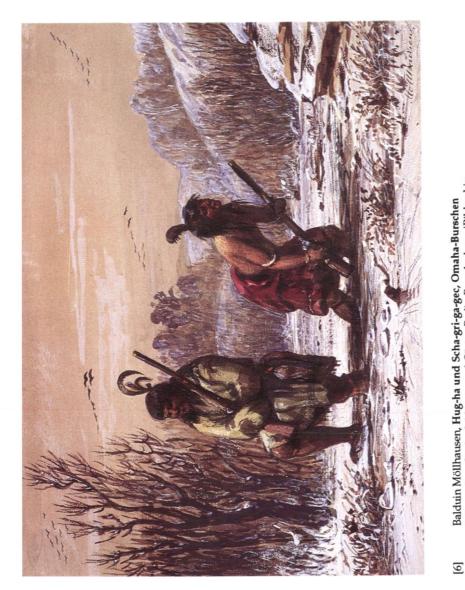
[3] Karl Bodmer, Mató-Tópe, Mandan Chief Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska; gift of the Enron Art Foundation



[4] Karl Bodmer, Mató-Tópe, Mandan Chief Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska; gift of the Enron Art Foundation



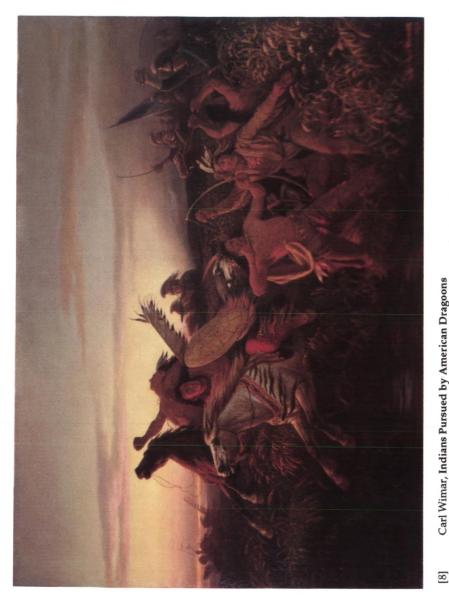
After Karl Bodmer, The Interior of the Hut of a Mandan Chief (aquatint) Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska; gift of the Enron Art Foundation



Balduin Möllhausen, Hug-ha und Scha-gri-ga-gec, Omaha-Burschen Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg/Bildarchiv



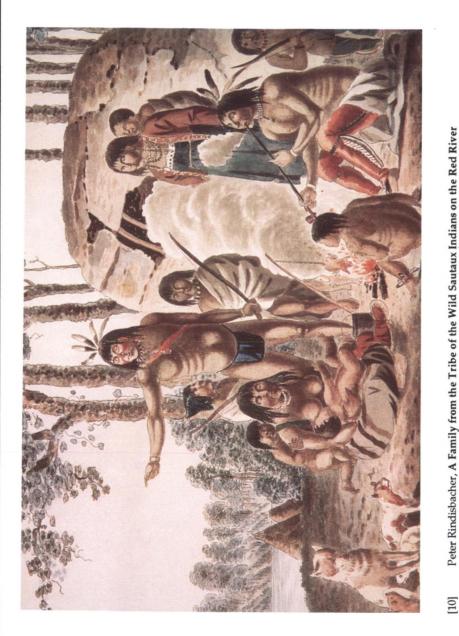
[7] Balduin Möllhausen, Me-sic-é-hota, Häuptling der Mohave-Indianer Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg/Bildarchiv



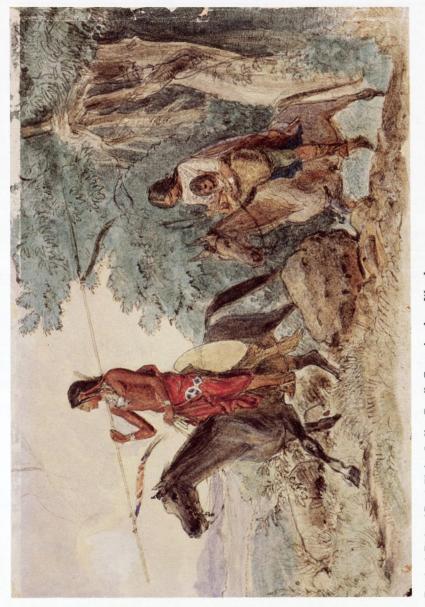
Carl Wimar, Indians Pursued by American Dragoons
The Warner Collection of Gulf States Paper Corporation, Tuscaloosa, Alabama



Carl Wimar, The Abduction of Boone's Daughter by the Indians c. 1855, oil on canvas (1965.1)
Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas



Peter Rindisbacher, A Family from the Tribe of the Wild Sautaux Indians on the Red River National Archives of Canada / C-001929



Friedrich Richard Petri, Plains Indian Family Emerging from Woods Courtesy of the Texas Memorial Museum



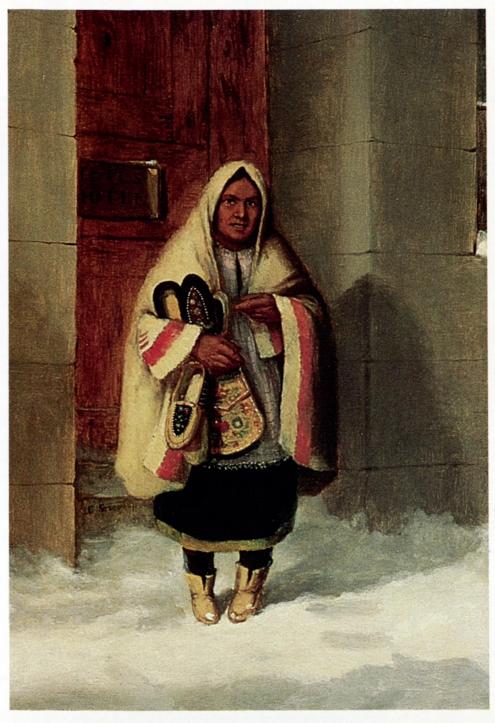
[12] Friedrich Richard Petri, **Plains Indian with Shield**The William Hill Land & Cattle Co., Houston, Texas
Copy courtesy University of Texas Institute of Texan Cultures, San Antonio



Rudolf Friedrich Kurz, Indianer auf Bisonjagd Musée d'ethnographie de Genève



Christian Schussele, Zeisberger Preaching to the Indians/The Power of the Gospel The Moravian Archive, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania



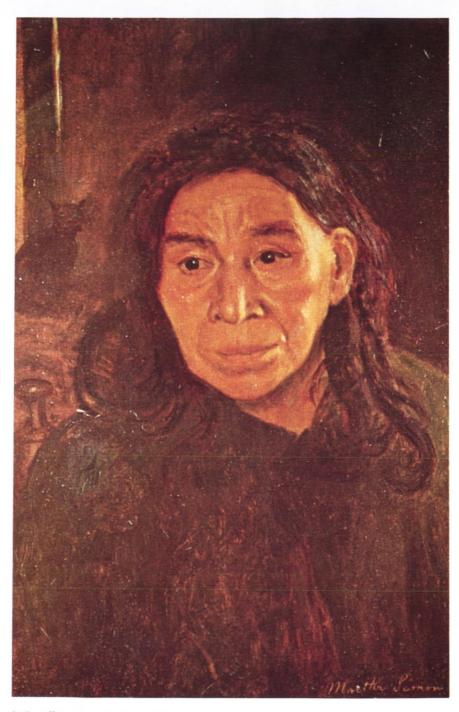
[15] Cornelius Krieghoff, Marie de Montréal, Indian Squaw/Mocassin Seller The Collection of Power Corporation of Canada



Cornelius Krieghoff, Autumn: Chippawa Indians at Lake Huron The Collection of Power Corporation of Canada



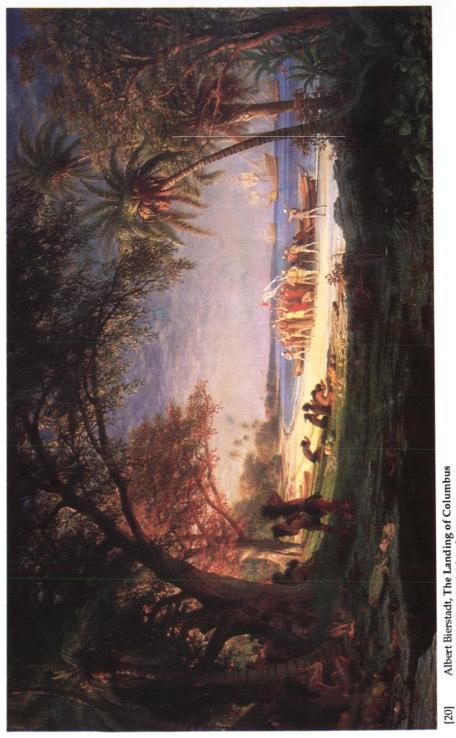
Albert Bierstadt, The Rocky Mountains, Lander's Peak The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1907. (07.123) Photograph © 1985 by The Metropolitan Museum of Art



[18] Albert Bierstadt, Martha Simon The Millicent Library, Fairhaven, Massachusetts



Karl Bodmer, The Travellers Meeting with Minatarre Indians near Fort Clark Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska; gift of the Enron Art Foundation



Albert Bierstadt, The Landing of Columbus The City of Plainfield, New Jersey

### Gerhard K. Friesen

# Documentary Evidence about the Alleged Love Affair and Temporary Insanity of Jonathan Lenz, Junior Trustee of the Harmony Society

During its century-long existence in the United States (1805-1905), the Harmony Society successively built the towns of Harmony in Pennsylvania, New Harmony in Indiana, and Economy in Pennsylvania. Under strong leaders that ruled as benevolent dictators over faithful followers not interested in individual freedom, three generations of Harmonists made pioneering contributions to agriculture, craftsmanship, manufacturing, commerce, transportation, architecture, the arts, and education in nineteenth-century America. But while their worldly ventures prospered, the biological extinction of these apostolic Christians transplanted from Swabia was only a matter of time after they adopted the rule of strict celibacy in 1807. According to the millenarian creed established by their founding patriarch George Rapp (1757-1847), Adam, having been created in the exact image of God, was originally both masculine and feminine but lost his bisexuality in the fall from paradise. It was the duty of all Harmonists, whether married or not, to abstain from beastlike sexual intercourse that would only serve to propagate the race of fallen man and thus interfere with the advent of God's kingdom. The history of the Harmony Society shows that those who could not adhere to celibacy were relentlessly expelled from it. This article deals with the exceptional case of one prominent Harmonist who fathered two children outside the society but did not suffer expulsion and eventually even assumed a trusteeship that lasted twenty-two years.

After the death of R. L. Baker (1793-1868), Jacob Henrici (1804-92) became the Harmony Society's senior trustee, and Jonathan Lenz (1807-90) was appointed its junior trustee. Dated one day after he died on 23 January 1890 in Economy, an otherwise favorable obituary alleged that he had been involved in a secret love affair which temporarily demented him:

In the early history of the oil regions Mr. Lenz was dispatched thither to attend to the society's investments. There he became fascinated with an heiress. He wooed and proved an acceptable suitor. A date was set for the marriage. The struggle between his obligations to the society and his fascination for the young lady was most severe. Meanwhile the society learned of his attachment and Mr. Henrici was sent to nip the love blossom in the bud. It was only after the most powerful appeal that the erring brother was persuaded to return to Economy. But his infatuation was so deep-rooted that it affected his reason and symptoms of insanity developed. Mr. Lenz was placed in Dixmout [sic] Asylum for several months. The temporary aberration gradually passed away and he returned to the society, his faculties fully restored. His former asceticism had given way to a placid, genial, affable manner.<sup>2</sup>

A similar statement was made in the *Pittsburgh Leader's* extensive analysis of the Harmony Society's situation in 1890:

[. . .] it has been asserted that Mr. Lenz was married to a Lady in Clearfield county, and by whom he had two children. Mr. Lenz as one of the trustees made frequent visits to the oil country to look after the large society there, and it is said that he became so infatuated with a young lady that he married her in secret. For a long time this knowledge was kept a secret even from his most intimate friends. As such things always do the marriage finally leaked out and reached the ears of Mr. Henrici. Quite a sensation was created over the falling from grace of such a prominent member, and for a time Mr. Lenz was in danger of dismissal; his reason became unbalanced and he was incarcerated in Dixmont for a few months. When his mind was restored, the question of his committing a breach of the agreement was attributed to his, at that time, weak mental condition, and he was restored to his former position, but he never went back to the oil regions.<sup>3</sup>

The memoirs of John S. Duss (1860-1951), who served as the Harmony Society's senior trustee from 1892 to 1903, include this passage about his one-time guardian Lenz:

During the early years of Jonathan's visits to the timber tracts of Warren County, he became acquainted with a young and lovely woman with whom he fell deeply in love. The attachment between the two was so strong and tender, and the conflicting emotions in Jonathan's heart between the love of his brethren of the Society and the love of this woman that for a time it somewhat affected his sanity.

Baker and Henrici, and also my mother, extended all their kindness and prayerful advice to win him back to Economy.<sup>4</sup>

Commenting on the *Pittsburgh Leader's* allegations, Karl J. R. Arndt (1903-91) wrote in 1972:

This story to date has not been verified and may be entirely fictional, because Lenz's letters show a deep devotion to the ideals and beliefs of the Society. He was much loved and highly respected. It seems unlikely that a man of his character and in such an exposed position would have become involved in this manner.<sup>5</sup>

While continuing work on the *Documentary History of the Harmony Society* which Arndt was unable to complete, <sup>6</sup> I have found several contemporary sources that shed more light on Lenz's alleged love affair and insanity. The following are my transcriptions and explanations of the pertinent texts, <sup>7</sup> most of them autographs in the old German ("Gothic") script.

Two letters which the superintendent of the Western Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane at Dixmont wrote to R. L. Baker on 27 June and 8 July 1866 respectively have been preserved:

Western Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane Near Pittsburgh, on P., F. W. & C. Ry. Dixmont, Allegheny Co. Pa. June 27, 1866

R L Baker Esq. Dear Sir

I am requested by my Patient Jonathan Lentz [sic] to write a note to you saying that he is better and expects soon to be well. He was gratified very much with the wine and flowers and takes them as an evidence of friendship from the Society. He is calm and has slept for two nights past quite well and is much improved in consequence. He sends his love to you all.

With kind regards to Mr. Henrici I am yours respectfully

J A Reed. Supt of W P H for the Insane

[Endorsed in Baker's hand:] Letter J. A. Reed June 27./66 [printed letterhead as in the previous letter]

July 8th 1866

R L Baker Esq Dear Sir

Mr. Lenz has been in a very good condition ever since I wrote to you last. He is contented and quite willing to do whatever is for his good. His mind seems to be perfectly clear and calm, and [he] converses on all subjects rationally. He has been out walking several times and last evening took a look over our new buildings with me and was very much pleased. He says if you could come up he would be pleased to see you but thinks the fewer visitors he has for a while the better for him. At the same time he knows your health is too feeble to allow you to take the trip and proposes that he and I should run down to Economy some day and call on you. This however would not work well and might serve to produce a relapse and I tell him "we will let well enough alone."

I think you need have no further uneasiness about him and may from this time on consider him as restored! I regard his longer

residence here as serving only to confirm the cure.

Yours respectfully J A Reed MD Supt of W P H for [the] Insane

[Endorsed in Baker's hand:] Letter Doct. Reed 8 July 1866

Opened in 1862, Dixmont was named in honor of the American philanthropist Dorothea Lynde Dix (1802-87), recently commemorated by a U.S. postage stamp, and it is certainly ironic that in August 1857 Baker and Henrici refused her request for one hundred acres of land on which she hoped to build a hospital for the insane. They considered such a grant the duty of the state of Pennsylvania, to which they gladly paid their taxes. While Reed's letters positively prove that Lenz was a patient in that institution for at least two weeks during which he regained his sanity, they reveal nothing about the specific reason for his confinement and its exact duration. Additional information is, however, available in some other documents. One is a German autograph by Lenz which translates as follows:

Harmony is named the place Inhabited by brethren and those who cannot render obedience obedience must needs leave the town of Harmony's confines Must

5

Must must be be, ——— or or The The bullet That I
Have Seen will Reach him. —
but since your beloved Henrici ci ci

10 Strives for the throne of God move him away away! not only [move him] away, but also do away with him when he sees me again, he will
Want to let it come to

15 a duel, and I would defeat him and annihilate him completely.
if I wanted to do so
J. Lenz [TR]

Quite uncharacteristically for Lenz, his handwriting in the original (see the facsimile accompanying this article) is marked by extreme fluctuations in the size of letters and words. Along with this, the compulsive repetition of certain words and syllables (lines 3, 5-6, 7, 9, 11) and a lack of logical progression are symptomatic of a mind in turmoil. The text offers some clues about the writer's obsession. The first two lines are actually a quotation from stanza three of the Harmonists' favorite hymn "Harmonie, du Bruderstadt [Harmony, thou town of brethren]," authored jointly by George Rapp and his adopted son Frederick (1755-1834).9 Immediately associated with this are unconditional obedience and the penalty of expulsion for those who disobey the society's commands (including that of strict celibacy). The deranged Lenz believes that the only way for him to avoid this penalty is to defeat Henrici, whom he seems to accuse of wanting to usurp God's throne. Recognized as a paragon of Harmonist discipline, Henrici is reported to have decorated the walls of his room exclusively with pictures testifying to "the ruinous influence of woman on man: Adam, Eve, Joseph and Potiphar etc."10 Lenz focuses on Henrici as his personal adversary because it is very likely he who was responsible for putting an end to Lenz's love relationship. Significantly, both letters from Reed to Baker, who was seriously ill during the entire summer of 1866 and could not leave Economy, 11 convey no greetings from Lenz to Henrici. Lenz's opposition to Henrici had existed for some years in connection with the Society's purchase of land in Venango County from the estate of the bankrupt William Davidson Sr. 12 Like many others, Lenz maintained that Henrici, after promising to return this land to Davidson, had decided to keep it when it proved to be rich with oil. Lenz was aware that Henrici's decision caused public opinion in the oil district to turn against the Harmony Society's trustees, and on 9 November 1864 Baker in Economy received an anonymous threatening letter containing a Minié ball. In order to keep it secret, Lenz was asked to carry this letter personally to Henrici in Tidioute. 13 That Minié ball is probably identical with "The bullet That I/Have Seen" (lines 7-8) on which his tormented mind is now fixated in the desperate desire to eliminate Henrici.

Similarly disjointed is a second autograph by Lenz. Translated it reads:

To the entire congregation

Peace be with you I beg
you do not strive against one another
and do not be distressed all will

be set aright, a greeting to
my mother Christina, [who is] with my
brother C[hristian] Lenz. my two little imps
Lisa and Maria are mine, I
frightened them when they tried to lie to me

my mother is supposed to see to that when they

follow me I will kiss them. my
dear friend Fri[e]drich God or rather Goll
not [Frederick] Rapp
Who knows how Economy would have fared
if it had not been for you
I thank you dear friend
Jonathan Lenz. [TR]

In a nonconfrontational mood, Lenz here exhorts his fellow Harmonists to avoid discord and to believe in a harmonious resolution of all (unspecified) difficulties. These underpunctuated lines center on people near and dear to him: his mother Christina (1769-1815), his brother Christina (1804-67), his two children Lisa and Maria, and his friend Friedrich Goll (1809-73). It is striking how Lenz refers to his deceased mother as though she were still alive like his brother, who died on 20 August 1867 in Economy, soon after the recovered Lenz had returned from Dixmont (see below). As far as I can ascertain, it is only in this less than coherent outpouring that his children are ever named.

The time frame of Lenz's confinement at Dixmont as well as its cause can be approximated from Balthaser Casper Henning's letters to Dr. Benjamin Feucht (1834-98), a medical practitioner in Allegheny. Born in 1833, B. C. Henning left Economy in 1854, six months after having attained his legal age. 14 From 1861 until 1870 he was employed as a mechanical foreman at the Harmony Society's Tidioute oil wells. B. C. Henning, his twin-brother Casper, Benjamin Feucht, and the latter's brother Heinrich (1837-1902) were pupils of Henrici, who also became the Feucht brothers' guardian when they were orphaned in 1847. After both Feucht brothers withdrew from the society in 1865, Benjamin Feucht and B. C. Henning maintained a regular correspondence, exchanging critical observations about the society while awaiting the time when its assets might be divided among its last surviving members and their legal heirs. In the following excerpts from Henning's English letters, the faulty grammar and orthography are transcribed exactly as found in the originals. It would seem that he did not avail himself of Henrici's offer to help him, his brother, and the two Feuchts perfect their command of English. 15 On 17 June 1866 Henning wrote to Benjamin Feucht:

Mr. Henrici has not been here to See us Since the last of February nether dose he think that he will be up here for some time. We expect Mr. Lenz here in a few days, he has been up here once Since Mr. Henrici has been.

Things here on this place is going the Same old Way and I have nothing speshel New to write [...]

From another letter<sup>16</sup> we know that it was not Lenz but Henrici who visited Tidioute (where he left shortly before 8 July) in late June of that year and

brought with him the news of Lenz's committal to Dixmont. We may therefore conclude either that on 17 June Lenz was not yet a patient at Dixmont or that word of his presence there had not yet reached Tidioute. Since a railroad connection between Beaver and Tidioute had recently been established<sup>17</sup> (whereas the telegraph line was not completed until September 1866<sup>18</sup>), notification by mail would have taken no more than a day. On 12 August 1866 Henning told Benjamin Feucht, "I understand Mr. L[enz] has returned to E[conomy] again Well." Dated at Zoar in Ohio on 9 August 1866, Jacob Ackermann's letter to R. L. Baker also mentions Lenz's restoration, of which Baker had informed the Zoarites on 3 August. Pointing to Lenz's fate as a warning example for anyone who disregards Christ's words to his disciples in Matthew 26: 41 ("Watch out and pray, that ye enter not into temptation: the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak."), Ackermann clearly implies that Lenz had been unable to resist the temptations of the flesh.

Henning's letter of 1 October 1866 includes this passage, evidently in response to Feucht's inquiry:

I will now Give you a Short history of the Woman talked of about Mr. L[enz]. Mr. Coutch her Brother in law, was living here on this place and she was living with him doing Washing for the Men emploied her[e] and also for Mr. L[enz] (this is about 5. years ago. or about the time I first lived her and worked hire for the E[conomy] people.[)] The Womans Name is Marey Williams. [She] was then about thirty five years of age. I have always knew that he was very intimat with her while here. and I have always thaught that Mr. H[enrici] Sent the Family away from here for that Reason. I have knowed Mr. L[enz] to take here in the Buggey out to the Sawmill about three miles distant from her to pick Black Berrys. Since the departure of that Family from here I have not knew much about it But I know that while the Family (Coutchs) lived at Oil City, that he. L[enz]. would stop there on his Way up hire, and down. the[y] are formerly from Indiana County near Ebensburg, where her Miss Williams Father now lives and very likely she is at home. I am therfor pretty Shure, that at the time he. [[onathan] L[enz] ran away from Esconomy] that he was bound on his way there to Williams. which is the right way Via Blairsville, this is about all I know about the Story going around, there for I have Considered that he was Woman struck, and nothing else would perfectly Cure him but a Wife. that I would Consider the best Medical advice for him.

So far I have been unable to obtain more conclusive information about Mary Williams, her family, and the Coutches. It is possible that the latter are related to S. L. Couch of West Lebanon, who wrote to R. L. Baker on 29 January 1866 on behalf of his son, recently returned from the Union army and now tending

a store for a firm in Oil City. According to the letter, this son as well as a Sarah Couch were debtors of the Harmony Society. Records in the Forest County courthouse in Tionesta show that on 9 May 1888 Henry Pilgrim Holt, a medical doctor, and Mary Margaret Williams were married by Rev. Steadman at her mother's home in East Hickory in Forest County, eight miles south of Tidioute. It is quite conceivable that she was the daughter of Jonathan Lenz and the Mary Williams referred to by B. C. Henning and later by Heinrich Feucht. Mary Margaret Williams was born on 1 August 1865 at Tidioute, nine months after Lenz had returned there in order to deliver to Henrici the above-mentioned anonymous letter containing a Minié ball. Henrici's response to R. L. Baker is dated 14 November 1864 and proves that Henrici received the minacious letter, along with Baker's initial reaction to it, on 12 November. According to T. R. Hennon's letters to Baker and Henrici, dated 4 and 15 December 1864, Lenz stayed in Tidioute until 8 December of that year.

Contrary to the *Pittsburgh Leader's* assertion quoted above, Lenz eventually did return to the oil region, but not until 1869, by then as the Society's junior trustee. On 19 October of that year Henning informed Feucht, "Mrss. H[enrici] & L[enz] arrived here last Thursday [i.e., 14 October], Henrici and [Michael] Killinger returned home [to Economy] the day following, Friday last. Mr. Lenz is here Staying a few Weeks, aparently taking a General look at Matters." And on 12 December Henning reported to Feucht, "Mr. Lenz pays us regular Visits Now in place of Mr. H[enrici]." This statement is confirmed by subsequent letters from Henning to Feucht. Whether Lenz had altogether renounced his love for Mary Williams (or another woman) would, however, seem questionable in light of this fragment he recorded in his letter book between two other entries dated 22 and 25 January 1869 respectively:

#### Dear Madam

I have longed for the day which again would furnish me with an opportunity of expressing to you, how highly I esteem you, and how fervent are the wishes which I intertain for your happiness. I am not given to the making of fine phrases, nor do fine phrases express the sentiments of the hart, and I know know that you you are the objets of my daily daily

The substantial accuracy of Henning's relation of 1 October 1866 is corroborated by Heinrich Feucht (also known as Henry Feicht). Unlike his elder brother Benjamin, Heinrich after leaving Economy was unable to find a satisfactory and steady livelihood for himself and his family. Regarded by some as a spendthrift and failure, he addressed to Henrici a long apologia on New Year's Day 1881. The following account is part of it.

Since you accused me so severely, the last time I visited you, of being a gossip and a prodigal etc., I want to offer you my written defense. I do not deny that I ever said those things, but one must always make a distinction between truth and falsehood, and now I want to tell you the real truth and nothing but the truth, so help me God. Twenty years ago, when Jacob Goll<sup>19</sup> and I were asked to take a team of oxen from Economy to Tidioute, we stopped at an inn named Plumer House, and when we were having supper a man asked us whether we were not from Economy. When both of us said that we were, he started to tell us that we were headed for the Economy Oil Wells in time for a big wedding where Jonathan Lenz would marry a woman by the name of Mary Williams, etc. But being a zealous member of the Harmony Society at that time, I told the man this must be a slanderous lie and I would stake my life on that. Still he insisted that the facts would bear him out. And when we arrived at the Wells, I mentioned to Balthaser Henning what the man had told us. And Balthaser told us, "You've got eyes for seeing and ears for hearing, and that's all I'll say." And after we had been there for a day, Lenz took us to a house in which there were two women, and he introduced us, "Those are my Economy boys etc." And if we had any laundry to be done we should give it to them. And if we felt like it, we could stay with them. Since the man of the house was on an errant for Henrici, [Lenz said] the women would be afraid of being alone. But Jacob Goll expressed no inclination to accept that invitation, and I said I would rather sleep in a cold bed in Bimber's<sup>20</sup> old shanty. And when we got up the next morning, we didn't find Lenz in his bed, and when we asked him whether he had the nightwatch he told us, "No, I stayed with the two women who were so terribly afraid." And when soon afterwards Jacob Goll had to marry his wife, he told the entire story to Catharina Baker, 21 who told R. L. Baker. And later when Lenz became deranged and had to go to Dixmont, R. L. Baker had me come from Bridgewater and asked me about this story. And when I had told him everything exactly as I have now described it for you, he asked me to kindly keep it to myself, and I promised to do so. However, when Magdalena Merkle<sup>22</sup> was looking after Helena [Reichert],23 she told [Michael] Killinger4 that Lenz had taken Mary Williams to her home in a small buggy, and Killinger then told others. He had also heard the whole story from Goll, and later I was said to be the source of that scandalous story. And now I am prepared to testify in a court of law that I was falsely blamed. I myself had a conversation about this matter with him [Lenz], as did my wife, but the only thing he said was that he would never in his life forgive me-which does not show much Christianity. When you Harmonists pray in church, you always say, "And forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us." But if I were in his position, I would fear that the Righteous Judge, with Whom there is no respect of persons and Who does not ask us whence we come but whither we are going, will say to me, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these of my brethren, ye have done it unto me, etc." [TR]

That Heinrich Feucht remembered so much so vividly after almost twenty years is quite plausible, considering the unusual nature of his and Jacob Goll's experiences on their first visit to Tidioute. Thanks to a series of letters their and Lenz's activities at that time are well documented.<sup>25</sup> On 26 November 1861 Feucht and Goll set out from Economy with a wagon and a team of oxen that were badly needed for hauling heavy equipment and clearing land at the society's oil wells. Because of the atrocious weather and singularly bad roads the two young teamsters' progress was difficult and slow. With the wagon and a rented team of horses Heinrich Feucht reached Tidioute on 4 December, while Goll and the unshod oxen arrived there the next day. Thus it had taken the two young travelers nine and ten days respectively to cover about 120 miles. From a letter Heinrich Feucht wrote to Baker and Henrici in Franklin at noon on 2 December, it follows that he and Goll stopped over at Plumer House<sup>26</sup> that night. Without the draft animals and wagon they departed from Tidioute on 16 December and returned by steamboat to Economy on 19 December.

Supervision of many mechanical installations in the initial stages of the Harmony Society's oil production necessitated Lenz's continuous presence in the Tidioute area. By the middle of August 1861 Lenz had been away from Economy for an entire year but insisted that his prolonged absence was still necessary to ensure the orderly operation of the wells.<sup>27</sup> Baker's frail health required Henrici's attention to business matters in Economy. The then rather circuitous railway connection between Economy and Tidioute (from Beaver via Cleveland and Erie to Irvine, then by stage or sleigh to Tidioute) as well as the lack of comfortable living quarters for the Harmonists and their help also made Henrici's visits to the area infrequent. Until the Society completed its own dwelling at Tidioute in December 1864, boarding houses were used for less than the communal living enjoyed at Economy.<sup>28</sup> Before construction began on an even bigger building in 1866, B. C. Henning offered this crude conjecture to Benjamin Feucht: "I have not heard any thing about the Economy people going to Build a large house here nor that the[y] were going to Move up here to Warren County. Very likely L[en]z would like to act the Stu[d] H[orse] among them Mades you see."29 All the circumstances still prevailing at Tidioute in 1861 seem to have conspired to lead Lenz into temptation. On 29 November he arrived there by the above-mentioned train and stage route. If one compares Lenz's written account of his activities during the next few days with that of Heinrich Feucht, a curious discrepancy emerges. In his letter of 4 December 1861 to R. L. Baker, Lenz reports that he had gone to Oil Creek (now Oil City) to look for Heinrich Feucht and Jacob Goll. After finding Goll and the two oxen one mile below Oil Creek, Lenz claims to have returned to Tidioute, where

he arrived on the evening of 3 December. Heinrich Feucht, however, states in his letter to Baker dated 9 December that Lenz met Goll on the morning of 4 December, who promptly sent word of that meeting to Feucht. If a wedding between Lenz and Mary Williams actually took place (as announced by the unidentified stranger in Plumer House, according to Heinrich Feucht's recollection in 1881), it could have been on 3 December 1861, possibly in Oil City. Unfortunately, since marriage licenses were not required in Pennsylvania until 1885, the county courts have no records of earlier marriages. Pleading urgent business as his reason for remaining in Tidioute over Christmas (in his letter to R. L. Baker, 23 December 1861), Lenz this time did not return to Economy before the middle of January, as evidenced by his letter of 9 January 1862 and Joseph Stevert's letter to R. L. Baker of 2 February 1862.

Heinrich Feucht's 1881 letter to Henrici shows how Lenz's secret liaison with Mary Williams was soon divulged to certain Harmonists in Economy, including R. L. Baker, who evidently did not pursue the matter until 1866. Although it is impossible to date precisely the several ways in which the story spread, Henry Feucht's references to Jacob Goll allow us to determine a terminus ante quem. When Mary Eisenbraun confessed that he was the father of her illegitimate child born on 22 December 1861, she and Goll were asked to leave Economy—the customary punishment for all probationary and regular members of the Harmony Society. Goll signed his release on 27 January 1862, the day of his departure. From the two newspaper items cited at the beginning of this paper, it is clear that Lenz's love affair and subsequent insanity also became known to outsiders, even if some of the details transmitted were changed in the process. And while Heinrich Feucht's denial of charges that he was responsible for spreading such knowledge may be justified, his brother Benjamin was less discreet. According to an anonymous German letter addressed to Lenz and dated Pittsburgh, 17 April 1875, Dr. Feucht had stated at various occasions "that you [Lenz] have a wife and children and therefore went to Dixmont, whither (he hopes) you will soon return." [TR]

Why was Jonathan Lenz exempted from the customary penalty of expulsion when his secret affair with Mary Williams became known to some Harmonists? Reports which, according to Heinrich Feucht, circulated in early 1862 were evidently ignored by the ailing Baker, who was already grooming Lenz for a trusteeship. When Lenz's affair came to light later and was promptly terminated by Henrici, Lenz's spell of insanity during the summer of 1866 must have lent itself to the convenient rationalization that his transgression had been an infatuation brought on by his deranged mind. And since Christ had treated such individuals as possessed by the devil, hence not accountable for any deeds done while mente captus, the Harmonists could do no less. Such an explanation of Lenz's lapse would of course have been far more expedient than convincing, but one must remember that the Harmony Society's leaders considered themselves privileged stewards in the biblical tradition (2 Kings 12:15 and 22:7) who were only as accountable to their membership as they chose to be, and that

expediency prevailed over principle and truth at several important junctures in the Society's history. When Baker died on 11 January 1868, membership had dwindled to 140, and while Lenz's subsequent performance as junior trustee of the rapidly senescent society may have justified Baker's pragmatism, it could not obliterate the memory of Lenz's illicit love affair that had led to his temporary insanity in the first place. For critical contemporaries this constituted living proof of the society's persistent double standard: one for its members and another for its leaders.

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#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Aaron Williams, *The Harmony Society, at Economy, Penna.* (Pittsburgh: W. S. Haven, 1866), 99-101.

<sup>2</sup> In an anonymous article entitled "A Prominent Economite," dated 24 Jan. 1890 and preserved in the Arndt Collection as a clipping from an unidentified newspaper.

<sup>3</sup> From the article "A Queer People," *The Pittsburgh Leader*, 10 August 1890. This is the second of two articles under that title, the first having appeared one week earlier.

<sup>4</sup> John S. Duss, *The Harmonists: A Personal History* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Book Service, 1943), 108.

<sup>5</sup> Karl J. R. Arndt, "The *Pittsburgh Leader's* Analysis of the 1890 Crisis in the Harmony Society and Its International Repercussions," Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine 55 (1972): 339.

<sup>6</sup> The eight volumes (including one that appeared posthumously) published by Arndt 1975-94

cover the Harmony Society's history up to January 1868.

<sup>7</sup> Unless otherwise specified, all documents cited are originals or copies in the Arndt Collection currently on loan to me. Upon completion of the *Documentary History of the Harmony Society*, the Collection will have a permanent place at the University of Southern Indiana in Evansville. *TR* indicates my own translations from German originals.

8 R. L. Baker and Jacob Henrici to Dorothy Lynde Dix, 10 Aug. 1857.

- <sup>9</sup> Cf. Karl J. R. Arndt, *George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1785-1847* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1865), 266. Six of the hymn's twelve stanzas, including the third, are translated in Duss (see n. 4) 417-18.
  - 10 Karl J. R. Arndt, George Rapp's Successors and Material Heirs, 1847-1916 (Rutherford:

Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 1971), 120.

<sup>11</sup> Jacob Henrici to Louise Weil, 10 Sept. 1866.

<sup>12</sup> The transactions and their repercussions, including litigation, are a subject of considerable complexity that deserves to be treated in a separate article. Arndt's account in *George Rapp's Successors and Material Heirs* (see n. 10) 70-82 relies exclusively on the Harmony Society trustees' version of the events.

<sup>13</sup> Mentioned in Lenz's undated reply to R. L. Baker's letter of 10 June 1867.

<sup>14</sup>Arndt includes him as a member in his posthumously published book *George Rapp's Disciples: Pioneers and Heirs: A Register of the Harmonists in America*, ed. Donald E. Pitzer and Leigh Ann Chamness (Evansville: U of Southern Indiana P, 1994), 107. Although born in the Society as the son of member parents, Henning was never a member himself. A statement he signed on 11 Sept. 1854 shows that he left Economy before completing the customary probationary period.

Jacob Henrici to B. C. and Casper Henning, 11 April 1854.
 Magdalena and Wilhelmina Merkle to R. L. Baker, 8 July 1866.
 Magdalena and Wilhelmina Merkle to R. L. Baker, 3 June 1866.

18 Jacob Henrici to R. L. Baker, 24 Sept. 1866.

<sup>19</sup> Born in 1841, he was asked to leave Economy soon after his return from Tidioute. R. L. Baker's letter to Lenz, dated 24 Dec. 1861, shows that Goll was never a member of the Harmony Society. Nevertheless Arndt's *George Rapp's Disciples* (see n. 14), 99, lists him as a member.

<sup>20</sup> Lewis Bimber, a nonmember employed at the Harmony Society's oil wells, was serving in

the Union army at this time.

<sup>21</sup> Actually Catharina Langenbacher (1800-74), sister of Gottlieb Romelius Langenbacher, who

Anglicized his name into R. L. Baker to facilitate his function in the business world.

<sup>22</sup> A nonmember, she came to Economy shortly after 30 Sept. 1861 to care for the bedridden Helena Reichert until the end of 1863. Magdalena's mother, Wilhelmina Merkle in Tidioute, was a niece of Frederick Rapp.

<sup>23</sup> A chronically invalid Harmonist (1827-67) who required constant nursing care in Economy.

<sup>24</sup> A Harmonist (1805-77) characterized elsewhere as a notorious busybody.

<sup>25</sup> Jacob Henrici to John B. Nichol, 25 Nov. 1861; Henry Feucht to Baker and Henrici, 2 Dec. 1861; Jonathan Lenz to R. L. Baker, 4 Dec. 1861; Jonathan Lenz to R. L. Baker, 6 Dec. 1861; Jacob Goll to friends and acquaintances in Economy, 9 Dec. 1861; Jonathan Lenz to R. L. Baker, 16 Dec. 1861; Jonathan Lenz to R. L. Baker, 19 Dec. 1861; R. L. Baker to Jonathan Lenz, 20 Dec. 1861.

<sup>26</sup> In his letter to Henrici, dated 6 March 1855, Jonathan Lenz reports that he walked from Franklin to Plumer House, then took a sleigh to Tidioute and arrived there at 6:00 p.m. on the same

day.

<sup>27</sup> Jonathan Lenz to R. L. Baker, 17 July and 13 Aug. 1861.

<sup>28</sup> Jonathan Lenz to R. L. Baker, 20 Nov. 1860.

<sup>29</sup> B. C. Henning to Benjamin Feucht, 7 Apr. 1866.

<sup>30</sup> For examples besides the above-mentioned contentious issue of the oil-rich lands acquired from William Davidson Sr., see Karl J. R. Arndt, "A Pious Fraud: Rapp's 1805 Harmony Society Articles of Association," Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine 68 (1985): 277-86; Karl J. R. Arndt, comp. and ed., George Rapp's Years of Glory: Economy on the Ohio, 1834-1847, George Rapp's Third Harmony: A Documentary History (New York: Lang, 1987), 899-900.

# L. Allen Viehmeyer

# The Bruderlied and the Schwesterlied of the Ephrata Cloister

#### 1. The Bruderlied and the Schwesterlied 1

The brothers and sisters of the Ephrata Cloister community had been writing and publishing congregational hymns for many years when the so-called *Bruderlied* and *Schwesterlied* were published in 1756. These two "hymns" are unique in the history of hymn writing at the cloister. Their uniqueness lies in their collaborative approach, parallelism, length, musical setting and, more intriguingly, their editing history.

## 2. Ephrata Cloister

The Ephrata Cloister community had its beginnings in the late 1720s when Conrad Beissel (Vater Friedsam, 1691-1768²) moved into a solitary's cabin located on Rudolf Nägely's farm in the Conestoga, Pennsylvania area.³ Beissel's charismatic personality drew many spiritually hungry Germans, and in the course of the next eight to ten years a nearby site on the Cocalico Creek, a dozen miles north of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, was developed for housing and otherwise sustaining the religious enthusiasts. In the late 1730s this site was dubbed Ephrata,⁴ and it is known today as the Ephrata Cloister.

Hymn singing and hymn writing were major activities for Beissel and most, if not all, community members. The early group published its first hymnbook, the *Göttliche Liebes und Lobes gethöne*, on the Franklin press in 1730 and issued some dozen titles until the last hymnbook, the *Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel*, was printed by the brotherhood in 1766.<sup>5</sup>

# 3. Evolution of Ephrata Music

# Ephrata Music Prior to Ludwig Blum

Although specific information is lacking, the Chronicon Ephratense makes abundantly clear the fact that music performance (and assumedly music

composition) was radically changed in 1739-40 through innovations made by Ludwig Blum (1714?-1751?). Hymn singing was an important part of life and worship in all sectarian groups in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. The *Chronicon Ephratense* mentions events in the 1720s at which hymn singing took place. Names for several tunes in the 1730 *Liebes und Lobes gethöne* indicate that Vater Friedsam and perhaps others in the group were composing a few new tunes for these new hymns, although most of the new hymns were being sung to traditional European tunes. No music manuscripts with tunes for hymnbooks published during the decade prior to 1740 have come down to us. Perhaps none ever existed. Nor are there any good clues about performance of these tunes. Hymn singing in the decade from 1730 to 1740 by members of the Ephrata community was probably unison.

## **Ludwig Blum**

Ludwig Blum is said to have been a trained musician, and as far as we know, possibly the only person at the cloister with any knowledge of music theory. <sup>10</sup> The exact nature of the "artistic pieces" he showed Vater Friedsam is unknown. <sup>11</sup> Well-known, on the other hand, is the fact that music composition at the cloister was never the same after that episode. The facts that all surviving Ephrata music manuscripts are dated after 1740; <sup>12</sup> that all are written in four part harmony; <sup>13</sup> that Vater Friedsam's treatise on music discusses harmony; <sup>14</sup> that Heinrich Sangmeister (Ezechial, 1723-84) talks about the introduction of "note singing" <sup>15</sup> all point to harmony as the innovation Blum brought to Vater Friedsam's attention. Blum's contribution was probably not so much the concept of harmony as the knowledge to implement it and write it down. <sup>16</sup>

#### Turtel = Taube Series

The Weyrauchs Hügel, the last hymnbook published by the Ephrata community on an outside press, appeared in 1739. Much controversy revolved around the publication of this hymn collection. While the Sauer-Vater Friedsam public quarrel is well documented, 17 there must have been a significant discussion about the content of this hymnbook since it departed considerably from the previous standard. Many pieces in this publication were not authored by members of the community. 18 All of the Ephrata hymnbooks up to this one contained only pieces written by community members. After the Weyrauchs Hügel more time than usual lapsed before the next hymnbook, the Gesäng der einsamen und verlassenen Turtel = Taube, was printed in 1747. This was the first in a long series of Ephrata hymnbooks extending until 1762. All of the hymnbooks in the Turtel = Taube series 19 are characterized by containing exclusively texts by community members; sung to compositions in four part harmony written exclusively by Vater Friedsam (perhaps one or two others);

performed only by members of the community in their worship ceremonies at Ephrata and probably at revival meetings they organized.

#### 4. Text

The *Bruderlied* and the *Schwesterlied* were conceived as companion pieces and exhibit many outward parallelisms. They are written in four-line stanzas of iambic tetrameter with rhymed couplets. Respectively, each hymn extols the ideology of brotherly love and sisterly love as can be seen in the following stanzas:

### From Bruderlied, 1756

16. O liben Brüder dencket nach! was Bruderlib ein hohe Sach: dann alhier gilt kein andrer Schein und lebte man auch Engel=rein.

17. Seht! was dis vor ein hoher Staat, so Bruder=Liebe in sich hat: Dieweil der Kleine wird erhöht, dem Gröseren nichts an Ehr entgeht.

18. Hier ist der Zierat Jesus Christ, wo eins des andern Schönheit ist: O! wie thut es so schöne stehn, wo nichts als Bruder=Lieb zu sehn.

# From Schwesterlied, 1756

- 11. Die Schwester = Liebe hat den Preiß, sie führet uns ins Paradeis; Sie ist der Braut = Schmuck jener Welt, die Zierde, so Gott selbst gefällt.
- 12. Sie ist der edle Lilien = Zweig, so grünet aus in Gottes Reich: Ja auch das schöne Rosen = Feld, das hier erscheint im Jammer = Zelt.
- 13. Ob gleich der Dornstich noch dabey, die Lieb, so einmal recht getreu: Wird nur noch mehr dadurch entzündt. O süse Lieb! O Gottes=Kind.

# Original 1756 Printing

Initially, these poems were conceptualized as independent publications with their own dated, separate title pages, prologues, epilogues and page numbers. With 311 quatrains for the *Bruderlied* and 272 for the *Schwesterlied*, these hymns are exceptionally long by Ephrata norms. Indeed, the next longest hymn in the Ephrata collection is Vater Friedsam's "Die heilige Einheit" with 45 quatrains. <sup>20</sup> Sporadically throughout the text stanza numbers are printed double size. This typographic practice tends to break up the hymn into sections, giving the *Bruderlied* 19 and the *Schwesterlied* 18 sections. These sections, however, are not uniform in length, varying from 4 to 30 quatrains. The following stanza numbers are printed double size:

Bruderlied: 1 16 31 46 76 90 103 120 130 134 144 158 172 187 215

233 246 266 278 294

Schwesterlied: 1 11 26 53 64 81 98 109 130 147 155 168 184 199 217

226 243 251 257

Today, all known copies of the original 1756 edition of these hymns are bound with the *Nachklang zum Gesäng der einsamen Turtel = Taube* 1755 (111 pages) and the *Nachgesammelter Anhang* (no date; 18 pages). Despite their separate title pages and page numbering, it is unlikely that the *Bruderlied* and the *Schwesterlied* were ever bound separately, or even just the two together, but normally with the *Nachklang* and the *Nachgesammelter Anhang*. Binding all four short pieces together in a single volume was surely more practical and more economical than individual bindings.

# Reprint in 1762 Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch

Whenever a major hymnbook was printed by the brotherhood, many previously printed hymns were printed intermixed with the new pieces. The first major hymnbook printed after the original edition of the *Bruderlied* and the *Schwesterlied* was the last in the *Turtel=Taube* series—the *Neu=vermehrtes* Gesängbuch der einsamen Turtel=Taube in 1762. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the *Bruderlied* and the *Schwesterlied* reprinted in this hymnbook.

Incorporating these independent publications into the body of another publication required some modifications. Ephrata hymns have no distinctive titling, yet these two retained in part the titles found on the 1756 title pages. The prologues were modified, but are still present. The Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch is divided into three sections: 1) Friedsam's hymns 2) Brothers' and sisters' hymns 3) Householders' hymns.<sup>21</sup> The editor of the Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch placed the Bruderlied and the Schwesterlied appropriately together at the end of

the second section. By placing the Schwesterlied before the Bruderlied, however,

the order of the pieces is reversed from that of the original printing.

While reprinting a hymn was standard practice at the Cloister, shortening a hymn by deleting stanzas was not the norm.<sup>22</sup> In the *Bruderlied* the editor's single, contiguous cut eliminated the last stanza from the eighth section, the entire ninth section and approximately the first half of the tenth section, i.e., stanzas 129 through 140. In the *Schwesterlied* the single cut eliminated stanzas 83 through 90 of the original. This was in a section that ran originally from 81 through 97. Eliminating stanzas naturally caused a shift in the numbering of the remaining stanzas. This editor, however, was careful to use large numbers to retain the original sectioning of the text, regardless of the stanza number.

# Reprint in 1766 Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel

The second and last reprint of the *Bruderlied* and the *Schwesterlied* is found in the 1766 *Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel*, the final hymnbook produced by the community. The major purpose of this publication seems to be a complete collection of the community's hymns. While there are some new pieces in this hymnbook, most of the pieces had been published earlier. Instead of the three-part division used in the *Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch*, the *Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel* is divided into four parts. Instead of putting the brothers' and sisters' hymns together in the same section, they appear here in separate sections: 1) Friedsam's hymns 2) Brothers' hymns 3) Sisters' hymns 4) Householders' hymns. Appropriately, the *Bruderlied* comes at the end of the brothers' section and the *Schwesterlied* at the end of the third section.

The shortening of the Bruderlied and the Schwesterlied was more severe in the Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel than in the Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch. The Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel editor probably went back to the original version before making cuts, since, at least in the Schwesterlied, stanzas eliminated in Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch were retained in Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel. Two separate sets of stanzas were eliminated for the Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel reprint of the Schwesterlied: original stanzas 33-51 and 90-96. In the Bruderlied four separate cuts were made: original stanzas 93-103, 120-41, 152-74, 264-300. Moreover, the editor of Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel eliminated the large numbers for marking sections as well as minimizing the titles and prologues.

#### 5. Music

# **Ephrata Music Manuscripts**

Cloister scribes produced manuscripts of music to accompany the community's hymnbooks. Ephrata music manuscripts have generally the same basic layout. Three sets of musical staffs are ruled across a double page. The pages are numbered only in the upper corner of the left-hand page. There are

four staffs per set, one each for soprano, alto, tenor, and bass voices, utilizing the respective clef. Over each set, the initial words of the hymn are written followed by the page number in the text-only book where the hymn appears. In the case of the *Bruderlied* and the *Schwesterlied*, the stanza number appears where the page number for the text-only book is expected.

# Music Manuscripts for Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch

Three virtually identical manuscripts of music for the *Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch* hymnbook exist. One is found in the Library of Congress.<sup>23</sup> The second is located in the library of Juniata College.<sup>24</sup> The third is found at the Snow Hill Cloister.<sup>25</sup> The handwriting in the Library of Congress copy is of a higher quality than the writing in the Juniata copy. The symmetry of presentation of music for the *Bruderlied* and the *Schwesterlied* is enhanced by the fact that both hymns consist of twelve tunes on four pages (three tunes to a page) plus the finale ("Nachklang Weiß" / "Schluß = Weiß") alone on a separate page in the middle set of staffs.

#### Bruderlied Music

The music for the *Bruderlied* itself appears on the same pages of all three copies, i.e., pages 38-41. The finale, "Nachklang Weiß," appears alone on the middle set of staffs on page 42. The Library of Congress and the Juniata College manuscripts ascribe tunes to the following twelve stanzas of the *Bruderlied:* 1, 31, 46, 76, 103, 120, 158, 187, 215, 246, 266, 294 plus the "Nachklang Weiß." The Juniata College copy, however, reveals that someone corrected these stanza numbers to fit the corresponding stanza numbers in the *Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch* version of the *Bruderlied*. That person crossed out the original number and often wrote the *Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch* number in the empty space on the left margin. Identical corrections seem to be present in the Snow Hill copy.

#### Schwesterlied Music

Music for the Schwesterlied is found in the same manuscripts as the music for the Bruderlied. The Library of Congress, the Juniata College and Snow Hill manuscripts present the Schwesterlied on pages 33-36 with the "Schluß = Weiß" alone on the middle set of staffs on page 37. Originally, the music was for stanzas 1, 26, 53, 81, 98, 131, 155, 168, 184, 199, 226 and 251. As in the case of the Bruderlied, these numbers were corrected later to correspond with the stanza numbers in Neu = vermehrtes Gesängbuch.

In addition to these music books specifically for the Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch, there is a manuscript at Snow Hill containing tunes for Turtel=Taube hymns with a few miscellaneous items at the end. Among these

eclectic pieces are the *Schwesterlied* tunes with original verse numbering. The tunes for the *Bruderlied*, however, are not present.<sup>26</sup>

# 6. Authorship

## Authorship Attribution of Ephrata Hymn Texts

Following the example of most nonorthodox hymnbooks, the authors of the hymns published by the Ephrata community between 1730 and 1762 are not identified. The editor of the 1762 Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch deviated from this practice, however, by placing the authors' initials at the head of nearly every hymn. Likewise, the 1763 manuscript hymnbook Libliche Lider identifies the writer of virtually every hymn, not cryptically by initials, but by the cloister name spelled out in full. The last hymnbook produced on the brotherhood press, the 1766 Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel, however, does not identify the writer of each hymn, and so reverts to the earlier editorial style. The title page of the 1754 Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel<sup>27</sup> reveals that Vater Friedsam is the author of the contents, but only cryptically. General authorship of the Bruderlied and the Schwesterlied is only suggested on the title pages: . . . alles aus der brüderlichen Gesellschafft in Bethania, . . . alles aus der schwesterlichen Gesellschafft in Saron.

While Ephrata hymns were published for years without identification of authorship, this practice was gradually changed between 1754 and 1763. Perhaps a concern arose that the knowledge of authorship identity was being lost. Moreover, several copies of the 1747 Turtel = Taube and an occasional copy of the 1766 Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel have handwritten marginal notations ascribing authorship to many hymns.<sup>28</sup>

# Authorship of the Bruderlied and the Schwesterlied

Authorship notations to the *Bruderlied* and the *Schwesterlied* are found in the margins of two copies of the original print as well as in a copy of the 1766 *Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel.*<sup>29</sup> These author attributions confirm what is implied in the title by the word "alles," namely, that the *Bruderlied* and the *Schwesterlied*<sup>30</sup> consist of several sets of quatrains composed by numerous brothers and sisters, respectively.

#### Bruderlied

Authorship attributions are found in the margins or between the lines of two printings of the *Bruderlied*. The Spohn and Historical Society of Pennsylvania copies of the original 1756 printing contain twenty-three notations. Twenty-one brothers are cited once and Vater Friedsam is cited twice. These notations are crudely made by perhaps a blunt quill pen. The spelling and/or abbreviation of the names makes identification today of several names very

tenuous. Marginalia are also present in the copy of the 1766 *Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel* in the Speer Library. These notations are extremely clear (probably made with a very fine steel pen), and help clarify or confirm notations in the Spohn copy. While most of the same names appear throughout both sets of marginalia, their parallelism disappears about one third of the way through the text with quatrain 103.<sup>31</sup>

#### Schwesterlied

Two copies of the original *Schwesterlied* printing contain authorship identifications in marginalia. In the Spohn copy, the same person who notated the *Bruderlied* used the same pen to jot sisters' names in the margins. In the Historical Society of Pennsylvania copy, a person using a broad quill point carefully lettered the sisters' names in the margin, but appears to have been interrupted after quatrain 175 and never finished the project. There is a much greater correlation between the two sets of marginalia for the *Schwesterlied* than for the *Bruderlied*. The only deviation in the Schwesterlied has to do with the name Anastasia.<sup>32</sup> In the Spohn copy this name appears next to quatrain 164; the name Liduina appears in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania copy. The person annotating the Historical Society of Pennsylvania copy wrote Anastasia next to quatrain 27, although no name appears there in the Spohn copy.<sup>33</sup>

### Summary

Marginalia in some copies of the *Bruderlied* and *Schwesterlied* confirm what is implied on the title pages by the words "alles aus der . . . ," namely, that multiple authors collaborated in creating these hymns. Due to conflicting or indiscernible marginalia, however, there is no conclusive evidence pointing to which person, especially brothers, wrote many a section. While the hymns are divided into sections by oversize stanza numerals in the print, occasionally several names appear within a section. While the twelve musical compositions correspond to twelve sections marked by oversize numerals, there are more sections than compositions.

#### 7. Considerations

# Impetus for the Bruderlied and the Schwesterlied

What was the purpose of creating these companion hymns of extraordinary length? They share the common theme of brotherly love and sisterly love. Most if not all brothers living in Bethania and sisters living in Saron at that time collaborated on these hymns. It is possible that this hymn project was conceived as an attempt to heal internal strife and renew a sense of unity and purpose after a long period of discord among the celibates.

During the ten years prior to the original 1756 printing of the hymns there had been constant tension between Vater Friedsam and some brothers and some sisters.34 Since Vater Friedsam had evicted Israel Eckerlin (Onesimus, 1705-after 1757), the prior, in September 1745 and reasserted his authority, the community had been divided into Eckerlin supporters and detractors. The prior over the brothers living in Bethania changed five times between Israel Eckerlin's departure and Peter Müller's second appointment in 1756.35 All indications are that Vater Friedsam and Anna Eicher (Mutter Maria, 1710-84), the prioress in Saron, were constantly at odds. Israel Eckerlin bribed Mutter Maria to intercede for him with Vater Friedsam, but the ploy did not work, and Vater Friedsam prevailed.36 Although Vater Friedsam had had complete access to Saron at the time, Mutter Maria soon forbade him to enter the sisters' convent.<sup>37</sup> The years 1751 and 1752 saw bumper crops at the cloister, but the next three years brought drought and meager harvests, which the brothers claimed was due to the long-running dispute with Vater Friedsam. Only after Vater Friedsam had reconciled himself with the brothers, was there another bounteous harvest-in 1756.38

## Musical Aspects

Ostensively, these two inordinately long hymns were performed, since music specifically for them exists. The performance of an entire hymn must have lasted several hours. Perhaps there were alternating choirs. On what occasions would such lengthy hymns be appropriate? Perhaps these hymns were sung during love feasts.<sup>39</sup> Perhaps they were sung during day-long marches to sites for revival meetings.<sup>40</sup>

The preparation of the music book for the 1762 Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch indicates that the shortening of the Bruderlied and Schwesterlied texts had not been anticipated. The original stanza numbering in the music book was that of the 1756 printing. The change in stanza numbering in the printed text was eventually corrected in some but not all music books by drawing a line through the original stanza number and writing in the number used in the Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch edition. There are no music books for the 1766 Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel, since all of the hymns in this collection had been published previously and music books for these publications already existed.

# **Shortened Reprints**

When these hymns were reprinted in the Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch and the Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel the editor(s) removed certain passages with the result that the reprinted versions are shorter, but not significantly shorter. Why did the editor(s) excise portions from the middle of the hymns, if length was the only consideration? Why were these portions chosen for elimination? What prompted the abridgement of these hymns, when no other hymn had ever been reduced?

Because the editor of the Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch eliminated a single group of quatrains from both the Bruderlied and the Schwesterlied reducing their length may have been the primary concern. In the Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel, however, the quatrains which had been removed in 1762 were restored and new, multiple cuts were made. Since these new cuts are of a different nature, the editor's rationale must have been different. While the marginalia cannot be trusted completely, both annotated sources do indicate that Mutter Maria was the author of the section beginning with 34 and ending at 50, exactly the section that was cut from the 1766 Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel reprint of the Schwesterlied.

The relationship between Vater Friedsam and Mutter Maria had had its ups and downs over the years, but its nadir was reached in 1764 when Vater Friedsam had her deposed after serving some thirty years as prioress.<sup>41</sup> The office of prioress was transferred to Barbara Mayer (Jael, 1712-87) although not the title "Mutter." Vater Friedsam's action stemmed from his outrage at Mutter Maria's dealings with land titles to cloister property.<sup>42</sup> Not only had Maria secretly offered Samuel Eckerlin (Jephune, 1705-82) two hundred pounds sterling for the land title, but she had proposed that Saron become totally independent.<sup>43</sup> Vater Friedsam's utter contempt for her is surely at the root of the expurgation of her contribution to the *Schwesterlied* in the 1766 *Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel* reprint.

The disappearance of all of Mutter Maria's hymns from the 1766 Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel is, however, an overwhelming indication of her fall from favor. Previously, a total of nineteen hymns by Mutter Maria had appeared in various hymnbooks, but not one single hymn by her was reprinted in the Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel. And she is the only sister whose hymns are not in the Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel.

In the case of the brothers involved in the title dispute similar evidence is just as dramatic. Participants in the original sale of cloister property were Israel, Samuel, and Emmanuel Eckerlin (Elimelich, dates unknown); Jacob Gass (Lamech, ??-1764) and Peter Müller (who removed himself from ownership early by scratching out his signature). A feud over property ownership erupted in 1764 after all of the signatories were dead except Samuel Eckerlin, who was no longer living at the cloister. When Samuel Eckerlin tried to assert his ownership claims in 1764, Christian Eckstein (Gideon, 1717-87) joined with Maria Eicher to obtain the property for themselves. Halthough Martin Kroll (Haggi, 1714-93) was not directly involved in the original deception, he was one of the brothers who went to Samuel Eckerlin's aid in this litigation, thus opposing Vater Friedsam.

Looking at the *Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel* version of the *Bruderlied*, the first set of quatrains to be removed was written by someone whose initials in the margin are indiscernible. The second set overlaps with that removed in the earlier *Neu=vermehrtes Gesängbuch*. While these attributions are difficult to read with certainty, a brother Melchi (dates unknown) seems to have penned at least some of the lines that were cut. The third set of quatrains eliminated were

probably written by Martin Kroll (Groll), and the last set is attributed clearly to brother Gideon.

Brothers whose hymns were not reprinted in the 1766 Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel are Gideon (Eckstein), Haggai (Kroll), Lamech (Gass), Melchi, and Simon König. Eckstein, Kroll and Gass were certainly major figures in the land feud. Were the others involved as well? Their involvement in the land title dispute surely explains why hymns by these brothers printed in earlier hymnbooks were not reproduced in the Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel.

#### 8. Conclusion

Strife among community members at Ephrata was rampant in the 1740s as the cloister underwent radical changes. Surely the celibates were eager to transcend these mundane irritants and purse their spiritual longings. The Bruderlied and the Schwesterlied project was one way to reconcile differences and move toward greater harmony. The publication of these hymns in 1756 was a significant event. When these two hymns were reprinted in 1762 they were shortened for no perceivable reason other than economy. While the 1766 Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel appears to be the final repository for all the hymns ever written by the community, a careful cataloging of its content reveals that Maria Eicher's hymns and the hymns by Christian Eckstein, Martin Kroll, Jacob Gass, Melchi and Simon König are missing. The single commonality among these people was their direct participation in the feud about cloister land titles which erupted in 1764, one year after the Libliche Lider (containing six new Eicher hymns) and two years before the Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel. There can be little doubt that their deceptive acts led to the expurgation of their hymns from that hymnbook.45 Not only were their hymns removed from the Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel, but the segments they wrote for the Bruderlied and the Schwesterlied were likewise expunged. Ironically, a lack of genuine love among cloister members is amply demonstrated in the final edition of the Bruderlied and the Schwesterlied.

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#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Short titles are used throughout as a convenience. Complete information for all Ephrata hymnbooks is listed below in "Works Cited."

<sup>2</sup> Cloister names or spiritual names and dates when known are given within parentheses. There is some confusion about the given names and the birth date of the founder of the Ephrata community. In the earliest secondary literature he is called Conrad Beissel. The earliest use of "Johann" with Conrad seems to be in Rattermann (1914) who does not tell us why he uses "Johann." Since 1914 Beissel is sometimes called "Conrad" and sometimes "Johann Conrad." Indeed, Walter Klein (1942) entitled his study *Johann Conrad Beissel: Mystic and Martinet.* C. Richard Beam (Schindler

1985, p. 75) reports in the "Afterword," that "The original baptismal record as kindly supplied by Buergermeister Horst Schlesinger of Eberbach lists March 1, 1691 as the date of birth of 'Georg Conrad Beusel.' The date of baptism was March 4, 1691." Beissel's tombstone reads in part "...

genannt Conrad Beissel . . . 77 Jahr 4 Monat."

<sup>3</sup> Chronicon Ephratense, 33. A major source for information about the Ephrata community is the Chronicon Ephratense 1786. All citations are from Hark's translation. According to the Chronicon Ephratense, Rudolf Nägely (Joiada, 1697?-1765) was a Mennonite preacher, baptized by Beissel in May 1725, who joined the Ephrata Community in 1739.

<sup>4</sup>The word "Ephrata" was first used to refer to the community on the Cocalico at the end of

the "Vorrede" in the Weyrauchs Hügel 1739.

<sup>5</sup>Two later hymnbooks related to the Ephrata community exist (Ausbund geistlicher Lieder, gestellt in der Gemeinde an Antitum and Ausbund Geistreicher Lieder), but their contents probably originated with authors at the daughter institution in Antietam and are not traditionally included in discussion of hymns written by the earlier generation at Ephrata. See both Martin and Seachrist.

<sup>6</sup>The major source for information about Ludwig Blum is Dorothy Duck (1988). Blum's death date and age are unknown, but his will was dictated on 20 March 1751. It was signed with "a very shaky 'LB'" (Duck, 24). A birth date of 1714 is pure conjecture (so too Duck's date of 1702 [10]), assuming an age of 25 when his first wife, with whom he had one daughter, died at the Ephrata Cloister in 1739 (Cloister death records). His father, Johannes Blum, (and assuming his mother and he) arrived in Philadelphia on the ship *Albany* on 4 September 1728 (Duck, 3). Ludwig's young age (14 [Viehmeyer], not 26 [Duck]) would then account for his name not appearing on the ship's passenger list.

<sup>7</sup>Hymn singing at a love feast on Whit-Monday 1727 is mentioned, *Chronicon Ephratense*, 36.

<sup>8</sup> Examples of European tunes in early Ephrata hymnbooks are "Auf, auf, mein Hertz, ermuntre dich" and "Entfernet euch ihr matten Kräffte"; Ephrata tunes are e.g.: "O Himmlische

Wollust" and "Das freudige Lallen der Kinder allhier."

<sup>9</sup> Some manuscripts contain tunes for some hymns in the Weyrauchs Hügel, but there is no manuscript which was produced exclusively for the Weyrauchs Hügel. There are no extant manuscripts whatsoever for the 1730 Göttliche Liebes und Lobes gethöne, the 1732 Vorspiel der Neuen

Welt nor the 1736 Jacobs Kampff- und Ritter-Platz.

10 Ludwig's father Johannes was evidently an organist. "...when purchasing land or making out his will [Johann] called himself an organist" (Duck, 5). The estate inventory of 1 November 1759 includes "a musical instrument" among his possessions (Duck, 6). This instrument was probably an organ. If Ludwig Blum had training as a musician, it was probably provided by his father. Unlike his father, no reference by himself or by others calls Ludwig a musician (he was at various times a farmer, stocking maker, tavern keeper, etc.). The only exception, of course, is the passage in the Chronicon Ephratense (160). If Ludwig was trained by his father, then it is likely that he was trained at a keyboard, which probably gave him some insight into homophony. Hyperbole such as Alderfer (73) "Ludwig Blum . . . evidently had a solid formal musical training" should be approached with caution.

11 "kunstreiche Stücke," Chronicon Ephratense, 160.

<sup>12</sup> The earliest dated music manuscript is the Zionitischer Rosen = Garten 1744, now located at the Ephrata Cloister.

<sup>13</sup> Music manuscripts with five part harmony (STABB) are rare and seem to be special "presentation" books: ECC, ECZRG, LCE, MBV, MMA, PPC, SDA, WMF, ZRG (see Viehmeyer). Uncertain is how many of these manuscripts are copies, how many are unique. The handful of arrangements in six and seven parts are in the 1754 Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel.

14 "Eine / Sehr deutliche / Beschreibung wie sich dieses hohe und wichtige / Werck dieser unserer geistlichen / Sing = Arbeit / Geboren, und was der Nutzen von der / Gantzen Sach sey. / Gegeben / von einem Friedsamen und nach / Der stillen Ewigkeit wallenden Pilger." In Zionitischer

Rosen = Garten 1744. This is the earliest known copy of the treatise.

<sup>15</sup> "Im Anfang vom 3ten Monden [1743], hat der V. Friedsam ihrem Sagen nach, die hohe Singkunst heraus und an den Tag geben; (—oder das närrische Notensingen möchte man sagen—)" Sangmeister, 36. Note that Sangmeister did not arrive at the Cloister until 1748, which accounts for "ihrem Sagen nach." See Blakely.

<sup>16</sup> It is also possible that Blum introduced the concept of antiphonal singing or at least its practice. Blum may also have introduced ideas about training the voice. Duck (3) assumes harmony is meant, but gives no rationale.

<sup>17</sup> Chronicon Ephratense, 103-4; Christoph Sauer (1695-1758), Abgenöthigter Bericht.

<sup>18</sup> Of the 657 hymns published in the Weyrauchs Hügel only 122 (18%) were by Ephrata community members. The majority of the hymns were compositions by German-Europeans.

<sup>19</sup> The "Turtel = Taube series" consists of those hymnbooks and their supplements printed between 1747 and 1762, viz. Gesäng der einsamen und verlassenen Turtel = Taube, 1747; Gesäng der einsamen und verlassenen Turtel = Taube [1749?]; Nachklang zum Gesäng der einsamen Turtel = Taube, 1755; Neuer Nachklang des Gesängs der einsamen Turtel = Taube [1756?], Nachgesammelter Anhang [1756]; Neu = vermehrtes Gesäng der einsamen Turtel = Taube, 1762.

<sup>20</sup> Paradisisches Wunder = Spiel, 38-41, Hymn 53.

<sup>21</sup>Most of the people living in the Ephrata community belong to one of three orders: Celibate Brotherhood, Celibate Sisterhood, Householders. Householders were married couples who lived on farms surrounding the cloister. Householders sometimes divorced and resided then in the living quarters appropriate for their gender. Widows and widowers of households often moved into celibate quarters. While most celibates had cloister or spiritual names, householders are generally known by their given names, although they, too, occasionally took spiritual names. All the hymnbooks printed by the brotherhood are designed so that the orders are represented in their own sections. The hymns of the celibate brothers appear in one section, while the hymns of the celibate sisters appear in a different section, and householders have their section. Within each section the hymns occur in alphabetical order of first line.

<sup>22</sup>No other examples of shortening are known. There is just a handful of hymns which were lengthened after the original printing, most by one stanza, e.g.: "Ach Gott, wie mancher bittrer Schmertz" and "Der Tag von Freuden voll." The hymn "Mein Hertz ist in Gott verliebt" is exceptional with the addition of four stanzas. All instances of lengthening are appending to the end

of the original. There are no examples of insertion.

Library of Congress music manuscript M 2116 .E6 1772.
 Juniata College Library, Huntingdon, PA. 093 EB83 1762g.

<sup>25</sup>Snow Hill Cloister, Quincy, PA. Seachrist item DS-029. The Snow Hill Cloister is a daughter institution of the Ephrata Cloister founded in 1798. Today, the cloister is private property and access is extremely limited. The brothers and sisters at Snow Hill preserved and emulated the music traditions begun at Ephrata.

<sup>26</sup> Seachrist item DS-009.

<sup>27</sup> The 1754 Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel should not be confused with the 1766 Paradisisches Wunder=Spiel. These are two completely different books. The earlier book is a unique collection of "Chor=Gesänge." All of these pieces are through-composed arrangements of all kinds of texts including the Song of Solomon, the Song of Moses, etc. It is the only attempt to bring music and text together on the same page. The later book is a typical cloister hymnbook.

28 See Viehmeyer.

<sup>29</sup>One copy is in the private library of Mr. Clarence Spohn; the other is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. This copy of the *Paradisisches Wunder-Spiel* is in the Speer Library, Princeton, NJ.

30 In the Neu-vermehrtes Gesängbuch this is actually called "Schwestern=Lied," which

emphasizes multiple authorship.

31 The brothers' names appear in this order in the Spohn copy (my interpretation is in parentheses): V: FSN (Vater Friedsam), b: Elliaser (Eleaszer), b: Elk: (Elkana), b: jaebetz (Jaebez) b: agate: (Agabus), b:obat: (Obedia), b:nath: (Nathanael?), ?? (??), v:F:S: (Vater Friedsam), b: m: (??), b: zef: (Zephonia?), b: ken: (Kenan?), b: melchi (Melchi) b: ho(Hoseas?), b: salma (Salma), b: ne: (Nehemia?), b: na: (Nathan?), b: filema (Philimon), b: theonis (Theonis), b: jem: (??), b: gition: (Gideon), b: jon: (Jonathan), f: sam. These are the names in the Speer Library document in the order of appearance: Fried, Eleazar, Elkana, Jaebez, Agabus, Obadia, Nathanael, Nehemia, Fried, Martin Groll, Kenan, Melchy, Hoseas, Zemah, Salma, Nathanael, Philimon.

<sup>32</sup> Anastasia or Anna Thoma (1720-78) is the sister who plays a significant role in the development of the cloister choirs, *Chronicon Ephratense* 163-64. The name Liduina is not found

elsewhere.

<sup>33</sup>The sisters' names appear in this order in the Spohn copy: V: f: s (Vater Friedsam), sch: p:lin: (Pauline), sch: persida (Persida), sch: maria (Mutter Maria), sch: febin (Phoebe), sch: Ei Frasian (Eufrosina), sch: henna (Henna), sch: ketura (Kethura), sch: salome (Salome), constantia (Constantia) sch: zeruja (Zeruja), sch: mellania (Melonia), sch: zinobin (Zenobia), sch: sera (Sara), sch: eufr (Eufrosina?), sch: marta (Martha), sch: reel (Rahel), sch sofia (Sophie), sch: anthanasi: (Athanasia), sch basila (Basilla), sch naeiemi (Naemi), sch Flavia: (Flavia), sch jael: (Jael), sch efiginia (Efigenia), sch paulina (Pauline). The sisters' name in the HSP copy in order of occurrence: s paulina, s persia, Anastasia, m. maria, s. phöbe, s. eufrosina, s henna, kethura, salome, s constantia, zeruja, melania, zenobia, sara, eurasia, martha, Rahel, sophia, Basilla.

<sup>34</sup> These disputes are well documented in the Chronicon Ephratense, especially chapter 25.

<sup>35</sup> Peter Müller (Jaebez, 1710-96). Chronicon Ephratense, 194-95, 217, 282 (note).

<sup>36</sup> Chronicon Ephratense, 183. The best source of information about Maria is the Chronicon Ephratense, especially the biography where most of these details are related, 280-84 (note).

<sup>37</sup> Chronicon Ephratense, 282-83 (note).

<sup>38</sup> Chronicon Ephratense, 223-24.

<sup>39</sup>Love feasts were certainly long, drawn-out ceremonies with prayer, meal, and foot washing.

<sup>40</sup> Chronicon Ephratense, 260; Ernst, 314.

<sup>41</sup> Chronicon Ephratense, 284.

<sup>42</sup> A good narrative summary of the land title affairs is given by Ernst, 326-31.

<sup>43</sup> Chronicon Ephratense, 282 (note).

44 Sangmeister, Part 3, 43.

<sup>45</sup> A similar tiff must be the reason for substituting one hymn for another midway through the printing of the *Weyrauchs Hügel* so that some copies have brother Ludwig Bender's "Wach auf, mein Geist" as hymn 91 and some have "Mein Geist, der flieset ein." There is no clue about which was the original hymn. While the *Chronicon Ephratense* and the *Abgenöthigter Bericht* deal with several aspects of producing the *Weyrauchs Hügel*, this substitution is not mentioned. Both hymns were subsequently reprinted by the brotherhood.

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Chören Gesangs = Weise mit viel Mühe und grosem Fleiß / ausgefertiget von einem / Friedsamen, / Der sonst in dieser Welt weder Namen noch Titul suchet. Ephratæ: Sumptibus Societatis, 1754.

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Das / Gesäng / Der einsamen und verlassenen / Turtel = Taube / Nemlich der Christlichen / Kirche, / Oder geistliche u. Erfahrungs=volle Leidens u. Liebes=Gethöne, / Als darinnen beydes die Vorkost der neuen Welt als / auch die darzwischen vorkommende Creutzes = und Leidens = / Wege nach ihrer Würde dargestellt, und in / geistliche Reimen gebracht / Von einem Friedsamen und nach der / stillen Ewigkeit wallenden / Pilger. Und nun / Zum Gebrauch der Einsamen und Verlassenen zu Zion gesammlet und ans Licht gegeben. Ephrata [PA]: Drucks der Brüderschafft, im Jahr 1747.

Das / Gesäng / Der einsamen und verlassenen / Turtel = Taube / Nemlich der Christlichen / Kirche. / Oder geistliche u. Erfahrungs=volle Leidens u. Liebes=Gethöne, / Als darinnen beydes die Vorkost der neuen Welt als / auch die darzwischen vorkommende Creutzes = und Leidens = / Wege nach ihrer Würde dargestellt, und in / geistliche Reimen gebracht / Von einem Friedsamen und nach der / stillen Ewigkeit wallenden / Pilger. Und nun / Zum Gebrauch der Einsamen und Verlassenen zu Zion gesammlet und ans Licht gegeben. Ephrata [PA]: Drucks der Brüderschafft,

im Jahr 1749.

Göttliche / Liebes und Lobes gethöne / Welche in den hertzen der kinder / der weiszheit zusammen ein. / Und von da wieder auszgeflossen / Zum Lob Gottes, / Und nun denen schülern der himlischen /weiszheit zur erweckung und auf-/munterung in ihrem Creutz und /leiden aus hertzlicher lie-/ be mitgetheilet. / DANN / Mit lieb erfüllet sein, bring't Gott den besten Preisz / Und giebt zum singen uns, die allerschönste weisz. Zu Philadelphia: Gedruckt bey Benjamin / Franklin in der Marck-strass., 1730.

Jacobs Kampff- und Ritter-Platz / Allwo / Der nach seinem ursprung sich sehnende / geist der in Sophiam verliebten seele / mit Gott um den neuen namen / gerungen, und den Sieg / davon getragen. / Entworffen / in unterschidlichen Glaubens- / u. leidens-liedern, u. erfahrungsvollen aus- / truckungen des gemuths, darinnen sich / dar stellet, so wol auff seiten Gottes / seine unermuedete arbeit zur rei-/nigung solcher seelen, die sich/seiner fuerung anvertraut. / Als auch / Auff seiten des Menschen der ernst des / geistes im aus halten unter dem process / der läuterung and abschmeltzung / des Menschen der Sünden samt / dem daraus entspringen- / den lobes-gethön. / Zur / Gemüthlichen erweckung derer die das heil / Jesrusalems lieb haben. / Verleget Von einem liebhaber der wahrheit die im verborgenen wohnt. Zu Philadelphia: gedruckt bey B[enjamin]. F[ranklin]., 1736.

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gesungen wird." Ephrata [PA], den 29 des 1 Mond, 1763.

Paradisisches / Wunder = Spiel, / Welches sich / In diesen letzten Zeiten und Tagen in denen Abend = / ländlischen Welt-Theilen, als ein Vorspiel / der neuen Welt hervorgethan: / Bestehend in einer neuen Sammlung andächticher und zum Lob / des grosen Gottes eingerichteter geistlicher/[sic] und ehedessen / zum Theil publicirter Lieder. Ephratæ [PA]: Typis & Consensu Societatis, A: D: 1766.

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  Erfahrungs liedern abgebildet, die / gedrückte, gebückte und Creutz- / tragende Kirche auf Erden.
  / Und wie inzwischen sich / Die obere und Triumphirende Kirche / als eine Paradiesische vorkost
  her- / vor thut und offenbahret. / Und daneben, als / Ernstliche und zuruffende wächterstimmen
  / an alle annoch zerstreuete Kinder Gottes, das sie / sich sammlen und bereit machen auf den
  baldigen; Ja bald herein brechen- / den Hochzeit-Tag der braut / des Lamms. Zu Philadelphia:
  Gedruckt bey Benjamin Francklin, in der Marck-strass., 1732.

Zionitischer / Rosen = Garten / von der / Geistlichen Ritterschaft / in der Kirchen Gottes / gepflantzet und erbaut / bestehend, / In allerley angenehmen Melodien und / Weisen zum nützlichen gebrauch

/ in der Kirchen Gotttes. Ephrata, 1744.

Zionitischer / Weyrauchs Hügel / Oder: Myrrhen Berg, / Worinnen allerley liebliches und wohl riechen = / des nach Apotheker = Kunst zubereitetes / Rauch = Werck zu finden. / Bestehend / In allerley Liebes = Würckungen der in GOTT / geheiligten Seelen, welche sich in vielen und mancherley / geistlichen und lieblichen Liedern aus gebildet. / Als darinnen / Der letzte Ruff zu dem Abendmahl des gros = / sen GOttes auf unterschiedliche Weise / trefflich aus gedrucket ist; / Zum Dienst / Der in dem Abend = Ländischen Welt = Theil als / bey dem Untergang der Sonnen erweckten Kirche / Gottes, und zu ihrer Ermunterung auf die / Mitternächtige Zukunfft des Bräutigams / ans Licht gegeben. Germantown [PA]: Gedruckt bey Christoph Sauer, 1739.

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# Emigration and the "Safety-Valve" Theory in the Eighteenth Century: Some Mathematical Evidence from the Prince-Bishopric of Würzburg

In the course of the eighteenth century the Holy Roman Empire witnessed an increase of its population of up to then unknown proportions. Within one hundred years, the population in some areas like Franconia more than doubled.1 Food supply and employment opportunities could not keep pace with this growth. As food prices rose, lack of land, compounded by poor farming techniques, and underemployment impoverished vast numbers of peasants. For the landless proletariat, the underemployed artisans as well as for servants and day laborers, the social and economic situation deteriorated markedly. As their numbers increased, so did emigration. Beginning in the early decades of the eighteenth century, hundreds of thousands of people left in waves of ever shorter intervals,<sup>2</sup> seeking their fortunes in the New World or in the plains of Eastern Europe. By the time the century had come to an end, almost one million people had settled outside the boundaries of the Holy Roman Empire.3 Contemporary memoranda and minutes of cabinet meetings are filled with worries that this emigration might depopulate the state. At the same time, however, we read of a fear of social tensions and possible unrest as a consequence of unchecked population growth.4

The purpose of our study is twofold. First we want to investigate the long-term consequences of emigration from the Prince-Bishopric of Würzburg on the demographic development of this ecclesiastical state. Secondly we want to investigate whether emigration could serve as a "safety-valve" to ease tensions within this agrarian society by opening up land and employment opportunities for those left behind. While the "safety-valve" theory has been discussed for the nineteenth century, 5 similar analyses for the eighteenth century are rare. For most historians, the "pull-factors," i.e., the availability of land in Eastern Europe or in the British colonies in North America, combined with the activities of recruiters, 6 outweigh the "push-factors" in the decision to emigrate. The "push-factors," i.e., lack of land and employment opportunities, are often put aside as insignificant: "The situation was bad everywhere." In order to analyze

our data from the Prince-Bishopric of Würzburg, we will develop a mathematical model for population growth in the context of emigration to investigate whether emigration from Würzburg did indeed lead to a noticable slowdown of overall population growth and, by increasing the amount of land available for those who stayed behind, also to an easing of social and economic tensions.

The existing population data for the Prince-Bishopric of Würzburg used in this paper are primarily estimates. They are based on contemporary, though incomplete, census counts taken at various time intervals throughout the century. More accurate counts based on the annual population returns in the *Rechnungen* or budgets of the fifty-five administrative districts or *Ämter* of the prince-bishopric do not exist.<sup>8</sup>

The same holds true for the number of emigrants. Since they had to pay an emigration tax called *Nachsteuer* to the state, they are listed in the budgets with the amounts paid. These figures form the basis for our emigrant estimate. One needs to keep in mind, however, that the budgets very often only list the name of the head of the household followed by a note "with wife and children" or similar entries. In such cases we estimated the family size at 4.5 members. Another problem connected with the goal of arriving at more concrete data on the number of emigrants is that an unknown number of people left secretly, either because they were not granted permission to emigrate, or because they wanted to avoid paying the emigration tax. Rather than estimate their number we have excluded them from our model.<sup>9</sup>

A discrete model with a limited number of parameters will be used to interpret this demographic information. As the time period involved is relatively short, seventy-five years, the complexity afforded by the discrete model will be sufficient for our purposes. The particular model chosen is a variation of the Malthusian model, in which population growth rate is inversely proportional to the present population.

The choice of such a model is not only determined by the available data but also by the number of people involved. There are two avenues to assess the impact of emigration on population growth. One is through family reconstruction or an individual-level-over-time approach. Such an approach was used by Ludwig Schmidt-Kehl for two villages in the Rhön, the northernmost, and poorest, part of the Prince-Bishopric of Würzburg. But while it yields valuable data for individual families and communities, it does not easily lend itself to an analysis of a whole state. Würzburg consisted of almost 600 communities, from which a minimum of 22,000 people emigrated during the eighteenth century. The sheer size of this research, even if all necessary data were available, makes an individual or community approach impractical if not prohibitive.

The approach chosen in this study is different. Rather than try and reconstruct events in individual communities or families and extrapolate developments from these samples for the state as a whole, we will use a top-down approach. This invariably leads to generalizations on the local level but has the

advantage that it allows an analysis of the overall impact of emigration on the prince-bishopric as such. Such an approach, which Wolfgang von Hippel has used for his study on emigration from southwestern Germany in the eighteenth century, 11 provides the parameters within which a meaningful application of the safety-valve model for a large state or area can take place. At the same time, our approach, which deals with hypothetical populations, makes a certain degree of abstraction necessary and inevitable, which is provided by the mathematical model used.

But first a look at the facts. Eighteenth-century Franconia consisted of dozens of territories. It was dominated by the prince-bishoprics of Würzburg, Bamberg, and Eichstätt, principalities like Ansbach, Bayreuth, and Hohenlohe, and imperial cities like Nuremberg, Schweinfurt, and Rothenburg. Devastated during the Thirty Years' War, it took the area about sixty years to reach prewar population levels again. Yet the generative behavior developed during the second half of the seventeenth century saw no change once the population losses had been made up. Between 1700 and 1750, the population of the Prince-Bishopric of Würzburg, with an area of some 5,290 square kilometers (2,042 square miles) the largest state in the Franconian district, grew from about 160,000 to some 250,000 people. Around 1790, the prince-bishop had some 280,000 subjects, and by 1803 the population had expanded to around 310,000. With some 127 people per square mile in 1750 and about 152 people in 1810, Würzburg was, after Bamberg and Basel, the most densely populated ecclesiastical state of the empire. 12

Based on the amount of arable land available in 1812, some 200,000 hectare, this population growth meant a decrease of the average holdings in the prince-bishopric from around 1.44 hectares per capita in 1680 to about 0.84 hectares in 1745 to 0.68 hectares in 1795. At a family average of 4.5 people, the average family farm decreased in size from about 6.48 hectares per family in 1680 to 3.78 hectares in 1745 and 3.06 hectares in 1795. Modern estimates place the minimum acreage needed to feed a family that size in the eighteenth century at between four and eight hectares, considerably larger than the average holding. Table 1 shows how population growth in the Prince-Bishopric of Würzburg influenced the amount of land available. Within a century, that amount was cut in half, and after the 1720s, population density was starting to strain available resources.

This dangerous development was enhanced by the prevalence of partible inheritance laws. Partitioning of family holdings in order to supply each surviving child with an equal amount of land, practiced all over southwestern Germany, brought ever smaller landholdings. <sup>15</sup> Concurrently it tended to encourage above-average population growth, especially in wine-growing areas such as Franconia. As long as prices remained high, viniculture provided a readily available and labor-intensive cashcrop, which could feed a family on less land than grain farming. In our area almost two-thirds of the population lived off growing grapes. But grape harvests depend heavily on favorable weather

conditions in the spring and are thus notoriously uneven: particularly in the first half of the century, average winter and spring temperatures lay below those of today, reducing yields even further.<sup>16</sup>

TABLE 1
Population Growth in the Prince-Bishopric of Würzburg, 1680-1795

POPULATION (absolute growth)		LAND AVAILABLE (per capita) (per fami	
1680	140,000	1.44 ha	6.48 ha
1700	160,000	1.26 ha	5.67 ha
1720	193,000	1.03 ha	4.66 ha
1745	240,000	0.84 ha	3.78 ha
1770	270,000	0.75 ha	3.37 ha
1795	295,000	0.68 ha	3.06 ha

More importantly, the price of wine showed a tendency to decline over the eighteenth century while the price of other foodstuffs increased considerably. As vineyards were turned to other uses, the downturn in the demand for wine, coupled with the need for more land to grow food grains, put additional pressure on the economy as it deprived peasants of a readily marketable cash crop. In the early decades of the century, almslists estimated the minimum annual cost to feed an adult for one year at 8 fl 40 kreuzers, but in the 1790s the *Bürgerspital* in Würzburg estimated 95 fl to keep the poorest *Pfründner* alive. 18

As early as 1717, the *Domkapitel* in Würzburg forbade future partitionings of land holdings in its village of Theilheim in the hope that this would keep population growth down and encourage emigration.<sup>19</sup> In 1730, the government in Bamberg thought the state "filled beyond capacity with peasants, wine-growers and artisans."<sup>20</sup> In 1779, Karl Theodor von Dalberg wrote that "in the towns surrounding Würzburg the vineyards have been divided too much, so that there are too many peasants. That is why their children become beggars."<sup>21</sup> Traveling in Franconia in the 1780s, Christoph Meiners wrote that "in the so-called wine-communities the lots have been divided up so often that many families do not own more than one, one and a half, or two morgens."<sup>22</sup> The facts bear out his assessment. In Oberleinach the average holding was less than 0.5 morgen per person in 1790, in Werrnfeld about 1.1 morgen in 1795, in Tauberrettersheim 1.43 morgen in 1798, and in Gerolzhofen 2.5 morgens in 1790.<sup>23</sup>

TABLE 2
Average Land-Holdings in Tauberrettersheim, 1705-95

LAND	AVAILABLE POPUL	ATION LAND I	PER CAPITA
1705	956 morgens	423 people	2.26 morgens
1720	956 morgens	531 people	1.80 morgen
1735	956 morgens	537 people	1.78 morgen
1750	956 morgens	645 people	1.48 morgen
1764	956 morgens	655 people	1.45 morgen
1780	956 morgens	684 people	1.39 morgen
1798	956 morgens	665 people	1.43 morgen

But like all statistics, these figures cannot begin to show the extent of rural poverty, which was not confined to wine-growing communities. For example: in Winterhausen, a village of some 852 people in 220 households just south of Würzburg in the *Reichsgrafschaft* Rechteren-Limpurg-Speckfeld, only 35% of the available land was used to grow grapes in 1780. The theoretical average holding came to 5.7 hectares of arable land and 3.2 hectares of vineyards per household. But the richest 13%, i.e., twenty-nine households with around four hectares or more, owned 61% of all arable land and 28% of all vineyards. Between thirty-five and fifty households, i.e., 15% to 20% of the population, received subsidies in the 1780s <sup>24</sup>

Such village averages however represent only part of the situation. In his analysis for the Aischgrund, an area to the southeast of Würzburg, Gerhard Rechter has shown that it was the larger farms, those which would have been best able to survive independently, which suffered most from the practice of partible inheritance. A leveling off of farm holdings took place in the eighteenth century, moving toward a generally lower level. Table 3, based on the findings of Rechter, shows how the formation of new farms came at the expense of the larger units, which showed a marked decline. While large farms sank to the level of medium-sized farms, the percentage of the population without property and of those with holdings smaller than 2.5 hectares rose from 10.2% to 25%. Here we see the devastating results of partitioning small homesteads until they are no longer viable economic units, thus enhancing the trend toward impoverishing the peasantry.<sup>25</sup>

TABLE 3

Development of Average Land-Holdings (in morgen) in the Area between Rezat and Aisch, 1600-1800

	w/o property	0-5	5-15	15-30	over 30
1600	0.5%	9.7%	28.7%	23.0%	38.0%
1800	6.0%	19.0%	29.0%	22.0%	24.0%

Before we can assess the impact of emigration on Würzburg, three sets of questions need to be addressed:

1. Did surplus labor in the countryside lead to the growth of rural industry? What was the impact of rural industry on generative behavior and migration?

Most historians agree that in the short run rural industry could slow down the need for emigration as it allowed poor peasants to supplement their inadequate incomes. In his research on preindustrial Germany, Steve Hochstadt found that "in the purely cottage-industrial communities near Düsseldorf mobility was 50% lower."26 But as Charles Tilly has shown, in many areas "the demographic response" to increased employment opportunities often "was even more rapid population growth." Though useful in the short term, such a strategy had disastrous long-term consequences as it eventually led to a worsening of the employment situation and increased the need for migration from home communities.<sup>27</sup> Schmidt-Kehl's data on the Rhön affirm Tilly's claim. The moutainous Rhön with its marginal agriculture was the only area in the prince-bishopric where a textile-based cottage industry developed, but the concurrent population growth forced 20% to 22% of those born in the early eighteenth century to look for work outside their home communities. Such a rate of out-migration is about one-third higher than that for the state as a whole, and, if we assume that not all of the out-migrants left the prince-bishopric permanently, affirms our thesis of socially determined emigration.<sup>28</sup> But Würzburg as a whole showed a marked lack of protoindustrial development, and any increase in employment opportunities was wiped out by population gains.

The increasing population pressure with its inherent danger of social tensions needed an outlet. The most obvious recourse for the poorer parts of the population was migration. Search for employment opportunities uprooted many peasants and made internal migration a way of life in early modern Franconia. As early as 1675, 93% of all apprentices, 74% of the *Beisassen*, i.e., inhabitants without citizenship, and 57% of all *Bürger* in Würzburg were immigrants to the city. By 1701, 65% off all resident adults 20 years or older and 89% of male nonkin household members had been born outside the city.<sup>29</sup>

2. Did emigration affect the demographic behavior of the remaining population? And if it did, in which way?

In view of the available statistical data and the strenuous legislative efforts to slow down population growth, the answer has to be in the negative. In a rare insight into the economic situation, government officials concluded in 1766 that "all villages have considerably increased in population during the last thirty or forty years, . . . yet there are neither factories nor manufactories in the prince-bishopric which could provide safe employment and food for our subjects." Authorities in Würzburg acknowledged the dangers of the unchecked growth of the lower classes and devised a three-pronged response.

First, they attempted to restrict marriages among paupers by introducing property qualifications, decreed in Würzburg as early as 1732. The impact of this legislation is difficult to assess. In the city of Würzburg itself in 1788, there were only 2,275 married couples in a population of 21,380. But in the territorium inclausum of eighteenth-century Franconia, such decrees were easy to circumvent. Ministers in the nearby territories of imperial knights were known to perform marriages for a fee. The Lutheran minister in Niederfüllbach married so many couples that people began to speak of the "Niederfüllbacher Bettlerwallfahrt" in reference to the poor flocking there in search of marriage rites.

Secondly, full citizenship was coupled with high fees and additional property requirements for the admittance of new *Bürger* to the cities and communities of the prince-bishopric to ease potential welfare burdens. By 1764, day laborers in the city of Würzburg had to prove a property of 400 fl, tradesmen 800 fl, before they could purchase full citizenship for some 20 fl. This policy did keep down the number of full citizens—in 1788 there were only 1,789 full citizens—but it did not reduce the absolute number of people living in the cities. Lastly, they refused citizenship to couples who had married without permission, sentencing such culprits to vagrancy or emigration.<sup>31</sup>

Overall, however, these measures showed no noticeable effect, and as the unemployed and underemployed tried their luck in the cities, the number of servants, day laborers, independent artisans and craftsmen grew at a frightening pace. In a small town like Ansbach, the number of people without full citizenship rose by 230% between 1681 and 1741, and the percentage of the lower classes rose from 36.4% to 64.7%.<sup>32</sup> In Nuremberg domestic servants comprised 20% of the total population, in Würzburg about 15%, and nowhere but in the poorest communities did it drop below 10%.<sup>33</sup> Hired at wages between ten and twelve Rhenish guilders a year, usually for three months at a time, these servants lived in the utmost poverty. At 14 fl to 18 fl, the average wages for a man servant were not much higher.

At the same time, however, a pair of men's boots cost about 1 fl 30 kreuzers in 1785, a skirt 30 kreuzers, a pound of veal 6 kreuzers in Ansbach in 1786. A hog cost 8 fl, a calf 12 fl, a cow 15 fl to 20 fl in the 1740s, a spinning wheel 1 fl

and an oaken weaving loom was 18 fl already in the 1690s. A medium sized farm sold at around 2,500 fl in the late eighteenth century in the Aisch area. Around the city of Eichstätt, one "Tagwerk" of land, about 0.85 acres, cost between 500 fl and 700 fl. The city of Bayreuth estimated the cost of keeping a woman alive in the workhouse at 18 fl, for a man at 24 fl per year in 1732.<sup>34</sup>

Independent craftsmen hardly fared better than the servants, even if most of them had some land for additional resources. Their numbers had increased to a point where their businesses could barely feed their families. In Edelfingen with its 225 families we find eighteen shoemakers and seven tailors, in Römhild in the Rhön, there were twenty-eight butchers, twenty-three bakers, forty-three tailors, forty-seven shoemakers and twenty-two weavers in a population of 1,548. Even larger cities like Würzburg with its 18,000 people could hardly feed the one hundred fifty-four shoemakers, ninety tailors, eighty barrelmakers, forty-seven bakers, etc.—altogether 775 master craftsmen or one for every twenty-three citizens.<sup>35</sup>

Franconia's poor were caught in a vicious cycle. Without the means to purchase full citizenship, they were frequently in turn denied access to the commons of their home towns, which deprived them of that extra goat or sheep or firewood—that extra income that might have made the difference. Contemporaries estimated between 25% and 33% of the population of the Franconian district in the late eighteenth century to be beggars. Modern historians tend to increase this number to 50% or more. Calls for the forced mass transportation of these poor to some faraway country across the oceans or to Siberia, proposed by Ansbach as early as 1747, were rare, but as the century progressed, many administrators recognized the advantages of emigration.

# 3. Did emigration create opportunities for those left behind or for immigration from elsewhere?

In the absence of wasteland that could still be taken under the plow, the vigorous attempts by full citizens to reserve use of the commons for themselves, and insufficient attempts at creating employment opportunities, the answer has to be "no." By the early eighteenth century, land resources were exhausted. Between 1682 and 1726, seven villages were founded in the prince-bishopric, but as the largest of them, Neubessingen in 1726, gave a home to only ten families, the overall impact on the state was minimal. <sup>38</sup> Efforts to recruit merchants and manufacturers for the state failed as well, and as late as 1812, the largest factory of the state employed a maximum of 56 workers during the summer months. <sup>39</sup> At the same time, wages at best stagnated, and for lower income groups even showed at tendency to decline. <sup>40</sup>

Population losses to emigration were not made up by new immigrants. Rather than foster immigration, unless the applicant had sufficient means, the policy of the prince-bishopric was to encourage further emigration of its local poor and to reserve possible employment opportunities for the already present

population.<sup>41</sup> Authorities in Würzburg realized that any emigration would be beneficial for the overall social and economic situation of the state, reasoning that "those subjects remaining behind will be better able to feed themselves."<sup>42</sup>

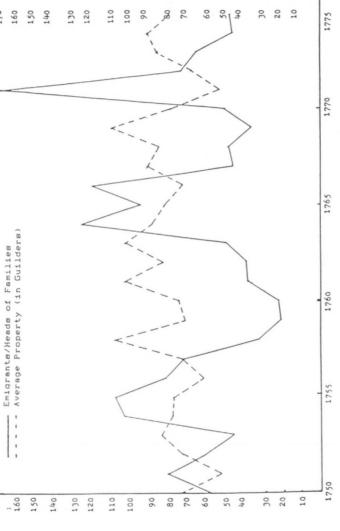
The decision to emigrate into faraway lands from the 1720s onward was made easier by the high degree of internal mobility achieved by then. But as long as the plains of Hungary were still ruled by the Ottoman Empire, migration to the New World and into the eastern regions of Prussia still in its infancy, and the Volga region not yet open to settlement, opportunities for emigration were limited. Internal migration even on a large scale could at best redistribute the existing population without long-term beneficial effects for the state as a whole. But it did familiarize people with the concept of geographical mobility and fostered a preparedness to move even over long distances if such an opportunity should present itself.

The acquisition of vast territories by the Habsburgs from the Ottoman Empire in 1718 gave the heretofore aimless internal migration in Franconia a new direction and goal. In 1722, the settlement of the Hungarian plains with German colonists became the official policy of the government in Vienna. This opened up a vast territory for the surplus population of Catholic southwestern Germany, who were less than welcome in the British colonies in North America. As soon as news of this policy reached the Prince-Bishopric of Würzburg, a wave of emigrants left for Hungary in the five years from 1720 to 1725, followed by another large contingent in the mid-1740s. After the end of the Seven Years' War, emigration resumed with renewed vigor, and, as shown in Graph 1, reached its peak for the eighteenth century during the famine of 1771. Between 1720 and 1795, a minimum of at least 22,000 people decided to seek their fortunes elsewhere and left the Prince-Bishopric of Würzburg.

The actual number of emigrants was undoubtedly higher. A comparison of lists of transmigrants through Vienna and of applications for readmission in 1764 with the names of emigrants to French Guyana entered in the budgets of Würzburg, shows that at least 73 families, 25% of all emigrants, left secretly and without permission. If these figures were representative for the century as a whole, our total emigration figures would have to be raised considerably and result in a considerable decrease in the theoretical population for 1795.

In formulating a model for growth of a population with emigration, we consider two effects of emigration. First, there is the immediate decline caused by the emigrants leaving the population. Next there is the long decrease which results since the progeny of the emigrants do not contribute to the population. Two populations will be considered: the actual population, measured by using census figures and a hypothetical population (if emigration had not occurred), estimated by our model. We assume that both populations grow at the same exponential rate.





Emigration from Mainfranken to Hungary 1750-75 GRAPH 1

### Mathematical Model for Population Growth

Let  $t_0$ ,  $t_1$ ,  $t_2$ , ... be a sequence of times.  $P_i$  be the actual population at time  $t_i$ ,  $m_i$  be the number of emigrants from Würzburg in the time period from  $t_{i-1}$  to  $t_i$ ,  $r_i$  be the growth rate of the actual population in the time period from  $t_{i-1}$  to  $t_i$ . We assume the population growth is exponential so that

$$r_i = \ln(P_i/P_{i-1})/(t_i-t_{i-1}),$$

or equivalently,

$$P_{i} = P_{i-1} e^{r_{i}(t_{i}-t_{i-1})}$$

The hypothetical population at time  $t_i$  will be denoted by  $H_i$ . The initial populations,  $P_0$  and  $H_0$  are equal. A subsequent hypothetical population is computed by adding the number of emigrants in the time period to the size of the population at the beginning of the period and applying the population growth rate computed from the actual populations in the same time period, that is

$$H_{i} = (H_{i-1} + m_{i}) e^{r_{i}(t_{i} - t_{i-1})}$$

These relationships yield the following table when applied to the data for the Prince-Bishopric of Würzburg from the years 1720, 1745, 1770, 1795.

TABLE 4
Actual and Hypothetical population for the Prince-Bishopric of Würzburg in the Eighteenth Century

i	t <sub>i</sub>	$P_i$	m <sub>i</sub>	r <sub>i</sub>	$H_{i}$
0	1720	193,300			193,300
1	1745	240,000	7,000	0.008655	248,700
2	1770	270,000	8,000	0.004711	288,800
3	1795	295,000	7,000	0.003542	323,200

On the basis of this model we arrive at a theoretical decrease of the population for 1795 of more than 28,000 people. At a de facto population of some 295,000, they constitute almost 10% of the total. This had a measurable influence upon the availability of land. Table 5 shows that on the average there was at least 0.26 hectare more land available per family due to emigration even at the very lowest numbers used by us.

TABLE 5
Hypothetical Population Growth and Development of
Average Land-Holdings without Emigration, 1680-1795

POPULATION (growth without emigration)		LAND AVAILABLE (per capita) (per family)		
	1680	140,000	1.44 ha	6.48 ha
	1700	160,000	1.26 ha	5.67 ha
	1720	193,300	1.03 ha	4.65 ha
	1745	248,700	0.80 ha	3.61 ha
	1770	288,800	0.69ha	3.11 ha
	1795	323,200	0.61 ha	2.78 ha

Was this emigration large enough to have had a safety-valve effect? Comparative data to validate our results are provided by Wolfgang von Hippel's study on southwestern Germany, another area with consistently high emigration. Between 1707 and 1794, the population of the Duchy of Württemberg increased from 342,000 to 614,000 or 80% vs. 84% for Würzburg between 1700 and 1795. Hippel estimates that emigration absorbed a maximum of 20% of the birth surplus vs a minimum of 10% for Würzburg during the eighteenth century, with an average emigration of 0.15% of the population per vear.<sup>47</sup>

Since the safety-valve theory has been used primarily for the nineteenth century, let us also look at some of the facts there. Between 1816 and 1910, the population of Germany (in the boundaries of 1871) grew from 23.5 million to 65 million. During the same time about 4.35 million people emigrated, mostly to the United States. On the basis of these data, Peter Marschalck estimates that emigration during the nineteenth century slowed down population growth by about 5.5 million people or 8.5% of the total for 1910.<sup>48</sup> Yet after about 1870 German society changed rapidly from an agrarian into an industrial state. Thereafter emigration is mainly dependent on the changes in the business cycles

of an industrial society. Thus the *ceteris-paribus* clause for our hypothetical population cannot be invoked for all of the nineteenth century, and Marschalck backs away from this number.

Yet he and others concede the usefulness of such a model for either short time periods or relatively stable societies. On the basis of this assumption he concedes that emigration was an important hindrance for population growth in Germany, especially during the first half of the nineteenth century. Population growth was slowed down by some 1.5 million people in emigrants alone between 1816 and 1856, at a population of about 37 million people in 1856. This would constitute a loss of about 4% for Germany as a whole, not counting second and third generation losses. If we look at Württemberg as one of the major areas of emigration from 1816 to 1855, we find 265,000 emigrants and a population of 1.7 million people, the percentage of emigrants is 16%. In Baden we have 1.3 million people and 150,000 emigrants or 11.4% during the same time period.<sup>49</sup>

Despite the parameters set by incomplete records and statistical materials, our findings suggest that emigration from the Prince-Bishopric of Würzburg during the eighteenth century did serve as a "safety valve." The slowdown in population growth was measurable and large enough to have brought some relief to this area in the eighteenth century. It compares favorably with findings from other areas of Germany in both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Emigration could not solve the economic problems of southwestern Germany. Yet it could help ease some of the strains placed upon the social, demographic and economic structures of society as a consequence of population growth.

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#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> For statistical material connected with this population growth see Keyser (1938), Armengaud (1976, 22-73) and Flinn (1981, 13-25). For the Prince-Bishopric of Würzburg in particular see Jäger (1967, 130-45).

<sup>2</sup> An excellent introduction into the problems connected with overpopulation, pauperization and emigration is Grigg (1980, 11-39). For analyses of conditions in Germany see Vowinckel (1939), Tetzlaff (1953), Vanja (1978), and Selig (1988). On the wavelike character of emigration see in particular Schmidt (1965, 323-61) and Bennion (1971).

<sup>3</sup> Between 1685 and 1812, some 350,000 Germans settled in the eastern regions of Prussia, another 350,000 in Hungary, some 125,000 in North America, about 50,000 in Poland, some 40,000 in Russia, some 10,000-15,000 each in Spain and Denmark. See Fenske (1980, 340ff.). For figures on migration to the United States in the eighteenth century see in particular Gemery (1984, 283-320), and Fogleman (1992, 691-709) with about 84,500 German emigrants between 1700 and 1775 (700-4).

<sup>4</sup> On 22 April 1766, the Prince-Bishop of Würzburg, Adam Friedrich von Seinsheim, ordered an end to all emigration, "so that the country might not get depopulated." Bayerisches Staatsarchiv

Würzburg, Gebrechenantsprotokoll of 22 April 1766, hereafter quoted as BSW, Gebr.Prot. and date. While mercantilist policies demanded the continuous increase of population as a measure of the wealth, power and reputation of a state, these policies were challenged by observers warning of the dangers of unlimited population growth: "as certainly as there has to be a group of people working as servants or day laborers for the large farmers and propertied classes, it is just as certain that this class becomes dangerous when there are too many of them. . . . Begging, vagrancy, thievery and all other consequences of deprivation or misery are the obvious results" of their unchecked increase. Pfeufer (1791, 249). All translations are by the authors.

<sup>5</sup> See in particular Hansen (1976, 9-61), Marschalck (1973, 69-71) and Moltmann (1978, 279-96), with additional literature there. For a sociological analysis of the problem see Lee (1966, 47-57), Wolpert (1965, 159-69) and Ellemers (1964, 41-58). For a discussion of recent German historiography concerning emigration and the peculiar German problems connected with this see Roeber (1987,

750-74).

<sup>6</sup> A prime supporter of this interpretation is Fenske (1978, 183-220). See also Lotz (1966, 153), who writes that the activities of the recruiters were vital. "Without their recruiting the whole colonization of the southeast would have been simply impossible."

<sup>7</sup> Fenske (1980, 339). He estimates that 25% of all emigrants went to Hungary "as a result of

the efforts of the government." Many more left because of private recruitment.

<sup>8</sup> For one, our figures do not include the twenty-four mediatized institutions, which rarely list population figures. Thus the available estimates will be used in this study, though with due caution and allowing for a certain margin of error. For a discussion of this issue and a list of surviving budgets of the Prince-Bishopric see Selig (1988, 339-40).

<sup>9</sup> The number of illegal and thus unrecorded emigrants may have been as high as 25% of the

total. Selig (1988, 46-75).

<sup>10</sup> Schmidt-Kehl (1937, 176-99). The communities analyzed are Langenleiten, founded in the late seventeenth century, and Geroda-Platz.

11 von Hippel (1984, 25-46).

<sup>12</sup> Sartori (1788, 130). These figures are compiled from Bundschuh (1790, 6:363; 5,180 square kilometers, 283,912 inhabitants), Ssymank (1945, 8; 5,290 square kilometers, 250,000 inhabitants around 1750), Schwägermann (1951, 15; 5,290 square kilometers, 160,758 inhabitants in 1700). The best estimates are in Schubert (1983, 37).

<sup>13</sup> The figures concerning the amount of land available are taken from Chroust (1914, 44, 49,

56).

<sup>14</sup> 1 acre = 4.025 square meters, 1 hectare = 2.5 acres. Schubert (1981, 40) calls for a minimum of 8 hectares, Heller (1971, 190) thinks 5 hectares to 8 hectares as the minimum amount of land needed to feed a family of 4 to 5 people. Henning (1970, 165-83) estimates that the majority of farmers had less than 5 hectares. Bog (1954, 1-16) shows that in the area around Nuremberg the average land holdings were about 3.6 hectares per family in the middle of the eighteenth century. Heller (1971, 191) in his analysis of 30 communities in the border area between Bamberg and Würzburg comes to the conclusion that everywhere a minimum of 70%, in some cases 94% to 98% of the villagers did not

have enough land to live on.

15 The connection between population growth and the practice of partible inheritance has been researched by Berkner (1977, 53-69). Between 1689 and 1766, the population of Calenberg, an area of impartible inheritance around Göttingen, rose by 31%, the total number of families by 15%. In the area of partible inheritance around Göttingen, total population growth during the same time period exceeded 62%, that of the number of families 39%. If we include servants, relatives and subtenants living in the homes of the families counted here, we arrive at an overall growth rate of 65% for the area of impartible inheritance vs. 186% for the area of partible inheritance. Berkner concludes that "impartible inheritance acted to slow population growth . . . whereas . . . the effect of partibility was to create population pressures" (64). Contemporary observers like Sartori (1788, 151) stated that "compared to other ecclesiastical states Maynz and Würzburg have a larger population; however, population in wine-growing areas does not mean wealth, for at least one third are utterly destitute people, who, despite the hardest labor, can barely save themselves from starvation." Modern researchers like Wopfner (1938, 208) and Strobel (1972, 187) also emphasize the fact that partitioning of land holdings was worst in wine-growing areas like Würzburg.

<sup>16</sup> Glaser et al. (1988, 43-69, 50). For annual yields between 1741 and 1841 see Hohmann (1952, 62-65). The percentage of grape growers is from Flurschütz (1965, 132).

17 Glaser et al. (1988, 54).

18 Schubert (1983, 421, n. 166), and Franz (1951, 10).

Pfrenzinger (1939, no. 37).
 Quoted in Schubert (1983, 38).

<sup>21</sup> Quoted in Abert (1912, 198). His contemporaries would have agreed with him. Cella (1786, 15) wrote that "the dividing up of the holdings has to have its limits," since it is "the source of poverty for the majority of the population."

<sup>22</sup> Meiners (1794, 2:168). The size of a "morgen" varied greatly, from 1.847 to 2.391 square

meters. A size of 2.000 square meters is used here.

- <sup>23</sup> All communities mentioned lie within the boundaries of the Prince-Bishopric of Würzburg. The figures for Oberleinach according to BSW HV Msf 469 and BSW Rechnungen no. 12103, 1790. For Werrnfeld see BSW HV Msf 747 and BSW Rechnungen no. 8191, 1795. For Gerolzhofen see BSW HV Msq 11, 1790, and for Tauberrettersheim, including table 2, the *Frānkischer Merkur* (1798), no. 5.
- <sup>24</sup> "Selen-[sic] und Güter-Tabelle von . . . Winterhausen Anno 1786." Stadtarchiv Burgfarrnbach, Pücklerarchiv L 200.

<sup>25</sup> Table 3 is based on Rechter (1981, 340). One morgen is here 0.56 hectare.

26 Hochstadt (1983, 195-224).

<sup>27</sup> Tilly (1979), quoted in Hochstadt (1983, 224). Mendels (1976, 193-216, 202-3) considers "strong forces favoring downward social mobility" a precondition for protoindustrialization. But like Tilly he also points out the frequent increase in fertility for such areas, similar to developments in the Rhön area of the Prince-Bishopric of Würzburg.

<sup>28</sup> Schmidt-Kehl (1937, 180-81). Developments in Würzburg confirm Mendels (1976, 216), that "social mobility patterns are not unilaterally determined by what happens in industry or in the economy." For a different view however see Diefendorf (1985, 88-112, 106-7), who argues that in the Rhineland this kind of generative behaviour, protoindustrialization and social mobility were much more pronounced in the cities rather than in the countryside.

<sup>29</sup> Hochstadt (1983, 204). This high rate of immigration was partly caused by higher mortality

rates in the city.

30 BSW Gebr.Prot. 17 March 1766.

<sup>31</sup> The decree setting minimum property requirements of 200 fl as a prerequisite for a marriage permit in Würzburg was announced on 21 January 1732. Heffner (1776, 2:35). The purchase price for full citizenship in the prince-bishopric varied. It averaged about 20 fl per person, but could go as high as 100 fl. Selig (1988, 102-4).

32 Bahl (1974, 177, 280). 33 Schubert (1983, 114).

<sup>34</sup> One Rhenish guilder (fl.) = 12 batzens = 60 kreuzers. Rechter (1981, 495) and Schubert (1983, 364, n. 564, and 88). Selig (1987), who analyzed the emigration movement of 1764 in the Prince-Bishopric of Würzburg, found that in his group of 306 names/heads of families applying for emigration, most were wine-growers. Of 123 applicants whose professions were recorded, 34 were male and female servants and day laborers. 95% of all applicants owned less than the 200 fl necessary to qualify for a marriage permit, 40% owned no property at all.

35 On the deplorable situation of the independent craftsmen see Adelmann (1803, 76,

Würzburg), Flurschütz (1965, 128) and Schubert (1983, 102, Römhild and Edelfingen).

<sup>36</sup> Contemporary estimates in Riesbeck (1783, 1:260, 25% beggars) and Sartori (1788, 132, 33% beggars), modern figures in Rechter (1981, 340, 52%), Saalfeld (1980, 478, almost 40%), and Schubert (1983, 99).

<sup>37</sup> On the attitude of Ansbach, which repeated its requests in 1750 and which finally contacted the emperor himself in 1771, see Schubert (1983, 323).

38 Selig (1988, 98-100).

<sup>39</sup> Schubert (1983, 73). Schöpf (1802, 151) even claimed that "Würzburg is no state of factories and cannot very well be one, since the encouragement of manufactories and factories means drawing workers away from farming and viniculture." On early factories in Franconia see Reuter (1961).

<sup>40</sup> Glaser et al. (1988, 53-54). See also Eßer, (1986, 101-36, esp. 106-8). He found, that unlike prices, wages remained relatively stable during the eighteenth century, thus eroding the purchasing power of monetary wages. For comparative data from northern Germany see Achilles (1975, 55-69).

<sup>41</sup> Selig (1988, 29-44).

42 BSW Gebr.Prot. 17 March 1766.

<sup>43</sup> On the Peace of Passarovitz and governmental policies regarding the Batschka and the Banat in the 1720s see Weidlein (1937, 487-92), Rössler (1964, 110-28) and Schünemann (1930, 115-20).

"For emigration from Würzburg see in particular Metz (1935, 23-39) and Pfrenzinger (1934, nos. 20-24). An imperial request of 1722 concerning the recruitment of colonists in Würzburg and Bamberg in BSW Reichssachen no. 3. Pfrenzinger (1934, no. 20) insists however that the first emigrants left Würzburg before any recruiting activities had taken place.

<sup>45</sup> Graph 1 is based on the number of names recorded in Pfrenzinger (1941). Pfrenzinger only

lists emigrants to Hungary; thus the total number of emigrants was higher.

46 In the mid-1790s, the population started to grow at an accelerated pace of about 1.5% to 2.0% per year, while emigration came to an end until after the Napoleonic Wars, so that a later date would distort our findings. On subsequent developments in the Grand Duchy of Würzburg see Bilz (1968).
47 yon Hippel (1984, 28-30).

<sup>48</sup> All figures taken from Marschalck (1973, 35-51 and 93). A similar discussion of this problem

can be found in Marschalck (1973, 88). See also Hansen (1976, 54).

49 Marschalck (1973, 104).

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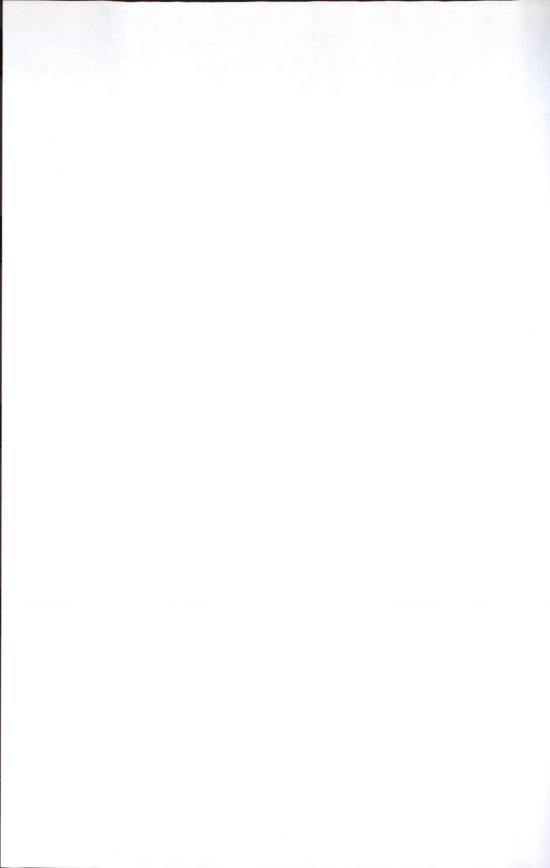
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# Ernst Stuhlinger

#### German Rocketeers Find a New Home in Huntsville

My wife and I are two of about seven million Germans who, during the past three hundred years, left their home country, crossed the Atlantic Ocean, and found a new home in America. And we are two of about sixty million Americans who are living in this great country today, and who can trace their descent from German ancestors. The professional backgrounds of those who came to the shores of the American continent cover a wide range, and so do the circumstances under which they began their voyage, as well as the ways in which they built a new existence, but for all of them, the most decisive reason why they came to America was the quest for freedom—freedom from a dictator and from political oppression, freedom from religious persecution and intolerance, freedom from the pressure of overpopulation and its consequences, such as poverty, hunger, epidemics, unemployment, and crowded living spaces. Certainly, there were also secondary reasons, but the overriding motive for Germans who emigrated to America was the desire to live in freedom.

A retrospect of the history of German immigration in America will be presented next week by Dr. Tolzmann.¹ Some of the immigrants achieved great fame. Early in the eighteenth century, a German by the name of Eisenhauer settled in America; one of his descendants became supreme commander of the American and Allied armed forces in Europe during World War II, and then President of the United States. A nineteenth-century immigrant from Bavaria by the name of Levi Strauss secured his place in history, and in the hearts of millions of people, in a different way. He invented, produced, and sold the all-time bestseller in clothing: blue jeans.

Rather than enumerate further highlights in the long history of German immigration to America, and present statistics about the flow of travelers from Germany who came here to stay, I would like to reach back into my own history and describe how it happened that my wife and I can be with you tonight to help celebrate the evolution of the proverbial American-German friendship.

While we talk about millions of immigrants who came to this country in search of a new home, we should not forget that each and every one of them,

except the small children, had to make a personal decision to leave his or her old country. All of them had to part with relatives and friends, with a country whose language they understood and spoke, and whose thousand-year-old history was the background of their own histories. Immigration statistics alone do not tell of any of those innumerable thoughts, rational and emotional, which roam through the minds of those who are about to emigrate.

In my own life, dreaming of traveling to another country began very early. For years, it was Africa or America—Africa because of its fabulous wild animals, America because of the unlimited opportunities available to those who are ready to accept them. When I was a schoolboy in Germany during the late 1920s, my friends and I avidly read books about America. Most of them were adventure books; they told of the Indians, of the early settlers in the wild western territories and the various gold rushes, they told of the great railroad projects that won the West, of Henry Ford's fantastic success with the automobile, of the endless wheat fields in the Midwestern plains, the cotton pickers in the south, the big cities and the enormous skyscrapers. One of our teachers had gone to America as a young man; he began as a dishwasher in New York, bought an old jalopy, and traveled to the West Coast. Whenever we schoolboys did our work to his satisfaction, he told us of America, of its unlimited spaces and endless highways, of the heartwarming friendliness and hospitality of its people, of the fairy-tale landscapes in Yellowstone Park with Old Faithful, the bears and the buffaloes, the Painted Desert with its petrified tree trunks, the gigantic cacti in Arizona and the magnificent Pacific coastline, and he planted in us a seed of love for this marvelous country. After four years, he returned, went to the university and became a high school teacher, but whenever he began to talk about America, a happy smile lit up his face.

After my school years, I first had to learn a profession. Then, I thought there would be time to make further plans. When I was twenty-five, World War II broke out and put an end to all personal planning. After a short time, Germany was at war with almost all of its neighbors on the Continent. I remember the day in December 1941 when Japan attacked the American fleet at Pearl Harbor, resulting in the United States' entry into the war.

For many, perhaps most people in Germany at that time, and during the rest of the war, the attitude toward America was different from the attitude toward all other members of the Allied Forces. The constant flow of emigrants from Germany to the United States during the previous three hundred years, the large number of relatives and friends German citizens had in America, the familiarity of many Germans with customs and events, and even with cities and landscapes in the United States, and the total absence of any mutual territorial claims between the two nations, simply did not leave much room for hostile feelings. This situation could not be changed much in Germany by the government's very negative war propaganda against the United States, nor was it even much influenced by the heavy air raids by American bombers on German cities.

During the late 1920s, a young boy lived in Berlin. His name was Wernher von Braun, and he built and launched an unending sequence of rockets, some soaring straight up, some propelling rocket cars, and some exploding right upon ignition. He also began writing articles for his school newspaper about rockets to the moon and Mars. When he was fourteen years old, he decided that he would devote his life's work to the opening of the heavens for human travel. At eighteen, he joined, and soon directed, the Society for Space Travel in Berlin. In 1932, the year before Hitler came to power, the German army offered von Braun a contract to help Army Ordnance develop a rocket as a weapon of defense. This program led to the establishment of the rocket development center Peenemunde on the Baltic Sea where the A-4 rocket, later called V-2, was developed. In 1943, the SS under Heinrich Himmler assumed control over production and deployment of the still unfinished rocket, against the recommendations and the attempts of resistance of von Braun and his commanding general, Walter Dornberger. V-2 rockets were first launched against Paris and London on 8 September 1944.

Even before the end of the war, the Allies had knowledge of the work going on at Peenemünde. Several air raids were undertaken against Peenemünde by British and American bomber fleets. When the war in Germany came to an end, special task forces, under the leadership of Colonel (later General) Holger Toftoy, established contact with von Braun and many members of his Peenemünde team. General Eisenhower made a strong recommendation to his government to bring von Braun and a number of his coworkers over to the United States in order to secure their know-how and expertise for American industry and the armed forces, and also to insure that they would not fall into Russian hands. President Truman agreed with the proposal, and thus began the

largest postwar technology transfer in human history.

While the American government and the United States Army simply invited von Braun and a small number of his coworkers to come to America and to continue their rocket development work under the auspices of Army Ordnance, leaving it up to the individuals whether they wished to accept or to reject the offer, the Soviet authorities, eager to acquire rocket experience and know-how, proceeded in a different way to reach their goal. They first established a rocket research institute, named Institut Rabe, in Bleicherode in the Harz Mountains. Enticed by good salaries and plenty of food-rarities in a wartorn Germany at that time-many of the former Peenemunde employees, and other engineers and scientists, joined the institute and worked on rocket research and development. One evening in October 1946 the Russians threw a big party for all employees, with "plenty of vodka," as one of the scientists later described. At four o'clock the next morning, Soviet soldiers appeared at the apartments of the sleepy Germans, loaded the engineers and scientists and their families, and also some furniture, on trucks, took them to the nearby railroad station, and shipped them off to Soviet Russia, brushing aside all complaints that this kidnapping violated their contractual rights. During the same night, similar kidnappings took place in Berlin, Jena, and other German cities. In total, about 5,000 German citizens were abducted and transported to Russia during that night against their will. The German "rocket slaves," as they called themselves, were stationed in isolation on a lonely island, Gorodomlija, north of Moscow, where they had to carry out development work on rocket components. Seven years later, they were allowed to return to their native Germany.

How different was the fate of von Braun and his 126 coworkers who were invited by the U.S. government to continue their work in the United States! The story how first contacts were made between advancing American troops and a small group of Peenemünders, including von Braun, in an Alpine resort place where they had been held virtually captive by the SS, has been told numerous times. Interrogations by American technical experts followed which soon resulted in concrete plans to find and contact other Peenemünders who during the final chaotic phases of the war had been spread all over the country, to select 126 individuals—a number that the government granted to Colonel Toftoy for his "Project Fireball," to extend invitations to them, and to prepare for their shipment to the United States.

My own fate in this sequence of events was quite typical. It reflects many of those human and personal aspects that governed our thoughts when we suddenly faced the possibility to emigrate to America, to leave all the misery and hopelessness behind, and to work, in a peaceful environment and without the pressure of a violent dictatorship, on the development of powerful precision rockets that one day might enable men and women to travel to their neighbors in space. However, we would also face the necessity to leave our relatives and friends and our country behind at a time of utter distress when it was so obvious that almost everything that makes up a normal nation had to be rebuilt from the bottom: production and distribution of food, apartments and houses, streets, cities, bridges, railroads, a postal system, legal authorities, educational institutions, welfare organizations, hospitals, health care systems, a functioning government, a stable economy, relations with neighbor governments, and with other nations. Most important, perhaps, would be the need for Germany to find its way back into the community of respected nations, and to heal the wounds that Germany's Nazi government had left all over the world.

In that situation, would it be right to leave Germany, and to start working for a nation with which Germany had been at war only recently?—Like many of my colleagues in Peenemünde, I had been moved with my laboratory to a place in the middle of the country in 1944 when Russian forces began to proceed toward North Germany and Peenemünde. The place where I stayed, Stadtilm in Thüringen, was overrun by American forces in May 1945. Even with the first tanks, some civilians knew my name and whereabouts from earlier contacts with Peenemünde groups in Frankfurt am Main. I was told to stay in that little town until I received further directives from American officers. In June, I was told to move toward the west. Although no reason was given, I knew why I had to move: that part of Germany had been assigned to Russian occupation forces.

So I moved to Tübingen in Germany's southwest, then under French occupation, a city where my parents lived, and where I had studied at the university. I even found employment at my Alma Mater as a research associate in the physics department and prepared for an academic future when, in October 1945, an American officer arrived and offered me a contract to come to America and to work, together with von Braun and other colleagues, on rocket projects. I asked for a week's time to think it over, which the office immediately granted.

A week of intense thinking began, mixed with many talks with my parents. friends, relatives, and colleagues at the university, and all the aspects of emigrating under those special circumstances were considered and discussed. Would it be right to leave the country at this time? Would we rather be needed at home, where a gigantic task of reconstruction was waiting for every ablebodied young man? Could we hope that our move to America, and our willingness to live and to work with our former enemies, may help build a bridge, however tenuous at first, from people to people, and convince our American colleagues that not every German was an ardent Nazi? Could we hope that Americans would accept us as coworkers and take us at our face value, in spite of all the war propaganda that had painted a very different picture of the Germans? Could we hope that we would work as colleagues in a joint program of developing modern rockets and promoting space flight? Could those of us who had families be joined by their wives and children soon? Could we hope to be permitted to send gift packages to our loved ones at home where hunger and deprivation were still rampant? There were questions with no end.

Emigrating to any other country on the globe would have been a different prospect for us young German scientists and engineers in 1945. To go to America did not simply mean a change of country, or a switch in loyalty. Compared with European nations, America was a young nation, a land in which the idea of freedom, together with the striving for progress and for equal rights for everyone, had moved closer to reality than anywhere else. In this process of making democratic ideals work, a nation of remarkable economic strength and political stability had come into existence. The powerful flow of German emigrants to America during the past three hundred years has certainly contributed its share to this development. Emigration of young German engineers and scientists to America after World War II would not merely be a move into another country; it would be a step in a natural demographic evolution, an expansion from one nation into another one to which that nation had been related for three hundred years by strong ties of kinship in body and mind. When the American officer returned to my home in Tübingen in October 1945, I happily accepted his invitation and signed up for the voyage across the Atlantic

Von Braun and a handful of his coworkers were shipped to the United States by airplane in September 1945, exactly fifty years ago. The rest of his team arrived between 1945 and the summer of 1946 by military ships. The

group was given a home in the barracks of a former army hospital annex at Fort Bliss, Texas, on the outskirts of El Paso.

In many respects, our situation was unusual. We had entered the country without passport or visa, but with the knowledge and approval of the President. Called officially "Project Paperclip" in Washington, we had no legal status; we were not permitted to move freely outside our camp. For lack of a better designation, we called ourselves "PoPs," Prisoners of Peace. Once every week, groups of four Germans, each group escorted by a sergeant, were allowed to go shopping in El Paso, then to have dinner in a restaurant, to see a movie, and to return to the barracks. Those of us who had learned English at school taught those who had not, with the result that a made-in-Germany accent prevailed in the English of the Paperclippers for the rest of their lives.

Our commander, Major Hamill, saw himself confronted with a difficult task. Years later, he told us during an oldtimers' reunion: "Throughout my military career, I had been taught that a soldier has to out-smart, out-wit, out-trick, and out-fox the enemy at every opportunity. The Germans had been our bitter enemies for years while I received my military training. Now, I suddenly found myself surrounded by 127 Germans for whose well-being I was responsible. None of my military books told me how to tackle and resolve the many conflicting situations that arose during those years at Fort Bliss. Looking back, I'm happy and proud that we made it! Considering all the wonderful things that came out of those rough beginnings in Texas, I feel privileged that I had been chosen to be your commander!"

Our main task in Fort Bliss and nearby White Sands was to help put together and launch several dozen V-2 rockets whose parts had been shipped to the United States from Germany after the war. All of these rocket flights carried scientific instruments to study the high atmosphere and the space beyond; over a total time span of almost seven years, between 1945 and 1952, they provided a rich harvest of new knowledge of the upper atmosphere, the ionosphere, the Earth's magnetic field, cosmic rays, and ultraviolet and X-rays from the sun. We had expected that we would be asked to design and build, on the basis of our Peenemunde experience, advanced and new rockets for further exploration of space beyond the atmosphere, and possibly also as weapons for defense. However, the official thinking at that time was that no military conflicts were to be expected in the future that would require military rockets, and nobody-except some forward-looking scientists at Fort Bliss and a few other scientific installations—thought of rockets or space exploration at that time. So, no development project was assigned to the Paperclip specialists at Fort Bliss. They spent most of their time indulging in self-chosen studies of future rocket and spaceflight projects. Contacts with American citizens were almost nonexistent, but about one year after the last members of the team had arrived at Fort Bliss, the families of the married men were brought over from Germany; we were allowed to buy secondhand cars and to travel in the vicinity of El Paso, and later even to more distant places, and we began to see and to appreciate the

beauty of this land with its endless, colorful prairies, its majestic mountain ranges, and its unbelievably blue skies that seemed to extend right into infinity. However, we still had almost no contact with the people of America.

That situation changed abruptly in the fall of 1949. At that time, dark clouds began to form over the skies of Korea, with two immediate consequences. First, the Beaumont Army Hospital in Fort Bliss, in need of its annex for expected war casualties, asked the Paperclippers to vacate the Fort Bliss barracks and look for another home; second, the army saw an urgent need for a missile similar to the V-2 as quickly as possible. Colonel Toftoy found a new home for "his rocket people" on the grounds of a former arsenal in Huntsville, Alabama, later to be called Redstone Arsenal. The group moved to Alabama during the summer of 1950. By that time, it had been joined by American civilian and military employees for a total strength of about four hundred. Immediately after the group's arrival, work on the new guided-missile project, the Redstone shortrange rocket, began.

That move to Huntsville was certainly the most significant event in the history of the German rocket team. First, it was a definite proof that the American government intended to keep the team here, and to assign important development projects to it. Second, we had become normal Civil Service employees of the government. Third, we were free to move around, to rent or buy houses, to join churches and civic organizations, to attend scientific congresses, to send our children to public schools, and even to start the lengthy procedures to become normal immigrants, to acquire "first papers," and eventually to become naturalized citizens of the United States of America. It was a great feeling for us to really belong now to this country which we had come to respect and to love as a second home. This would certainly not mean that we would forget our first home with which we would remain connected through many visible and invisible ties, but the United States would now be our place to live and to work; this would be the land and the people to whom we wanted to offer our loyalty as good citizens, just as millions of Germans had done before us.

It did not take us long to realize that Huntsville was indeed a wonderful new home for us. With almost every step, we were reminded of the lovely Southern way of life about which we had read in *Gone with the Wind*, this spontaneous hospitality and heartwarming friendliness of the Southerners. Our neighbors called us by our first names and were eager to help wherever they could; there were no fences or walls between the houses; initial reservations that sometimes could be felt always changed quickly into curiosity, and then into genuine interest and sincere friendship. There are some precious anecdotes typical of our early beginnings in the Deep South that will forever remain in our memories. One of Huntsville's prominent citizens, Wilson Smith, tells the story how, as a young boy in 1950, he one day watched a moving van being unloaded in front of an empty house on his street. He ran back to his father and told him that a bunch of new people were moving into that house. "They look strange,"

he said, "and they speak a funny language. I believe they are Germans." "Oh, oh," father replied, "here goes our neighborhood to the dogs!" After a while, the newcomers came over to say hello. "Hi," the man began, "my name is Wernher von Braun, and this is my wife Maria. We are your new neighbors!" From that moment on, they were friends. Young Wilson became the playmate of young Iris von Braun. Years later, Wilson married the daughter of another German newcomer, Heide Segewitz—"the best thing I ever did in my life," Wilson always adds when he tells the story.

Shortly after they had settled in Huntsville, some of the Germans were invited to an evening lecture about the history of Huntsville, to be given by a young history professor at the Huntsville Extension of the University of Alabama, Dr. Frances Roberts. After her talk, which dealt mainly with the dramatic events of the Civil War, one of the listeners asked: "How do you expect the city of Huntsville will accept and absorb this influx of rocket people from Texas?" After a little pause and a deep sigh, Dr. Roberts answered: "Well, ninety years ago our city survived that invasion of Yankees from the North; we may hope that it will also survive the present invasion of rocketeers from the West." About forty years later, after Huntsville's population had grown from 14,000 to about 170,000, after the little university extension had burgeoned into a fully autonomous university, and after Dr. Roberts, now a highly honored professor emerita, had become the most respected person ever connected with this university, the lady was asked how she felt now about that "invasion of rocketeers from the West."

"Our city," she replied, "has grown in steps. . . . By far the most decisive step came when von Braun and his crew moved here from Texas in 1950. Just everything began to grow in leaps and bounds! The population, stores, housing projects, schools, churches, streets, the cultural life, the symphony orchestra, the wealth of the city, and, of course, our university. It was just marvelous!"

Among the first contacts von Braun made after his arrival in Huntsville were those with the mayor, the chamber of commerce, and industrial leaders. Painting a very positive picture of the fast growth of Huntsville as a consequence of the obvious interest of the armed forces and the U.S. government in rocketry, and also in the potential future development of spaceflight and space exploration, he tried to encourage Huntsville business leaders to make aggressive plans for a broad economic growth in their city. In particular, he pleaded for opportunities of advanced education. Dr. Roberts remembered his untiring efforts during an interview in 1988. "Von Braun really understood academic needs," she said. "He knew how important a well-rounded education is, a proper balance between science, humanistic subjects, and technical courses. He could formulate his thoughts so beautifully, and he talked so that everybody would follow him and believe what he said. . . ." Von Braun's efforts toward the establishment of an autonomous university in Huntsville bore its first tangible fruit after he had given a speech to the state legislature in Montgomery in 1961 where he asked for, and promptly received, an amount of three million dollars for an academic research institute attached to the university extension. Eight years later, Huntsville had its own full-size, autonomous university.

While the city of Huntsville grew and expanded in every sense of the word—in population, industrial productivity, economic strength, cultural activities, educational opportunities, health care facilities, and links to other important centers in the country and in the world—so did the families of the scientists and engineers who had arrived in 1950. Some of us, including me, had come to the United States as bachelors. On my way from El Paso to Huntsville in the spring of 1950, I took a detour through Stuttgart in southern Germany where I knew of a young lady who was living there. She bravely agreed to take the big step across the Atlantic with me, so Huntsville became the place where our married life began. Our three children were born and raised here. They are living now far away from their hometown, but all three come here to visit several times each year.

One of the early personal needs many of us felt after our arrival in Huntsville in 1950 was the acquisition of a house. Our salaries were modest, and none of us had any assets when we arrived in the United States. The bank in Huntsville, headed by Mr. Spraggins, was willing to give us loans so that we could obtain larger FHA loans. However, as a careful and prudent banker, he wanted to be sure that each of us had a bank account of at least \$5,000, a sum that was several times higher than even the richest among us could show. Used to solving problems that involved the manipulation of large numbers, we quickly thought of a way out of this dilemma: several of us pooled our possessions together, and as soon as the magic sum of \$5,000 had been reached, one of us put it on his bank account, showed it to Mr. Spraggins, received his FHA loan, and began building his house. Then, he took the \$5,000 from his account, gave them to the next colleague in line, who was soon able to begin building his house. In this fashion, a considerable number of us newcomers were in the fortunate position of owning a house at a relatively early time. Years later, we began telling Mr. Spraggins what we had done. He quickly interrupted us and said: "Fellows, do you really think I did not know what you were doing? But I trusted you. During my long banking career, I had no client whom I would have trusted more than I trusted you!" His words made us really proud.

From 1950 till 1960, the von Braun team remained under army control as part of the U.S. military establishment. During that time, the number of team members grew to more than 4,000 men and women, not counting the large number of contractor employees who worked on contracts with us. The Redstone, Jupiter, and Pershing missiles were developed and built; the first satellite of the Free World, Explorer 1, and the first probe to the close vicinity of the moon, Pioneer 4, were launched in cooperation with the Jet Propulsion Laboratory; the first American astronaut in space, Alan Shepard, was carried through a ballistic trajectory by a modified Redstone rocket. In 1960, President Eisenhower decided the army's rocket development group, headed by von Braun, should be transferred to the newly created National Aeronautics and

Space Administration. The group would continue to occupy its offices, laboratories, test stands, and workshops in Huntsville, but it would report to the NASA administrator in Washington under the name of the George C. Marshall Space Flight Center in Huntsville. We felt deeply honored and gratified by having our center named in memory of General Marshall. After a brilliant career as a military leader, he became secretary of state after the war. He created the Marshall Plan which was so decisive in breaking down the wall of hatred that still existed at the time between nations. No other person has done as much as General Marshall to help the European nations, including Germany, find their way back to a normal existence after the terrible ravages of war. President Eisenhower, in his address at the dedication of Huntsville's Marshall Center, said: "He was a man of war, yet a builder of peace." General Marshall was the only professional soldier ever to receive the Nobel Peace Prize.

The first project the von Braun group began developing after its transfer to NASA was the family of Saturn rockets. Saturn 5, the largest of the Saturn series, was to launch the eighteen American astronauts on their six Apollo missions landing on the moon between 1969 and 1972. Wernher von Braun left Huntsville and joined NASA Headquarters in Washington early in 1970. In 1972, he terminated his work at NASA and joined Fairchild Industries as vice president for engineering. His life ended in June 1977. On many occasions, he had said: "The happiest years of my life were spent in Huntsville." Many of his

team members would gladly share this statement.

Huntsville, Alabama

#### Note

<sup>1</sup> In September 1995 a "Conference on America and Germany: Evolution of a Friendship" was held at the Burritt Museum, Huntsville, Alabama, where Dr. Stuhlinger presented this lecture documenting a unique chapter in German-American history. SGAS President Don Heinrich Tolzmann, a featured speaker at the conference, received Dr. Stuhlinger's kind permission to publish his talk in this volume of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies*.

# John Richardson

# Albert Bloch: An Annotated Bibliography

While living in Munich early in his career, around the time of the First World War, the German-American artist Albert Bloch was an active participant in one of the formative movements in modern art and came in intimate contact with some of the major artists of the twentieth century. By his own choice, however, he spent the last, almost forty years of his life in the isolation of a small Midwestern university town, immersed in self-imposed, albeit productive and relatively contented obscurity, largely forgotten by the art world. To be sure, recognition of his importance as a painter, draftsman, and caricaturist has been slowly growing in the years since his death in 1961. With the mounting of a major international retrospective exhibition of Bloch's paintings and drawings in 1997—an exhibition opening at the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City in January, the Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus in Munich in April, and the Delaware Art Museum in Wilmington in October—a clear signal has been given that the rediscovery of this extraordinary artist in now underway.

On the other hand, Albert Bloch's passion for the literary arts still remains a well-kept secret. Yet, he was in fact not only a pioneer translator of Karl Kraus and Georg Trakl but also a prolific poet and writer of prose, most of whose work is unpublished and waiting to be discovered. Moreover, he left behind a treasure trove of correspondence with friends, associates, and family in Europe and America, some notable names included. A highly desired side effect of the attention currently being focused on Bloch the artist would be greater awareness and appreciation of his literary interests and activities, which should come to be

seen as integral pieces of his multifaceted legacy.

Albert Bloch was born in St. Louis in 1882, the son of Bohemian-Jewish and German-Jewish immigrants. He left high school early and briefly attended a local art school. Beginning around the turn of the century, he worked as a free-lance illustrator for newspapers in St. Louis and New York. His political cartoons caught the eye of William Marion Reedy, editor and publisher of *The Mirror*, a nationally known weekly journal of politics and the arts based in St. Louis. Reedy hired Bloch in 1905 and the two collaborated on a series of word-and-picture caricatures of notable local and national personalities.

In 1908, with Reedy's aid and encouragement, Bloch went to Europe to study painting and to find himself as an artist. He settled in Munich with his wife and young son; but instead of taking lessons at the art academy, as Reedy had expected him to do, the strong-willed young man took his education into his own hands. He rented a studio and set to work. During the next several years he also visited the museums and galleries of Munich, Berlin, Paris and other European cities, eventually gaining direct exposure to the whole history of Western art. With the time and energy he had left over he read widely and broadened and deepened his knowledge of the German language and culture.

In 1911, mutual acquaintances arranged for Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc to visit Bloch in his studio. What they saw so impressed them that they invited Bloch to join them in a new artistic enterprise they called *Der Blaue Reiter*. Before long Bloch was actively collaborating with Kandinsky and Marc and other artists allied with the Blue Rider such as Paul Klee, Gabriele Münter, and Heinrich Campendonk. In a lecture Bloch gave many years later, he insisted that he had never been part of the inner circle of *Der Blaue Reiter* and had not even shared all of the group's aims. Nevertheless, the only American artist to participate in the epochal Blue Rider exhibitions of late 1911 and 1912 was Albert Bloch—and not, for example, Lyonel Feininger or Marsden Hartley, two of Bloch's countrymen then in Germany who today are far better known than Bloch.

By the time Bloch, having tired of the expatriate's life, returned to the United States in 1921 for good, he had made quite a name for himself in European art circles. His work had been shown in a host of exhibitions in. museums and galleries all across the Continent, often side by side with that of the leading German, French, and Russian modernists of the day. Meanwhile, news of this promising American painter's success abroad had reached his homeland. In 1915 Arthur Jerome Eddy, a leading American collector of European "modern art," exhibited twenty-five of Bloch's paintings at the Art Institute of Chicago and in Bloch's hometown of St. Louis. Just a few months after Bloch's return to America, a much larger one-man show was held at the Daniel Gallery in New York. Just when interest in Bloch on the part of art dealers and galleries in New York and Chicago was flourishing and he seemed on the verge of establishing himself as a major new American artist, Bloch firmly and permanently changed the course of his life's journey. Turning his back on fame and commercial success, he set out on the only path that he believed would allow him to preserve his artistic and spiritual integrity.

First he took a temporary position teaching at the Academy of Fine Arts in Chicago while his wife and their two sons stayed with relatives in St. Louis. Then in 1923 he accepted an offer to become the head of the Department of Drawing and Painting at the University of Kansas in Lawrence. Not long after coming to Lawrence, Bloch cut all ties with galleries and dealers and thereafter exhibited only on request. Sometimes he was represented by one or two paintings or drawings in group exhibitions, especially Blue Rider retrospectives

both here and in Europe. Always it was the work of his Munich period that was shown on these occasions. Bloch taught drawing and painting and the history of art to university students in Lawrence, Kansas, for close to twenty-five years, until ill health forced him to retire in 1947. He enjoyed teaching and was, by all accounts, an inspirational and influential teacher both in the classroom and the art studio. After his retirement Bloch remained in Lawrence. His first wife died in 1949 and two years later he married Anna Francis, a former student of his, who had been close to him and his family for many years. Bloch died in 1961, in the same house he had been occupying ever since his arrival in Lawrence nearly forty years before.

By the time of his death, his connection with the Blue Rider artists was all but forgotten. Certainly he had rarely spoken of it in public, had never attempted to capitalize on it. Little, if any, interest had been shown in the work he had done after his return to the United States. Evidently, there was little or no awareness that there might even be any. After Bloch's death, however, Anna Bloch quietly and patiently began to exert herself on his behalf, and over the years others who have come to admire his work have joined her in an effort to

bring this neglected artist's remarkable work before the public.

Throughout all the years he taught at the university and after his retirement, Bloch continued painting and drawing in the studio he had built in the attic of his house. While it is obvious that the work he did in Lawrence is connected with the work of his Munich period by certain common themes, moods, and stylistic elements, there is much that is new in it and much that represents a progression from what preceded it. Clowns, harlequins, and pierrots are recurring figures in all of his work, as are hooded, shrouded and masked figures, and figures in mourning. Religious themes, more or less specifically Christian in content, appear early and late. Bloch's representation of figures and landscape often has the quality of a powerfully concentrated vision or dream. In later years figures and objects are often blended transparent and ghostlike into their surroundings. By the 1930s his palette was usually limited to earth colors, highlighted by white; but with these limited means he could produce effects running from the most muted subtlety to the boldest intensity-witness the dazzling colors of an apocalyptic sunrise depicted in his late painting "Mine Eyes Have Seen." After his return from Europe, Bloch remained aloof from all of the new trends in art that proliferated after the second decade of this century. Instead, his artistic development followed a strictly internal logic.

Bloch's intensive, lifelong engagement with the ideas and works of Karl Kraus began in 1914 when he read Karl Kraus's journal *Die Fackel* for the first time. Kraus may have been the single greatest influence on Albert Bloch's life. In the preface to his book of translations of poems by Kraus, Bloch described Kraus with more than a touch of reverence as "the Viennese pamphletist, satirist, essayist, social critic, lyric and dramatic poet . . . and the most ardent ethical force at work in the world today." Kraus's exceedingly caustic analysis of twentieth-century Western civilization, his condemnation of bourgeois society

corrupted by greed, hypocrisy, commercialism and uncontrolled technology resonate all through Bloch's literary and pictorial expression. Although personal experience and observation played a great part in Bloch's uncompromising rejection of the commercial art world and in his conviction that artistic integrity and popular success were mutually exclusive propositions, the influence of Kraus on Bloch's thinking on these questions is undeniable.

Bloch's book of Kraus translations, the first of its kind in English, is only one example of Bloch's manifold efforts to champion the cause of Karl Kraus in America. Bloch also translated other writings of Kraus. Only some of these translations were published. He lectured on Kraus and gave readings from Kraus's works, sometimes in the original and sometimes in translation. From translating Kraus Bloch proceeded to translating other writers such as Goethe

and Trakl, though on a smaller scale.

Exposure to Kraus's poetry inspired Bloch to write poetry of his own. Bloch's second book, *Ventures in Verse*, contains only a small selection of his poetry. The rest has not been published. Some of Bloch's poetry closely resembles Kraus's in theme and spirit, but Bloch's individual experience and distinctive voice are always strongly present. Waiting to be done is research on the influence in both directions between Bloch's artistic and literary creation. Such a study would almost certainly bring Bloch's individuality as a writer and an artist into sharper focus.

As remote as Lawrence, Kansas, was from the cultural and political mainstream in the 1930s, Bloch was still more intimately connected with contemporary people and events in Europe than all but a handful of Americans. This came about as a direct result of Bloch's involvement with Karl Kraus. In tandem with his book of Kraus translations, Bloch's letters to Kraus that had been published in *Die Fackel* had brought him into contact with a good many of Kraus's friends and associates and made him known to readers of *Die Fackel* and admirers of Kraus everywhere. As the Nazi menace mounted in central Europe, quite a number of these people—many of them Jewish—wrote to Bloch, himself a Jew by birth though not at all by practice or conviction, asking, sometimes pleading, for help in emigrating to the United States. Quite early it became all too apparent to Bloch—who had experienced the devastation of the First World War from inside Germany—that an even greater cataclysm was soon to be loosed on mankind.

Although there was little Bloch could do to help the people who wrote to him, many of them fortunately did manage to escape to the United States or some other place of safety. One of these refugees, Michael Lazarus, became perhaps Bloch's closest friend. Kraus was also the link between Bloch and two of his most important postwar correspondents, Sidonie Nádherný and Mechtilde Lichnowsky.

Understandably, Bloch's art and writing grew darker and more pessimistic as the world edged ever closer to the brink of war, then went over the edge, finally, in 1939. The advent of the cold war after the horrors of the Second

World War, the looming shadow of nuclear annihilation, did nothing to reassure Bloch in his final years about the future of humanity. He found solace in his work, his family, and his far-flung network of like-minded friends. He continued painting in his attic studio until about two years before a final illness overtook him in late autumn of 1961.

This is the first bibliography of Albert Bloch meant to stand on its own and not as part of some larger work, the first to aspire to being comprehensive in taking into account Bloch's achievements both as an artist and as a writer, and the first annotated bibliography of Albert Bloch. Special emphasis is given to the unpublished resources in the possession of Anna Bloch.<sup>3</sup>

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup>Albert Bloch, "Kandinsky, Marc, Klee: Criticism and Reminiscence." Unpublished lecture.

<sup>2</sup>Albert Bloch, trans., *Poems: Authorized Translation from the German*, by Karl Kraus (Boston: Four Seas Press, 1930), 3.

<sup>3</sup>I am indebted to Anna Bloch, Albert Bloch's widow, for making these and other materials in his archives available and for generously sharing her knowledge about Albert Bloch with me in numerous conversations in the Bloch home.

### Annotated Bibliography

# I. Publications by Albert Bloch as Author or Translator (by date)

#### A. Books

1. Bloch, Albert, trans. *Poems: Authorized Translation from the German*. By Karl Kraus. Boston: Four Seas Press, 1930. 150 pp.

For this book Albert Bloch translated eighty-nine poems by Karl Kraus drawn from several sources: *Epigramme*; the multivolume series *Worte in Versen*; and the closing scenes from *Die letzten Tage der Menschheit*, Kraus's titanic documentary drama of the Great War. Although Kraus surely was better known for his satirical and polemical verse, Bloch insisted on including selections of his lyric poetry, too. In his "Translator's Foreword," Bloch boldly acclaimed Kraus "the greatest writer of German verse and prose since Goethe" and "the most ardent ethical force at work in the world today."

Bloch felt that his book had been irreparably disfigured by slovenly editing on the part of the publisher. He was so disgusted that he bought up and destroyed as many copies as he could to keep them out of circulation. Later he undertook a revision of the book, not only correcting the publisher's errors but

also revising to one degree or another all but seventeen of the poems. This

version has not been published [see 62].

Ironically, there is ample evidence that this little collection of translations was highly regarded by those friends and admirers in Europe who had read it and by Kraus himself. The important contacts Bloch later made with persons from Kraus's circle stemmed largely from the reputation he had built in Europe on the basis of this book and his contributions to *Die Fackel*.

2. Ventures in Verse: Selected Pieces. New York: Frederick Ungar, 1947. 98 pp.

This book contains fifty-four poems by Albert Bloch along with his translations of ten poems by Karl Kraus, one each by Goethe and Matthias Claudius, and two by Paul Zech, all selected from a large body of poems and translations which Bloch had compiled over many years in three volumes under the title "Ventures in Verse."

It could not have been published without the efforts of Bloch's close friend Michael Lazarus, who handled all the negotiations with the publisher, something which Bloch, living in remote Lawrence, Kansas, and debilitated by illness, could scarcely have managed on his own, even if he had possessed the temperament for it, which he did not.

Notwithstanding the variety of themes, moods, and formal characteristics displayed in these "selected pieces," many of Bloch's own poems are imbued with the spirit of Karl Kraus, apart from the three which expressly concern Kraus and not to mention the homage to Kraus's *Worte in Versen* implicit in Bloch's title *Ventures in Verse.* For example, in the ten sonnets drawn from the "Black City" cycle, a collection of seventy-one sonnets in the third volume of Bloch's unpublished compilation, Bloch railed against the evils of modern, urban life as did Kraus so passionately for many years in *Die Fackel* [see 56].

 Bloch, Albert, trans. German Poetry in War and Peace: A Dual-Language Anthology. Edited by Frank Baron. Lawrence, Kansas: The Max Kade Center for German-American Studies, University of Kansas, 1995. xxvi, 301 pp.

This substantial collection of Albert Bloch's translations includes thirty-seven poems of Karl Kraus, thirty-five poems of Georg Trakl (together with a companion essay "Translator's Postscript"), and sixteen poems of Goethe. Matthias Claudius, Immanuel Kant, Eduard Mörike, Else Lasker-Schüler and Paul Zech are also represented. Many of the translations were previously unpublished [see esp. 62, 63]. Among the color reproductions of Bloch's paintings and drawings are highly imaginative "portraits" of Kraus and Trakl.

### B. Poems and Translations Published Separately in Books

4. "Kreis dankbarer Freunde." Stimmen über Karl Kraus zum 60. Geburtstag. Vienna: Richard Lányi, 1934, 9-10.

Albert Bloch helped to assemble this little festschrift for Karl Kraus along with Bertolt Brecht, Else Lasker-Schüler, Mechtilde Lichnowsky, Alban Berg and other "grateful friends." Bloch's contribution was a sonnet "To Karl Kraus," which begins with the words: "Master, to whom I owe my mind's new birth. . . ." On the following page appears a German prose rendering of the poem, by Karl Jaray [see 68]. "To Karl Kraus" is the first poem in *Ventures in Verse: Selected Pieces*.

 Gode, Alexander and Frederick Ungar, eds. Anthology of German Poetry through the 19th Century: In English Translation with German Originals. New York: Frederick Ungar, 1964, 57, 103.

Included in this anthology are Albert Bloch's translations of Matthias Claudius's "Kriegslied" and Goethe's "Selige Sehnsucht," both of which first appeared in Bloch's *Ventures in Verse: Selected Pieces*.

6. Zohn, Harry. Karl Kraus. Twayne's World Author Series, no. 116. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1971, 19, 56, 58, 88, 99, 127.

Six translations by Albert Bloch of poems by Karl Kraus appear in this monograph on Kraus [see 149].

C. Periodicals: Essays, Prose, Poetry, Reviews

The Mirror (1907-13); Reedy's Mirror (1919-20)

Albert Bloch wrote all but the first three of these little articles for William Marion Reedy's weekly during his residence in Germany. Most of the pieces are a mixture of reportage and opinion on recent artistic, literary, and musical developments in Europe; a few others may be called impressionistic vignettes. Sixteen of the twenty-five pieces were printed under the pseudonym Joseph Strong. From 1905 on, numerous caricatures and illustrations by Bloch appeared in *The Mirror* and sometimes on the cover.

- 7. "Gotham Comment and Caricature." 19 December 1907, 33-35.
- 8. "The Work of Henri Matisse." 14 May 1908, 9-10.
- 9. "Nance O'Neil: An Appreciation." 17 December 1908, 4.

- 10. "The Elektra of Strauss." 6 May 1909, 5-7.
- Strong, Joseph, pseud. "The Sallow Man: An Incident in the Life of Nicodemus Bopp." 15 July 1909, 3. [Nos. 11-26 under preudonym Joseph Strong.]
- 12. \_\_\_\_\_. "More Best Tens." Letter to the editor. 12 August 1909, 3.
- 13. \_\_\_\_\_. "Missouri Abroad." Letter to the editor. 16 September 1909, 12-
- 14. \_\_\_\_\_. "The Beggar: A Streetcorner Study." 16 December 1909, 32-35.
- 15. \_\_\_\_\_. "American Painting in Germany." 9 June 1910, 4-7.
- 16. \_\_\_\_\_. "Derelicts: A Conversational Fragment." 23 June 1910, 4-5.
- 17. \_\_\_\_\_. "Curtain Speech: An Afterthought." 30 June 1910, 5-6.
- 18. \_\_\_\_\_. "A Moth." 13 October 1910, 4-5.
- 19. \_\_\_\_\_. "An Ambition." 10 November 1910, 6-8.
- 20. "Our Printers." Letter to the editor. 15 December 1910, 18-19.
- 21. \_\_\_\_\_. "Next Morning." 2 February 1911, 8-9.
- 22. "Compositions in Monochrome." 15 February 1912, 6-7.
- 23. \_\_\_\_\_. "Wehmut." 7 March 1912, 5.
- 24. \_\_\_\_\_. "Prophecy." 4 April 1912, 11.
- 25. \_\_\_\_\_. "Where Is Sanctuary?" 23 May 1912, 7.
- 26. \_\_\_\_\_. "August Strindberg." Letter to the editor. 11 July 1912, 6, 8.
- 27. "Block [i.e. Bloch] Comes Back." Letter to the editor. 7 February 1913, 13-15.
- 28. "Mr. Bloch Protests." 21 November 1913, 9.
- 29. "From a Painter's Notebook: Prejudice and Presumption." 31 July 1919, 512-13.

- 30. "My Pictures at the Guild." 11 March 1920, 178-80.
- 31. "Der Künstler über alles: From 'Prejudice and Presumption." 22 April 1920, 333.

The International: A Review of Two Worlds 12 (1913)

32. "German Writers in Caricature." Part 1 (September 1913): 264-65; Part 2 (October 1913): 293-96.

This two-part article features twenty memorable pen-and-ink caricatures by Albert Bloch of contemporary German and Austrian writers (with a few artists and publishers thrown in for good measure) along with Bloch's trenchant accompanying commentary. Among those depicted, and in some cases skewered, are Arthur Schnitzler, Frank Wedekind, Heinrich Mann, and Karl Kraus, to whom Bloch shows no special deference. Bloch's "discovery" of Karl Kraus did not occur until he began reading *Die Fackel* in 1914.

Der Sturm (1916)

Herwarth Walden, besides editing and publishing his Expressionist journal *Der Sturm*, also sponsored numerous exhibitions in Berlin of artists associated with modernism, including Albert Bloch.

- 33. "Aufzeichnungen aus einem Notizbuch." 6: 142.
- 34. "Über Paul Klee." Letter to the editor, with a reply by the editor. 7: 11.

Der Ararat: Glossen, Skizzen und Notizen zur neuen Kunst (1920)

The first two issues of this journal published by the Munich gallery owner Hans Goltz featured numerous black-and-white reproductions of paintings and drawings by Albert Bloch.

- 35. "Statt einer Autobiographie: Auszüge aus einem Brief." 2 (December 1920): 137.
- 36. "Aufzeichnungen aus meinen Notizbüchern." 2 (December 1920): 138.

Die Fackel (1923-30)

Twelve of Albert Bloch's letters (or excerpts thereof) addressed to Karl Kraus or his representatives were printed in *Die Fackel* [see 72]. The first letters were unsigned or signed only with the initials "A. B." On scrutinizing the

postmarks, Kraus was moved to refer in print to this anonymous correspondent as "Der Leser aus Kansas."

Bloch revealed his identity in a pair of letters printed in the March 1926 issue describing a reading of a selection of Kraus's poems that Bloch had given in February of that year at the University of Kansas in Lawrence. A letter that appeared in the December 1930 issue reported on a reading that Bloch had given in St. Louis.

The majority of the letters revolved around questions pertaining to German grammar and stylistics. Some letters show that Bloch followed with great interest the political and cultural controversies on which Kraus and *Die Fackel* thrived. It is evident from the commentary that usually accompanied Bloch's letters in *Die Fackel* that Kraus sincerely appreciated Bloch's penetrating intelligence and his love of language, not to mention his unqualified admiration of Karl Kraus.

The latter came strongly to the fore in Bloch's letter in the December 1930 issue. The letter is a blistering rebuttal of H. L. Mencken's derogatory remarks about Kraus included in Mencken's unfriendly review of Bloch's book of selected poems of Kraus in English translation, which had been published earlier that year [see 1].

These letters and, to a lesser degree, Bloch's book of Kraus translations made a lasting impression on quite a number of Kraus's friends and admirers. During the 1930s Nazi persecution compelled many of these people to turn to Bloch for help in escaping to the United States. Although there was little that Bloch could do for them, lasting relationships were forged between Bloch and a half dozen or so of these highly literate people with whom Bloch had many things in common, not least a profound admiration for Karl Kraus.

37. "Lionardo da Vinci: Prophezeiung (Notizbücher)." Translation. 622 (June 1923): 208.

Translation of an excerpt from Leonardo's notebooks from English into German.

- 38. Letter to the editor. 668 (December 1924): 101.
- 39. Letter to the editor. 679 (March 1925): 107-8.
- 40. Letter to the editor. 717 (March 1926): 32-33.
- 41. Letter to the editor. 717 (March 1926): 33-34.
- 42. Letter to the editor. 726 (July 1926): 76-77.
- 43. Letter to the editor. 743 (December 1926): 72.

- 44. Letter to the editor. 751 (February 1927): 89.
- 45. Letter to the editor. 751 (February 1927): 91.
- 46. Letter to the editor. 759 (June 1927): 21.
- 47. Letter to the editor. 806 (May 1929): 66.
- 48. Letter to the editor. 834 (May 1930): 39.
- 49. Letter to the editor. 845 (December 1930): 23-24.

## D. Other Periodicals and Publications (1922-40)

The first two pieces are part of a collection of seven lectures and essays on art which Albert Bloch titled "Pictures and People" [see 59(1), 59(7)]. The third and fourth pieces are extracts from another unpublished manuscript "Ishmael's Breviary" [see 58].

- 50. "Portraits and the Painter: A Critical Essay." The Smart Set 69 (October 1922): 91-96.
- 51. "Whistler and the Pot of Paint." The Milwaukee Arts Monthly 1 (November/December 1922): 13-15.
- 52. "From Ishmael's Breviary." The Commonweal: A Weekly Review of Literature, the Arts, and Public Affairs 6 (15 June 1927): 157.
- 53. "From Ishmael's Breviary." The Commonweal: A Weekly Review of Literature, the Arts and Public Affairs 9 (27 March 1929): 598.
- 54. "Karl Kraus' Shakespeare." Books Abroad 11 (1937): 21-24.
- 55. Review of Ausgewählte Gedichte, by Karl Kraus. Books Abroad 14 (1940): 53.

# II. Unpublished Typescripts and Manuscripts by Albert Bloch

These manuscripts are in the possession of Anna Bloch, Albert Bloch's widow, in Lawrence, Kansas. Copies of all documents in the Bloch archives will eventually be donated to the Max Kade Center for German-American Studies at the University of Kansas, Lawrence.

### A. Poetry

56. "Ventures in Verse," v. 1-3. Typescript (v. 1, 236 leaves; v. 2, 190 leaves; v. 3, 369 leaves).

Albert Bloch compiled a great many of his poems and translations in these three volumes. Title pages and tables of contents are provided with each volume. Bloch's title for the compilation, "Ventures in Verse," was certainly meant to echo Karl Kraus's *Worte in Versen*, the title of nine volumes of poetry by Kraus that had been originally published in *Die Fackel*.

Volume one consists of 112 poems with an afterword, "A Word to the Reader." Most, if not all, of the poems evidently were written in the 1920s. A first revision was done in 1937 and a second one in 1953. All but the last poem, an unfinished narrative poem titled "The Garden Realm: A Fragment," are

grouped under headings as follows:

The thirty poems of "Portraits and People" generally in some way depict named or unnamed persons such as Karl Kraus, Chopin, Chesterton, Strindberg, "a gracious lady" or types such as "a flaneur," "a psychologist," "the skeptic." One poem is addressed to a dog name Pete and one bears the title "The Lost City." The twenty-eight poems of "White Wonder" are celebrations of nature. The fifty-three poems of "Catharsis and Compensation" are mostly in the polemical, "Krausian" vein. In the afterword Albert Bloch expresses gratitude for the profound and abiding influence that Kraus has exerted on his creative life.

Volume two consists of 145 poems and translations. Most of the poems seem to have been written between 1934 and 1937, although some began as prose

pieces, the earliest of which dates back to around 1909.

The influence of Kraus is as pervasive in this volume as the first. Of the first four poems, two are about Kraus, "On the Verge" and "Before his Deathmask," and the other two are translations of poems by Kraus. "Ode of Invocation" commemorates Kraus's birthday in 1937, the year after his death. Many other poems and most especially the seventy-one sonnets of the "Black City" cycle address typical "Krausian" themes, such as the corruption, hypocrisy, and spiritual hollowness of modern mass society. (Bloch also produced a cycle of twelve pen-and-ink drawings likewise titled "The Black City".)

Counterposed to the hellish urban world portrayed in "The Black City" are nineteen of the thirty-four poems that make up "The Book of Templeton," which depict a private paradise inhabited by a man and a woman in love: a particular place called Templeton Hill and, at the same time, a shared state of mind. (There is a companion series of drawings titled "Templeton Vignettes.")

Among the translations are renderings of poems of François Villon and Paul Zech and sixteen sonnets of Goethe. Some other poems include a cycle of ten sonnets called "Desolate Landscapes," and "Roman Holiday," an extended and still timely satire on the media circus surrounding the Hauptmann trial.

Volume three consists of 203 poems and translations composed between 1937 and 1940 or 1941, with the exception of the final piece. Again, many of the poems are grouped under headings. The first thirteen poems in "1939-'40" express fear, anger and despair over the coming of war. They are followed by forty-nine "Sonnets to the Dead" addressed to departed family members, friends, acquaintances and other figures who meant something to their author. "Epistle to Weidlingau" tells the story of Bloch's long involvement with Karl Kraus. Childhood memories are the subject of the forty-six poems that make up the sequence "Beside the Still Waters, Parts I-II." The philosophical narrative poem, "The Garden of Asses: A Fantasy in Five Parts," begins with the story of the young Jesus and the ass that bore him on the journey to Egypt. (There is a painting by Bloch with the same title.) Among the forty-eight poems of "Commonplace Book" are included aphoristic and satirical pieces and translations of a poem by Eduard Mörike and a short prose passage of Karl Kraus. Some of the themes of "The Book of Templeton" from the second volume are revisited in the twenty-four poems of "Recalling Templeton." Following twenty poems under the heading "Miscellany" comes the closing piece, a translation of Mechtilde Lichnowsky's narrative poem, "Gott betet," which Bloch called "Adoro Te" [see 75]. There are also two handwritten rough drafts of this translation, both dated July 1950.

57. "Of the Beginning." Handwritten prose plan for the poem (11 leaves). Two handwritten rough drafts (draft A, 63 leaves; draft B, 61 leaves). Two penand-ink drawings (2 leaves).

This is an unfinished narrative poem in unrhymed verse begun in October 1943. It tells of an arduous journey through an imaginary landscape. One of the drawings is a map of this landscape.

# B. Essays, Prose, Lectures

58. "Ishmael's Breviary." Mostly typescript (450-75 leaves and odd-sized pieces of paper).

This fragmentary compilation of essays, prose, aphorisms, anecdotes and extracts of letters is divided up under the headings "Painter's Progress," "Prejudice and Presumption" and "Correspondence." The earliest pieces date back to Albert Bloch's years in Europe. The subject matter is very diverse, but certain themes stand out: art and the artist; the loathsomeness of journalism and journalists, of commercialization and accepted business practices; belief and doubt.

59. "Pictures and People: From a Painter's Point of View." Typescript (180 leaves).

Seven essays or lectures on art were collected under this title. The first and the earliest piece, "Portraits and the Painter," was written in 1916 and published in 1922 in H. L. Mencken's *The Smart Set* and the last piece, "Whistler and the Pot of Paint," appeared the same year in *The Milwaukee Arts Monthly*. The other pieces were lectures that Albert Bloch actually gave in public on at least one occasion.

(1) "Portraits and the Painter" is a meditation on portrait painting, which Bloch considered second-rate art except when the artist makes an interpretive portrait of his subject, not a naturalistic or a flattering likeness [see 50].

(2) "Appreciation and 'Art in the Home'" is a condemnation of both art appreciation and interior decorating. Bloch's counterassertion is that the purpose of pictures in the home ought to be to serve as objects of contemplation

on spiritual values.

(3) "Looking at Pictures" expresses Bloch's belief that many modern artists, including himself, are really not progressives at all, but retrogressives who are trying to regain the wholehearted innocence, simplicity and spirituality of the medieval painters. (There is also a typescript of a different version of this lecture titled "On Looking at Pictures.")

(4) "Kandinsky, Marc, Klee: Criticism and Reminiscence," in several ways the centerpiece of these discourses on art, is both a recollection of Bloch's personal relationship with these three Blue Rider artists and a clear-eyed assessment of the artistic strengths and weaknesses of each one from Bloch's considered perspective.

(5) "Back to the Soil" satirizes a contemporary movement in American art characterized, according to Bloch, by a completely inauthentic, morally bankrupt primitivism, which the "art establishment" busily exploited for

commercial profit.

(6) "Children and Pictures" lauds the program of art instruction for children at the Hull House in Chicago for providing a setting which takes advantage of children's lack of self-consciousness and natural receptivity to art. Bloch finds this kind of purity completely lacking in the commercialized art world.

(7) "Whistler and the Pot of Paint" is a not uncritical assessment of James McNeill Whistler and his role in the controversy that erupted after the art critic John Ruskin castigated one of Whistler's paintings as "a pot of paint flung in the face of the British public."

# 60. Lectures on the history of art. Typescript (ca. 700 leaves).

Albert Bloch introduced the study of art history to the curriculum at the University of Kansas. These are lecture notes for twenty lectures on the history of Western art from the Middle Ages through the end of eighteenth century which Albert Bloch gave in the four-semester art history course he regularly taught at the University of Kansas between 1924 or 1925 and 1947, the year of his retirement. In the introductory lecture Bloch advises young artists to beware

of modern "art education" and to strike out on their own as soon as they can. He also warns that because American painting has yet to find its own way, young artists run the risk of losing their native individuality through

overexposure to European models.

The preface to the first lecture announces that the lectures represent Bloch's personal view of the history of art. He idealizes the Middle Ages as a time when art was thoroughly and naturally integrated into everyday life, when art and life alike were simple, honest, and intensely spiritual. The Renaissance started Europe down the road of increasing naturalism, secularization, and soullessness and since then art has been about the contest between two tendencies, one being the spiritual and the emotional and the other being the scientific and the sensual. Giotto represents the medieval ideal, Raphael the beginning of all that is abhorrent about the Renaissance, and Michelangelo the perfect balance between spirituality and technical mastery.

## C. Translations by Albert Bloch

61. "Karl Kraus: Aphorisms." Handwritten rough draft. Two typescripts (A, 156 leaves; B, 122 leaves).

Albert Bloch's translations of the great majority of Karl Kraus's aphorisms are collected in typescript A and divided up under the titles of the books from which they were selected: *Sprüche und Widersprüche, Pro domo et mundo* and *Nachts*. Bloch completed the translations between May and September 1942.

Typescript B is a selection of Bloch's translations in typescript A. The selection was made by Bloch's friend Michael Lazarus [see 74]. Around 1960 Lazarus showed these translations to W. H. Auden, who undertook a revision of them on his own. Auden made corrections in pen on typescript B, usually changing the occasional word or phrase to achieve a more colloquial, less mannered rendering. Auden suggested that these translations be reorganized and brought under separate headings, as Kraus himself had done in the German editions.

# 62. "Poems by Karl Kraus, Revised." Galley proofs (150 pp.).

Albert Bloch was so dismayed by the error-ridden production of his book of translations of selected poems by Karl Kraus that he tried to remove from circulation as many copies as he could. He also became dissatisfied with many of his translations. At some point he made extensive corrections and revisions in pen on his personal copy. Later, galley proofs for a planned publication of the revised version were prepared by Martin Jahoda, who had been Karl Kraus's printer in Vienna and was then living in New York; but when Jahoda became seriously ill, the publication attempt had to be abandoned.

Seventy-two of the eighty-nine translated poems were revised, some quite radically. Most of the poems that were untouched are the shorter epigrams.

63. "Poems after the German of Georg Trakl, 1887-1914." Handwritten rough drafts. Typescript (56 leaves).

In September 1942 Albert Bloch's friend Michael Lazarus presented Bloch with a copy of Georg Trakl's first collection of poems, which had originally appeared in 1913. Bloch had first heard of Trakl years ago but had never read him until then. Hoping that by translating these difficult poems into English he might understand them better, Bloch translated thirty-five of the fifty-one poems between October 1942 and January 1943; and in the spring he completed the afterword, "Translator's Postscript." These translations, together with Bloch's afterword, were finally published in 1995 in an anthology of Bloch's poetry translations edited by Frank Baron [see 3].

The rough drafts reveal that Bloch usually made two or three drafts of each poem before he got what he wanted to put in typescript. The afterword provides important insight into Bloch's theory of translation, which, Bloch averred, could be succinctly stated by Karl Kraus's pun on *übersetzen* ('to translate'): *üb Ersetzen* ('practice substitution').

## III. Correspondence of Albert Bloch (by Correspondent)

A generous selection of Albert Bloch's voluminous correspondence is recorded here. Bloch had a great many European correspondents, Austrians and Germans mostly, some of whose names are more or less generally known to the educated public. In the latter category belong Wassily Kandinsky, Franz Marc, Lyonel Feininger, and possibly Ernst Krenek. The names of many other correspondents are quite familiar to students and scholars interested in Karl Kraus and his circle of friends and admirers. Among Bloch's domestic correspondents were his son Bernard, his cousin Herman Salinger, his friend and patron William Marion Reedy, and his friend Thekla Bernays.

All of the correspondence recorded here is in the possession of Anna Bloch, Albert Bloch's widow, either in the form of the original letters or copies of the letters obtained from other sources, unless otherwise noted.

Except when writing to close friends and family, Bloch made a habit of first composing a draft of his letters and then making a fair copy with or without revisions, which he posted. It is generally these drafts that have been preserved in the Bloch archives, rather than the actual letters. Very few letters received by Albert Bloch are believed to be missing, although some that were once kept by Bloch's son Bernard in New Haven, Connecticut, are in doubt.

The language of Bloch's "European" correspondence was usually German, although some of his correspondents wrote in a mixture of German and English, Mechtilde Lichnowsky being the most notable example, and Bloch sometimes

reciprocated in like manner. It should be mentioned, finally, that the term "letters" here also includes postcards and telegrams.

64. Bernays, Thekla. 45 letters from AB to TH. 1908-April 1921. Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

Albert Bloch met Thekla Bernays, who belonged to one of the most distinguished families in St. Louis, when they were both working for William Marion Reedy's *Mirror*, he as a caricaturist, she as a writer. Bloch's letters to her from Germany are of interest because of what they reveal about Bloch's experiences and state of mind at different times during his years abroad.

65. Bloch, Bernard. 86 letters from BB to AB. 1924-1961. Anna Bloch, Lawrence.

Bernard Bloch (1907-65), the older of Albert Bloch's two sons was a noted linguist. He taught at Yale for many years, coedited with Hans Kurath *The Linguistic Atlas of New England*, was in charge of Japanese instruction for the Army Specialized Training Program during World War II, and was the editor of the prestigious linguistics journal *Language* (1939-65). Albert and Bernard were very close. The relationship revealed in their correspondence is that of two friends, fellow writers and kindred spirits rather than that of father and son. They freely discussed their ongoing literary projects with each other, solicited criticism from each other and offered the same in return.

66. Butler, Harold A. 1 Letter from AB to HB. June 1923. Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence.

This letter by Albert Bloch applying for the position of professor and director of the Department of Drawing and Painting at the University of Kansas and addressed to the Dean of the School of Fine Arts summarizes his early career and his views on art.

67. Feininger, Lyonel. 27 letters from LF to AB. December 1938-July 1951. Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, Utica, NY.

Albert Bloch and fellow American artist Lyonel Feininger (1871-1956) met in Berlin in 1913 in connection with the "Erster Deutscher Herbstsalon" exhibition, but there was no further contact between them until Bloch wrote to Feininger soon after Feininger's return to the United States after more than forty years in Europe. Feininger's letters express despair about Nazi domination of his beloved Germany and deep concern about the fate of friends and relatives still exposed to the dangers that he had just escaped. The letters also reveal that Feininger and his wife were in rather desperate financial straits and were finding

it difficult to adjust to their new life in unfamiliar surroundings, cut off from their past. Feininger praises Bloch's recent work warmly and expresses some dissatisfaction with his own.

In 1939 Feininger suggested that Bloch join him for the summer in Falls Village, Connecticut, and arranged for Bloch to live in a cottage a short distance from the Feiningers' cottage. Thereafter, Bloch returned with Anna Bloch to Falls Village regularly in the summers until the early 1950s. Bloch's letters to Feininger have not been found.

68. Jaray, Karl. 14 letters for AB to KJ. December 1929-August 1939. 21 letters from KJ to AB. November 1929-July 1939. Brenner Archiv, Innsbruck.

The early correspondence between Albert Bloch and Karl Jaray, a member of the Kraus circle in Vienna, mainly concerned Jaray's project of developing an index for *Die Fackel*, then thirty years old, with the help of a group of Kraus enthusiasts. Bloch approved of the idea wholeheartedly but did not have the time to give his participation. Kraus's will named Jaray one of the heirs of his estate. Jaray died in exile in South America.

69. Jone, Hildegard. 6 letters from AB to HJ. January 1936-April 1939. 57 letters from HJ to AB. June 1935-November 1961. Brenner Archiv, Innsbruck.

The Austrian painter and writer Hildegard Jone (1891-1963) was an admirer of Karl Kraus and a friend and associate of Ludwig von Ficker, founder of *Der Brenner*, a journal that was based in Innsbruck and was modeled on *Die Fackel*. The correspondence between Albert Bloch and Jone began when Bloch wrote a letter to Jone (which is now lost), in which he complimented her on a book of her poems that he had read with great pleasure, and continued sporadically until Bloch's death in December 1961.

Kandinsky, Wassily. 5 letters from AB to WK. May 1936-June 1937.
 Drafts, Anna Bloch, Lawrence; letters received by WK, Centre Pompidou, Paris. 3 letters from WK to AB. June 1936-April 1937. Anna Bloch, Lawrence.

Wassily Kandinsky, together with Franz Marc, had invited Albert Bloch to join the Blue Rider enterprise in 1911. Kandinsky and Bloch lost contact with each other when Kandinsky left Germany with the outbreak of war in 1914. In 1936 Bloch initiated the correspondence with Kandinsky, then living in Paris. Bloch, evidently concerned about Kandinsky's long-term safety in the worsening European political climate, cautiously offered to help Kandinsky in any way he could. Kandinsky seems to have misconstrued what kind of assistance Bloch wished to provide, because he replied stiffly that since his paintings were selling

quite briskly, his circumstances in Paris were more than comfortable and he was not in need of Bloch's help. The letters contain a good deal of discussion between Bloch and Kandinsky of their artistic concerns and their views on current trends in art.

 Kraft, Werner. 57 letters from AB to WK. March 1933-July 1942. Drafts, Anna Bloch, Lawrence; letters received by WK, Werner Kraft Archiv, Rheinbach, Germany. 138 letters from WK to AB. March 1933-November 1955. Brenner Archiv, Innsbruck.

Werner Kraft (1896-1991), who knew of Albert Bloch from Bloch's letters that had been printed in *Die Fackel*, initially wrote to Bloch for assistance in emigrating to the United States from Germany, where Kraft felt that as a Jew he had no future. Although Bloch could do nothing to help, their correspondence continued as Kraft went first to Sweden and then Paris before settling in Jerusalem in 1934. Kraft and Bloch were both involved in the planning of the festschrift for Karl Kraus published in 1934 under the title *Stimmen über Karl Kraus zum 60. Geburtstag* [see 4]. Alone among Bloch's many Jewish friends and acquaintances, Kraft shows great concern (in his early letters at least) about the preservation of the Jewish heritage in general and his own Jewish identity in particular. In Palestine and later Israel Kraft worked as a librarian and authored poetry, fiction, and literary criticism, including several books and articles on Karl Kraus. The Bloch-Kraft correspondence frequently revolved around literary matters. Some of Kraus's works are discussed in great detail.

 Kraus, Karl (or Der Verlag "Die Fackel"). 40(?) letters from AB to KK. November 1923-September 1935. 24 letters from *Die Fackel* to AB. Karl Kraus Archiv, Vienna.

The exact number of letters Albert Bloch wrote to *Die Fackel* has not been clearly determined. Only three of the twenty-two letters which are in Anna Bloch's possession are among the twelve letters, excerpts of which are known to have been printed in the pages of *Die Fackel*. Cited in Werner Mohr's dissertation on Albert Bloch are additional letters which did not appear in *Die Fackel* and are not in Bloch's archives in Lawrence [see 153].

The twelve letters of Albert Bloch that were published in *Die Fackel* are recorded in section 1.1.2. The earliest of the other ten letters pertain to Bloch's attempt to obtain a subscription to *Die Fackel*, no simple task because of the very small number of American readers, although arrangements finally were made through Karl Kraus's agent in New York. Most of the remaining letters are concerned with Bloch's translating activities, including his translations of selected poems by Kraus which appeared in 1930 under the imprint of the Boston publisher Four Seas Press [see 1].

73. Krenek, Ernst. 19 letters from AB to EK. August 1938-October 1943. 29 letters from EK to AB. December 1936-August 1943. Brenner Archiv, Innsbruck.

The Viennese composer and writer Ernst Krenek (1900-91) wrote to Albert Bloch, asking for help in emigrating to the United States, as did many others who knew Bloch from his letters in *Die Fackel*. Although Bloch could provide no assistance beyond suggesting that Krenek write to Arnold Schoenberg, who was then living in California, Krenek visited Bloch in Lawrence in January 1939 and their correspondence continued for several more years.

74. Lazarus, Michael (and Irene). 181 letters from AB to ML(IL). April 1938-October 1961. 278 letters from ML(IL) to AB. April 1938-4 June 1960.

Another émigré from the Kraus circle in Vienna, Michael Lazarus arrived in New York in late 1938. With that, the correspondence between Albert Bloch and Lazarus, which actually began while Lazarus was still in Vienna, intensified and the two men met the following summer at Bloch's summer home in Connecticut. According to Anna Bloch, she and Albert Bloch considered Michael Lazarus and his wife Irene Schidloff Lazarus their closest friends, though they saw each other infrequently. Michael Lazarus was a tireless advocate for Albert Bloch both during Bloch's lifetime and after his death. He negotiated the publication of Bloch's second book with the New York publisher Frederick Ungar in 1947 and nearly succeeded in arranging for the posthumous publication of Bloch's translations of aphorisms by Karl Kraus and Bloch's translations of poems by Georg Trakl.

After Bloch's death Lazarus also attempted to put together an English-language anthology of Karl Kraus's writings built around a selection of Bloch's pioneering translations. It was never published. Lazarus was no less an advocate for Albert Bloch the artist. He initiated the Albert Bloch exhibition at the Goethe House in New York in 1963 and was instrumental in arranging the USIS traveling exhibition of paintings by Albert Bloch which visited nine cities in Germany and Austria in 1964 and 1965. Lazarus's most lasting achievement may have been his editing, with Irene Lazarus's assistance, of Karl Kraus's correspondence with Sidonie Nádherný, a task which he did not live to see through to completion.

75. Lichnowsky, Mechtilde. 3 letters from AB to ML. June 1931-March 1948(?). 121 letters from ML to AB. November 1930-February 1956. Brenner Archiv, Innsbruck.

Mechtilde von Lichnowsky (1879-1958), a direct descendant of Empress Maria Theresia of Austria, was the author of fiction, poetry and drama and was personally well acquainted with Karl Kraus. She and Albert Bloch exchanged a few letters in 1930-31 after she had seen a copy of *Poems*, Bloch's translations of selected poems by Karl Kraus [see 1]. Their correspondence resumed in 1948 as a result of Bloch's second book, *Ventures in Verse*, which included additional translations of Kraus's poetry, and continued until shortly before her death in 1958 [see 2]. Like Bloch, Lichnowsky was a devotee of Karl Kraus's ideas on language, and she also shared with Bloch a special interest in the aphorism, a literary form at which Kraus had excelled. Bloch kept several photographs of Lichnowsky that she had sent him on the wall in his study in his home in Lawrence.

76. Marc, Franz. 14(?) letters from AB to FM. December 1913-February 1916. Franz Marc Archiv, Nuremberg. 36 letters and postcards from FM to AB. April 1912-February 1916. (English translations by Anna Bloch). Anna Bloch, Lawrence.

The earliest letters exchanged by Albert Bloch and Franz Marc (1880-1916) treat questions relating to participation in exhibitions and the sale of paintings. The latter part of their correspondence was conducted while Marc, a lieutenant in the German army, was fighting on the Western front. Marc was killed in battle in March 1916. His last letter to Albert Bloch was dated five days before his death. Of the artists who were associated with the Blue Rider, Bloch was closest to Marc. On the wall in Bloch's study in his home in Lawrence, Bloch kept a photograph of Marc given to him by Maria Marc after Franz Marc's death.

77. Marc, Maria. 32 letters from AB to MM. March 1916-39. (3 letters in English translation by Anna Bloch). 14 letters and postcards from MM to AB. 1935-48. Anna Bloch, Lawrence.

The correspondence between Albert Bloch and Maria Marc began when Bloch wrote to her soon after Franz Marc, her husband and Bloch's friend, was killed at Verdun. When it resumed after a long lapse in 1935, the main topic was Maria Marc's efforts to organize a memorial volume for Franz Marc on the twentieth anniversary of his death. Bloch eagerly agreed to contribute, and submitted a text for inclusion in the book. The planned publication never materialized, however, due to the Nazis' suppression of the work of Franz Marc and other modernists, whom they labeled "degenerate."

 Nádherný, Sidonie. 47 letters from AB to SN. September 1947-June 1949.
 letters SN to AB. October 1947-September 1950. Brenner Archiv, Innsbruck.

The twenty-three-year relationship between Sidonie Nádherný (1885-1950) and Karl Kraus is documented in their extensive correspondence, which only came to light through the Bloch-Nádherný letters. Nádherný was living on her

familial estate in Czechoslovakia (on borrowed time because the communists were about to come to power) when Oskar Samek, who had been Karl Kraus's lawyer, sent her a copy of Albert Bloch's book, *Ventures in Verse* [see 2]. She wrote a letter to Samek praising the translations of poems by Kraus which Bloch included in the book. Samek passed this letter on to Bloch in New York. Bloch wrote to thank her, and a lively and intense correspondence ensued. Bloch's letters provided Nádherný with much-needed emotional support in what were very trying times for her before she left her home for London, where she died in 1950. Nádherný sent Bloch copied excerpts of Kraus's letters to her. These excerpts led Kraus scholars to the original Kraus-Nádherný correspondence, which was published in two volumes in 1974.

79. Pollinger, Erny. 7 letters from AB to EP. July 1936-September[?] 1938. 12 letters from EP to AB. July 1936-January 1943. Brenner Archiv, Innsbruck.

Erny Pollinger, a niece of Karl Kraus, wrote to Bloch from Vienna soon after Kraus's death to ask him to send her any obituaries of Kraus that had appeared in American newspapers. Later, at his request she provided details about Kraus's (and her) family. A month after the *Anschluss* of Austria into the German Reich in February 1938, Pollinger escaped with her American husband Jules Pollinger to London. At the time of her last letter to Bloch, Pollinger was working for a self-help organization for Jewish emigrants in New York.

80. Reedy, William Marion. 31 letters from WMR to AB. March 1909-January 1913. Reedy Papers, Missouri Historical Society.

William Marion Reedy (1862-1920), editor and publisher of *The Mirror*, a weekly journal of politics and the arts, and Albert Bloch's benefactor, provided Bloch with a stipend that enabled Bloch to support himself and his family in Munich. Reedy's letters show that in turn for this largesse he expected Bloch to study art under a qualified teacher. Reedy alternately pleaded and demanded that Bloch comply with his wishes, but Bloch then and always insisted on doing things his way. Bloch continued his contributions to *The Mirror* during his years abroad, some under the pseudonym Joseph Strong.

81. Salinger, Herman. 38 letters from HS to AB. January 1947-April 1961. Anna Bloch, Lawrence.

Herman Salinger (1905-83), a younger cousin of Albert Bloch, was a professor of German at several American colleges and universities, including Duke University, the author and editor of many books and articles on German literature, and a translator of German poetry into English. His own poetry was published in two volumes, *Angel of Our Thirst* and *A Sigh is the Sword*, and in

numerous periodicals. Early on, Bloch "forgave" Salinger his lifelong interest in Heinrich Heine, whom Bloch, like his mentor Karl Kraus, detested. In their correspondence Bloch and Salinger often discussed each other's literary work. Salinger, who clearly felt that Bloch was seriously undervalued as an artist, may have provided some of the impetus for an Albert Bloch exhibition that was held at Duke University in early 1962. The exhibition opened just a few weeks after Bloch's death in December and Salinger wrote a review for the *Duke Chronicle*. Bloch's letters to Salinger are in the Duke University archives.

82. Samek, Oskar. 14 letters from AB to OS. January 1940-October 1955. 30 letters from OS to AB. October 1939-November 1958. Brenner Archiv, Innsbruck.

Oskar Samek, who had been Karl Kraus's attorney, emigrated to the United States in the 1939. The following year Samek sent to Bloch for safekeeping a typeset copy of Kraus's exposé of Nazism, *Dritte Walpurgisnacht*, which Kraus had written in 1933 but had chosen not to publish during his lifetime. Even in 1940 it was feared that publication would invite reprisals against persons in Germany and Austria. *Dritte Walpurgisnacht* was eventually published in 1952. Also, after the war Samek sent copies of Albert Bloch's *Ventures in Verse*, which was published in 1947, to Mechtilde Lichnowsky in London and Sidonie Nádherný in Czechoslovakia [see 2]. This gesture led to an exchange of letters that developed into an extensive correspondence between Bloch and these two women.

83. Walden, Herwarth. 27 letters from AB to HW. December 1913-September 1919. Staatsbibliothek Berlin.

Herwarth Walden (1878-1941), gallery owner in Berlin and editor and publisher of the Expressionist journal *Der Sturm*, was one of the foremost champions of modernist art. He frequently exhibited the work of Albert Bloch and other avant-garde artists in his gallery, and he published two short prose pieces by Bloch in *Der Sturm*. Walden fled to the Soviet Union in 1932, was arrested in a Stalinist purge in 1941 and died the same year in a Soviet labor camp.

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### B. Dissertations on Albert Bloch

This pair of dissertations complement each other inasmuch as Maria Schuchter's deals with Bloch as an artist and Werner Mohr's with Bloch as a translator, caricaturist and champion of Karl Kraus in America.

- 153. Mohr, Werner. "Albert Bloch as Caricaturist, Social Critic, and Authorized Translator of Karl Kraus in America." Diss. University of Kansas, 1995.
- 154. Schuchter, Maria. "Albert Bloch." Diss. Universität Innsbruck, 1991.

# C. Conference Papers on Albert Bloch

These papers were presented at the Sixteenth Annual Symposium of the Society for German-American Studies held on 2 May 1992 at the University of Kansas, Lawrence. Versions of the papers by Helmut Arntzen, Hans Esselborn, Werner Mohr and Erika Wimmer-Webhofer (as well as a slightly altered version of this bibliography, without the introductory essay on Bloch) are included among the thirteen articles that have been brought together in a collection which is to be published in early 1997 under the title Albert Bloch: Artistic and Literary Perspectives, edited by Frank Baron, Helmut Arntzen and David Cateforis. Janice McCullagh contributed an essay to this collection which is not based directly on her conference paper.

- 155. Arntzen, Helmut. "Albert Bloch and Karl Kraus."
- 156. Esselborn, Hans. "The Relationship to Reality in the Pictures of Albert Bloch and the Poems of Georg Trakl" [see 102].
- 157. McCullagh, Janice. "Albert Bloch, the American Blue Rider."
- 158. Mohr, Werner. "'German Writers in Caricature': Albert Bloch's Satirical Depiction of the German Literary Scene of 1913."

- 159. Prather, Marla. "American Artists in Germany."
- 160. Sudlow, Robert. "Albert Bloch: Teacher, Artist and Friend."
- 161. Wimmer-Webhofer, Erika. "Correspondence as Literary Activity: The Letters of Albert Bloch."

### V. Art Catalogs (by Date)

- Katalog der XXII. Ausstellung der Berliner Secession, Berlin 1911.
   pp. of plates. Ausstellungshaus am Kurfürstendamm, Berlin. Cat. no. 20.
- 163. Katalog der XXIII. Ausstellung der Berliner Secession: Zeichnende Künste. 105 pp. Ausstellungshaus am Kurfürstendamm, Berlin, November-December 1911. Cat. no. 79-80.
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- 167. Internationale Kunstausstellung des Sonderbundes Westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler zu Cöln 1912. 104 pp., 65 leaves of plates. Städtische Ausstellungshalle am Aachener Tor, Cologne, 25 May-30 September 1912. Cat. no. 377.
- 168. A. Bloch, München. 4 pp. Der neue Kunstsalon, Max Dietzel, Munich, May 1913. 38 paintings.
- 169. Erster deutscher Herbstsalon, Berlin 1913. 32 pp., 50 pp. of plates. Der Sturm, Leitung: Herwarth Walden, Berlin, 20 September-l December 1913. Cat. no. 47-51 (1 reproduction).
- 170. Albert Bloch: Zwanzigste Ausstellung. 4 pp. Der Sturm, Leitung: Herwarth Walden, Berlin, December 1913. 42 paintings.

- 171. Die neue Malerei: Expressionistische Ausstellung. 18 pp., 12 leaves of plates. Galerie Ernst Arnold, Dresden, January 1914. Cat. no. 16-17.
- 172. Catalogue of an Exhibition of Modern Paintings by Albert Bloch of Munich. Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1915. 15 pp., 2 pp. of plates. Art Institute of Chicago, July-August 1915; City Art Museum, St. Louis, September 1915. Catalog by Arthur Jerome Eddy. 25 paintings (2 reproductions).

- 173. Muenchener neue Secession: II. Ausstellung. 28 pp., 15 pp. of plates. Munich, 1916. Cat. no. 4 (1 reproduction).
- 174. Graphische Werke: Sechsunddreißigste Ausstellung. 7 pp. Der Sturm, Leitung: Herwarth Walden, Berlin, 1916. Cat. no. 8-18.
- 175. Albert Bloch, Paul Klee: Gemälde und Zeichnungen: Neununddreißigste Ausstellung. 4 pp. Der Sturm, Leitung: Herwarth Walden, Berlin, March 1916. Cat. no. 1-16.
- 176. Expressionisten, Kubisten: Erste Ausstellung, Braunschweig. 16 pp. Der Sturm, Leitung: Herwarth Walden, Herzogliches Museum, Braunschweig, 7-31 May 1916. Cat. no. 1-2.
- 177. Expressionisten, Futuristen, Kubisten: Gemälde und Zeichnungen: Dreiundvierzigste Ausstellung. 4 pp. Der Sturm, Leitung: Herwarth Walden, Berlin, July 1916. Cat. no. 1.
- 178. Sturm-Ausstellung. 14 pp. Galerie Corray, Basel, Feb. 2-March 2, 1917; Galerie Dada, Zurich, 17 March-30 April, 1917. Cat. no. 1-2.
- 179. Expressionisten, Kubisten, Futuristen: Erste Ausstellung, Brünn. 16 pp. Mährischer Kunstverein, Kaiser Franz Joseph-Jubiläum-Künstlerhaus, Brünn [i.e., Brno] [1916-17?]. Cat. no. 1-2.
- 180. Albert Bloch, Harald Kaufmann: Gemälde und Aquarelle, Zeichnungen: Zweiundfünfzigste Ausstellung. 4 pp. Der Sturm, Leitung: Herwarth Walden, Berlin, May 1917. Cat. no. 1-40.
- 181. Sturm-Gesamtschau: Gemälde und Aquarelle, Zeichnungen: Dreiundfünfzigste Ausstellung. 4 pp. Der Sturm, Leitung: Herwarth Walden, Berlin, June 1917. Cat no. 3.

- 182. Albert Bloch, Stanislaus Stückgold. 4 pp. Kunstsalon Ludwig Schames, Frankfurt am Main, July 1917. 36 paintings.
- 183. Albert Bloch, München: Eine Auswahl der Bilder aus den letzten fünf Jahren 1913-1918. 2 pp. Kunsthaus Das Reich, Munich, 15 March-15 April 1918. 39 paintings.
- 184. Albert Bloch: Zweiundfünfzigste Ausstellung. 5 pp., 12 leaves of plates. Neue Kunst/Hans Goltz, Munich, June 1919. 61 paintings, 15 watercolors, 19 pen drawings, 5 wash drawings, and 4 etchings (12 reproductions).
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- 186. Albert Bloch. 1 p. Kunstverein zu Jena, 1-30 May 1920. 47 works.
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- 189. Exhibition of Paintings from the Collection of the Late Arthur Jerome Eddy. 16 pp., 5 pp. of plates. Art Institute of Chicago, 19 September—22 October 1922. 7 paintings.
- 190. Exhibition of Paintings by Albert Bloch, Karl Mattern and Major Archibald Murray. 4 pp. Kansas City Art Institute, Kansas City, MO, 1-24 [?] 1927. Cat. no. 1-38.
- 191. Catalogue of an Exhibition of Paintings by Albert Bloch. 2 pp. The Arts Club of Chicago, 18-31 March 1927. 38 paintings.
- 192. The Arthur Jerome Eddy Collection of Modern Paintings and Sculpture. 31 pp. Art Institute of Chicago, 22 December 1931—17 January 1932. Cat. no. 1 (1 reproduction).

- 193. Catalogue of a Century of Progress: Exhibition of Paintings and Sculpture, Lent from American Collections. xvi, 120 pp., 95 pp. of plates. Art Institute of Chicago, 1 June-1 November 1933. Cat. no. 766 (1 reproduction).
- 194. First National Exhibition of American Art. 32 pp. City of New York Municipal Art Committee, International Building, Rockefeller Center, 18 May-1 July 1936. Cat. no. 494-495.
- 195. Midwestern Artists' Exhibition. 20 pp. Kansas City Art Institute, Kansas City, MO, 7 February-1 March 1937. Cat. no. 15-16 (1 reproduction).
- 196. The Third Annual Exhibition of Paintings by Artists West of the Mississippi. 16 pp., 6 pp. of plates. Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center, 15 July-31 August 1937. Cat. no. 22.
- 197. American Art Today. New York World's Fair. New York: National Art Society, 1939. 342 pp. (1 reproduction).

- 198. Arts and Crafts of Kansas, Catalog: An Exhibition Held in Lawrence in the Community Building. 119 pp. Lawrence, Kansas, 18-22 February 1948. Cat. no. 5 (1 reproduction).
- 199. Der Blaue Reiter: München und die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts, 1908-1914. 45 pp. Haus der Kunst, Munich, September-October 1949. Cat. no. 4-5.
- 200. Der Blaue Reiter 1908-1914—Wegbereiter und Zeitgenossen: Kandinsky, Marc, Macke, Klee. 46 pp., 12 leaves of plates. Kunsthalle, Basel, 21 January-26 February 1950. Cat. no. 184.
- 201. Der Blaue Reiter. 16 pp. Curt Valentin Gallery, New York, NY, 7 December 1954—8 January 1955. Cat. no. 1.
- 202. Artists of the Blaue Reiter: Exhibition of Painting and Graphic Works. 13 leaves. Cambridge, MA: Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University, 21 January-24 February 1955 Cat. no. 1.
- 203. Albert Bloch, a Retrospective Exhibition of His Work from 1911 to 1955. 24 pp. University of Kansas Museum of Art, Lawrence, Kansas, 15 September-30 October 1955. 45 works (reproductions). A letter by Albert Bloch to Edward A. Maser, director of the University of Kansas Museum of Art, is printed in the catalog in lieu of the usual introductory remarks about the artist.

- 204. A Retrospective Exhibition of the Work of Albert Bloch. 4 pp. Renaissance Society, University of Chicago, 11 March-7 April 1956. Catalog by James Gilbert. 41 paintings (1 reproduction).
- 205. Paintings by Albert Bloch [caption title on museum newsletter]. Central Loan Gallery, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Mo., June-July 1957. 35 paintings.
- 206. Twentieth Century German Art. 6 pp. Fine Arts Festival, Kansas State College, Manhattan, Kansas, 2-12 May 1957. 3 works.
- 207. The Blue Rider Group: An Exhibition Organized with the Edinburgh Festival Society by the Arts Council of Great Britain. 32 pp., 44 pp. of plates. Tate Gallery, London, 30 September-30 October 1960. Cat. no. 1.

- 208. Paintings, Drawings and Prints of the 19th and 20th Centuries: The Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Otto Fleischmann: A Loan Exhibition. 24 pp. University of Kansas Museum of Art, Lawrence, Kansas, 4 December 1960—8 January 1961. Cat. no. 4-6 (1 reproduction).
- 209. Der Sturm: Herwarth Walden und die Europäische Avantgarde, Berlin 1912-1932. 110 pp. Nationalgalerie, Berlin, 24 September-19 November 1961. Cat. no. 49-53 (1 reproduction).
- 210. Albert Bloch, a Retrospective Exhibition of His Work from 1911 to 1956. 16 pp. Philbrook Art Center, Tulsa, OK, 7-31 March 1961. 31 works (12 reproductions).
- 211. Vor 50 Jahren: Ausstellung Neue Kunstervereinigung, Der Blaue Reiter. 49 pp. Galerie Stangl, Munich, 7 April-19 May 1962. Cat. no. 10-12 (1 reproduction).
- 212. Derrière le Miroir: Le Cavalier Bleu et son destin. 36 pp. Galerie Stangl, Munich, October-November 1962. Cat. no. 35.
- 213. Der Blaue Reiter. 130 pp., 82 pp. of plates. Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich, 1963. 2 paintings, 1 drypoint, 1 pen drawing (1 reproduction). Includes an excerpt from Albert Bloch's lecture "Kandinsky, Marc, Klee: Criticism and Reminiscence" [see 59(4)].
- 214. Der Blaue Reiter: Exhibition for the Benefit of the Manhattan Chapter of the American Association for the United Nations. 40 pp. Leonard Hutton

- Galleries, New York, NY, 19 February-30 March 1963. Cat. no. 34-37 (2 reproductions).
- 215. Albert Bloch (1882-1961): An Exhibition of Watercolors, Drawings and Drypoints. 48 pp. University of Kansas Museum of Art, Lawrence, Kansas, 30 April-4 June 1963. 92 works (20 reproductions).
- 216. The Decade of the Armory Show: New Directions in American Art, 1910-1920: Sixth Loan Exhibition of the Friends of the Whitney Museum of American Art. 75 pp. Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, NY, 27 February-14 April 1963; City Art Museum of St. Louis, 1 June-14 July 1963; Cleveland Museum of Art, 6 August-15 September 1963; Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia; 30 September-30 October 1963; Art Institute of Chicago, 15 November-29 December 1963; Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, NY, 20 January-23 February 1964. Cat. no. 3.
- 217. Albert Bloch, ein amerikanischer Blauer Reiter 1882-1961. 20 pp. USIA/USIS traveling exhibition to Munich, Stuttgart, Berlin, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Vienna, Innsbruck, and Salzburg, November 1964-August 1965. 49 works (12 reproductions).
- 218. Albert Bloch: Selected Paintings and Drawings [brochure]. Goethe Haus, New York, NY, 3 December 1963-6 January 1964. Introduction by Anna Francis Bloch. 18 paintings, 6 watercolors, 23 pen drawings (1 reproduction).
- 219. Der Blaue Reiter. Munich: Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, 1966. 163 pp., 98 pp. of plates. 2 paintings, 1 drypoint, 1 pen drawing (1 reproduction). Includes an excerpt from Albert Bloch's lecture "Kandinsky, Marc, Klee: Criticism and Reminiscence" [see 58(4)].
- 220. Albert Bloch, 1882-1961. 11 pp. Wichita Art Association, 1969-70. 71 works (4 reproductions).
- 221. Exhibition of Drawings by Albert Bloch (1882-1961). 3 pp. Mulvane Art Center, Washburn University, Topeka, Kansas, December 1969-January 1970. 38 works.
- 222. The Image in Contemporary Art, A Series of Five Exhibits in the Representational Tradition: Eva Klein-Lamb, Paul W. Mannen, Albert Bloch, Richard Green, Arthur Bond. 14 pp. John C. Calhoun State Technical Junior College, Decatur, Alabama, November 1970-April 1971 (Bloch exhibit: February 1971). (3 reproductions).

- 223. Paul Klee und seine Malerfreunde: Die Sammlung Felix Klee. 215 pp. Kunstmuseum Winterthur, 7 February-18 April 1971; Wilhelm-Lehmbruck-Museum, Duisburg, 25 May-22 August 1971. Cat. no. 321 (1 reproduction).
- 224. German Expressionists: Paintings, Drawings, Watercolors, Sculpture. 48 pp. Leonard Hutton Galleries, New York, November 1972-February 1973. Cat. no. 6-7 (2 reproductions).
- 225. Albert Bloch, 1882-1961, an American Expressionist: Paintings, Drawings, Prints. 36 pp. Paintings: Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, Utica, NY; drawings and prints: Edward W. Root Art Center, Hamilton College, Clinton, NY. 3 February-3 March 1974. Foreword by James Penney. 127 works (21 reproductions).
- 226. Der Blaue Reiter und sein Kreis (Der Blaue Reiter und die Neue Künstlervereinigung München): Gemälde, Aquarelle, Zeichnungen, Graphik: 24. Kunstausstellung Villingen-Schwenningen, Stadtbezirk Schwenningen Beethovenhaus. 104 pp. 26 April-19 May 1975. Introduction by Klaus Lankheit. Cat. no. 5-7 (2 reproductions).
- 227. Der Blaue Reiter und sein Kreis. New York: Leonard Hutton Galleries, 1977. 76 pp. 18 March-May 1977. Cat no. 1-2 (2 reproductions).
- 228. Albert Bloch, Blaue Reiter Artist in the Midwest: Retrospective Exhibition, 1911-1958: Oils, Watercolors, Drawings. 2 pp. Friends of Art Sales and Rental Gallery, Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, MO, 8 October-5 November 1978. 66 works.
- 229. Die Zwanziger Jahre in München: Katalog zur Ausstellung im Münchner Stadtmuseum Mai bis September 1979. Munich: Münchner Stadtmuseum, 1979. xxiii, 768 pp. Cat. no. 99 (1 reproduction); 747.

- 230. Pioneers: Early 20th Century Art from Midwestern Museums. 44 pp. Grand Rapids Art Museum, Grand Rapids, MI, 17 September-1 November 1981. Cat. no. 3 (1 reproduction).
- 231. Kandinsky und München: Begegnungen und Wandlungen 1896-1914. Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1982. 450 pp. Catalog of the exhibition held at the Städtische Galerie, Lenbachhaus, Munich, 18 August-17 October 1982. Revised and enlarged version of the exhibition Kandinsky in Munich, 1896-1914 held at the Guggenheim Museum, New York, 22 January-21 March

- 1982; San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 22 April-20 June 1982. Cat. no. 212, 401, 445; 41, 56, 70.
- 232. Der Blaue Reiter im Lenbachhaus München: Katalog der Sammlung in der Städtischen Galerie. Munich: Prestel, 1982. 417 pp. Catalog by Rosel Gollek. Cat. no. 9-13; 308-9, 408.
- 233. The Graphic Image: German Expressionist Prints. 72 pp. Elvehejm Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 8 May-26 June 1983. Cat. no. 6-7 (2 reproductions).
- 234. Delaunay und Deutschland. Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag, 1985. 532 pp. Catalog of the exhibition of the Bayerische Staats-gemäldesammlungen/Staatsgalerie Moderner Kunst held at the Haus der Kunst, Munich, 4 October 1985-6 January 1986. Catalog by Peter-Klaus Schuster. There are numerous references to Albert Bloch in the appendix, pp. 483-530 passim.
- 235. The Expressionist Landscape: North American Modernist Painting, 1920-1947. Birmingham, Alabama: Birmingham Museum of Art; Seattle: Distributed by the University of Washington Press, 1988. 216 pp. Birmingham Museum of Art, Birmingham, Alabama; IBM Gallery of Science and Art, New York, NY; Everson Museum of Art, Syracuse, NY; Akron Art Museum, Akron, Ohio; Vancouver Art Gallery, Vancouver, BC, 1987-88. Cat. no. 3-4 (2 reproductions).
- 236. Albert Bloch (1882-1961): Paintings. 20 pp. Sid Deutsch Gallery, New York, NY, 29 October-23 November 1988. Introduction by Richard C. Green; foreword by Marla Prather. 15 paintings (15 reproductions).
- 237. Albert Bloch, 1882-1961: Drawings, Watercolors, Prints. 80 pp. Michael Lowe Gallery, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1988. Introduction by Anna Bloch. 58 works (58 reproductions).
- 238. Stationen der Moderne: Die bedeutenden Kunstausstellungen des 20. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland. 557 pp. Berlinische Galerie, 25 September 1988-8 January 1989. Cat. no. 2/2-5 (4 reproductions); 109, 111-14, 116, 138.
- 239. American Drawings and Watercolors from the Kansas City Region. 495 pp. Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, MO, 19 July-6 September 1992. 282-84, 404-5 (4 reproductions).
- 240. Theme & Improvisation: Kandinsky & the American Avant-Garde, 1912-1950: An Exhibition Organized by the Dayton Art Institute. 236 pp. The Phillips

Collection, Washington, D.C., 19 September-29 November 1992; Dayton Art Institute, Dayton, Ohio; Terra Museum of American Art, Evanston, Illinois; Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas, 1992-93. Catalog by Gail Levin and Marianne Lorenz. Cat. no. 6-9 (4 reproductions); 53, 58-61, 64, 82, 92, 196.

- 241. Süddeutsche Freiheit: Kunst der Revolution in München 1919. Munich: VG Bildkunst, 1993. 215 pp. Catalog of the exhibition held at the Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus, Munich. 10 November 1993-9 January 1994. Cat. no. 26-28, 157 (6 reproductions); 69-70, 82, 180, 213.
- 242. Vice Versa: Deutsche Maler in Amerika, Amerikanische Maler in Deutschland 1813-1913. Munich: Hirmer, 1996. 471 pp. Catalog of the exhibition held at the Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin. 27 September-1 December 1996. Cat. nos. 110-111 (7 reproductions); 170, 187, 192, 196-204, 440, 442-45, 448, 454, 458. Includes an essay on Bloch by Stefan Gronert, "Ein amerikanischer Blauer Reiter?: Albert Bloch und die Entwicklung der modernen Malerei in Deutschland."

### **Book Reviews**

Edited by Jürgen Eichhoff The Pennsylvania State University

Islands of Deutschtum: German-Americans in Manchester, New Hampshire and Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1870-1942.

By Robert Paul McCaffery. New German-American Studies, vol. 11. New York [etc.]: Lang, 1996. 254 pages.

Having grown up in New Hampshire during the 1950s, I well remember the malaise of the many milltowns located on the small and large rivers of the state. Nowhere was the condition more apparent than in Manchester: lining the dark waters of the Merrimack River, the desolate grandeur of the Amoskeag Mills extended forever. The channel which no longer directed water along the inland side of the brick mill buildings separated them from solid granite-corniced workers' housing mounting the hill towards Elm Street, Manchester's main street. The elegant New England vernacular, neo-renaissance mill towers spoke of times when workers flocked into the huge spindle and loom rooms, in which tons of cotton were converted into miles of woven cloth.

Originally, many of the millhands in Manchester and Lawrence were dexterous girls recruited from the hardscrabble backcountry farms. As time went on, however, and as the mills became ever more prosperous, the word spread worldwide, attracting immigrants—the Irish, the French-Canadians, and the Germans. The Irish presence in northern New England's socioeconomic contexts is well documented, as is the Canadian French, of course. It is to the considerable credit of McCaffery that the Germans of Manchester and Lawrence have finally received their due.

The monograph under review is a revised University of New Hampshire dissertation in History (1994). The flow of chapters proceeds from a backgrounding chapter on Germans in New England, to include a discussion of the failed eighteenth-century German settlement of Waldoboro, Maine (12-13), followed by a second chapter on the Merrimack River "Textile Cities: Manchester and Lawrence." The former began its development as a milltown in 1825 (the Amoskeag Mills closed in 1935), the latter in 1845 (the industry in

Lawrence founded after World War II). The author's choice to focus on a comparative documentation of the two cities was a judicious one. They were historically and economically linked and shared a single German-American newspaper. The Lawrencer Anzeiger (founded in 1883) merged with the Manchester deutsche Post in 1896. The resultant Anzeiger und Post continued publication until 1942 and was an invaluable source for McCaffery. (Of interest, perhaps, is that the present-day Manchester Union Leader, New Hampshire's preeminent stateside daily and one known for its influential role in U.S. presidential primaries, has a German-American connection [see note 96, p 200-01].)

In an important third chapter, McCaffery details the socioeconomic conditions in Saxony which led to the emigration of weavers, dyers, machinists and loomfixers to Manchester and Lawrence: "In time, Saxons made up more than one-third of the Germans living in the textile cities" (26). The predictable push and pull factors, as well as the phenomenon of chain migration are well explained and documented in tables and maps, but what is most engaging and validating is the author's analysis of the reports by the various American consuls general located in Saxony (30-37), as for example one from September 1888 cited: "[Saxon] Artisans, mechanics, or skilled laborers do not [go] to the United States for the purpose of temporary employment during certain seasons of the year, and return at the expiration of such employment; but go in good faith to become citizens of the United States" (34).

Consul Mason's view proved to be very correct, as is made abundantly apparent in a fourth chapter, "Establishment and Early Growth of German Communities in Manchester and Lawrence, 1870-1899." As in Cincinnati's "Over the Rhine," the Manchester and Lawrence Germans clustered together; unlike Cincinnati, however, the German presence was never statistically dominant. In 1910, for example, but 1,225 persons were German-born in a Manchester population of some seventy thousand; like numbers for Lawrence in 1910 are 2,301 of some eighty-six thousand. "Since the total German-American community was relatively small, the ability of the Germans to keep [. . .] their ethnicity alive for so long is quite an achievement" (40). It goes without saying that the aforementioned newspaper was a factor in furthering ethnic cohesion (61-65), as were factors of regional identity among the Germans (33.6% were from Saxony, 13.8% from Bavaria, 6.9% from Silesia), of identity with a single-industry employer, not to mention the inevitable linguistic, social, religious, educational, political and recreational factors. The Manchester Turnverein, for example, was established in 1870 and the handsome woodframe, clapboard Turnhalle (pictured on page 153) became "the site of musicals, dances, and political rallies" (53; interestingly, there is still a Turner Street in Manchester, which most people assume to be an Anglo-American designation). McCaffery is meticulous in his documentation of names, dates, and developments, thereby offering a well-nigh complete picture of intact late nineteenth-century German

ethnic communities. For the sake of contrast, it might have been useful to include a thumbnail sketch of the equally vital French-Canadian community.

Subsequent chapters deal with the periods 1900-14, 1918-40, 1940-50. The early twentieth century is typified as an era of high hopes. Even if the pressure of assimilation into American society began to take its toll on the younger generation of German speakers, the activities of the Vereine, of churches, schools, as well as the exhortations in the Anzeiger und Post served as a counterbalance. A photograph from 1916 pictures a tableaux: two women in costume, Columbia and Germania, stand on either side of a liberty bell (150)—"Germania, we honor you/always as a Mother,/but to you Columbia,/our bride, we belong" (78). Such professions of German and American patriotism became even more pertinent in the immediate context of World War I, phenomenon well researched for other areas of the United States. Interestingly, the ugliest excesses of nativism were not visited upon these New England German-American communities, a fact at least partially attributable to the economic clout of the Germans. The Irish-American mayor of Boston, speaking to a gathering of Lawrence Germans, put it this way: "Yours is a commendable citizenship for any nationality, and your progress here [...] has attracted many good Americans [...] Germans of Lawrence control \$12,538,650 of realty [...] or one-fifth of the total valuation of the city" (96). This is not to say that the German-Americans were not put on the defensive, rather that their various institutions and newspapers adapted to the challenge in an effective manner. "Periodically, the Anzeiger und Post devoted space to sell Liberty Bonds" (103), for example.

It is to McCaffery's considerable credit that he extends his study into the World War II era. Analogous to Tolzmann's study of Cincinnati Germans after the Great War (Lang, 1987), it becomes clear that the small German-American communities of Manchester and Lawrence hardly succumbed to the sociopolitical pressures of the times. Indeed, their rather differentiated response to Hitler and Nazism reveals the extent to which they identified with unhyphenated American values (120-27). And anyway, it was not primarily these issues which plagued the integrity of these small ethnic communities, rather it was the demise of the industry which supported their way of life. When the mills either moved south (to be closer to the supply of cotton), or when they closed down on location during the depression (the Amoskeag Mills in 1935), it was the entire community, ethnic or not, which lost out. When the United States entered World War II, the Manchester and Lawrence German-Americans were finally "overtaken by the process of assimilation" (135).

McCaffery's monograph might well serve future scholars as a model of meticulous scholarship. While he clearly sympathizes with his subjects, as evidenced by his interviews and exploratory tours of the attics of old buildings, he retains the dispassion of an historian. His bibliography invites the reader to continue the exploration, especially through the pages of the *Anzeiger und Post*. As a New Hampshire German-American, whose father's German New

Hampshire poetry has been published recently (New German-American Studies, vol. 8), I have learned much.

University of Cincinnati

Richard Erich Schade

Contented Among Strangers: Rural German-Speaking Women and Their Families in the Nineteenth-Century Midwest.

By Linda Schelbitzki Pickle. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996. xii + 311 pages. \$49.95 hardcover, \$14.95 paperback.

Linda Pickle has attempted to survey and synthesize what can be learned about the hundreds of thousands of German-speaking women who lived during the last century in rural areas in five midwestern states—Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska. To do this, she has used the letters of the Bochum Emigrant Letter Collection, the oral history interviews of the Amana Historical Society, the archives of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, and the archives of the Sisters of the Adoration of the Most Precious Blood. She has also made a detailed study of the probate records of Cooper Country, Missouri, and has used collected letters and family papers in state historical repositories in each of the states covered. The archival materials were supplemented with published primary and secondary material. Well over 500 published items are cited in the volume's 553 endnotes.

This most extensive research has been condensed into a highly informative narrative about how women were perceived in Germany, the difficulties of emigrating and finding a niche in America, as well as alienation and adaptation in the new land. Communities of Russian Germans in Kansas, Missouri Old Lutherans, women of the Amana, Bethel, and Communia colonies, and orders of Badenese and Swiss nuns are described in detail.

The author ends the main body of her narrative with an analysis of the cultural legacy of rural German-speakers and their descendants. As a metaphor for modern America's ethnic mix which is in many ways more descriptive than Israel Zangwill's "melting pot," Frederick Jackson Turner's "frontier crucible," or the favorite of contemporary pundits—"ethnic mosaic," she suggests: "a slow cooker, simmering various ingredients into a savory but somewhat lumpy stew, while allowing the flavor of the separate ingredients to be identified and appreciated" (199). Is this metaphor too subtle to gain acceptance among scholars and the public? For the sake of apt expression and accurate thought, let us hope that it is not.

Before the reader comes to this metaphor, there are times when the narrative is a bit prosaic, with its generalizations about the lives of ordinary women, few of them known outside their families and neighborhoods, people not of the hegemonic culture or gender, far removed from rising metropolises and in one of the most mundane regions of the country. But the author more

than compensates the reader with the breadth and depth of her research into a

little-known topic.

The reviewer has two reservations about this book. First, the thesis that German women, more often than not, were "contented among strangers" would have benefited from additional support. Secondly, since so many different published sources are cited, the publisher should have provided this book with a bibliography. Suppose one is interested in the author's comment on page 195 that contemporary ethnic festivals "can bear little or no resemblance to the original immigrants." To learn what sources may have influenced the author on this point, one is referred to note 34 on page 295 in the endnotes section. There one finds a quote from a source identified only as "DeBres." Instead of being able to look up "DeBres" in the bibliography, one has to work backward 27 pages through an incredible 289 endnotes to note 170 on page 268 to find a full citation for "DeBres." The author and her readers deserve better.

Hendrix College

Robert W. Frizzell

Von Einwanderern und Feierabenddeutschen: Forschungsbericht zur Geschichte und Gegenwart der Deutschamerikaner in Buffalo, N.Y. By Karl Markus Kreis. Dortmund: Fachhochschule, 1996. 113 pages.

For more than three decades after World War II, American studies in Germany had, with some significant exceptions, neglected the immigration of Germans to the United States. In the 1980s, a new interest in emigration and immigration as well as in German ethnicity in the United States arose among German scholars in a variety of disciplines. One characteristic of this research is a focus on specific communities and their cultural and political stratifications. This focus contrasts with earlier (pre-World War II) research on German-American culture in that it is not driven by the motivation to establish a "significance" of the German element for the United States or even its "greatness" but looks at German-Americans within a broader spectrum of ethnic cultures.

Markus Kreis's relatively short study on German-Americans in and around Buffalo, New York, fits this description but also goes beyond it. Rather than emphasizing German-American culture in its beginnings and heyday, Kreis looks at German-American organizations and cultural manifestations emerging from them, from the 1930s to the present (thus denying again the popular thesis of World War I as the inferno for German-American culture). This includes two very different periods: from Hitler's takeover through America's entry into World War II, and the postwar era.

The study of German-American organizations during the Nazi period has already become an object of increasing interest among American as well as German scholars. Nevertheless, the few pages Kreis devotes to this topic, e.g., by looking at the mutation of the *Buffalo Volksfreund* from a traditional voice of

the German ethnic community to the official "Mitteilungsblatt der 'Deutschamerikanischen Einheitsfront'" (50), shows how much can be done by scholars on both sides of the Atlantic in that field, and how much more should be done. One wonders, for example, what kind of instructions the German diplomatic speakers as well as American political representatives were given when attending the annual "Deutscher Tag," but also what American elected political representatives said on such occasions.

Kreis's study focuses on the development of the Volksfreund (discontinued in the early 1980s but reestablished in 1994) and the "Deutscher Tag" as important expressions of political and cultural identity of German-Americans in the Buffalo area. On the one hand, one is struck by a sense of continuity, in spite of the numerical thinning of the German ethnic presence in the area over the decades. On the other hand, Kreis's observations, which confirm Richard D. Alba's findings in Ethnic Identity: The Transformations of White America (1990), suggest the transformation of ethnic identity from a political and interest-based one to a symbolic level. In the main part of his investigation, he attempts to explain the continued existence of German cultural organizations ("Feierabenddeutsche") in spite of the marked decrease in the German-American presence ("Einwanderer").

An important point the author implicitly and explicitly makes throughout his study is that German visitors (including academics) at events organized by German-American cultural groups (whether *Schuhplattler*, *Gebirgstrachten Verein Edelweiß* or the *Buffalo Zither Club*, and even more so at Octoberfests), often feel embarrassed by such events (24). Kreis observes that

[es] scheint sich in Amerika 'gemütlich' immer auf soziale Situationen zu beziehen, so z.B. die Stimmung auf einem sonntäglichen Fest mit der Familie in der 'typischen deutschen' Atmosphäre, die dann durch gemeinsames Singen von 'Ein Prosit der Gemütlichkeit' ausgedrückt wird, samt 'Zicke-zacke, zicke-zacke . . . ' und 'Eins, zwei gsuffa' (99).

This is a manifestation of German-American culture "wobei es Besuchern aus Deutschland oft ungemütlich wird," where German visitors feel embarrassed and as a consequence tend to ridicule the activities of German-Americans as a whole. Kreis makes a plea to take these manifestations of a culture seriously and to appreciate them in their difference from present-day German culture(s).

Although Kreis does not mention the term, he studies the symbolic construction of German-American ethnicity in this century. His findings indicate that this symbolic ethnicity will survive in spite of the well-known demographic developments. The question is whether this German-American culture can in some way interact with present-day German culture. His work concludes with the question: "Oder will man den Kulturaustausch nur den Folkloregruppen überlassen?"

This is obviously not desired. But in order to put this relationship on a new footing, many Germans involved in German-American exchange need to develop what has become a matter of course in dealing with other cultures: respect for the 'other.' German-American culture and its symbolic manifestations are a part of the 'other.' It needs to be studied to be appreciated. Karl Markus Kreis has made a good start. (This publication is available from the author, Fachhochschule Dortmund, Postfach 105018, 44047 Dortmund.)

Universität Dortmund

Walter Grünzweig

Holding the Line. The Telephone in Old Order Mennonite and Amish Life. By Diane Zimmerman Umble. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996. 192 pages, illustrated. \$35.00 paperback.

This book is a welcome addition to the growing number of studies of the Old Order communities of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

An outgrowth of Umble's Ph.D. dissertation, this book is a historical and ethnographic study of the response and accommodation by Lancaster County Old Order Mennonites and Amish communities to the introduction of the telephone in the late nineteenth century and their ongoing debates, negotiations and divisions about managing change and sustaining particular values in the face of overwhelming technology. Although her primary focus is Lancaster County, Umble contextualizes her work by including the interactions and relationships of Lancaster area communities to those in the Midwest. She draws from a wide variety of primary and secondary sources, such as oral traditions, private correspondence and extensive interviewing. Writing in a clear and direct style that includes a delightful sense of humor, she sets the tone of her book in the preface by describing individual situations in which Old Order Mennonites and Amish engage in the personal use of cellular telephones and fax machines.

As one born and raised a Mennonite in Lancaster County, Umble brings the perspective of an insider to her subject. Aware of her role as community member and researcher, Umble found that one of her difficult decisions was the degree to which she included herself in the book. The mark of good ethnographers is the recognition of their own role in their studies and that the nature of the interactions informs the work. Umble's study is enhanced by this self-reflection and her familiarity of the local social landscape. Equally important is her attention to the ways in which her subjects organize their communication practices and utilize these conceptual or interpretive frames in their relationship with her and others. Part of the study data was the nature of fieldwork interactions, which provided not only sources of information but also informed the author's theoretical approach and became clues, or maps, to the interpretation of other data.

Umble's carefully researched work is organized into three parts, totaling nine chapters. The first three chapters included in part one, which is entitled "Conceptual and Cultural Foundations," establishes the theoretical framework for the study, explores the historical and social foundations of the Old Order communities, and describes their web of traditional communication practices and patterns. The author provides a descriptive analysis of models for understanding and studying Old Order communities and the rituals that organize communication patterns which perpetuate and transform communities. Umble's background chapters are thorough and concise enough to provide an overall understanding of the central tenets and basics of the Old Order way of life for readers unfamiliar with the groups and set the stage by illustrating the differentiation of Old Order way of life in the nineteenth century prior to the coming of the telephone.

In part two, "The Coming of the Telephone to Lancaster County," Umble chronicles the early development of countrywide telephone service at the turn of the century and the extensive web of social and family involvement in the organization, management and ownership of the local telephone companies by leading farmers and businessmen, including Amish Mennonites, Mennonites and Old Order Mennonites. Her familiarity with the local community and its resources enabled the author to utilize private collections of papers, diaries, family histories and photographs, and personal reminiscences and anecdotes of local telephone pioneers. She provides numerous examples, anecdotes, quotes, tables, charts, diagrams, and maps to clarify and augment points. This not only supports the interdisciplinary nature of her work but provides for enjoyable

reading.

In the final section, "Divine or Sinful? Competing Meanings of the Telephone," Umble expertly describes the contrasting meanings, competing interpretations and differing reactions to the telephone among leaders and members of the Old Order Mennonite and Amish communities. Although the telephone was initially viewed by many Old Order communities as an efficient and practical necessity, the appropriateness of owning a telephone and company stock soon became a subject of intense debate that divided many religious communities. Representing a physical and symbolic connection to the world and worldly attitudes, the telephone became a threat to the traditional ritual of face-to-face communication which has been central to the reinforcement of Old Order values. The concluding chapter explores the contemporary compromises and changing discourse about the telephone and other modern technology amid the occupational shift of Amish communities from farm to shop and the geographical separation of Old Order communities. In a contemporary shifting perspective, the telephone has become an economic necessity and social link.

Umble's study illustrates the importance of the telephone troubles in setting the terms of the ongoing debate and negotiations about the management of communication and new technology with regard to the balance between social identity and economic survival. The response to and debate about the

ownership and use of telephone is revealing of the processes that the Old Order communities use to confront and mediate other changes. The paradigm of telephone rules, or cultural repertoire, created precedents for evaluating and rejecting the use of new technology such as electricity, radio, television and computers.

Holding the Line enlarges our understanding of Old Order communities in several important ways. In keeping with previous studies of the Amish by scholars such as Don Kraybill, Umble presents them as not static and homogeneous, but actively involved in confronting the modern world and setting limits. Readers will arrive at a clearer understanding of social and religious issues raised by the introduction of modern technology into a traditional community. Umble also exposes the enterprising, progressive and innovative nature of local farmers and businessmen, many of whom were members of Old Order communities, who helped organize, operate and utilize the telephone.

This study has wider cultural implications and invites reflection on modern dilemmas. How do we balance the rights of the individual with the needs of community? What changes are brought about by the intrusion of technology into our lives? What are the moral and ethical implications of how we manage that change? In their ongoing analysis and interactions with the forces of modernity, the Older Order communities provide a useful example to other members of modern society in their insistence on setting limits, and their negotiation and compromise in the struggle to understand and control change.

Lancaster, Pennsylvania

Patricia Levin

# Emigration and Settlement Patterns of German Communities in North America.

Edited by Eberhard Reichmann, LaVern J. Rippley, Jörg Nagler. Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis: Max Kade German-American Center, 1995. 380 pages, illustrated. \$28.00 paperback..

This volume presents the result of a conference on emigration and settlement patterns of German communities held at New Harmony, Indiana, in the fall of 1989. Dedicated to two distinguished scholars in the field of German-American studies, Günter Moltmann and Peter Assion, it is a welcome publication.

Moltmann's keynote address about the concept of integrated historical studies emphasizes that research on emigration and immigration should no longer be conducted in isolation but be brought together into a comprehensive picture. Such an approach would bring out the "patterns" which should function as a kind of ordering system to hold the separate parts together. This is a valid point but if it is conceptualized to provide access to comprehensive

cultural patterns, then it is not elaborate enough to serve as an epistemological

category for constructing legitimate context.

The volume consists of an interesting and illuminating conglomerate of articles that deal with different aspects of the immigration process. What we do not find is a discussion or reflection of the debate on poststructuralism or the textuality of history.

The leading terms are "settlement patterns" and "forms of community" as suggested in the volume's title but they are used in a very broad sense. There is no relation to layout, spatial structure, symbolic architecture or functional aspects of locales. Nevertheless they deserve the scholar's attention because of the variety of themes and methodological approaches. Examples for the latter are A. Fogelman's quantitative immigration analysis for eighteenth-century America and L.A. Kattner's thorough study on "Land and Marriage" in German-Texan towns.

The contributions are organized in seven chapters ranging from demographics to "Pros and Cons" of emigration and immigration. Some are of a more general character and deliver information on source materials and documentation (G. F. Jones); others look into places such as the villages of the Inspirationists, the socialist frontier town of New Ulm, the secular Llano Cooperative in California or the city of St. Louis (J. G. Andelson, J. Nagler, H. Keil, W. D. Kamphoefner). The remaining papers cover subjects of church and community, ethnic-cultural continuity in rural areas, e.g., the "Osnabrück" congregation in White Creek, Indiana (A. Holtmann), or the role of females during their first years in New York City (A. Bretting). G. Bassler contributes a critical study of German-Canadians and their significant role in Canadian history, whereas W. Helbich contrasts the perception of "the Americans" as presented in letters by the more educated observers and the common immigrants, respectively.

In dealing with early German immigration the articles have their explorative and scholarly merits but they do not convey extended historical statements. The reviewer misses the overall conceptualization or a connecting theme about cultural identity or the varied acculturation processes of the newcomer population which could serve as a guide rail for coherency in the research agendas of future historians.

John F. Kennedy Institut, Berlin

Rainer Vollmar

Beschreibung der Landschaft Sonora samt andern merkwürdigen Nachrichten von den inneren Theilen Neu=Spaniens und Reise aus Amerika bis Deutschland.

Von Ignaz Pfefferkorn. Reprint der Ausgabe Köln 1794. Hg. und mit einer Einleitung versehen von Ingo Schröder. Beiträge zur Forschungsgeschichte, Bd. 1. Bonn: Holos, 1996. Bd. 1: [3(Vorwort)] + 464 pages; Bd. 2: xiv + 461 pages. 1 Karte. Kart. DM 205.00.

Wenn man dem Anspruch von "German Studies" gerecht werden will, muß man sicherlich nicht nur Abschied vom traditionellen Kanon nehmen, sondern auch eine neue Definition des Begriffts "Literatur" suchen, die sich nicht mehr bloß dem überlieferten Konzept des Schöngeistigen verpflichtet weiß. Das hier zu besprechende Werk überbrückt die traditionellen Trennlinien zwischen Germanistik und Ethnologie und darf als wichtiger Beitrag zu beiden Forschungsbereichen angesehen werden. Es handelt sich um eine Reisebeschreibung des Jesuiten-Missionars Ignaz Pfefferkorn, der als erster dem deutschen Publikum in großer Ausführlichkeit und zugleich mit einer beachtlichen narrativen Begabung die Landschaft Sonora, heute teils im Norden Mexikos, teils im amerikanischen Bundesstaat Arizona liegend, vor Augen führte. Pfefferkorns Beschreibung der Landschaft Sonora, 1794 und 1795 zuerst in Deutschland erschienen, verdient sowohl wegen ihrer literarischen Qualität als auch wegen ihrer ethnologischen und geographischen Aussagen unsere Aufmerksamheit. Die Landschaft Sonora diente vor allem den jesuitischen Padres seit dem siebzehnten Jahrhundert dazu, missionarische Strategien zu entfalten, doch waren schon damals die klimatischen Verhältnisse so schwer zu ertragen, daß nur diejenigen vom Orden als Missionare in die engere Wahl gezogen wurden, die eine augezeichnete körperliche Kondition aufwiesen und eine gründliche Ausbildung genossen hatten.

Theodore E. Treutlein publizierte 1949 eine englische Übersetzung des Werkes, die 1989 als Nachdruck erschien, denn dieses Werk gilt als Klassiker der Literatur von Neu-Spanien. Eine spanische Übersetzung brachte A.H. Durazo 1984 heraus, während Exemplare des deutschen Originals nur noch in wenigen Archiven lagern. Der Beitrag Ingo Schröders besteht darin, auf zwei Seiten kurz die Biographie Pfefferkorns vorzustellen und den Wert dieses umfangreichen Textes aus ethnographischer Sicht zu beurteilen. Die wenigen Angaben entstammen alle der Einleitung Treutleins und berücksichtigen nicht die neueren Forschungen. Aber selbst B. Hausberger (Jesuiten aus Mitteleuropa, 1995) hat praktisch nichts anderes auszusagen gewußt, obwohl er weit mehr als ein Dutzend weiterer bisher unbekannter Dokumente von oder über Pfefferkorn für seine Bibliographie aufspüren konnte.

Der Wert dieses Faksimiles ist aus literarhistorischer und ethnologischer Sicht selbstevident. Die Frage, inwieweit das Werk auch für die German Studies wichtig ist, muß noch erörtert werden. Pfefferkorn schreibt einen spannenden und lebendigen Reisebericht, in dem uns die Natur und die Menschen Sonoras

unmittelbar vor Augen treten. Streckenweise liest sich der Bericht wie ein Vorläufer von Karl Mays Romanen, obwohl Pfefferkorn primär daran gelegen ist, einen enzyklopädischen Überblick zu entwerfen. Er stützte sich offenbar auf andere Publikationen, doch sind die meisten Beobachtungen gewiß weitgehend von ihm selbst gemacht worden. Der erste Band bezieht sich im wesentlichen auf die Fauna and Flora, dazu auf den Stamm der Seis, während der zweite besonders die Menschen Sonoras, die Pimas, Opatas und Eudebes u.a., in ihrer Erscheinungsweise und Kultur behandelt. Pfefferkorn missionierte viele Jahre unter diesen Menschen und vermittelt einen faszinierenden und detaillierten Eindruck von ihnen, wobei sich natürlich zeittypische Vorurteile gegenüber den Indianern, dann aber auch gegenüber den Spaniern bemerkbar machen. Streckenweise nehmen die Darstellungen der Sonora-Landschaft geradezu lyrischen Charakter an. Während die Literaturgeschichte bisher praktisch nur die Schuldramen der Jesuiten des siebzehnten und achtzehnten Jahrhunderts beachtet hat, demonstriert nun diese Edition, daß die Reiseberichte der Missionare ebenfalls ein wichtiges Studienobjekt abgeben können, dessen sich vor allem auch die amerikanische Germanistik annehmen könnte.

University of Arizona

Albrecht Classen

An Immigrant Soldier in the Mexican War.

By Frederick Zeh. Translated by William J. Orr. Edited by William J. Orr and Robert Ryal Miller. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1995. xx + 177 pages, illustrated. \$35.00.

In recent years there has been an increase in the number of works that chronicle the war between Mexico and the United States during 1846-1848, yet relatively few firsthand accounts have come to light which discuss the conflict from the perspective of the lower ranks. Still fewer are connected with the German-American community, despite a strongly growing presence at the time and a record of participation in the struggle. Published some thirty years after the fact in the prominent German-American journal *Der Deutsche Pionier*, the extensive account by Frederick Zeh of a soldier's experiences in the Mexican War was long forgotten before the appearance of this English-language translation, the first book-length account of a German-American participant to appear in English.

Zeh was born in Nuremberg, Bavaria, on 26 December 1823 and emigrated to the United States in 1846. After an extensive education in the German area, Zeh worked briefly near Philadelphia as a farm laborer before restlessness and dissatisfaction set in. In December 1846, Zeh answered a call for new recruits enlisted in the Ordnance Department of the United States Army, and after a month of training joined the amphibious forces of General Winfield Scott in a march from Veracruz to Mexico City. As a laborer in the armed forces, Zeh's

primary responsibility was to maneuver heavy field artillery and ammunition, though his account makes clear that he also saw significant involvement in armed combat. Consistent with his status as a participant, the Zeh memoirs provide a fresh perspective on the Mexican march, the military skirmishes along the way, and life of a solider in the war. There are frequent references to how the enlisted men ate, slept, and entertained themselves on a daily basis. No less valuable are discussions of ethnic conflicts between soldiers of diverse backgrounds, relations between officers and soldiers, battlefield medical practices, and relations with Mexican civilians, all of which help demonstrate the darker side of the war experience and provide an account of the conflict best seen from a firsthand perspective.

Noteworthy in Zeh's account of the Mexican War is the evenhanded nature The professionalism and fairness of the officers is acknowledged, but not at the expense of accounts of occasional neglect or even brutalization. Frank discussions of the wartime lifestyle make clear that plundering and vandalism were common occurrences, and that most troops-including the author himself-held the Mexican people, the preparation of their cuisine, and their culture in low regard. On various occasions Zeh concedes the warmth and beauty of Mexico and its landscape, but does not overlook the less admirable qualities which he encountered. The author is particularly critical of the Mexican upper class and is quick to denounce the "prevailing idleness and utter lack of morality [which] give the privileged classes the means to keep the mass of people in abject servitude" (52). Thus, it is not surprising that Zeh refused to glorify or romanticize the war, its causes, and its effect upon soldiers and civilians alike; references to heroism and lust for adventure are capably balanced by depictions of suffering and bloodshed, on both sides of the battle lines. An added bonus is the lively and engaging style through which Zeh imparts his account. Better educated than most soldiers, the author yields a clear, vivid description of people, places, and experiences that likely would have been lost in the hands of a less-enlightened participant.

The English-language version of the Zeh account renders the original into a readable and accessible form. An editors' introduction provides useful background on the Mexican War for readers largely unfamiliar with the conflict and highlights important events in the pre- and postwar life of the author. Additional introductions are inserted before each chapter, offering more specific historical background on the places and events described. The editors wisely choose to minimize alterations to the original text—the primary exception being subtle corrections of spelling mistakes in Spanish-language names obviously unfamiliar to Zeh—although completists may object to the exclusion of several paragraphs which, according to the editors, digress from the narrative and are unrelated to the main premise of the work. Selected illustrations, including a copy of Zeh's army discharge certificate, add a welcome visual dimension to the people and places the author encountered during his military service, and are distributed judiciously throughout the text. A brief epilogue concludes the body

of the work and chronicles the postwar life of Zeh until his undocumented demise, presumable in early 1902. Foremost among the revelations provided here by the editors is that Zeh maintained little contact with the German-American community, despite the publication of his memoirs in a prominent German-American journal and his residence in several cities—most notably Cincinnati—with a well-defined German presence.

The English-language version of the Zeh original succeeds on two primary levels. First, it confers upon the author a recognition that for the most part eluded him during his lifetime and to a greater extent in later years with the general unavailability of *Der Deutsche Pionier* and the fading use of the German language in America. Second, the work provides a well-written, updated narrative of an understudied portion of American history and reinforces our knowledge of its German-American connections. The editors have done a valuable service to a wide cross-section of scholars with the translation and republication of the Zeh work, and through important additions have enhanced the value of a text which, as they aptly point out, allows the reader to participate vicariously in a memorable experience.

San Antonio, Texas

Timothy J. Holian

### The Diary of Hermann Seele & Seele's Sketches from Texas.

By Hermann Seele. Translation, Introduction, and Notes by Theodore Gish. Austin: German-Texan Heritage Society, 1995. 476 pages. \$27.50.

Despite the well-established importance of the Texas German community, there remain instances in which primary source materials lay undisturbed in Texas archives and collections virtually unresearched and untranslated to the present day. Many scholars who otherwise would bring to light this information have been deterred by the nature of the original documents which are often in old script and thus illegible to researchers unaccustomed to this form of writing.

With these points in mind, Theodore Gish has published in a single volume English-language transcriptions of *The Diary of Hermann Seele* and Seele's *Sketches from Texas*. The *Diary*, a personal chronicle of the early German presence in Texas, documents the early residence of Hermann Seele in the northern German city of Hildesheim; his sixty-six-day journey to the Texas Gulf Coast; a brief stay in the port settlement of Carlshafen (better known as Indianola); and his subsequent relocation to the Texas German settlement of New Braunfels. The original diary long has resided in the Sophienburg Memorial Museum and Archives in New Braunfels; despite the existence of previous publications on the life and work of Hermann Seele, there is no evidence that his diaries were consulted as a source of information. *Sketches from Texas* is a forty-page travel guide which was written for family members and friends in Europe who desired to emigrate to the United States but lacked practical information on conditions

in the New World. The usefulness of the piece was not limited to a European audience; one section of the text ("On the Brazos in April 1844") was reworked by Seele for subsequent publication in the United States.

The importance of the Seele diaries and travel guide can be seen on two levels. First, Seele provides invaluable information on the experiences of the German colonies in Texas as well as the environmental and social conditions which made their development unique from those in other areas. Seele kept an almost daily account of his life from 1843 to 1845, and on a sporadic basis during 1853 and 1861, in which he detailed the earliest days of several significant German areas in Texas such as Carlshafen Indianola and New Braunfels. As a result, contemporary readers are able to see such key areas arise before their eyes and trace their growing importance as centers for German-American history and culture. Second, Seele provides a unique firsthand insight into the formative years of his life, as one of the most important of the Texas Germans. Among many other accomplishments, Seele is known for having been the first school teacher in New Braunfels; church secretary there for fifty-seven years; the innovator of the Texas tax-based school district; organizer of the first New Braunfels Schützenverein and Gesangverein; and even the author of a German-Texan musical, Texas Fahrten. The publication of the Seele diaries sheds important new light on Seele as a German-American pioneer, and the deeds which led to his longtime status in New Braunfels as the "eigentliche Seele der Stadt," before his death in 1902.

As Gish points out in his introductory remarks, the Seele diaries represent a document of unique historical, literary, and sociological significance. Historically speaking, they remain the only known document of German-Texan interest which chronicles extensively the period from 1843 to 1861 when many important Texas German settlements were established. As such, Seele's diary entries represent the only comprehensive account of the settlement of Texas as seen virtually on a day-by-day basis chronicling the Texas German immigrant experience from its origins. The entries of the Seele diaries begin in Hildesheim on 1 May 1843; subsequent passages present an intriguing insight into the everyday conditions in Germany at the time. Seele's optimistic nature is evident throughout the diary but does not hinder his ability to discuss truthfully the less pleasant side of the immigrant experience, particularly the rigors of a protracted shipboard journey to the New World: "There are general complaints from the passengers about the very bad food, their treatment, and steerage, all of this in comparison with other ships. Everything seems to be set up for pigs rather than for human beings" (55-56).

On a literary level, the diaries and travel guide both serve as important forerunners for Seele's later publications, including an illustrated novella entitled *Die Cypresse*; a dozen historical sketches; and hundreds of poems, some of which can be found in the present works. Diary entries show Seele to have been a deeply religious person, one who freely expressed his emotions. It is a testimony to Seele's early literary abilities that his many religious and emotional

outpourings do not come off as tedious; on the contrary, Seele shows an impressive tendency to capture his convictions and moods in a clear and concise manner. No less obvious is the profound influence on Seele of German Romanticism and the deep emotional link to nature which was characteristic of the movement. As a result, the reader is brought into greater focus with the life of the subject and the factors which influenced many literary German immigrants of the 1830s and 1840s. Socially, the Seele diaries are significant not only for their portrayal of settlements such as New Braunfels at a critical juncture but also in terms of their depiction of fellow settlers. Seele provides many insightful portrayals of close friends and companions, and several of his love interests, all of which provide a fuller picture of his life and by extension, the German-American community.

Valuable as The Diary of Hermann Seele and Sketches from Texas are in and of themselves, Gish has presented the works in a manner which makes their information easily accessible to contemporary scholars. Eliminating the problem of the old-script original German text, the English-language edition allows the texts to be used by historians and other interested parties without a strong knowledge of German. Editing is done judiciously; the omission of daily prayers does not eliminate passages of importance to the text. An introduction on the life of Seele provides extensive biographical information and clarifies a number of points which otherwise might cause confusion in reading the diary entries. A brief introduction to the diaries is of interest for background knowledge while a similar overview of Sketches from Texas, although only one page long, presents salient points concerning the text in an illuminating manner. A two-page section of notes regarding the translation and editing of the Seele texts clarifies procedural questions and demonstrates the efforts of Gish to remain as true as possible to the linguistic and grammatical components of the Seele originals. Separate sections of notes are provided by the editor for the Diary (here entitled "Epilogue") and the Sketches. Highly helpful in the Epilogue are biographical data on people and geographic information on places presented in Seele's text. Also in the Notes sections, Gish presents the German-language original versions of Seele's poems for those who wish to compare the German with the English translations present in the body of the texts.

In sum, The Diary of Hermann Seele and Seele's Sketches from Texas represent a valuable addition to the canon on the Texas German-American presence and an unparalleled perspective on the experiences of a German-American leader and the developing community he served. The reader will be thankful to Theodore Gish for his effort to make these works available and will share in the hope that the publication of this book will spur others to perform a similar task where such primary resource materials remain neglected and underutilized.

San Antonio, Texas

Timothy J. Holian

Wild River, Timeless Canyons: Balduin Möllhausen's Watercolors of the Colorado.

By Ben W. Huseman. Fort Worth, TX: Amon Carter Museum, 1995. (Distributed by University of Arizona Press, Tuscon, AZ.) 232 pages, illustrated. \$70.00.

When exploration of the American West began in earnest during the pre-Civil War era, photography was still in its infancy and artists had an important role to play in bringing back information about the new lands beyond the Western frontier. One of the most interesting of these artists was Heinrich Balduin Möllhausen (1825-1905), who was better known during his lifetime as an author of popular novels in the manner of James Fennimore Cooper. Born near Bonn, Möllhausen made three trips to the U.S. as a young man and returned to Germany after taking part in three scientific expeditions to the American West between 1850 and 1858. Although primarily engaged as a topographic artist, he also sketched plants, zoological specimens, geological formations, and scenes from the tribal life of indigenous peoples. He was, however, less skilled in his figure studies than in his landscapes.

Until recently the researcher interested in Möllhausen's work as an artist had little to go on besides the illustrations which appeared in Möllhausen's publications, including the reports of the topographical surveys in which he was a participant. Möllhausen's original watercolors for these illustrations were assumed to be lost until a collection of 46 of them unexpectedly came on the market in 1982 and were acquired in 1988 by the Amon Carter Museum in Fort Worth, Texas. This collection, together with another 48 watercolors recently found in a museum in eastern Germany, now constitutes a substantial nucleus of material making it possible for the first time in this century to undertake a serious appraisal of Möllhausen's work as an artist.

Ben W. Huseman, a former editorial assistant at the Amon Carter Museum, has been engaged for the last ten years in studying Möllhausen's life and work. The result is this remarkable volume, which contains 221 illustrations, 51 of them in color, plus a wealth of text, maps, and bibliographical information. In short, this book has transformed Heinrich Balduin Möllhausen from a superficially known artist into one of the more carefully studied German-American artists of the last century.

The available Möllhausen watercolors all relate to his last western expedition, undertaken in 1857-58 to determine the navigability of the western Colorado River. The pictures have considerable historic importance as the earliest known views of a number of places in the Southwest, including the Grand Canyon. Because the original watercolors are in most instances superior to the engraved and lithographed versions previously known from books, we are now able to see Möllhausen as a much better artist than was previously thought.

Huseman's book provides us with biographical details about Möllhausen's life and also gives full information about the expeditions which he accompanied. More important, however, is the fact that for the first time we have some

account of how Möllhausen, who lacked formal training as an artist, nonetheless became a skilled and competent craftsman. In particular, Huseman examines Möllhausen's position among other typographical artists of the Western frontier and supplies valuable insights as to possible influences affecting Möllhausen's art. In short, this is a most welcome, well-researched and well-written book which provides us with an authoritative source on Möllhausen that sets the record straight on a number of details which have been inadequately or inaccurately reported in the past.

Florida Atlantic University

Peter C. Merrill

Those Damn Dutch: The Beginnings of German Immigration in North America During the Thirty Years War.

By Christian Gellinek. Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1996. 130 pages. DM 48.00.

In 1992, this reviewer published *The First Germans in America*, *With a Biographical Directory of New York Germans* (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books) for two reasons: First, this work aimed to "provide information on the first Germans in America," and secondly, "to identify and establish the actual beginning date of German-American history" (p. v). In the past, the pre-1683 German element had been relegated to almost total obscurity, especially after the 1983 German-American Tricentennial which erroneously referred to the founders of Germantown as the first Germans, or as the first group immigration of Germans to America. Germantown was the first permanent all-German settlement, but the necessary clarification of *The First Germans in America*, of course, was that there had been German settlers in America since their arrival in 1608 at Jamestown, and that there had also been groups arriving well before 1683. The reviewer also provided an index of more than six hundred pre-1683 German emigrants to America.

Gellinek looks at each colony along the coast from Maine in the north all the way down through Maryland and Virginia, with the greatest detail on New York (pp. 29-54), and justifiably so, as New York/New Amsterdam was the pre-1683 center of the German element. He also provides profiles of the origins of the settlers, average ages upon arrival, professional status, approximate taxes, places of settlement in America, as well as two useful indexes: an index to the place of origin of the first Germans (pp. 93-104), and an alphabetical name index of 432 settlers (pp. 104-14). Also included is a bibliography of primary and secondary sources (pp. 115-30).

Rather than commencing his study with the Jamestown Germans, the author begins in the north with the German settlers in the Dutch colonies, and traces the German settlers southwards along the coast so that the reader does not come to the Virginia section until page 64. His approach is geographical, not chronological, and hence may confuse the reader who approaches the work

expecting an historical overview. It is worth mentioning that in a recent essay, "Who Were the First Glassmakers in English America?" [The Report: A Journal of German-American History 43 (1966): 37-42], Gary C. Grassl has established that the glassmakers whom Captain Smith brought to Jamestown in 1608, were indeed Germans; they produced the first glass in colonial America.

The question arises as to why Gellinek has listed only 432 names of pre-1683 Germans when more than six hundred have been identified. Which ones has he eliminated and on what grounds? Has he been all too quick to eliminate names which are in fact German? These names are in need of further research, as in New Amsterdam many were adapted to the Dutch language, and in the English settlements many were Anglicized.

As to the book's title, we find use of "the Damn Dutch" unfortunate. As is well known, Captain Smith coined the phrase when he found out that those German glassmakers were befriending the Indians. It later became America's paramount ethnic slur. A chapter on this topic in a historical context would have been valuable.

Those interested in the pre-1683 Germans will want to examine the volume, as it points to the need for continued research on the topic. Some questions to be addressed in the future are: What do the Dutch sources in New York, particularly those of the Dutch Reformed Church, reveal about the New York Germans? What can be discovered about the pre-1683 group immigration of Pomeranians to New Sweden? What more can be ascertained about Germans outside of New York and Jamestown?

University of Cincinnati

Don Heinrich Tolzmann

## Isaac Leeser and the Making of American Judaism.

By Lance J. Sussman. American Jewish Civilization Series. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1995. 312 pages, illustrated. \$39.95.

"The history of American Judaism and that of Isaac Leeser are one and the same," Henry Morais wrote in *Eminent Israelites of the Nineteenth Century* (1880). Although Morais's assessment may sound like an admirer's hyperbole, this excellent biography of Isaac Leeser (1806-68) by Lance J. Sussman confirms Leeser's leadership in the nineteenth-century American Jewish community. Between Leeser's emigration from Münster, Germany, in 1824 and his last years as hazzan (cantor) of Philadelphia's Congregation Beth El Emeth, Leeser worked as a writer, translator, and institution builder to implant his vision of Judaism in America. The great accomplishment of *Isaac Leeser and the Making of American Judaism* is Sussman's ability to contextualize Leeser's life in the larger story of European immigration and cultural transformation. To become acquainted with Isaac Leeser through this fascinating book is, much as Henry Morais said, to discover the formative period of American Judaism.

The year of Leeser's birth, 1806, also marked the recognition of Jews as citizens of Napoleon's empire and the loss of their medieval, communal status. Leeser remained poised between tradition and modernity throughout his life, and the cultural situation of Westphalian Jews during his childhood helped to set him on this road. Although he received his elementary education in a heder, where pupils studied Torah, Talmud, and later rabbinic commentaries, he completed his schooling at Münster Institute in the 1820s, learning classical languages, history, mathematics, and science. The reforms of Jewish education and rabbinical duties Leeser advocated in America reflected his respect for intellectual clarity, a cornerstone of the Enlightenment. He took a catechismal approach to religious learning, both at the Sunday school of his Congregation Mickveh Israel in Philadelphia, established in 1838, and in his Catechism for Young Children (1839). He battled Jewish skepticism of preaching to make sermons part of Sabbath worship. His Discourses, Argumentative and Devotional, on the Subject of the Jewish Religion (1837) was the first collection of Jewish sermons published in America. This emphasis on the uses of reason in religion did not align Leeser, however, with the German-Jewish Reform movement. Convinced that the entire Talmud, not just the Hebrew Bible, represented God's will, Leeser, in Sussman's words, championed "tradition in a modern orthodox mode" (p. 147).

Leeser's immigration to America as a seventeen-year-old orphan was the decisive event of his life. In Richmond, his first home, he learned the Sephardic ritual that prevailed in American synagogues before the arrival of large numbers of northern European, Ashkenazic Jews. In 1829, he was elected hazzan of Philadelphia's Mickveh Israel, where he remained until 1850. Through the years, Leeser was inspired by the promise of America as well as buffeted by its conflicts. He saw the constitutional separation of religion and the state as the civic groundwork for a revival of Judaism. His efforts to bring unity to American congregations—both socially, through a national organization, and intellectually, through his periodical The Occident, and American Jewish Advocate (1843-69)—were driven by his hope for Jewish religious rebirth. At the same time, ethnic tensions between Sephardim and Ashkenazim, religious differences between orthodox and reformers, and congregational disputes between lay boards of trustees and their spiritual leaders made day-to-day Jewish life in America contentious. Although nearly identical strains appeared among Protestants and Catholics during this era of democratized religion, Leeser would probably not have been consoled by the thought that conflict was the religious norm. Only toward the end of his life did Leeser achieve simple job security and widespread respect.

Perhaps Leeser's most lasting achievement were the writings that laid an intellectual foundation for American Judaism. Leeser produced bilingual (Hebrew-English) Sephardic and Ashkenazic prayer books, issued the first American vocalized Hebrew Bible, translated pious German-Jewish works, and wrote defenses of Jewish rights. Although Leeser was neither a traditional rabbinic scholar nor an original thinker, it is impossible to imagine Jewish life

in America without his numerous texts. An abrasive and ultimately lonely man, he found greatest peace in his writing. The early American Jewish community benefited form his personal shortcomings as well as from his talents and dedication.

Readers of *Isaac Leeser and the Making of American Judaism* will be rewarded with impeccable scholarship, fair judgments, and a clear presentation of an impressive body of evidence. The life of Isaac Leeser offers a revealing window on the migration of German-Jewish culture to America. Lance Sussman has done full justice to the potentiality of his subject.

The Pennsylvania State University

Anne C. Rose

Mencken: A Life.

By Fred Hobson. New York: Random House, 1994. xx + 650 pages, illustrated.

Henry Louis Mencken (1880-1956) was a brilliant author, editor, and critic who began his career as a journalist but emerged in the 1920s as a leading figure in American letters. Although there have been several previous biographies of Mencken, this one has a particular value because it is the only one based on the full corpus of Mencken's private papers, some of which were kept under seal until as recently as 1991. Mencken always took great relish in offending the sensibilities of his hypocrite readers and was often denounced by his contemporaries. He would have no doubt been amused if he could have foreseen how his politically insensitive private papers would be opened in an era of cautiously correct communication. But although Mencken remains a nuisance and embarrassment in some quarters, he can never be entirely dismissed or forgotten.

Like his contemporary Babe Ruth, Mencken was born in Baltimore and descended from German-American stock. Although he disdained to consider himself a hyphenated American, he was acutely aware that three of his four grandparents had been immigrants from Germany. He traced his German ancestry with scholarly thoroughness and was proud of the fact that the Menckens had been a family of distinguished professors, jurists, and writers which had flourished in Leipzig during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There is even a street in Leipzig named after one of his ancestors as well as a family memorial window in the Thomaskirche. Mencken's paternal grandfather, a direct descendant of this line, was a cigar maker who settled in Baltimore in 1848 and three years later married Harriet McClellan, a woman of Scotch and English descent. Mencken's father founded his own successful cigar factory, but Mencken abandoned the family business for journalism at the first opportunity. On his mother's side he was descended from less illustrious ancestors, the Gegner family of Bavaria and the Abhau family from Hesse. His mother, Anna Abhau

Mencken, spoke fluent German but preferred to express herself in carefully

enunciated English.

During the years of Mencken's childhood, the city of Baltimore had a population of some 400,000, about a quarter of which were recently arrived German immigrants and their families. As a child Mencken enjoyed family outings to a local Schützenpark and attended Knapp's Institute, a local German-American school. He never spoke German at home but learned some in school and later undertook a serious study of the language when he became interested in the writings of Nietzsche. Although Mencken came only gradually to an appreciation of German literature, his appreciation of German music was lifelong and absolute. As he put it himself, "There are only two kinds of music, German music and bad music."

With the outbreak of World War I in 1914, Mencken almost immediately found himself put on the defensive. Nietzsche was now being reviled as the intellectual architect of the war and Mencken soon found himself denounced as Nietzsche's most conspicuous American apologist. Suddenly several ideas that had been building in his mind for years were crystallized into a decision. In this struggle he was clearly on the side of German culture and against the moralizing cant that he found so objectionable in Woodrow Wilson and in American culture in general. During 1914 and 1915 his commentaries on the war for the Baltimore Sun became so pro-German that his regular column was ultimately suspended. In the summer of 1916 he proposed to the editors of two American newspapers that he be allowed to go to Germany as a war correspondent. The project was approved and with clearance from the State Department and a German visa Mencken set off at the end of December aboard a Danish steamer. Proceeding via Scandinavia to Berlin, he was immediately granted permission to visit the eastern front in Lithuania, where he spent five memorable days. He then returned to Berlin, where he received the news that the United States had broken off diplomatic relations with Germany. Leaving Berlin on February 10, he made his way south by train to Switzerland and was able to return home later that month by way of Spain and Cuba.

On 6 April the U.S. declared war on Germany. Mencken found that he was under investigation by the Department of Justice and that government agents were intercepting and reading his mail. The provisions of the Espionage Act made it unwise to publish anything about the war. Later he would write, "The war was the period of my withdrawal into myself." Discouraged during the postwar period from writing about political issues, Mencken took up literary criticism and satire. A book which turned out to be the start of a long-term enterprise was The American Language begun in 1919.

The Smart Set, which Mencken had edited with George Jean Nathan since 1912, was abandoned by them in December 1923. In its place appeared The American Mercury, an innovative literary journal which Mencken edited from 1924 to 1933. Largely because of this magazine Mencken's reputation reached

its zenith during the early 1930s.

Hobson's biography gives a thorough but balanced analysis of Mencken's life, clarifies a number of minor points, and fills in some of the gaps that are glossed over in Mencken's autobiographical writings, including information about the women in his life. Missing, however, are the irony, humor, and sheer entertainment value of Mencken's early autobiographical writings, particularly Happy Days (1940) and Newspaper Days (1941). It is one of the paradoxes of Mencken's character that he never would have considered writing the sort of well-rounded assessment of his life given here by Hobson, but that he meticulously assembled all the notes and documents that a future biographer might need to carry out such a project.

Florida Atlantic University

Peter C. Merrill

Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans.

By Edwin Miller Fogel. [Revised and edited by C. Richard Beam.] Millersville, PA: Center for Pennsylvania German Studies, 1995. 242 pages. \$18.00.

Proverbs of the Pennsylvania Germans.

By Edwin Miller Fogel. [Revised and edited by C. Richard Beam.] Millersville, PA: Center for Pennsylvania German Studies, 1995. xxii + 149 pages. \$16.00.

Proverbs of the Pennsylvania Germans.

By Edwin Miller Fogel. With an Introduction and Bibliography by Wolfgang Mieder. Sprichwörterforschung 17. Bern, New York [etc.]: Lang, 1995. xxxvii + 231 pages. \$55.95.

Linguists, folklorists, and aficionados of Pennsylvania German will relish the new availability of Edwin Miller Fogel's works, the Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans and Proverbs of the Pennsylvania Germans, the latter of which is out in two new editions. Beliefs, the first of Fogel's works, was published originally in 1915. It represented for Fogel a serious attempt "at putting into permanent form a phase of folklife which will soon disappear into the background and thus be irretrievably lost" (Beliefs, p.6). Proverbs, published in 1929, is a collection of what Fogel termed "the very bone and sinew of the dialect, the spontaneous expression of one's own experience, a judgement [sic] or dictum which has gained vogue or taken on a definite form as the result of years of observation" (Proverbs, Beam ed., p.v; Mieder ed., p.l). Both works, Beliefs and Proverbs, shed light on the state of Pennsylvania German in the early twentieth century and on the world of those who spoke it. As such, these texts are fun to read and will prove of great interest to speakers and scholars of Pennsylvania German language and literature. They provide access to the folk wisdom of an earlier time and, to varying degrees, to the Pennsylvania German dialects spoken in North America around the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century. Each of these collections is different; together, they are mutually informative. Apparent in the two versions of the *Proverbs* are the different goals of modern-day dialect researchers.

The reissuing of Edwin Miller Fogel's Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans and his Proverbs of the Pennsylvania Germans by the Center for Pennsylvania German Studies is a by-product of the Pennsylvania German dictionary project directed by C. Richard Beam, director of the center. The Beam editions are quite similar to the originals. In each work, Beam has kept Fogel's basic arrangement of the item in Pennsylvania German followed by an English translation and, when Fogel could find one, a parallel item in standard German. In Beliefs, Fogel also noted where an item was collected—information missing, unfortunately, in the Proverbs. Items in Beliefs are grouped in categories that include childhood, omens and wishes, marriage, omens concerning death, cats and dogs, and weather. Proverbs is arranged alphabetically. A drawback of the Beam version, but not of the Mieder version, which reproduces Fogel's Proverbs without revision, is that the Beam text no longer italicizes, as Fogel did, the key word in each proverb according to which it is arranged alphabetically. Both the Mieder and the Beam texts include the additional proverbs Fogel gathered after completing the search for parallel proverbs (proverbs 1888-1938) and Fogel's "Supplement to Proverbs of the Pennsylvania Germans" or, as Beam labels the section, "Vulgar Proverbs" (proverbs 1939-2028). In Mieder's reprint, it is clear that Fogel did not intend the latter for "public perusal" (p. 223), and instead published them in a separate pamphlet for private distribution.

Unfortunately the reprints also share many of the drawbacks of the Beam notes that the late Mac E. Barricks pointed out several shortcomings in the first edition of Beliefs, including the lack of information on informants, data collection techniques, and the context in which the item was used (*Proverbs*, Beam ed., p. xvii). This remains a serious problem for the dialect researcher. Moreover, Fogel's general failure to put the beliefs and superstitions into cultural and historical context renders this work of limited value for the researcher of Pennsylvania German folklore. The introduction to Beliefs, in which Fogel relates to pre-Christian Thor-worship such seemingly disparate actions as tying red wool around a finger to stop nose bleed and eating greens on Maundy Thursday, provides an intriguing glimpse at what could be gained were background contextual material available. Indeed, by linking the days of the week to the German gods from whom their English names descent, Fogel ties myriad behaviors in Pennsylvania German society to pre-Christian god cults, making a strong case for viewing rural twentieth-century Pennsylvania German Americans as firmly tied to their ancient German forebears. contextualization is absent from the listing of the superstitions themselves, leaving them largely incomprehensible and certainly shorn of their wisdom. Similarly, in both editions, Proverbs lacks information on the way in which items were elicited or from whom, a surprising and important failing since Fogel was determined to catch the proverb "on the wing" (Proverbs, Beam ed., p.v; Mieder ed., p.1) in the course of conversation. One has no way to determine that the proverbs listed are in any way representative of the Pennsylvania

German communities Fogel studied.

In addition, in the Beam versions there is information missing that Fogel himself made certain to include in the originals. In preparing these volumes, Fogel was attempting to reproduce the vernacular. As he wrote in the introduction to Beliefs, "[a]ll material was written down just as it was given [. . .] to get a permanent record of the spoken vernacular with all its dialectical peculiarites [sic]. This accounts for the variation in spelling and word usage and is the main reason for publishing the superstitions in the original, since by this method, it is made possible to have a permanent record of a distinctive German dialect [. . .]" (Beliefs, p. 10). Fogel made no attempt to cull proverbs from books or newspapers and canvassed both Franconian and Alemannic dialect speakers "for the purpose of getting the dialectal peculiarities and variations of each" (Proverbs, Beam ed., p.v; Mieder ed., p. 1).

In preparing to reissue these works, however, the goal of editor C. Richard Beam was to present a unified set of data that would complement the dictionary project and prove of interest to, among others, dialect storytellers, orators, and others of "the faithful," and to "readers who are ready to deal with the mind and language of the Pennsylvania German nearly a century ago" (Beliefs, p.5). In Proverbs, for example, Beam makes this clear, both in his quoting of written texts to illustrate the way in which leading Pennsylvania German prose writers have used Pennsylvania German proverbs and in his assertion that, "[allthough Fogel's sources were primarily oral, it is impossible to draw a line between proverbs in print and proverbs in the memory of the folk" (Proverbs, p. xi). In the reprinted editions, all of Fogel's entries have been retyped and respelled according to the Buffington-Barba-Beam system of Pennsylvania German orthography. As Beam writes in his preface to *Proverbs*, "[s]ince great strides have been made toward the establishment of a standardized, i.e. normalized PG orthography, it was neither practicable nor advisable to retain Fogel's spelling" (p. xii). In effect, Fogel's text, representing the varied pronunciations of unstandardized, unwritten Pennsylvania German has been standardized. The language the Pennsylvania Germans spoke nearly a century ago has been converted to that of the 1990s transcriber, and the varied pronunciations of nineteenth-century Pennsylvania German speakers have been lost.

Fortunately, although it lacks Beam's useful index, the Mieder edition of the *Proverbs* reprints the Fogel text exactly, thus proving clues to the varied pronunciations of Pennsylvania German as Fogel heard them; in addition the Mieder text includes Fogel's guide to the orthography. Writing not only for those engaged in the study of Pennsylvania German, Mieder presents Fogel's work in its original form to make data useful to scholars interested in comparative dialect study.

These new editions of Fogel's work provide an important resource for the researcher, and both Mieder's and Beam's introductions to these works are

interesting and informative. In *Beliefs*, Beam places Fogel's research in the larger context of the Pennsylvania German dictionary project. In his more extensive preface to *Proverbs*, Beam places Fogel's work in the larger context of the study of folk proverbs and provides a historical look at Fogel's research and its reception. Similarly, in an essay that is more inclusive and far-ranging than Beam's, Mieder places Fogel's work in the wider context of Pennsylvania German studies, historical work on German proverbs, and past and present work on Pennsylvania German proverbs. Mieder provides, as well, a useful bibliography of proverb bibliographies, German dialect proverb collections, scholarship on dialect proverbs, and major studies of Pennsylvania German.

One can learn from these volumes much about Fogel's own period and assumptions. Whereas nowadays Pennsylvania German is dying out in nonsectarian groups and, indeed, may be said to be relatively healthy only among the Old Order Amish and the most conservative of Mennonites, Fogel collected items from representatives of almost all the Christian denominations. Nevertheless, he noted that "[i]n many sections of the Pennsylvania German territory English is rapidly supplanting Pennsylvania German or German as the pulpit language under the influence of the public schools and a consequent apparent disregard for German" (Beliefs, p.9). Fogel respected early twentiethcentury sensibilities with "toned down" translations of superstitions concerning sex and medicine. Theological and ethnic biases are evident in Fogel's inclusion of Christian Science with fortune-tellers, palm readers, and "gypsies" (Beliefs, p.18). Similarly, in his 1929 introduction to the Proverbs, reprinted in the reissuing of his collection, Fogel writes that "[i]t is natural that the Pennsylvania Germans should use the proverb extensively because of the fondness of the Germanic peoples for this form of expression" (Beam ed., p.v; Mieder ed., p.1).

Mieder and Beam envision different audiences for these volumes. Mieder offers his edition of the *Proverbs* to "students and scholars interested in proverb studies" (p.v), suggesting that the reprint will not only interest "Americans of German heritage, especially folklorists, linguists, and cultural historians engaged in the study of the Pennsylvania Germans" but also dialect scholars in Austria, Germany, and Switzerland. No doubt this audience will find Mieder's edition of *Proverbs* challenging and useful. Beam aims at a larger audience, desiring that this collection in the *Muddersprooch* enable descendants of Pennsylvania German speakers "to better understand the world their greatgreatgrandparents lived in" (*Beliefs*, p.3). Collected from people who lived on farms in a world without electricity, these sayings, beliefs and superstitions may, Beam hopes, help the young folk of the twenty-first century keep a sense of their roots. Whether these collections will prove of interest to such a wide audience remains to be seen.

St. Lawrence University

Karen M. Johnson-Weiner

#### Israels letzter Psalm: Gedichte

By Alfred Gong. Edited by Joachim Herrmann. Aachen: Rimbaud, 1995. 92 pages. DM 28.00.

It has repeatedly been observed by scholars of exile literature that refugee writers often use their former homeland rather than their country of exile as the setting for their literary works. Alfred Gong (1929-81), born in Czernowitz, and twice in hiding from dictatorships—the brown one of Germany and the red one of Eastern Europe—forms in many of his poems an exception to this general rule. A great number of his poems are set in New York or make at least passing reference to the "Eiland Manhattan" ("Robinson," 74), where the poet spent thirty years of his disheartening exilic life. But other poems represent something even more interesting than reflections of his final city of asylum. Beneath the surface reality of his New York setting are discernible, palimpsest fashion, imprints of his European provenance and the millennia of his Jewish heritage. This seamless jointure of Europe, America, and biblical texts as the material of his poetry will fascinate any reader, but is of particular interest to the perusers of this journal with its hyphenation of two nationalities.

With the SGAS-Yearbook reader in mind this review will focus on the vignettelike poems about NewYork or about American metropolis in general, and on the lyrics which straddle past and present and/or old and new homelands. To make such a delimitation is in no way intended as a slight of Gong's dirgelike poems about the Holocaust, earlier persecutions, or plaints about his lost homeland, the latter exemplified by the last poem in this splendid collection ("Bukowina," 75). Their merits and occasional weaknesses have been previously analyzed by Joseph Strelka, Gong's rediscoverer, and by Jerry Glenn, to whose analyses subsequent researchers of the poet will inevitably be indebted.

Two of Gong's poems celebrate—albeit in harsher terms than say, Emma Lazarus's optimistic welcome chiseled in the base of the Statue of Liberty—the foreigners' arrival in America. "Dieses Volk" (40-41) catalogues the multicultural immigration to America and the integration of the newcomers into an alien society. Arriving with a "Buckel aus Erinnerung," they emerge a harder and therefore more indestructible people:

Am gleichen Feuer schmolz Vergangenes. Im gleichen Feuer wuchs der Guß: ein Volk, hart, unverwüstlich wie sein Gold.

While the last lines surely do not portray a newfound idyll, another poem, "Grünhorns Blues," (143) paints an even harsher reality. The new arrivals, greeted at first with an unending series of pats on the shoulder and with practical advice, must also learn to cope with paltry wages, take on a second job ("Ein

zweiter Job tut's"), and must choose between a harsh new life or the old fossilized culture:

halt mit or go home zu deiner fossilen Kultur.

In one of the most fascinating poems, "Manhattan Spirituals," (48-49) Gong transposes the (and his) biblical myths to Manhattan and at the same time demythologizes them. Adam becomes a wife-beater; Noah, tired of the flood, sips martinis; Joshua fails to blow down the structures of steel and glass; a sheared Samson puts on a wig; the inhabitants of Manhattan are enjoined to read an abridged Bible, in "Westentaschenformat."

In the midst of some of these American poems Gong inserts European points of reference. The onlookers in "East Side Ballade" (46-47) were born between "Seoul and the first Berlin blockade." In a poem entitled "Kalender," (66-67) the poet observes:

Der August ist auch im Ausland nicht viel anders.

That would be true of Europe, of course, but not south of the equator!

But the bridge Gong builds across the Atlantic assumes a still more subtle form. Gong has obviously absorbed the whole panoply of the traditional German lyric and he uses it as an intertext for his "American" poetry. In the above-named poem "Manhattan Spiritual," he invokes Viktor Scheffel's "Im schwarzen Walfisch," in "Kalender" Goethe's "An den Mond." Johann Martin Usteri's "Freut euch des Lebens" is deconstructed in "Pythia" (73) and the children's song "Maikäfer flieg" gains added grisliness in "Wiegenlied" (35). Finally he uses the incantatory children's rhyme "Zehn kleine Negerlein" in "Interview mit Harlem" (52-53) to conjure up an urban Afro-American counterculture.

It is to the credit of the editor, Joachim Herrmann, that he has put together an anthology of Gong's best previously published poems together with an astonishingly rich selection of unpublished texts mined from the Gong archive at the University of Cincinnati. He has arranged them by topics, its chapter headings borrowed from Gong's poems, and has added a useful epilogue, designed to acquaint a larger public with a poet who fully deserves one.

Wayne State University

Guy Stern

"Es ist ein Aschensommer in der Welt." Rose Ausländer: Biographie. By Cilly Helfrich. Berlin: Quadraliga, 1995. 365 pages. DM 48.00.

In 1974, Rose Ausländer was a little-known sixty-seven-year-old poet whose fifth collection of verse was issued by a small publisher. In 1984 she was an eighty-three-year-old writer of stature whose collected works were appearing in S. Fischer Verlag, one of Germany's premier publishers. In 1995, seven years after her death, a full-length biography of one of Germany's most respected literary figures is published. Readers who did not catch the arithmetical discrepancy above are in good and plentiful company. Until 1981, Ausländer, who was born in 1901, successfully passed off her birth year as 1907, although even superficial reflection on the relationship between this date and the few facts of her biography known at the time should have revealed major problems. Indeed, until her posthumous papers became available, the events in the life of this fascinating figure were for the most part shrouded in mystery.

Helfrich has drawn copiously and resourcefully from the papers, especially from various unpublished "autobiographische Notizen" and letters, both those addressed to the poet and copies of letters she wrote to others. The author also draws on personal communications, interviews and letters, from persons who knew the poet. The quotation from one of Ausländer's poems in the title is indicative: numerous passages from her works are included, creating a kind of

spiritual/literary autobiographical component of the story.

The first chapter, "Das bewältigte Wort," anticipates the final one, "Leben im Wort," appropriately reflecting the importance of writing in Ausländer's life. Then follows a chapter on her native Bukovina, which was no less important to her than it was to so many others from this mythical region, most notably Paul Celan. The actual report of Ausländer's childhood is rather sketchy. A brief reference to the high grades in one report card suggests that more information might have been available, but Helfrich does not tell us if the sketchiness is a result of choice or necessity. Following a long excursion on "Die Philsophie Constantin Brunners" (which was important in the poet's intellectual development), with much about the poet's relationship to Brunner and his wayward Czernowitz disciple Friedrich Kettner, the fifth chapter is devoted to Ausländer's first period in America, 1921-1931. This will be of interest to students of immigration and acculturation, as well as to literary historians. Although I am not normally a fan of writing literary biography on the basis of an author's works, Helfrich uses this approach convincingly and effectively, examining, for example, the use of the words "grün" and "grau" in the poems of this period as evidence of Ausländer's continuing sense of alienation in New York.

Although she had become an American citizen, various factors led to a return to Europe, where she was caught in the nightmare of the Second World War. She miraculously survived the war in the Jewish Ghetto of Czernowitz. In 1946 she returned to America, although she had in the meantime lost her

citizenship as a result of her absence from the country. This time she seems to have made an effort to become acculturated, even turning to English as the language of her poetry. In 1957 while on a trip to Europe she wrote to her American friend Mimi Grossberg: "Ich sehne mich nach New York zurück—es klingt mir selbst unglaublich, ist aber wahr" (242). The attempt was not successful. Her few friends and acquaintances were fellow German-speaking immigrants (or, in many cases, "refugees"), and negative references to New York increase. In the late 1950s she stopped writing in English and returned to her native German. Through the intercession of Alfred Gong, the Austrian Bergland publishing company accepted a manuscript of poems, and Blinder Sommer was published in 1965, the year in which she permanently returned to Germanspeaking Europe, settling in Düsseldorf. Her Vaterland, the Bukovina, was beyond her grasp, and her Mutterland, the poetic German word, had grown all the more important to her. She felt the need to be in an environment in which German was not foreign and strange. With the exception of a few trips, to visit New York (which she by now hated) and Italy (which she loved), she remained in Düsseldorf, increasingly confined to her room by arthritis and other ailments. Bedridden for the last decade of her life, she truly did "dwell in the word" of her poetry, and the final chapters of her biography consist perhaps primarily of quotations from her poems.

Helfrich's biography has many positive features. It is well written, nicely illustrated with photographs from various periods of Ausländer's life, supplied with an index of names, and is attractively produced. Although extremely sympathetic, it makes no attempt to conceal the dark side of its subject: "Rose ist keine einfache Freundin. Viele stößt sie vor den Kopf, und die meisten Freundschaften gehen früher oder später in die Brüche" (276). On a few occasions I questioned the author's procedures, e.g., quoting at length from Mimi Grossberg's description of how happy Rose appeared in photographs taken during a trip to Europe in 1957, and failing to reproduce one of the pictures. For the most part, my criticism is that this is a first biography. Numerous details remain to be filled in, and many of them relate to Ausländer's time in America. Although seventy years have passed, it should still be possible to learn more about her brief stay in Winona and Minneapolis, and tracing in greater depth her path in New York in the 1920s would be an interesting if challenging project. Equally interesting and surely a more manageable task would be to examine in greater detail her life in New York from 1946 until her return to Europe.

University of Cincinnati

Jerry Glenn

German Emigration from Bukovina to the Americas: Results of Initial Investigations and a Guide to Further Research.

Edited by William Keel and Kurt Rein. Lawrence, KS: Max Kade Center for German-American Studies, 1996. 300 pages. ISBN 1-888326-01-8. \$15.00.

This compendium of essays includes in addition to several by the editors, various tracts by Oren Windholz, Helmut Schmeller, Irmgard Hein Ellingson, Norman Saul and others organized into ten units including bibliography, using a chapter breakdown according to the German system of, e.g., 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, etc. Covering the gamut of Bukovinian immigration to the western hemisphere, the editors offer 1) background in the European setting, 2) the recent historical status, 3) geographical setting in Europe, 4) Bukovina on the eve of the emigration, 5) the migration process, 6) the settlement of Bukovinians in the U.S., 7) their adaptation and contributions to the new homeland, 8) tips for genealogical research, 9) detailed appendix of replicated documents, dialect

samples, illustrations, diagrams, and 10) a selected bibliography.

For the novice, Bukovina [German: Bukowina and Buchenland] now incorporated into Ukraine and Rumania, but until 1918 an Austro-Hungarian crownland, lay on the eastern rim of the former Austrian Empire, south of the Austrian strip of Poland called Galicia, on the western periphery of today's Ukraine and northeast of Austro-Hungarian Rumania, having major cities like Czernowitz and Radautz. From villages in the region around these cities [e.g. Badeutz, Fürstenthal, Fratautz, Karlsberg and others] between 1880 and 1915, thousands of German-speakers reached especially the plains states of Kansas and Colorado, the Canadian province of Saskatchewan and the cities of New York and Chicago. As was the case universally for transborder Germans in Eastern Europe in the 1940s, either the Bukovinians were resettled by the Hitler government or expelled from their homes by the Red Army, assuming they had not fled ahead of its arrival. Like other expatriates in the German Federal Republic, the Bukovinians today enjoy German government support for the Bukowina-Institut in Augsburg which aided the Bukovina Society of the Americas at Ellis, Kansas, and supported the production of this scholarly effort.

Emigrants in two waves, adding up to approximately 40,000 in total, the first in the 1880s and early 1890s, and the second around 1900 [so-called old and new migrations respectively] traveled on trains by way of Lemberg [L'vov], Cracow, and Berlin to the ports of Bremen/Hamburg or via Lemberg, Cracow, and Vienna to the Italian port of Trieste, for embarkation to America. The primary port of entry was at New York but they also arrived at secondary ports like Galveston and New Orleans. Often inland travel involved stopovers in Chicago with farmer types then heading for Ellis, Kansas, with woodcutter Bohemian Germans among them heading farther west to Chehalis, Washington. The latter, Catholics who had come from western Bohemia before settling at Karlsberg in Bukovina, also migrated as some thirty farmer families to Ellis County, Kansas, before 1900. Lutheran Germans from Bukovina also settled in

the Ellis periphery where they founded rural Lutheran churches, arriving in Bukovina originally from the Palatinate and Swabia, where they left Tereblestie and Illischestie for Ellis County undoubtedly at the behest of railroad agents. Over time, of course these families blended somewhat with the Volga German and other neighbors, though they remain proud of their German heritage.

Authored by a variety of researchers, some of the essays repeat information contained in others, and after each is repeated a condensed version of the content in German. Accompanying the text is a fine appendix of documents, personal accounts and dialect samples, a questionnaire and selected bibliography as well as maps, diagrams and illustrations scattered throughout the text, which in composite fabricate a highly useful compendium for the explorer of this small but important branch of German immigrants. The volume is a good sample of the hundreds of thousands of transfrontier Germans or *Auslandsdeutsche* who came to the United States and other western hemisphere countries and affiliated with so-called Reich Germans here.

St. Olaf College

La Vern J. Rippley

## Annual Bibliography of German-Americana: Articles, Books, Selected Media, and Dissertations

Giles R. Hoyt and Dolores J. Hoyt in collaboration with the Bibliographic Committee of the Society for German-American Studies.

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The Bibliographic Committee wishes to thank the IUPUI University Library for its generous cooperation.

The Bibliography includes references to books, articles, dissertations and selected media relating to the experience of German-speaking people in North America and their descendents.

#### Abbreviations:

AA	-	Annals of Iowa
AHR	=	American Historical Review
AJH	=	American Jewish History
<b>ASHHSN</b>	=	American/Schleswig-Holstein Heritage Society Newsletter
BLT	=	Brethren Life and Thought
DR	=	Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania
		German Society
GCY	=	German-Canadian Yearbook
GQ	=	German Quarterly
GSR	-	German Studies Review

HR	=	Heritage Review
HRBC	=	Historical Review of Berks County
HSR	=	Historic Schaefferstown Record
IHI	=	Illinois Historical Journal
	=	Journal of American Ethnic History
JAHSGR	=	Journal of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia
JLCHS	=	Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society
MFH	=	Mennonite Family History
MH	=	Monatshefte
MHB	=	Mennonite Historical Bulletin
MHR	=	Missouri Historical Review
ML	=	Mennonite Life
MQR	=	Mennonite Quarterly Review
NSGAS	=	Newsletter for the Society for German- American Studies
PF	=	Pennsylvania Folklife
РМН	=	Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage
РМНВ	=	Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography
SIGA	=	Studies in Indiana German-Americana
TMHS	=	Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society
WHQ	=	Western Historical Quarterly
WMH	=	Wisconsin Magazine of History
YGAS	=	Yearbook of German-American Studies
	HRBC HSR IHJ JAEH JAHSGR  JLCHS  MFH MH MHB MHR ML MQR NSGAS  PF PMH PMHB  SIGA TMHS  WHQ WMH	HRBC = HSR = IHJ = JAEH = JAHSGR = IJLCHS = IJLC

#### Collections:

Geitz, Heideking, and Herbst. Geitz, Henry, Jurgen Heideking, and Jurgen Herbst, eds. German Influences on Education in the United States to 1917. Publications of the German Historical Institute. Washington, DC: German Historical Institute; Cambridge and New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1995. 301 pp.

Hoerder and Nagler. Hoerder, Dirk and Jörg Nagler, eds. *People in Transit:* German Migration in Comparative Perspective, 1820-1930. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1995.

Ritter and Zeman. Ritter, Alexander, and Herbert Zeman. Dokumentation zum Sealsfield Colloquium: alte Welt/neue Welt: veranstaltet zum 200. Geburtstag des österreich-amerikanischen Dichters, Charles Sealsfield/Karl Postl (1793-1864). Schriftenreihe der Charles-Sealsfield-Gesellschaft; vol. 8/1995. Geislingen (Steige): Verlag der Charles-Sealsfield Gesellschaft, 1995.

- 1. Barth, Eugene H. "Felix Wilbur Gingrich; a Tribute." DR 28.1 (1994): 19-21.
- 2. Bauman, Elizabeth. "War, Peace, and 'Coals of Fire." MHB 55.3 (1994): 10-11. Account of growing up in the home of her father, Guy F. Hersberger, the author of War, Peace, and Nonresistance on the anniversary of its 50th anniversary and an account of her writing and publishing Coals of Fire.
- 3. Beck, Evelyn Torton. "From KIKE to JAP: How Misogyny, Anti-Semitism, and Rascism Construct the Jewish American Princess." In Brücken über dem Abgrund. Auseinandersetzungen mit jüdischer Leidenserfahrung, Antisemitismus und Exil. Festschrift für Harry Zohn/ Bridging the Abyss. Reflections on Jewish Suffering, Anti-Semitism, and Exile. Essays in Honor of Harry Zohn, ed. by Amy Colin, and Elisabeth Strenger, 135-42. Munich: Fink Verlag, 1994.
- 4. Berger, Simone. "'We Just Sang for Fun!': In Search of Pennsylvania Dutch Folksongs." DR 28.2 (1994): 1-5.
- 5. Berlin, Jeffrey B. "The Unpublished Correspondence Between Albert Einstein and Stefan Zweig." In Brücken über dem Abgrund. Auseinandersetzungen mit jüdischer Leidenserfahrung, Antisemitismus und Exil. Festschrift für Harry Zohn/ Bridging the Abyss. Reflections on Jewish Suffering, Anti-Semitism, and Exile. Essays in Honor of Harry Zohn, ed. by Amy Colin, and Elisabeth Strenger, 337-63. Munich: Fink Verlag, 1994.
- Biesecker-Mast, Gerald J. "The Preservation of Ohio Mennonite History." MHB 55.1 (1994): 9-11.
- Blosser, John. "Shifts and Changes." ML 49.4 (1994), 27-31. How one Mennonite artist works, thinks, and changes.
- 8. Brandt, Mindy, and Thomas E. Gallagher Jr. "Tourism and the Old Order Amish." PF 43 (1993-94): 71-75.
- 9. Carsten-Miller, Ingeborg. Northern Lights. Nordlichter. Silver Spring, MD: Carmill Press, 1994. 58 pp. German-Canadian poetry.
- Daum, Andreas. "Celebrating Humanism in St. Louis. The Origins of the Humboldt Statue in Tower Grove Park, 1859-1878." Gateway Heritage 15.2 (Fall 1994): 48-58.
- 11. Davidson, Janice Unruh. "Portraits of Mennonite Health: Selected Stories from Historical Nursing Research." ML 49.1 (1994): 19-27.
- 12. Deelman, Grade Ludwig. "What I Know of Olden Times." HBRC 59 (1994): 32-33, 43. The author has a Pennsylvania German background.
- Durnaugh, Donald R., trans. and ed. "A Letter from Blooming Grove." DR 28.2 (1994): 16-19. Blooming Grove was a Dunkard community near Williamsport, PA.
- 14. Eash, Joy E. and Harry D. Zook. "A Settlement in Jennings County, Indiana." *MFH* 13 (1994): 26-27. Settled by the Troyer, Eash, and Zook families in 1840.

- 15. Fehr, Beulah B. "Decorative Tiles in Reading and Environs: Part II." HBRC59 (1994: 68-86, 97-98. Some of the local firms producing the tiles were owned by Pennsylvania Germans.
- 16. \_\_\_\_\_. "Early Fire Fighting in Reading, PA." HBRC 59 (1994): 174-76, 180-85.
- 17. Feingold, Henry L. "Did American Jewry Do Enough During the Holocaust?" In *Judaism in the Modern World*. Alan L. Berger, ed. NY: New York University Press, 1994.
- 18. Fertig, Georg. "Transatlantic Migration from the German-Speaking Parts of Central Europe, 1600-1800: Proportions, Structures, and Explanations." In Europeans on the Move: Studies on European Migration, 1500-1800. Nicholas Canny, ed. 192-235. NY: Clarenden Press of Oxford Univ. Press, 1994.
- 19. Freeman, Allen. "Shell Game: a Prolonged Battle over Central Park's Band Shell Crystallized One of Historical Preservations Central Issues." *Historic Preservation* 45.5 (1993): 39-43. Elkan Naumburg, donator of the band shell, was an immigrant to the United States from Bavaria in 1850.
- 20. Frey, Eberhard. "Exile Experience in Berthold Viertel's Poetry." In Brücken über dem Abgrund. Auseinandersetzungen mit jüdischer Leidenserfahrung, Antisemitismus und Exil. Festschrift für Harry Zohn/ Bridging the Abyss. Reflections on Jewish Suffering, Anti-Semitism, and Exile. Essays in Honor of Harry Zohn, ed. by Amy Colin, and Elisabeth Strenger, 255-66. Munich: Fink Verlag, 1994.
- 21. Gallagher, Thomas E. "Causes of Diversity between Old Order Amish Settlements." *PF* 43 (1993-94): 2-7.
- 22. Gembicki, Gembici. "From Kairos to Chronoss: Time-Perception in Colonial Bethlehem." TMHS 28 (1994): 31-58.
- 23. Glick, Ivan, "Mir Hen Kallich Gemacht (We Made Lime)." DR 28.1 (1994): 22-26.
- 24. Goosen, Rachel Waltner. "Piety and Professionalism: the Bethel Deaconesses of the Great Plains." ML 49.1 (1994): 4-11. Account of the sixty-six Mennonite women who joined the deaconess order in Newton, KS, between 1908 and 1958.
- 25. Gross, Leonard. "1944: When a New Leadership Entered Center Stage in the Mennonite Church." MHB 55.3 (1994): 1-6.
- Hartzler, H. Harold. "Noah Oyer, April 11, 1891-February 14, 1931." MFH
   13 (1994): 126-27. Oyer was a Mennonite minister and Dean at Goshen College.
- 27. Homan, Gerlof. "Americanism, Pro-Germanism, and Conscientious Objectors during World War I." MHB 55.1 (1994): 1-4.
- 28. Hostetler, Eldon. "Nebraska Mennonite Historical Society." *MHB* 55.3 (1994): 12-13.
- 29. \_\_\_\_\_. "120 Years of Mennonite Life in Nebraska: Have We Been Shaped by the Weather?" *MFH* 13 (1994): 110-11.

- 30. Hostetler, Gladys. "The Gladys Hostetler Diary." Ed. by Velma Beyler Weaver. ML 49.1 (1994): 12-18. The keeper of the diary beginning in 1918 was a Mennonite nursing student at the nurses training school in La Junta, CO.
- 31. Hummel, William W. "The Evolution of Berk's County." *HBRC* 59 (1994): 115-17, 119, 121-23, 140-48. German settlers played an important role in the establishment of the county in 1752.
- 32. Hymnal Companion [for Hymnal: A Worship Book]. Scottdale, PA: Mennonite Publishing House, 1994.
- 33. Janzen, Jean. "Poems." ML 49.4 (1994), 11-17. A group of four poem reflecting the poet's journey to Poland in search of family history.
- 34. Janzen, John M. "The History and Significance of a Mennonite Prayerhouse: the 1880 Bethel Adobe Sanctuary of Inman, Kansas." ML 49.3 (1994): 4-12.
- 35. Juhnke, James, and Leo Driedger. "Balancing Community and Outreach Visions: Edmund George Kaufman, Mennonite Sociologist." MQR 68 (1994): 396-417. Kaufman was best known as the president of Bethel College in Kansas and as a denominational leader in the General Conference Mennonite Church.
- 36. Kahn, Lisa. "Österreichische Emigrantinnen schreiben in den USA." In Brücken über dem Abgrund. Auseinandersetzungen mit jüdischer Leidenserfahrung, Antisemitismus und Exil. Festschrift für Harry Zohn/Bridging the Abyss. Reflections on Jewish Suffering, Anti-Semitism, and Exile. Essays in Honor of Harry Zohn, ed. by Amy Colin, and Elisabeth Strenger, 283-97. Munich: Fink Verlag, 1994.
- 37. Kaplan, Edward K. "God in Exile: Abraham Joshua Heschel, Translator of the Spirit." In Brücken über dem Abgrund. Auseinandersetzungen mit jüdischer Leidenserfahrung, Antisemitismus und Exil. Festschrift für Harry Zohn/ Bridging the Abyss. Reflections on Jewish Suffering, Anti-Semitism, and Exile. Essays in Honor of Harry Zohn, ed. by Amy Colin, and Elisabeth Strenger, 239-54. Munich: Fink Verlag, 1994.
- Kauffman, J. Howard. "Power and Authority in Mennonite Families." MQR 68 (1994): 500-23.
- 39. Keller, Jenny. "An Interview with John Hickernell." *HSR* 27.3 (1994), 1-12. A native of Schaefferstown, PA recalls what life was like when he was a boy in the early 20th century.
- 40. Koontz, Ted. "The History of the 'Renunciation of War' to 1914." MHB 55.1 (1994): 4-7.
- Kreps, George M., Joseph F. Donnermeyer, and Marty W. Kreps. "The Changing Occupational Structure of Amish Males." Rural Sociology 59.4 (Winter 1994): 708-19.
- 42. Kring, Hilda Adam. "The Harmonists Are Waiting for You." PF 43 (1993-94): 60-66.
- 43. Laegin, Bernd G. *Plain and Amish: an Alternative to Modern Pessimism*. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1994. 416 pp.

- 44. Luft, James F. "James B. Luft: A Berks County Artist—Remembered." HBRC 59 (1994): 186-90.
- 45. McKinley, Daniel L. "Anna Rosina (Kliest) Gambold (1762-1821), Moravian Missionary to the Cherokees, with Special Reference to Her Botanical Interests." TMHS 28 (1994): 59-99.
- 46. McMahon, James D., Jr. "Daniel Danner, Woodturner: an Early 19th-Century Rural Craftsman in Central Pennsylvania." *PF* 43 (1993-94): 8-18. Danner lived and worked in Manheim, Lancaster County, PA.
- 47. Meyers, Thomas J. "The Old Order Amish: To Remain in the Faith or to Leave." MQR 68 (1994): 378-95.
- 48. Miller, J. Virgil. "Family Relationships in Elk Lick Township, Somerset County, Pennsylvania." *MFH* 13 (1994): 108-109.
- 49. Miller, Levi. "Thoughts of my pacifist ancestors..." MHB 54.2 (1994): 13. Family of pacifists including Arthur Holly Compton, Nobel Prize winner in Physics in 1927 and director of the Metallurgical Laboratory of the Manhattan Project from 1941-1945.
- 50. Miller, Susan Fisher. "Byers and the Hartzlers: a Long Influence on Higher Education." *MHB* 55.4 (1994): 1-6. The influence on N. E. Byers, J. E. Hartzler, and J. S. Hartzler on Goshen College.
- 51. Mutzbauer, Monica. "The Connections between Pennsylvania and the Palatinate in Popular 20th-century German Literature." *PF* 43 (1993-94): 31-40.
- 52. Nedele, Manfred. "New Sources Opened Up for List Research." Trans. by Rosemarie B. Miller. *HBRC* 59 (1994): 13, 15, 36. Original appeared in a Reutlingen, Germany, newspaper following the visit of the mayor and others to Reading and Washington, DC, in search of materials on Friedrich List.
- 53. Nolan, Mary. Visions of Modernity: American Business and the Modernization of Germany. NY: Oxford, 1994. 324 pp.
- Nussbaum, Max. Max Nussbaum, From Berlin to Hollywood: A Mid-Century Vision of Jewish Life. Malibu, CA: Joseph Simon/Pangloss Press, 1994.
   328 pp.
- 55. Peters, Tammy. "Women Helping Somewhere: Chicago Home Mission 1893-1920." MHB 55.2 (1994): 1-7. History of the Mennonite Church's Home Mission.
- 56. Pfeffer, J. Alan. German Loanwords in English: An Historical Dictionary. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994. 381 pp.
- 57. Plett, Dlebert F. "Print Culture of the East Reserve: 1874-1930." MQR 68 (1994): 524-50. The East Reserve is a district of southern Manitoba which received Russian Mennonite emigres in 1874.
- 58. Ratzlaff, Keith. New Winter Light. Troy, ME: Nightshade Press, 1994. 18 pp. The manuscript by this Central College, IA, professor, won the 1993 William and Kingman Page Chapbook Award. The poet is of German-American background.

- 59. Reimer-Duke, Naomi. "Poems." *ML* 49.4 (1994), 22-26. Group of poems reflecting the poet's responses to living with a disability while at a nursing home in Goessel, KS.
- 60. Reynolds, Margaret. "Growing Up Brethren: the Close Community of German Pietism." DR 28.2 (1994): 12-15.
- 61. Ritter, Alexander, ed. Kolloquium über Ökonomie und Identität bei den deutschen Bevölkerungsgruppen im Ausland: Referate. Flensburg: Institut für Regionale Forschung und Information im Deutschen Grenzverein, 1994. 263 pp. Contains papers on minority German populations in Europe and the former Soviet Union.
- 62. Roth, Donald W. *The Family of Joseph and Barbara (Ulrich) Litwiller*. Fort Wayne, IN: Author, 1994. 341 pp.
- 63. Rothermel, Mark I. "Pennsylvania German Spirituality: Three Book Reviews." DR 28.1 (1994): 27-28.
- 64. Rupel, Esther Fern. Brethren Dress: A Testimony to Faith. Philadelphia: Brethren Encyclopedia, Inc., 1994. 183 pp.
- 65. Sarna, Jonathan D., and Karla Goldman. "From Synagogue-Community to Citadel of Reform: The History of K. K. Bene Israel (Rockdale Temple) in Cincinnati, Ohio." In American Congregations. James P. Wind and James W. Lewis, eds. Vol. 1 Portraits of Twelve Religious Communities. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1994.
- 66. Schlegel, Catherine. "The Amish Schlegel Immigration." MFH 13 (1994): 112-14.
- 67. Schrag, Orpha V. "Andreas D. Schrag: Volynia to Dakota." MFH 13 (1994): 100-107.
- 68. Schroeder-Warner, Nancy. "Altenheim: the Sunday Visits." ML 49.3 (1994): 19-22. Memories from the House of the Aged in Goessel, KS.
- Schwarz, John I., Jr. "On the Making of Die Union Harmonie (1833): Evidence from Henry C. Eyer's Working Papers." PF 43 (1993-94): 82-95.
- 70. Seachrist, Denise Ann. "The Snow Hill Cloister and Its Music Traditions." DR 28.1 (1994): 1-7.
- 71. Sevilla, Janice Waltner. "Poems." ML 49.4 (1994): 18-21. A group of five poems reflecting the poet's journey to Poland in search of family history.
- 72. Shaw, Stephen J. "An Oak Among Churches: St. Boniface Parish, Chicago, 1865-1990." In American Congregations. Vol. 1 Portraits of Twelve Religious Communities. James P. Wind and James W. Lewis, eds. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1994.
- 73. Shapiro, David H. From Philanthropy to Activism: The Political Transformation of American Zionism in the Holocaust Years, 1933-1945. New York, NY: Pergamon, 1994. 208 pp.
- 74. "A Short Account of Reading (Reprint)." HBRC 59 (1994): 89, 91, 100. Reprinted from the 1923 ed. of the Girl's High School yearbook, the 175th anniversary of the founding of Reading, PA. Among the founders and early citizens were many Germans.

- 75. Shupp, Leonared E., trans. "Poor Richard's Proverbs Translated into the Pennsylvania German Dialect: a Folk Culture Study." HSR 27.1 (1994): 1-12.
- 76. Silverstein, Alan. Alternatives to Assimilation: The Response of Reform Judaism to American Culture, 1840-1900. Hanover, NH: Univ. Press of New England for Brandeis Univ. Press, 1994. 275 pp.
- 77. Slonaker, Jonas. "A Visit to the Amish Colony in Honduras." DR 28.2 (1994): 7-11.
- 78. Smith, Philip K. "Stouchburg's Mysterious 'Old Parsonage." HBRC 59 (1994): 171, 173, 200. Christ Lutheran Church, to which the parsonage was mistakenly thought to belong, was first mentioned by Muhlenberg in 1745.
- 79. Smith, Willard H. "My Amish Mennonite Heritage." MHB 55.1 (1994): 14-15. Author's remarks upon receiving recognition for his research and publication of *Mennonites in Illinois* at a dinner hosted by the Illinois Mennonite Historical and Genealogical Society.
- Smucker, David J. Rempel. "Understanding the General Conference Mennonite Church and Its Eastern District, 1875 to 1925." PMH 17.4 (1994): 2-15.
- 81. Stoltzfus, Philip E. "Tradition and Diversity in *Ein Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch.*" *PMH* 17.2 (1994): 29-34. First hymnal published (1804) by Lancaster County, PA, Mennonites.
- 82. \_\_\_\_\_, trans. "Foreword to the 1804 Ein Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch." PMH 17.2 (1994): 35-36.
- 83. Strelka, Joseph P. "Joseph Roths politische Exilhaltung im Speigel seiner Briefe." In Brücken über dem Abgrund. Auseinandersetzungen mit jüdischer Leidenserfahrung, Antisemitismus und Exil. Festschrift für Harry Zohn/Bridging the Abyss. Reflections on Jewish Suffering, Anti-Semitism, and Exile. Essays in Honor of Harry Zohn, ed. by Amy Colin, and Elisabeth Strenger, 267-81. Munich: Fink Verlag, 1994.
- 84. Suderman, Elmer. "Father Homestead a Quarter Section on the Cherokee Strip: September 16, 1893." ML 49.4 (1994): 8-10. Poem.
- 85. Thiesen, Barbara. "A Radical Reformation and Mennonite Bibliography." ML 49.2 (1994): 15-26.
- 86. Thomas, Bernice L. "Five & Dime Design: The Legacy of Dime-Store Magnate Samuel H. Kress Lives on in Downtowns from Coast to Coast." Historic Preservation 45.1 (1993): 62-70. Kress, whose family emigrated from Germany to Pennsylvania, took a personal interest in the building of the distinctive style of his stores and incorporated his family coat of arms within a number of them.
- 87. Towell, Larry. "Endless Exodus." *Life* (Oct. 1994): 90-97. Pictoral study of Old Order Mennonites, many of whom are migrating to Canada.
- 88. Ucarer, Emek. "The Challenge of Migration: The German Case." Mediterranean Quarterly 5.3 (Summer 1994): 95-122.
- 89. Van Dyck, Harry R. "A Bethel College Memoir." ML 49.3 (1994): 4-13.

- 90. Weaver, Laura H. "Writing about the Covering and Plain Clothes as a Mennonite 'Family' Possession." ML 49.4 (1994): 4-7.
- 91. Weaver, William Ways. "Swiss Foods and Foodways in Early Pennsylvania." DR 28.1 (1994): 9-18.
- 92. Welskopp, Thomas. Arbeit und Macht im Hüttenwerk: Arbeits- und industrielle Beziehungen in der deutschen und amerikanischen Eisen- und Stahlindustrie von den 1860er bis zu den 1930er Jahren. Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz, 1994. 799 pp.
- 93. Wetzel, Willard. "In Memoriam: Paul R. Wieand, a True Artist." *PF* 43 (1993-94): 96-97. Wieand, "a portrayer of Pennsyania German culture," lived and worked in the Allentown, PA, area.
- 94. Yoder, Don. "Schwetz Deitsch!/Dialect Writers from York County." DR 28.1 (1994): 29-30.
- Yoder, Franklin L. "Iowa Mennonite School: Planted in Faith and Fear." MHB 55.4 (1994): 7-11.
- 96. Yoder, Paton. "If I Were Practicing More Humility." MHB 55.1 (1994): 14. Author's remarks upon receiving recognition for his research and publication of 19th-centry Amish documents at a dinner hosted by the Illinois Mennonite Historical and Genealogical Society.
- 97. Zeiser, Sauel R. "Moravians and Lutherans: Getting Beyond the Zinzendorf\Muhlenberg Impass." TMHS 28 (1994): 15-30.
- 98. Zohn, Harry. "Gespräch mit Harry Zohn." Ed. by Amy Colin. In Brücken über dem Abgrund. Auseinandersetzungen mit jüdischer Leidenserfahrung, Antisemitismus und Exil. Festschrift für Harry Zohn/ Bridging the Abyss. Reflections on Jewish Suffering, Anti-Semitism, and Exile. Essays in Honor of Harry Zohn, ed. by Amy Colin, and Elisabeth Strenger 397-406. Munich: Fink Verlag, 1994.

## II. Works Published in 1995

- 99. Ackerman, James S., et al. "In Memoriam: Richard Krautheimer (1897-1994)." Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 54.1 (March 1995): 4-7, 115. Five former students and colleagues remember this important German-American architectural historian, author and teacher.
- 100. Agostinelle, Peter. "Holy Family, Oldenburg, is a 'Celebrating' Parish." The Criterion (Indianapolis, IN) (21 April 1995): 8-9. History of a German-American Catholic parish in rural southern Indiana.
- 101. \_\_\_\_\_. "St. Meinrad Parish Is a Faith Community with Deep Catholic Roots: The Parish Includes Catholics from the Small Town near the Benedictine Archabbey." The Criterion (Indianapolis, IN) (2 June 1995): 8-9. History of a German-American Catholic parish in rural southern Indiana.

- 102. Albisetti, James C. "German Influence on the Higher Education of American Women, 1865-1914." In Geitz, Heideking, and Herbst, 227-44.
- 103. Albrecht, Leo J., comp. Descendants of Peter and Katherine (Peifer) Becker: Becker Family Reunion, Sunday, August 6, 1995, Belle Plaine, Minnesota. Belle Plaine, MN: L.J. Albrecht, 1995. 99 pp.
- 104. "Albright Memorial Chapel." Journal of the Center for Pennsylvania German Studies 2.1 (1995): 13-14.
- 105. Allen, Ann Taylor. "American and German Women in the Kindergarten Movement, 1850-1914." In Geitz, Heideking, and Herbst, 85-101.
- 106. American Historical Society of Germans from Russia. Return to Berry Meadow and Other Stories of Our People. Lincoln, NE: American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, 1995. 218 pp. Historical sketches of migration of Germans from Russia.
- Ameskamp, Simone. "E Pluribus unum? German Catholics becoming American, 1880-1900." M.A. Thesis, Johns Hopkins Univ., 1995.
   leaves.
- 108. Amish Village, Inc. Discover the Amish Way of Life at the Amish Village. Rev. ed. Strasburg, PA: The Amish Village, Inc. 1995. Map. Bird's-eye view of farmstead converted to tourist museum.
- 109. Andrews, George W. "Becker and Stumpf Families of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania." *MFH* 14 (1995): 161-66.
- 110. Appel, Susan K. "Chicago and the Rise of Brewery Architecture." *Chicago History* 24.1 (Spring 1995): 4-19. Many Chicago architects and breweries they designed named. Information about brewery architecture and breweries is not limited to Chicago.
- 111. Appel, William Herr. "A Time in the Life of Abbeville." *JLCHS* 97 (1995): 50-65. Abbeville, near Lancaster, is the long-time home of the Appel family.
- 112. Arnold, Eberhard, and Thomas Merton. Why We Live in Community. 3d English ed. New York: Plough Pub. House, 1995. 73 pp. Translation of "Warum wir inGemeinschaft leben," an essay published in Eberhard Arnold's journal Die Wegwarte 1 (Oct./Nov. 1925): 10-11. Hutterian Brethren and Mennonites.
- 113. Arp, Merl E. "The ASHHS 'Wi Snakt Platt' Conference of 1995," ASHHS Newsletter 7.5 (Sept/Oct. 1995): n.p.
- 114. \_\_\_\_. "Happy Birthday, Mecklenburg." ASHHS Newsletter 7.3 (May/June 1995): 1, 4-5.
- 115. \_\_\_\_\_. "Officers of Schleswig-Holstein, 1848-1850." ASHHS Newsletter 7.1-2 (Jan. April 1995): 1, 4-6; 1, 4-6. 4.
- 116. Art News. "Obituary: Friedel Dzubas." *ARTnews* 94.2 (Feb. 1995): 42. Artist was born in Berlin 1915, came to U.S. in 1939. Illustrator in Chicago and New York City.
- 117. \_\_\_\_\_. "Obituary: Richard Krautheimer." ARTnews 94.1 (Jan. 1995): 48. German-American art historian, born in Germany, University of Halle

PhD., lecturer at University of Marburg until 1933, emigrated to U.S. to

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## III. Topical Index

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