YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

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THE SOCIETY FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

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General Information

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

The *Yearbook* is published annually. The editor welcomes 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 Editor, Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045-2127. Inquiries regarding book reviews for the *Yearbook* should be addressed to Timothy J. Holian, Missouri Western State College, St. Joseph, MO 64507. 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 $25.00 for regular members. Membership applications to the Society for German-American Studies should be made to the Treasurer/Membership Chair of the Society, William Roba, Scott Community College, 500 Belmont Road, Bettendorf, IA 52722. The Society for German-American Studies is open to membership from individuals, societies, libraries, and organizations.

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From the Editor

The year 1998 marks the one hundred-fiftieth anniversary of the German Revolution of 1848. That failed attempt to establish even a limited form of parliamentary democracy in the German territories unleashed a wave of refugees to the haven of the American republic. These German republicans arrived just in time to participate in the great American Civil War testing whether the institution of slavery would survive and even whether the union of states would survive. To commemorate this significant period of German-American history we present two contributions in this volume. Sabine Freitag examines in her keynote address presented at the 1998 SGAS Symposium in Indianapolis, Indiana, the revolutionary Friedrich Hecker's transformation from German republican to a supporter of the American Republican Party. William Keel presents the biography of an individual *Freischärler* from the 1848-49 insurgencies in Baden who finds himself in the chaos of Missouri's capital city at the outbreak of the Civil War and becomes an American superpatriot. We would also like to renew the invitation to our members to submit additional contributions treating the immigration and impact of these German refugees of 1848-49.

Beyond these commemorative articles we find investigations of German Jesuit missionaries in the desert Southwest, advice to immigrants from Friedrich Münch, Low German settlements in western Missouri, anti-German sentiment in Ohio at the outbreak of World War I, and a glimpse of Crown Prince Henry's visit to the United States a decade before that fateful war. Hermann Kurthen attacks the traditional view that the decline of German language use in the United States is linked to the negativism engendered by Germany being the enemy in two world wars in the twentieth century. Finally, we present a thoughtful examination of German-Canadian identity by Gerhard Bassler.

We want to especially acknowledge the contributions of the other members of the *Yearbook* "team." Jerry Glenn has again captured the essence of the current state of German-American literary production in his essay "From Babylon to Jasper." Our bibliographic committee under the direction of Giles and Dolores Hoyt has brought together a record number of entries for the

annual bibliography. We welcome new book review editor Timothy Holian and wish him much success.

As many of our readers know, the year 1998 also marked the passing of several of our members, three of whom were intimately involved in this *Yearbook*. Our founding editor, Toni Burzle, died in September (see "In Memoriam," p. 1). Just three weeks later, Paul Schach died on 13 October. Paul, in his eighty-fourth year, was still actively engaged in reviewing and evaluating articles for publication in the *Yearbook*. We had just received his final evaluations shortly before his death. His critiques and his wit will be sorely missed. As we go to press, we have also learned of the death of Erich Markel, president of the Max Kade Foundation, New York, on 4 January 1999 at the age of seventy-eight. Dr. Markel was instrumental in providing financial backing for the inaugural issue of the *Yearbook* in 1981 and the special issue of the *Yearbook* commemorating the German-American tricentennial in 1983. He was a true friend of German-American Studies as evidenced not only in his support of the *Yearbook* but also for his support of the several Max Kade centers and institutes throughout the United States. We shall miss him very much. This volume of the *Yearbook* is dedicated to the memory of these three pioneering colleagues in German-American Studies.

Max Kade Center for German-American Studies
at the University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas
January 1999

J. Anthony "Toni" Burzle: In Memoriam

Announcing the death of a respected and valued colleague is always a sad task. That task is especially sad when that colleague was also a dear and longtime friend. J. Anthony "Toni" Burzle was first and foremost our departmental colleague in German at the University of Kansas. We spent many years working together with him developing his treasured Max Kade Center for German-American Studies at the university. It was also our special privilege to assist Toni Burzle in editing the first five volumes of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* from 1981 to 1985. His death on 23 September 1998 marked the end of a long and productive life, a life that was dedicated to fostering German-American cultural and educational exchanges and international understanding. Toni Burzle will be greatly missed.

Toni's life began in the first decade of the twentieth century in the Kingdom of Bavaria under the German Kaiser. At the end of his life he had long since become a proud citizen of the United States, a fact that we have to recall each election day. We will never forget the seriousness with which Toni would ask "Have you voted?" on those occasions. He also proudly led his fellow Kiwanis members in singing a rousing chorus of "My country, 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing." His first love was German language and culture, but he also cherished the democracy and freedom of his new homeland.

Born in Munich, Germany, on 20 May 1908, Toni studied in Munich and Dijon, France, and received the Ph.D. in German from the University of Munich in 1932. At the university he taught courses in German in the early 1930s for foreign students, one of them being his future wife Muriel Wittmann. Their marriage in 1935 brought Toni to Canada and ten years of teaching at the University of Manitoba.

In 1945 Toni accepted a position as assistant professor of German at KU and within two years became chairman of the department. During the two decades of his leadership of the department, he rebuilt the undergraduate and graduate programs in German, developed the fledgling program in Russian leading eventually to a separate department of Slavic languages, negotiated numerous student exchanges for the University of Kansas with universities in Germany and other European countries, and initiated summer language

institutes abroad so that Kansas students could study foreign languages while immersed in the culture of that language.

Under the auspices of the State Department he directed the Foreign Student Orientation Center at the University of Kansas from 1951 to 1976. For many years he was the university's adviser to the Fulbright program and served on the national screening committee for Fulbright applications to Germany. He was consultant for the Institute of International Education, New York; the Council on International Educational Exchange, New York; Inter-Nationes, Bonn, Germany; and the Austro-American Institute of Education. From 1967 to 1972, Toni served as associate dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences followed by a term as director of the Office of Foreign Studies, now the Office of Study Abroad. He retired from active service to the university at the end of 1976.

Toni developed a friendship with Max Kade, a German immigrant who made millions with a cough remedy, as well as a relationship with the Max Kade Foundation which led to the establishment of a distinguished visiting professorship for German in 1964, the addition of valuable art works to the collections in the Spencer Museum of Art at the university, and the creation, together with his colleague Erich Albrecht, of the Max Kade Center for German-American Studies in 1968.

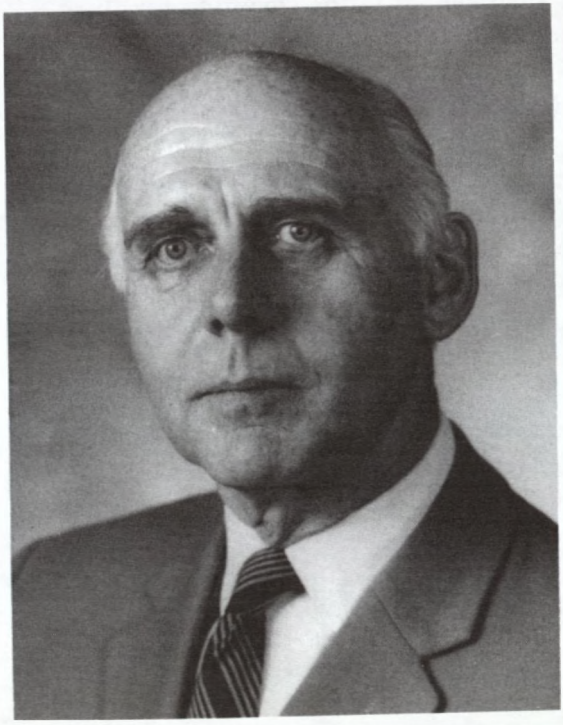
Toni continued as director of the Center until 1987. Together with Albrecht, Toni organized the first symposium on German-American Literature and Culture at the University of Kansas in 1976, a meeting that led to the holding of annual symposia by the Society for German-American Studies. Toni was appointed first editor of the Society's *Yearbook of German-American Studies* in 1981. In the five years of his editorship, the Society's journal developed into a recognized scholarly outlet for multidisciplinary research in the field of German-American Studies. In his capacity as editor of the *Yearbook*, Toni also served on the executive board of the SGAS from 1981 to 1985.

The president of the Society for German-American Studies, Don Heinrich Tolzmann, issued the following statement on behalf of the Society to be read at the memorial service for Toni on 4 November 1998:

> Dear Friends and Colleagues,
>
> At this time, as you gather in memory of our dear friend and colleague of many years, Professor J. Anthony Burzle, the Society for German-American Studies would like to join with you for this memorial service in honor of a person whose impact and influence on the University of Kansas, the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, and the Max Kade Center for German-American Studies,

is deep, abiding, and lasting, as it is for all of those in the field of German in the United States.

Especially for all of us in the field of German-American Studies, Professor Burzle, or "Toni" as he was known to us, played a role of unforgettable and inestimable proportions as the founding editor of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies*. At a critical stage in the history of the Society, he stepped forth and took on the challenge as editor of the new Yearbook. He placed this Yearbook on solid and impeccable foundations, attracting a world-wide readership, so that it has become the recognized flagship publication in the field of German-American Studies. This is due to the care, dedication, and zeal with which he accomplished his charge, and for this, the Society is forever in his debt. We shall miss him dearly, but are forever grateful that the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* had as its founding editor, Professor J. Anthony "Toni" Burzle.



J. Anthony "Toni" Burzle, 1908-1998

In recognition of his many accomplishments in German-American educational and cultural relations, he was awarded the Grand Cross of the Order of Merit by the Federal Republic of Germany in 1967 and the Silver Medal by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation in 1969. The Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth conferred its Leavenworth Lamp Award on Toni in 1975 for his pioneering efforts in making University of Kansas courses available to officers at the Fort. In 1985, the Society for German-American Studies recognized his contributions as founding editor of the *Yearbook* with a leather-bound edition of the *Yearbook* during the annual symposium held at the University of Nebraska. It is also a comfort to know that Toni greatly appreciated the richly deserved recognition he received during the dedication of the Max Kade Center at the SGAS Symposium in Lawrence in 1992.

Toni's lasting impact on the University of Kansas, its programs and its students is summed up in the words expressed by the then dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, Robert Cobb, on the occasion of Toni's retirement in 1976:

> It is very difficult for me to contemplate your retirement, . . . Your contributions to the University have been monumental. I lose no occasion to assert that were it not for your tender administrations we would not now have a Foreign Study Program. But the list is much larger than that and would require a volume to enumerate.
>
> Now is not the time for me to express in any way the range of my private and public debt to you for the support that you have shown the Department of German, the College, and—always in all matters—the larger University. Others can speak more eloquently to those achievements than can I, but let me say how much I appreciate them personally and how much I always shall.

It is now difficult for us to contemplate Toni's passing. His contributions to international programs and to German-American Studies were indeed monumental. The two of us will long cherish the memories of working together with Toni on the *Yearbook of German-American Studies*.

Helmut Huelsbergen and William Keel
Max Kade Center for German-American Studies
at the University of Kansas

Sabine Freitag

A *Republikaner* Becomes a Republican: Friedrich Hecker and the Emergence of the Republican Party

"I've never thought it a tragedy to be thrown on to these shores," Hecker wrote to Carl Schurz two years before his death.[1] Indeed, he had always considered his American life to be directly connected with his former German one. After what had happened in 1848—his failure to establish a republican government in the Grand Duchy of Baden—emigration to the United States seemed to him to be the most logical way of making his most ardent wish come true: to live in a republic. Recent discussions about the forty-eighters in America have always assumed that their fight for *Freiheit und Einheit* in the old Fatherland was directly transformed into a fight for the abolition of slavery (*Freiheit*) and the preservation of the American Union (*Einheit*).[2] Following the life of Friedrich Hecker, this essay concentrates on his transformation from a German *Republikaner* into an American republican. In doing so it demonstrates that in fact there were far more and even deeper similarities between the ideas of German radicalism in 1848 and the ideology of the early Republican Party in the 1850s. In order to emphasis these similarities and continuities the discussion is divided into two parts: part one presents some influences on Hecker's political development in Germany; part two pursues his initial steps in American politics during the Republican Party's first presidential campaign in 1856.

The German *Republikaner*

What kind of *Republikaner* was Hecker in Germany? He was certainly not born one, but gradually became one as a result of reading and personal experience. His father Josef Hecker played a crucial role in shaping his political convictions. Working as a tax collector in the service of an aristocratic landlord he authored a petition to the grand duke of Baden in 1815 complaining about

unjust taxation and the unreasonable expenses of the ducal court. In discussions at home young Hecker learned—as he confessed later in America—about the weaknesses of the monarchical system, how incredibly inefficient its bureaucracy was, and how expensive it was to run. After the Napoleonic wars people in Baden suffered because of high taxation, and the Baden peasants in particular, who still lived in a state of semi-feudal dependency, had to pay taxes twice: first to the grand duke and secondly to their landlords. To reduce the monarchical bureaucracy by creating an institutional system both free of corruption and able to work efficiently at moderate to low cost became one of Hecker's main goals during his later work as a member of the Baden second chamber in Karlsruhe from 1842 to the revolution in 1848.[3] There is a direct link between these efforts and his cooperation with Carl Schurz in the 1870s, when they tried to reform the American civil service in the United States.

It seems to me significant that Josef Hecker's petition to the grand duke in 1815 already mentioned emigration: if there was no way to improve the actual situation in the country, with its worthless government, then it should be possible to leave it. This proposal was influenced by the idea that people must have the right to choose the form of government under which they want to live. And it emphasized the simple concept that a government must be there for the people, and not the people there for the government. At a very early stage, therefore, the notion of popular sovereignty became the key element in Hecker's "wishful thinking." His decision to become a lawyer was also influenced by these considerations. Hecker was convinced that a state should be established by the consent of its citizens and must be ruled by law, not by the unpredictable will of one person. His interest in creating "good laws" which would secure and protect people's rights was influenced by the writings of Carl von Rotteck, his declared favorite "teacher."[4] Like Rotteck, Hecker was an ardent believer in Rousseau's theory of social contract and therefore interpreted the young Baden constitution of 1818 as a starting point for growing democratization.[5] It was a logical step for Hecker, along with his job as a lawyer, to become a member of the Baden parliament in order to help introduce "good laws." Hecker was not a genuine theoretical thinker, but as a trained and educated lawyer he was always concerned about the "practicability" of laws. He felt that every new law he supported in the chamber should be one step forward towards democratization. And this attitude was the basis of his popularity long before April 1848 when he decided to march from Constance to Karlsruhe to force the grand duke to abdicate and establish the first German republic.

The liberal movement Hecker joined at the end of the 1830s had been established one generation before as a movement opposing the repressive methods and laws of the "Metternich System." This dominated the political

situation in every single German state because of the influence of Austria and Prussia over the German Confederation. Most liberals, being educated and prosperous, considered themselves to represent the real "national power," especially in an economic sense. In order to gain more influence and power their first goal was to broaden the basis of political participation. But while they were progressive in political terms, most liberals were still thinking along "pre-modern" or "pre-industrial" lines as far as society was concerned.[6] Their social ideal was a middle-class society of economically independent citizens, who were neither very rich nor poor but prosperous enough to guarantee a selfless interest in political affairs. The law should enable the economic rise of the individual as far as capabilities, skills and talents allowed. Yet this social model was profoundly patriarchal. Only the male members of the family, fathers or husbands, were recognized as its political representatives. This, incidentally, is why in the early 1870s Hecker argued against women's suffrage.[7] With the liberals he shared a pre-modern concept of society. Industrialization in Baden had hardly begun and the liberals could not foresee that it would promote the sort of social change that would ultimately threaten their model of a "middling society." It was not until the late 1840s that liberals became increasingly aware of the growing social divisions. But they still believed that the cure for this disease lay in the implementation of their economic doctrines. They demanded economic policy free of state intervention in the hope that this would provide the solution to the "social question." As all his speeches in the second chamber demonstrate Hecker favored this economic model influenced by the ideas of Kant, Thomas Paine and Adam Smith because he considered it necessary for greater democratization.[8] The exchange of trade goods would lead to an exchange of opinions, which would support enlightenment.

But what can be said about Hecker's republicanism? Once again it was a combination of practical experience and theoretical influences that determined his conception of a working republic. As a young lawyer, Hecker went to Paris to broaden his professional horizons.[9] Like Rotteck, Hecker had always admired the French constitution and Napoleon's *Code Civil* which introduced civic legal equality. Baden had kept the *Code Civil* even after Napoleon's defeat and the demise of the Confederation of the Rhine. Those liberals—and Hecker was one of them—who were influenced by the tradition of rational enlightenment remained ardent admirers of France's constitutional system and the declaration of human rights and defended this political concept against the still mainly autocratic tendencies of every monarchical system. But the practical influence of neighboring Switzerland on Hecker's political thinking was possibly even greater than that of France. German liberals praised Switzerland as a "born federative state."[10] After the *Schweizer Sonderbundskrieg*, the Swiss Civil War in

1847, a constitution was created which was modelled on the American one, but turned out to be more democratic: executive power was distributed between seven *Bundesräte,* elected by parliament for a fixed period of time. No single president was elected as head of the government. The two-chamber system—consisting of the *Nationalrat* and the *Ständerat*—was orientated towards the American concept of representative democracy and retained the federalist structure of the country. Hecker maintained a lifelong interest in the Swiss constitutional system. When he visited Germany in 1873 he spent some time in Switzerland in order to study its political working and to gather information on its administrative system to provide Carl Schurz with relevant material for his civil service campaign.[11]

While he was looking at the theoretical side of republican influence during his studies at the University of Heidelberg, Hecker came into contact with ideas of the American republic. Karl Josef Anton Mittermaier and Justus Thibaut, both law professors whose lectures Hecker attended, had personal connections with Americans. Charles Sumner and the well-know German émigré Franz Lieber visited Mittermaier in Heidelberg in the 1830s and maintained a lifelong correspondence with him afterwards. More than once Charles Sumner sent young educated Americans to Mittermaier to provide him with more detailed information on the American system. The American poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow went to Heidelberg in order to meet famous people such as Justus Thibaut.[12] Thus, Hecker was educated by men who were familiar with the American system, not only through books but by personal contacts as well.

In addition to these influences on Hecker's republicanism, his studies of ancient republics furnished him with a more philosophical, "idealized" framework. Men such as Friedrich Hecker and Julius Fröbel confessed how deeply they were influenced by the ancient republics of Athens and Rome. And Hecker, shortly before his mission to Constance, stated in the *Landtag* how much his republican enthusiasm had been inspired by his classical studies.[13] It is quite obvious that this idealized interpretation of ancient models was far removed from historical reality. None the less they functioned as a guideline. Hecker was convinced that it was possible to learn directly from history, and that history could serve as a *magistra vitae.* There was no need to interpret history, but only to study it carefully to see the direction in which a republic would develop if, for example, its administration became corrupt or it introduced wrong laws that threatened republican freedom.

"Classical" republicanism could be brought into line with liberal, and especially democratic convictions. In this idealized concept civil society and political government were thought of as identical: the perfect example of popular sovereignty. Ancient society could be interpreted as a realization of

Rousseau's social contract: a political community freely created by the consent of its members, whose primary goal was to guarantee the self realization *(Selbstverwirklichung)* of the people. On the other hand, the active participation of its citizens in political affairs and their selfless commitment to the common good were absolutely necessary to achieve this goal. The republican system relies upon the virtue of its citizens effectively to combat the most dangerous threat to the republic, namely corruption, because it lacks a strong governmental structure in an authoritarian sense. Moreover, Aristotle's emphasis on the importance of a strong, independent and frugal middling group for the internal stability of republican society fitted perfectly into the middle-class ideology of the early German liberals. Even in the United States, therefore, Hecker kept comparing social reality with his idealized concept of a republic. In America, too, he was mainly concerned with maintaining a strong middle class for the benefit of the already existing republic.

In 1847 liberals and radicals separated over the question of political action and the form of government they wanted. Hecker was convinced that only the total abolition of the old monarchical regime and the establishment of a completely new political system, a republican government, would allow popular sovereignty to become a reality. But even for the more moderate liberals "popular sovereignty," the representation of the people, was the only political principle which guaranteed political participation in the way they desired. For different and obvious reasons they became distanced from these ideas and looked for practical co-operation with the monarchical state governments, for national unity and political liberalization to be accomplished gradually without any violent break. As far as the political system was concerned the radicals were very different from the liberals, but as regards economic and social ideas they still shared the same convictions. In a political sense Hecker was clearly a republican, hoping and fighting for a republican government in 1848. But as far as his social and economic expectations of that republic were concerned he was—and would remain—a liberal.

Hecker and the emergence of the Republican Party, 1856

When Friedrich Hecker emigrated to the United States he had already decided to become a farmer. Gustav Körner, a well-known "Dreißiger," one of the refugees of the 1830 upheaval, mentions in his *Memoirs,* that immediately after his arrival in Belleville, the famous German community in southern Illinois, Hecker asked him to look for a farm he could buy in the vicinity.[14] He brought his family to Summerfield on his return from a short trip back to Europe in 1849 when he had to stop at the French border in Strassburg because Prussian troops

had defeated the last uprising in Baden and the Palatine. Hecker's first years as a farmer in the Midwest were marked by total political apathy. It seems he was too depressed by the failure of the revolution and by his own situation. He concentrated on his new main goal, to secure a living for his family. He gave only one speech in late 1851, when he spoke in Belleville in favor of Gustav Kinkel's *Nationalanleihe* (national loan) to serve as a fund for a further revolution in Germany.[15] This project, initiated by refugee revolutionaries in London, came to nothing and it seems that Hecker, who was not really convinced by the plan, participated in the meeting just as a favor to an old political friend.

Nevertheless, his decision to become a farmer and not a lawyer reflects the idea of securing his republican virtue. Joining the community of German peasants near Belleville, the well-known settlement of "Latin Farmers," was far more than just having a place to stay and making a living. These educated men, able to read the classics in Greek and Latin, had emigrated to the United States in the 1830s because of their dissatisfaction with the political situation in the German states. They had all been inspired by their classical studies, and they all shared the same ideas of a republican life.[16]

"I have come to the conclusion that in the long run democratic freedom is only possible within agrarian structures" wrote Hecker to Adam von Itzstein, his political mentor whom he urged to join him and his family in free America.[17] To Hecker the agrarian structure of the Midwest before the Civil War seemed to demonstrate that an equal distribution of property supported the development of a stable and strong middle class, the nucleus of every democratic society, and prevented what was emerging more and more clearly in Germany: a two-class society with a small group of very rich industrialists and a large mass of poor people without property. Moreover, to be a farmer and belong to this stable middle class also put into practice Jefferson's idea of economic independence which guaranteed the chance to become politically involved without depending on any material compensation from party or government. Maybe Hecker had the ancient ideal of a Roman citizen in mind who acted for the common good not in return for remuneration but in order to gain public recognition. He already mentioned notions of this sort in the early 1840s in articles written for the well known and influential *Staatslexikon*, a political encyclopedia edited by Carl von Rotteck and Theodor Welcker.[18] Throughout his American years Hecker always stressed that he never received anything from the Republican Party for his political commitment. Unlike many other German forty-eighters in America his living as a farmer gave him financial independence. The only exception was in 1856 during the Republican election campaign in

nearby Belleville when part of Hecker's house burned down. Abraham Lincoln apparently offered him some financial assistance for the rebuilding work.[19]

In 1856 Hecker was roused from his political apathy by the discussions about the Kansas-Nebraska Act. The question was whether slavery should be allowed or prohibited in the new territories. Hecker's decision to become involved in politics once again was influenced by his experience of American election campaigns in which Germans were treated as "voting cattle" (*Stimmvieh*) by most American politicians who did not consider the special interests of this immigrant group. In two letters published in different German-American newspapers Hecker explained his decision.[20] In both of these he stressed that the German population in America must become aware of its own political power and must fight for its political rights. On the other hand American politicians should realize the significance of the German vote for their election or reelection, especially in the Midwest. Hecker recommended that the Germans vote only for that party which protected and supported German interests. And what was more, in all the speeches he made on the stump in 1856 he tried to convince his fellow countrymen that only the newly established Republican Party would do so. The crucial point in his argument was that to allow slavery in the new territories, as the Democratic Party proposed, would destroy any hope of the further expansion of a white middle class into the West. If we analyze Hecker's speeches it seems to me that he was much more concerned about the social and economic implications of slavery for the white immigrants than about slavery as a moral evil in itself. His *Ansprache an die deutsch-amerikanische Bevölkerung der Vereinigten Staaten*, a pamphlet which was much too long to be given as a lecture or speech, and was therefore printed in several German-American news papers in serial form,[21] brings together all the arguments he repeated in subsequent months on his tour from the Midwest to the East Coast. Hecker never lost sight of the fact that he was speaking to a German-American audience. First of all he was totally aware of what conflicting and contradictory elements the newly established Republican Party had integrated: ex-democrats, free-soilers, ardent abolitionists, but also nativists and Know-Nothings, members of the former American Party, and Midwest puritans who supported temperance laws. Hecker knew that most Germans, especially German Catholics, might be more fearful of "Know-Nothings in Illinois than of negroes in faraway Nebraska" as Marlin Tucker put it.[22]

For this reason Hecker never began his speeches with a direct discussion of the slavery question. Rather, he dealt first with the accusation that he belonged to a party crucially influenced by Know-Nothings and puritans, who demanded an exaggerated "Anglo conformity" from the immigrants. Interestingly enough he never denied the fact that there were indeed Know-Nothing elements in the

Republican Party, or that some puritan members sought to introduce temperance and "Sunday laws." However, he was convinced that both attempts were so totally against the principles laid down in the Declaration of Independence and the American Constitution that they would not prevail.[23] And he was right. After 1860 the secret clubs of Know-Nothings—established in particular as a reaction to the mass immigration of Irish and German Catholics in the 1840s and 1850s—disappeared. But the debate on the introduction of puritan temperance laws returned to the party's political agenda after the Civil War. Hecker once again became one of the most ardent opponents of this movement. He wrote several articles and held a number of lectures on the topic, arguing that these laws not only represented a threat to individual liberty, but were also economically disastrous for the wine and beer industry established mainly by German immigrants.[24] In addition he emphasized the big difference between drinking and enjoying a glass of wine or "healthy" German beer in proper company, and standing at a bar downing American whisky in one gulp.[25]

But the main theme of his speeches in the 1850s remained the slavery issue. The term "slave aristocracy" (*Sklavenaristokratie*) which Hecker and other forty-eighters often used in their speeches demonstrates how easy it was for this politically sensitive group to compare the European aristocracy with the Southern aristocracy of slave owners. Both social groups were seen as enemies of the people. They were considered to have special interests and no concern for the common good. The dominant characteristic of both groups was that they protected their own social, economic and political advantages. Hecker's old fight against aristocracy and its privileges in Germany was transformed into a fight against the slave owners who were creating the same unfair social and economic circumstances in the United States. Both of these groups perpetuated a two-class society *(Zweiklassengesellschaft)*: on one side just a few very rich people, on the other a mass of poor people without any rights or possessions. From the arguments Hecker put forward against slavery it is clear that freedom and political equality for blacks were not his primary goals. Of course, he considered slavery basically evil, but it was first and foremost a danger to his vision of a "middle-class society," which he considered essential for the internal stability of a republic. Hecker described slavery as a contradiction to the Hegelian term of a "moral principle of reasonable freedom" *(sittliches Prinzip der vernunftrechtlichen Freiheit)*;[26] he condemned it as the "black spot" of the American Constitution. But he did not think this argument strong enough to convince his German-American audience. He was aware of speaking to a German audience which was pretty unfamiliar with the "peculiar institution," the problem of slavery as it existed in the Southern states. Therefore he stressed more practical, even pragmatic arguments. For Hecker it was fairly easy to pursue the free soil

and free labor ideology of the Republican Party since it coincided with his own social and economic beliefs. With regard to the free soil question, and the extension of slavery, he argued that every additional slave deprived a free man of room to live. Secondly, slavery was economically inefficient since whole families had to be nourished even if just one or two members could be used as laborers. The output did not bear any relation to the costs. Thirdly, slavery caused the accumulation of huge capital in just one hand, thereby reinforcing the unequal distribution of land and property. The only political argument Hecker used was his contention that in the event of war slaves would never fight loyally and patriotically for a state which did not guarantee their human rights. And since they had no political rights they would never identify with the state's affairs. They were not treated as citizens and could therefore be abused for dangerous purposes by those interested in recruiting cheap soldiers. Other arguments Hecker put forward against slavery combined economic and moral issues. Following Montesquieu[27] he voiced the moral objection that slavery posed a threat to the cultural development of the people because slave owners would adopt bad habits from their slaves; and later the children would copy the bad habits of their parents. He argued that the disappearance of moral and civilized behavior would also put an end to the work ethic, since no one would want to work anymore if there were slaves to do it for them. Hecker saw diligence as the basis of all freedom in terms of the classical republican model of a Roman citizen. Once again he combined moral and economic arguments: no free white settler would compete with black slave labor in the territories. Hecker's conclusion was that immigration to the United States would fall off if slavery were allowed in the new territories. He thought that there would not be enough rich immigrants in a position to buy expensive and scarce land in the free northern states. And even if there were, there would be not enough space for the next generation. Hecker reproduced exactly the Republican Party's rhetoric on the "dignity and nobility of labor"[28] when he emphasized: "Nur wo die Arbeit frei und geehrt ist, ist ein Emporarbeiten möglich, versprechend und lohnend. Nur wo die freie Arbeit geachtet, wo Arbeiten eine Ehre ist, bleibt der arbeitende Mann in dem Hochgefühle seines ganzen sittlichen und bürgerlichen Werthes."[29]

In fact, Hecker had no difficulty at all in accepting this ideology since it was so entirely compatible with his own socio-economic convictions. It reflected the "pre-March" liberal belief that even the poor wage laborers in the industrial centers of the East Coast and the Northwestern states should have the opportunity to rise, to earn enough money to become free and independent farmers in the near future. For Hecker, the fight to keep the new territories free of slavery meant keeping this opportunity alive. He considered this fight so vital politically because in the long run, it would bring an expansion of the important

middling group of independent farmers, shopkeepers, and merchants. He believed that this approach would solve the "social question," the problem of mass poverty amongst unskilled laborers in the cities, in a natural, healthy way. This belief reflects the old liberal ideal that everybody should have the opportunity to rise socially and economically in accordance with capabilities and talents. And the opportunity to do so must be protected by the state. For Hecker, therefore, it was consistent to speak up for the Republican Party which seemed to take this task seriously. Hecker was far less concerned about slavery as a "peculiar institution" and about fighting for the black man's rights than about securing "free white labor" in all territories and states. Thus the white European emigrants would have an opportunity to make their fortune in the West. Because of their European roots the forty-eighters found slavery a difficult phenomenon to understand. What did seem clear, however, was that it was an unfair system in which a few rich men controlled a mass of poor people.

Believing that a strong stable middle class was absolutely necessary for the political benefit of a republic—a heritage of Hecker's classical studies, which also became crucial in his liberal convictions—Hecker, in his propaganda speeches during the famous Douglas-Lincoln Debates in 1858, insisted on promoting and defending the interests of the white middle class on economic questions despite Lincoln's shift to a more moral argument.[30] The only issue on which he took a different position from that put forward in his speeches of 1856 was that he now considered Douglas to be in conspiracy with the southern slaveholders. This was—by the way—historically incorrect. But Hecker thought this idea sufficiently effective to continue putting it in his speeches.

If we bear in mind these two sides to Hecker's republicanism, the political obligation towards the state and the moral obligation towards oneself as a citizen, it is hardly surprising that he was much more concerned with the condition of the state as a whole than with minority rights. His secular "virtue" as a citizen of a political community was defined by being committed to the common good. He saw the state as the primary basis of the human community itself, and even his participation in the Civil War was the result of this pattern of political belief. When Hecker passed through the Southern states in late 1863 as a soldier in the Civil War he wrote to Gustav Struve: "I would never have believed that America has such wonderful scenery as I have seen in Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Alabama and Georgia . . . . When you think what this beautiful land could have been if it had been cultivated by free white labor, then you really see the curse of slavery."[31] Here, once again, he was fighting against a system which threatened the welfare of the state as a whole. The existence of the state itself was at stake because a minority was trying to break the "eternal contract,"[32] as he put it later on.

Even when Hecker became involved in the Liberal Republican Movement in the early 1870s he saw his own struggle against President Grant's corrupt administration which was influenced by rich industrialists as a fight for the benefit of the whole nation. In trying to effect a civil service reform which would guarantee equal access for talented men like himself, Hecker once again believed that he was fighting for the benefit of the nation. He felt that maintaining a strong middle class by giving it every political and economic opportunity was much more important than just securing rights for a small minority. Therefore it seems consistent that he and Carl Schurz were ready to abandon the black man's cause, which was still on the agenda of the "old" Republican Party under Grant, in favor of supporting a policy primarily designed to secure access to political power and to the civil service for men like themselves. For them, the black man's rights were only part of a much wider problem.[33]

Hecker was never religious. He was famous and feared for his anticlerical rhetoric. But on the other hand Hecker has always been described as a romantic figure. And indeed, he was a sort of "secularized romanticist." He transformed religious beliefs into political ones. His moral code was that of republican virtue the belief in an uncorrupted republic was his creed. Thus, he confessed to Carl Schurz in 1871: "After all, I am a devout, incorrigible Republican, and I won't despair."[34]

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Notes

[1] "Ich habe es nie als ein Unglück betrachtet, an diese Küsten geworfen worden zu seyn," Friedrich Hecker to Carl Schurz, 25 June 1879, "Carl Schurz Papers," Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

[2] For example, Charlotte Brancaforte, ed., *The German Forty-Eighters in the United States* (New York, 1989).

[3] Sabine Freitag, *Friedrich Hecker: Biographie eines Republikaners* (Stuttgart, 1998).

[4] Friedrich Hecker, "Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben," *Die Gartenlaube* (Leipzig, 1869), 552-54.

[5] *Verhandlungen der Ständeversammlung des Großherzogtums Baden: Von 1842 bis 1848, Protokolle und Beilagen der zweiten Kammer* (Karlsruhe, 1842ff.), 17 August 1842, 330.

[6] See Lothar Gall, "Liberalismus und 'Bürgerliche Gesellschaft': Zu Charakter und Entwicklung der liberalen Bewegung in Deutschland," *Historische Zeitschrift 220* (1975): 324-56; Paul Nolte, *Gemeindebürgertum und Liberalismus in Baden 1800-1850* (Göttingen, 1994).

[7] See his article on "Weiblichkeit und Weiberrechtelei" in Friedrich Hecker, *Reden und Vorlesungen* (St. Louis, MO; Neustadt a. H., 1872).

[8] For example, *Verhandlungen der Ständeversammlung*, 14 January 1848, 191.

[9] See the documents in "Hecker Papers," Western Historical Manuscript Division, University of Missouri-St. Louis, box 1, folder 2.

[10] See the article on "Eidgenossenschaft, Schweizerische," Carl von Rotteck and Karl Th. Welcker, eds., *Staats-Lexikon oder Encyklopädie der Staatswissenschaften* (Altona, 1837), 4:611-28, 617.

[11] Freitag, *Hecker*, 309-21

[12] See for example the letters of Franz Lieber and Charles Sumner to Karl Josef Anton Mittermaier, "Mittermaier Nachlaß," Universitätsbibliothek, Heidelberg; on Lieber see Peter Schäfer and Karl Schmidt, eds., *Franz Lieber und die deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen im 19. Jahrhundert* (Weimar, 1993); on Sumner, see Edward L. Pierce, *Memoirs and letters of Charles Sumner*, 2 vols. (London, 1878); on Longfellow's, Sumner's, and Lieber's visits to Heidelberg, see Hermann Wellenreuther, "'Germans Make Cows and Women Work': American Perception of Germany as Reported in American Travel Books, 1800-1840" in David E. Barclay and Elisabeth Glaser-Schmidt, eds., *Transatlantic Images and Perceptions: Germany and America since 1776* (Washington; Cambridge, 1997), 41-69, 49.

[13] *Verhandlungen der Ständeversammlung*, 16 March 1848, 220.

[14] Thomas J. McCormack, ed., *Memoirs of Gustav Koerner, 1808-1896: Life Sketched at the Suggestion of His Children*, 2 vols. (Cedar Rapids, IA, 1909), 1:529.

[15] Freitag, *Hecker*, 167-77; Rosemary Ashton, *Little Germany: German Refugees in Victorian Britain* (Oxford; New York, 1989), 159-60.

[16] On Hecker's life as a farmer, see Carl Köhler, *Briefe aus Amerika: Ein lehrreicher Wegweiser für deutsche Auswanderer und unterhaltendes Lesebuch für Gebildete jeden Standes* (Darmstadt, 1852). Köhler joined Hecker at his farm for eight weeks; the translation is Frederic Trautmann, "Eight Weeks on a St. Clair County Farm in 1851—Letters by a Young German," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 75, 3 (1982): 162-78.

[17] "Die Überzeugung habe ich gewonnen, daß nur in agricalen Staaten demokratische Freiheit auf die Dauer möglich ist." Friedrich Hecker to Adam von Itzstein, 29 August 1851, "Itzstein Nachlaß," Bundesarchiv Abteilungen Potsdam, Zug.-Nr. 168/58.

[18] For example, Friedrich Hecker, "Advocat: Der deutsche Advocatenstand," *Staatslexikon*, 2d ed. (Altona, 1845), 1:355-69.

[19] Abraham Lincoln to Friedrich Hecker, 14 September 1856, Roy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 5 vols. (New Brunswick, NJ, 1953), 2:376.

[20] Friedrich Hecker to Christian Esselen, 7 July 1856; Friedrich Hecker to Th. Dietsch, 15 July 1856, "Hecker Papers," box 4, folder 42.

[21] *Belleviller Volksblatt* (weekly), no. 26 (16 August 1856); no. 27 (23 August 1856); no. 28 (30 August 1856); no. 29 (6 September 1856); no. 30 (13 September 1856).

[22] Marlin Th. Tucker, *Political Leadership in the Illinois-Missouri German Community, 1836-1872* (Urbana, IL, 1968), 184.

[23] "Ansprache," *Belleviller Volksblatt*, no. 26 (16 August 1856); ibid., no. 31 (20 September 1856).

[24] "Deutschenhasserei: Friedrich Hecker an die Deutschen Amerikas!" *Belleviller Zeitung* (weekly), 18 January 1872; "Friedrich Hecker über das Temperenzgesetz," *Illinois Staatszeitung* (daily), 20 January 1872; Friedrich Hecker, "Des Temperenzgesetz und die *Chicago Tribune*," *Illinois Staatszeitung* (daily), 15 March 1872.

[25] "Als ich vor 24 Jahren an diesen Küsten landete, [sah] ich in der einen Stadt New York, ja sogar in Städten, die unter der Liquorlaw standen, mehr wüste Trunkenheit [ ] als in meiner übrigen Lebenszeit in ganz Europa, und zwar lediglich wegen des grasserenden Branntweingenusses, und der hiesigen Art und Weise, an den Schenktisch zu treten und rasch hinunterzuschütten, während man in Europa sich setzt, plaudert, unterhält. Ich habe überhaupt hier wahrgenommen, daß dieses Geschlecht nur in Extremen sich bewegt, entweder sinnlos zu saufen oder sich, wenigstens öffentlich, zur völligen Abstinenz zu bekennen. Ein anständiges gemüthliches Trinken kennt dies Geschlecht kaum und das Horazische est medium in rebus scheint für die amerikanischen Trinker verloren." Friedrich Hecker, "Das Temperenzgesetz und die *Chicago Tribune*," ibid.

[26] *Belleviller Volksblatt*, no. 28 (30 August 1856).

[27] Montesquieu, *L'esprit des lois*, book 15, chapter 1.

[28] Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Man: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War* (Oxford, 1970), 11.

[29] *Belleviller Volksblatt*, no. 33 (4 October 1856).

[30] See, for example, Lincoln's speech in Springfield, IL, 16 June 1858, Robert W. Johanssen, ed., *The Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858* (Oxford; New York, 1965), 17-18; and Hecker's Chicago speech, *Illinois Staatszeitung* (daily), 27 October 1858.

[31] "Ich hätte nie geglaubt, daß Amerika so wundervolle Scenerien aufzuweisen habe, wie ich in Maryland, Virginien, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama und Georgia sah .... Wenn man sich fragt, was aus diesem schönen Lande hätte werden können, falls die freie weiße Arbeit es befruchtet hätte, erkennt man erst den ganzen Fluch der Sclaverei." Friedrich Hecker to Gustav Struve, Lookout-Valley, Tennessee, 21 December 1863, *Die Gartenlaube* (Leipzig, 1865), 58.

[32] "Der Süden aber durfte nicht secediren, weil die Union ein ewiger Vertrag war, der nicht beliebig, einseitig von einer Minorität [aufgelöst] und damit das Rückgrat der Union gebrochen werden durfte." *Belleviller Zeitung* (weekly), 19 October 1871.

[33] See Freitag, *Hecker*, 348-55.

[34] "Ich bin nun mal ein gläubiger, unverbesserlicher Republikaner, und kann nicht verzweifeln." Friedrich Hecker to Carl Schurz, 1 October 1871, "Schurz Papers," ibid.

William D. Keel

From *Freischärler* in Baden to American Patriot: Wendelin Bührle—a Common Soldier in Two Struggles for Freedom

Writing some four decades after the unsuccessful attempt to establish a democratic, free and unified Germany in the turbulent period of 1848-49, M. J. Becker expressed the view in his book *The Germans of 1849 in America* that:

> a few years more, and the last exile of '49 will have found refuge in that great asylum where extradition laws are unknown, and where, as I hope, he will not be compelled to serve a probationary term prior to his full admission to citizenship. But his children and his children's children will live on, assimilated, absorbed and Americanized; unmindful of their origin and indifferent to their descent.[1]

Perhaps Becker intended his words to be taken positively, meaning that the descendants of the refugees of the German Revolution of 1848-49 in America would in the course of a couple of generations be fully integrated into American democracy and society and no longer live under the despotic conditions their ancestors endured in Europe. Or, is Becker resigned to the fact that the progeny of the refugees will one day forget the reasons why their ancestors were forced to flee their homeland and the circumstances with which they were confronted after arrival in the New World—a nation on the verge of a bloody civil war over the very issues of human freedom and individual dignity?

This investigation into the life and historical context of the emigration from Baden and involvement in the American Civil War of one common soldier in the revolutionary citizens' militia (*Bürgerwehr)* of Baden in 1848-49 is dedicated to the memory of all such men and women who were only able to realize their dreams of freedom and democracy in their adopted homeland of America and in

their own small way contributed to the cultural and social fabric of American society. In examining the fragmentary information of one such individual's life, we are also able to see how the experience of participation in the fight to preserve the Union enabled thousands of such German immigrants to become fully integrated into American society. It also sheds light on the amazing phenomenon of the rapid assimilation of these Germans in the pre-World War I era.

The important figures of the 1848-49 Revolution who emigrated to the United States, beginning with Friedrich Hecker in 1848, whether they contributed to or were active in political or cultural life, journalism, the military, science or education, have been treated in a number of major studies. Names such as Carl Schurz, Franz Sigel, Friedrich Kapp, Christian Essellen, Carl Heinzen, Lorenz Brentano, Julius Froebel, Heinrich Boernstein, Carl Daenzer, Emil Praetorius cannot be unfamiliar to students of nineteenth-century American political and social history. Their achievements in the New World testify to their determination and spirit in the face of extreme adversity and persecution for their views in their German homeland. But in addition to the several dozen of the forty-eighters who achieved some degree of prominence in America there were thousands of common men and women who just as passionately participated in the ill-fated attempt to establish a democratic form of government in Germany; who bled and died in the struggles against the regional forces of the German Federation and especially against Prussian regulars; who ultimately could not remain in Europe and whose only hope lay in emigration to distant America.

When Wendelin Buehrle[2] died on 12 December 1914 in the home of his son Fred Buehrle in Jefferson City, Missouri, few may have recalled the events that led to his decision to emigrate from his native Baden over sixty years before. His life since arriving in the United States in 1852, had in most respects followed the typical path of the mid-nineteenth-century immigrant from Germany. But several published accounts suggest that his life was intertwined with tumultuous historical events on two continents. A 1903 feature in the *Kansas City Star* of 18 February describes in some detail Wendelin's brother Fredolin and the birthday salute fired by a group of cannoneers led by the Buehrle brothers on Lincoln's birthday (12 February) at the state capitol in Jefferson City. The article includes the following information on Wendelin:

> He was born in Baden, Germany, June 28, 1828, and if he lives until next June he will be 75 years old. He, too, has had his share of war, its fortunes and reverses. He fought under Colonel Albert Siegel[3] in 1848-9 in the war against Prussia and after coming to this country

with his brother was sergeant in a company of "home guards" in the stirring times of '61.

Another article from a St. Louis newspaper in 1912 reveals more about his immigration to the New World. The *Daily Globe Democrat* of 25 August reported that Wendelin Buehrle:

> served in the German revolution of 1848, and came to [t]his country in [the] company of the late Dr. Emil Pretorious of the St. Louis Westliche Post and Dr. Carl Daenzer, who founded the St. Louis Zeitung. Wendall Buehrle celebrated his eighty-fourth birthday last June.

A similar hint at Wendelin's involvement in the revolution in Baden in 1848-49 is found in the biography of his then prominent son Fred Buehrle in the *History of Jefferson City* published in 1938:

> [Wendelin Buehrle], a native of Baden, Germany, came to Jefferson City in 1858 from Fort Wayne, Indiana. In Germany in the 1840s he served under Siegel in the revolt against a despotic government, and was obliged to leave Germany as were many others who became leading citizens of America .... Jefferson City ... was his home for the remainder of his life. He was a Union soldier, serving in the Home Guards in the Civil War.

His role as a soldier in both the revolutionary uprisings in Baden and in the Union Army in the American Civil War are noted repeatedly. In all these reports Buehrle is placed together with well-known figures of the 1848-49 revolution such as Daenzer, Praetorius and Sigel. Why was Wendelin obliged to emigrate in 1852? What more can we learn of his participation in these historical struggles?

We know next to nothing about the first twenty years of Wendelin's life. He was born in Kappel on the Rhine in the Grand Duchy of Baden in June 1828 and probably baptized on 5 July of that year according to village and church records.[4] His father Zyprian was a weaver and day laborer. The Bührles had been home weavers since at least the seventeenth century in the village of Kappel.[5] That Wendelin's father was the first in that family to be recorded as both *Weber und Tagelöhner* in the civil records of the village is telling. The weavers throughout Germany were particularly impacted by the changing patterns of industrial production. The plight of such German home weavers

during the 1840s is depicted in Gerhart Hauptmann's drama *Die Weber* (1892) in which the Silesian home weavers struggle against their exploiters. Additionally, the crop failures and potato rot of 1846 and 1847 increased the economic distress effecting especially the poorer classes. By the time the historical events of 1847-48 forced Wendelin and countless others into a radical change in their way of life, he had lost both father and mother and was alone at age nineteen with an older sister Ursula and a younger twelve-year-old brother Fredolin (Fridolin).[6]

Baden had been one of the most liberal regions of the German Federation since the Congress of Vienna in 1815 and fertile ground for the ideas of the French Revolution. It was no surprise that the first foreshadowing of the revolutionary upheavals to come was signaled by the popular assembly held in Offenburg on 17 September 1847, a mere fifteen miles from Wendelin's home in Kappel. The Offenburg Declaration published after that meeting was a clear warning to governmental authorities and the nobility that public frustration with the old order and the demands for democratic reforms, freedom of the press and the right of citizens to bear arms were nearing the boiling point.

In the aftermath of the February 1848 upheavals in Paris, the liberals and the radicals in Baden demanded action. As was the case in most of the thirty-nine German states, reform-minded "March ministers" were appointed to appease popular demand for change. The call for a national assembly of the German states in Frankfurt to determine the political future of Germany seemed to offer some hope for peaceful change. The grand duke of Baden acceded to numerous requests for reform including the establishment of a citizens' militia (*Bürgerwehr*) in the villages and cities of Baden. Many towns proceeded to enlist and arm a group citizens and democratically elect officers for their units. The village archives for Kappel maintained in the district seat of Ettenheim document the formation of a citizens' militia and the popular election of officers on 9 April 1848.[7] In these difficult to decipher handwritten records, the name Bührle occurs frequently. As far as can be ascertained, these are relatives—male cousins and uncles—of Wendelin. From the village history of Kappel, we also know that the mayor and clerk and many of the leading citizens were active supporters of the radical republicans. A *Volksverein* was established in Kappel to debate the political issues of the day and to promote the revolutionary ideals.[8]

When it appeared at the end of the *Vorparlament* in Frankfurt at the beginning of April 1848 that the radical republican element would not prevail, hostilities erupted in Baden. Determined to force the issue of a German republic by popular uprising, Friedrich Hecker attempted to march with three columns of revolutionaries from the southernmost district of Baden, the *Seekreis*, on the established powers. Starting from Konstanz on Lake Constance on 13 April, the

Forderungen des deutſchen Volkes.

Allgemeine Volksbewaffnung mit freier Wahl der Offiziere.

Ein deutſches Parlament, frei gewählt durch das Volk. Jeder deutſche Mann, ſobald er das 21ſte Jahr erreicht hat, iſt wahlfähig als Urwähler und wählbar zum Wahlmann. Auf je 1000 Seelen wird ein Wahlmann ernannt, auf je 100,000 Seelen ein Abgeordneter zum Parlament. Jeder Deutſche, ohne Rückſicht auf Rang, Stand, Vermögen und Religion kann Mitglied dieſes Parlaments werden, ſobald er das 25ſte Lebensjahr zurückgelegt hat. Das Parlament wird ſeinen Sitz in Frankfurt haben und ſeine Geſchäfts-Ordnung ſelbſt entwerfen.

Unbedingte Preßfreiheit.

Vollſtändige Religions-, Gewiſſens- und Lehrfreiheit.

Volksthümliche Rechtspflege mit Schwurgerichten.

Allgemeines deutſches Staatsbürger-Recht.

Gerechte Beſteuerung nach dem Einkommen.

Wohlſtand, Bildung und Unterricht für Alle.

Schutz und Gewährleiſtung der Arbeit.

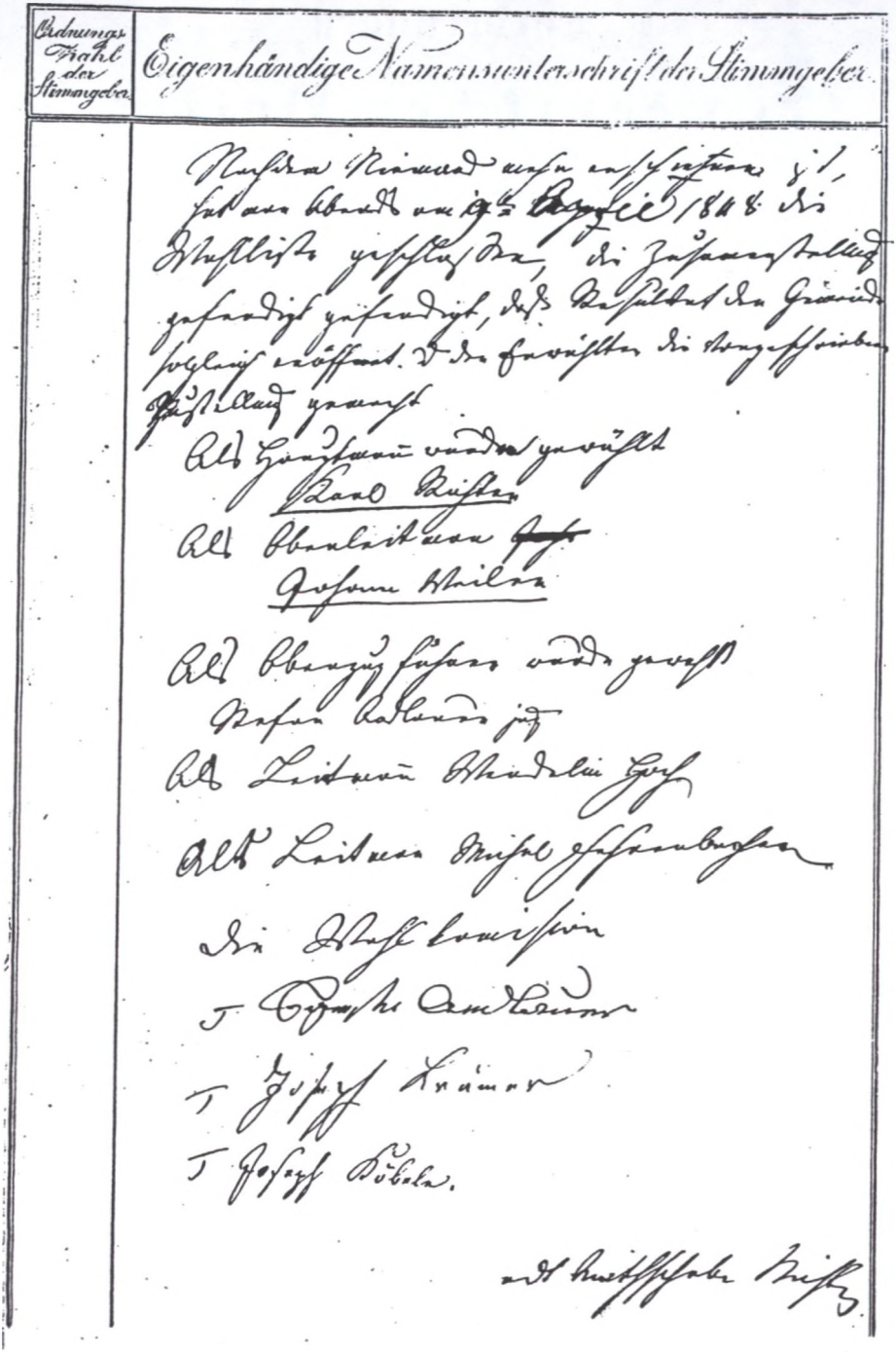
Ausgleichung des Mißverhältniſſes von Kapital und Arbeit.

Volksthümliche und billige Staats-Verwaltung.

Verantwortlichkeit aller Miniſter und Staatsbeamten.

Abſchaffung aller Vorrechte.

Revolutionary demands of the German people, Mannheim, February 1848 (*Flugblätter der Revolution*).



The election of officers in Kappel for the village militia (*Bürgerwehr*) in April 1848 (Gemeinde-Archiv, Kappel).

marchers attempted to converge on Freiburg from where they planned proceed to the ducal capital of Karlsruhe. After a number of skirmishes in the southern Black Forest and in and around Freiburg between 20 and 27 April, the revolutionaries were forced to flee with their commanders Hecker, Gustav Struve and Franz Sigel to nearby Switzerland. When all was already lost a German workers legion from Paris crossed the Rhine from France under the command of the poet Georg Herwegh and was quickly dispersed by government forces. Significantly, members of the Kappel citizens' militia were involved in the skirmishes in and around nearby Freiburg.[9] Thus Wendelin and his fellow citizens had their first taste of armed insurrection, albeit unsuccessful.

The National Assembly of the German States began its deliberations in Frankfurt on 18 May 1848 and the summer or 1848 passed without further clashes in the German southwest. A major crisis developed in September 1848, however, over the issue of Prussia's decision to end the conflict concerning Danish control of Schleswig-Holstein without consulting the assembly. When the assembly first rejected the Prussian armistice with Denmark and then two weeks later reversed itself, violent demonstrations erupted in Frankfurt. Two members of the assembly were murdered by the unruly mob. The assembly was forced to call upon Prussian and Austrian troops to protect it from the demonstrators. In this atmosphere, a restless Gustav Struve in Swiss exile decided it was time to complete what had been begun in Baden the past April. Crossing the Rhine to Lörrach, he proclaimed the establishment of a German republic on 21 September 1848. The march of the revolutionary forces under Struve—perhaps a few hundred—began moving north paralleling the Rhine toward Freiburg.

Throughout Baden members of the citizens' militias sprang into action. At six locations the recently constructed single rail line between Karlsruhe and the southern part of Baden was severed to prevent government troops from rapidly deploying to the south. Again, the *Bürgerwehr* of Kappel participated in cutting the rail line between Karlsruhe and Freiburg at Orschweier, a couple of miles east of Kappel.[10] However, by 24 September the second armed insurrection in Baden was over and its leader Struve and his wife Amalie headed for imprisonment. As documented in the Kappel village archives, the district government in Ettenheim ordered the mayor of Kappel to confiscate all private weapons and ammunition, including two sabers, on 4 October 1848 for shipment to the capital of Karlsruhe because of their treasonous participation in this brief uprising.[11] Several members of the militia from Kappel with the surname Bührle were found guilty of treason in conjunction with Struve's putsch attempt.[12]

Deutſche Republik!

Wohlſtand, Bildung, Freiheit für Alle.

Im Namen des deutſchen Volkes verfügt die proviſoriſche Regierung Deutſchlands wie folgt:

Art. 1. Sämmtliche auf dem Grund und Boden haftende mittelalterliche Laſten, ſo wie ſämmtliche mittelalterliche perſönliche Dienſte, Zehnten, Gülten, Frohnden, und welchen Namen ſie ſonſt tragen, ſind ohne alle Entſchädigung ſofort abgeſchafft. Alle Ablöſungsſchuldigkeiten für ſolche Laſten werden ebenfalls getilgt.

Art. 2. Sämmtliche bisher an den Staat, die Kirche und die adeligen Grundherren bezahlten Abgaben hören von dieſem Tage auf; eine das Einkommen des Unbemittelten nicht berührende progreſſive Einkommenſteuer tritt an die Stellen ſämmtlicher bisherigen Abgaben; nur die an den Grenzen Deutſchlands erhobenen Zölle bleiben für's Erſte beſtehen.

Art. 3. Sämmtliches Grundeigenthum des Staats, der Kirche und der auf Seite der Fürſten kämpfenden Staatsbürger geht proviſoriſch, unter Vorbehalt ſpäterer Ausgleichungen, an die Gemeinden über, in deren Gemarkung es liegt.

Art. 4. Um alle in den vorſtehenden Artikeln enthaltenen Erleichterungen zu ſichern, wird eine allgemeine Erhebung des Volkes angeordnet.

Alle waffenfähigen Männer von vollendetem achtzehntem bis zum vollendeten vierzigſten Jahre ergreifen die Waffen zur Rettung des bedrohten Vaterlandes.

Von heute an herrſcht das Kriegsgeſetz, bis das deutſche Volk ſeine Freiheit errungen haben wird.

Im Namen der proviſoriſchen Regierung Deutſchlands

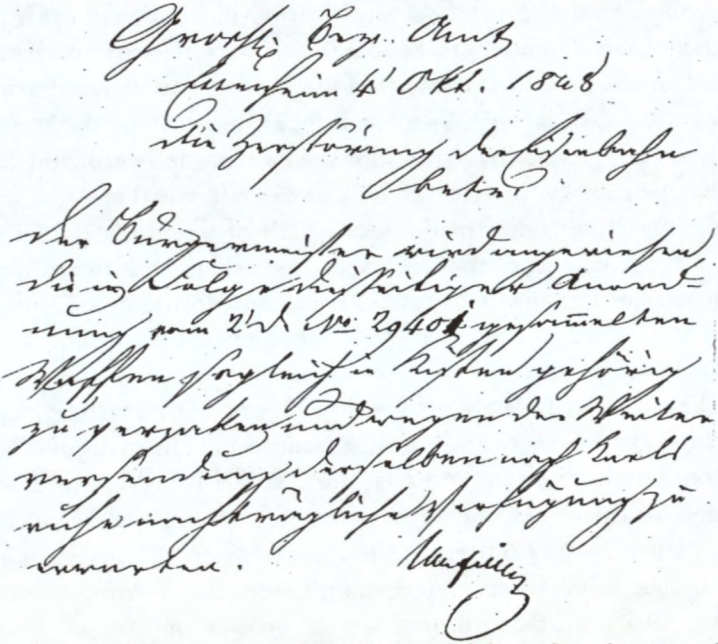
G. Struve. Der Schriftführer: **Karl Blind.**

Hauptquartier Lörrach am erſten Tag der deutſchen Republik, am einundzwanzigſten September 1848.

Struve's proclamation of a German republic, 21 September 1848 (*Flugblätter der Revolution*).

During the winter of 1848-49, the assembly in Frankfurt completed its work on both a German bill of rights (December 1848) and a German constitution which established a new German empire under the king of Prussia (March 1849). Many of the German states were prepared to accept the new constitution, including Baden. But without the support of the larger states such as Prussia, Saxony and Bavaria the attempt to establish a united Germany was doomed. When the Prussian king rejected the imperial crown from the national assembly in April 1849, several of the more radical elements attempted to establish a German republic in the provinces, such as in Saxony and in the Bavarian Rhenish-Palatinate.

In Baden, once again, a meeting of all *Volksvereine* was called for 12 May 1849 in Offenburg, where a number of revolutionary demands were addressed to the government in Karlsruhe. At the same time in the nearby Rastatt fortress, where Struve was in prison, members of the regular army of Baden began to fraternize with members of the *Bürgerwehr.* Soon the soldiers mutinied against their officers declaring their support for the new German constitution. The Offenburg assembly demanded a new government and a constitutional assembly and elected Lorenz Brentano to lead a delegation to Karlsruhe, where street demonstrations were on the verge of becoming violent. In the midst of all this commotion Grand Duke Leopold felt he could no longer remain in Karlsruhe



On 4 October 1848, the mayor of Kappel is ordered to send the confiscated weapons of the local militia to Karlsruhe after the militia destroyed the rail line near Kappel during the Struve uprising in late September 1848 (Gemeinde-Archiv, Kappel).

and fled with his immediate family and government officials on the night of 13 May to Alsace. Under Brentano, a people's state committee took over the business of running the grand duchy calling for popular elections to revise the constitution of Baden. Meanwhile the grand duke had already appealed to Frederick William of Prussia for federation troops to restore his government in Baden.

After these chaotic developments, on 28 May 1849 the revolutionary state committee in Baden ordered the formation of a people's militia of 25,000 soldiers (*Volkswehr des oberrheinischen Kriegsbundes,* allied with the revolutionary army of the Bavarian Rhenish-Palatinate) to defend Baden against the imminent threat of invasion. Single males between the ages of eighteen and thirty were called to arms in defense of the fatherland, with firearms or, where these were lacking, with scythes.[13] Wendelin, now nearly twenty-one, became involved as did thousands of others in the ill-fated defense measures undertaken to repel the invasion by the military might of the German Confederation, largely Prussian regulars, in mid-June 1849—admittedly in response to the plea of their own Grand Duke Leopold.

Despite heroic attempts by such *Freischärler* and members of the regular army in Baden to stop the Prussians at the Neckar River near Heidelberg and at a temporary setback for the Prussians at Waghäusal on 21 June, the *Volkswehr* was enveloped by the Prussians—together with Confederation troops from Hesse and Mecklenburg numbering some 60,000—and was forced to beat a hasty, albeit organized and successful, retreat to the Murg River at Rastatt, leaving the capital of Karlsruhe to fall into Prussian hands on 23 June. Along the Murg several units held their ground bravely against the Prussians in fighting on 29 and 30 June, but were finally forced to fall back or seek refuge in the nearby fortress at Rastatt. Over the course of the next couple of weeks the Prussians swept through the remaining districts of Baden, compelling both the revolutionary government and its army to flee to the haven offered by the Swiss Confederation by mid-July. The resistance of over 5,000 troops who remained besieged in the fortress at Rastatt finally dissolved on 23 July 1849.

The Prussians ruthlessly executed several dozen of the revolutionary leaders at Rastatt and Freiburg over the next several weeks. Hundreds of others were imprisoned in the casemates of Rastatt fortress after being disarmed, including a number of the citizens of Kappel who were among the defenders of the fortress.[14] In August 1849 the entire village government of Kappel was dissolved by district authorities for its support of the insurrection.[15] Arrests and trials and prison terms or forced exile became the rule of the day for those who participated in the unsuccessful attempt to establish a German republic. Many were forced to pay fines in lieu of prison terms which had the effect of

impoverishing them and their families. The occupation of Baden by Prussian troops continued until 1851. Martial law in Baden was not lifted until 9 September 1852, nearly six months after the death of Grand Duke Leopold. Until 1862, when a general amnesty for those still imprisoned was issued, repercussions of the revolution were still felt in Baden.[16] A cradle song of that era popular in Baden is telling:

> Schlaf mein Kind, schlaf leis,
> Dadrauß da geht der Preuß.
> Deinen Vater hat er umgebracht,
> Deine Mutter hat er arm gemacht,
> Und wer nicht schläft in stiller Ruh',
> Dem drückt der Preuß die Augen zu.[17]

Can it be any wonder that in the course of the 1850s, nearly 80,000 citizens of Baden emigrated to the United States?[18] Some may have initially hoped to regroup and return and make a successful effort to establish democracy in Germany. However, sooner or later they realized that this would not happen—at least not in the near future. They then turned their efforts toward helping their newly adopted homeland in preserving national unity and rejecting the forces of slavery in a new struggle for human liberty. Many would give their allegiance to the newly established Republican Party. Many would soon find themselves in the service of another army fighting for freedom and democracy in the great American Civil War.

After the end of the Prussian occupation of Baden in 1851, Wendelin decided or was forced to join the many thousands in the great emigration of the 1850s. Landing in New York on 28 April 1852, with his brother Fredolin, he set out for the American Midwest, settling eventually in Fort Wayne, Indiana. By the mid-1850s he had established himself there as a bricklayer and whitewasher. He had married Margaretha Bodenschatz, also a recent immigrant from the German southwest and started a family. After a fire destroyed his home and business, he moved with his family to Jefferson City, Missouri, in the spring of 1857, together with his bachelor brother Fredolin.[19] In August 1859 the two brothers from Baden became naturalized citizens of the United States, renouncing all allegiance to the grand duke of Baden.[20] The 1860 Census enumerates both brothers in Jefferson City: Fred still a bachelor living in a boarding house for German immigrants—now the historic Lohman House—and Wendelin (spelled "Wonderly") living with his wife and three young children.[21]

The very next year found these two new Americans in one of the most critical locations for the initial period of the American Civil War. The Missouri

state government under newly elected Governor Claiborne Jackson in Jefferson City made no secret of its sympathy for the secessionist Southern states. However, rather than risking an open break with the federal government, Jackson issued a call for a state convention to decide the issue of Missouri's future relationship with the other states. The surprisingly pro-Union state convention met first in Jefferson City on 28 February 1861, but adjourned immediately to the Mercantile Library in St. Louis, because the atmosphere in the state capital was so hostile, i.e., pro-secessionist. On the same day as Lincoln's first inauguration, 4 March 1861, the convention adopted a resolution that Missouri should remain in the Union.[22]

The pro-Unionists in St. Louis, among them Congressman Francis P. Blair and Captain Nathaniel Lyon of the regular federal army decided to organize home guards to thwart any attempt by Governor Jackson to lead Missouri into the Southern camp. The volunteers were largely German immigrants drilling in Turner Halls such as the three battalions of the *Schwarzes Jägercorps*. After the outbreak of hostilities with the attack on Fort Sumter on 12 April, the situation in Missouri rapidly developed into a confrontation between Jackson and Lincoln. Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers to put down the rebellion, including four regiments from Missouri. Jackson instead called the state legislature into session to provide for Missouri's defense and to maintain her neutrality, characterizing Lincoln's call for troops as illegal, unconstitutional, revolutionary, inhuman and even diabolical. Jackson proclaimed: "Not a man will the state of Missouri furnish to carry out this unholy crusade."[23]

Blair and Lyon in St. Louis were able to form five regiments of volunteers by the beginning of May, largely drawn from the Turner home guards and, except for the 1st Regiment commanded by Blair, commanded by exiled forty-eighters, including Franz Sigel of Baden and the Austrian Heinrich Boernstein. Among the soldiers in the ranks were Friedrich Hecker and his son Arthur.[24]

Meanwhile the governor was organizing the Missouri State Guard which was to field a division in each of the nine congressional districts. But the governor sorely needed weapons and ammunition for his troops. In addition to the poorly stocked armory in Jefferson City, the pro-Southern state forces captured the federal arsenal in Liberty, Missouri, on 20 April. Lyon felt that the 60,000 weapons in the federal arsenal at St. Louis were endangered, especially after the State Guard established "Camp Jackson" on the western edge of St. Louis and openly received shipments of supplies from the Confederacy via steamboat from Louisiana. On 10 May, without the knowledge of his commander General William Harney, who was in Washington, DC, for consultations, Lyon took four of his "German" regiments to Camp Jackson and forced the State Guard to surrender. While removing the captives through St.

Louis to the arsenal, onlookers taunted the German troops. Shots were fired, and in the aftermath somewhere between twelve and thirty persons were killed, including several of the soldiers.

In response to this incident, panic broke out in the state capital of Jefferson City. The state legislature was in session the evening of 10 May when the report was shouted in the chamber that "Frank Blair, Captain Lyon and the Dutch have seized Camp Jackson." After midnight, bells were rung throughout Jefferson City: A report—erroneous as it turned out—had been received that Lyon with 2,000 troops was en route and intended to capture the governor, the legislature and all state officials.[25] On 12 May Sterling Price, a former governor and Mexican War hero, was named commander of the Missouri State Guard and Governor Jackson proclaimed "dictator" in order to put down rebellion and repel invasion.

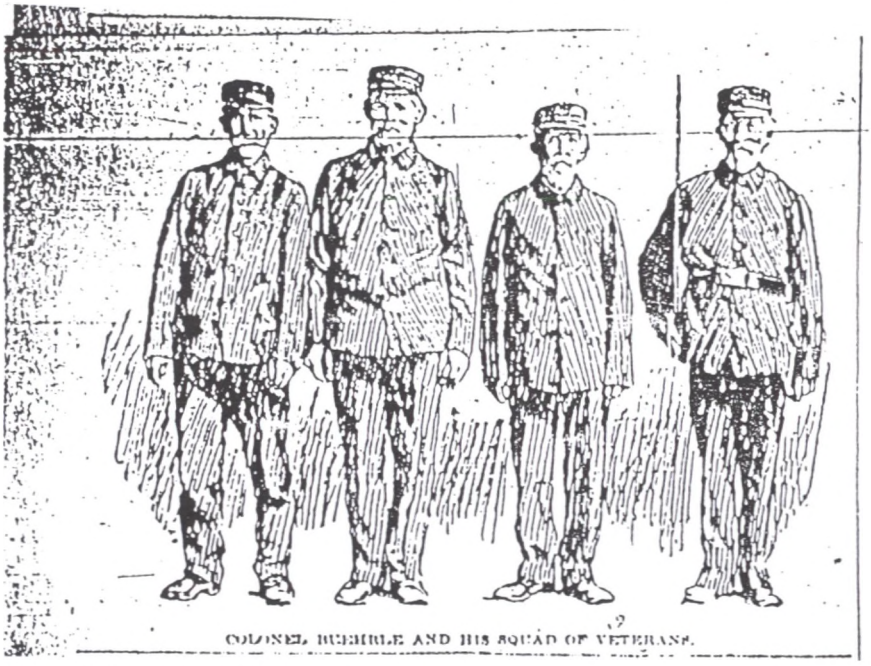
The tense atmosphere was calmed a bit when General Harney returned to St. Louis and attempted to reach a compromise with state officials. While condoning Lyon's action on 10 May, he recognized that the state of Missouri was responsible for maintaining order within its borders. He also issued a request to Lincoln's secretary of war, Simon Cameron, on 15 May "that an additional regiment, consisting exclusively of Irishmen, should be raised in St. Louis. It will at once settle matters in Saint Louis, and do away with the prejudice against the Government troops, which consist almost exclusively of Germans."[26] On 21 May, Harney met with Price in St. Louis and hammered out an agreement in an attempt to restore "peace and good order to the people of the state."

Behind the scenes, Blair had already conspired to have Harney replaced by Lyon. The orders relieving him of command were issued on 16 May, but Harney was not given them until 30 May.[27] Harney was thus forced to relinquish his command which he did on 31 May with Nathaniel Lyon immediately assuming command of the federal forces in the Department of the West. Jackson and Price then met with Lyon at the Planters House in St. Louis on 11 June to determine if Lyon intended to adhere to the Price-Harney agreement of 21 May. Lyon could not satisfy the state officials and broke off the meeting with the remark "This means war!" Price and Jackson returned to Jefferson City by train that evening, cutting telegraph lines and destroying the railroad bridges over the Gasconade and Osage rivers to prevent pursuit.[28]

The rumors in the capital city of 10 May became reality a month later. On 13 June General Nathaniel Lyon embarked by steamboat to capture the governor or run him and the state militia out of Missouri. Arriving in Jefferson City on the afternoon of 15 June with several largely German regiments from St. Louis, Lyon ordered Colonel Heinrich Boernstein to organize a Home Guard to protect the state capital and the communication and rail lines serving that

important city. Lyon proceeded on toward Boonville on 17 June where after a brief skirmish, the Missouri state forces under Jackson and Price began to withdraw toward the south, pursued by the Federals.[29]

When volunteers were mustered by Boernstein on 17 June 1861 for the Home Guard in Jefferson City, thirty-three-year-old Wendelin Buehrle was among them.[30] The Home Guard was on active duty for the next three months during which the security of the state capital was far from certain. In July the state convention met there and replaced the entire state government, naming Hamilton Gamble governor. The remainder of the original state government under Jackson meeting on the run at various locations throughout southern Missouri, eventually voted to secede and join the Confederacy in the fall of 1861. Meanwhile Union forces suffered two major defeats in western Missouri: the loss of a major battle at Wilson's Creek south of Springfield on 10 August, in which Lyon was killed and Franz Sigel accused of cowardice, and the surrender of Mulligan's Irish Brigade at the Battle of Lexington to Price's Southerners on 20 September. Despite a Confederate victory on the Missouri River at Lexington, threatening to cut Jefferson City off from Fort Leavenworth in Kansas, Price's overextended army was forced to withdraw to Arkansas in late September. Thus, the immediate threat to Jefferson City was removed.



The squad of cannoneers led by the Buehrle brothers, Fred extreme right and Wendelin second from right, at the capitol in Jefferson City on Lincoln's Birthday, 12 February 1903, as depicted in the *Kansas City Star*, 18 February 1903.

Fred Buehrle (on left) and Wendelin Buehrle in uniform with G.A.R. insignia, ca. 1890.

When Wendelin and the other soldiers of the Home Guard were discharged on 1 October, after Charles Frémont took over the reorganization of Union forces in the Western theatre, they had served their state and country well. The final report of the unit lists two killed in action, two died of wounds, two died of disease, and several missing in action. The important railroad line linking the capital to St. Louis in the east and to Tipton in the west had been kept open despite frequent skirmishes with Southern partisans. The Guards had also begun building fortifications necessary to protect the capital city from attack. Wendelin Buehrle and the Germans of the "Münchberg"—the German neighborhood in the southwest of Jefferson City—had done their duty for their adopted homeland.

Wendelin was also mustered into the 42d Enrolled Missouri Militia when it was organized in August 1862 to defend the state capital and surrounding counties.[31] Many of the same German immigrants living in Jefferson City who had served in the Home Guard are recorded for this unit as well, including the regimental surgeon and one-time mayor of Jefferson City, Dr. Bernhard Bruns. Wendelin served on active duty in this unit until November 1863 rising to the rank of sergeant prior to his discharge. The 42d had much the same responsibilities as had the Home Guard of 1861, keeping in mind that Southern sympathizers and partisans roamed central Missouri throughout the Civil War.

In the immediate postwar years, Wendelin and his brother Fred were concerned with putting the memories of the Civil War behind them and reestablishing their family lives. Missourians had fought with passion on both sides and it would take decades for those wounds to even begin to heal. By the 1880s, Union veterans of the war began forming units of the Grand Army of the Republic in Missouri. Fred Buehrle was a charter member of the James A. Garfield Post of the G.A.R. founded in Jefferson City in 1883.[32] Wendelin, too, joined the post as did a number of other Union veterans of German descent. By the 1890s the two Buehrle brothers had created a squad of cannoneers from these German veterans who over the next two decades became fixtures for all manner of patriotic occasions. They are best remembered for firing salutes using the brass cannon captured during the Mexican War and displayed on the capitol grounds at Jefferson City until the capitol was destroyed by fire in 1911. Whether it was Lincoln's birthday, the Fourth of July, or perhaps a Republican electoral victory, "Colonel" Fred and his brother Wendelin were on hand to fire the cannon. A recent feature in the Jefferson City *Senior Times* recounts how the two Buehrle brothers on the Fourth of July

> would don their elegant Union Army uniforms with their now shiny brass buttons and buckles, and with their medals jingling, ride their

> horse and buggy into town where they were joined by a squad of their fellow veterans. This group of veterans were the survivors of the company of dauntless men who protected Jefferson City after Governor Jackson fled the state, and they formed the honor guard for the day .... At sunrise, to mark the beginning of the festivities, these gentlemen were given the honor of firing off the old Mexican [War] cannon that sat on the grounds of the old Statehouse. Courage was needed for this task because it was a cantankerous old war relic that already had blown off the hand of one careless operator. The belching of that old cannon could be heard for miles around.[33]

The experience of participating in the American Civil War—on the winning side—offered thousands of German immigrants such as Wendelin and his brother nearly total acceptance as patriotic Americans. They had in effect "paid their dues" to their adopted homeland and could in the evening of their lives be seen as superpatriots and not as foreign immigrants. The German immigrants of their generation were spared the discrimination fostered by Know-Nothingism before the Civil War and the anti-German hysteria which would soon sweep the American nation with its entry into World War I in April 1917.

In the last third of the nineteenth century, Wendelin experienced several of life's personal tragedies. Several of his children died in infancy; his wife Margaretha died in 1872, perhaps in childbirth, at age forty-four. His oldest daughter, also named Margaretha died shortly after the birth of her fourth child in 1888, only seven years after her marriage to the son of a prosperous Swiss-German farmer in Jefferson City. Wendelin spent his remaining years in the household of his only son, knowing that the generations of his grandchildren and great-grandchildren would experience the benefits of truly assimilated and acculturated Americans.

Wendelin's service to his adopted country and in the German revolution of 1848-49 was memorialized in announcements of his death on 12 December 1914 in the German and English-language newspapers in Jefferson City. The local post of the Grand Army of the Republic provided an honor guard to accompany his body from the German Evangelical Church to his final resting place in the church's cemetery. This final gesture by his comrades in arms was a fitting tribute to a simple man from Baden who was willing to risk his life as a common soldier in struggles for liberty on both sides of the Atlantic.

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Acknowledgments

My appreciation for invaluable assistance in researching the life and times of my great-great-grandfather Wendelin Buehrle goes first of all to the Stadtarchiv Karlsruhe which assisted me in making direct contact with several descendants of the Buehrle family in Kappel. One of those descendants, Willi Bührle, generously donated his time and effort to obtain copies of documents from the Gemeinde-Archiv, Kappel, relating to the events of 1848-49 in that village. He was graciously assisted by the secretary in the city hall of Kappel, Leiselotte Salwetter. Much assistance, including photographs and newspaper accounts, was also provided by several great-grandchildren of Wendelin in Jefferson City, Missouri: William Buehrle, Elenor Vieth, William Stine, David Schneider, and Ruth Schneider Keel. Valuable insights were also offered by a descendant of Fredolin Buehrle, Herbert Simon, of Kansas City, Missouri. I would also like to acknowledge the assistance of the staffs at the Missouri State Archives in Jefferson City and in the newspaper collection of the State Historical Society of Missouri in Ellis Library, University of Missouri, Columbia.

Appendix

Obituaries for Wendelin Buehrle

1. *Jefferson City Daily Democrat-Tribune,* 12 December 1914: "Wendell Buehrle Dead."

Aged Resident Succumbs to Stroke of Paralysis at 10 O'Clock This Morning.
Was Born in Baden, Germany.
Has Been Almost Totally Blind for Some Years Survived by Two Children.

Wendell Buehrle, an aged resident of this city, died this morning at 10 o'clock at the home of his son, Fred Buehrle on Swift's Highway. The old man was very feeble, and had been almost totally blind for a number of years. He had a stroke of paralysis this morning, from which he never recovered. He was about 90 years of age. and is survived by two children, Fred, with whom he has been making his home for the past few years, and Mrs. Arthur [*sic*, Albert] Bassman, also of this city. His wife preceded him in death about 40 years, and since that time he has been making his home with his children.

Mr. Buehrle was born in Baden, Germany, and came to this country when a young man, 20 years of age. He settled in Fort Wayne, Ind., where he was engaged in the pottery business. He has been a resident of Jefferson City for more than 50 years and until his health failed him was engaged in stone masonry and plastering business.

He bore the distinction of having served through the Revolution in Germany under Gen. Franz Siegel, and many years later served under the same general in the Civil War in this country. He was repeatedly wounded during his service, but was still able to get about until yesterday. He will be buried by the Grand Army of the Republic post of this city in the National Cemetery.

Mr. Buehrle was well known and highly respected throughout Jefferson City and Cole county.

2. *The Daily Post* (Jefferson City, Missouri), 12 December 1914: "Wendell Buehrle Died This Morning."

Stroke of Paralysis Fatal to Veteran of Two Wars at 10 o'Clock Today.
Fought under Siegel Here and in Germany.
His Wife Preceded Him in Death 41 Years—Funeral Monday Afternoon.

Wendell Buehrle, veteran of two wars and one of the oldest residents of the county, died this morning at 10 o'clock from paralysis. He suffered a paralytic stroke at 4 o'clock this morning and never regained consciousness.

Mr. Buehrle has been in poor health for the past few years and was almost blind for a year previous to his death.

Mr. Buehrle was born in Kappel, Baden, Germany, 88 years ago. In 1857 he and his brother, Col. Fred Buehrle, came to this country together. Previous to coming here Mr. Buehrle served as a Freichaerler [*sic*, Freischärler] (volunteer) during the revolution in 1848 in Germany. Mr. Buehrle served under General Franz Siegel during that war and again served under him in the United States during the civil war. With him were M. Bosch, Henry Falk and C. Trotter. These men also served under General Siegel in Germany and later in the United States.

Buehrle joined company A home guards under Captain Peasner when the Civil war broke out.

His wife preceded him in death 41 years ago. Two children, Fred Buehrle of Swift's highway, and Mrs. Albert Bassmann, survive him.

Mr. Buehrle was known to practically everyone in Jefferson City. He was a stone mason by trade engaging in that work after the war.

The funeral will probably take place Monday afternoon from the Evangelical church. The G.A.R. will attend the funeral in a body.

3. *Missouri Volksfreund* (Jefferson City), 17 December 1914: "Alter Veteran zum letzten Appell gerufen."

Herr Wendelin Bührle, ein Veteran zweier Kriege, ist hier am Samstag Morgen um 10 Uhr im Alter von 88 Jahren an Altersgebrechlichkeiten gestorben. Schon seit mehreren Jahren war er bei schlechter Gesundheit und konnte zur Zeit seines Ablebens fast nicht mehr sehen.

Zu Kappel, Baden, Deutschland, geboren, kam er in Begleitung seines Bruders Col. Fred Bührle, in 1857 [*sic*, 1852] nach Amerika. Zuvor hatte er in Deutschland in 1848 als Freiwilliger im Kriege gedient und zwar unter General Franz Siegel. Während des Bürgerkrieges von 1860 bis 1864 [*sic*, 1861-63] diente er hier im Lande und zwar wiederum unter Franz Siegel. Dasselbe thaten auch die bereits gestorbenen Veteranen M. Bosch, Henry Falk und C. Trotter. Alle diese hatten in Deutschland unter Siegel gedient und hier im Bürgerkriege wiederum. Bührle trat den Home Guards unter Captain Peasner bei und diente bis zum Ende des Krieges. Er wurde mehrere Male verwundet.

Die Gattin ging dem Verstorbenen vor 41 Jahren voraus. Zwei Kinder, Fred Bührle an Swift's Highway, und Frau Albert Baßmann, überleben den Vater. Der Verstorbene war eine stadtbekannte Persönlichkeit und war ein Steinmaurer von Beruf.

Die Leiche wurde am Montag Nachmittag von der evang. Central-Kirche aus beerdigt. Die Mitglieder des G. A. R. Postens gaben dem verstorbenen Veteranen das letzte Ehrengeleite.

Die Leiche wurde im Friedhofe der evang. Central-Gemeinde zur letzten Ruhe gebettet. Die folgenden, alle Enkelsöhne des Verstorbenen, waren die Sargträger: Henry Schneider, Oscar Schneider, Henry Bührle, Fred Bührle, Arthur Baßmann und Wennie Baßmann.

Notes

[1] Tolzmann, Don Heinrich, ed., *The German-American Forty-Eighters: 1848-1998* (Indianapolis, IN: Max Kade German-American Center etc. [1998]), 94.

[2] The spelling of Wendelin Bührle's surname in the United States was more commonly Buehrle, as is the case for all of his descendants who continue that surname.

[3] It is not clear whether Buehrle actually served under Albert Sigel (1827-84), the younger brother of Franz Sigel, or under Franz Sigel, or both. Various newspaper accounts connect Buehrle to both Franz and Albert in both 1848-49 in Baden as well as in the Civil War in Missouri. Albert

commanded a regiment in the Union forces in Missouri and later served as adjutant general for the state of Missouri (briefly mentioned in Stephan D. Engle, *Yankee Dutchman: The Life of Franz Sigel* [Fayetteville: U of Arkansas P, 1993], 2, 247; see also Paul F. Guenther, "Albert Sigel: St. Louis German Poet," *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society* 36 [1980]: 156-61).

[4] Albert Köbele, *Dorfsippenbuch: Kappel am Rhein* (Grafenhausen: Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1955; rpt. 1991), 109, gives a date of birth of 5 July 1828. Family records use various dates in June 1828 for the birth date. The village record based on the parish register may be the baptismal record.

[5] Köbele, 106-9.

[6] Köbele, 109. The younger brother's name in Köbele is "Fridolin." In Missouri the name was spelled "Fredolin," and he became known simply as "Fred Buehrle."

[7] "Protokoll über die Erwählung der fünf Offiziere zur Bürgerwehr abgehalten am 9. April 1848," Gemeinde-Archiv Kappel, Kriegs- und Militärsachen 1848-1849, file 9, folder 508.

[8] Köbele, 54. See also Heinrich Raab, *Deutsche Revolutionäre in Baden 1848/49*, CD-ROM, prepared in conjunction with the exhibition "1848/49: Revolution der deutschen Demokraten in Baden," February to August 1998, Badisches, Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe, which mentions the existence of a *Volksverein* in Kappel as well as several Bührles from Kappel who were arrested by the authorities for revolutionary activities.

[9] Köbele, 54, although the date indicated is April 1849 rather than April 1848 when the skirmishes at Freiburg occurred in conjunction with the *Heckerzug*.

[10] See Raab, CD-ROM. A number of villagers from Kappel are charged with "treason" for participating in the Struve insurgency, including several Bührles related to Wendelin.

[11] "Die Zerstörung der Eisenbahn betr.," Bezirksamt Ettenheim an den Bürgermeister von Kappel, 4 Okt. 1848, Gemeinde-Archiv Kappel, Militärsachen 1848-1849, file 9, folder 508.

[12] Raab, CD-ROM.

[13] Sonja-Maria Bauer, *Die verfassungsgebende Versammlung in der badischen Revolution von 1849: Darstellung und Dokumentation*, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, vol. 94 (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1991). See speeches and documents relating to establishment of a revolutionary militia in Baden in May 1848, passim.

[14] Köbele, 54.

[15] Ibid.

[16] *Baden: Land—Staat—Volk: 1806-1871*, ed. Kurt Andermann et al., Schriftenreihe der Gesellschaft für kulturhistorische Dokumentation, vol. 3 (Karlsruhe: Verlag der Gesellschaft für kulturhistorische Dokumentation, 1980).

[17] Selig, Robert, "The German Revolution of 1848," *German Life* 4,5 (February/March 1998): 27, provides a translation of this "Badisches Wiegenlied" by Karl Ludwig Pfau.

[18] *Baden: Land—Staat—Volk: 1806-1871*. See also Golo Mann, *Deutsche Geschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt a. M., 1992), 248f.

[19] Ford, James E., *A History of Jefferson City, Missouri's State Capital, and of Cole County* (Jefferson City, MO: The New Day Press, 1938), 390.

[20] Naturalization Records for Cole County, Missouri State Archives, Jefferson City, Missouri.

[21] 1860 U.S. Census, microfilm record of the original enumeration for Jefferson Township, Cole County, Missouri for 1860, Missouri State Archives, Jefferson City, Missouri.

[22] Dino A. Brugione, *The Civil War in Missouri: As Seen from the Capital City* (Jefferson City, MO: Summers Publishing, 1987), 11-14.

[23] Brugione, 15.

[24] *Missouri bleibt in der Union* (Universität Oldenburg, 1998) [article on-line]; available from http://www.uni-oldenburg.de/nausa/1848/48s2.htm; Internet, accessed 2 April 1998.

[25] Brugione, 26.

[26] *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, ser. 1, vol. 3, *Operations in Missouri, Arkansas, Kansas, and Indian Territory, April-November 1861* (Washington DC: GPO, 1885; rpt. 1985), 373.

[27] Ibid, 381.

[28] Brugione, 30-32.

[29] Brugione, 34-36.

[30] "Civil War Service Records, Union Army," microfilm, Missouri State Archives, Jefferson City, Missouri.

[31] Ibid. For limited information on the service of the 42d Enrolled Missouri Militia, see also *Missouri Volunteer Forces in the Civil War with Federal Service (Union)* [article on-line] (Springfield, MO: Missouri Commandery, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the US, 1998); available at http://www.usmo.com/~momollus/MOVOLFED.HTM; Internet, accessed 15 January 1999.

[32] *History of Cole, Moniteau, Morgan, Benton, Miller, Maries and Osage Counties, Missouri* (Chicago: Goodspeed Publishing Co., 1889), 294-95.

[33] Phyllis Von Der Bruegge, "An Independence Day Salute to Our Ancestors," *Jefferson City Senior Times* 2,9 (July 1998): 11.

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Albrecht Classen

German Jesuits in Sonora as Contributors to the History of German Literature

After the Reformation in 1517 the Catholic Church was in dire need of responding to the Lutheran challenge, and the Counter Reformation, largely carried by the Jesuit Order (founded in 1540 by Ignatius of Loyola), successfully met this challenge. The Jesuits, however, did not limit their activities to Europe, and quickly discovered the unique opportunity to establish global missionary activities in the Far East, Africa, and in the New World. On 16 March 1540, Franciscus Xavier embarked on his journey to India, and soon he was followed by many other members of the new order who went to Brazil (1549), Florida (1556), and Peru (1557). The Jesuits founded a missionary province in Paraguay in 1609 under the leadership of Diego de Torres Bollo (1551-1638), and expanded their territory throughout South and then Central America in the following decades.[1] Jesuits arrived in Mexico as early as in 1572, and in 1591 they extended their efforts to Sinaloa at the northern border. In order to conquer the region beyond that point, the so-called Sonoran Desert,[2] for Christianity they sent a group of missionaries who, primarily under the leadership of Padre Eusebio Kino (1645-1711), soon were able to establish a vast network of missions. Many of these missionaries came from German speaking countries, some also from Bohemia, Croatia, present-day Poland, and a few from Italy. Kino himself was a descendent of an Italian family, but he received his entire education in present-day Austria and Germany.[3] Many of the missionaries left extensive accounts, either in the form of letters or as treatises. Some of them even composed entire encyclopedias and elaborate travelogues in Latin, Spanish, or German. Those texts which were directly addressed to the missionaries's superiors were exclusively written in Latin and Spanish, those which had a broader appeal and were supposed to serve as informative but also entertaining literature were written in German.

In 1767 all Jesuits were expelled from the New World, and their monastic organization was banned because the European powers and the church suspected them of wrongdoing and political maneuvers to gain political power, and illegitimate accumulation of wealth.[4] Nevertheless, during these almost two

hundred years the Jesuit missionaries in Northern Mexico can be credited for their enormous accomplishments in spiritual, intellectual, and also economic terms. Here, however, I will only focus on their writing and hence on their contribution to the history of German literature, more specifically, to German-American literature.[5]

The term "literature" in its traditional definition might be inappropriate when we discuss the missionaries' accounts because they do not, at least not intentionally, project fictional characters, events, or sceneries. Their narratives are concrete and detailed, often comparable to scientific reports, down to earth, realistic, and highly informative. Nevertheless, as recent advances in the theoretical orientation of German literary studies have illustrated, it would be a profound misconception to identify "literature" exclusively with fiction, and every fictional text with "literature." We might perhaps be able to draw a clearer distinction between both areas if we focus on modern literature, but narratology, poststructuralist theories, and even discussions about the fundamental principles of philology have forced us to incorporate the vast array of non-fictional narrative texts as part of the larger corpus of "literature."[6] In other words, the Jesuit reports belong to the history of German literature under the rubric of factual narrations.[7] This position is particularly well supported by medieval studies because medieval writers hardly ever cared for or knew about the strict separation between fictionality and factuality. Many chronicles, for example, contain legendary tales, entertaining narratives, biblical accounts, etc. At the same time many clearly "fictional" texts such as Arthurian romances and courtly love poetry contain a wealth of important factual information.[8] Perhaps the best examples for the complexity of the matter would be Marco Polo's *Il Milione* (1299) and John Mandeville's *Travels* (middle of the fourteenth century). Whereas the first text was often decried for its fictionality and "millions" of lies, although it is primarily based on personal observations and meticulous eye-witness accounts of the Eastern World which nevertheless seemed unbelievable to Polo's contemporary readers, the latter experienced a dramatic popularity throughout the Late Middle Ages far into the Early Modern World. When scrutinized closely, however, Mandeville's claim on truth does not find support, as most of the elements of his fanciful travelogue are purely fictional.[9]

Recent scholarship has therefore taken the bold step and decided to incorporate the vast array of non-fictional texts composed in the early-modern period in the domain of medieval and early-modern German literature.[10] In recent years Germanists have also acknowledged the fact that science and literature, historical and philosophical writings, the novel and the essay, the letter and the poem all belong to the same body of cultural documents, perhaps best summarized as narrative texts. With respect to the essay as a literary genre, John McCarthy points out: "the essayist's mode of expression is a hybrid of the literary and the didactic, of lively poetry and sober scholarly science. From that hybrid character arises its hermeneutic perplexity as a boundary work between the two realms of specificity and non-specificity."[11] Similarly, the vast body of

Jesuit travel accounts and reports also transgresses the boundaries between science and literature, between theological reflection and poetic impression.

The methodological approaches to a Jesuit travel account applied by a Germanist, however, would be different from those used by historians and theologians. The literary scholar examines the language, structure, imagery, topoi, themes, motifs, and other textual aspects, and is less concerned with the actual facts such as dates, names, numbers, etc.[12] Even a very scholarly document, such as an encyclopedic treatise, a geographical report, or a critical discussion of anthropological and biological elements invites a critical examination as a literary document. In this sense, the Jesuit travel accounts represent important, though heretofore hardly examined contributions to German Renaissance, Reformation, and Baroque literature.

Many of the Jesuit reports which were sent from all over the world to the European headquarters met with great interest and were carefully collected and even translated into the vernacular.[13] Joseph Stöcklein compiled one of the most important collections of travel accounts and missionary reports and also commented on the padres' observations, experiences, and accomplishments. His monumental anthology not only provides a wealth of information about the history of Jesuit missionary work, but also serves as a significant literary document representative of seventeenth and eighteenth-century German literature.[14] In his prologue he raises his voice to praise the missionaries' selfless efforts for the spiritual rescue of millions of non-Christians. In particular, Stöcklein points out that the true reward for their enormous efforts would await them in the afterlife, whereas here on this earth they suffered from persecution, mockery, imprisonment, torture, death penalties, and other pains and misery. In his admiration for the Jesuits' astonishing feats in the name of God, the author resorts to poetic language and creates literary images of how God would eventually reward them for all their struggle Their hunger from which they suffered here on earth would be compensated with heavenly fruit of the tree of life (1v); their thirst would be quenched with water from the river of eternal joy; their nakedness would be covered with the coat of divine glory; and the heat which torched their bodies would be cooled down with the heavenly dew, etc. (1v). The entire prologue is marked by a considerably poetic language which derives its source from religious inspiration and missionary ideals and zeal.

Stöcklein also explains the reasons for having translated the Jesuit letters from Latin, Spanish or French into German: "damit/gleichwie in andern Ländern/also auch in Teutschland euer Ruhm verkündet: euere Ehr wider gifftige Zungen und Federn hergestellet: annebst [*sic*] viel junge zu einer so wichtigen Sach taugliche Männer zur Bekehrung dern Heyden angefrischet" (2r of the "Vorrede. I. Absatz. Zuschrifft des Verfassers"; so that, like in other countries, your glory will be proclaimed in Germany as well, that your honor be reestablished and defended against evil tongues and pens; and that many young men, capable to convert heathens, will be inspired for such an important cause). Obviously, Stöcklein argues against the so-called "Black Legend"

denigrating the entire Jesuit Order (and the Spanish Kingdom as well), and also attempts to appeal to young men to join the Jesuit Order and become missionaries as well. Moreover, Stöcklein demonstrates his clear understanding that a travel account promises to be highly popular because the readers would be able to traverse the entire world without ever leaving their homes. Consequently he relies on his audience's strong sense of curiosity: "weil nemlich fast allen Menschen fremdes Brod besser zu schmäcken pfleget" (2r; because almost all people enjoy more the bread from others). In addition, he directly appeals to theologians, lawyers, medical doctors, philosophers, mathematicians, geographers, ethical teachers, and the entire range of craftsmen to consult the Jesuit accounts because they all would find fascinating, curious, unusual, exciting, and informative material to read in his collection:

> Die Ethici oder Sitten-Lehrer werden mehr als alle andere in Durchblätterung dieses Wercks die Sitten / Gebräuch / Tugenden und Laster: die Geschicht-Schreiber aber einen Hauffen merckwürdiger Geschichten: die Staats-Leute viel Zerrüttung gantzer Königreichen und Ländern: die Höflinge einen ewigen Glück-Wechsel: die Soldaten etliche sieghaffte Kriegs=List / Schlachten und Feld=Züg: Die Handwercks-Leut (als die Töpfer / Weber und andere mehr) etwelche Kunstgriffe ersehen / nach welcher Vorschrifft / diese letztere einen feinen Porcellan, schönen Musseline, die zarteste Leinwand und andere schätzbare Arbeit in unsern Ländern verfertigen können. (3r)
>
> (The teachers of ethics or morals will learn, more than all other [readers], while they flip through this volume, about customs, habits, virtues, and vices; the historians will find a pile of curious stories; the politicians will hear about the destruction of entire kingdoms and countries; the courtiers will be confronted with the eternal up and down swings of fortune; the soldiers will hear about many successful military strategies, battles, and warfare; craftsmen, such as potters, weavers, etc., will understand how to make fine porcelain, delicate cloth, the best canvas, and other valuable products in our own countries.)

Curiously, his German translations also served the purpose to convince the Christian theologians in Europe that the ancient teachings by the Indian "Brachmännern" (2v; Brahmans) not only offer delightful and entertaining reading material, but also provide insight in the significant interaction between theology and poetry: "folgends ihr Religion und Aberglauben in deroselben alten Liedern / Reimen und Gesängen haubtsächlich begriffen seye." Although Stöcklein clearly specifies that non-Christian religions are nothing but "Glaub / Wahn und Irrthum" (belief, phantom, and error), he nevertheless assumes that the study of their texts would be pleasurable and instructive. For the

geographer, on the other hand, the Jesuits' accounts provide the opportunity to learn more about the world, gain firsthand witness reports about previously unknown countries, correct the traditional maps, and gain reliable information: "unsere Priester hingegen die Sach/wie sie an sich selbst ist/uns aus eigener Erfahrnuß gleichsam mit dem Finger zuverläßig gezeigt haben" (3r; our priests, however, have reported about the situation as it is, based on their own experience).

Stöcklein's narrative strategy also concerns the public image of the Jesuit missionaries who have accepted extremely difficult and harsh living conditions abroad in order to serve God and to convert the heathens. The comparison with Indian "Brachmänner," however, causes problems because their asceticism might seem comparable if not superior to the Christian missionaries' efforts. Yet Stöcklein finds comfort in the ethnocentric and completely fictional claim that these non-Christian holy men "heimlich in der Schwelgerey/Unzucht /Knaben=Lieb und andern Lastern/wie die Säu in dem Sumpff sich herum weltzen. Ein Missionarius hingegen wandert in der Gegenwart GOttes: er befleißt sich auf alle Weise in der That und heimlich ohne Gleißnerey ein solcher zu seyn / für welchen er äusserlich angesehen wird" (3v; secretly wallow in debaucheries, adultery, pederasty, and other vices, like pigs in the mud. A missionary, on the other hand, lives in the presence of God, and he strives in every way to be honest both in his external behavior and in private, and to live up to the public values according to which he is judged).

Obviously, Stöcklein, explicitly struggled to create a public defense of the Jesuits and so he did not necessarily aim for an objective evaluation of the missionaries and their effectiveness. Instead he translated and collated many letters and reports to support the claim of the Jesuits' truly Christian mission and their outstanding success in converting heathens all over the world. However we have to qualify his account, and likewise the many reports of Jesuit missionaries in ideological, anthropological, and political terms, the few examples quoted above demonstrate that here we deal with an extraordinary author who successfully conveys his messages to his audience and thus builds strong arguments against the so-called "Black Legend" which targeted the Jesuits and in favor of the order at large. Stöcklein proves to be not only an outstanding writer in his own terms, he also reveals his extraordinary interest in geographical, anthropological, artistic, political, and theological matters. Moreover, he demonstrates a sharp mind as a linguist, being aware, for instance, that his South German readers might not be sufficiently familiar with the technical jargon for things pertaining to sailing ships and hence provides an extensive list of specific terms (6vf.).

According to Stöcklein's own statement he conceived of his task as that of a historian and collector who tries to preserve a large number of old documents relevant for the history of the Jesuit order: "So gern als ich übrigens bekenne / daß in diesem Werck etliche Brief zum Vorschein kommen / welche schon zimlich lang in dem Staub gelegen seynd / mithin den neu=gierigen Leser nicht

vergnügen wurden / wann nicht eben diese Schrifften bißher in keiner Sprach gedruckt / sondern von mir grösten Theils aus dernjenigen / so sie aus Indien nach Europam geschrieben haben / eigenhändigen Urkunden jetzt zum ersten mal wären an den Tag gebracht worden" ("Vorrede" or prologue of "Des Ersten Theils"; I also gladly admit that many letters included in this volume have finally surfaced which have been lost in dust and thus could not entertain the curious reader. These tracts have never before been printed anywhere. In large part I have brought them to light, using personal manuscripts which were sent from India to Europe).

The actual collection consists of an enormous treasure of original letters or letters translated into German by a large number of Jesuit authors. Undoubtedly, many of these letters transcend the limitations of their genre as the writers aspire to compose elaborate travel accounts with lively descriptions of their personal experiences and observations at their missionary sites. No. 48, for instance, is the report by Antonius Sepp from Japeyu in Paraguay (1692), and no. 52 consists of the report by Adam Kaller from Mexico (1688). No. 53 is the letter by Adam Gilg from Sonora (1692), whereas letter no. 54 was written in the French province in North America, composed by Gabriel Marest in 1700. In no. 56 Marcus Antonius Kappus provides another detailed description of Sonora (1699). With letter no. 58, written by Petrus Martin in 1699, the editor has moved to India. In the second volume, published in 1726, the global perspective gains even more weight, as Stöcklein includes letters from Ethiopia, the Tartar region, China, Mexico, then again India, and so on. Occasionally some maps are included, and at times also some illustrations of curious objects. The reader is invited to join the writer on a world-wide tour and to accompany Jesuit missionaries wherever they went and from wherever they reported back to Europe. Stöcklein is clearly interested in providing as much information as possible, and also in establishing a solid case for the Jesuits as praiseworthy, selfless, and inspiring missionaries.

From this particular perspective, the monumental collection of texts undoubtedly fulfilled its purpose as the translated letters prove to be vivid documents of the Jesuits' individual achievements at their missions all over the world. At the same time, however, both Stöcklein and the vast number of epistolary authors demonstrate their considerable skill as writers who succeed in outlining their experiences in a well-structured manner and in highly vivid terms. Obviously they were all well-educated in their Jesuit schools in Germany and elsewhere and had acquired a considerable degree of literary learnedness.

Adam Gilg, for instance, discusses in great detail, but without ever boring his readers, the geographical conditions of the Sonora province. Then, he drafts an overview of the life style and habits of the Seri Indians, subsequently examining the linguistic problems with which he is faced as a German speaker in the New World. He also incorporates historical and political aspects, and mentions, among many other things, that their visitator Johannes Salvatierra charged him and Padre Kino to build a ship and explore California Baja. Gilg

provides exact descriptions of the dresses worn by the Indians and their body decoration, their lack of shame, their craft and trade, and finally their responses to the Europeans in their behavior, attitudes, and actions.

Stöcklein's monumental collection incorporates the accounts from the missionaries in America, but his perspective is really global. For our purpose, however, the contributions of those Jesuits who worked in Sonora deserve particular attention. Although these missionaries primarily composed letters and treatises—traditionally not considered as literary material—among them we also encounter significant writers who published heavy tomes about their experiences and observations, modelled in the vein of a long tradition of apodemic or travel literature.[15]

Ignaz Pfefferkorn's *Beschreibung der Landschaft Sonora* printed in 1794 and 1795, translated into English in 1949 and into Spanish in 1984, finally reprinted as a facsimile in 1996, beautifully serves as a magnificent example. Although Pfefferkorn (1725-after 1795) intended, as both the title of his massive two volume "description" and the highly diverse content indicate, to provide his readers with an encyclopedic overview of Sonora, including its fauna and flora, its people and natural resources, the work includes many narrative sections which mark it also as a literary product. One example of many might be enough. Pfefferkorn refers to an experiment with butterflies and mentions how he succeeded to capture them alive. Their beauty dazzles him and makes him sing a poetic song of admiration:

> Der kunstreicheste Pensel [*sic*] kann die Pracht nicht erreichen, welche alsdann vor meinen Augen ausgebreitet lag. Ein Schmetterling zeigte an dem feinem und zarten Gewebe seiner Flügel die vortreflichste Purpurfarbe; ein anderer das niedlichste Violet. Dieser stellte sich in hell=gelber, jener in himmelblauer Kleidung dar.[16]
>
> (The most skilled artist's brush could not match the splendor which then lay spread before my eyes. The delicate texture of one butterfly's wings displayed the most exquisite purple color; another the most beautiful violet. This one appeared in light yellow; that one in sky-blue dress.[17])

Pfefferkorn here reveals his strong religious inspiration and reflects his love for God in a poetic, hymn-like literary outburst:

> Sie [the soul] fühlet alsdann gleichsam das unlaugbare Dasein des Schöpfers: sie erstaunet über seine unbegreiflichen Werke. Sie wird gedemüthigt vor seiner unermessenen Größe; und durch die süßesten Triebe ermuntert, dem Urheber der Natur das gebührende Opfer der Verehrung, des Lobes, und der Dankbarkeit darzubringen. (I, 383)

> (The soul feels the undeniable existence of the Creator; one is astonished at His incomprehensible work. One is humbled by His unmeasured grandeur, and one is animated by the most tender desires to bring to nature's Creator the fitting sacrifice of veneration, praise, and thankfulness. [143])

Pfefferkorn writes very much as a missionary, and specifically emphasizes his personal experiences in this role as priest, healer, counselor, scientist, geographer, farmer, anthropologist, etc.: "Ich selbst hab oft das Glück gehabt, dergleichen freudenvollen Fang zu thuen. Nie aber hat man die ganze Nation bereden können, ihr armseliges Land zu verlaßen" (11f.; I myself often had the good fortune to make such a joyful catch [of a new Christian]. But never was it possible to persuade the whole nation to leave its poor country", 30).

Otherwise, Pfefferkorn heavily relies on the scientific-encyclopedic approach and mostly utilizes a matter of fact style. Nevertheless, even then his account proves to be well written, fascinating, and highly informative.

Joseph Och (1725-73) was much more concerned with his own personal experiences and provides a biographical framework for his report. Although his account also strives to be precise in his account and to proffer concrete information about the country, its people, and the environment, he always injects a personal observation and narrates in the first person. Many passages in his text prove to be, as far as we can tell on the basis of the English translation, of a high literary quality because of his witticism, his sharp mind, and the eloquent descriptions of events which had occurred on his journey and during his time as missionary in Sonora. The following example might illustrate this phenomenon particularly well:

> One of the most pleasant days of my life was the ninth of May in the year 1754 when, after reiterated entreaties, I finally received permission from our General in Rome, Father Ignatius Visconti, to travel to the Indian mission. This joyous message was personally delivered to me in my chamber in Heidelberg by the Provincial . . . .[18]

Och obviously had a very good eye for culturally interesting details, for entertaining events, and significant aspects of his surrounding. Most important, though, proves to be his considerable skill in writing about these observations. One of these deserve, above all, to be paraphrased and analyzed at greater length. The journey with a tall ship to the New World clearly excited the missionary and left a deep impression on him. He combines personal observations with hearsay reports, and mentions, for instance, that "most officials ship to the Indies with only a penny in their pockets, but after a period of five years return as wealthy people with forty to fifty thousand pesos" (21). Once the ship had taken off from the port of Santa María near Cadiz, a highly amusing spectacle occurred which Och discusses with humor and surprise, undoubtedly aware that

this anecdote would increase the narrative quality of his report. As soon as the ship had left the port, a large crowd of poor people came rushing up in little barks and stormed the ship in order to get a free transport across the Atlantic. Although the captain angrily tried to chase them away, using a cudgel, all his efforts were to no avail. A few of them he could throw overboard, but they quickly climbed back and the rest were hidden by the sailors. Och admits that this human comedy made him laugh more than ever before and finally comments: "Truly, what mice are in a house, these fellows are on a ship." Whereas the regular travelers often had to suffer because of low water rations and food supplies, these beggars secretly took as they wished. And surprisingly, a few days later, "gradually one after another appears to help with the work so as to earn leftovers from the crew" (22).

Wherever we turn in Och's account, he always demonstrates a considerable literary ability to enrich the sober and factual missionary report with personal perspectives and opinions, with short anecdotes, and with individual comments. In other words, here we encounter a true travel author who created a first-rate literary autobiography based on his experiences in Sonora. But he also dealt with the expulsion of the Jesuit missionaries from America at great length, and added an extensive encyclopedic description of "America in General" (119). Here, in the introduction to the first chapter on the characteristics of the Indians, Och makes a statement about their mistreatment by the Spaniards which deserves to be quoted in full because of its remarkable open-minded, to some extent even tolerant attitude which places him right next to the famous Bishop de las Casas:[19]

> To the eternal shame of mankind, it was necessary to declare, and even through a peremptory papal decree to expound as an article of faith, that these people were our brethren and true human beings. The early Spaniards through their cruelty transgressed to such a degree that many thousands, yes, even millions of souls were inhumanly offered up to their avarice. (119)

This does not mean that Och would be free of the typical stereotypes which most of the white explorers and missionaries held regarding the Indian population. The Indians lack, as he believes, in upbringing and understanding, they are primitive and "incapable of having other, higher rational thoughts" (120). Nevertheless, Och greatly despises, like most of the German-speaking missionaries, primarily the Spaniards and harshly criticizes them for their cruel treatment of the native population. Whereas the latter are the objects of his missionary attempts, hence require from him to believe in their learning abilities, transforming them into good Christians and members of a Christian society, the Spaniards rank even lower for him and most other German-speaking missionaries because they came from Europe and were raised as Christians, yet display a morally worse and more sinful behavior than the Indians.

All these comments do not transform Och's account into a fictional travelogue, instead he constantly proves to be an alert observer, interested in many different aspects of daily life, theological issues, and scientific explorations. Nevertheless, the way how he reflects upon his experiences and how he summarizes his findings, unquestionably qualify him as a highly literate writer who attracts and maintains both his contemporary and twentieth-century readers' attention. Certainly, Och, like all the other Jesuit writers, intends to instruct and teach his audience, but the way in which he conveys his information demonstrates his outstanding mastery of the German language and assigns him the rank of a first-rate author of travel literature.

Johann Jakob Baegert (1717-72), who reached Mexico in 1750 and spent his seventeen years of missionary activity in California Baja, also left behind a fascinating report, both literary and factual at the same time, about the peninsula and the native population. More so than any of the other writers Baegert addresses specific literary issues relevant for the composition of his account, discarding older reports written by Spanish authors, ridiculing their clumsy and wordy style, and their "lengthy and dry narrations which do not interest anyone in England, France, or Germany . . . . Instead of pleasure and interest, they give boredom and drowsiness to the reader."[20] At the same time he reveals, in comparison with all other Jesuit authors, the most negative attitude towards the natives and the lands they live in: "Everything concerning California is of such little importance that it is hardly worth the trouble to take a pen and write about it. Of poor shrubs, useless thorn bushes and bare rocks, of piles of stone and sand without water or wood, of a handful of people who, besides their physical shape and ability to think, have nothing to distinguish them from animals, what shall or what can I report?" (5).

Nevertheless, perhaps this negativity and overly critical approach, typically Eurocentric arrogance, and glaring loathing for foreign cultures provided Baegert with the decisive impetus and energy to compose a highly literary eye-witness documentary about the fauna and flora, and also about the native population: "It seems as if the curse of the Lord, laid upon the earth after the fall of Adam, fell especially hard on California and had its effect" (33). He also expressed his strong disapproval of the way how the Indians raise their children and, at the same time, sharply attacks liberal European writers who idealize the alleged utopian values practiced by indigenous people: "May God further enlighten the Indians and preserve Europe, and especially Germany, from rearing children in the Indian manner, which in part corresponds to the plan outlined by that base-minded zealot J. J. Rousseau in his *Emile*, and also to the moral teachings of some modern philosophers belonging to the same fraternity of dogs" (76).

The reader is left with a bitter aftertaste at the end, almost with a sense of dislike of this writer because of his racist and Eurocentric attitude. Nevertheless, two points clearly speak in his favor, first, his astonishing ability to provide a crystal-clear picture of the world of California Baja in geographical, biological, and anthropological terms, and secondly, his impressive literary skills in

formulating his observations and experiences in the New World. He refutes those writers who heavily rely on secondary sources, tend to digress in their account, and excessively pad their report with unnecessary references to historical events, previous explorers and travel writers such as Marco Polo, and heavily rely on irrelevant comparisons with the social, legal, and geographical conditions in other parts of America (7). Baegert includes everything he has to say about his life as a missionary and what he learned throughout the many years abroad, and he leaves out what does not really pertain to his treatise. Obviously he was effective as a Jesuit missionary, because the Indians lamented and cried when he had to leave the country together with all other padres in 1767 (170). This account is consistent with those already delivered by Padre Kino (died 1711) and Ignaz Pfefferkorn (see above) who all observed that Jesuit missionaries were, as a rule, friendly welcomed and regarded as a great benefit to the Indians. Nevertheless, his report is that of a highly critical, almost contemptuous person who applies his outstanding literary abilities to describe in a very meticulous and sensitive manner small and large details, events and people.[21] Baegert is rightfully praised for his accomplishments both as missionary and writer, but we might not like what he has to say because he simply does not sound, worse than all his fellow missionaries and writers, politically correct.

Some of the missionaries seem to have adapted entirely to the use of Spanish and composed their treatises in that language. A famous example would be Juan Nentvig, or Johann Nentuig (1713-68), who wrote his *Descripción geográfica, natural, y curiosa de la provincia de Sonora por un amigo del servicio de Dios y del rey nuestro señor* (Description of the geography, nature, and curiosity of the province of Sonora by a friend in the service of God and our lord the king), or *Rudo Ensayo* (Crude Essay), in 1764.[22] Because of his choice of Spanish we cannot count Nentvig among those contributing to eighteenth-century German literature in the narrow sense of the word, but it is certain that he as well demonstrated outstanding skills as a writer, and this both with respect to the concrete information which he supplied, and with respect to the style and language which he employed to convey these information.

Many other authors could be mentioned here. Joseph Stöcklein's extensive collection of letters and reports, but also Bernd Hausberger's recently published bio-bibliography confirm that the missionaries were highly successful in translating their exceptional experiences in the New World into remarkable scientific and literary documents. Many text corpora are still waiting to be edited, such as the large correspondence by Johann Anton Balthasar and P. Philipp Segesser, both their works still preserved today in private family archives in Lucerne, Switzerland.[23] Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, following Stöcklein's footsteps, published many of the Jesuits' accounts, dictionaries, travelogues, and letters in 1804,[24] but recognized them only as "factual" documents of Jesuit missionary history. This claim cannot be disputed as all the Jesuit writings have critically contributed to the understanding of the history of Jesuit missionary activities in the Sonoran Desert. In this sense, to be sure, Och, Pfefferkorn,

Nentvig, Balthasar, and Segesser, and many others deserve our recognition as outstanding chroniclers and historians. Anthropologists and theologians have often profitably studied their statements and used their observations as witnesses of the early-modern history of Sonora.

The Jesuits' role as participants in the history of German literature has only recently been recognized, although only few of these texts have been subjected to a critical reading from a literary point of view.[25] The reasons are manifold, one being that Jesuit literature—whatever genre or from whatever time period—generally has never enjoyed the same level of recognition as other travelogues, religious texts, and secular literature. The other reason simply is that these texts have, by and large attracted only the interest of historians and anthropologists and have remained largely unknown to literary scholars. And finally, although some of the major texts by Kino, Pfefferkorn, Och, Nentvig, and others have been translated into English and/or Spanish, a vast portion of this literature still awaits its modern editors.

Certainly, not every scrap of manuscript or printed material from the Jesuit missionaries can be identified as literature, although all of these texts are of greatest historical interest to us. But a surprisingly large number of their extensive writings clearly demonstrate their literary skills in delivering attractive, fascinating, thought-provoking and highly readable accounts of the New World, Northern Mexico and Sonora. Their texts are lucidly written, well structured, at times very personal, at other times profoundly scientific and objective. A detailed stylistic analysis, for which there is no space in this article, would certainly confirm this preliminary observation. Of course, the ethnic stereotypes, individual prejudice, Eurocentric orientation, and other nowadays certainly reproachable aspects in the Jesuits' writing are undeniable, although they are quite typical for their time and should not influence our aesthetic evaluation. These documents need not be evaluated from a strictly anthropological point of view, although even in this respect they provide valuable information; instead they should be considered as texts in the first place, and as such require a literary-historical interpretation as well.

To conclude, many of the German-speaking missionaries prove to be excellent authors who bring to life the world of Sonora in a highly vivid manner and attractive literary style. Their letters, travel accounts, and lengthy treatises represent an important, though hitherto generally ignored contribution to the history of seventeenth and eighteenth-century German literature. As authors who spent many years in the Sonoran Desert, or, in a region which today is considered to be part of the U.S. state of Arizona and the Mexican state of Sonora they are of considerable interest to German-American studies and deserve to be studied in greater detail. Historians and anthropologists of the Southwest have long recognized the relevance of the Jesuit literature for their work; it is now up to the literary historian to follow suit and recognize the valuable contributions of these Jesuit authors to the literature of their time. The comparison of Stöcklein's introductory comments with those texts composed by

Padre Kino, Ignaz Pfefferkorn and Joseph Och, among others, indicates that they all succeeded, though in fairly different styles, to couch their observations and comments in intriguing travel accounts of a high literary caliber.

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Notes

[1] Andrea Falkner, "Jesuiten," *Kulurgeschichte der christlichen Orden in Einzeldarstellungen*, ed., Peter Dinzelbacher and James Lester Hogg, Kröners Taschenausgabe, 450 (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1997), 204-41, here 263f.

[2] The Sonoran Desert extends from the southern tip of California Baja to the northwest border of modern Arizona near Needles in the vicinity of the Colorado River. The northern border passes near Wickensburg (northwest of Phoenix) to Lake Roosevelt, and the eastern border runs east of the towns of Oracle and Tucson. Almost the entire Mexican province of Sonora, marking the southern and southeastern border, belongs to the Sonoran Desert. I have consulted a map located in the Library of the University of Arizona, Map Collection, G3302. S6 1980z, S6.

[3] Thomas J. Campbell, S.J. *Pioneer Priests of North America*, 3 vols. (New York: Fordham UP, 1921); Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Rim of Christendom: A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer*, Foreward by John L. Kessell (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1936; Tucson: U of Arizona P, 1984); Annamaria Kelly, *Kino alla conquista dell'America* (n.p.: Southwestern Mission Research Center, 1980).

[4] Charles Gibson, *The Black Legend: Anti-Spanish Attitudes in the Old World and the New*, Borzoni Books on Latin America (New York: Knopf, 1971).

[5] Bernd Hausberger, *Jesuiten aus Mitteleuropa im kolonialen Mexiko: Eine Bio-Bibliographie*, Studien zur Geschichte und Kulter der iberischen und iberoamerikanischen Länder, 2 (Vienna; Munich: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik-R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1995). For a critical evaluation, see my review in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 104, 3-4 (1994): 412-14.

[6] *The Future of the Middle Ages: Medieval Literature in the 1990s*, ed. William D. Paden (Gainesville; Tallahassee, et al.: UP of Florida, 1994); *Medievalism and the Modernist Temper*, ed. R. Howard Bloch and Stephen G. Nichols (Baltimore; London: The Johns Hopkins UP, 1996).

[7] Wendell V. Harris, *The Dictionary of Concepts in Literary Criticism and Theory*, Reference Sources for the Social Sciences and Humanities, 12 (New York; Westport, CT; London: Greenwood Press, 1992), 99-105 (fiction) and 258-66 (narratology).

[8] Fritz Peter Knapp, *Historie und Fiktion in der mittelalterlichen Gattungspoetik: Sieben Studien und ein Nachwort*, Beiträge zur älteren Literaturgeschichte (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1997).

[9] Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400-1600* (Ithaca; London: Cornell UP, 1988).

[10] Kurt Ruh, "Vorwort," *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, 2d ed. K. Ruh, et al. (Berlin; New York: de Gruyter, 1978), 1:vi.

[11] John A. McCarthy, *Crossing Boundaries: A Theory and History of Essay Writing in German, 1680-1815* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1989), 321. See also Steven D. Martinson, *Harmonious Tensions: The Writings of Friedrich Schiller* (Newark: U of Delaware P; London: Associated UPs, 1996).

[12] Wolfgang Neuber, *Fremde Welt im europäischen Horizont: Zur Topik der deutschen Amerika-Reiseberichte der Frühen Neuzeit*, Philologische Studien und Quellen, 121 (Berlin: Schmidt, 1991), 11-34.

[13] Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, *Nachrichten von verschiedenen Ländern des Spanischen Amerika aus eigenhändigen Aufsätzen einiger Missionare der Gesellschaft Jesu herausgegeben* (Halle: Johann Christian Hendel, 1809).

[14] For pragmatic purposes I will not copy the superscripts traditionally used in early-modern German prints to reflect the umlaut. Instead, I will resort to the modern umlaut. Joseph Stöcklein, *Allerhand So Lehr = als Geist = reiche Brief / Schrifften und Reis = Beschreibungen / Welche von denen Missionariis der Gesellschaft JEsu Aus Beyden Indien / und andern Über Meer gelegenen Ländern / Seit An. 1642 biß auf das Jahr 1726 in Europa angelangt seynd.* Jetzt zum erstenmal Theils aus Handschrifftlichen Urkunden / theils aus denen Französischen *Lettres Edifiantes* verteutscht und zusammen getragen (Augsburg; Graz: Philips / Martins / und Joh. Veith seel. Erben, 1726). I have used the copy in the Special Collection, University of Arizona, call number BV 2290 A 27. 1642. Oversize.

[15] W. Neuber, *Fremde Welt*. See also Christinae Hippler, *Die Reise nach Jerusalem: Untersuchungen zu den Quellen, zum Inhalt und zur literarischen Struktur der Pilgerberichte des Spätmittelalters*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, series I: Deutsche Sprache und Literatur, 968 (Frankfurt a. M.; New York: Lang, 1987).

[16] Ignaz Pfefferkorn, *Beschreibung der Landschaft Sonora samt andern merkwürdigen Nachrichten von den inneren Theilen Neu-Spaniens und Reise aus Amerika bis in Deutschland,* rpt. of the 1794 Cologne ed., ed. Ingo Schröder, Beiträge zur Forschungsgeschichte (Bonn: Holos, 1996), 1:382.

[17] Ignaz Pfefferkorn, *Sonora: A Description of the Province*, trans. and annotated by Theodore E. Treutlein (Tucson: U of Arizona P, 1989, rpt), 143.

[18] *Missionary in Sonora: The Travel Reports of Joseph Och, S.J. 1755-1767*, trans. and annotated by Theodore E. Treutlein (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1965), 1. Unfortunately, the original German text was not available to me. It was printed by Murr in 1808 in his *Nachrichten von verschiedenen Ländern*, 1:1-292; see B. Hausberger, *Jesuiten aus Mitteleuropa*, 265.

[19] José Rabasa, *Inventing America: Spanish Historiography and the Formation of Eurocentrism*, Oklahoma Project for Discourse and Theory (Norman; London: U of Oklahoma P, 1993), 164-79.

[20] Johann Jacob Baegert, *Observations in Lower California*, trans. from the original German with an introduction and notes, by M. M. Brandenburg and Carl L. Baumann (Berkeley; Los Angeles: U of California P, 1952; rpt. 1979); originally printed in Mannheim, Germany, under the title *Nachrichten von der Amerikanischen Halbinsel Californien: mit einem zweyfachen Anhang falscher Nachrichten. Geschrieben von einem Priester der Gesellschaft Jesu, welcher lang darinn diese letztere Jahr gelebt hat* (Mannheim: Churfurstl. Hof- und Academie-Buchdruckerei, 1771, 2d ed. 1771). Unfortunately, I had no access to the original.

[21] Hausberger, 104: "Dieses Werk wie auch seine Briefe weisen ihn als einen sehr realistischen und kritischen, ja überkritischen Beobachter aus, der an allem etwas zu nörgeln hatte." (This work, and so his letters, characterize him as a very realistic and critical, even overcritical observer who grumbled over everything.)

[22] Juan Nentvig, S.J., *Rudo Ensayo: A Description of Sonora and Arizona in 1764*, trans., clarified, and annotated by Alberto Francisco Pradeau and Robert R. Rasmussen (Tucson: U of Arizona P, 1980).

[23] Hausberger, 16.

[24] Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, *Conspectus Bibliothecae glotticae universalis propediem edendae operis quinquaginta annorum* (Nürnberg: Monath und Kusseriano, 1804). A copy of this work is available on microfilm at the Library of the University of Cincinnati, Microfilm 167, frame no. 1079.

[25] See, for example, my study "Padre Eusebio Kino—ein österreichisch-italienischer Missionar aus Tirol in Sonora / Mexiko und Arizona," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 105, 3-4 (1997): 441-66; and "Baroque Jesuit Literature: The German-American Connection: With Special Emphasis on German Jesuits as Observers and Commentators of Southwest Indian Culture in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Attempts of Intercultural Communication," *Studien zur Literatur des 17. Jahrhunderts: Gedenkschrift für Gerhard Spellerberg* (1937-1996), ed. Hans Feger, Chloe, 27 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1997), 345-*Studies* 32 (1997): 21-45.

Hermann Kurthen

Gone with the Wind?: German Language Retention in North Carolina and the United States in Comparative Perspective

German-speaking immigration and the German language in the United States[1]

According to the 1990 United States Census descendants of German-speaking immigrants represent the largest ancestral immigrant group in the United States. But not much of this fact is reflected in the retention of German language, ethnic institutions, and culture.[2] Once a first ranking foreign language in the United States spoken by an estimated nine million of Americans in 1910, both World Wars and anti-German hostility are blamed for the loss of German. The steep decline of the German language in comparison to their former representation in the United States has provoked among researchers gloomy comments. Eichhoff, for example, stated pessimistically that, except for a few loan words and names—often negatively loaded because of Germany's ever-present Nazi past in the American public and media—not much has remained of an ethno-lingual German tradition in the United States (Eichhoff 1985, 238). Although Eichhoff's view may exaggerate the degree of language and ethnic identity loss (as Fishman 1985 and Ammon 1994 have pointed out), there is little disagreement among researchers that the decline of German language use in the context of both World Wars represents one of "the largest assimilation process(es) that ever occurred in a single speech community, in a single nation, in one country" (Huffines 1985, citing Kloss 1980).

In contrast to popular opinions, I argue that the disappearance of the German language in America was not merely the result of anti-German and nativist "Americanization" policies (ranging from public ostracism to internment and deportation of German-speaking "enemy aliens" during and after World War I), nor was it primarily the German elements moral isolation, psychological

defeat, and retreat into passivity and silence before and during World War II, as for example Hakuta (1986, 167f.) claims. I will argue that from a comparative perspective the fate of German language use in the United States is not so different from that of most other European immigrant languages. Even without the undeniable accelerating negative impact of both World Wars on the German-American community and its institutions, German language loss would have occurred given long term trends of voluntary assimilation, the decline of German-American institutions, and reduced immigration from German-speaking countries, trends that had already begun in the late nineteenth century.

I will in the following discuss general factors and developments of language maintenance and retention struggles on a national level and then look at similar processes in North Carolina on regional and local "micro" levels. I also will explore some of the conditions of German language maintenance in comparison with other non-English immigrant languages, such as Spanish, French, Italian, Polish, and Dutch.

The three hundred-year history of immigration,[3] cultural maturation, and language maintenance of more than nine million German-speaking immigrants to the United States from Germany, Austria, Switzerland and certain areas in France, Central Europe, Poland, Romania, Russia, and other countries is a most fascinating subject, not least because German-speaking immigrants were a comparatively heterogeneous religious, cultural, social, intellectual, and linguistic cross-section of people that shaped in many ways American society.[4] In some regions immigrants from German-speaking countries and their offspring of many generations still represent a relative majority of the population. The current distribution patterns of German-Americans and their descendants in the North and Midwest were visible by the mid nineteenth century. For example, in 1860 most German-speaking immigrants had settled in the Middle Atlantic States (where 39 percent of the population was German-born), East North Central States (25 percent German-born), Pacific States (13 percent German-born), West North Central States (7 percent German-born), and South Atlantic States (6 percent German-born). According to the 1890 Census, Americans claiming German ancestry represented the largest group in seventeen states along the northern border of the continental United States and Alaska (Eichhoff 1985, 224f.; Conzen 1980, 412). However, following the literature, large numbers of German language speakers in some areas were never sufficient to replace English as the dominant language (contrary to the Mühlenberg legend), nor were German-speaking Americans able to maintain their distinctive ethnic features in the long run against prevailing assimilation pressures. In fact, various attempts to institutionalize German as a second official language in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries failed because of the difficulties achieving bilingualism at the

local level, not to mention attempts at the state or national level (Eichhoff 1985, 225ff.; Adams 1993, 26). Studies also confirm that in relation to its number, the German-speaking element in the United States has maintained only very weak institutions, common bonds, pressure groups, and an almost non-existent cultural and language identity. Some of this may be explained by the above mentioned diversity of country of origin, cultural and social background, religion, and area of settlement, which from the beginning of German-speaking immigration was reflected in many varieties of spoken and written German found in the United States, consisting of many Anglicized, Northern and Southern German dialects, and even regional American-German idioms like Pennsylvania "Dutch" (Eichhoff 1985, 230ff.). Diversity was so great, that in some areas English actually acquired the status of a "lingua tertia" to bridge otherwise impaired communication among speakers of German language dialects (1985, 234).

In addition to a lack of unifying identity, diversity of origins, and ingrained internal discord between, e.g., "Club Germans" versus "Church Germans," or Catholics versus Protestants and Liberals (see Rippley 1976, 22; Kloss 1978, 223ff.), other "internal"[5] and "external"[6] factors contributed to the fast assimilation of immigrants from German-speaking countries already before both World Wars.

According to historians the American Civil War became a watershed in the German-Americans integration into United States society. The German-speaking immigrants mostly pro-Union patriotic surge encouraged the acquisition of United States citizenship and disproved widespread nativist anti-German resentment (anti-Catholic "Know-Nothing" movement) in the early and mid-nineteenth century. By 1875 acculturation and assimilation of about six million German-speaking immigrants into the American mainstream culture was progressing faster as ever before, although continuing immigration from German-speaking areas fed thriving ethnic institutions (schools, press, clubs, etc., see Table 1) at the same time. But language retention was made more difficult by increasingly rigid school legislation after 1880 that gave predominance to the English language and rejected notions of cultural autonomy in education, to the point of revoking language privileges given since 1777 to denominational schools and immigrant communities.[7] The predominance of interaction in English in secondary schools and institutions of higher education, combined with assimilation of the of upper-class German-American elite in business, law, politics, and mass culture removed at first slowly, and then at an accelerated pace, the basis for a continuous use of German language and dialects. The lack of bilingual education in schools corresponded among the second and third generation of immigrant children a decreasing use of German as the main

language among family members and in the religious and social spheres (church services, newspapers, clubs, unions, cultural institutions, and associations). In addition, the number of intermarriages between German-speaking immigrants and English, Irish, and other immigrant groups increased (Eichhoff 1985, 228).

Industrialization and urbanization (followed by more individualist, secularized, and suburban lifestyles), increased geographical and social mobility, and the spread of a consumption-oriented mass culture further decreased rural isolation and ethno-cultural segregation of immigrant groups which originally had supported the immigrants's language retention. These processes not only eroded communal life, cultural institutions, ethnic bonds, traditional values, and customs but also weakened the importance of religious affiliations for the retention of non-English languages in everyday life. The use of German or its dialects became more and more a sign of inferiority, rural backwardness, and self-isolation (Huffines 1985, 243, Eichhoff 1985, 238).

In other words, the use of German in public was already in decline before World War I, influenced by the dissolution of conditions of rural isolation and social segregation (with the exception of territorially segregated religious sects such as the Old Order Amish, Hutterites, Mennonites and others). In addition, the lack of official support for school education in German and the functional loss of German in everyday life, where it was not any more required for the sustenance of business contacts or as an entrance into an occupational career, weakened the languages retention among the German-speakers. As Huffines (1985) observes, the immigrant community approaches

> a threshold of contact with the dominant society beyond which it becomes impossible to retain the ethnic language. The school systems do not support the mother tongue of children who are raised speaking German [at home]; churches must meet the religious needs of younger generations who can no longer follow the teachings in German; secular clubs are irrelevant to German-Americans who comfortably interact with the dominant society and have come to accept its values. . . . Without the institutional support . . . increased interaction with the dominant society is accompanied by a language shift to English. (Huffines 1985, 249)

These trends of assimilation were further accelerated (but not caused) by anti-German legislation, propaganda, and hysteria after America's declaration of war against the German Empire in 1917, since these events severed in particularly the ties between second, third, and fourth generation descendants of German-speaking immigrants and institutions of German-American public life. In fact,

neither the immigrants's ethnocultural institutions nor the German language recovered significantly in the 1920s and 1930s, although Anglo-Saxon chauvinism, nativism, and anti-German sentiments abated. It was now the increasing "melting" pressure of "Americanization" that prevented a resurgence of non-English communities, institutions, and languages in general. The only difference between the German-speaking community and other groups was that the period of decline and neglect of the German language respective to ethnicity and its retention in America was to receive another accelerating blow. The rise of Nazism and America's involvement in its defeat created a second strong wave of anti-German resentment that led to an almost total extinction of ethnic institutions, cultural, and language bonds that seemed to have survived during the inter-war years. In addition to low public prestige of openly displayed sympathy with Germany and the German language, declining numbers of new immigrants from German-speaking countries with a strong motivation to retain their language and culture in America weakened ethnic institutions and language retention further.

In the post-World War II years non-English language survival seemed to increase its chances. "Melting pot" policies and "America-centrism" became less prominent in public discourse. However, the almost uncontested advance of American values and civilization on the one hand and pseudo-scientific arguments brought forward by educational psychologists on the other hand gave bilingualism a bad name and effectively suppressed retention and acquisition of non-English languages until the mid-1970s, as Census statistics indicate. That trend was only halted by ethnic revival movements that started in the mid-1960s. Debates about minority rights, multiculturalism, diversity, and pluralism increased the number of those who claimed the use of non-English mother tongues and those who identified more strongly with their ancestry, including persons with German-American heritage.

But the abstract notion of identification with ancestry, ethnic symbols, or cultural habits as such does not necessarily affect language acquisition or even retention, unless combined with other factors such as new immigration and the rebuilding of ethnocultural institutions that foster the use of a foreign language in "primary" (family, neighborhood) and "secondary" (community, schools, churches, clubs, media) groups. In that respect only Spanish can be considered an effectively retained immigrant language in the United States today.

In the case of the newly discovered identification of Americans with their real or assumed German ancestry, the lack of huge waves of most recent immigrants from German-speaking countries and the rather declining institutional basis of German-Americans support Fishman's statement that their new ancestral identification "cannot be explained on either natural demographic

Table 1. Historical Overview of Immigration, Assimilation, and Language Retention of German-Americans.

	Colonial Period 1683-1776	Post-colonial period 1777-1819	Industrialization 1820-1919	Between WW I and II 1920-1949	Post WW II 1950-1994
Strength of immigraton (Germans in % of all immigrants)	medium (0.2 million, about 10%)	medium (0.5 million, about 10%)	high (5,946,000 or 16.5%)	medium (0.623 million or 10.7%)	low (1,018,000 or 4.2%)
Main destinations	Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey	Northeast, Midwest	big cities, Midwest, South, and West	scattered in mostly urban areas	scattered in mostly urban areas
Spatial concentration and location	high (rural)	high (rural)	high to medium (rural-urban)	medium to low (urban)	low (urban)
Immigrant type	farmers and craftsmen from Southwest Germany in search of religious freedom	farmers, craftsmen, cottage industry workers, and mercenaries from West and Northwest Germany	farmers, farm hands, day laborers, industrial workers, and intellectuals from South, West, and Eastern Germany	blue and white collar workers, academically educated immigrants	GI-spouses, business people, educated and skilled persons
Ethnic institutions	communities, churches	communities, churches, schools	communities, churches, schools, press, clubs, unions, cultural institutions and associations	press, clubs, associations, radio broadcast	few press, TV, and radio broadcast
Assimilation pressures and opportunities (see text)	low	low	medium to high	very high	high
Ethno-national identity/ language prestige (see text)	low	low	medium to high	high to medium	medium to low
Degree of language retention (see text and Table 2)	high	medium to high	high to medium	medium to low	low

or immigration grounds. It is almost entirely attributable to a redefinition of self-concept on the part of many who had previously denied the German mother tongue" (1985, 254).[8] In other words, the revival of ethnic awareness or ancestral identification did not effectively change or contradict the ongoing assimilation of German-Americans and the decline of language use over generations. However, this could be observed among almost all non-English European immigrants and language groups and thus was not unique to German. In the 1970 Census 17 percent of all Americans (33 million persons) reported a language other than English as the language spoken at home when the respondent was a child. A general decline of non-English language use in subsequent generations could be observed too. According to the United States Bureau of the Census (1973) and community studies (see Hayden 1978), 82 percent of all "first generation" immigrants reported the use of a non-English mother-tongue. However, that figure dropped to 59 percent in the next (second) generation of immigrant descendants, and only 7 percent of the third and later generations of immigrants reported a continuing non-English language use.

In the case of German-speaking Americans the gap between ancestral identification and continuing language loss is particularly striking. While almost 58 million adult Americans claimed in the 1990 Census some degree of German ancestry, only 1.5 million respondents reported the use of German as a mother tongue.[9] If one considers the almost 1.9 million immigrants from German-speaking areas between 1921 and 1990 (excluding their American-born children, probably many growing up in a bilingual environment), the separation of ethnic identification from language use becomes obvious. The figures even indicate a language loss among German-born. Again, the phenomenon of foreign-born immigrants giving up their mother-tongue is not limited to German speakers but can be observed among other groups (such as Dutch-born immigrants), confirming Hayden's (1978) findings about language assimilation. Continuously shrinking numbers of non-English European language speakers point into the same direction for Polish, Italian, and French.

If one compares immigration, institutionalization, and language retention indicators over the last decades (Table 2), the relationship among these factors become evident. In the case of German only a few religious groups (Pennsylvania "Dutch," Mennonites, Amish) were able to keep their German dialects because of their isolation and continuing dependency on separate schools, churches, and local institutions (Fishman 1985, 263). Poles and Italians had thriving ethnic, cultural, and religious institutions, communities, interest groups, and bonds in relation to their ancestral group size until the 1980s. Since then their ethnic ties and representation in media (press, television, and radio) are weakening and student enrollment in foreign language classes and nonpublic

Table 2. Non-English Language Retention and Corresponding Ethno-Lingual Institutions in the United States

	German	Spanish/ Mexican/ Puerto Rican	French	Italian	Polish	Dutch	*N/All*
Legal immigrants 1901-1920 (% of all 6 language groups)	1,665,314 (21.9%)	390,543 (5.1%)	515,657 (6.8%)	3,155,401 (41.4%)	1,800,000 (23.6%)	91,980 (1.2%)	*7,618,895 (100%)*
Legal immigrants 1921-1940 (% of all 6 language groups)	597,879 (25.1%)	564,983 (23.7%)	417,129 (17.5%)	523,343 (22%)	244,760 (10.3%)	34,098 (1.4%)	*2,382,192 (100%)*
Legal immigrants 1941-1960 (% of all 6 language groups)	822,531 (39.5%)	622,806 (29.9%)	311,047 (14.9%)	243,152 (11.7%)	17,529 (0.8%)	67,137 (3.2%)	*2,084,202 (100%)*
Legal immigrants 1961-1980 (% of all 6 language groups)	321,997 (8.9%)	2,444,676 (67.9%)	360,661 (10%)	343,479 (9.5%)	90,773 (2.5%)	41,098 (1.1%)	*3,602,684 (100%)*
Legal immigrants 1981-1990 (% of all 6 language groups	91,961 (3%)	2,747,468 (90.5%)	32,353 (1.1%)	67,254 (2.2%)	83,252 (2.7%)	12,238 (0.4%)	*3,034,526 (100%)*
Census ancestry in 1990 in million (% of all ancestral groups)	57,947 (23%)	13,611 (5.5%)	12,488 (5.0%)	14,665 (5.9%)	9,366 (3.8%)	6,227 (2.5%)	*248,710 (100%)*
Immigrants admitted 1921-1990 in million (% of all immigrants)	1,843 (7.1%)	8,009 (30.8%)	1,121 (4.3%)	1,177 (4.5%)	436 (1.7%)	155 (0.6%)	*25,992 (100%)*
Speaking a non-English language at home (age 5+) in 1990 in million (% of all non-English speakers)	1,547 (4.9%)	17,339 (54.5%)	1,703 (5.4%)	1,309 (4.1%)	723 (2.3%)	143 (0.5%)	*31,800 (100%)*
Speaking a non-English language at home (age 5+) in % of Census ancestry 1990	2.7%	127.4%	13.6%	8.9%	7.7%	2.3%	*12.8%*

Speaking non-English language at home (age 5+) 1990 in % of immigrants admitted between 1921-1990	83.9%	216.5%	151.9%	111.2%	165.8%	92.3%	*122.3%*
Absolute change of non-English language speakers at home (age 5+) adjusted for immigrants admitted between 1980 and 1990 (% of change 1980-90)	-178,542 (-11.2%)	3,042,532 (+26.3%)	-61,798 (-3.9%)	-391,254 (-24%)	132,252 (-16%)	-15,238 (-10.4%)	*2,540,956 (11%)*
Places of worship in non-English language in 1979	1.9% (Penn. Germans 12.7%)	18.6%	1.3%	2.0%	3.4%	N/A	*13,409*
Ethnic mother tongue schools in 1979	2.8% (Hutterites Penn. German 10%)	11.3%	1.8%	1.2%	2.0%	0.02%	*6,445*
Non-English press in 1880*	80.5%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	*770*
Non-English press in 1910**	53.1%	3.4%	2.7%	5.8%	4.8%	3.5%	*1,043*
Non-English press in 1930**	19.8%	8.3%	3.8%	11.5%	11.4%	2.7%	*737*
Non-English press in 1960*	9.2%	15.5%	4.0%	6.6%	5.8%	0.8%	*698*
Non-English publications in 1979	5.0%	16.9%	2.0%	4.4%	6.3%	0.5%	*953*

Non-English language radio instruction in 1960*	16.7%	21.4%	45.2%	9.5%	4.8%	N/A	*42*
Non-English broadcasts in 1970*	10.9%	30.7%	8.4%	11.4%	15.2%	0.1%	*761*
Radio broadcasts in non-English languages in 1980	7.7%	37.6%	5.1%	6.9%	10.4%	0.5%	*2,247I*
Non-English language class attendance in private elementary schools in 1886	280,000	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	*N/A*
Non-English language class attendance in private elementary schools in 1990	350,000	N/A	80,000	N/A	70,000	10,000	*600,000*
Non-English language class attendance in nonpublic elementary schools in 1935	20,000	N/A	100,000	23,000	300,000	N/A	*550,000*
Non-English language class attendance in nonpublic elementary schools in 1960	5,000	30,200	127,000	4,000	10,600	N/A	*250,000*
Foreign language enrollment Gr. 9-12 in public secondary schools, Fall 1948 (% of all students)	43,000 (0.8%)	443,000 (7.9%)	254,000 (4.5%)	N/A	N/A	N/A	*741,000 (13.2%)*
Foreign language enrollment Gr. 9-12 in public secondary schools, Fall 1960 (% of all Students)	151,000 (1.8%)	933,000 (10.9%)	744,00 (8.7%)	20,000 (0.2%)	N/A	N/A	*1,867,000 (21.7%)*
Foreign language enrollment Gr. 9-12 in public secondary schools, Fall 1970 (% of all students)	411,000 (3.1%)	1,811,000 (13.6%)	1,231,000 (9.2%)	27,000 (0.2%)	N/A	N/A	*3,514,000 (26.4%)*

Foreign language enrollment Gr. 9-12 in public secondary schools, Fall 1990 (% of all students)	295,000 (2.6%)	**2,611,000 (23%)**	**1,089,000 (9.6%)**	40,000 (0.4%)	N/A	N/A	*4,093,000 (36.1%)*
Non-English class attendance Gr. 7-12, 1990	333,213	N/A	1,292,778	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Foreign language student enrollment in two- and four-year colleges in Fall 1960	146,000	**179,000**	**229,000**	N/A	N/A	N/A	*N/A*
Foreign language student enrollment in two- and four-year colleges in Fall 1970	202,000	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	*N/A*
Foreign language student enrollment in two- and four-year colleges in Fall 1980	126,725 (13.7%)	**379,250 (41%)**	**248,825 (26.9%)**	35,150 (3.8%)	N/A	N/A	*925,000*
Foreign language student enrollment in two- and four-year colleges in Fall 1990	133,348 (11.3%)	**533,984 (45.1%)**	**272,472 (23%)**	49,728 (4.2%)	N/A	N/A	*1,184,000*
Foreign language student enrollment in two- and four-year colleges in Fall 1995	96,263 (8.5%)	**606,286 (53.3%)**	**205,351 (18%)**	43,760 (3.8%)	N/A	N/A	*1,138,772 (8% of all students)*

Bold figures=areas in which a group is relatively over-represented in relation to its ancestral representation or the average. Sources: *1996 Statistical Yearbook of Immigration and Naturalization Service* (1996:26, own calculations), Fishman (1985, 258f). Data with * from Kloss (1977) and ** from Fishman (1978). Enrollment in foreign language courses compared with enrollment in grades 9 to 12 of public secondary schools, see *U.S. Department of Education* (1995, Table 56, p. 69). College enrollment in 2,399 institutions, see MLA survey, *Chronicle of Higher Education*, October 7, 1996.

ethnic mother tongue schools are stagnant or decreasing, as my data indicate. In the case of the heterogeneous group of Spanish speakers (including 2.7 million Puerto Ricans, who officially are not counted as immigrants), language retention and even expansion benefits from continuous immigration from Spanish speaking countries, and the popularity of the language, which is reflected in increasing enrollments in public secondary schools and colleges. Spanish (and to some extent French and even German) also benefit from provisions that guarantee the representation of foreign language education in schools, higher education, and the media.[10]

All of these factors together can, in the best case, prevent rapid language decline or may even allow language retention on a high level. Continuous new immigration is probably the most important factor shaping the "vitality" and survival rate of an immigrant language group. If new immigration declines and if pressures as well as opportunities favor integration or assimilation, then language retention is difficult. Exclusion, discrimination, and segregation of a group, however, can speed up or slow down language retention. Ethnic institutions and resources also mediate this process.

Considering current trends in immigration and immigrant policies, immigrant minority birth-rates, and institution-building among new immigrants from Central and South America and Asia, one can expect that America's future language map will look differently. Whereas Spanish will probably retain its rank as the first and foremost foreign language, the popularity and position of French (rank 2) and German (rank 3) will most likely be challenged by Asian languages, such as Chinese. Similarly one can predict that with the continuous trends of reduced European immigration into the United States, European languages like Italian, Polish, Dutch, and their respective ethnic and cultural representations will most likely stagnate or decline, unless specific factors, such as those discussed above, turn the tide.

Language Retention and Loss: The Case of North Carolina

In the first section, I discussed general trends of language maintenance on a national level. I concluded that "internal" factors such as assimilation, the degree and character of immigration, ethnocultural institutionalization, domestic language policies as well as "external" political events can explain the loss of a language in the long run, not only in the specific case of the German language group but also for other non-English languages. Our understanding of these processes increases if we also compare and analyze them in a regional and local context because different "micro" environments can decisively shape the vitality of a language-group. Therefore, I will in the following section specify processes

of language survival looking at the German community in North Carolina in comparison with other non-English foreign languages. I will ask how has the German (and for that matter Spanish, French, Italian, Polish and Dutch) language fared in a somewhat different Southern setting in comparison to national trends.

Swiss and Southern Germans mostly from Palatinate founded New Bern near the Inlet Sounds of North Carolina 1710. Since the late 1740s until about 1775 an ever increasing number of German-speaking immigrants began to settle in North Carolina when real estate prices in Virginia and Pennsylvania went up and many immigrants decided to trek along the "Great Wagon Road" to less populated areas (Hammer 1965: 25ff.). Given the low population density at those times, a relatively numerous group of several thousand Lutheran Germans settled with Ulster Irish ad Scotch-English in the Yadkin area in Western Piedmont (Rowan, Cabarrus, Davidson, Lincoln, Stanly, Iredell, Wilkes, Catawba, and several other counties). Moravians (Mährische Brüder), arriving from Savannah after 1753, settled west of Greensboro and around Salem (Guilford, Forsyth, Alamance counties). At their height, German-speaking immigrants represented about forty percent of the local population in some regional pockets. Tight religious, community, and family bonds and the early establishment of church-supported elementary and secondary schools (Kloss 1978, 215, 217), of Sunday schools (Nixon 1912: 38ff.), and of sermons and religious services in German and by German ministers (Hammer 1965: 35ff.) preserved the use of original German dialects for more than two generation. However, when the influx of new settlers ceased after 1790 and new German-speaking immigrants began to settle further north and in the Midwest (parallel to the expansion of the Western frontier), the scattered rural communities in North Carolina with their now fewer German-speaking pastors, schools and other institutions with instruction in German, and without support from a German press failed to retain German monolingualism. "Children who, at the age of fourteen or fifteen, had completed the course in religion in the 'German schools,' attended the 'English school'; and some parents began reading books printed in English" (Gehrke 1935, 4). After a bilingual transition period which lasted until about 1825, even the conservative Lutheran church—which originally was the main bulwark of German language retention—had to accept the new reality and became the assimilationist "Reform Church." With the loss of supportive institutions and lack of new immigration, the use of the German language declined steadily. In addition to secularization, intermarriage with neighboring Scottish, Irish, and English immigrant communities, an increase of social and geographical mobility, and the predominance of schooling in English weakened further social cohesiveness and language retention. Finally, the ability

to read and to speak German disappeared in families, church sermons, and in teaching. In other words, the German-speaking population in North Carolina became assimilated long before the war-related anti-German campaign between 1917 and 1920 and Hitler's Germany hastened the disappearance of German elements in other parts of the U.S. (Gehrke 1935, Hammer 1965, Rippley 1976, 171). The last German service during synodical convention in North Carolina was reported in 1849 (Gehrke 1935, 16) and Hammer (1965, 97) traces the last regular German church sermon performed in North Carolina to the year 1883. "Thus, about one hundred years after the pioneer Pennsylvania-Germans had come to North Carolina, the German language had almost entirely disappeared" (Gehrke 1935, 17). Between that era and now, German influence has survived mostly in architecture, surnames, a few customs, and some scant memories about German cultural heritage.[11]

After World War I, three distinct waves of German-speaking immigrants arrived in North Carolina. Mostly skilled and highly qualified Jews and other political refugees arrived between 1933 and 1941 but left few marks on the "language-map" since they had little motivation to retain their German mother tongue and cultural heritage, given the circumstances of their departure from Europe.[12] After 1950 an increasing number of so-called GI-spouses arrived with their returning American husbands from military service in Germany. These German immigrants (estimated to be at least 2,000 persons) were concentrated in areas with strong military presence, such as Fort Bragg and Fayetteville. The group's concentration in military enclaves or outposts (often isolated from the surrounding community), their relatively weak ethnic identification and other disincentives, such as their small number, in combination with voluntary assimilation into mainstream America, did not advance the establishment of a vibrant language community, except for one German-American club in Fayetteville and some informal networks.

A third and highly scattered influx of German-speaking business people and employees ("contract Germans"), plus teachers, academics, scientists, and students occurred with the expansion of international trade and the establishment of industrial and research parks in North Carolina since the late 1960s.[13] The latter immigrants are mostly concentrated in the urban areas of Charlotte and the so-called Research Triangle--Raleigh, Durham, and Chapel Hill. Observers agree, that many in this group are highly mobile, temporary residents, and rather individualistic in their outlook, willing to blend fully into their multiethnic and multicultural environment. More recently, increasing numbers of short-term tourists from German-speaking countries (Germany, Austria, Switzerland) are visiting North Carolina's mountains, shores, and other attractions, but their presence will—as is demonstrated by other states with high

volumes of foreign tourists--most likely leave no significant or lasting imprint on the language chart of North Carolina.[14]

However, there are some indications that an ethnic heritage revival after 1980 and increased interest in bilingual education by some native-born and new immigrants may have slowed the decrease of non-English language use in North Carolina. In fact, the increase of German and other non-English speaking persons, in particularly between 1980 and 1990, is in contrast to the nationwide decline. According to Table 3 all compared languages gained ground, though differently. Adjusted for recent immigration,[15] the number of Spanish speakers increased 117 percent, followed by French (56 percent), an—ranking third—German (49 percent) before Italian (42 percent), Polish (38 percent), and Dutch (4 percent).

In addition to an increased identification with ethnocultural heritages, factors such as the high status of French and the geographical affinity of Spanish-speaking America, including the existence of a tight and residentially segregated Hispanic and Mexican (mostly lower class) subculture in North Carolina, have favored Spanish and French language acquisition and retention, at least for the first immigrant generation. Without the stabilizing factor as the third most frequently-studied foreign language in school and college (after Spanish and French) and the prominence of Germany during and after unification, the growth in German language use might have been less pronounced, like other languages with lower public status and/or weak institutional foundations in North Carolina such as Polish, Italian, and Dutch. This demonstrates again the importance of domestic factors for language maintenance, the degree of ethnic identification, the existence of institutional "anchors" (school), public image/prestige, and the influence of (often short lived) historical events, such as German unification.

This said, however, one has to recognize some methodical limitations of the data. Some indications exist that respondents answered the ambiguous Census question about "speaking a language at home" differently, i.e., not only as a measure of their daily interactions in a foreign language "at home," as intended by the Census Bureau, but also as a measure of some proficiency, former study, or a positive attitude toward a non-English language (see also Ammon 1994, 42, n. 2).

Like the national data, the Census for North Carolina also revealed the existence of a skewed relationship between the number of respondents who declare a particular ethnic ancestry and the number of persons who speak the corresponding non-English language (see also Table 2). As mentioned earlier, the shift from the "melting pot" ideology towards more pluralism and awareness of non-English ancestry among a large segment of the population in North Carolina

Table 3. Non-English Immigration and Language Retention in North Carolina

	German speakers	Spanish speakers/ Hispanics	French speakers	Italian speakers	Polish speakers	Dutch speakers	*N/All*
Census ancestry in 1990 (% of all ancestral groups)	494,166 (7.5%)	69,020 (1%)	51,366 (0.8%)	46,763 (0.7%)	22,124 (0.3%)	30,297 (0.6%)	*6,628,637 (100%)*
Immigrants admitted 1980-1990 (% of all immigrants)	1,995 (3.8%)	12,490 (24.0%)	883 (1.7%)	235 (0.5%)	717 (1.4%)	250* (0.5%)	*52,090 (100%)*
Immigrants born outside the U.S. speaking a non-English mother tongue in 1970 (% of all)	6,472 (22.9%)	2,273 (8.1%)	1,355 (4.8%)	724 (2.6%)	431 (1.5%)	500* (1.8%)	*28,206 (100%)*
Immigrants born outside the U.S. speaking a non-English language (age 5+) in 1980 (% of all)	11,539 (18.6%)	5,200 (8.4%)	2,440 (3.9%)	1,400 (2.3%)	719 (1.2%)	707 (1.1%)	*62,000* (100%)*
Immigrants born outside the U.S. speaking a non-English language (age 5+) in 1990 (% of all)	9,303 (10.9%)	22,647 (26.5%)	3,510 (4.1%)	915 (1.1%)	1,371 (1.6%)	1,029 (1.2%)	*85,374 (100%)*
Speaking a non-English mother tongue at home in 1970 (% of all non-English speakers)	21,890 (23.3%)	13,779 (14.7%)	11,283 (12.0%)	5,073 (5.4%)	3,526 (3.8%)	1,600* (1.7%)	*93,988 (100%)*
Speaking a non-English language at home (age 5+) in 1980 (% of all non-English speakers)	15,244 (11.8%)	43,082 (33.4%)	23,527 (18.2%)	3,216 (2.5%)	1,059 (0.8%)	1,200* (0.9%)	*129,168 (100%)*

Speaking a non-English language at home (age 5+) in 1990 (% of all non-English speakers)	24,689 (11.8%)	105,963 (44.0%)	37,590 (15.6%)	4,801 (2.0%)	2,179 (0.9%)	1,500* (0.6%)	*240,866 (100%)*
Speaking a non-English language at home (age 5+) in % of ancestry 1990	5%	**154%**	**73%**	10%	10%	5%	*19%*
Speaking a non-English language at home (age 5+) in % of immigrants born outside the U.S. speaking a non-English language in 1990	265%	**468%**	**1070%**	**525%**	159%	146%*	*282%*
Change of non-English mother tongue/language spoken at home (age 5+) between 1970-1980 (% change 1970-1980)	-6,646 (-30%)	**+29,303 (+146%)**	**+12,244 (+109%)**	-1,857 (-37%)	-2,467 (-70%)	-400* (-25%)	*+35,180 (+37%)*
Change of non-English language spoken at home (age 5+) between 1980-1990 (% change 1980-1990)	+9,445 (+62%)	**+62,881 (+146%)**	+14,063 (+60%)	+1,585 (49%)	**+1,120 (106%)**	+300* (+25%)	*111,608 (+86%)*
Change of non-English language spoken at home (age 5+) between 1980-1990 adjusted from immigrants admitted 1980-1990 (% change)	+7,450 (+49%)	+50,391 (117%)	+13,180 (+42%)	+1,350 (+42%)	+403 (38%)	+50* (+4%)	*59,608 (+46%)*

Bold figures = areas in which a group is relatively over-represented in relation to its ancestral representation or the average. Sources: *1996 Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service* (1997), U.S. Census 1970, 1980, and 1990, Ammon (1994, 38f), 1980 and 1990 ancestry does not include "multimple" and "not reported" ancestry. * = estimated values. Not included are return migration/emigration and internal migration data.

and in the United States has not been transformed into a higher degree of language retention or acquisition, although it may have slowed trends of mother-tongue loss. In other words, the value of ancestral affiliation seems to be mostly symbolic, representing a search for collective roots and identification with distinct ethnocultural assets rather than an active move to reclaim the language and cultural institutions of most ethnic groups. This finding contradicts the notion of an alleged "Balkanization" of America into ethnic fiefdoms and multilingual segments feared by critics of ethnopluralism, bilingualism, and multiculturalism, who overgeneralize some observations from a few urban centers in California, New York, Texas, or Florida. Assimilationist forces retain their power in the United States, and contrary to the claims of English-only advocates, the acquisition of English continues to be the primary goal of immigrants and their descendants because it is central in opening avenues of economic and social success.

The dominant role of English as the primary if not only language in use is confirmed by recent observations. Ammon (1994), for example, found that the German language is rarely used outside of family and business contacts in North Carolina. Except for a few cases where German is present in the media, in Lutheran church liturgy during Christmas celebrations, and in school language instruction, German can be found mainly in loan-words, texts on commodities, food labels, menus in German restaurants, in advertising, entertainment (Oktoberfest), the fine arts, tourist brochures, and tourist paraphernalia, such as beer mugs, etc. Ammon contends that in addition to statistics about language use the institutionalization of intraethnic contacts, i.e., the ethnocultural "infrastructure," has to be considered. I will elaborate on the importance of this "internal" factor in the following.[16]

Because the settlement of German-speaking groups occurred in North Carolina in spatial clusters, it is possible to analyze and compare regional areas for ethnic and language characteristics. Both early and more recent concentrations of German-speaking immigrants and their descendants exist around Winston-Salem/Greensboro (Moravians) and around Charlotte in Mecklenburg County. Following more recent trends in migration are the centering of German-speaking persons in the Research Triangle area and the migration of German GI-spouses with their husbands into military training areas around Fayetteville/Fort Bragg, as mentioned earlier. In his article Ammon (1994, 35ff.) compared indicators of language retention in two of these areas, finding that the number of persons born in Germany and who speak German were comparatively high and had not decreased between 1970 and 1990. In 1990, Charlotte/Mecklenburg had about 1,900 persons speaking German at home (800 German-born), in comparison with Cumberland county (Fayetteville and Fort

Bragg), which together had about 1,700 German speakers (800 of whom were born in Germany).

Tables 4 and 5 reveal several trends. First, they highlight the existence of local differences. The ratio of persons speaking German at home to German-born in 1990 was two to one with notable exceptions of about three to one in Winston-Salem and Fort Bragg. But the ratio was only 1.5 to one in Durham. Between 1970 and 1990 the ratio rose above average (82 percent) in the Winston-Salem and Fayetteville area and declined in Durham.

Second, although German ancestry reporting has significantly increased between 1980 and 1990 following a general trend outlined above, this ancestral awareness did not significantly increase the number of those who claim to speak German. Nevertheless, we still have insufficient information about the impact of ethnic identification on language retention, particularly for the second and third postwar generations in the United States

Third, Table 5 confirms the weak relationship between ethnic ancestry and language use mentioned earlier. In Western Piedmont counties, such as Catawba, Rowan, Lincoln and others with a significant above average percentage of persons of old German "stock," no trace of language retention exists (indicated by the ratio of German language speakers to persons with reported "first" German ancestry). Persons who report speaking German at home, however, are now above average located in urban areas with international business contacts, universities, research centers, and particularly, in areas with military bases (Fayetteville and Fort Bragg).

Fourth, between 1970 and 1990, the absolute number of persons speaking German at home in the state of North Carolina has increased although the number of German-born immigrants has decreased, particularly in the Winston-Salem and Greensboro area. The number of German-speakers increased above average in Fayetteville, about average in Charlotte, and declined in the other urban centers listed.

At first glance, the statistical increase of German-speakers in Fayetteville suggests the existence of a viable language group. Following Ammon (1994), a closer look, however, illustrates that the maintenance of the German language is in a much better position in Charlotte than in the Fayetteville/Fort Bragg area. Whereas the latter lacks a sufficient ethnic "infrastructure" (only one club in the early 1990s), Charlotte, in contrast, had 71 German and 28 Swiss owned companies or subsidiaries, i.e., over half of all such companies (N = 189) located in North Carolina are concentrated in Charlotte. Also a German Honorary Consul in Charlotte is in contact with the German consulate in Atlanta, with the Atlanta German-American Chamber of Commerce (since 1978), and with the Atlanta Goethe Institute. In addition, Charlotte has a comparatively advanced

Table 4. Ancestry and German Mother Tongue/Language Spoken at Home in North Carolina by Place

	Charlotte	Winston-Salem	Greensboro	Raleigh	Durham	Fayetteville	Fort Bragg	*N/All*
Population in 1990 (% of all)	396,003 (6%)	143,485 (2.2%)	183,521 (2.8%)	207,951 (3.1%)	136,594 (2.1%)	75,695 (1.1%)	34,862 (0.5%)	*6,628,637 (100%)*
Foreign-born residents in 1990 (% of all)	15,119 (13.1%)	3,014 (2.6%)	4,839 (4.3%)	10,434 (9.1%)	5,205 (4.5%)	2,622 (2.3%)	1,250 (1.1%)	*115,007 (100%)*
Change of foreign-born residents 1970-1990 (% of all)	**6,620 (+78%)**	-881 (-23%)	207 (+4%)	**5,315 (+104%)**	**1,680 (+48%)**	334 (+15%)	N/A	*20,796 (+22%)*
German-born or of mixed parentage 1970 (% of all)	1,050 (6.3%)	451 (2.7%)	526 (3.2%)	671 (4%)	344 (2.1%)	833 (5%)	N/A	*16,614 (100%)*
German-born residents in 1990 (% of all)	845 (7.3%)	181 (1.6%)	269 (2.3%)	478 (4.1%)	342 (3%)	648 (5.6%)	159 (1.4%)	*11,523 (100%)*
Change of German-born residents 1970-1990 (% of all)	-205 (-20%)	**-270 (-60%)**	**-257 (-49%)**	-193 (-29%)	-2 (-1%)	-185 (-22%)	N/A	*-5,091 (-31%)*
Census ancestry in 1990 (% of all ancestral groups)	792,006 (6%)	286,970 (2.2%)	367,042 (2.8%)	415,902 (3.1%)	273,188 (2.1%)	151,390 (1.1%)	69,724 (0.5%)	*13,257,274 (100%)*
German ancestry in 1990 (% of all with German ancestry)	67,165 (6.0%)	23,680 (2.1%)	28,739 (2.6%)	34,375 (3.1%)	15,698 (1.4%)	9,980 (0.9%)	7,089 (0.6%)	*1,111,220 (100%)*
Change of non-English mother tongue/ language spoken at home (age 5+) 1970-1990 (% of all)	**15,504 (205%)**	2,457 (+75%)	3,723 (+94%)	**8,779 (+185%)**	4,783 (+153%)	3,029 (+158%)	N/A	*153,826 (+177%)*

Speaking German mother tongue in 1970 (% of all)	1,710 (7.8%)	706 (3.2%)	798 (3.6%)	1,202 (5.5%)	696 (3.2%)	736 (3.4%)	N/A	*21,890 (100%)*
Speaking German at home (age 5+) in 1990 (% of all)	**1,895 (7.7%)**	523 (2.1%)	470 (1.9%)	948 (3.8%)	512 (2.1%)	1,174 (4.8%)	**534 (2.2%)**	*24,689 (100%)*
Change of German mother tongue/ language spoken at home (age 5+) 1970-1990 (% of all)	185 (+11%)	-183 (-26%)	-328 (-41%)	-254 (-21%)	-184 (-26%)	**438 (+60%)**	N/A	*2,799 (+13%)*
German-born in % of all foreign-born residents in 1990	5.6%	6.0%	5.6%	4.6%	6.6%	**24.7%**	**12.7%**	*10%*
Persons with German ancestry in % of all ancestry groups in 1990	**8.5%**	8.3%	7.8%	8.3%	5.7%	6.6%	**10.2%**	*8.4%*
Speaking German at home (age 5+) in % of German ancestry reported 1990	**2.8%**	2.2%	1.6%	**2.8%**	**3.3%**	**11.8%**	**7.5%**	*2.2%*
Speaking German as mother tongue in % of German-born residents or persons of mixed parentage in 1970	**163%**	**157%**	**152%**	**179%**	**202%**	88%	N/A	*132%*
Speaking German at home (age 5+) in % of German-born residents in 1990	**224%**	**289%**	175%	198%	150%	181%	**336%**	*214%*
Increase of German speaking persons in relation to German-born 1970-1990	61%	**132%**	23%	19%	-52%	**93%**	N/A	*82%*

Bold figures=areas in which a group is relatively over-represented in relation to its ancestral representation or the average. Sources: 1970 and 1990 U.S. Census and own calculations.

Table 5. German Ancestry and Language Spoken at Home (age 5+) in 17 Counties in North Carolina in the 1990 Census

	Persons with First German Ancestry	Persons with First German Ancestry in Population	Persons who speak German at Home (age 5+)	Person who speak German at Home (age 5+) in Population	Ratio of German Language Speakers to Person with First German Ancestry
	in 1000	in Percent	in 1000	in Percent	
USA	*45,583,932*	*18.3*	*1,547,987*	*0.67*	*3.39*
North Carolina	*902,265*	*13.6*	*24,689*	*0.40*	*2.74*
COUNTIES					
Catawba	37,295	31.5	266	0.24	0.71
Rowan	33,143	30.0	378	0.37	1.14
Lincoln	14,596	29.0	126	0.27	0.86
Cabarrus	25,029	25.3	196	0.21	0.78
Davidson	31,249	24.7	334	0.28	1.07
Stanly	11,337	21.9	73	0.15	0.64
Iredell	17,824	19.2	320	0.37	1.80
Forsyth (Winston-Salem)	45,583	17.1	1,065	0.43	2.34
Alamance	16,769	15.5	295	0.29	1.76
Orange (Chapel Hill)	13,724	14.6	446	0.50	3.25
Mecklenburg (Charlotte)	74,771	14.6	2,426	0.51	3.24
Wake (Raleigh)	57,981	13.7	1,715	0.44	2.96
Guilford (Greensboro)	47,335	13.6	941	0.29	1.99
Wilkes	7,566	12.7	129	0.23	1.70
Cumberland (Fayetteville)	34,637	12.6	4,560	1.83	13.17
Durham	17,590	9.7	701	0.42	3.99
Hoke (Fort Bragg)	1,390	6.1	120	0.57	8.63

First ancestry includes the first response of all persons who reported at least one codeable entry in the 1990 U.S. Census.

German-speaking community life which is recognized in the local English press. Two restaurants serve German food, and two German clubs ("Alemannia" and the "German-American Club," the former with a newsletter in German), provide social interaction. On Saturdays a two-hour German radio program broadcasts music, news, and "Gemütlichkeit." The city also is host to an annual Oktoberfest, a German Christmas, and Lutheran church services in German. Charlotte has had a Saturday German language school with 120 students since the late 1970s, and since 1992 a German Immersion School, teaching about one hundred students in first-grade and the same number of children in kindergarten. Plans exist to extend the immersion program into high school (Ammon 1994, 36, Bister 1996).[17] It may be of interest to mention also the historical links of Charlotte in Mecklenburg County. It was named after the German princess Charlotte (the wife of George I of England) who came from a region in northern Germany now known as Mecklenburg-Vorpommern.

From our comparison we can conclude that weak institutional and social support systems (as in the military Fayetteville area) are decisive when it comes to the question of long-term chances of language maintenance in a community. Although Charlotte and Fayetteville/Fort Bragg share certain characteristics, i.e., a relatively high and/or increasing number of German language speakers and German-born persons over the last one or two decades, the army community, with its high personnel turnover creates more obstacles to the establishment of a viable community and durable ethnic institutions than a commercially based community. Even in the Charlotte area, however, past and current assimilation trends threaten the survival of the German immigrant community's culture and language, particularly the relatively limited new immigration, the predominance of rather transient temporary business residents, and the continuing decline of native and immigrant-born students choosing German as a foreign language.

On the latter point, speaking a foreign language at home in immigrant families is one important source of language retention over generations. However, it remains insufficient if not, for example, complemented by student enrollment in public schools and colleges. Observations from the 1990 North Carolina Census indicated positive changes following unification and increased interest in school enrollment. But more recent trends are less encouraging. Bister (1996), for example, undertook a recent survey among students enrolled in the Germanic language program at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. She reported that after a brief increase in student enrollment in the wake of German unification, the number of students were again slowly eroding. Though she hinted that part of this decline may be explained by rather short-sighted political considerations to "downsize" foreign language departments at public colleges to balance budgets (Bister 1996, 4f.), there are also indications of

prevailing ignorant or even hostile attitudes against the acquisition of foreign languages and bilingualism, attitudes that were only interrupted by President Carter's recommendation to strengthen foreign language requirements in the 1970s. Another underestimated factor, the sometimes more subtle and sometimes more open "Germanophobia" in the American public may account for low ethnic identification and low interest in language retention. Only one-third of undergraduate college students in the University of North Carolina German language program with self-reported German family ties said that ancestry was a motivating factor to learn the language, i.e., 10 percent of all students interviewed. Economic motivations to learn German were somewhat higher, with 44 percent of German-language students saying they thought it would help their careers, versus 35 percent who said it would not. Another motivation to learn German, however, was the wish to be able to speak German when traveling in German-speaking countries, and to understand "friends and family" (22 percent), although the widespread knowledge of English in German-speaking countries may also deter students from learning the language thoroughly. A surprisingly large number of respondents reported a negative motivation for studying German: 40 percent in 1993 wished to avoid Spanish and French due to previous unhappy exposure.

Conclusion

The history of German language retention in the United States and in some areas of the state of North Carolina is a good illustration of how "internal" and "external" factors on a national, regional and local "micro" levels contribute to the rise and fall of immigrant "minority" languages. From a comparative perspective I have tried to demonstrate that the "unprecedented" loss of German in the United States follows an assimilation pattern similar to the experience of other European immigrant groups, regardless of the distinctive and accelerating impact of the World Wars. German-speaking immigrants have blended very successfully into the American host society which made the maintenance of the German language or ethnocultural immigrant institutions unrewarding. This is reflected in the fact that even now, under less obvious assimilation pressures as in the past, German-born immigrants shift rapidly from German to English. Gilbert (1981, 269) reported, for example, that in 1975 only 7 percent of immigrants used German as their "usual individual language" (see similar data by Waggoner 1975).

One reason for this continuing fast assimilation could be the linguistic affinity of German and English (see Clyne 1992, 32, De Vries 1992, 220). In addition, the relatively good knowledge of English of many immigrants from

German-speaking countries (in Germany alone 5.5 million high school students study English) could be responsible for their fast English-language adaptation and assimilation into the United States as much as the prevailing positive attitudes of many Germans, Swiss, and Austrians toward America. Since the likelihood of a renewed, large-scale immigration from German-speaking countries is remote and the birth rate of German and European immigrants is relatively low, one can expect the number of native speakers and of mother tongue claimants continue to decline in the near future. This prognosis is supported by the fact that few signs exist that point to a renewed evaluation of bi- or multi-lingualism in the United States. No one expects that German will be reinstated in school curricula as an important first or second foreign language above the now predominant Spanish and French languages. The German language would be able to maintain some importance, however, if students with German-speaking ancestry decided to study the language. Currently only a limited interest exists among German speakers in the United States or is likely to develop in the near future.

Another cause for the lagging interest in the German language is the Germans ambiguous if not enigmatic image in the American mind. On the one hand, there is a nostalgic-romanticized or folklorist (past-oriented) attitude towards things "German." On the other hand Germany and the Germans are stained in American media, film, theater, literature, and public perception with persistent Holocaust and (Neo-) Nazi images which prevents pride in things German and, instead, supports distance, passivity, and even fatalism, an attitude Ammon has called a "national and linguistic cringe" (1994, 38).

In addition to an ambivalent image and relative lack of interest in language retention, many institutions that could support ethnic community life of German-speaking immigrants or German-Americans are slowly eroding. German broadcasting, television, movies, print media, theaters, choirs, associations, restaurants, festivals, and clubs are declining or losing their distinctly "German" character. Academic and political exchange between German-speaking countries and the United States, American and German brochures and journals that inform about German-American heritage and modern Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, and the ever-increasing tourism on both sides of the Atlantic are no substitute for a weak ethnic infrastructure and decreasing interest to learn or speak German. The increase of Oktoberfests, of classical radio channels featuring a high percentage of composers or performers born in German-speaking countries, and the increased consumption of goods "Made in Germany" are not a compensation either, since they are part of an international consumer culture often lacking a distinguished ethnic or national signature. Similarly the inclusion of German words or sentences in advertising, brochures, labels, etc., are either directed toward the increasing number of

tourists, resident aliens, or former GI's and others having lived in German-speaking countries, or such new loan-words (like "Fahrvergnügen") are rather short-lived corporate strategies to exploit national stereotypes for monetary benefit. The long-term impact of such new, fashionable, and mostly artificial loan-words, puns, and symbols on German language and ethnocultural maintenance in the United States is in my opinion rather insignificant, since there are indications that the average American reader or listener is unable to understand or even pronounce this kind of Americanized German gibberish anyhow. But the current feeble status of German and other foreign language retention warrants more investigation into "internal" and "external" factors, individual motivations to maintain language against predominant trends, and differences in language retention according to immigration status, country of origin, education, social status, gender, ethnic and religious affiliation and embeddedness in family and group networks.

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Notes

[1] The author is grateful for helpful comments and corrections by Kay Losey, Jennifer Drolet, and Caroline Childress. A draft of this paper was presented at the Annual Meeting of the "Deutsche Gesellschaft für Amerikastudien" in Würzburg, Germany, 30 May 1996.

[2] Fifty-eight million or 23% of all Americans claimed German ancestry in the 1990 Census. Americans of Irish descent comprised the next largest group, with 39 million, or 16% of the total United States population, followed by English-Americans (33 million, 13%).

[3] The first permanent settlement of German immigrants was founded in Germantown near Philadelphia in 1683.

[4] In terms of religious diversity, for example, Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Mennonites, Amish, Hutterites, Amanites, Moravians, and Mormons are all included in this immigrant group.

[5] "Internal" factors include the size, prestige, and vitality of ethnic communities/networks and the resources they command (Breton 1981); the patterns of spatial concentration, primary relations with dominant groups and elites in areas such as interpersonal contacts, residence, club memberships, and intermarriage (Marger 1991, 159), and other indicators of social and geographical mobility; the continuous feeding of ethnic and language groups by new immigration; the language's institutionalization in school curricula, church, media, cultural institutions, secular associations; and the use of language and ethnic habits in kinship relations, family, and daily life as well as its presence in festivals, holidays, memorials, street signs, and architecture (Rippley 1976, chapters 8,9, and 12; Edwards 1992, 43ff.; Allard and Landry 1992, 174; Hayden 1978, 202; Kloss 1978, 206ff.).

[6] "External" conditions are legal, political, cultural and economical links, support systems, and opportunities in the countries of origin. See also Edwards (1992) typology of minority language situations.

[7] By 1923, thirty-four states prohibited the use of languages other than English in primary schools.

[8] The increase of census respondents claiming German ancestry from 49 million in 1980 to 58 million in 1990 is a phenomenon that still awaits explanation. Possibly the increased image and visibility of Germany during and after unification and a more differentiated historical understanding of former German or Austro-Hungarian territories with ethnic German populations (e.g., in Sudetenland, Alsace-Lorraine, Siebenbürgen, etc.), has contributed to such changes in self-categorizing and ethnic re-definition. Similar trends exist for Italians and Mexicans (here at cost of "Spanish" ethnic self-labeling). Perhaps the increased willingness of those with assumed German, Italian, Japanese, and Mexican ancestry to identify publicly with their origins is only a compensation for the extraordinary decline of these former "war-alien" nations in status and public image, reflecting a "normalization" of public attitudes and growing self-consciousness of hyphenated Americans to accept and even proudly display their assumed ethnic origin.

[9] The census questions regarding language differ for 1970 and 1980/1990. "Mother tongue" in the 1970 census referred to the language spoken in the respondent's home as a child. If both English and another mother tongue were reported, preference was given to the language other than English. The data on mother tongue do not necessarily reflect a person's current language skills or language use since the vast majority of persons reporting a mother tongue other than English certainly had to learn to speak English during their presence in America. However, in the 1980/1990 census the question focused on current language use. It asked if a household member above age five, reported speaking a language other than English at home. Because the 1970 question did not deliberately ask for the current language spoken at home, the 1970 census findings have to be cautiously interpreted, especially when compared with 1980/1990 census data.

[10] See Kloss (1978, 209ff.) for a similar list of language maintenance factors.

[11] Seven and a half percent of North Carolinians, the second largest immigrant group after persons originating from the U.K. (13%), claimed some degree of German ancestry in the 1990 census, up from 5% in the 1980 census.

[12] An exception are refugees attempting to transplant progressive traditions from Germany into the United States, e.g., the circle that formed the now famous Black Mountain College, and a number of art historians, scholars, and scientists at institutions of higher education (see Landsberger and Schweitzer 1996).

[13] According to North Carolina Department of Commerce reports, German companies invested more than $1.3 billion in manufacturing plants in North Carolina between 1978 and 1992, creating over 11,000 jobs. Only California, New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey employed more workers in German-owned companies (*Durham Herald Sun*, 23 September 1993).

[14] The number of non-immigrants (tourists, business-people, scientists, and other persons with temporary residence status) visiting the U.S. from Germany, Austria, and Switzerland more than doubled from 0.995 million in 1981 to 1.592 million in 1990 and 2.639 million in 1996 (see *1996 Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service*, 128).

[15] To measure language retention with some accuracy, one should adjust for immigration, emigration, birth-rates, and deaths. I only took into account new immigration that data being the most reliable, important, and easily available. This presented a more realistic, though not perfect, picture of how languages fared among native-born and admitted immigrants between 1980 and 1990.

[16] More recently Espenshade and Fu (1997, 290ff.) differentiated from a sociological viewpoint between "pre-immigration" cultural and linguistic factors and individual traits and "post-immigration" characteristics that reflect skills, opportunities, commitments, and experiences of foreign-born persons after immigration. They found that experience and formal education increases English language proficiency although persons "who live in families or linguistically segregated neighborhoods where only their mother tongue is spoken, who marry someone from the same non-English-speaking country, or who participate relatively infrequently in the paid labor force have fewer opportunities and incentives to learn English" (302).

[17] North Carolina has only two other "immersion" schools for French and Spanish. Except for the German language program in the Wiley International Magnet School in Raleigh, German is

not taught in primary schools as is Spanish and French (Bister 1996). Relatively few (junior) high schools offer German as a foreign language, either because of lack of qualified teachers or lack of interest of parents and students.

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Siegmar Muehl

Shock of the New: Advising Mid-Nineteenth-Century German Immigrants to Missouri

Beginning with the 1830s, German immigration to the United States increased significantly—from around 152,000 in the 1830s to nearly 952,000 in the 1850s. Over-crowding in the farming districts, crop failures, displacement of artisans by new factory methods, and political oppression all contributed to the dramatic increase of those leaving Germany.[1]

When these newcomers arrived, many found themselves poorly-prepared or ill-advised about realities of life in their new homeland. Two examples illustrate this situation. In the 1830s, Gottfried Duden's idyllic report of his experience living on the Missouri frontier induced many Germans to immigrate to America to seek a similar wilderness experience.[2] Those with educated, "white collar" backgrounds, who attempted this radical change in life style, had no relevant experience, habits or physical hardiness for such a life. Derisively dubbed "Latin farmers," some retreated to the more accustomed life in settled communities; others, exhausted by the harsh demands of frontier life, sank into poverty, despair and sometimes suicide.[3]

A decade later a group of Prussian nobles, in order to create a German colony in America to make better lives for German peasants and workers, formed a group known as the "Society for the Protection of German Immigrants in Texas." Their Texas land purchase, however, turned out to be not only fraudulent in title, but ill-suited for settlement because of its remote and arid location and rocky soil. In July 1847, when large numbers of the society's emigrant recruits began to arrive in Texas, they had no place to go and were forced to camp out on the fever-ridden coast near Galveston where many sickened and died.[4]

Friedrich Muench (1799-1881), German Lutheran pastor, and one of the leaders of a Duden-inspired emigrant group, settled in 1834 on land neighboring

Der Staat Missouri,

geſchildert

mit beſonderer Rückſicht auf teutſche Einwanderung,

von

Friedrich Münch,
im Staate Miſſouri.

Mit 2 Charten.

Verlag der Farmers' & Vine-Growers' Society.

New York: L. Hauſer, 20 North William Street.

Zu beziehen durch

St. Louis: Ed. Bühler & Co. 21 Dritte Str.

1859.

Reproduction of title page of original text.
Courtesy University Library, University of Texas, Austin.

Duden's old property near Dutzow, Missouri. Although Muench's ministerial background ill-prepared him for pioneering hardships, native pluck, persistence and ingenuity enabled him and his family not only to overcome early travails, but to create a model farm and vineyard in what was originally a forest wilderness.[5]

Over the years Muench retained a close identification with those left behind in the German homeland. With the rise of German immigration to the United States, he conceived the idea of writing a book to prepare prospective German emigrants so they might better adjust to the New World after they arrived.

This book idea found outside support in summer 1858 when C. L. Brai, New York publisher associated with the "Farmers' and Vine Growers' Society," a German-language publishing house, visited Muench on his Dutzow farm. Muench wrote of the occasion: "Brai expressed the wish I should write a work dealing with the State of Missouri for the purpose of inducing a greater influx of German immigrants to Missouri."[6]

Other considerations also fueled this book project. Beside the misadventures experienced by Duden followers like himself, Muench was also aware of the settlement fiasco farther south. He wrote: "The bitter experience of those in Texas should witness for all that colonization here should not be directed from above . . . . Individuals, on the other hand, left on their own with necessary information know best how to help themselves."[7]

Such at-hand information was at the time limited. Muench noted: "Except for the out-of-date reports of Duden and the shorter statistical remarks of Wappaeus . . . there is not another book on Missouri worth mentioning other than the solid work of Theodore Olshausen."[8] Of a third work, he spoke disparagingly: "My book is not the work of a traveling scholar, comfortably written in the homeland after hastily gathering notes." The reference was probably to Franz von Loeher, a German who visited America in 1847. His *Travel Sketches*, published 1855, contained two chapters on Missouri based on brief visits to the St. Louis and Hermann areas.[9]

Muench's own work, written in German in a few months time, obviously for a educated audience, was published in early 1859 under the title: *The State of Missouri Portrayed with Special Regard to German Immigration*. Muench commented in his "Foreword": "I wished I could have devoted more time to writing the book. However, it needed quick completion that would serve a practical purpose which would suffer by delay."[10]

For prospective German immigrants to Missouri, Muench characterized his work as:

> . . . not only a travel guide but also a source of advice on how to secure a successful outcome in all the affairs they undertake . . . . My portrayal is based on 24 years of my own observations of things and their outcomes, on experience in which all my spiritual and bodily strength were continuously engaged.[11] . . . I especially wanted to give them a true picture of what Missouri has to offer, as well as the necessary information for better adjusting in a new situation . . . . Above all, I wanted to be helpful to our fellow countrymen, to spare them the many bitter experiences we ourselves had.[12]

When published, the book contained twenty-seven chapters of 237 pages. Its contents provided a wealth of detail on a variety of subjects and situations: Missouri history, geography, climate, people, churches and schools, politics, flora, fauna, agriculture, among others. Complete chapter headings appear in the appendix.

What seems currently relevant in the book's mass of information related to that long-ago time were situations which Muench chose to highlight, situations that would strike the new immigrants as strange, sometimes disturbing, or even shocking. In our late twentieth-century era, many of the same circumstances prevail. Muench's nineteenth-century perspective still provides grounds for empathy and insights into the social and psychological adjustments required of today's many and varied newcomers as they struggle to join mainstream United States life, to feel at home.

In what follows, Muench's own words in translation give the flavor of his personal, present-tense style—as if he were addressing his readers in person. Muench observed that culture shock and challenge to adjust began when the immigrant first stepped off the ship bringing him to the United States:

> Barely have you stepped onto the shore, when there mingles with your astonishment and wonder at the prospect of the world created here by nature and human hands, an impression caused by its total strangeness. This is not your usual world. It will not completely transform your habits, but you must learn to find yourself in it. A strange speech strikes your ear, strange people run indifferently past you. There are no familiar trees, shrubs, or wild plants. You breathe a different air, another sky arches over your head. The whole way of life is different. You see haste. You see exclusiveness and ostentation, a coldness, and occasionally a lack of consideration which depresses you. Most of all, what bothers you is perhaps the grossness you observe in your own fellow countrymen. I know more than one

instance where men, after one or two days in one of our sea-coast cities, doubting their ability to adapt themselves to this very different life, turn back. They are filled with longing for a homeland which they had just given up in anger because of circumstances there.[13]

In the same passage, Muench counseled those who might experience such extreme reactions:

> If you cannot overcome all your habits, if you are forever firmly fixed in your so-called home ways, unable to accommodate to the new circumstances, then you may not be able, try as hard as you will, to change sufficiently. You never leave behind the land where you grew up. I say to you . . . : The old is gone, look to the future. Say to yourself, I will and want to secure a different life, to put down new and strong roots no matter how hard the beginnings . . . . Not everything sanctioned by long custom is superior.

Added to the strangeness of this different physical scene was "life in a Republic" where people made their own laws and rejected unnecessary restrictions. This freer life offered a radical contrast with the immigrant's homeland experience "where everything was ordered, laid out and supervised from above." Muench warned that this freedom had its negative side, especially in the great cities:

> Good-naturedness and consideration are not often seen in public life. Men pass each other with apparent indifference. They save their warmth for the "fireside," for the intimate and quiet world of the household circle. Rudeness is displayed in many forms and cannot totally be avoided. However, it is to be deplored. Many of our own countrymen find it hard to adjust to the free ways here. They compensate by rude and arrogant behavior in response to the strange culture to which they find themselves exposed.[14]

Muench offered encouragement for the immigrant's sense of social disorientation in these early encounters. Given time and experience, adjustments would begin to occur:

> You will rid yourself of petty concerns, commonplace formalities, wrong turnings, the too long-cautious ways along with other characteristics of Germaness. You become and feel yourself freed

from a heavy load. You are changed into being a person who first appears strange to you, yet more like yourself while at the same time, not having lost any of your best traits. Meanwhile, you test without prejudice everything new and judge it all in the way we do here, trying it out for yourself. You will find how many accustomed ways you discard as useless and exchange these for those suitable to circumstances and local manners. But even here, the frugal, orderly, thoughtful longtime German methods bring with them advantages in practice.[15]

For immigrants considering Missouri, Muench prepared them for scenes they would encounter:

As your journey further into the far West . . . many things astonish, nothing will please you. You will miss the variety in the German scenery, the traces of an ordering human hand as a part of nature, the inspiring remnants and monuments of the long vanished past that edify the spirit. Here, luxuriant and brilliant green is everywhere, an almost endless forest . . . . The extensive grain-covered fields, the lovely meadowlands with their clear and pure brooks are missing. Our mighty rivers will not compare with "Father Rhine." Instead of friendly German villages with happy, bustling youth and the pleasing pealing of evening bells, you will see isolated, scattered and silent farms.[16]

Lest his reader with a mind set on farming be put off by the prospect of living isolated from the accustomed neighbors and village life in Germany, Muench cited advantages when compared with the Old-World scene:

The inhabitant of this separate farm has as a rule woodland, pasture, field, meadow and cropland close to house and farmyard. He uses his grounds as he pleases and does not come into conflict with his neighbor . . . . Family life is very close because of the isolation. In these surroundings one learns to cherish others because one does not see them daily. This peaceful homestead, even if only a log cabin, is protected by law against every disturbance of the peace. We see fulfilled in their inhabitants a feeling of independence that most privileged people of the old world never knew. In this ownership there is nothing of that "right and law" that always went with it: there are no tithes, no service to the manor lord.[17]

At the same time, Muench anticipated the likely reaction when one of these typical isolated farmsteads was seen close up for the first time:

> You have come here with the idea of a well-ordered and complete German country estate where nothing is lacking and everything is carefully arranged. Instead, you find a simple log cabin with other structures scattered around it . . . most of which the owner has built himself with ax and saw. What you see is not neat or particularly impressive. If you look at the farm operation itself, nothing seems fitting. You will find fault with the harness, the plow, the harrow, the wagon . . . . It will break you heart to see that perhaps a tenth of the harvest remains in the fields. (There are no gleaners.) . . . When you turn your attention to the orchard, you see on the ground, a litter of fallen apples and peaches left over from August so there is barely room to step. Only the best is selected and gathered. What remains is left to the pigs. The daily waste of wood brings tears to your eyes when you remember the cold in Europe where the theft of a meager branch brought with it heavy punishment.[18]

Much displeasing in this scene, Muench explained, came about because in the beginning the farmer, on his own, had so much to do that much remained undone. Hired help that could hasten improvement was scare and expensive. He offered assurance that in time things "will slowly get better."

For the immigrant wishing to settle in a city to work in a trade—perhaps in St. Louis, or in one of the several smaller cities described in the book, Muench advised that Old-World ways needed changing to succeed:

> You bring with you your accustomed ways that contribute little. Here one needs other skills, different and faster ways, better and more efficient tools, using less material and delivering goods faster. You have only yourself to blame if you stubbornly shut your eyes to these facts. The most advisable course is to go for weekly or monthly instruction. Here wanting to learn is honorable at any age. Soon you are put to rights; you achieve greater efficiency in your task. You turn out twice as much as before. Generally, the German worker here is prized and sought after . . . . He is richly rewarded and rapidly rises to being well-off and respected.[19]

Beyond different ways of doing, future immigrants needed forewarning about other aspects of the United States experience that would likely shock,

disgust and cause discomfort—especially the phenomena of slavery and "nativism." Coming to the United States in the 1850s, immigrants would be confronted with the institution of slavery with its increasingly controversial and divisive impact on the American social and political scene. If the immigrant chose to settle in Missouri, a slave state, his expectations needed to be realistic.

Muench's account of the institution of slavery revealed his strong anti-slavery persuasion. Further, he assumed that most of his German comrades would share his viewpoint. For that reason, Missouri might seem a dubious place to settle compared to other free states in what was then called the "Far West." Trying to counter this possible adverse reaction, Muench observed: "Slavery here in Missouri does not have such a secure footing that it could not be suppressed by suitable efforts . . . that the party opposing slavery by becoming stronger may render slavery powerless in a short time." Although the state had restrictive laws applicable to blacks, among them the prohibition of schools, still, one found:

> . . . many Negroes here who can read and write, concern themselves with politics, and for the most part differ little from other workers. The Negro here, where many work and communicate with whites, is not the brutalized worker one finds on the plantation. There are many among them for whom one might wish with all his heart a white skin . . . . Among Germans there are only isolated slaveholders, and not all of these champion slavery.[20]

Germans coming to Missouri had a crusading job to do:

> It seems to me that we Germans in Missouri are to be given a task . . . of rescuing this fair state from the evil of slavery. For that we need thousands of brave fellow fighters . . . . For every German who comes here we gain a fellow fighter for a good cause, if he does nothing more than show the product of his free labors next to the wretched results of slave labor . . . . Thus, by means of Germans this state will move more calmly and peaceably to freedom in the course of a comparatively short time.[21]

Muench ranked "nativism" as the next "most damnable social outgrowth" in the United States—a movement founded on "pride of native birth and disparagement of the foreign born." Hostility toward the foreign born had gained momentum in the 1850s with the large influx of Germans and poor Irish Catholics fleeing famine in their homelands. United States natives' prejudices

against foreigners aroused by this situation led to the formation of a new United States political group, the "American Party," also known as the "Know-Nothings." The party's tenets included restrictive principles, among them: immigrants should be granted citizenship only after living here for twenty-one years; they could never hold public office.[22]

The party's influence waned after its poor showing in the 1856 elections. Muench noted: "In Missouri Nativism was not as bad as elsewhere. In fact it has hardly shown itself here and is now like distant thunder." Elsewhere, he asserted: "Many accept the German element without reservation as fully justified as Americans."[23] Yet, despite these optimistic judgments, Muench cautioned: "If the native born do not love us over much, we can very well secure their regard through polite, tactful, manly and straight-forward behavior . . . . Germaness is here, an irrevocable fact, whether they like it or not."[24]

It was not only encounters with the native born that sometimes proved problematic. New immigrants, so-called "Greens," might find themselves at odds with the generation of Germans immigrants, the "Grays," who had settled earlier. Many of the latter, who entered the United States before the 1848 revolution, came for economic reasons. Over time, these "Grays" had become established in their communities and more conservative in outlook. By contrast, the failed European revolution of 1848 brought into the country a wave of political refugees, many ideologically oriented, outspoken and often disputatious. "Gray" vs. "Green" frictions developed. As one of the "Gray" generation, Muench reminded his readers to remember that it was the older generation of German immigrants "who had smoothed the way for them . . . . It is really too bad if in this country the 'Greens' want to outdo the 'Grays,' or the other way around."[25]

Within this intra-German context, Muench also called attention to the great diversity of cultural and regional backgrounds among the various German-speaking immigrant groups already in the United States. In German homelands, these regional differences often were grounds for provincial prejudices toward Germans from other areas. Muench advised not to expect this attitude here: "These different Germans live together sociably and peaceable without the least spitefulness."[26]

Besides slavery, nativist prejudices and German-immigrant differences, other United States institutions and practices needed preparatory comment: newspapers, religious practices and schools. About United States newspapers, Muench wrote:

> One must not expect to find that the papers here have the subdued style as those in Europe. Not only will subjects and events be covered

> by countless reporters with ruthless criticism, but also politics, where the parties fight one another with two edged swords . . . . Events and personalities will be reported that in Germany are only seldom referred to publicly . . . . Nothing escapes sharp investigation. A so-called public man should take care he shows no weaknesses. The worst of this occurs with political candidates. The opposition party leaves them bleeding. In this roughness, ethical limits are often overstepped . . . . Those living in a republic cannot be too over-sensitive . . . . One thinks that the evil the press reports must be intended to make things better, that freedom and progress can be secured only through the steady watchfulness of all.[27]

United States religious practices, Muench reminded his readers, were very unlike those in Germany. On this side of the Atlantic there was no state church. As a result, religious denominations of varying and sometimes extreme religious character proliferated. These groups, often in doctrinal conflict with one another, actively proselytized and engaged in public polemics. "All the different sects now and then carry on a heavy pulpit and newspaper war, battling in common cause against the irreligious . . . . All stand in opposition to the Roman hierarchy."[28]

Laws restricting Sunday activities, so-called "blue laws," existed in most states, despite constitutional guarantee of separation of church and state. These Sunday laws, when rigorously observed in communities where German immigrants had settled, caused the latter considerable inconvenience and aggravation since they prohibited recreations most Germans considered appropriate for Sunday relaxation: going to the tavern, theater, dancing, playing cards and other forms of entertainment and socializing. Speaking of Missouri in this regard, Muench reported "there is great liberality so long as the pious are not disturbed."[29]

Public schools posed a problem for German immigrants who set great store in keeping their German heritage—its language and culture—alive and passing it along to their children. Public schools required the teaching of English and seldom included curricula related to German culture, or teachers trained to impart it. Although German schools had been founded to meet this deficiency, they existed only in a few communities. In Missouri, they were found only in St. Louis and in a few of the small cities with sizeable and active German settlements: Hermann, Jefferson City and Washington.[30]

Muench warned that this hope to foster and retain the German language in the United States had practical forces opposing it. English was increasingly becoming "the common colloquial speech . . . . Already in the second

generation, English is preferred by many as the easier language—by children and by those who find themselves not fully conversant in High German. Where mixed marriages take place, which has not happened often up to now, German will almost entirely disappear." There were even some first-generation German immigrants who, "ashamed of their descent and wanting to be well-regarded by the native born, would get rid of their mother tongue."[31] On a more optimistic note, Muench added that for the present, the German language was maintaining itself "through the worth of German literature, the German churches and schools, and by the steady influx of new German immigrants."

Throughout his book, he offered advice and observations relating mainly to male concerns. One exception occurred in the chapter on "Country Life." Here, he set forth the prospects of the immigrant wife as someone sharing in the experiences of farm living:

> A man can be satisfied only if his wife is as well. Many wives, if they have to live in the country, are made uncomfortable, partly by what they left behind, partly by what is demanded of them. Yet the great majority of German wives adjust with a good and ready will to the new situation .... Our wives have significant and difficult tasks here. In performing these, they feel important, are never plagued by boredom and are satisfied by what they accomplish for their family. They keep their house clean and orderly, do the cooking, baking, washing, knitting, mending, sewing (some make men's clothing better than a tailor), care for children, milk the cows, make butter, cheese and soap, dry the fruit, cook jams, prepare fruit and vegetables, tend the flower and kitchen gardens and the fowl. Indeed, many even weave the necessary fabrics for household use.[32]

Lest the distaff member of a prospective immigrant family be put off by the chores awaiting her in the United States countryside, Muench concluded with what, in his male view, was compensation for all this dawn-to-dark labor: "Despite all that, wives do not cease to live as cultured human beings. They are the center of the intimate and warm family life where every member helps as he can."

In all these varied confrontations with the shock of the new and finally coming to terms with the many changes from accustomed homeland ways, could and would the immigrant eventually discover a new sense of identity to replace the old ties and allegiances to the old country, to have "the satisfying feeling of having won a Fatherland again"?

As Muench viewed his own and others's experience, he found some succeeded in this quest while others made, at best, a marginal adjustment. Of factors facilitating this adaption, he cited the favorable blending of the German and Anglo-Saxon elements in the United States, the similarities of climate, occupations and culture to those in Germany. Especially helpful was the possibility of finding "an almost completely German life in expanding German settlements."[33]

Yet, despite these helpful circumstances, Muench cautioned that for many first-generation immigrants the process was not easy; that in some instances the adjustment was never completely made: "Those who grew up in Europe, especially the educated, live here with an alienated feeling. Even when an honorable man . . . confronts this feeling and tries to fulfill his obligations, he cannot alter the fact that he had another Fatherland in whose fate and honor he once exalted . . . . Few here become fully Americanized. We remain German in feeling and striving."[34]

Sometimes, change in national and cultural identification went on so gradually that individuals were unaware of its happening. Their altered sense of self was revealed only when they made a return visit to the German homeland "to once again see the scenes which had impressed their youthful feelings at the deepest level, to recapture the joys of youth." When they arrived they found everything changed, not least of all themselves. "They will no longer understand those they had once been close to. They will be struck by how much they have changed by living in America. Dissatisfied, most soon return to the New World, even if it were a wilderness."[35]

Sometimes the transition was readily accomplished by the immigrant's taking on a kind of double identity. "Many Germans, without in the least disowning their Germaness, have so completely adopted American ways, they have a double capacity, an advantage of over the native born—especially for business people, lawyers, doctors, etc. This capacity is often envied by the natives."[36]

For most, everyday encounters, demands, needs and accomplishments eventually fostered a transition to a sense of belonging:

> Local life changes and develops those who enter newly into it . . . . These persons seem marvelously changed. A dissolute student ends as an eyerolling Methodist preacher; a cast-off lieutenant, as woodsplitter or soapmaker; a proud baron, driver of an ox cart; a Catholic priest has a wife and child and happily farms; a cunning stable hand heads one of the greatest business houses in St. Louis. Each learns and sees anew, his view enlarges, his judgment sharpens.

> Forced to unaccustomed exertions, he gains in energy and self-confidence . . . . The former downtrodden individual raises himself and learns as an equally entitled human being to feel this and amount to something. The former aristocrat sees to his own interest, forcing himself to come down from his fancied superiority and to relate to others as his equals.[37]

Not in all cases, however, was the impact of the United States environment positive: "Men without firm and honorable principles, who earlier held to these in the old world for purposes of outward show, are here inclined to throw overboard all respect for honor and to indulge only in common self-interest."

In various passages in the book addressing major adjustments for immigrants, Muench often stopped to rally, to exhort his readers to believe they too would prevail: "Take courage, be resolved to overcome the first pressing difficulties. Do not doubt that you too will succeed as we succeeded in even more difficult circumstances. Raise your sights! Renounce narrow mindedness! Start afresh! After a few years Missouri will become your treasured new home."[38]

In his last chapter, "Final Word to the Reader," Muench concluded his discussion in the same personal tone he used throughout most of the book: "Farewell dear reader. Perhaps we will yet extend a hand to one another in the 'Far West.'"

Following publication of the *State Missouri* in early 1859, its New York publisher, Brai, asked Muench to travel to Europe to arrange for distribution of the work in Germany and Switzerland.[39] No account seems to exist of contacts and arrangements Muench made for this purpose during his November to May sojourn abroad.

In Missouri's post-Civil War era, other voices began speaking out, encouraging immigration to the state. In February 1865, the Missouri General Assembly, acting on the recommendation of then Governor Thomas C. Fletcher, passed an act creating a State Board of Immigration empowered to publish material describing the state's resources and advantages and to appoint agents to travel to the eastern states and Europe to foster immigration to Missouri.[40]

Fletcher appointed Muench to membership on this new board, a role he continued under subsequent governors. Muench's political experience—four years as anti-slavery Republican in the Missouri Senate, 1861-65—and his interest in immigration made him a natural candidate for the appointment. He served with another German-American, Isidor Bush, prominent in the St. Louis community. Bush, a Jewish immigrant born in the Prague ghetto, shared many

of Muench's interests: Union supporter, emancipation activist and long-time president of the German Immigration Aid Society in St. Louis. Muench and Bush served for several terms as the board's treasurer and secretary, respectively.[41]

It was probably Muench's immigration board membership which gave impetus for the publication in Germany of his 1866 book titled *The State Missouri: A Handbook for German Emigration*. The title page described the work as "an abridged and updated edition" of the 1859 work.[42] In addition to the Board of Immigration's promotional efforts, various private groups whose economic interests would be served by increased immigration—local communities, real estate operators and the railroads—joined the recruiting campaign.[43]

Muench's literary career that preceded publication of the 1859 book continued in his later years, encompassing subjects as varied as viticulture, philosophy, rational religion, history and biography. He often wrote under the pen name "Far West." Muench also remained involved politically, helping to organize the so-called Liberal Republican Party in 1871-72.[44] Active into his eighty-second year, Muench died suddenly on his farm, December 1881, while winter-pruning his beloved vineyard.

Iowa City, Iowa

Appendix

Der Staat Missouri: Table of Contents

Notes

[1] Albert Faust, *The German Element in the United States* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1909), 1:584-85.

[2] See James W. Goodrich, ed., *Gottfried Duden's Report on a Journey to the Western States of North America and a Stay of Several Years along the Missouri* (Columbia: U of Missouri P, 1983); Alice H. Finckh article series beginning, "Gottfried Duden Views Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review* 43 (July 1949): 334-43.

[3] William G. Bek, "The Followers of Duden: Friedrich Muench," *Missouri Historical Review* 18 (April 1924): 415-37, 436.

[4] T. R. Fehrenbach, *Lone Star: A History of Texas and Texans* (New York: Macmillian, 1968), 291-95. The emigration scheme was also know as the "Adelsverein," or "Nobles' Association."

[5] For account of Muench's involvement with the Giessen Emigration Society and his subsequent years in Missouri, see Bek's article-series in the *Missouri Historical Review*, "The Followers of Duden: Friedrich Muench," 18 (April 1924): 415-37; 18 (July 1924): 562-84; 19 (October 1924): 114-29; 19 (January 1925): 338-32. For a brief biographical sketch, see Siegmar Muehl, "A Brief Encounter Between Friedrich Muench, German-American Rationalist in Missouri, and Theodore Parker, New England Transcendentalist," *Yearbook of German American Studies* 28 (1993): 13-32, "Appendix," 28-29.

[6] Bek, "Followers," 19: 119-20.

[7] *Selections*, "To the Future German Emigrant to Missouri," n. 20-21. See note 10 for *Selections* reference.

[8] Theodore Olshausen, *Der Staat Missouri geographisch und statistisch beschrieben; also Karte des Staats Missouri nach den besten Hülfsmitteln bearbeitet* (Kiel: Akademische Buchhandlung, 1854). Olshausen, 1851 German immigrant, settled in St. Louis and after five years moved to Davenport, Iowa, where he edited the *Davenport Democrat*. He returned to St. Louis in 1860 as editor of the *Westliche Post*. Johann Wappaeus, *Handbuch der Geographik und Statistik von Nord-Amerika* (Leipzig: Hinrichsche Buchhandlung, 1855). Wappaeus, a German academic never lived or traveled in the United States. See *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Conversations Lexicon*, ed. Alexander J. Schem (New York, 1873), 8:286-87 and 11:398, for biographical entries.

[9] Frederic Trautmann, "Missouri Through a German's Eyes: Franz von Loeher on St. Louis and Hermann," *Missouri Historical Review* 77 (July 1983): 367-94.

[10] Friedrich Muench, *Der Staat Missouri: Geschildert mit besonderer Rücksicht auf deutsche Einwanderung* (New York and St. Louis: Verlag der Farmers' & Winegrowers' Society, 1859), trans.,

ed. and privately printed by Siegmar and Lois B. Muehl under the title *Selections from the State Missouri: Portrayed with Special Regard to German Immigration* (1997). The translation is on file at the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, and the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. Subsequent references are to *Selections* chapter headings and pages. *Selections*, "Foreword," 11.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid., "Final Word to the Reader," 60.

[13] Ibid., "To the Future German Emigrant to Missouri," 13-14.

[14] Ibid., 14-15.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid., 15-16.

[17] Ibid., 16-17.

[18] Ibid., 18-19.

[19] Ibid., "Foreword," 17-18; see also "Business and Trades . . . ," 59.

[20] Ibid., "Slavery," 49-50. The phrase "the party opposing slavery" in the quote referred to the radical Republicans in the Missouri legislature, the "charcoals," who held for full as opposed to the gradual emancipation. Moderate Republicans, called "claybanks" held the latter view. When elected to the Missouri senate, 1861, Muench became an outspoken member of the "charcoals." See Bek, "Followers," *Missouri Historical Review* 19 (October 1924): 122-23.—The author is grateful to a reviewer of this article for pointing out that Friedrich Muench himself was listed in the 1850 manuscript census as owning one female slave. See Walter Kamphoefner, *The Westfalians*, 116-17.

[21] *Selections*, "Final Word to the Reader," 61-62.

[22] Ibid., "Nativism," 52.

[23] Ibid., "Population . . . ," 31.

[24] Ibid., "Nativism," 55-56.

[25] Ibid., 54.

[26] Ibid., "Population . . . ," 29.

[27] Ibid., "Literature . . . ," 47.

[28] Ibid., "Church and School Affairs," 42.

[29] Ibid., n. 43.

[30] Ibid., 44-45.

[31] Ibid., "Population . . . ," 29-31.

[32] Ibid., "Country Life . . . ," 38.

[33] Ibid., "Foreword," 9.

[34] Ibid., "Country Life . . . ," 39-40.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid., "Population . . . ," 31.

[37] Ibid., 31-32.

[38] Ibid., "To the Future German Emigrant . . . ," 20.

[39] Bek, "Followers," *Missouri Historical Review* 19 (October 1924): 119-20.

[40] Norman C. Crockett, "A Study of Confusion: Missouri's Immigration Program, 1865-1916," *Missouri Historical Review* 62 (April 1963): 248-60, esp. 250; L. Steven Demaree, "Post-Civil War Immigration to Southwest Missouri, 1865-1873," *Missouri Historical Review* 69 (October 1974): 169-90, esp. 170-71.

[41] "Isidor Bush," *The United States Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of Eminent and Self-Made Men, Missouri Volume*, ed. J. W. Hodge (Kansas City: United States Biographical Publishing Co., 1878), 36-39.

[42] Friedrich Muench, *Der Staat Missouri, ein Handbuch für deutsche Auswanderer* (Bremen: In Commission bei C. Ed. Mueller, 1866), 122. Copy of the title page courtesy of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. This author has not seen the full German text. When Muench wrote the 1859 book he had a follow-up publication in mind. In the chapter, "Significant Cities in Missouri, (outside of St. Louis)," he wrote: "If I am alive ten years from now and able to write, I want to

publish for German readers a new overview of Missouri cities to show which of those here have doubled or more in population, and in addition name fifty new cities in which vigorous German lives and concerns make themselves felt," *Der Staat* (1859), 208-9.

[43] Crockett, "A Study," 248-49, see n. 41.

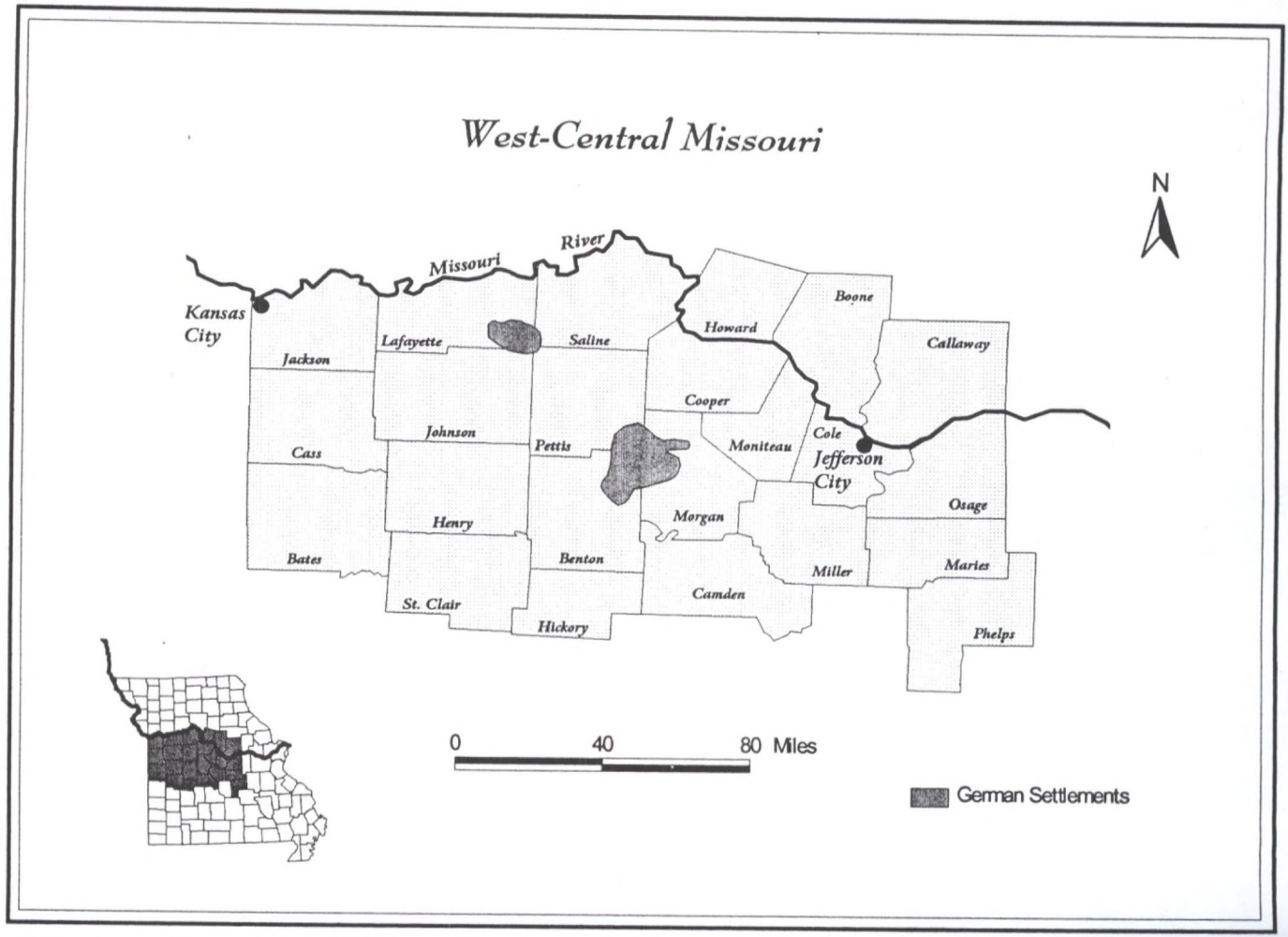
[44] Bek, "Followers," *Missouri Historial Review* 19 (October 1924): 127; for a bibliography of Muench's literary works see Bek, "Followers," *Missouri Historical Review* 19 (January 1925): 338-32; also Muehl, "A Brief Encounter," n. 5.

Robert W. Frizzell

The Low German Settlements of Western Missouri: Examples of Ethnic Cocoons

The Low Germans of Cole Camp and Concordia, Missouri, built two of the earliest significant German settlements in the western half of that state. These settlements are prime examples of the ethnic agricultural frontier communities Walter Kamphoefner has characterized as cocoons. For many decades, these communities protected their inhabitants "from the full force of assimilative pressure."[1] The two, composed chiefly of peasants from the north German Kingdom of Hanover, had a great deal in common. Both the Cole Camp Settlement at the juncture of Benton, Pettis, and Morgan counties and the Concordia Settlement in the southeastern corner of Lafayette County began as purely agricultural settlements far from any town. Each remained without a central town for some years after the first settlers arrived. Although neither settlement had Old Lutheran origins, each became a stronghold of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, soon after the synod's founding. In both settlements, for everyday conversation Low German or *Plattdeutsch* was so common that even those Germans in the locality who were not native *Plattdeutsch* speakers had to learn the dialect.[2] When the Civil War came, each community found itself in an environment of intense military hostility. The Civil War experiences of these communities differentiate their histories from those of other communities of northwest European peasants in the American Midwest. Each community withstood its Civil War ordeal to grow larger and stronger in the decades after the war.

The Cole Camp German community was called Lake Creek in the early years.[3] It began in the forested areas along Lake and Haw creeks about 1835. The first German in the area may have been a Catholic from the Rhineland who was sent to look for minerals by a St. Louis company in 1834. Four years later, he and other Germans from Nassau, Hessen-Cassel, and Alsace became charter members of a Catholic congregation at Bahner in Pettis County.[4]


West-Central Missouri
N
Missouri River
Kansas City
Jackson
Lafayette
Saline
Howard
Boone
Callaway
Cooper
Johnson
Pettis
Moniteau
Cole
Jefferson City
Cass
Henry
Morgan
Osage
Bates
Benton
Miller
Maries
St. Clair
Hickory
Camden
Phelps
0
40
80 Miles
German Settlements

While the earliest settlers, especially in that part of the settlement lying in Pettis County, were of widely scattered origins, a concentrated migration chain of Low German speakers began to arrive quite early. As far as is known, beyond the St. Louis company's effort to find minerals, there was no promotional organization or involvement by an emigration society. Word was simply passed from person to person in Hanoverian villages, en route, or among recent Hanoverian immigrants in St. Louis. Later census information implies that, by 1840, families with such names as Jagels, Mueller, and Holsten had already established themselves in Benton County.[5] These families, and those that soon followed, came from the Ottersberg area in Hanover immediately to the east of Bremen and from villages north of Ottersberg extending beyond Bremervörde. This migration chain prevailed to such an extent that when missionary August Rauschenbusch visited the settlement in summer 1847 he reported, "nearly all the inhabitants of this settlement are from Ottersberg Township near Bremen."[6]

The land they settled was partly timbered along the creeks and partly open prairie. A farm entirely of prairie, the only option available to many later settlers, was undesirable due to lack of wood for buildings, fencing, and fuel.[7] American settlers frequently bypassed this area not only to avoid the prairie but also because it was too far from the rivers. Rivers served as the major arteries of commerce before railroads were built. In the early years, a trip of several days by ox-drawn wagon to Boonville was required to sell farm products and buy supplies.[8]

By 1839, a sufficient number of German Protestants had arrived for a German Methodist lay exhorter named Franz Walkenhorst to hold religious services in people's homes.[9] A log church was built in 1840, but, of course, the church the immigrants had left in the Ottersberg area was the State Evangelical Lutheran Church of Hanover. Most wished to remain Lutheran. In January 1842 they organized Holy Cross Lutheran Church and contacted C. F. W. Walther, head of the Stephanists in St. Louis, for a properly educated and ordained pastor. Walther sent Emil Julius Moritz Wege. Wege was one of several candidates in theology who came with the Stephanists from Dresden to Missouri in order to preserve pure Lutheran doctrine. Wege's installation at Holy Cross appears to be the first instance of a Stephanist serving a non-Stephanist congregation excepting two ministers whom Walther sent to Illinois German congregations just across the Mississippi River from St. Louis. An inseparable combination of troublesome distances some farmers had to travel to reach Holy Cross, and doctrinal disputes, led to the founding of four additional Lutheran congregations in the community by 1850. Three of the four new churches eventually joined the Iowa Synod. Two German Methodist churches were also organized at the periphery of the community in the 1840s. Methodists

had less difficulty in staffing new churches. They did not require college education for their clergy and the circuit-rider system allowed one clergyman to cover several churches. When the circuit rider was absent, a lay exhorter could conduct services.[10]

In the summer of 1850, in the community proper, the census taker found 136 German families to support these churches.[11] The overwhelming majority of the families supported themselves by farming. One hundred-twenty of the 136 household heads appear in the 1850 census as farmers. The census reveals only seven German households with other occupations: one physician, one blacksmith, one carpenter, one millwright, one miller, and two ministers.[12] At this early time, Americans provided merchandizing and other services later taken over by Germans.

This immigrant farming community of 1850 was very much a gathering of families, most of them married couples in their childbearing years with young children. While all transatlantic migration in the age of sail required considerable physical effort, creating a farm from virgin forest and prairie was very much the task of young adults at the peak of their physical powers. Children could contribute a great deal, beginning at age six or earlier. One hundred-eighteen (87 percent) of the 136 households appear to have included a married couple and a child or children of one or both adults. Other households consisted of a couple with no children at home, or a surviving parent with a child or children. Many of these households included retired grandparents, servants, and single boarders. But seldom did unmarried immigrants live alone and seldom did single immigrants form households with each other. Most of these people had been in America and in Missouri several years. Seventy-four of the 136 households (54 percent) contained children under three years of age, but in only three of those 74 households was a child under three born in Germany or at sea. One factor helping to explain why there were so few German-born young children at a time when many families immigrated with infants and young children is that many immigrants may have worked for a few seasons or years in St. Louis before moving out to a farm.[13]

Whether or not they had worked in St. Louis, few of these people had spent a great deal of time in other American states. Only five of the nearly 200 American-born children were not born in Missouri: one in New York, one in Virginia, and three in Louisiana. This indicates the importance of the migration route through New Orleans.[14] Five young German men had married American women: two born in Missouri, two born in Kentucky, and one born in Indiana. The Kentucky women probably lived in Missouri before marriage since so many Missouri families at that time had migrated from Kentucky. In short, in 1850, this was a very homogeneous community of Hanoverian Lutheran peasant

couples, nearly all in their childbearing years, and half with very young children. They had come directly from Hanover to Missouri, although perhaps not directly to this settlement. Interspersed among them were some Catholic families and some who had migrated from other parts of Germany.

Hanoverians were the first Germans on the site of the Concordia settlement in Freedom Township, Lafayette County, some fifty miles northwest of Cole Camp. The founder, a Hanoverian called "Troester" Dierking, came to southeastern Lafayette County with American friends.[15] In 1838, three Germans patented lands there. Most of the earliest settlers originated in an area just northwest of the city of Hanover, extending toward Nienburg.[16] Soon immigrants were also coming from an area straddling the border which divided the Hanoverian province of Osnabrück from the former County of Ravensberg in the Prussian Westphalian province.[17] The dialect of the original settlers from near the city of Hanover prevailed over the dialects of other settlers.[18]

The earliest settlers tended to stay in the timber along Davis and Panther creeks, but soon Germans were moving onto the prairie.[19] This settlement was considerably closer to the Missouri River than was its sister at Cole Camp, so crops could be marketed more easily. The land in Freedom Township was also more productive.[20]

In 1840, a German teacher in the new settlement began to baptize children born in the New World. Two years later, ten household heads drew up an agreement to construct a church building for what became St. Paul's Lutheran congregation. After an additional five years, and after the German Methodists had put the community on one of their circuits, the Lutherans managed to obtain an ordained pastor. They, too, contacted Walther in St. Louis who sent Adolph G. G. Franke. Pastor Franke, whether or not deliberately chosen by Walther for this reason, was a Hanoverian by birth and not part of the Saxon migration. But that did not prevent a walkout from St. Paul's in 1850 to found a congregation which eventually affiliated with the Evangelical Synod.[21]

Table 1. 1850 Census: Population of Low German Settlements.

	Born Germany	Born U.S.	Total
Lake Creek (Cole Camp Area)	491	198	689
Freedom Township (Concordia Area)	260	123	383
Grand Total, 1850	751	321	1,072

Table 2. 1860 Census: Population of Low German Settlements

	Born Hannover	Born Germany	Born Missouri	Born U.S., other	Born At Sea	Total
Cole Camp Settlement						
N.E. Benton Co.*	686	150	511	26	2	1,375
Pettis Co.	125	58	148	5		336
Morgan Co.						
Haw Creek Twp.	214	60	187	8		469
Richland Twp.	111	106	174	12	1	404
Total Cole Camp	1,136	374	1,020	51	3	2,584
Concordia Settlement						
Lafayette Co.	305	147	368	14	2	836
Saline Co.	35	16	35	2		83
Total Concordia	335	163	403	16	2	919
Grand Total, 1860	1,471	537	1,423	67	5	3,503

*Williams and Cole Townships

Table 3. Household Characteristics of Low German Settlements

	Cole Camp Settlement		Concordia Settlement		
	1850	1860	1850	1860	1870
German Household Heads*	136	485	72	161	312
Households containing a married couple & one or more children of one or both adults	118	394	56	134	277
Households containing a child or children less than three years of age	72	162	44	81	185
Non-farm households	7	60	6	16	36
Persistence of household heads from previous census		57%		65%	48%

*Includes immigrants and American-born offspring of immigrant parents.

Although the Hanoverian settlement in eastern Freedom Township was not so large as the Cole Camp community, the census taker found 72 German households there in 1850. This community, too, was overwhelmingly agricultural. Only six households were not chiefly engaged in farming: two carpenters, two blacksmiths, one wheelwright, and one minister. With the road to Independence, Missouri, where the western trails began, running through Lafayette County, six young men from the German community had been lured away and were in California hunting gold in the summer of 1850.[22]

This, too, was a very homogeneous community of families with young children. Fifty-six of 72 households (78 percent) appear to have contained a married couple and child or children. Forty-four of those households (61 percent) contained a child or children under the age of three. The vast majority of this community, too, seems to have followed a migration chain from Hanover via New Orleans and St. Louis to rural western Missouri. In 1850, only one child had been born in another American state—Louisiana. One wife had been born in New York and another in Pennsylvania. One German woman and her small children lived with an American man born in Tennessee. In comparison with the Cole Camp settlement, a larger portion of families had come from Europe directly and recently. Five of the 72 households contained children under three years of age who had been born in Germany or at sea.

By 1860, when the next census was taken, both communities had grown much larger and had become a little, but only a little, more varied in occupational and social structure. In the decade of the 1850s, the number of German households in the Cole Camp area grew from 132 to 485, and the number of people in them grew from 689 to 2,584.[23] In a community growing so rapidly, it may not be surprising that relatively few left, but the persistence rate of 57 percent is very high for any community in nineteenth-century America, especially a frontier community.[24]

The census of 1860 for the first time specified how many people had come from Hanover: 1,136 of a total of 1,510 German-born, or 75.2 percent. In the core area in Benton County, twelve miles long and six miles wide, over 90 percent of the households were German while 89.9 percent of the Germans were Hanoverians.[25] Germans from other areas appeared more frequently at the edges of the settlement and in the towns of Cole Camp and Florence, where they provided services for the largely Hanoverian farm population. Germans were replacing Americans in marketing and crafts, and thus the German community was becoming more economically diverse. Sixty of the 485 German households appear to have been engaged in pursuits other than farming. Yet, heads of most of these households directly supported the farmers, especially the four wagon makers and two millers. Farmers would have made up the primary market for

the goods and services of the eight shoemakers, seven blacksmiths, and six carpenters. Even the professionals, three clergymen, three physicians, and one teacher would have dealt primarily with farm families. So would the seven merchants, three tailors, one saddler, and two cabinetmakers. Other craftsmen, including the cooper, brick maker, three potters,[26] brewer, and baker may have had as many dealings with merchants and other townspeople as with farmers.

The village of Cole Camp, itself, so small as to be difficult to identify in the census list of 1850, was quite recognizable by 1860. Half its fifty household heads, including a physician and sixteen craftsmen, were German. Among the Germans, those originating outside the Kingdom of Hanover predominated. Of Cole Camp's three carpenters, two were Prussians and one was from Oldenburg. Both blacksmiths hailed from Saxony. One shoemaker was from Württemberg and the other from Alsace, although there was a Hanoverian journeyman. The tailor, cabinetmaker, saddler, and baker had all come from Hanover. Yet, both tinners were Prussians, one wagon maker was a Prussian and the other an Austrian, and the physician was Prussian. The merchants and hotel keepers at this time were still Americans.

With its slow maturation, the entire community experienced the same gradual change in social structure as in economic composition. The portion of households that included a married couple and child or children declined in the 1850s from 87 percent to 81 percent. The portion of households with children under the age of three declined from 54 percent to 33 percent. Despite rapid growth, the community held few new families who had come directly from Europe with young children. Although the census taker found six German-born four-year-olds, there was only one European-born child under three. Perhaps the Panic of 1857 made it more difficult to begin a farm. Certainly, the total number of Germans coming to America fell in the late 1850s.

The vast majority of American-born children in the settlement had been born in Missouri, but eight families had lived in Illinois long enough to have a child born there, five in both New York and Louisiana, three in Ohio and one each in Virginia, Indiana, and Pennsylvania. There were thirteen American-born spouses not born in Missouri. The only state represented more than once in this group was Ohio, where five spouses had been born. Just as the non-Hanoverian Germans were more likely to earn their living outside agriculture, so they were also more likely to have lived in other American states before coming to Missouri. Of the twenty-four households with children born in states other than Missouri, only ten (or 42 percent) were families whose heads had originated in Hanover. By comparison, 75 percent of all area Germans were Hanoverians.

Thus the Cole Camp settlement in 1860 continued to be a large gathering of Low German peasants who had followed a migration chain directly from

Hanover to Missouri. Some had worked in St. Louis for a time and had thereby begun the assimilation process into German-America or into the larger majoritarian American culture. But many had little real experience outside the villages in which they had been born and the Hanoverian cocoon at Cole Camp. Of course, they encountered physical and economic conditions in Missouri quite different from those they knew in Hanover. But Cole Camp provided an excellent opportunity to create a Hanoverian-American subculture. To be sure, by 1860, people from other parts of Germany, who were more likely to have lived in other American states, played an increasingly important role in providing the Hanoverian farmers with craft goods and services. But by doing so, they scarcely made the community more cosmopolitan than it would otherwise have become. In fact, these craftsmen and professionals from other parts of Germany served to insulate the rural Hanoverians from contact which otherwise would have been necessary with the larger American community.

In the 1850s, the Concordia community changed in a similar way to its larger Missouri Low German sister, except that as of 1860, its central place was scarcely yet a town. The community grew from 72 households to 161, including sixteen households across the county boundary in Salt Pond Township of Saline County. Even though its 124 percent rate of growth of households was significantly below the 257 percent rate enjoyed by the Cole Camp community in the same decade, the Concordia community's 63 percent persistence rate was even higher than Cole Camp's 57 percent. So the Freedom Township community was smaller, but somewhat more stable. Perhaps the differences can be explained in part because in Lafayette County there was less room to expand without buying out Americans at a relatively high price; but once acquired, the Freedom Township land gave a better return.

Hanoverians comprised slightly more than two-thirds of the German-born population. Since most of the others were Prussians, most of whom came from northern Westphalia, Low German speakers made up fully 90 percent of the community. Still, the new community leader who arrived in 1860, Pastor F. J. Biltz, was one of the original Stephanists from the Kingdom of Saxony.[27] His wife, Marie Wormb Biltz, had a more exotic origin, having been born to German missionary parents in the Cape Colony in South Africa. Two farming families had originated in Baden. Two or three individuals had come from Bavaria. One of the blacksmiths was from Württemberg and the other from Saxe-Weimar, but the difference in place-of-origin between farmers and craftsmen was not so striking as at Cole Camp.

Only sixteen German households of the Concordia settlement were engaged in activities other than farming: three ministers, one merchant, two blacksmiths, two millers, two shoemakers, two carpenters, and one each wagon maker,

saddler, plasterer, and spinning wheel maker. The very limited number of German craftsmen, especially in the earliest years, probably accounts for why there is so little German material culture today in the Concordia area compared to the German areas of eastern Missouri. The census lists imply that few artisans capable of producing high quality buildings or craft objects lived in the settlement, and, in the early years, there were no wealthy townsmen to patronize such artisans.[28]

The future town of Concordia, itself, although it did not obtain a post office until 1865, is more or less identifiable in the 1860 census schedule. Within eleven census listings were one carpenter, two millers, the merchant, one of the community's two blacksmiths, the wagon maker and the saddler. All were Germans. Together with Pastor Biltz, who lived nearby, here were more than half of the community's non-agricultural households. Still, this was hardly a town—just a grouping of a store, mill, a blacksmith and three other craftsmen within half a mile of the church.

The portion of households containing a married couple and child or children actually rose in the 1850s from 78 percent to 83 percent, but as the community matured and new land became scarcer, so did families with very young children. The portion with children under age three fell from 61 to 50 percent. The only families who had brought children from Germany in the last four years were three families with German-born three-year-olds.[29]

In the 1850s, the Concordia settlement had more than doubled in size. A new church, one of the first German Baptist churches in the region, had been established in 1851.[30] Yet, in 1860, the community remained an enclave of rural Low German-American life, set apart from the larger region. In the years immediately after 1860, the community was to clash violently with the majority of the larger region.

Both settlements suffered extraordinarily during the American Civil War. Most of the slaves of Missouri were in the Missouri River counties from Callaway westward. Support for the Southern cause was strongest in this part of the state. None of the Hanoverian farmers, so far as was reported, owned slaves. Few could afford slaves despite their need for agricultural labor. Moreover, most felt slavery was morally wrong and inconsistent with their idealized view of American political and social freedom. Some were repelled by slavery because the African-American slaves seemed so different from North Europeans.

When the war began in 1861, C. F. W. Walther warned members of his denomination to hold themselves aloof from the conflict. The Christian was not to be overly concerned with secular affairs, and the Old Testament seemed to sanction slavery.[31] In both settlements, the Hanoverian farmers found

themselves in close proximity to thousands of slave-owning farmers and admonished by the leader of their denomination that slavery was acceptable. Yet they chose to follow the lead of German radicals in St. Louis and the Missouri "Rhineland" by flocking to the defense of the Union in opposition to the majority of their American neighbors.[32]

When Nathaniel Lyon, federal commander of the St. Louis Arsenal, began to organize and arm German Home Guard companies in late spring 1861, some 600 Benton County men, mostly Germans, formed six companies. They received their arms in mid-June. On 15 June, Lyon arrived from St. Louis to drive the pro-secessionist state government out of Jefferson City, the state capital. Two days after that, Lyon routed Governor Jackson's State Guards as they attempted to defend Boonville from the federals.

The next day, local Benton County secessionists decided to attack the local German Unionists who were camped just outside Cole Camp in the German neighborhood. Benton County, which is situated on the Ozark plateau, contained only 600 slaves in 1860. But secessionist leaders in Warsaw, the county seat, managed to gather 350 men with which to attack the Germans. They arrived at Cole Camp during the wee hours of 19 June. As many as 400 Unionists were bivouacked in and near two large barns east of town. They were caught sound asleep. Their alertness may have been dulled by the libations of the previous evening. Thirty-five German men were killed instantly or mortally wounded. How many received wounds from which they recovered is unknown. The secessionists took perhaps twenty-five prisoners, but most of the Unionists simply faded away into the woods. The secessionists lost seven killed and perhaps twenty-five wounded. Thus the Hanoverians, led by Americans born in northern states, suffered a serious defeat. The next year, two skirmishes took place near Cole Camp. Moreover, Jo Shelby led his Confederate cavalry through the community in October 1863 during his Missouri raid. But for this community, the truly terrifying event of the war happened on one of the war's first days.[33]

Despite its losses, the Cole Camp settlement continued to grow during the 1860s, especially after the war ended. By 1870, the town itself had twenty-two German non-agricultural households, up from seventeen a decade earlier. Americans had departed during the decade so that Germans made up two-thirds of the town's household heads. There were now four German merchants and a saloon keeper in addition to the craftsmen and laborers. Hanoverians remained a minority of Germans in the village despite their overwhelming numbers on the farms. Four Bohemian families had come to the village by summer 1870.

The community had grown into additional parts of Benton and Morgan Counties. Moreover, Germans had bought-out Anglo-Americans in Flat Creek and Williams townships so that the old German neighborhoods became more

German. "German" households grew from 62 to 76 households in Flat Creek and from 213 to 262 in Williams. The second generation, born in Missouri, founded many of the new households, although others resulted from new immigration. Forty-four families recorded in the census, who had not been recorded in the settlement ten years earlier, had Missouri-born children over ten years old. Some of these families probably were missed in the earlier census, but most must have moved to the settlement from St. Louis or other Missouri locations. Thirty-six new German families in the two townships had children less than ten years old born outside Missouri. Some of these were not part of the prevailing migration chain, having come from central or southern Germany or having lived in Illinois, Ohio, or elsewhere in America. But eleven of the families clearly formed a new segment of the main pre-war migration chain. These families contained children aged five or younger who had been born in Hanover.[34]

Despite the continued attractiveness to newcomers of the central townships of the Cole Camp settlement, the persistence rate in these settlements fell in the 1860s. The rate was only 42 percent for the 213 households of Williams Township and 45 percent for the households of Flat Creek Township. Of course, some household heads were killed in the war and others died natural deaths as the settlers of the 1830s and 1840s aged. No doubt, too, men who farmed as tenants in the older areas in 1860 bought land in new areas of the settlement during the decade. But another factor of importance is that after the Civil War, Germans left the Cole Camp area to establish daughter settlements.[35]

On the eve of the Civil War, rather different circumstances existed in Lafayette County. There the Hanoverians were not just near a group of secessionists. They were next door to the epicenter of the Missouri secessionist movement. More people were enslaved in Lafayette County in 1860 than in any other Missouri county—6,374 to be exact. Saline County adjoined Lafayette, and its 4,876 slaves made it fourth among Missouri slave-holding counties.[36] The secessionist governor of Missouri, Claiborne Fox Jackson, hailed from Saline. The commander of the secessionist Missouri State Militia, Sterling Price, had lived for decades at Keytesville, just across the Missouri River. Two of Price's most important subordinate commanders were John S. Marmaduke from Arrow Rock in Saline County and Joseph O. Shelby who lived at Waverly in Lafayette County itself. Shelby lived so close to the Freedom Township Germans that, before the war, he sold land to them and bought farm produce from them.[37]

Unlike their fellow Hanoverians at Cole Camp, the Concordia Germans grew hemp as a cash crop, thereby involving themselves in the slave economy. In contrast to their American neighbors in Lafayette County, the Germans did not use slaves for the backbreaking labor required to produce hemp. The fiber,

however, that they themselves grew, became packaging for a slave-produced product. Missouri hemp was used chiefly for burlap and rope to wrap and bind cotton bales in the American South.[38] Slaves produced much of the cotton, of course. Missouri was the nation's second largest hemp producer in 1860, and half the Missouri hemp crop was raised in Lafayette and Saline Counties.[39] The Concordia Germans joined their American neighbors in growing and selling hemp to be used in the commercial agriculture of the South.[40]

Neither proximity to the hub of secession, nor production for the slave economy, nor religious admonition prevented the Freedom Township Germans from vigorously defending the Union. Within days after Nathaniel Lyon chased secessionist Governor Jackson from Boonville, an independent company of Freedom Township Germans garrisoned Lexington, the Lafayette County seat, for the Union. Later in the summer of 1861, Colonel Edwin Price, son of General Sterling Price, gathered 2,000 additional secessionists in Saline County. On the way to join his father, who was then in far southwestern Missouri, Edwin Price stopped at Concordia. He interrogated community leaders, intimidated outspoken Unionists, and commandeered horses, wagons, and supplies.[41] In 1861, however, the distinction between soldiers and civilians was maintained so that the German civilians were not physically attacked.

The situation changed in 1862. The United States Army prevented Missouri Confederate troops from operating in the Missouri River Valley. Secessionist civilians then created a powerful guerrilla movement against the Federal Army and unionist civilians. The epicenter of the guerrilla movement, whose most notorious chieftain was William C. Quantrill, lay in southeastern Jackson County only about thirty miles from Concordia.[42] The first major guerrilla attack on the Germans took place on 5 October 1862. Several families gathered to celebrate the baptism of the twin sons of Julius Vogt, a community blacksmith. Guerrillas surrounded the house and took the German men away on horseback. At intervals that evening in the darkness, three Germans were dismounted and killed or fatally wounded. Three others received wounds from which they recovered. Five were freed unharmed in the course of this evening of terror.[43]

The next summer, in July 1863, a group of men, probably a part of Quantrill's band, rode into the community, took four prisoners, and then killed them. In August 1864, guerrillas passing through the community fatally wounded a Hanoverian farmer and rope maker at his house and killed his apprentice instantly.

The worst incident for the Concordia community came near the end of organized warfare in Missouri at the time of General Sterling Price's great raid from Arkansas back into his home state. On the morning of 10 October 1864,

as Price's army entered Boonville some forty miles to the east, Quantrill's men led by George Todd and David Poole approached the Freedom Township settlement. An American miller signaled the Germans, who gathered the home guard. Soon, about 100 mounted guerrillas encountered about twenty-five mounted Germans. During the main encounter in open fields, it would appear that one guerrilla was wounded and all the Germans, save one, were killed. Then the guerrillas raided houses and set them afire, although some were saved by women as the guerrillas rode away.[44]

Additional battle deaths and deaths in camp from disease brought the community's war-related loss of life to about forty, or 15 percent of all men in the community over the age of fifteen and listed in the 1860 census.[45]

Despite these losses and the climate of terror which existed for several years during the war, the community had grown greatly by the next census in 1870. The entire settlement now numbered 312 households, up 94 percent in ten years. The settlement had expanded from Freedom Township across Davis Creek so that thirty families lived in eastern Davis Township in 1870.[46] If the families who moved to this new area of the settlement are included, 77 or the 161 household heads of 1860 remained a decade later for a persistence rate of 48 percent. Also still in the community in 1870 were the families of nine 1860 household heads known to have been killed in the war. Including these households brings the persistence rate to 53 percent, which is nonetheless ten percentage points lower than the rate for the preceding decade. While only one family could be documented as fleeing the community in response to the war's violence, additional wartime flight may have contributed to the lower persistence rate.[47]

Those households newly present in 1870 fall into several categories. Thirty-four new households contained children aged ten or older who had been born in Missouri. Most of the families had probably been living in St. Louis when those children were born. Only one family was matched to the Cole Camp settlement in 1860. Seventeen new families had children less than ten years old who were born in other states. One suspects that most or all of these families came to the Concordia settlement after the end of the war in 1865. Five of the seventeen came from Illinois, but the former residences of the other dozen were widely scattered. One Hanoverian family had spent at least seven years in Canada before coming to Concordia. Another eighteen families contained children born in Germany in 1860 or later. A dozen new families had come from Hanover since 1860, four from Prussia, and one each from Holstein and Bavaria. Six of the north German families included children aged three or younger who had been born in Germany. Concordia, too, continued to receive not just new single immigrants, but new families, after the Civil War.

The Concordia settlement was still a community of families, most of which contained young children. Two hundred seventy-seven households (89 percent) included a married couple and a child or children in 1870. New second generation families and the arrival of young families from Europe caused the portion of households with children under the age of three to rise to 59 percent, almost the level of two decades earlier.

Concordia, itself, hardly recognizable as a village in 1860, was something of a boom town ten years later. The census found twenty-one German non-agricultural households in the village. Six merchants, two druggists (who probably sold more whiskey than anything else), a hotel keeper, a physician, and Pastor Biltz lived near ten craftsmen and laborers. Thirty additional craftsmen and laborers boarded with the town's householders. Householders and boarders, all of whom served the local economy, were about equally divided between Hanoverians and other Germans. Single migrants not a part of the primary migration chain resided in Concordia, but they played a comparatively smaller role than at Cole Camp. Even with the growth of the town, non-agricultural households remained less than 12 percent of the total of the settlement. In addition to the twenty-one German household heads, four non-German householders resided in the town. Two of these were railroad contractors, one born in Ireland and the other born in Kentucky. Housed with them were fifteen young men. The Lexington and St. Louis Railroad was being constructed through town that summer. Only a minority of these workers were German, but their presence was undoubtedly temporary.

Although several times larger than twenty years earlier, both Cole Camp and Concordia remained Low German cocoons after the Civil War. Long-time exposure of the old families to their American neighbors, to the American economy, and to the American physical environment worked for Americanization. But the new immigration from Hanover after the war retarded Americanization. So, too, did the process of community expansion by which German-Americans purchased the farms and businesses of Anglo-Americans who lived in their midst or at the edges of the settlements.

The chief interaction between the Low Germans and the larger society was economic. The Germans sent agricultural commodities to the larger society and imported manufactured goods in return. Such changes as occurred in these communities over the next half-century came largely in the form of new agricultural equipment and new factory-produced household goods and appliances. These material changes, in turn, produced some limited social change.

Some other disruptions of the cultural cocoon took place. At the Concordia settlement in the post-war decades, some German farmers lived beside

and employed black freedmen.[48] In another challenge to the north German peasant *Weltanschauung*, three Concordia families had a child "at college" in 1870. But this education may not have necessitated stepping very far outside the cultural cocoon since most post-elementary education took place within the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod and thus within a carefully controlled cultural environment. Indeed, the synod opened an academy at Concordia in 1884.

Nor did the politics of the post-war period bring the Hanoverians out of their communities. During the period when the Radicals controlled Missouri state government, 1865-75, many Missouri Germans played important political and official roles. But the west Missouri Low Germans found little entry into state public affairs beyond exercising their right to vote. Although generally literate, most had little secular education or experience with non-agricultural matters. For leadership, they tended to look toward ministers who sometimes viewed excessive contact with people of other faiths as a threat to eternal salvation. Moreover, they were political, as well as ethnic, minorities in their counties of residence. Thus, they could not ordinarily be elected to county-wide offices or to the state General Assembly. The majority of Concordians voted against the majorities of nearly all other precincts in Lafayette County in the post-war years. For example, by a margin of two to one, Concordians voted with Germans elsewhere in the state to reject the conservative Missouri constitution of 1875, which ended the Radical era of state government. But Lafayette County as a whole approved the new conservative constitution by a margin of six to one.[49]

After the Radical era, with the return of conservative government to Missouri, the Low Germans found themselves in the political minority on the state level, as well as within their own counties. The state political realm seemed unfriendly to their interests. They watched as relatives of former Confederate General Marmaduke established a spa at Sweet Springs, just east of the Concordia settlement. The General summered there when he became governor of Missouri.[50] President Cleveland appointed former Confederate General Shelby as United States marshall for the western district of Missouri.[51] The state located its home for Confederate veterans and widows at Higginsville, only fifteen miles from Concordia. Thus, for some decades, for the Hanoverians, participation in affairs of their counties and state was largely limited to going to the polls and voting for losing candidates.

The Hanoverians of western Missouri differed considerably from many German-Americans in other states and in other parts of Missouri. They formed agricultural communities which contained few merchants and craftsmen in the early years and no "Latin Farmers." Most members of these communities joined

a church which was adamant in its determination to preserve Lutheran orthodoxy. The communities were far removed from the centers of Missouri German culture in St. Louis and along the lower stretches of the Missouri River. Yet, they were far from unique. Many other Midwestern settlers originated as European peasants (and often as dependent tenants), migrated in chains to America, settled in homogenous communities in which the church was the central institution, and were noted for their strong families. What distinguishes the Missouri Hanoverians from similar subjects of recent historical studies—Kamphoefner's Westphalians, Ostergren's Swedes, Gjerde's Norwegians, or Saueressig's Dutch[52]—is not socio-economic difference so much as the place of the Hanoverians in the midst of the guerrilla violence of the Civil War. This they experienced in their home communities, not just as soldiers on battlefields hundreds of miles from home. Moreover, after the war, the Hanoverians experienced directly the radical government and subsequent return to conservative rule which typified the South in the post-war period.

While the cocoon-like character of the Missouri Hanoverian communities has greatly deteriorated over the course of the twentieth century, it has proved to be highly effective for the survival of a distinctive ethnic identity. In common with so many other Germans in rural America, the Hanoverians have flourished in comparison to others around them. Much of the farmland of the western river counties and of the northern Ozark Plateau is managed, today, by descendants of the Low German immigrants. Descendants of the Hanoverians have been buying out their Anglo-American neighbors in every subsequent generation. Descendants of the original Kentucky and Virginia Anglo-Americans have also been displaced by descendants of Westphalians and of other northwest Germans who moved, in considerable numbers, up the Missouri River from the "Missouri Rhineland" in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Thus a great quantity of the gently rolling western Missouri farmland is now occupied by people whose ancestors spoke Low German—*Plattdeutsch*. Some current residents still speak the language. Many more feel the common bond of an ethnic heritage nurtured for many decades in cocoon-like rural communities.

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Notes

[1] Since so little has been published about either of these settlements other than by community organizations, this paper will concentrate on the details of their early development and growth. At the same time, it will examine their occupational and agricultural patterns and their homogeneousness with respect to regional origins, which Kamphoefner found to be among the chief characteristics of cocoon settlements. Walter D. Kamphoefner, "The German Agricultural Frontier: Crucible or Cocoon," *Ethnic Forum* 4,1-2 (1984): 22. In describing rural cocoons, Kamphoefner also examined "the prevalence of intermarriage, the content of German or bilingual education in the schools, and the preservation of the German language, particularly into the second and third generations." Although it is beyond the scope of this paper to systematically examine the communities with respect to these latter criteria, impressionistic information about the two settlements strongly suggests that they conform to the cocoon model in these respects as well. Enough speakers of Low German remain at Cole Camp so that an annual performance of skits and songs in *Plattdeutsch* has been performed by local residents since 1989. *Plattdütsches Theoter* (Cole Camp, MO: The Plattdütscher Vereen von Cole Camp, 1996), videotape. Similar performances have also been done in the 1990s in Concordia.

[2] William G. Bek, "Survivals of Old Marriage Customs Among the Low Germans of West Missouri," *Journal of American Folklore* 21,1 (1908): 60. For a brief but unusually insightful look at the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, see James D. Bratt, "Protestant Immigrants and the Protestant Mainstream," in *Minority Faiths and the American Protestant Mainstream*, ed. Jonathan D. Sarna (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1998), 110-35.

[3] Louis Gross, "Die 80 Jahre alte deutsche Ansiedlung Lake Creek in Pettis County," *Deutsche Geschichtsforschung für Missouri* 1,4 (1914): 115.

[4] *History of Pettis County, Missouri* (1882; rpt. Clinton, MO: The Printery [1978]), 1101; Manuscript Schedule, Seventh Census of the United States, Pettis County, Missouri, 1850. Microfilm roll 409, district 68, household 618.

[5] The 1850 census list was searched for German families with Missouri-born children over the age of ten. Manuscript Schedule, Seventh Census of the United States, Benton County, Missouri, 1850, microfilm roll 392. The resulting family names were checked for village of origin in Leonard Brauer and Evelyn Goosen, eds., *Hier Snackt Wi Plattdütsch/Here We Speak Low German* (Cole Camp, MO: City of Cole Camp, 1989), 331-39. This is an amazingly full and sophisticated community history.

[6] August Rauschenbusch, "Der Bote aus Amerika, " *Palmblätter* 4 (1847): 342. Interestingly, when Leonard Brauer, Evelyn Goosen and their research team (see note 5) surveyed church records, family genealogies, published community histories and family oral tradition for data on community family origins 140 years after Rauschenbusch, they found the majority of families for whom information is available had, indeed, originated at or near the area Rauschenbusch specified.

[7] Gross, 115. For a fuller discussion of the difficulties of prairie farming at the time, see Allan G. Bogue, *From Prairie to Cornbelt: Farming on the Illinois and Iowa Prairies in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1963.)

[8] Gross, 116.

[9] Richard A. Seaton and Dorothy A. Bass, *Hallelujah in the Forest* (Acton, MA: Tapestry Press, 1993), 17, 57.

[10] *Holy Cross Lutheran Church, Cole Camp, Missouri 1842-1992* (Cole Camp, MO: The Church, 1992), 1-3; August R. Suelflow, *The Heart of Missouri* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1954), 29-30; Brauer, *Hier Snackt*, 65-69. In 1844, Walther sent a letter to Wege in Benton County warning of the "perniciousness of the Methodist sect." *Letters of C. F. W. Walther: A Selection*, trans. and ed. Carl S. Meyer (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969), 63-69.

[11] This and all subsequent population and household figures have been aggregated by the author from the microfilmed manuscript census schedules for the Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Censuses of the United States, 1850, 1860, and 1870. For the purposes of this study, the Cole Camp Settlement in 1850 is defined as the German households of "District 68" of Pettis County, Haw Creek Township of Morgan County, and Williams Township of Benton County. Since the 1850 schedule for White Township of Benton County includes eighteen German households which appear (even in the same order in several cases) in the 1860 schedule in the western part of Williams Township adjoining White Township, it is assumed that the German households of White Township in 1850 were listed in error and were actually located in Williams Township. It is clear in which part of Williams Township the eighteen households were located because the 1860 census of Benton County was recorded by Congressional township as delineated by the federal land survey, not by electorial township. For 1860, one can see who was living in each six mile by six mile square.

[12] The other German household heads for whom the census did not record an occupation were probably tenant farmers or people who had recently been, or soon would be, farmers.

[13] Walter Kamphoefner found that many of his rural Warren County Low Germans had worked in St. Louis for a time. A recent German scholar agrees with Kamphoefner that many northwest Germans left the Old World with little more than passage money. In order to accumulate the money required to begin even as tenant farmers, many such migrants would have needed to work for a time either in a city or for another farmer. Walter D. Kamphoefner, *The Westfalians: From Germany to Missouri* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1987), 46, 150-51; Anne-Katrin Henkel, *"Ein besseres Loos zu erringen, als das bisherige war:" Ursachen, Verlauf und Folgewirkungen der hannoverschen Auswanderungsbewegung im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Hameln: C. W. Niemeyer, 1996), 130-31.

[14] The primary importance of the New Orleans immigration route for Germans going to Missouri is confirmed by George Kellner. According to figures collected by the German Society of New Orleans, of 240,625 Germans arriving at that port from 1848 to 1861, 113,534 left the city intending to go to St. Louis. J. Hanno Deiler, *Geschichte der Deutschen Gesellschaft von New Orleans* (New Orleans, LA: 1897) as summarized in George Helmut Kellner, "The German Element on the Urban Frontier: St. Louis, 1830-1860." Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri-Columbia, 1973, 316. Reports of the St. Louis German Emigration Society confirm that about twice as many Germans, between 1848 and 1855, arrived in St. Louis from New Orleans as from eastern port cities (ibid., 319).

[15] Bek, "Marriage Customs," 60.

[16] Alfred W. Rodewald, ed., *Descending Love, Ascending Praise: St. Paul's Lutheran Church, Concordia, Mo., 1840-1990* (Concordia, MO: The Church, 1990), 13. This area in the valley of the Leine and the area immediately to its west in the valley of the Weser are the areas from which the first European Germans came to Illinois. Emil Mannhardt, "Die Deutschen in Du Page County," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* 1,4 (1901): 33-40.

[17] In addition to the information found in individual family histories and biographical sketches from county histories, the parish register or *Kirchenbuch* of Holy Cross Lutheran Church, Emma, Missouri provides place-of-birth for about two dozen Germans who died between 1901 and 1925. This register also provides place-of-birth in its marriage register from 1871 to 1885. The two regions mentioned in the text are strongly represented in these records, as is the region from which the Cole Camp majority emigrated. It would appear that numerous people came from Cole Camp to Concordia beginning as early as 1844. Several biographical sketches mention such a move and several American-born individuals married at Emma were born at Cole Camp.

[18] For the linguistic evidence, see William D. Keel, "The Low German Dialect of Concordia, Missouri," in Adolf E. Schroeder, ed., *Concordia, Missouri: A Heritage Preserved* (Columbia: University of Missouri-Columbia, Western Historical Manuscripts Collection, 1996), and William Ballew, "The Low German Dialect of Concordia, Missouri," Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1997.

[19] Rodewald, *Descending Love*, 144, 149-52.

[20] One early settler whose family moved from Benton to Lafayette County in 1844 indicated that a good corn yield at Cole Camp in the early days was 40 bushels per acre while a good yield at Concordia was 60 bushels per acre. William F. Walkenhorst, *The Walkenhorst Homestead* (Concordia, MO: The Concordian, 1976), 32. This is a booklet of reprinted newspaper columns which originally appeared between 1925 and 1927.

[21] Rodewald, *Descending Love*, 29-34; Franklin Marlin, "The Methodist Church of Concordia," in Harry R. Voigt, *Concordia, Missouri: A Centennial History* (Concordia, MO: Centennial Committee, 1960), 114; Suelflow, *Heart of Missouri*, 19. St. John's congregation, the result of the 1850 walkout, is mentioned in the records of the *Evangelischer Kirchenverein des Westens* as early as 1854. Carl E. Schneider, *The German Church on the American Frontier* (St. Louis, Eden Publishing House, 1939), 512. But as late as 1864, the congregation's constitution still demanded adherence to the Augsburg Confession. In November 1868, the catechism of the State Lutheran Church of Hanover was prescribed for both the church and its parish school. *Protokollbuch, Skt. Johannes Gemeinde,* St. John's United Church of Christ, Emma, Missouri.

[22] These young men should not have been listed in the 1850 census of Freedom Township since they were, at least temporarily, resident in California. But see households 1338, 1342, 1356, 1357 and 1373, Manuscript Census Schedule, Freedom Township, Lafayette County, Missouri, Seventh Census of the United States.

[23] For the purposes of this study, the Cole Camp Settlement in 1860 consisted of the German households of Flat Creek Township in Pettis County (probably the same as "District 68" in 1850), Haw Creek and Richland Townships in Morgan County, Williams Township and the northern two Congressional townships of Cole Township in Benton County. This collection of census districts represents an effort to include all the groups of German settlers contiguous to the main settlement. It was not always clear from the census lists which groups of settlers in which townships were contiguous.

[24] This is, of course, the measured persistence rate. Since in neither 1850 nor 1860 do the census takers seem to have been familiar with German names, they must have badly garbled a considerable number. Sometimes, by matching entire households from one census to the next as was done for this study, the correct name can be surmised from a badly garbled one. But surely some matches were missed owing to garbled names. Moreover, at least a few families and individuals are missed in any census. Thus the real persistence rate is higher than the measured rate. Donald H. Parkerson, "How Mobile Were Nineteenth-Century Americans?" *Historical Methods* 15,3 (1982): 99-109.

[25] The most concentrated area of German settlement, thus, "the core area," was Congressional townships 42 and 43, range 20 west. These made up the eastern half of Williams Township, Benton County.

[26] Two of these potter householders were John M. Hummel and his assistant. Hummel was born in Saxe-Coburg from which a significant migration chain extended to Boonville, Missouri. In 1860, Hummel's pottery at Florence in Richland Township, Morgan County, employed four non-household heads. It continued in business until 1892. Hummel's decorative ceramic stove tiles are now in the Smithsonian and the Winterthur Museum in Delaware. (He is apparently unrelated to Sister Maria Innocentia Hummel, a twentieth-century Bavarian, whose drawings were turned into figurines very popular in recent decades.) 1860 Manuscript Census Schedule, Richland Township, Morgan County; Charles van Ravenswaay, *The Arts and Architecture of the German Settlements of Missouri* (Columbia: U of Missouri P, 1977), 477.

[27] Voigt, *Concordia*, 109; Walter O. Forster, *Zion on the Mississippi: The Settlement of the Saxon Lutherans in Missouri 1839-41* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953), 153.

[28] Charles van Ravenswaay visited the community twice searching for buildings and craft objects for his famous study (note 26). He attributed his complete lack of success to the inability to find a local guide who could adequately distinguish between locally hand-crafted objects from the 1850s and items made in St. Louis and Cincinnati factories in the 1880s. But the census implies a

different reason for his lack of success. Interview with Charles van Ravenswaay, Columbia, MO, 19 April 1980.

[29] The number of officially counted emigrants from "Landdrostei Hannover," the district which included "Fürstentum Calenberg," the area where so many Freedom Township Germans originated, fell sharply in 1858 and 1859. The emigration figures of this district had peaked in 1845 and again in 1854. Henkel, *Ein besseres*, 216. It is not known what portion of the emigrant stream troubled itself to obtain official permission, but the kingdom did make it relatively easy to obtain permission to emigrate as a way of dealing with a perceived overpopulation problem (ibid., 185-86).

[30] Jerry Kibbons, "The Historical Record of the Concordia Baptist Church," in Voigt, *Concordia*, 112; Albert John Ramaker, *The German Baptists in North America* (Cleveland: German Baptist Publication Society, 1924), 31.

[31] Roger Moldenhauer, "Benton County Lutherans and the Battle of Cole Camp June 19, 1861," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 61,4 (1988): 153-55; Abdel Ross Wentz, *A Basic History of Lutheranism* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1954), 162-65.

[32] The ethnocultural explanation of American voting behavior, so popular in recent decades among political historians in America, might also lead one to expect these "ritualistic" Lutherans to be Democrats and thus to be less than enthusiastic supporters of the Union. But as Kamphoefner has pointed out, most Missouri Germans show strongly Unionist behavior. Walter D. Kamphoefner, "German-Americans and Civil War Politics: A Reconsideration of the Ethnocultural Thesis," *Civil War History* 37,3 (1991): 232-46.

[33] Brauer, *Hier Snackt*, 179-94; Moldenhauer, "Battle of Cole Camp," 155-56.

[34] The official figures for emigrants from "Landdrostei Stade," from which district most of the Cole Camp people came, jumped sharply in 1866 and remained high through 1869. Unfortunately, there are no figures from this district until 1859. Henkel, *Ein besseres*, 216.

[35] For an excellent study of one daughter settlement in Kansas, see Carol K. Coburn, *Life at Four Corners: Religion, Gender and Education in a German Lutheran Community, 1868-1945* (Lawrence: U of Kansas P, 1992).

[36] R. Douglas Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery in Missouri's Little Dixie* (Columbia: U of Missouri P, 1992), 220.

[37] Robert W. Frizzell, "'Killed by Rebels': A Civil War Massacre and its Aftermath," *Missouri Historical Review* 71,4 (1977): 375, note 21.

[38] Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery*, 103.

[39] Joseph C. G. Kennedy, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1864), 91, 95.

[40] Ironically, even the German settlers's fathers back in Hanover had been part of the slave economy within the capitalist world system. Home-production of coarse linen was important to all economic strata from *Kolon* to *Heuerling* within northwest German peasant villages in Westphalia and Hanover. Much of this linen was exported to the new world to clothe slaves. Reinhard Oberschelp, *Niedersachsen 1760-1820: Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft, Kultur im Land Hannover und Nachbargebieten* (Hildesheim: Verlag August Lax, 1982), 1:183; Jürgen Schlumbohm, "From Peasant Society to Class Society: Some Aspects of Family and Class in a North-West German Proto-Industrial Parish," in Richard L. Rudolph, ed., *The European Peasant Family and Society: Historical Studies* (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 1995), 193.

[41] Hawkins Taylor Commission Musters, microfilm roll L1, Office of the Adjutant General of Missouri, Jefferson City, Missouri; William Arndt. "Several Episodes in the Life of the Sainted Pastor F. J. Biltz," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 6 (1933): 42-44.

[42] Edward E. Leslie, *The Devil Knows How to Ride: The True Story of William Clarke Quantrill and his Civil War Guerrillas* (New York: Random House, 1996), *passim*. In an otherwise excellent book, Leslie missed the encounter between Quantrill's men and the Concordians described below. Frizzell, "'Killed by Rebels,'" remains the only account of the event more than a couple of paragraphs in length.

[43] Arndt, "Several Episodes," 45.

[44] Frizzell, "'Killed by Rebels'"; Gilbert Knipmeyer, "Concordia in the Civil War," in Voigt, *Concordia*, 19-25; R. P. Sevin, "Aus schwerer Zeit," *Deutsche Geschichtsforschung für Missouri* 1,2 (1914): 70-72. Low German women in Missouri are even more sparsely documented than the men. But see Coburn, *Four Corners*; Linda Schelbitzki Pickle, *Contented Among Strangers: Rural German-Speaking Women and Their Families in the Nineteenth-Century Midwest* (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1996); and Michael Fellman, "At the Nihilist Edge: Reflections on Guerrilla Warfare during the American Civil War," in Stig Forster and Jörg Nagler, eds., *On the Road to Total War* (Washington, DC: German Historical Institute and Cambridge UP, 1997), 531.

[45] This is near the general rate of war-related deaths in the South and is about twice the general rate in the North. Approximate rates calculated from Donald S. Frazier, "Civil War: Losses and Numbers," in Richard N. Current, editor in chief, *Encyclopedia of the Confederacy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993), 1:338-39.

[46] For this study, the German households which seem to have been in the eastern part of Davis Township (near Concordia), that is, households numbered up through 74, were included. Those with higher numbers and apparently closer to the later town of Higginsville, were excluded. By 1870, if not earlier, there may have been Low German households across the border of Freedom Township in Grover Township, Johnson County and Blackwater Township, Pettis County.

[47] Heinrich Dierking, born in Büren, Amt Neustadt am Rübenberge, was part of the original migration chain to Concordia. But he moved his family to Secor in north central Illinois, probably in 1864. There he helped found a Missouri Synod congregation, half of whom were East Frisians. Dierking died at Secor in 1901. Parish register, St. John's Lutheran Church, Secor, Illinois.

[48] The number of blacks in Freedom Township declined from 271 in 1860 to 196 in 1870. Ninth Census, vol. 1: *The Statistics of the Population of the United States* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1872), 190. The 1870 manuscript census list indicates that several black families lived near Concordia where most or all of their close neighbors were Germans. One German family boarded three mulatto farm laborers and another included a black child in its household.

[49] *History of Lafayette County, Missouri* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Company, 1881), 197-303.

[50] *History of Saline County, Missouri* (Marceline, MO, Walsworth Publishing Co., 1967), 343.

[51] Daniel O'Flaherty, *General Jo Shelby: Undefeated Rebel* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1954), 383.

[52] Kamphoefner, *Westfalians*; Robert C. Ostergren, *A Community Transformed: The Trans-Atlantic Experience of a Swedish Immigrant Community* (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1988); Jon Gjerde, *From Peasants to Farmers: The Migration from Balestrand Norway to the Upper Midwest* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985); Yda Saueressig, "Emigration, Settlement, and Assimilation of Dutch Catholic Immigrants in Wisconsin, 1850-1905," Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1982.

Eleanor L. Turk

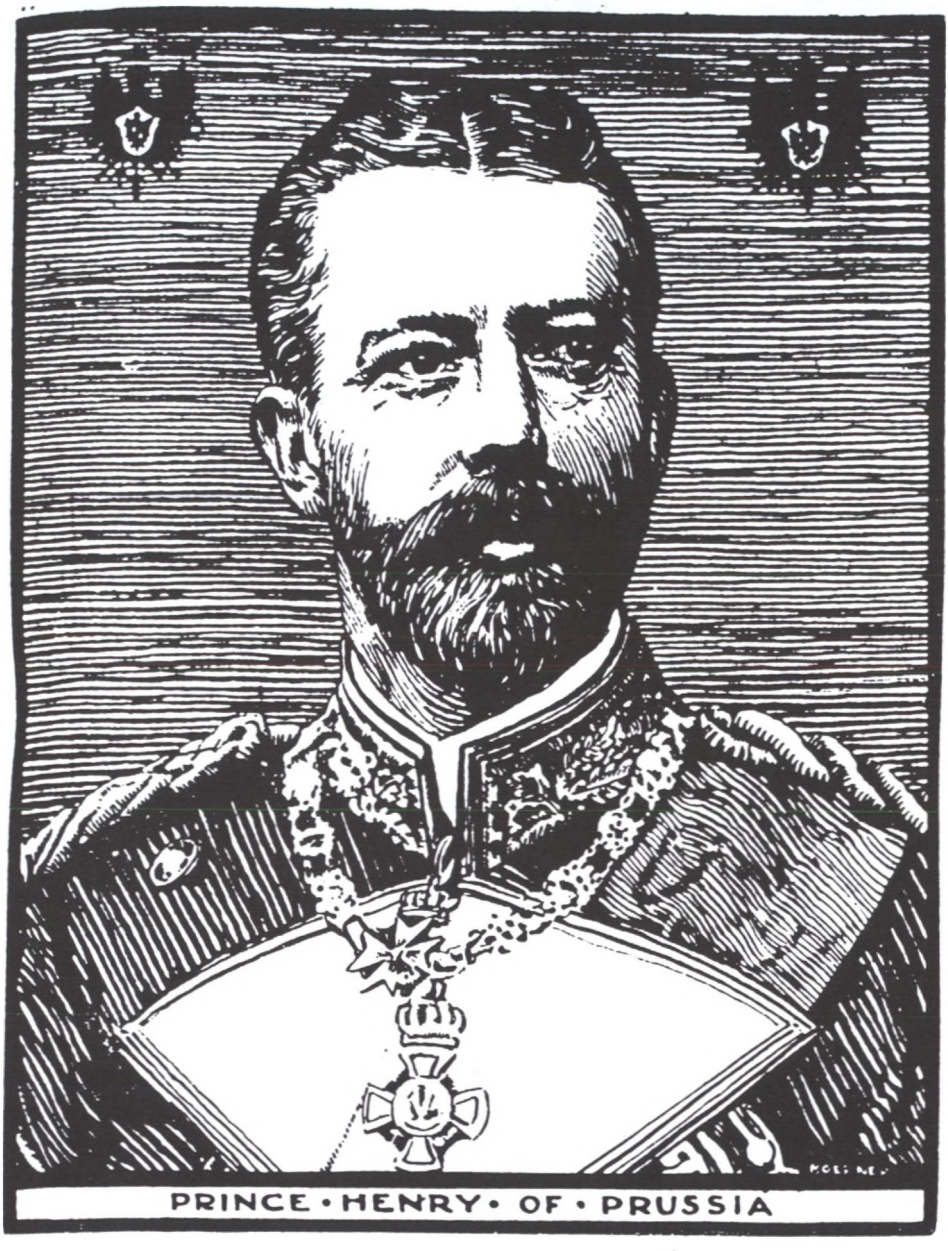
Prince Henry's Royal Welcome: German-American Response to the Visit of the Kaiser's Brother, 1902

German Kaiser William II had ordered a new yacht from a New Jersey ship works, and it was due to be launched in February 1902. On New Year's Day of 1902, through the American ambassador, he had invited Alice Roosevelt, the vivacious daughter of the new American president, Theodore Roosevelt, to christen it *Meteor III*. When word of her acceptance came, William decided, on 12 January, to send his brother, Prince Henry, to America to join Miss Roosevelt at the launching ceremony. The proposed visit was not intended to be a formal state affair. Rather, it was a gesture of friendship extended to the new president, in office only three months following the assassination of President McKinley.[1]

The German government certainly did not want Prince Henry conducting any personal diplomacy while he was there. The chancellor, Bernhard von Buelow, wrote in his memoirs:

> Before his departure I had sent him a long communication in which, among matters, I explained that no political activity was expected . . . . He, himself, was not expected to bring back either a political treaty or a commercial agreement, or any form of concession either economic, political, or territorial. The aim of his journey was, in the main, to please the Americans and win their sympathies.[2]

The Kaiser also wanted his brother to "please the Americans." In particular, he did not want Henry to emphasize German-American themes. He wanted Henry's activities to reflect an interest in all of American culture. William II was afraid that Henry might be "taken in tow and monopolized by . . . German-American societies during his stay." He made his wishes known



Prince Henry of Prussia, *Chicago Tribune*, 23 February 1902

to the German ambassador in Washington and to the United States State Department, asking their assistance to carry out his wishes.

Nevertheless, the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*'s headline on 12 January announced:

> Kaiser Wilhelm und Präsident Roosevelt wechseln äusserst freundschaftliche Telegramme. Der Kaiser theilt dem President mit, dass er den Prinzen Heinrich zu dem Stappellauf seiner Yacht sendet.[3]

Within a week the Illinois paper began reporting on plans for a gala reception for the prince in Chicago, with German-Americans taking a prominent role in the proceedings. Invitations to the prince rushed in from cities as far south as Florida, and west to Missouri. The German-language *Louisville Argus* expressed delight over the brief half-hour that Henry would be in their city, and urged the local arrangements committee to use it well.[4]

In New York City, Mayor Low appointed a citizens' arrangements committee. Gustav A. Schwab, American agent of the Norddeutscher Lloyd Steamship Company, nominated Low as its chairman. Carl Schurz also agreed to serve as second vice chairman. A similar group was established to host the officers and crews of the steamer *Kronprinz Wilhelm*, which would bring Prince Henry, of the royal yacht *Hohenzollern*, which would be his home away from home, and of the *Deutschland*, which would return him to Germany. The famed American admiral Alfred T. Mahan oversaw that committee.

Prince Henry's arrival in New York was delayed one day by a monster storm at sea. He arrived the morning of 24 February 1902. The *New York Times* described the scene as the American Atlantic fleet, commanded by Admiral Evans, waited outside New York Harbor for the arrival of the *Kronprinz Wilhelm*:

> There were violent winds sweeping over the harbor then, and no indications that the weather conditions would be more favorable. The few hotels along the bay shore of Staaten Island had filled up, however, with determined guests, most of German extraction, who refused to be deterred by weather from catching even a glimpse of the vessel carrying a scion of the royal house of the fatherland . . . . [I]t was practically impossible to make way in the blinding sheets of rain, sleet, and snow. Out of the purple haze the watchers . . . caught the shadowy outlines of the big liner cautiously threading her way around the Horseshoe . . . . At 10:05 o'clock the Kronprinz had reached the Narrows, and the head of the glittering company caught his first view of New York.[5]

Roosevelt receives Prince Henry. *Washington Post*, 25 February 1902.

ROYAL GUESTS AT MOUNT VERNON.

Mt. Vernon. *Washington Post*, 28 February 1902.

Henry's itinerary through his departure on 11 March was extraordinary. He spent several days in New York City, and had brief overnight stays in Washington, Chicago and Boston. In between, traveling in a special six-car train, he made an eight-day, 4,358-mile whistle-stop tour to over twenty-five cities in twelve states, most of them in the German-American heartland.[6] It was the first visit to the United States by European royalty since the incognito tour of the English Prince of Wales in 1860 (which many Americans, because of the secret nature of the visit, took to be insulting). Overjoyed at this gesture of the German royal house, the Americans lionized Prince Henry. They turned his visit into a national festival, an occasion to mark the coming of age of the United States as an equal partner in the arena of international diplomacy.

Clearly, Kaiser William need not have worried about the German-Americans monopolizing his brother. But their response to the royal visit reveals much about their own role and their self-image as Americans of German descent. We focus here on three aspects: Henry's reception by German-Americans in New York City and in Chicago, which the American English-language press dubbed as "private entertainment by the Germans," and the response of the crowds at the whistle-stop cities across the German-American heartland. These three venues reflect the viability of German-American organizations, the persistence of German-American sentimental ties with their former homeland, and their focus on the cultural rather than the political aspects of the prince's visit. Whereas the Americans made sure that Henry hobnobbed with the Roosevelts, the Morgans, the Vanderbilts and other "lions" of politics, industry and society, the Germans focused on demonstrating to the prince how much of their cultural legacy they had transplanted to the United States, and how much they had achieved through it.

The New York German-Americans began by bringing together representatives of their major organizations. Delegates from German-American societies across the state, representing more than 250,000 members, met in the Terrace Garden of New York City to plan a reception for the prince. From eight hundred representatives, they selected a twenty-five-man steering committee to plan the best way of entertaining him. The organizations represented on this committee reflected the spectrum of German-American formal cultural activities: the German Press Club; Morrisania Library; Kriegerbund; German Soldatenbund; Plattdeutscher Volksfest Verein; United Singers of Brooklyn; German Wissenschafts-Gesellschaft; United Bowling Club; Schützenbund; New York Turnverein; Central Turn Verein; Manhattan Schützenbund; United Singers of Hudson County; Columbus Pleasure Club; and the United Lodges of I.O.H. One delegate suggested a *Kommers*, another a grand musical festival by the United Singing Societies. When one of the delegates

read from a press clipping which stated that the Kaiser wanted "as little of the German-American as possible in the reception," Mr. von Skal, representing the German Press Club, responded, "I think it would be well for us to get our information direct, and not depend upon the English press for it."[7]

Their final plan also included a "monster" torchlight parade followed by a reception at the Arion Hall at 59th Street and Park Avenue. They estimated that 30-50,000 might participate in the march. The expenses of the parade could be met by assessing each torch-bearer fifty cents. But this motion was voted down in favor of inviting an honorary committee of 125 men to finance the occasion. When this reception concluded at nine o'clock in the evening, the prince would move to a banquet at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel hosted by the *New York Staats Zeitung*.[8] Archbishop Corrigan of New York accepted the *Staats Zeitung*'s invitation to the banquet. And, since the occasion was to take place during Lent, he even agreed to the request of the paper's editor, Hermann Ridder, to grant special dispensation to Roman Catholics who wished to attend "to eat either fish or meat at this dinner, but not both."[9]

The actual event on 26 February was somewhat more modest, but nonetheless impressive. First, the prince and his party were received in the Arion Hall by the members of the steering committee. Dr. Louis Weyland spoke on behalf of them all, welcoming Henry and nicely summarizing the sentiments of:

> millions of Americans of German descent who could not let this auspicious occasion pass without greetings from the depths of their hearts to the illustrious visitor, the representative of the German Emperor and the country of their birth. They felt bound to prove to your Royal Highness that, while they are loyal citizens of their adopted country, they are bound by gratitude of the old Fatherland.[10]

Then, 8,500 torch-bearing men marched pass the reviewing stand on the balcony of the Arion Hall. The parade had six divisions. First came the veterans, the Deutscher Kriegerbund Band leading five contingents of the Kriegerbund from New York, New Jersey and Long Island. Next came the singers, Engel's Band leading six large sections of quartets, Männerchor, Liedertafel, Liederkranz, Fife and Drum Corps, the Williamsburg Boss Bakers's Gesangverein, and others, more than sixty organizations in all. The third section of the parade represented thirteen Volksfest Vereine which kept German regional heritage alive in the New World. The fourth division paraded representatives of eleven Schützenbunde. The Turners occupied the fifth place in line, shoulder to shoulder with representatives of the Young Men's Christian

Association, the Fencing Club Colmania, and the New York Pastry Bakers's Society. Bringing up the rear were a number of recreational and religious organizations, the United Bowling Club, the Aschenbrodel Verein, the United German Brethren, the German-American Coachmen's Club, and, of course, the Master Brewers' Society and the original Brewers' and Coopers' Benefit Society. In all, there were twenty-four bands, about 2,800 veterans, and 3,000 singers who proudly braved the frigid cold to march past the prince.[11]

Still chilled from the two-hour vigil on the balcony of the Arion Club, the prince left with his entourage for the Waldorf Astoria Hotel and the press banquet hosted by the *Staats Zeitung*. More than 1,200 attended, the largest gathering of "newspaper makers" to date in American history, and most of the guests were connected with German-American newspapers. There were numerous speeches, and, by the end of them, Henry had evidently lost interest. Smoking incessantly and eating olives, he chatted casually with Mark Twain. He made his way to the exit just before midnight.[12]

These "private entertainments" of the prince by the German-Americans contrasted sharply with the plans made by the arrangements committee appointed by New York City's Mayor Low. At the mayor's behest, Maurice Grau, manager of the Metropolitan Opera, staged a stunning five-hour gala on the evening of 25 February. It included the first act of *Lohengrin*, the second act of *Carmen*, the third act of *Aida*, the second act of *Tannhäuser*, the first act of *La Traviata*, and the third scene of *El Cid*. Virtually every member of the opera company sang for the prince, while the exclusive guest list paid from $100 to $250 for the more visible seats and boxes.[13]

On 26 February, Henry had a luncheon with one hundred "lions of industry" at Sherry's Restaurant. The guests included J. P. Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, and W. K. Vanderbilt. The luncheon was a private affair, by invitation only, and arranged at the request of Kaiser William. He wanted his brother to meet informally with men who shaped United States business and trade.[14]

Henry, who had briefly visited President Theodore Roosevelt at the White House upon his arrival, returned to the capital on Thursday, 28 February, to carry out a variety of ceremonies—visiting the Congress, Mount Vernon, Annapolis, and joining other formalities. It was from Washington that he left the following afternoon to begin his whirlwind whistle-stop tour. Despite the brevity of his stops, great crowds lined the track and paced the railroad stations to see and greet him: 20,000 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where the Brass Band and German Singing Society of Allegheny County graced his ten-minute pause; 40-50,000 at Cincinnati, Ohio, for his twenty-minute visit; 30-40,000 awaited him at Chattanooga, Tennessee, where he disembarked to visit Lookout

Mountain; several thousand at Louisville, Kentucky; 15,000 for the fifteen minutes allowed in Indianapolis, Indiana. Although there were no crowd estimates for his four-hour stay in St. Louis, Missouri, it was reported that, "[f]rom the time he entered Union Station until his departure for Chicago, he received a continuous ovation." He was also honored there by the Deutscher Militärverein, the Kriegerverein of St. Louis, and the Veteranenverein of Springfield, Missouri.[15]

At six-thirty in the evening of 3 March, Prince Henry arrived in Chicago, Illinois. On his way to his hotel, he was suddenly bathed in the brilliance of hundreds of electric lights turned on just for him. Along Michigan Avenue a phalanx of German veterans simultaneously lit torches to light his way.[16] That evening the city regaled him with a magnificent ball. It was the social event of the season, and the following day *The Chicago Tribune* printed the full alphabetized guest list, complete with a brief description of the gowns and jewelry of each of the women guests.[17]

Chicago Tribune, 25 February 1902.

While this was going on, however, 10,000 Polish-Americans met in halls over the city, under the auspices of the Polish National Alliance, to protest German treatment of the Polish minorities within the German Empire. "The name of Prince Henry and the mere mention of the honor being shown him brought out jeers and yells of anger," the *Tribune* reported.[18] No word of this reached the prince, who arose the following morning to visit the Lincoln Monument and to attend a gala reception and Männerchor concert at the Chicago Germania Club. Here, the *Tribune* pointed out, all the speeches and toasts were conducted in the German language.[19]

At two in the afternoon on 4 March, Henry left Chicago for Milwaukee, Wisconsin, where an honor guard of 1,000 German veterans met him. An additional 200,000 turned out to see him progress to a downtown reception and banquet at the Hotel Pfister.[20] Leaving Milwaukee at ten that evening, Henry's train traveled back through Chicago and whisked the prince into the last half of his whirlwind tour. On 5 March he had whistle stops in Buffalo, Niagara Falls, Rochester and Syracuse, New York. At ten in the morning on Thursday, 6 March, he arrived in Boston, Massachusetts. He delivered presents from the Kaiser to the Germanic Museum at Harvard University. The highlight of the Boston stay was Harvard's conferral of a special degree on the prince in an unusual non-academic ceremony. After the familiar evening festivities with the "Boston Brahmins," Henry left on Friday, 7 March, via stops in Albany and West Point, New York, to return to New York City. That evening at the Arion Hall, Henry was treated to an old-fashioned German *Kommers* evening of rousing songs.[21]

Henry's triumphal tour was almost at an end. In his final two days in New York City, Mr. and Mrs. Ogden Mills invited him and his immediate entourage (thirty people) to an intimate breakfast and musicale on 8 March.[22] At luncheon he was entertained by the prestigious members of the University Club on Fifth Avenue.[23] Mrs. Cornelia Vanderbilt, acceding to the wish of the Kaiser that Prince Henry be entertained by "some representative American family," invited the Prince and some select guests for dinner on 9 March.[24]

On the following day the German Society of New York honored the prince with a great banquet, its 1,720 guests the largest ever accommodated to that date in the Waldorf Astoria Hotel. The appreciative banquet guests consumed 200 quarts of soup, 7,200 oysters, 500 chickens, 450 pounds of fish, 2,000 pounds of beef, and 600 ducks![25] And while Henry was the guest of honor, the focus of the speeches was on the achievements of the German Society. "Our society celebrates this evening the one hundred eighteenth year of its existence," its president, Gustav Schwab, told the prince. It was founded by General von Steuben, the German hero of the American War for Independence; it helped to

build the barricades around New York City in 1794 against threatened retaliatory attack by the British; it collected money for medical care of Union soldiers during the Civil War; it established a German savings bank in 1859, a German hospital in 1861, and a German Legal Aid society in 1875. Schwab concluded with two toasts, the first to the president of the United States, the second to the German emperor.[26]

The magnificent banquet of the German Society of New York marked the conclusion of Prince Henry's triumphal tour. He had wined and dined with the cream of American high society, power and wealth. He had also observed the great success of German-Americans' adaptation to their new homeland. He had also seen their achievements in commerce and industry. They had retained much of their cultural heritage, and were proud to display it in all of its diversity.

Undoubtedly, much of the warmth of Prince Henry's welcome can be attributed to the positive reputation and self-image of Americans of German descent. And their abiding pride in their cultural heritage complemented the royal dignity which Prince Henry carried so well. The ability of the German-Americans to marshal, and pay for, hundreds of cultural and social organizations to assist with the tour and tributes made the German-American presence highly and positively visible to all who read the newspaper accounts of Henry's visit.

Kaiser William had, perhaps underestimated the achievements and attitudes of his former compatriots. He had, as well, underestimated the high regard in which they were held in their new homeland. Instead of tarnishing Prince Henry's activities, they heightened America's appreciation of the German Prince by exuberantly sharing the cultural diversity of the German-American presence. At the same time, there were no displays of disloyalty to their adopted homeland. Indeed, in these early days of the twentieth century, the celebration of Prince Henry's visit gave no hint of the future animosity between the two nations, or of the suffering which German-Americans would experience because of it. The American moguls and the German-Americans of all levels shared in the festivities, mutually enjoying the flair and fervor with which the United States conducted Prince Henry's royal welcome.

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Notes

[1] Throughout this article I am using the Americanized spelling of the German names, since these were the ones which appeared most frequently in the American press.

[2] Bernhard, Prince von Buelow, *Memoirs of Prince von Buelow*, vol. 1, *From Secretary of State to Imperial Chancellor, 1897-1903*, F. A. Voigt, trans. (Boston, 1931), 660.

[3] *Illinois Staats-Zeitung* (12 January 1902), 1.

[4] "Prinz Heinrich Kommt," *Louisville Argus* (30 January 1902), 2.

[5] *The New York Times* (24 February 1902), 1.

[6] "Prince Henry's View of His Trip," *The New York Times* (8 March 1902), 2.

[7] "German-Americans Meet," *The New York Times* (20 January 1902), 2.

[8] "In Honor of the Prince," *The New York Times* (27 January 1902), 2.

[9] "Prince Henry's Reception," *The New York Times* (12 February 1902), 9.

[10] "Greeting of Men of German Blood," *The New York Times* (27 February 1902, 1.

[11] "Parade for the Prince," *The New York Times* (27 February 1902), 3.

[12] "Press of America Honors Prince Henry," *The New York Times* (27 February 1902), 1.

[13] "Opera for Prince Henry," *The New York Times* (10 February 1902), 8, gives details of the plans for the performance. Ticket prices for the gathering were staggering. Boxes cost $250 each, orchestra chairs $30 each, balcony seats from $10 to $12.50, standing room $5.00.

[14] "Prince Welcomed by Chiefs of Industry," *The New York Times* (27 February 1902), 1.

[15] *The New York Times* (2 March 1902), 1, 3.

[16] "More Ovations for the Prussian Prince," *The New York Times* (4 March 1902), 1.

[17] *The Chicago Tribune* (4 March 1902), 3.

[18] "Poles Voice a Grievance," *The Chicago Tribune* (4 March 1902), 4.

[19] "Germans Greet Prince Henry," *The Chicago Tribune* (5 March 1902), 3.

[20] *The New York Times* (5 March 1902), 9.

[21] "Prince at 'Commers,'" *The New York Times* (8 March 1902), 2.

[22] "The Prince Entertained by Mr. and Mrs. Mills," *The New York Times* (9 March 1902), 2.

[23] "Prince Guest at Dinner," *The New York Times* (8 March 1902), 1.

[24] "Mrs. C. Vanderbilt, Jr., The Prince's Hostess," *The New York Times* (10 March 1902), 1.

[25] "Prince Henry to the German Society," *The New York Times* (9 March 1902), 1.

[26] "Behind the Scenes with 'Oscar,'" *The New York Times* (9 March, 1902), 1.

Michael D. Thompson

Liberty Loans, Loyalty Oaths, and the Street Name Swap: Anti-German Sentiment in Ohio, Spring 1918

In 1914, patterns of nativism experienced a drastic transformation—in Ohio and around the nation. Prior to the beginning of World War I, international conflict generally incited rampant nationalism and quelled any nativist tone. American citizens and immigrants banded together under a common cause. Escalating differences with Germany, however, sparked the most ardent nationalism and widespread nativism ever witnessed in the United States. With Germans representing the largest number of foreign-born persons in the country, the situation was ripe for confrontation. In the period of neutrality, a significant number of Germans residing in the United States voiced sympathy for the cause of their homeland. Voices of protest from the German-American community exacerbated tensions. Extreme nationalists interpreted German concern for their former country as outright anti-American sentiment. In the months leading to American entry into the war, normal relations between the native stock and the German community deteriorated. The former perception of German immigrants that accepted them as easily assimilable and patriotic turned to a harsh xenophobia centered around accusations of disloyalty. Matters in Ohio—and the rest of the country—grew even worse as the war escalated.[1]

By the spring of 1918, the pitch of nativism reached its peak. As American soldiers began entering the fighting in Europe, support for the war at home became even more widespread. It is during this time that historians argue that the distrust and intolerance of anything linked to German origin reached virtually all levels of American society. Moreover, scholars contend that mob rule became the norm across the nation. So-called superpatriots led supporters of the American war effort to confront, at times violently, any person of German descent to ensure loyalty to the United States. The historiography of American nativism during World War I resembles a formula of citing incidents

Ohio cities in newspaper survey.

of public rallies, forced professions of loyalty, tar-and-featherings of alleged disloyalists, book burnings, and the extreme nativist action in the public lynching of a German immigrant in Collinsville, Illinois, in early April 1918. Unfortunately, the student of this era comes away with the perception that the nativist response to German immigrants and American citizens of German ancestry during World War I should be considered uniform across the country.[2]

There is no doubt that nativism during the war was ubiquitous. To argue, however, that there existed no divergence in the style of nativism perpetrated in the United States is misleading. A selective study of Ohio newspapers during the spring of 1918 reveals that there were different kinds of opposition—common acts, collective action, and symbolic action. Each of the styles sought the same end: loyalty of immigrants to the American war effort. To that degree, my research agrees with the previous scholarship on nativist reaction to German-Americans during World War I. Fear of suspected German attempts to undermine war preparation on the home front compelled an array of activities to ensure the loyalty of Germans in America. The nationalist movement, likewise, sought to eradicate any suspected disloyalty even when sufficient evidence did not exist. Ohio newspapers are filled with demands for outward displays of superpatriotism. Yet the story is more complicated than that.

By examining a cross-section of newspapers from large metropolitan cities to small rural towns in Ohio, a picture of the various and distinctive styles of nativism develops. The research for this study included thirteen Ohio newspapers—chosen with an organized randomness. All of the major urban areas were covered—Cincinnati, Cleveland, and Columbus—plus, a broad geographical survey of the smaller towns and rural counties of the state was made—Alliance, Batavia, Cambridge, Coshocton, Hamilton, Marion, and Sandusky. Area papers over the spring of 1918 were scoured for articles and editorial comments on "patriotic" activities or blatant nativist reaction to German-Americans and immigrants. The results of the study clarify and amplify our knowledge of American nativism in the past.

The historiography of anti-German sentiment is partially correct in stating that certain acts of nativism occurred frequently and almost universally. These "common acts," however, did not include rampant violence or mob rule. In the case of Ohio, frequent ventures aimed against the German community primarily focused on the removal of the perceived dangers inherent in the immigrant culture. Newspapers often ran stories on opinion pages about the dangers of the "concerted propaganda of pro-Germans" that sought to undermine American efforts at garnering support for the war effort. The large numbers of German-language newspapers and German organizations, most agreed, easily perpetrated

the propaganda machine. Strict guidelines over what German language papers could publish sought to curtail any possible undermining of federal government or local policies. Pressure over the alleged pro-German activities within local and national organizations forced the closing of numerous societies including the disbanding of the National German American Alliance.[3]

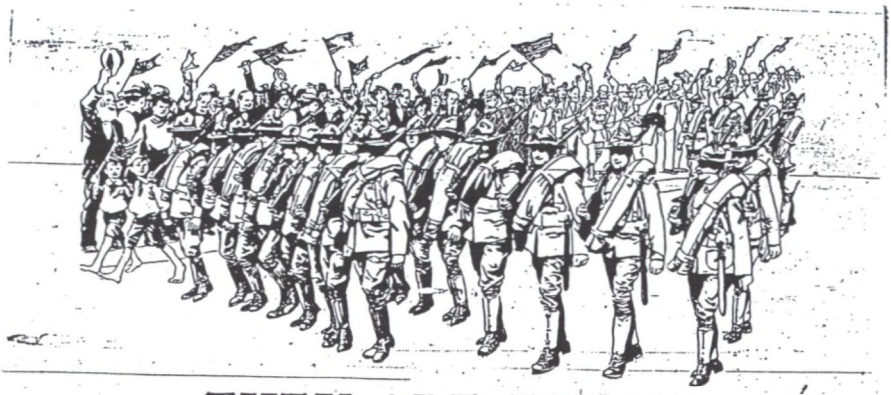
Ohio patriots, moreover, voiced concern that the state itself sanctioned the advancement of what they termed "Hun 'Kultur.'" Before the war, the study of German history, language, and culture had been an active part of the school system. Language study proved valuable for the adjustment of the most populous immigrant group in the state. In Ohio's 1910 census, the "foreign-born white stock" was almost 42 percent German. Similar numbers appear for the 1920 tally. The importance of utilizing the study of German in the school comes forth through these numbers. Public sentiment, however, changed with the onset of the war. Influenced by the level of tension between the United States and Germany, Ohioans felt that the continuance of German language and culture study harmed their children.[4]

Those battling to end the use of anything of German origin turned to the press. A newspaper article in the *Sandusky Register*—and typical for Ohio—stated that the "German language had been cunningly foisted upon the public school system." Moreover, the "textbooks [represented] vehicles for years of Prussian propaganda," in that they were "illustrated from start to finish with pictures showing the glories of life in Germany." Even more vivid was a political cartoon in the *Columbus Evening Dispatch* that depicted the near consensus perception of "German language in our public schools" (see Figure 1).[5]

In response to this widespread view of what might result if the study of German continued, public opinion across Ohio called for the immediate removal of language study and other German-related topics. Supporters of the ban used this common reasoning: "We do not hate the German language. But we should cease from teaching it to our children, . . . forbid its use wherever possible to show our hatred for what the German government stands for." Almost daily during the spring of 1918, Ohio newspapers reported new school boards calling for the abolition of German studies. The action touched nearly every community in the state to the point where the *Sandusky Register* stated ecstatically on 5 April 1918 that "Everybody's doing it!"[6]

In place of the language study, Ohio cities and towns, according to the *Columbus Evening Dispatch*, sought to "advance toward that condition of exclusive Americanism which, [they felt,] must be [the country's] future aim." School boards met this goal by replacing so-called German propaganda with their own brand of coercion. The spin tacked on to the new public school programming, however, came under the guise of patriotic studies. Instead of

Figure 1. *Columbus Evening Dispatch*, 3 April 1918.



THEY ARE HERE!
OUR BOYS FROM CAMP SHERMAN!

From Atlantic to Pacific, From Lakes to Gulf, Every American To-Day—Liberty Day—
Will Feel the Thrill of the New Battle Cry of Freedom!

Just one year ago the United States of America stepped into the arena of war to

Save Womanhood From the Savagery of the Huns

and to forever throttle the monstrous doctrine that the Kaiser is foreordained to make America a slavish vassal within the wicked net of Kultur and Autocracy.

On this first anniversary of the nation's sacred pledge that Liberty shall not perish from the earth, our own Boys in Khaki are here to help inaugurate Greater Cincinnati's drive for The

Third Liberty Loan

Uncle Sam has asked Hamilton County to subscribe for $20,974,900 worth of the new 4 1/4 per cent Liberty Bonds.

The boys in Army and Navy are staking their lives that the Beast may not fasten his Imperial claws in the breasts of American mothers, wives and daughters. Perhaps your boy is already "Over There" or is on the way. You may not have the privilege of Defending your Heritage of Democracy either personally or through one of your own—but

You Can Enlist Your Dollars and Help Stop the Drive of the Teuton Hosts

For forty years they plotted and toasted "The Day"—the Day they could force you to kneel to Militarism, the Day they could take from you your money and your government.

Greater Cincinnati oversubscribed both former Liberty Loans. Her answer to this third call will be emphatic. It is better to *lend* Uncle Sam your dollars than to have the Kaiser and his Host—in whom flows the royal blood of the old Robber Barons—rob you as Belgium and Russia have been robbed.

UNITED STATES
Government 4¼% Bonds
of the
Third Liberty Loan
Dated May 9, 1918.
Interest Payable Sept. 15 and Mar. 15.
Dates for subscribers to pay, as set by the Government, are
3% with application
20% May 28, 1918
20% July 15, 1918
20% August 15, 1918

Start this Drive with a whirl of patriotic enthusiasm. Send the word to Cincinnati's sons at Camp Sherman, Camp Sheridan, at the Great Lakes, at Paris Island, in glorious France and wherever else they may be, that Cincinnati does appreciate their heroic sacrifice and will back them to the limit of the last dollar.

Buy Bonds of the Third Liberty Loan NOW.—Keep Buying them until the Conspirators Who Covet the World Shall Be Hurled Back Upon the Grave of Their Dastardly Ambition, the Dishonored Outlaws of the Nations Who Have Disgraced Their Claim To Place in the Councils of Civilization."

This space patriotically paid for by The Philip Carey Manufacturing Co.

(CUT THIS OUT AND POST IN A PROMINENT PLACE.)

Figure 2. *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 6 April 1918.

being infested with pro-German ideas, the argument went, students would now spend extra time learning English, United States history, and "patriotic literature," and participating in "patriotic exercises."[7]

The key to these common acts of nativism seen throughout Ohio rested in their universal public sentiment. In this case, the public organized itself around the dislike and distrust of Germans and their culture. Even some stalwarts, the school superintendent of Cleveland for example, who desired to keep the study of the German language in the schools in order to "aid in combating German propaganda," lost their argument to the overriding power of public opinion concerning the dangers of the use of the German language.[8]

Campaigns to purchase war bonds through the Liberty Loan program was another way that patriots sought to define Americanness through participation. Newspapers commonly ran full-page advertisements highlighting the benefits of support for the Liberty Loan. Coupled with the message of patriotism through contribution also ran harsh nativist diatribes against Germans. A representative Liberty Loan advertisement in the *Cincinnati Enquirer* read, "Just one year ago the United States of America stepped into the arena of war to Save Womanhood From the Savagery of the Huns and to forever throttle the monstrous doctrine that the Kaiser is foreordained to make America a slavish vassal within the wicked net of Kultur and Autocracy" (see Figure 2). Joining the Liberty Loan campaign also provided the outlook that citizens on the home front could perform their civic duty. Public speakers stressed this theme in many speeches, contending that as the "boys give [their] lives [in Europe], people at home must loan money." Failure to participate in the loan program signified an extremely disloyal act simultaneously interpreted as pro-Germanism. As in events past, the nativist sentiment in the country sought to define what was un-American and replace the undesirable action with a sense of nationalism and patriotism in pursuit of the goal of immigrant assimilation. The curtailment of German culture in America and the Liberty Loan program represent prime examples of the style of nativism common to the general population of Ohio.[9]

But anti-German action took other forms as well. Friday, 29 March 1918, the town of Coshocton, Ohio, erupted in a violent display of nationalism. "Aroused to a high pitch of patriotism by meetings the night before," according to the local *Tribune and Times-Age*, approximately five hundred citizens gathered to visit the homes of several German-American citizens suspected of harboring pro-German sentiments. The crowd forced each alleged disloyalist to kiss an American flag and to denounce the Kaiser publicly. Most of the German Americans visited by the belligerent group complied with the demands with little or no complaints. The only visible defiance provoked swift antagonism from the mob. Mrs. Frank Gregor, in a defensive action, fearing what the mob would do,

approached her window brandishing a .32 caliber revolver in her hand. Members of the mob forcefully entered the Gregor apartment, seized the weapon and both of the Gregors, and led them to the courthouse steps to perform the loyalty ceremony. Mrs. Gregor, the local newspaper reported, only submitted to the crowd's demands due to continued threats that they would "tar and feather her" or "duck her in the river." Ultimately, Frank Gregor lost his job because of their perceived disloyalty. To escape further recourse from the rampant nativism growing in the community, he and his wife felt forced to leave Coshocton.[10]

As historians argue, "collective action"—organized intimidation at times leading to violence—against German-Americans and German immigrants during World War I was not uncommon. The Ohio newspapers frequently reported scenes similar to the one described in Coshocton. The poignant characteristic that sets this style of nativism apart from others, however, is not its frequency, but the location of the events. Collective action, according to newspaper documentation in this research, overwhelmingly occurred in small cities and rural areas of Ohio. In the instances that follow, no community possessed a population over 50,000.[11]

While it became common throughout the state to ban the study of the German language, citizens of small cities and rural towns of Ohio frequently took the elimination of German culture to the extreme. In such towns as Galion, Norwalk, Findlay, Kenton, Shelly, and Burton, organized parties met at schools, broke in if necessary, and proceeded, in the words of one local newspaper, to "remove, burn, and mutilate" all textbooks pertaining to the study of German. This collective action sought not only to rid the towns of German propaganda, but also to intimidate any pro-German element in the towns.[12]

Intimidation in the small-town setting, however, often did not prove satisfactory for American patriots in many cases. Suspected disloyalty was usually enough to provoke reaction from nativist groups. Local newspapers helped stir the furor. They encouraged Americans to assist the country by keeping a watchful eye over the German element. One article stated emphatically, "whenever you hear a doubting whisper of disloyalty, nail the whisperer as liar and criminal, and know you are doing your country a service." Most patriots in the small towns considered merely reporting the alleged remarks insufficient and organized their own brand of collective, vigilante justice. Following the pattern of the community action taken in Coshocton, townspeople elsewhere gathered to force suspected pro-Germans to pledge their allegiance to the United States. In Massillon, the town fire bell summoned its citizens to the town square for a public ceremony forcing a "man of German descent" to kiss the flag and swear his loyalty. Sandusky and Delphos "local patriots" of 100 and 1,500 men, respectively, raided the homes of alleged pro-

Germans and forced them to sign loyalty oaths. Inmates at local prisons even took the law into their own hands. It was not uncommon to see instances in local papers of fellow prisoners attacking and beating those arrested for pro-German utterances.[13]

Too often, the crowd action that began as a rally in support of the war effort ended in a nativist frenzy. A public celebration in Alliance on the first anniversary of America's declaration of war started out to benefit the Third Liberty Loan. The typical rally included patriotic sing-a-longs, the unveiling of a new American flag, and several speeches given by area veterans and distinguished visitors. At Alliance, the Reverend Dr. Richard Wilkinson of Lexington, Kentucky, stepped up to the podium and "commended Ohio for bringing the pro-German to his knees and compelling the disloyalists to kiss the flag," in the words of the *Alliance Review and Leader.* Speeches of this sort seemed to stir the crowd into a frenzy. The Alliance gathering, after the evening's festivities ended, "held a midnight parade to burn the Kaiser in effigy."[14]

The intensely patriotic elements in the towns, moreover, considered the refusal to purchase liberty loans an immediate affront to their ideals as Americans. The brand of intimidation used against delinquents typically sought to coerce acceptance of superpatriot definitions of loyalty, but frequently the collective action spilled into violence. Several instances in papers report factory workers of German descent who received a treatment of yellow paint over their entire body to signify their cowardice in not supporting the American war effort. The most extreme case took place in Marion. A group of men gathered and "adopted a new method of selling Liberty Bonds, . . . and at the same time bring some of the foreigners closer to the fold and show what might happen if they are not loyal Americans." The new method included threatening the assumed disloyalists with a noose to compel the purchase of the bonds.[15]

Increases in collective action, in the towns represented in this study, also produced a common extension to their initial campaigns of intimidation. Makeshift groups of vigilantes soon turned their patriotic and nativist fervor into creating permanent organizations, according to the Coshocton newspaper, "to deal severely with citizens suspected of being in sympathy with Germany." The associations assumed names such as: "100 Percent American," "League of Loyal Patriotic Citizens," or "Be True to America." The official organizations, sanctioned by town authorities and led by "prominent men," strove to gain further validation for anti-German sentiment and actions to quell and undermine the patriotic spirit.[16]

The validation that groups practicing collective action sought for their activities appeared most often in the small city and rural town newspapers.

Writers did not seem to hide their support for unrestrained nationalism. The late March incident in Coshocton provides a case in point. Commentary and analysis of the reporter from the local paper suggested that rousing the German community to pledge its loyalty to the United States was "not altogether a misfortune." The writer further argued that "if such [pro-German] meetings have been held, this will probably end them. If the reports are unfounded, no particular harm has been done .... [O]ccurrences tonight have served as a safety valve." The press sanctioned collective acts of anti-Germanism not only to stave off surging pro-German activity, but also to intimidate the German community from voicing any opinion except ardent loyalty to the United States. Unprovoked crowd action could then be overlooked as protection for the future. Even those persons in the Coshocton area who winced at the mob's demonstration sought to qualify their criticism by offering praise to those citizens "guided by patriotic impulse." Similarly, cases of collective action received this type of positive interpretation in newspaper articles that emphasized pro-American ventures rather than anti-German activity. Some representative descriptions included: "patriotic demonstration," "patriotic employees full of enthusiasm," "local patriots raided pro-Germans," and "the city was purged of all treason last night."[17]

National news reported in small-town papers produced further rationale for directing collective activity at German-Americans. The incident that stands out most clearly occurred in reaction to the Robert Prager affair in Collinsville, Illinois. Prager, by all known accounts, was the only person during World War I of German descent murdered in the United States as a result of mob violence. On 5 April 1918, an angry crowd lynched him for allegedly speaking against the American government and plotting to sabotage the local mines with dynamite. Astonishment over the situation reached as far as the nation's capital and prompted Attorney General Thomas Gregory to send a fact-finding team to Collinsville to investigate what he considered excessive and irrational treatment. Attempting to end vigilantism, congressmen began calling for more strenuous legislation to allow local law enforcement to take care of suspected disloyalists. Small-town and rural papers in Ohio, however, reacted differently. Printing what can be interpreted as all but outright support, the *Marion Daily Star* ran the headline "First Hun Pays Death Penalty." The story proceeded to explain that the townspeople of Collinsville acted in a determined effort to stamp out disloyalty and make the victim a warning to others considering public recognition of their patronage to the Kaiser. Yet another endorsement of the mob's conduct came from Coshocton, only six days after the raid, under the headline "Loyalist Mob Swings a Hun Sympathizer from a Limb." The article painted the incident as a "scene of patriotic demonstration."[18]

Contemporary critics, albeit an extreme minority, placed the blame for the exceeding levels of intimidation and violence against Germans on journalists and the newspapers. Critics argued that the papers improperly reported their stories and too often validated the local community's "idea of patriotism" through collective action. A socialist paper based in Cleveland argued that Ohio's press "having incited the mob to violence and anarchy, . . . now excuses and justifies openly in its press this subversion of every human and civil law . . . to punish violators of the espionage act."[19]

Patriots in the small Ohio towns, however, seemed to have a retort for the critics who considered their treatment of Germans excessive. Community leaders attributed the collective efforts of citizens taking the law into their own hands to inadequacies of federal statutes to deal quickly and harshly with disloyalty. In Coshocton, the idea for a permanent, organized association for "100 percent Americans" grew out of the belief that existing laws would not effectively defeat the pro-German element that had allegedly infested their town. The paper argued that "prominent men here are stung to the snapping point over the unpatriotic conditions" and insisted that until the federal government passed legislation restricting suspicious behavior, collective action was the only answer to the ongoing problem. Traveling public speakers agreed. A rally in Alliance taking place during the weeks that witnessed several pro-German round-ups in Ohio towns prompted one speaker to proclaim: "If the United States government does not take the suggestion given to it by Ohioans as to the treatment of plotters and disloyalists, I fear the consequences . . . . [Disloyalists] will receive for their punishment more than mere kissing the flag." Federal lawmakers started to respond only after the lynching in Illinois, but even then local communities considered the reaction too little, too late. Collective action and the mob mentality in small-town and rural Ohio had proved too successful in quelling public expression of German cultural spirit and sympathy towards their fatherland. In turn, small-town nativism insured the staying power of patriotism.[20]

Large urban centers of Ohio displayed a very different style of nativism in their attempt to define American patriotism and to control disloyal behavior. Metropolitan areas were no less anti-German in their response, but the pattern did not entail the mob spirit seen in the less-populated sections of Ohio. Cincinnati, Cleveland, and Columbus with populations of approximately 400,000, 800,000, and 240,000, respectively, each possessed numbers of Germans representing significant percentages of their "foreign-born stock." Under the tense situation prevalent in the spring of 1918, however, mob-oriented antagonism directed at the German community did not occur in these cities. Each of the cities sought to conduct its brand of nationalism either under the

scope of the law or through public discourse in the urban newspapers. Leaders and citizens in these three influential Ohio cities even chose to condemn the growing instances of collective action in the smaller cities of the state. "Symbolic action" in the most populous areas was enough.[21]

Like the rest of the state, Ohio's largest cities expressed fear and concern over the specter of pro-German sentiment. In Columbus, the state fire marshall warned that "Ohio is infested with agents of a well organized and powerful German spy system that is constantly trying to burn and wreck its shops and factories in order to delay America's war preparations and aid the enemy for whom they are working." Moreover, city leaders continued to be wary of those in the German community who had publicly expressed support for the Kaiser prior to America's entry into the war. The Columbus newspaper pointed directly to several wards where "disloyal business men" allegedly resided. The city placed greater attention on unnaturalized German immigrants who continued to "roam the streets at will despite a permit that restricts the travel to direct passage between their homes and places of work." Several statements in the newspapers summed up precisely the impression of the heavily populated areas. In a pattern generally followed across the state, one article from Toledo contended that "all [Germans] tried to leave the impression that they were loyal but evidence in the hands of authorities is to the contrary." A writer for the *Blade* extended this argument by stating that "much as Americans dislike the idea of doing so, they will have to cultivate a strong, practical suspicion toward those who, for one reason or another, might be expected to lean kaiserward." The widely felt answer to this problem was that the United States must "diminish the Teutonic influence and hasten Americanization."[22]

Even though the sentiment throughout Ohio perceived a German threat, metropolitan area methods for pursuing the eradication of German influence were strikingly different than in the towns. Seen together, the largest urban areas generated an extensively symbolic reaction to the German influence in their cities. Citizens, organizations, and lawmakers perpetrated a variety of symbolic measures—acts that demonstrated discontent without harming people themselves. Members of the Cleveland YMCA, for example, hung an enormous Stars and Stripes flag to cover the "German" name on the German Hospital's sign. They reasoned that "the word affected [their] appetites." Hospital administrators stated that they had no plans to remove the flag. City council members in both Cincinnati and Cleveland voted to change street names that had a German origin with names that reflected the patriotism of the areas. In Cincinnati, Berlin Street became Woodrow Street, Bremen Street changed to Republic Street, and English Street replaced German Street. State government officials in Columbus refused to use a collection of pencils marked "Made in

Germany" and ordered them returned to their original distributor. These measures did not seek to confront the German community directly but intended, with grand public display, to break connections with anything linked to a German origin.[23]

In the large cities, direct encounters with alleged disloyalists occurred within the existing laws. A Cleveland manufacturer who reportedly promoted pro-German propaganda came under investigation by Federal authorities. Letters that investigators seized, according to the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, "disclosed an organized effort on the part of Germans and German societies to spread propaganda before and during the war . . . to Germanize the schools of Cleveland and Ohio." Most assuredly, paranoia brought on by the war encouraged popular suspicion of the German community. In the metropolitan areas, however, most attempts to battle pro-German activity unfolded in a law-abiding fashion.[24]

In fact, the leaders and citizens of these three cities preached adherence to existing laws and openly abhorred the tactics used by mobs in other areas of Ohio and the nation. The opinion pages of the newspapers overflowed with negative responses to the vigilante justice taking over other sections of the state and nation. A representative perspective from Columbus argued that "one cannot be loyal to his country, in the highest sense, unless he shows obedience to its laws." According to this writer, loyalty remained the paramount disposition of persons residing in America, despite some extreme episodes. It must continue, the article said: "We must . . . show our patriotism by allowing the laws of the land to reign supreme." In harmonious agreement, other writers in the large urban centers compared collective action to the style of government believed to be practiced in Germany, stressing the absence of overall freedom when the mob takes matters into its own hands. A Cincinnati native wrote: "What will it avail us to defeat the Hun if this safety is wrested away by that cruelest and most cowardly of beasts, the blood-seeking mob." At the beginning of April 1918 in the wake of the most widespread violence against Germans in America, Ohio cities even boasted of the fact that no such incidents had taken place in their borders. A Columbus editorial, written the day after the Prager lynching, stated proudly, "there has been no anti-German rioting in Columbus, and there will not be. Columbus is calm, well-poised, and law-abiding and gives promise to remaining so."[25]

This reaction, however, did not seek to appear sympathetic to the German element in those cities. In the same papers—on many occasions the same page—the rampant nativist sentiment played itself out. The difference, though, was that the metropolitan areas chose to release tensions symbolically through

discourse in the papers. Public opinion warned of the dangers of Germans in America or lobbied for tougher laws against disloyalists. Editorials were especially convenient places to showcase hostility towards Germans. Indicative of the tension is a letter from a citizen of Columbus defending his place as a "German-American" and expressing resentment for remarks ridiculing German soldiers as cruel. The editor's response resulted in an extended denunciation, not of the writer's defense of the German military, but of the insistence that the person was "German-American." The reply read,

> In the first place, you are not a German-American. You are either an American or a German. The hyphen was shot out of existence the day we severed diplomatic relations with Germany . . . . [W]e have a supreme contempt in this country for the fellow who holds Germany in one hand and the United States in the other with his heart representing the hyphen.

Daily, papers ran stories of suspicious characters in the midst of the loyal citizens of Ohio and encouraged patriots to report any seemingly disloyal activity to the authorities. Likewise, articles pinpointed groups to watch carefully. A "certain religious sect," most likely the Mennonites, received the brand of "slackers" not only because members consciously objected to war, but more, according to the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, for the suspected "Teutonic spirit that survived [in its doctrine] though it has been here nearly two centuries." The existence of communities such as the Mennonites further fueled fear and resentment of the overall German element in the United States.[26]

New laws to battle disloyalty and to encourage assimilation, therefore, garnered significant support in the metropolitan press. Ohio Congressman Ben Wetly argued that it was "too easy to become an American citizen" and suggested that the legislation should require immigrants to register with the government as well as receive organized education to ensure loyalty. The Sedition Bill making its way through Congress in reaction to the growing mob menace also received support in hopes that it would encourage the swift and lawful dealing with disloyalists. Ultimately in the late days of April 1918, the state began to organize what it termed "Americanization Day." Organizers planned the celebration to fall on 14 June 1918, Flag Day, for the purpose of teaching "American ideals." The leadership for this drive toward German assimilation came primarily from the urban centers of Ohio. Columbus, Cincinnati, Cleveland, and Akron city leaders led the charge, evidence again that law-abiding, symbolic activity generated the metropolitan style of nativism.[27]

The evidence presented in this essay demonstrates that three distinctively different styles of nativism were part of the rampant anti-German sentiment during the time the United States fought in World War I. Common acts, attempting to rid areas of any aspect of German culture and encouraging the purchase of Liberty Bonds, generally took place over all of Ohio. Collective action, however, occurred almost exclusively in small towns and rural areas, while symbolic acts took place in the large urban centers. Collective action sought, through group intimidation, to coerce patriotism and to quell any perceived disloyalty in the German community. Local newspapers encouraged the methods which unfortunately on many occasions utilized extralegal or violent means. Symbolic action in the metropolitan areas reflected equally anti-German sentiment but expressed it in a more lawful manner. Urban papers denounced the mob spirit and advocated the use of existing authority to deal with the suspected German problem. Through the editorial pages, antagonism for suspected disloyal Germans stayed within the bounds of discourse.

Locating an exact reason for the divergent styles proves more difficult. An analysis of the ethnic makeup of Ohio and the cities and towns focused upon in this study provides few obvious explanations. It seems there was something in the urban experience that made the difference. A historical examination of Cincinnati from 1870-1920 suggests that by approximately 1914, the discrete German community had vanished. The city itself had grown significantly. German immigration to Cincinnati had proportionately decreased. The old-stock German-Americans began to disperse throughout the city's numerous wards. With these developments taken together, it can be argued that Cincinnati's German community was deteriorating even before the beginning of the war. Thus, the strength of nativism by the spring of 1918 was merely attacking the last remnants of the once-strong German culture in urban Ohio.[28]

Conversely, in the small towns, instances of tighter immigrant communal ties were much higher. In less-populated areas, it remained easier to continue local ethnic societies and to maintain cultural heritage. As the war intensified hostility, enclaves of Germans practicing their country's customs or frequently using the German language stood out and became easy targets for rising nativist feeling. Anti-German parties organized to intimidate the so-called un-American practitioners, likewise, prevailed in the smaller towns and rural areas because groups were easier to gather and to organize.

This study follows traditional historiography in noting that anti-German sentiment reached all levels of American society during World War I. But it also provides an important new dimension by examining different kinds of nativism in Ohio. The brief and somewhat speculative look at local newspapers helps us

understand how some areas erupted, while others remained calm, and in the process underscores important deviations in various parts of the state.

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Notes

[1] John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (1955; with a new afterward by the author, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1994), 194-250; Carl Wittke, *German-Americans and the World War (With Special Emphasis on Ohio's German-Language Press)* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society, 1936), 83-11; Frederick Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois UP, 1974), 157-94.

[2] Luebke, 267-302; Higham, 194-233; Wittke 163-96.

[3] "It is Well to Hate!" *Columbus (Ohio) Evening Dispatch*, 3 April 1918, 4; "Wisely Disbanding," *Columbus Evening Dispatch*, 13 April 1918, 2. See also Wittke, 163-96.

[4] "German Tongue is Barred from Public Schools," *Columbus Evening Dispatch*, 2 April 1918; Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910*, vol. 3, *Population* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1913), 395; Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920*, vol. 3, *Population* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1922), 767-810.

[5] "Glorification of the Kaiser in Public Schools Ended," *Sandusky (Ohio) Register*, 5 April 1918, 2; "When You Find Poison in a Well Quit Drinking the Water," *Columbus Evening Dispatch*, 3 April 1918, 4; Don Heinrich Tolzman, *The Cincinnati Germans after the Great War* (New York: Peter Lang, 1987), 85-86.

[6] "It is Well to Hate!" *Columbus Evening Dispatch*, 3 April 1918, 4; "Everybody's Doing It!" *Sandusky Register*, 5 April 1918, 2. General news bulletins from around the state provide ample evidence that support the argument that the ban on German language study can be termed universal. See, for example: *Clermont (Batavia, OH) Sun*, 24 April 1918; *Alliance (Ohio) Review and Leader*, 3 April 1918; *Coshocton (Ohio) Tribune and Times-Age*, 7 April 1918; *Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer*, 5 April 1918; *Columbus Evening Dispatch*, 2 April 1918.

[7] "Wisely Disbanding," *Columbus Evening Dispatch*, 13 April 1918, 2; "German Tongue is Barred from Public Schools," *Columbus Evening Dispatch*, 2 April 1918, 2; "Ohio Gleanings," *Clermont (Batavia, OH) Courier*, 24 April 1918, n.p.

[8] "Spaulding is Ready to Drop German Study," *Cleveland News*, 1 June 1918, 10.

[9] *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 6 April 1918, 9; "Boys Give Lives, People at Home Must Loan Money Say Speakers at Rallies," *Alliance Review and Leader*, 6 April 1918, 1.

[10] "Coshocton Pro-Germans Made to Kiss Flag and Denounce Kaiser," *Coshocton Tribune and Times-Age*, 30 March 1918, 1, 8; "Gregor Fired by Frederickson," *Coshocton Tribune and Times-Age*, 30 March 1918, 8.

[11] *Fourteenth Census of the United States*, 767-810.

[12] Quoted in "Galion Pupils Burn German Study Books," *Coshocton Tribune and Times-Age*, 7 April 1918, 2. See also "Ohio Gleanings," *Clermont Courier*, 17 April 1918, n.p.; "Disloyal Talker Given Paint Bath," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 13 April 1918, 5.

[13] "Loyalty Great Need of Hour," *Alliance Review and Leader*, 2 April 1918, n.p.; "Mob Forces Ten to Kiss Flag at Huron," *Cleveland News*, 8 April 1918, 1; "Ohio Gleanings," *Clermont Courier*, 17 April 1918, n.p.; "Ohioans Keep Anti-Teuton Drive," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 3 April 1918, 2.

[14] "Boys Give Lives," *Alliance Review and Leader*, 6 April 1918, 1; "Burn Kaiser in Effigy," *Alliance Review and Leader*, 6 April 1918, n.p.

[15] "Bathed in Cylinder Oil," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 13 April 1918, 4; "Disloyal Talker Given Paint Bath," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 13 April 1918, 5. *Enquirer* story is reported from a nearby small town. *Plain Dealer* story reported from Alliance, Ohio.

[16] "Permanent Anti-German Club Talked," *Coshocton Tribune and Times-Age*, 31 March 1918, 1; "Pro-Germans Forced to Kiss the Flag," *Daily Jeffersonian*; "Disloyal Talker," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*. *Plain Dealer* story is reported from Findlay, Ohio.

[17] Coshocton Pro-Germans," *Coshocton Tribune and Times-Age*, 30 March 1918, 8; "Protest Against Snap Judgement," *Coshocton Tribune and Times-Age*, 7 April 1918, n.p.; "Patriot Demonstration," *Clermont Sun*, 24 April 1918, 2; "Use Rope to Compel," *Marion Daily Star*, 17 April 1918, 5; "Pro-Germans Forced," *Daily Jeffersonian*, 27 March 1918, 1; "Burned in Effigy is Kaiser as Fremont is Purged," *Hamilton (Ohio) Evening Journal*, 3 April 1918, 4.

[18] Luebke, 3-24; "First Hun Pays Death Penalty," *Marion Daily Star*, 5 April 1918, 1; "Loyalist Mob Swings a Hun Sympathizer From a Limb," *Coshocton Tribune and Times-Age*, 4 April 1918, 1.

[19] "Capitalist Hun Press Reveals its Hand—Heart and Soul," *Ohio Socialist (Cleveland)*, 10 April 1918, 1.

[20] "Permanent Anti-German Club Talked," *Coshocton Tribune and Times-Age*, 31 March 1918, 1; "Boys Give Lives," *Alliance Review and Leader*. For a more extensive analysis on mob violence attributed to the insufficiency of existing federal laws, see Luebke, 11-24, 278-79.

[21] *Fourteenth Census of the United States*, 767-810.

[22] "Agents Infest State of Ohio," *Daily Jeffersonian*, 17 April 1918, n.p.; "Disloyal Business Men," *Columbus Evening Dispatch*, 13 April 1918, 4; "Alien Germans Ignore Restrictions Imposed," *Columbus Evening Dispatch*, 2 April 1918, 10; "Guilty Until Proven Innocent," *Toledo Blade*, as published in *Columbus Evening Dispatch*, 9 April 1918, 10; "Defense Society Urges Ousting of All Germans," *Cleveland News*, 10 April 1918, 2.

[23] "Blot out German Name with Flag," *Cleveland News*, 1 June 1918, 2; "Versenk! Hun Names Torpedoed," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 9 April 1918, 11; "Remove German Names," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 5 April 1918, 2; "German Street Names May Be Dropped Now," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 23 April 1918, 4; "Balks at Using German Pencils," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 5 April 1918, 2. See also the article in *Columbus Evening Dispatch*, 4 April 1918, n.p.

[24] "Seize Letters of Clevelander in Plot Probe," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 5 April 1918, 2. The one exception to this contention found in the spring of 1918 occurred in Toledo, Ohio, a city similar in size to Columbus. A mob tarred and feathered three men for being "too outwardly pro-German and for refusing to purchase liberty loan bonds." The men, however, were not German but were admitted Socialists. Moreover, they did not reside in Toledo but were taken there by a mob that started in the small town of Holland, located near Toledo. See "Coats of Tar and Feathers," *Clermont Courier*, 17 April 1918, n.p.; and articles in the *Toledo Blade*, 17 April 1918.

[25] "Mistaken Loyalty," *Columbus Evening Dispatch*, 16 April 1918, 4; "Uphold the Law and Social Order!" *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 8 April 1918, 6; "No Mob Law in Columbus," *Columbus Evening Dispatch*, 6 April 1918, 4.

[26] "Have No Weak Pity," *Columbus Evening Dispatch*, 6 April 1918, 4; "Treatment of Certain Slackers," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 1 April 1918, 6. For warnings, see "Enemies at Home," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 1 April 1918, 8; "Mere Lip Loyalty," *Columbus Evening Dispatch*, 8April 1918, n.p. For further discussion on Mennonite harassment in the United States during World War I, see Luebke, 257-59, 274, 278, 289, 309, 315.

[27] "Citizenship—Too Cheap, Says Wetly," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 1 April 1918, 2; "The Sedition Bill," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 13 April 1918, 8; "Ohio Will Carry Liberty Message to Foreign-Born," *Columbus Evening Dispatch*, 24 April 1918, 3. For further discussion of "Americanization Day" as a national movement, and Americanization in general, see Higham, 234-63.

[28] Guido Dobbert, "The Disintegration of an Immigrant Community: The Cincinnati Germans, 1870-1920" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1965).

Gerhard P. Bassler

The Problem of German-Canadian Identity

The notion of a German-Canadian identity has come under attack from various quarters recently. One critic dismisses it as an artificial political construct invented to claim special political status. He maintains that German-speaking immigrants acculturate directly into Canada's multicultural mainstream.[1] Another critic elevates Austrian-Canadians to the level of an ethnicity separate and distinct from German-Canadians.[2] A third critique is derived from the observation that different immigrant generations are separated by their socialization in the homeland and by different notions of what it means to be a German in the German-Canadian mosaic.[3]

No doubt, the 2.8 million Canadians reporting German ethnic origin in 1991 appear to have a questionable identity. Canadians of German-speaking background are arguably one of Canada's most assimilated immigrant peoples. They have always been divided by heterogeneity of origin, religious and linguistic diversity, secondary migrations, generational differences, and spatial dispersion. Factors such as these, not to speak of the post-nationalist mentality in the Federal Republic of Germany and postwar Austria's exertions to erase pro-German leanings among its citizens, would seem to militate against any kind of common identity. It is therefore not surprising that cursory surveyors of the German-Canadian scene would be tempted to question the existence of a German-Canadian identity.

Most of these critiques focus on the present and the seemingly irreconcilable diversity and heterogeneity of the German-speaking immigrants's origins—geographical, cultural, linguistic, political, and generational. They assume a notion of identity that is transplanted, fixed, and one-dimensional. They ignore the historical, albeit mostly transitory, formations of German-Canadian identity in the process of adaptation. However, as this essay submits, any study of the historical patterns of adaptation exhibited by German-speaking

immigrants in Canada should reveal the existence of a German-Canadian identity.

Generally speaking, identity in the context of this essay refers to the historically observable attributes and behavior patterns shared by immigrants of German-speaking background. It is dynamic—it has changed over time and has regional variants. Also, it is neither the sole nor always the dominant ethnic identity in a hierarchy of a German-speaking immigrant's multiple identities. German-Canadian identity in this sense may be observed in patterns of settlement, adaptation, socialization, and interaction among groups of the German-Canadian mosaic. In other words, it is a verifiable historical phenomenon.

The available evidence indicates that from the seventeenth to the mid-twentieth century German-speakers from different geographic and cultural backgrounds, while maintaining emotional allegiances to these, tended to experience a process of identity homogenization wherever and whenever settlement and/or external pressures were conducive to it. In these situations the German-speaking immigrants realized that they were united by almost as much as what divided them. It appears that their cultural baggage contained enough common ingredients to enable them to identify as German-Canadians and be identified as such in a shared process of adaptation. Not specific to German-Canadians, this kind of identity homogenization has also been observed among Italian,[4] Jewish, Ukrainian, and British immigrants in Canada and among Germans in the United States,[5] Russia,[6] and other countries.

For example, the American model study by David A. Gerber is also applicable to Canada. He retraces how German, Alsatian, Swiss, and Austrian immigrants in mid-nineteenth-century Buffalo developed common interests and identities. This situation occurred because for language reasons they initially chose to concentrate in the same neighborhood. Gerber argued that the anglophone host society tended to identify German-speaking immigrants of various backgrounds as Germans because of their common language although they did not at first share such a common identity. Gradually, however, this ascribed identity became a reality as new intra-ethnic groupings emerged from residential and workplace intermingling, social interaction in churches, clubs, and schools, intermarriage, and a shared German-language press.[7]

Among German-speaking Canadians, manifestations of a common identity may be traced to the very beginnings of settlement in Canada. Canada's first documented German-speakers in seventeenth-century New France gave as their origins such dispersed places as Erfurt, Lucerne, Speyer, Cologne, Mainz, Breisach, Danzig, and Vienna. Although the emergence of a national consciousness in sixteenth-century Germany is documented among the upper

and educated classes,[8] one would be surprised if these settlers identified as Germans. Yet in 1674 the Viennese-born Hans Daigle acknowledged "Vienna in Lower Germany" as his origin. In the contemporary Quebec society numbering some 8,000 francophones and about twenty families of German-speaking background, this Austrian is known to have sought the company of Swiss-born Georg Staims from Lucerne and of natives of Germany. Daigle, like other German-born immigrants, was labelled "l'allemand" or "the German" in Quebec, a label that francophones continued to attach to his assimilated grandchildren.[9]

In eighteenth-century English Canada (today's Nova Scotia and Ontario), the existence of a German identity has been obscured by the English habit of attaching to German-speaking settlers of various origins the labels "Dutch," "Palatines," or "Hessians." In Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, the settlers appeared at first unable to develop a common identity. Adhering to various Protestant faiths, they comprised a randomly constituted mosaic of 1,300 southwest Germans, 233 north Germans, 316 Swiss, 413 French, and 125 others. Linguists have shown how the various German dialects of the settlers soon amalgamated into a new kind of hybrid German idiom similar to Pennsylvania Dutch. Even French names were Germanized.[10] Common challenges helped them realize that they were bound by a certain kind of common identity. In Lunenburg County the foreign Protestants fused into a flourishing community with German churches, schools, and enduring new maritime industries. Although isolated from the centers of German-speaking immigration in Canada, the Lunenburg Germans adapted amazingly well while passing on Germanic customs for generations.[11]

Similar to the Lunenburg case were the German Loyalist pioneer settlements started on Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River in 1783. Their Loyalist German-speaking farmers and artisans from small frontier communities in New York and other American states were labelled "Palatines," in part because many descended from natives of the Palatinate and the German-speaking lands adjoining it. In their new Upper Canadian environment they stubbornly stuck to their mother tongue, in some instances until the late 1830s.[12] Considering the odds against the viability of a small German community in an anglophone environment, the surprising observation is not that the German cultural identity of these pioneer communities was doomed but that it survived so long.[13]

Among Mennonites, too, a distinct German-Canadian identity manifested itself, although this was not their primary identity. Cases in point are the Pennsylvania (or Swiss) German Mennonites from 1800 to 1850 (or even 1914) and the so-called *Russländer* from 1920 to 1940. Coming to Pennsylvania from

the Palatinate where their Mennonite ancestors persecuted in Switzerland had found refuge since 1650, the Swiss Mennonites brought to Canada a distinctive German dialect and culture known as "Pennsylvania Dutch." This localized German culture and dialect, itself the product of a culturally pluralistic community,[14] facilitated interaction with other southwest German and Swiss immigrants in Pennsylvania and Ontario.

One of the motives triggering the Pennsylvania Mennonites's migration and their acquisition of a huge tract of land in Waterloo County was concern for the fate of their German culture in America's melting pot. For this reason they preferred German-speakers over non-Germans as co-settlers and farm workers in Ontario. As a result, they attracted waves of immigrating South German Catholics and North German Protestants, Amish, Swiss, and German-Americans. By the end of the nineteenth century, these formed the largest German-Canadian community. Their center was the city of Berlin (called Kitchener since 1916). Mennonite Bishop Eby himself played a crucial role in this development by selling land to German immigrants, changing the name of Ebytown to Berlin in 1833, and helping to launch Ontario's first German-language newspaper (*Canada Museum*) in 1835.[15]

Berlin was a model German-Canadian community in more than one sense. German-language schools, meeting houses, cemeteries, and resources were shared by the Mennonites with German-speaking settlers of all denominations. The German immigrants's transplantation of such features of urban culture as the German choir, the *Turnverein*, *Sängerfest*, German-language theater, German clubs, and schools confirmed Berlin's claim as Canada's "German" capital. By 1914 Berlin's German-Canadian identity embraced several generations and all social classes of German-speaking immigrants--including forty-eighters, veterans of Bismarck's wars of unification, and contemporaries of Kaiser Wilhelm II. The endurance of Berlin's strong sense of community was noted by numerous outside observers who before 1914 used to pay homage to its exemplary German-Canadian character and values.[16]

Arriving between the world wars, the 20,000 *Russländer* Mennonites exhibited a different but equally distinct German-Canadian identity. Their experiences of war and revolution in Russia made them search for orientation from Germany and seek the inspiration of German culture. High levels of education and urbanization, combined with their desire to identify with the wider German-Canadian community, predestined them to play a leading cultural role in that community in the 1930s. Their contributions to German-Canadian literature as well as their defense of German-Canadian cultural interests were crucial in the reconstruction of a post-World War I German-Canadian identity.[17] Today only a minority of Canadian Mennonites continue to speak German at

home and in church[18] but, as one researcher discovered as late as 1990, 60 percent of Waterloo County Mennonites still acknowledge German ethnic origin.[19]

Of the most heterogeneous origin were western Canada's German-speaking colonizers who arrived between 1874 and 1914. More than half came from ethnic German enclaves in the Russian Empire (especially the Black Sea coast, the Volga, and Volhynia), 18 percent from the Habsburg Empire, 18 percent from the United States, 6 percent from the Romanian Dobrudja, and 2 percent from Ontario, Switzerland, Chile, Brazil, and other places. Despite the diverse origins of the settlers, the manifestation of a German-Canadian identity in the process of immigration and settlement is clearly evident. In all the prairie provinces, communities with such mixed origins as the United States, Austria, Germany, Alsace, Hungary, Galicia, and Russia formed the predominant patterns of German colonization. In Saskatchewan's German Catholic block settlements of St. Peter's and St. Joseph's, for example, first and second-generation immigrants from Germany and Russia to Minnesota, the Dakotas, Wisconsin, and Kansas formed a new German-speaking community with immigrants from Germany, Austria, Hungary, Banat, South Russia, and the Volga.[20]

At the time, numerous witnesses attested to the ubiquity of a common identity among German-speaking immigrants. For example, a 1905 memorandum of the German consulate in Montreal observed that "here in Canada German Americans are considered as Germans, and mostly they also identify themselves as such, just as is the case with German Russians and German Austrians."[21] Frank Oliver, Canadian Minister of the Interior, in 1911 ascribed to each German-speaking settler the "typical" traits of a German, "whether he comes from Germany, from Galicia or anywhere else."[22] In 1912 the *Winnipeg Free Press* noted that Canada's Germans were like the British. "They come from many countries and yet they are all Germans." And the editor of Canada's leading German-language paper *Der Nordwesten* reaffirmed that, although only a minority of western Canada's German farmers hailed from Germany, they all "nevertheless call[ed] themselves Germans . . . . It is with them more a matter of sentiment than of geographical boundaries."[23]

Between the world wars, German-Canadian identity manifested itself in the continued preference for closed German-speaking settlement, the proliferation of regional associations, and the wide appeal of such rallies as "German Day." Generally speaking, in the formation and maintenance of German-Canadian communities, national origin was rarely a rallying cause. Rather, as indicated above, Austrians, German Swiss, and Alsatians sought community with people of their German mother tongue.

Until 1914, most German-speaking immigrants from Germany and Austria arrived with a weaker allegiance to their country than to their region of origin:

they preferred to identify as Bavarian, Prussian, Burgenländer, Tyrolean, etc. Indeed, self-identification as German—a common practice among ethnic Germans from eastern Europe, *Russländer* Mennonites, and Austrians in the 1920s and 1930s—meant ethno-cultural and not national identity.

The weakness or absence of nationalism facilitated the assumption of German-Canadian identity by immigrants, regardless of their diverse German-speaking backgrounds. This identity formation was part of the adjustment-integration process that manifested itself in patterns of rural settlement and urban neighborhoods; in shared institutions such as local and national associations, churches, language schools, and the German-language press; and in the celebration of such symbolic events as Christmas Eve, *Oktoberfest*, German Day, and *Karneval*. It was within these more or less institutionally complete colonies, neighborhoods, ethnic institutions, and activities that the majority of pre-World War II German-speaking immigrants became socialized and integrated into Canadian society. No instances of a deviating uniquely Bavarian, Saxon, Hanoverian, Alsatian, Austrian, German Swiss, Baltic German, or other ethnic German-type adaptation and acculturation have become known.

After World War II, economic reasons no longer drew German-speaking immigrants to fellow-ethnic rural settlements and urban neighborhoods. Moreover, the increased urbanization of the sending and receiving societies had programmed these immigrants to adapt rapidly. Better educated, economically more successful and hence more upwardly mobile than their precursors,[24] they dispersed in the expanding suburbs where they exhibited the lowest degree of residential clustering among major immigrant groups. Indeed, in urbanized Canada's achievement-oriented society the retention of ethnic identity was seen as a hindrance to economic success and social mobility.[25]

The immigrants of the 1950s and 1960s seemed eager to discard their identity maligned by the Nazi stigma. Perceived as "untroublesome" and "almost painfully unassertive" by *Maclean's* in 1964,[26] they adapted smoothly to economic and social life in Canada. Surveys of how these immigrants viewed their identity, however, have not supported the conclusions drawn from the observed objective behavior. In 1990 Andrea Koch-Kraft explored the self-identification of a random sample of postwar German-speaking immigrants living in Edmonton. Of its 246 respondents, 85 percent claimed German or German-Canadian identity, 10 percent identified themselves as ethnic Germans, and only 5 percent Canadian.[27]

Koch-Kraft's findings are confirmed by other observations. For example, after World War II ethnic clubs and associations rebounded from 200 in 1957 to over 600 by 1994. Regardless of whether they claim an Austrian or any other focus, their individual membership lists reveal immigrants of diverse German-

speaking geographical origins. In addition, post-World War II German-Canadian national umbrella organizations like the Trans-Canada Alliance of German-Canadians (1952-1980s) and the German-Canadian Congress (1984-present) have enjoyed unprecedented longevity. The German-Canadian Congress, for example, managed to rally under its umbrella some 550 ethnic organizations by 1994, including Austrians, Swiss, Mennonites, and Hutterites. These represent an estimated thirty to fifty thousand members in a national population of 477,000 Canadians reporting German as their mother tongue.

To conclude, patterns of adaptation and settlement among German-speaking immigrants in Canada since the seventeenth century attest to the existence of a broadly encompassing, albeit frequently short-lived German-Canadian identity. The contradictory post-World War II identity, however, needs further exploration. Research so far has been scanty.

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Notes

[1] Dirk Hoerder, "German-Speaking Immigrants: Co-Founders or Mosaic?: A Research Note on Politics and Statistics in Scholarship," *Zeitschrift für Kanada-Studien* 14,2 (1994): 51-65; and "German-Speaking Immigrant of Many Backgrounds and the 1990s Canadian Identity," F.A.J. Szabo, ed., *Austrian Immigration to Canada: Selected Essays* (Ottawa, 1996), 11-31.

[2] Franz A.J. Szabo, "The Austrian Immigrant and the Canadian Multicultural Spectrum," in F.A.J. Szabo, ed., *Austrian Immigration to Canada*, 1-10.

[3] Matthias Zimmer, "Deutsche Identität in Kanada—ein Rückblick aus dem Jahre 2020," unpublished paper given at the German-Canadian Studies conference in Montreal, May 1995; and "Culture, Technology, and the Social Construction of Identity: The Case of the German Canadians," unpublished paper given at the CESA conference, Gimli, October 1995.

[4] John E. Zucchi, *Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity, 1875-1935* (Kingston and Montreal, 1988), has shown that pre-World War II Italians arriving in Canada with only a regional identity developed an Italian identity in the process of adjustment and integration. For them, the identifying force was discrimination and stereotyping.

[5] The impact of settlement patterns and adaptive strategies on the evolution of a German-American cultural identity have been sketched in the classical studies of John A. Hawgood and Kathleen Neils Conzen. See John A. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German-America: The Germans in the United States of America During the Nineteenth Century—and After* (New York, 1940) and Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Patterns of German-American History," in R. M. Miller, ed., *Germans in America: Retrospect and Prospect* (Philadelphia, 1984), 14-56.

[6] Margarete Busch, *Deutsche in St. Petersburg 1856-1914: Identität und Integration* (Essen, 1995), attributes the formation of a collective German-Russian identity that bridged social, religious, cultural, and national divisions among the mosaic of immigrants to the increasing pressures of government Russification policy.

[7] David A. Gerber, "Language Maintenance, Ethnic Group Formation, and Public Schools: Changing Patterns of German Concern, Buffalo, 1837-1874," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 4,1 (1984): 31-61.

[8] As evident in the name "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation" (since 1486) and in Martin Luther's address *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* (1520). See also Johannes Haller, *Epochen der deutschen Geschichte* (Munich, 1959), 113-31, and Geoffrey Barraclough, *The Origins of Modern Germany* (Guildford and London, 1946, 1988), 367-71.

[9] H.W. Debor, *1664-1964: Die Deutschen in der Provinz Quebec* (Montreal, 1963), 4f.; Rudolf A. Helling, *A Socio-Economic History of German-Canadians: They, Too, Founded Canada* (Wiesbaden, 1984), *Historiques* 61,2 (1955): 57ff.

[10] For example, *Payzant* became *Beißang*, *Pernette* became *Bernet*, and *LaHave* became *Leehöff*. See Manfred Richter, "Die deutsche Mundart von Lunenburg County, Nova Scotia: Ein Überblick," *Annalen 2, Deutschkanadische Studien* (Montreal, 1978), 19-30.

[11] See W. P. Bell, *The "Foreign Protestants"*; Hellen Creighton, *Folklore of Lunenburg County, Nova Scotia* (Toronto, 1950, 1976); and M. B. DesBrisay, *History of the County of Lunenburg* (Toronto, 1895).

[12] In the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada, their representatives were ridiculed for their unrefined manners and "ofttimes ludicrous pronunciation of the English language." James Croil, *Dundas* (Montreal, 1861), 127f., 279.

[13] The survival to this day of Lutheran congregations in both Lunenburg (NS) and Williamsburg (ON) commemorating their origins attests to the forging of an early German-Canadian identity among these German-speaking settlers of diverse backgrounds. See Werner Bausenhart, *German Immigration and Assimilation in Ontario, 1783-1918* (New York, Ottawa, Toronto, 1989); and Heinz Lehmann, *The German Canadians: Immigration, Settlement, and Culture, 1759-1937I*, ed. G. P. Bassler (St. John's, NF, 1986).

[14] See Don Yoder, "The Palatine Connection: The Pennsylvania German Culture and its European Roots," R. M. Miller, ed., *Germans in America*, 92-109.

[15] Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People* (Toronto, 1975), 54f.; and Lehmann, *The German Canadians*, 70f.

[16] Gottlieb Leibbrandt, *Little Paradise: The Saga of the German Canadians of Waterloo County, Ontario, 1800-1975* (Kitchner, 1981), 23-244. John English and Kenneth Mclaughlin, *Kitchner: An Illustrated History* (Waterloo, 1983), 9-105.

[17] Benjamin Redekop, "German Nationalism Among Canadian Mennonites During the Early 1930s," *Mennonite Historian* 19,3 (1993): 1-2, 8-10.

[18] Leo Driedger and Peter Hengstenberg, "Non-Official Multilingualism: Factors Affecting German Language Competence, Use and Maintenance in Canada," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 18,3 (1986): 90-109.

[19] Alfred Hecht, "Mennonites and the Canadian Society: A Financial Well-Being Comparison," paper given at Conrad Grebel College, 26 May 1990, as quoted in *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, 15 April 1992.

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

[21] Bundesarchiv Abteilungen Potsdam, 09.01, AA, Rechtsabteilung VF II, vol. 21, Kaiserlich Deutsches Konsulat Montreal an Reichskanzler Fürst von Bülow, Re: deutsche Ansiedlung im Saskatchewantale, 13 December 1905.

[22] Official Report of the Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, 1911, vol. 54, p. 2934.

[23] Gotthard L. Maron, *Facts About Germans in Canada* (Winnipeg, 1912), 13.

[24] Still, the 1981 Census found the German ethnic origin cohort twice as likely as the Canadian population overall to have less than grade 9 education and one half as likely to have university or other post-secondary training. That is, the educational level of 40 percent of Germans 15 years and older indicated less than grade 9, another 40 percent grade 9 to 13, and less than one-fifth indicated university-level training. In 1981, the occupational breakdown of the German-origin population was: 20 percent clerical, 15 percent processing, 10 percent service, 9 percent each in sales, managerial, administrative, farming, and construction, and 20 percent in teaching, scientific, engineering, health, and other professions. See Canada, Multiculturalism, *Socio-Economic Profiles of Selected Ethnic/Visible Minority Groups: 1981 Census* (Ottawa, 1986), 35-38.

[25] See Warren E. Kalbach, "Ethnic-Connectedness: How Binding is the Tie?" in T. Yedlin, ed., *Central and East European Ethnicity in Canada: Adaption and Preservation* (Edmonton, 1985), 99-109.

[26] Ralph Allen, "The Untroublesome Canadians," *Maclean's*, 7 March 1964.
[27] Andrea Koch-Kraft, *Deutsche in Kanada: Einwanderung und Adaption* (Bochum, 1990), 234.

Jerry Glenn

From Babylon to Jasper: Recent German-American Literature

Christian Essellen's Babylon.
Edited and with an introduction by Cora Lee Nollendorfs. German Life and Civilization, vol. 19. New York [etc.]: Peter Lang. 1996. xxxviii + 184 pages. $45.95.

Die Zunge als Lohn: Gedichte 1991-1995.
By Richard Exner. Stuttgart: Radius, 1996. 91 pages. DM 29.

The Sunday before Thanksgiving: Two Prose Memoirs.
By Norbert Krapf. Chicago: Rain Crow, 1998. Unpaginated. $5.00.

Kälbchen-Geschichten.
By Lisa Kahn. Frankfurt am Main: Edition Fischer im R. G. Fischer Verlag. 1997. 61 pages, illustrated. DM 12.80.

Semiotische Übungen: Erzählungen / Exercises in Semiotics: Short Stories.
By Rita Terras. New German-American Studies / Neue deutsch-amerikanische Studien, 15. New York [etc.]: Peter Lang. 1998. 147 pages. $39.95.

The works under discussion here fall into three categories: First, Nollendorfs's exemplary edition of a nineteenth-century work long considered lost; second, new works by two established and unquestionably significant German-American authors, Kahn and Terras; and third, two works that not everyone would agree qualify as German-American literature, a new collection of poems by Exner and Krapf's "memoirs." As my comments below should make clear, in my opinion thematic considerations demand the inclusion of Krapf's English-language works; if they are not legitimate—and important—examples of German-Americana, nothing is. Exner, however, is more problematic. The German-American experience was never a significant theme in his poetry, and now a new argument has been added to the arsenal of those who would exclude him from the field of German-Americana: he has retired

from his position as professor of German at the University of California-Santa Barbara and returned to Germany. As the subtitle indicates, these poems were written between 1991 and 1995. Since he moved to Germany in 1992, it can safely be assumed that relatively few of them were written prior to his return. Should this be the last of his volumes to be reviewed in these pages? Let the debate begin.

Turning first to **Cora Lee Nollendorfs** (a faculty member of the German Department of the University of Wisconsin in Madison) and her edition of Essellen's dramatic poem, we learn in the introduction that surprisingly little is known about the author. He was active in revolutionary circles in 1848-49, and was acquainted with Marx and Engels and other prominent figures of his day. Later, important German-Americans like H. A. Rattermann would comment on his significance. But we cannot say with certainty where or when he was born, and where he is buried. After years of painstaking research, Nollendorfs must frequently resort to phrases like "it seems likely" and "it is probable" in her superb introduction.

We do know that Essellen wrote the monumental, and still important, *Geschichte der süddeutschen Mai-Revolution des Jahres 1849* (1849); that he came to America, "probably" in 1852; and that he lived a troubled life here (as he had in Europe), constantly struggling for financial security and apparently an alcoholic; a contemporary reports that his "last days [in May, 1859] were spent in an asylum for inebriates" (xvii). Most significantly for our purposes, he founded and for several years edited *Atlantis*, an irregularly appearing "Zeitschrift [later—Monatsschrift] für Wissenschaft, Politik und Poesie" (xx). Nollendorfs discovered an incomplete run of the early issues in the archives of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; at one time these issues had been considered lost. Here she found *Babylon*, which had appeared in the journal in installments. There was no consistent pattern to the publication of the segments, and given the episodic (one is tempted to say "expressionistic") nature of the structure of the work, it is possible that as many as three installments may be missing.

Babylon can perhaps best be described as phantasmagoric. The title suggests ancient grandeur and linguistic explosion, and they, along with countless other elements, are indeed present. We find, in addition, mythology, medieval Europe, and the revolutions of 1848-49, as well as numerous allusions to various literary works, including several sustained parodies of scenes from Goethe's *Faust*.

The style is no less eclectic than the subject matter. Iambic pentameter, with and without rhyme, is the predominant linguistic form. This verse is in general reminiscent of Schiller, as long speeches alternate with rapid-paced dialogue, including, on occasion, classical stichomythia. Schiller's favorite themes, e.g., *Vertrauen* and *Verrat*, are not lacking. Other verse forms are also present, and they are used parodistically. Philo's parody of Faust's *Studierzimmer* monologue is in blank verse, as is an exchange between two lowly members of the common people, which in Schiller or Shakespeare would have

been in prose. Alcibiades, on the other hand, speaks in *Knittelvers*. Numerous other forms of language appear: epic (non-dramatic) poetry, lyrical stanzas, and there is even a prose description of a battle scene. To give but one example of the innovative subversion of expectations: in the *Studierzimmer* scene, as Philo nears the conclusion of his classical monologue, he, like Faust, hears a melody: "Doch horch! Welch seltner Klang dringt an mein Ohr?" And what is the message of the song? "'Das Geheimniß, stets glücklich zu leben, / Liegt verborgen im Safte der Reben'" (91).

Nollendorfs has made an important discovery and now offers us a painstakingly edited version of a fascinating literary work. Everyone interested in German-American literature or the presence of the forty-eighters in German-American cultural life owes her a debt of gratitude.

Of **Lisa Kahn**, professor emerita of German (Texas Southern), it can truly be said that she needs no introduction to readers of the *Yearbook*. The author of numerous belletristic works as well as scholarly studies of German-American (as well as continental) literature, she has now turned her considerable talents to children's literature. These *Kälbchen-Geschichten*, we are told, were originally written for her grandchildren. We should all have grandmothers like this!

Each of these six stories is a fairy tale with a title beginning "Vom Kälbchen . . . . " The first, "Vom Kälbchen, das über den Mond springen wollte," begins realistically, with the birth of the calf Romelino under a full moon. Soon Romelino is revealed to be a curious child: "was ist der Mond," he asks (10). His curiosity is first addressed by his mother, who tells him it is made of green cheese, and then by his aunt Helena, who says this is nonsense, and sings a nursery rhyme about the cow jumping over the moon. When Romelino tells his mother that he would like to jump over the moon, it is his mother's turn to tell him this is nonsense: cows just can't do such things. The moon then appears to the calf in a dream, and informs his young friend that he will return in a year, and perhaps then Romelino will have the opportunity to jump over him. The calf spends the year being good, eating his vegetables so that he will develop strong legs. As promised, the moon does return—but not in a dream! The moon settles down in the grass, speaks words of encouragement, and Romelino fulfills his ambition, cleanly jumping over the moon. His feat is celebrated by the entire herd, as well as by the animals of the forest.

The second story begins with a young boy, Julian, naming a new calf. The boy suggests the name Aaron, and after the significance of the name is debated, among the cows and among the humans, it is accepted. But there is a problem: Aaron, who is beautiful golden brown in color, wants to become a truly golden calf, like the one in the story of the Biblical Aaron. Eventually he settles on merely being golden brown, is entered in a show, and wins first prize. He, like Romelino in the first story, has a memory that will last a lifetime. As in the first story (e.g., eating your vegetables), didactic elements are unobtrusively smuggled in: Julian cheerfully postpones his play until his chores are done.

The cheerful mood is shattered in the next story, "Vom Kälbchen, das einen Wolf liebte." A calf is warned by her mother about wolves, who love nothing better than eating "zarte Kälbchen wie du." The calf is duly impressed, "In die große Angst war aber, wie das auch bei den Menschen ist, ein Quentchen Neugier gemischt" (30). This (admittedly adult) reader was totally taken aback by the turn the story then took. The calf ignores her mother's advice, meets a wolf, and the two become fast friends. Hunting season arrives, and the calf's mother explains "diesen grausamen 'Sport' der Menschen" (34), adding that sometimes cows are mistaken for game and accidentally shot. In the end it is not the calf that is shot, but her friend the wolf, and the calf dies of a broken heart. Two morals are clearly expressed: hunting is evil, and if people became vegetarians they would be better off. I find it difficult to avoid a third moral: children can ignore parents' (alas, legitimate) warnings about danger with impunity.

The fourth and sixth tales are similar to the first and second, as calves achieve their impossible dreams, and the fifth repeats the third, but with a happy ending: a calf befriends and tames a fire-breathing dragon. Each of the tales is accompanied by one or more illustrations, some photographs of children on a farm, some whimsical drawings.

Of course the manner of telling is of considerably greater importance than what is told, so let's turn to Kahn's style, which is downright seductive. A few random examples will have to suffice. The cows speak a thoroughly delightful German, highlighted at appropriate places by a "mu, mu" (for calves) or more mature "muh, muh" (for cows)--or on occasion a "muh, muh, muh" for emphasis. Phrases are repeated with minor variations, as is appropriate for a fairy tale; for example, "von Mutter, Vater, Brüdern, Schwestern, Tanten, Onkeln, Kusinen und Vettern ersten, zweiten und dritten Grades" appears near the beginning (9), and again, with modifications, at other places later in the story. Charming songs appear throughout the story, a very effective device in literature like this. Finally, the names of the animals are wonderful. The father of the clan is Darwin, and among his progeny are—names all supplied by Julian, Name-Giver in Chief—Antigone, Apollo, Big Mac, and Elvis Presley.

If my grandchildren knew German, how much fun it would be to read these stories to them. And I would love to hear Lisa Kahn read them.

Rita Terras, like Exner and Kahn, is a retired professor of German (Connecticut College), and like them will be familiar to connoisseurs of German-American literature. Although she has published less, she is the author of two collections of poetry and has established a reputation as an editor, most recently of *TRANS-LIT*, the journal of the Society for Contemporary American Literature in German. Do not let yourself be put off by the title *Semiotische Übungen*: these stories are anything but the postmodern exercises in intellectual one-upmanship we might be led to expect. On the contrary, they are richly nuanced portrayals of characters in richly varied situations. The appeal is

increased by the presence of German and English versions of each of the eleven stories: as the author explains in her brief preface, some were first written in English and then "transposed" (a word that is more apt than "translated") into German, and vice versa.

The first story, "Signs" / "Zeichen," does indeed set a semiotic tone. It opens with the question "Actually it is all about signs and their interpretation, isn't it?" directed by a woman driving a car to her husband, who is a passenger. He has no idea she is thinking that the traffic sign she just noticed, "Speed Zone," might with equal logic mean "Zone where speeding is permitted," or, for that matter, "an area where those, so inclined, could indulge in taking amphetamines generally known as speed" (1). His response is noncommittal, and what follows is a model of the "slice-of-life" short story, with no more of a conclusion than it had beginning. The German version begins with the same English question. Here the husband's response is quite specific, if no less responsive to her concerns: "Wieso plötzlich auf Englisch?" (5). This illustrates, or anticipates, two important aspects of the collection: language is an important motif, and as the preface notes, there are often differences of some significance between the two versions.

Beginning with the radically different titles, "The Double" / "Prochaska," the second story has virtually nothing in common with the first. It is a detective story. A woman, fiftyish, living alone, discovers a corpse—as it turns out, a murder victim—while walking along a beach. Of course, we, like the police and the woman who found the body, want to know who done it. But the woman is struck by the fact that the victim's clothes resemble her own, and she becomes riveted on pursuing the identity of the deceased, who, it turns out, is also a woman, fiftyish, living alone, and a childhood immigrant from Europe, among other parallels. (In this case there is a conclusion, which I will not spoil for the reader.)

In the next eight stories, the German version comes first, probably an indication that it was the original. Whereas I could not say which of the two I prefer in the first two pairs, in many of those that follow I have a rather strong preference for the German. A detailed comparison of any of the pairs would be an interesting exercise, but here I will give only one example of the reason for my preference: the rather frequent use of "one" when "man" is used in the German. "One" impresses me as being rather stilted, and appropriate only in formal contexts, a category into which by no means all of these stories fit. A significant exception to this general preference can be found in "Tote essen keine Oliven" / "Olives, Pineapple and Gummibears," where the tragic theme contrasts most effectively with the whimsical English title, as well as with individual passages, such as the following: "Most of the other marriages whose making I witnessed are also still o.k. except the Canadian one with the oily champagne. That one did not last. Never serve oily champagne at a wedding" (111)—much more appealing than the original, which itself is effective in its own

way: "Kein gutes Omen für eine gute Ehe. Auf einer Hochzeit sollte man Ananas und vielleicht ein paar Oliven anbieten" (107).

Several themes and styles are reflected in these eight stories, most of which are set in America. The protagonists range from a young German child visiting New York who is impressed by a Kandinsky painting in the Guggenheim museum, to the ninety-one-year-old Kanzleisekretär Emmerich von Werther, who in 1837 thinks back to his youth, his friends Lotte, Albert, et al., and the novel Goethe created out of his experiences. Most of them, however, are somewhat similar to the first: a slice-of-life situation in which a sense of alienation takes precedence over communication. Immigrants with their lack of fluency in English appear with some degree of frequency.

The final (and the longest) story, "De Senectute: A Chronological Account"/"De Senectute: Ein chronologischer Bericht," echoes many of the themes of the collection, from the trivial (e.g., eating pizza) to the very serious: human relationships, and verbal and nonverbal communication in all their subtle richness. Two primary threads around the protagonist, an intellectual middle-aged woman, are masterfully interwoven: the essay she is writing on aging, and the emotional relationship she slowly develops with a somewhat younger man, an architect who is designing a new house on the Massachusetts coast for her and her family. This story, in English or German, belongs in any collection of "The Best Short Stories of 1998."

Richard Exner is widely recognized as one of the outstanding poets writing in German today. His work is modern, but in no way postmodern. The poems, which are divided into cycles ranging in length from one (the initial poem) to nine, are invariably written in an accomplished free verse. The prose poems, several of which are interspersed, are of equally high quality. His voice is personal, and his themes are timeless: nature, art, mortality, time in other contexts, speech and silence; as was noted above, only rarely does a specifically American setting appear. The personal element is especially strong in this collection, most significantly in the cycle "Hoffnung, vor-operativ," occasioned by a major operation, fortunately a successful one.

The lines from which the title are taken, from the poem "Lebenslauf, mythisch," will illustrate how these themes are interwoven: "Der Fährmann / holt über und / nimmt sich die / Zunge als / Lohn" (9), as the tongue itself replaces the mythological coin left under the tongue. A strong spiritual thread runs through the collection, and here, too, language is important, as, for example, in the motto to the poem "Schwere Zunge": "Wer hat den Menschen / den Mund geschaffen? / 2. Mose 4, 11," and in the concluding lines to this, one of the more interesting poems in the collection: ". . . Vielleicht flösse / Das Licht fließender, / wenn wir stockender / sprächen" (46-47).

German-American or not, Exner is an outstanding poet. We can be proud to have been able to claim him as one of us for forty years.

Norbert Krapf, professor of English at Long Island University, is well known as a poet, translator, and editor. The two texts of *The Sunday before Thanksgiving* seem to be directly autobiographical, and from the perspective of the author they are indeed "memoirs." I, however, would prefer to call them prose poems. Both in language and in structure they are unambiguously literary. Each consists of ten numbered sections consisting of a single paragraph, ranging in length from seven to twenty lines. Each tells of a death and the reaction of the first-person narrator to this death, and in each the heritage of the deceased German-American is central. The structures, too, are superficially similar, beginning *in medias res* and ending with the reactions of the protagonists, with flashbacks, which include the actual death, in between. Finally, spiritual values figure prominently in both pieces. In subtle ways, however, they are quite different.

In the first section of "On a Hill Near the Rhine," a man with a German name watches "a boy dressed in a Western Union uniform walking up the hill" toward his house. It is March, 1945. We know, of course, that the messenger is bringing the telegram informing the family of the death of a loved one, presumably a son. And the date immediately suggests the mood of *All Quiet on the Western Front*: why now?—the war is almost over. Before the telegram is actually delivered, we learn about the son. He always wanted to be a priest, and would have been the first in his family. He enters the seminary, but the religious order does not consider him ready and dismisses him ("'Maybe you can come back in a couple of years,' the abbot tells the young man"). The man is then drafted. His death on a German hill as the war draws to an end is described. A soldier who was with him will write to inform the family that one of their son's last acts was to kneel for a brief prayer. The narrator, much later, searches out the hill where his uncle died, an uncle he never knew. "Here, on this obscure piece of solid earth, which an army letter referred to as a clichéd 'hallowed ground,' I am surrounded by weeds whose names I know neither in my own language nor the tongue of my ancestors."

There are similarities and differences between the two. The second, title story is less intense, although in this case the death of the narrator's father is the subject. Here the man has reached old age and death is not unexpected. Like his predecessor in the first text, he was a religious man: "Sometimes, toward the end, we would find him sitting alone in a room, moving his lips in silence. There was always a rosary in his pocket." The German-American element, on the other hand, is different. Both in flashbacks to the father's younger years and in the language of the mourners ("You haff my Zim-pah-tee") the importance of his German heritage, and its continuing presence in Jasper, Indiana, is kept before us.

As the quotes given above indicate, these texts are not lacking in sentimentality. But the sentimentality is no less effective than it is appropriate. The mood oscillates, as the language takes its turns, from the deathly objectivity of the telegram's capitalized message to the most subjective expressions and

descriptions of loss and grief. Either of these texts would be effective additions to an English-language course in German-American Studies.

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Book Reviews

Edited by Timothy J. Holian
Missouri Western State College

Die Hutterer: Eine alternative Kultur in der modernen Welt.
By Rolf Wilhelm Brednich. Freiburg, Basel, Vienna: Herder, 1998. 157 pages.

The Hutterites have shown that they understood how to form successfully small communal groups which, despite constant external pressures, have lasted for centuries. The author has spent considerable time living in a Hutterite enclave and has documented his experiences, both positive and negative, in this volume. In thirteen chapters an overview of the Hutterites, their evolvement, their sojourns in western and eastern Europe, and their current settlements in North America are presented.

The Hutterites emerged from the Anabaptist movement in the era of the Reformation. They are, though, a distinct Christian group not to be confused with the Amish or the Old-Order Mennonites; they do share similar theological views and perspectives on the world but go separate paths on many issues. The study is divided into thirteen chapters, preceded by a forward which briefly outlines that which follows, namely a concise review of the European origins of the Hutterites in the Anabaptist movement beginning in the sixteenth century, their settlements in east Central Europe and in Eastern Europe, and their emigration to North America. The two introductory chapters describe the views of the Anabaptists, how they were persecuted by both civil and ecclesiastic authority and their relocation from various areas of the Germanies into the Ukraine and Russia and in the latter part of the nineteenth century to North America. Today they are essentially found in parts of Manitoba and Alberta but also in Saskatchewan and South Dakota.

The Hutterites are divided into three groups, from least conservative to most conservative. They all share the practice of adult baptism, communal property, and the acceptance of various aspects of technology. The author believes this acceptance is one of their major differences from the Amish. To be sure, such an acceptance was a compromise of original beliefs but, apparently, a necessary one. The Hutterites did not arrive in the Middle West of North America until the last third of the nineteenth century. If they were to survive

and compete successfully in agriculture, this historical compromise with technology was mandatory. However, the farm machinery in use is, as the author experienced first-hand, rather primitive, old and old-fashioned, yet it does allow for successful farming through its modest employment.

Of the three groups among the Hutterites, the author chose to live among the most conservative. The remaining chapters, after one portraying the establishment of the Hutterites in North America, mirror the encounters of the author in a Dariusleut colony named Riverview, approximately twenty kilometers from Saskatoon. His months living, observing and actively partaking of the daily routine, as if he were a member of the colony, were spent under the roof of the preacher and his family. The Hutterites are a male-dominated society. Only males are to be preachers and only males may vote on community issues. Each man and woman receives an individual task while young (virtually as a profession) which will be a lifelong assignment. This extends from agriculture, the main occupation, to the trades necessary to maintain an independent society.

Although contact with the outside world is avoided in almost all matters, the colonists do sell their agricultural products and their wares on the outside. They even personally maintain stands at weekly public markets. All derived income is communal. Money is never needed within the society, which is self-sufficient, and is used to purchase land, usually for new colonies, farm equipment as needed, and automobiles. The only vehicles sanctioned are multi-person ones, e.g., station wagons, vans, etc. to be used for colony business. Dependency upon technology is limited to the aforementioned activities. Any use thereof for diversion, e.g., radio or television, is nonexistent.

All activities within the society are structured, with each hour of the day planned for everyone from morning hours to the evening. The day time revolves around religious practices and work schedules. Meals are communal with women cooking and serving. Much space is given to describing meals, which occur often during the day and are as bountiful as the Hutterite believes the Bible to prescribe. The author does not hesitate to point out that many members of the community are rather corpulent. The children eat separately in the school room with the teacher and the elderly receive meals in the own quarters. The society may be referred to as a cradle-to-grave community.

Education is limited to basic knowledge and terminated at the age of fourteen. The teacher is, as is the preacher, selected from among colony members. To be sure, education revolves around religion. The texts employed are religious ones, and mathematics consist of basic arithmetic. Language study is also included. English is taught by an outside person, here a Mennonite, and sandwiched between the lessons conducted by the colony teacher; the belief holds that this schedule minimizes any outside influence among the young. Standard German is "learned" by the memorization of religious works from their own tradition or of an historical religious nature. Consequently, the average Hutterite is hardly in a position to converse in Standard Modern German or for

that matter in English. Hutterite-German remains the medium of communication. Much space is given to this Bavarian-Austrian dialect which has become strongly interspersed with influences from the years in Eastern Europe as well as the century-long experience in North America. Since the Hutterites maintain an oral tradition, it was possible for the author to record several stories recounted by the preacher. They are reproduced here in a slightly more comprehensible dialect form. Socializing occurs by evening with visits among the colonists. They are highlighted by events such as storytelling. Marriages, either within the colony or in conjunction with another one, are major festive events taking several days to celebrate. Alcohol is not shunned, but rather is allowed in moderation and consists of beer and wine.

This tome is handsomely embellished with numerous photographs of Hutterite life. It took much persuading to have the colonists allow to be photographed, something their religious views disallows. The Hutterite community is increasing in numbers. After a colony reaches approximately one hundred inhabitants, it divides to form a new one. Presently there are about 382 colonies with 33,600 members. Yet difficulties were perceived during the months among the Dariusleut; included among those which will have to be addressed and soon are: tourist infringement upon their isolation; unsupervised and excessive alcohol consumption; a lack of cognizance of ecology in farming methods and daily chores; not understanding the importance of modern technology in agriculture; limited adequate sanitary facilities; the beginning of harboring possessions; an emerging exodus, particularly among younger men, from the colony into the world; and the danger of conformity replacing composure.

The study does not conclude pessimistically about the future but rather with the hope that the colonists themselves will recognize the growing stagnation within their society and, therefore, will themselves initiate needed reforms gently so that their harmonious communities will be guaranteed a fruitful existence also in the twenty-first century.

Lehigh University *Alexander Waldenrath*

German Settlement in Missouri: New Land, Old Ways.
By Robyn Burnett and Ken Luebbering. Missouri Heritage Readers Series. Columbia, MO and London, England: University of Missouri Press, 1996. xi + 124 pages. 50 illustrations. $9.95.

This concise volume provides an overview of German settlement in Missouri from the beginning of the nineteenth century through the end of the First World War. Despite its short length, the authors successfully portray to the reader the significance of German contributions to the settlement and growth of Missouri, and to a lesser extent the role played by Missouri's German

population in the development of the United States during a crucial one-hundred-year period in the nation's history.

The narrative begins with a brief summary of conditions in the German-speaking regions of Central Europe that prompted many to emigrate to America. The voyage across the Atlantic is then described in some detail. Finally, the authors discuss why these newly-arrived immigrants selected Missouri as their final destination. The remainder of the book is divided equally between the periods before and after the Civil War. In the section covering the time before sectional conflict, Burnett and Luebbering deal with a wide variety of topics including the establishment of community, preserving a sense of *Deutschtum*, frontier life, the significance of the Lutheran church in Missouri, relations with non-Germans and the influence of the forty-eighters in the politics of the state. During the Civil War, the overwhelming majority of Missouri Germans fought to keep the state in the Union. The authors use the war as a natural break in the monograph as well as a transition point in the growth of the Missouri's German community. Subsequent chapters focus on the increased influence of the German population in business (most notably beer and wine making), politics, and urban social life within the state during the remaining years of the nineteenth and first decade of the twentieth centuries. The First World War, coupled with the prohibition of alcohol, would strike a heavy blow to the German community—one from which, the authors point out, the community would never fully recover.

The book has many strengths. It introduces the reader to a wide variety of issues regarding German settlement in Missouri in a concise format that makes it a good supplemental text in a United States history course. The use of illustrations is also a welcome addition. Finally, the suggested reading list at the end, while by no means extensive, will provide readers new to the field with a basic bibliography of Germans in Missouri. However, the book's length is a weakness. In an attempt to cover a wide variety of issues, some chapters are very short and topics are not fully developed. This leads to a somewhat "abrupt" narrative style. More coverage of the German-American experience during the First World War would have been welcome, considering that Missouri possessed one of the more active National German-American Alliance chapters (the group is never mentioned in the book) during the period of United States neutrality.

These minor criticisms aside, *German Settlement in Missouri* provides us with an entertaining and informative introduction to the German-American experience in Missouri. It also shows us how that culture has become a part of the daily lives of the people in Missouri to this very day.

Valdosta State University *Charles T. Johnson*

Fruit of the Vine: A History of the Brethren, 1708-1995. *By Donald F. Durnbaugh. Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1997. 675 pages. $39.95.*

"Given the tenacity of all religious organizations, there is little reason to fear, as some seem to, the imminent demise of the Church of the Brethren" (595). This sentence of the author in the epilogue of his voluminous work serves as a summation of this detailed history of the Brethren. Such a study can perhaps only be undertaken by a Brethren who believes in the inner light of the pietist tradition, as well as one who possesses first-hand knowledge of and experience with the church. To comment that the task of writing a comprehensive history of this church was indeed a difficult and strenuous one would seem to be an understatement.

The author furnishes a most detailed examination of the church from the days of its emergence in Central Europe to its present position, essentially in the United States east of the Mississippi River. This is undertaken in twenty-seven chapters preceded by a preface in which the previous lack of a comprehensive history of the church is explained. Although many works on aspects of the Brethren community exist, none offers as complete a view of its 250-year history as does this volume. The reader is made aware of the impossibility of presenting all important church developments and also is informed that, for example, doctrines, theological trends and sociological questions, as important as they are, only are noted peripherally. Also the author declares that he will not attempt to maintain complete objectivity relative to successes and failures of individuals and initiatives.

A prologue further notes that this historical study traces the development of the Brethren from 1708 on the village of Schwarzenau in the principality of Wittgenstein and its subsequent evolution through two and one-half centuries on several continents. Each of the twenty-seven chapters, arranged chronologically, deals with a major development within the Brethren movement. In addition, each chapter is divided by subheadings which facilitate an understanding of the complexity of and diversity within the study itself. The first three chapters, for example, examine the political and social climate of essentially, but not exclusively, southwestern Germany from whence this group of Pietists emerged. The chapters illuminate the conditions which made emigration virtually imperative. The seventy pages devoted to this historical perspective of this era and area in the early eighteenth century is lengthy but perhaps necessary in order to understand fully the journey of the Brethren to North America.

Since the Brethren settled in Pennsylvania upon coming to North America, the next chapters examine in detail the developments there as they affected Brethren in colonial times and in the early national period. Of particular note is the extensive information pertaining to the Sauer family and its press, as well as to the schism which led to the establishment of the Ephrata Cloister under Conrad Beissel. Also the relationships with the Mennonites and the Moravians, as well as with the Lutherans and the Reformed, are reviewed extensively; contact with the English churches remains more peripheral although the interrelationship with the Quakers is highlighted.

Following the colonial era and the years of early nationhood, the nineteenth century for the Brethren is shown as a period of geographical expansion, one of often new and also controversial directions for the church, as well as the era when a three-way division within the movement occurred which to this day has not been bridged. An issue of paramount conflict now became that of education. Initially the ministers had always been chosen from among the laity and schooling deemed to be necessary only for rudimentary knowledge; after all, the Brethren believed, the New Testament was the guide to all. Many in the church continued to maintain this position, while others did not. The latter views slowly came to prevail, as seen in the support for schools and colleges and the extensive printing of books and ecclesiastical material in general and with the ordination of academically-trained clergy. Industrial developments in the United States during the nineteenth century also brought with them a new dimension for the church, resulting from the recognition of social ills and the necessity of a Christian response. For many the acceptance of social action within the church was difficult since traditionally the Brethren had tended to shun the world beyond its own community, attempting to remain separate from political concerns. Despite strong internal opposition, the church as a whole did pursue, and continues to follow, a course of Christian action in the world. Indeed, its programs have become extensive in this century and are active on several continents.

The two major wars of the present century initiated difficult moral decisions for this pacifist church. Within its flock many compromises were made with regard to national military service, ranging from absolute conscientious objection to integration into the military. An extensive study of postwar aid, domestic as well as foreign, by the Brethren after both world wars forms a major focus of the last chapters of this volume. A list of reference abbreviations, most helpful when reading this lengthy study, and extensive endnotes, as well as a meticulous index, brings this major contribution on the study of the Brethren Church to its conclusion.

The past decades have brought major shifts in the Brethren community. These have occurred in part due to a growing diversity in the ethnicity of a once essentially German-dominated membership, in addition to closer ties with other pietist groups, especially with the Mennonites who had previously, due to various doctrinal differences, often been avoided. Although membership in the church today is rather small, the author remains optimistic for the future for they are "Enlarging the circle of peace—here is a vision reclaimed from the past that is worthy for Brethren to pursue in the twenty-first century, recognizing at the same time that the future is not held in human hands but rather in the hands of God" (596).

Lehigh University *Alexander Waldenrath*

The Minds of the West: Ethnocultural Evolution in the Rural Middle West, 1830-1917.

By Jon Gjerde. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997. xiii + 426 pages. $39.95 (hardback), $19.95 (paperback).

In 1849, Rev. Albert Barnes, a Presbyterian clergyman, observed that "nearly all the world has its representatives" in the West. Barnes saw the unprecedented mixing of peoples as a "strange and mighty intermingling of minds of great power." Not surprisingly, he found reassurance in the presence of New Englanders and their culture. Barnes believed that the "Puritan mind" would infuse the region with love of civil and religious liberty and the desire for sound learning. Yet, much was at stake in the West, because Barnes also saw a "foreign mind" at work, with recent European immigrants, "not . . . yet amalgamated" and maintaining their foreign ways. Barnes and other prominent Protestants argued that the religious and political beliefs of these newcomers were incompatible with American ideals. Lyman Beecher and Samuel F. B. Morse even raised the specter of foreign domination and alleged that there existed a "Popish plot" to colonize the West with immigrants who would eventually undermine the Protestant foundations of American society.

Jon Gjerde tells of the encounter of these different minds in the Upper Midwest, a region that experienced heavy settlement by New Englanders. In the 1840s large numbers of European newcomers began to arrive in this area. The vastness of the thinly settled Upper Midwest allowed European immigrants to reestablish their institutions and retain their corporatist ideas. Isolated rural ethnic settlements offered favorable opportunities for the maintenance of ethnic cultures. Gjerde borrows the concept of the minds to highlight the differences between the liberal ideology of the Yankees and the corporatist ideas of European newcomers. He utilizes the "Puritan mind" and "immigrant mind" like Weberian ideal types to highlight their incompatibility.

The Minds of the West is a case study that focuses primarily on Catholic and Lutheran Germans and Lutheran Scandinavians, groups who sought to preserve their transplanted cultural heritage. It studies both cultural conflict between ethnic enclaves and cultural change within them. Gjerde traces the process by which immigrant groups created New World cultural identities that blended European traditions and American values. Gjerde describes migration patterns, the reconstruction of ethnic communities in the New World and the subsequent development of these communities. The author emphasizes that immigrant churches played a crucial role in preserving homeland values in an environment that fostered social and cultural transformation. Economic and educational opportunities, however, helped to undermine traditional authority and hierarchy structures.

Yankees from New England possessed a world view that was radically different from that of European immigrants. They celebrated their liberal republicanism and individualistic Protestantism. European immigrants, in

contrast, valued American liberty, but saw it as a means to preserve their corporatist values and cling to their cultural heritage. Gjerde introduces the term "complementary identity" to account for the dual loyalties of immigrant Midwesterners whose ethnic and religious ties coexisted with their American citizenship. Conservative immigrant Catholics and Lutherans viewed the patriarchal family as society's basic building block. Germans, in particular, articulated corporatist ideas that highlighted the central place of family, community, and church. Old World tradition underlined the importance of the family unit. It privileged the welfare of the household over the wants and needs of its individual members and concentrated power and authority in the hands of the male household head.

Gjerde describes rural ethnic settlements as church-centered communities and shows that immigrant clergymen often doubled as community leaders. These church leaders strove to preserve the purity of the faith, but also helped to shore up other parts of the Old World heritage. At the center of Yankee faith stood the personal search for salvation. New Englanders eschewed an individualistic Protestantism. Their pietistic religious tradition emphasized the pursuit of Christian perfection, heartfelt conversion from sin, and inward religiosity. At the center of the immigrant church, in contrast, was an elaborate and highly symbolic liturgy that emphasized sacraments and doctrine. Individuals obtained salvation through the church. New members were ceremonially confirmed after they attended catechism classes. Membership was generally only withdrawn if a member explicitly denied sacramental or doctrinal standards. The inclusiveness of the community-centered immigrant churches provides a striking contrast to the Yankee preoccupation with purity of heart that was exemplified by personal conduct. Yankees in fact were concerned with the behavior of all persons in society, not just their own congregations. They favored political and social action to advance their religious goals and were willing to use the state to enforce their version of morality.

Gjerde contrasts the conjugally-oriented Yankee family, which treated land primarily as a commodity, with the patrilineal European farm family, which carefully husbanded its resources and gradually enlarged the family estate. European immigrants gave higher priority to farm ownership continuity. They had larger families, which meant that the children of immigrants ended up with fewer assets than their Yankee peers. New Englanders had companionable marriages and granted considerable independence to their children, which were expected to make their own way. They had smaller families. Many children left their communities; fewer continued as farmers.

American political historians have in the last decades harnessed an ethnocultural framework to the study of nineteenth century Midwestern voting behavior. This framework links ethnocultural identities and political preference. It stresses the importance of ethnic and religious orientations. Gjerde argues that after the Civil War Yankees and ethnic conservatives increasingly clashed at the polls. Political conflict centered around key cultural issues, foreign-language

instruction, parochial schools, temperance, and women's rights. Elections pinned the Republican Party, Yankees and their pro-statist allies, against conservative immigrants who favored home rule. Despite their commitment to individual freedom and autonomy, Yankees opposed social pluralism and solicited state intervention. They sought to restrict the freedom of their ethnic neighbors in order to accelerate the Americanization process. Conservative German Catholics and Lutherans, on the other hand, opposed efforts by Republicans to empower the state. Ethnic Americans were fearful of state intervention in their families and communities and tried to stop any attempt to hasten the process of Americanization. They favored local control over community institutions and supported social pluralism, a precondition for ethnic group survival.

Gjerde skillfully interweaves his story with excerpts from Hamlin Garland and Iowa native Herbert Quick. He draws upon a wide range of primary sources, travel accounts, local histories, diaries and autobiographies. Material from German-language newspapers, primarily *Die Iowa* and the *Luxemburger Gazette*, frequently appears in the text. The author singles out a speech by Iowa governor William Harding, who in a 1918 World War I directive mandated the use of English in school, church, public conversations and even on the telephone. As Gjerde asserts, Harding's eager 100 percent Americanism struck at the heart of complementary identity, such that the Midwest's diverse immigrant minds "were being forcefully merged in a world at war into an Americanist whole" (325).

The geographer John Hudson has called the Midwest "a cultural hybrid" whose "distinctiveness arises from an overlapping of people from disparate sources." Ironically, Americans today view it as the least distinctive and most Americanized of all culture regions in the United States. *The Minds of the West* is an important book, because it unearths the roots of Midwestern culture. Building on the work of rural sociologists like Gary Forster, Richard Hummel, Robert Whittenberger and especially Sonya Salamon, Gjerde studies the persistence of ethnic patterns in Midwestern rural culture. This book will be standard reading for anyone interested in the history of American rural ethnic communities.

Indiana University *Heiko Mühr*

From Duppel to Truman Plaza: The Berlin American Community in den Jahren 1965 bis 1989.

By Gabriele Heidenfelder. Edited by Willi Paul Adams and Knud Krakau, John F. Kennedy-Institut für Nordamerikastudien Freie Universität Berlin. Studien zur Geschichte, Politik und Gesellschaft Nordamerikas, vol. 5. Hamburg: Lit, 1998. 176 pages.

The exploration of a neglected field of research in German-American relations has been initiated in this monograph. The author examines the contact, or rather lack thereof, between the U.S. military and military dependents in Berlin with the citizens of Berlin during the two decades prior to the collapse of the Berlin Wall. The study concludes with lamentations shared by many who were living in Berlin during those years, the result of a sad state of affairs which is well documented here.

The author establishes the necessity of a U.S. military presence in the city for political and strategic purposes. Yet it is also shown that the presence was coupled with a virtually complete lack of contact between U.S. military personnel and the citizens of the city. This work concentrates upon twenty-four years (1965-89) of this military presence and draws upon extensive personal interviews with those who were there, Germans and Americans, as well as upon extensive research of the *Observer*, the newspaper of the American military community in Berlin. Studies pertaining in any manner to this topic are rare; this monograph will, therefore, give impulse to further research in a neglected field.

The study is wisely and prudently organized so that it attracts and retains the attention of the reader, even on those few occasions when tedious factual material or statistical information becomes necessary. There does exist a constant foreshadowing of the pregnant finale of the volume. The organizational methodology employed is to be praised. Six chapters deal with the American military community in manifold aspects of daily life. Chapter one, introducing the study, defines and limits the scope of the inquiry and briefly reviews extant published research in the field. In addition, two essential terms are semantically clarified for their specific employment in the work, namely community and command. Within the framework of the author's scholarship, their respective specific definitions allow for distinct comprehension of this study and are, therefore, readily acceptable. The subsequent five chapters are equally well organized. Each initially states a specific aspect of the American military community in Berlin to be dissected, then follows a minutely-detailed explanation of the topic and concludes with summary results.

The author documents extensively her principle thesis, namely that the American military community remained essentially isolated from the daily life of Berlin by enjoying the attributes of a typical American small town within its borders even though it was surrounded by a metropolis. Further, this isolation is seen as essentially orchestrated by the U.S. command in Berlin in order to

establish a model of the American way-of-life, to serve as an example for all non-Americans. The command wished to establish a window of America not only for the East, but also for the West. As such, the daily life style of the citizens of this American community is mirrored in its multiplicity, from supermarkets and movie houses to sports, medical care, schools, internal friendships, and living accommodations. Taken into consideration among the military personnel and military dependents are necessary distinctions in attitudes, for example according to rank (i.e., officers and non-officers), level of education, urban versus rural background, age and family status, etc.

The newspaper of the community, the *Observer*, flows as a motif of confirmation throughout the study. The newspaper was virtually void of national and international events, instead concentrating on the mundane events of the community. It serves well to illustrate the isolation of the American military community from the city in general and underlines the success of the command in its adherence to a policy of establishing, as it were, a test tube society. The final two chapters of the book, seven and eight, list secondary sources, exhibit charts and maps, and offer military definitions and explanations as needed. The final pages contain a ready useable index.

This study should initiate further research on a curious and apparently often overlooked development in the interchange of Germans and Americans. One might hope for a similar study of the period prior to 1965, which may well even strengthen the thesis presented here that the military indeed created all possible external conditions to facilitate an isolated "little America" community within the cosmopolitan city of Berlin. In the end, several questions remain open to the reader, such as: Was this status of isolation for the U.S. military desirable and even advisable? A lament seems to permeate this otherwise objective examination by this not directly posed question. Why were personal relationships between Germans and Americans not extensively fostered, indeed even subtly discouraged? Would not personal contact have cemented even more strongly ties between Berlin and Germany with the United States? The Berliner, the reader learns, was anxious for such contact and actively attempted its establishment, yet reciprocity was not forthcoming.

Although few would question the necessity in the post-World War II period of a strong American military presence in Berlin, one is left to ponder why did and do so many Berliners with respect to personal contact with members of the American community so often reply: "Es ist, als wären sie nie da gewesen" (141).

Lehigh University *Alexander Waldenrath*

Little Germany on the Missouri: The Photographs of Edward J. Kemper, 1895-1920.

Edited by Anna Kemper Hesse; Adolf E. Schroeder, Erin McCawley Renn, and Oliver A. Schuchard, contributing editors. Columbia, MO, and London: University of Missouri Press, 1998. 166 pages. 105 black and white photographs. Contains bibliography and index.

This book is a compilation of photographs taken by the farmer and viticulturalist, Edward J. Kemper. The photographs of Hermann, Missouri, and surrounding areas in Gasconade County, cover an important span of years, a "golden age" of German-American culture. The years from 1895 to 1920 were a time of burgeoning prosperity as well as economic struggle for this town of first and second generation German-Americans. Much of Hermann's prosperity was built upon viticulture and wine production. The wine production ceased during the years of Prohibition, but resourceful businessmen like Kemper were able to diversify from growing mostly grapes to managing successful fruit orchards. Edward J. Kemper, whose father had emigrated from Germany in 1848, did not have the advantage of serving a formal trade apprenticeship, as had his father and uncles in Germany, but rather worked hard and learned what he could by practical experience, supplemented by the study of horticulture at the University of Missouri. His improved, disease resistant wine-grapes won him an honorable mention at the Pan-American Exhibition of 1901.

As a hobby, Edward Kemper purchased his first camera in 1895, a Kodak with Bausch and Lomb lenses, and glass-plate negatives. According to Oliver Schuchard, who produced the prints for this volume from Kemper's original glass-plate negatives, Kemper's photographs "are pertinent and sensitively executed documents specific to the circumstance of community, family, and friends." A professional photographer might have been more technically proficient, but Kemper's photos have an artistic quality derived from complete familiarity with, and abiding sympathy and affection for his subjects. Edward Kemper was proud of the community he and his family were a part of, proud of his German heritage and anxious to document what had been accomplished in the half century since Hermann was founded. Edward Kemper's original photographic plates were donated to the Western Historical Manuscripts Collection in 1985 by his daughter, Anna Kemper Hesse, and a permanent display of some of Kemper's photographs may be viewed at the Deutschheim State Historic Site in Hermann Missouri.

There are three separate photographic sections of the work, each accompanied by an introductory essay, and each photo also has a brief explanation of its content. The first section documents life in Hermann and its surrounding areas and farms, especially Kemper's family and the family estate, Kemperhof. This section primarily deals with the everyday business life of Hermann, consisting mostly of portraits of businessmen and their employees. There are numerous views of the entire town from a variety of vantage points.

Particularly impressive are Kemper's shots along the river front, composed with an eye toward showing how important the river was for the commerce of the town, and how unpredictable: there are some particularly good photos of the 1903 flood. The second photo section deals with the vineyards and wineries of Hermann. The wine industry had been important in Hermann from the 1840s onward. In 1848, the year that Kemper's father came to Hermann, the first *Weinfest* was held. The plates show some of the more important wineries in the area, the people who worked them day to day, and how the immigrants were able to uniquely adapt their practices to the local conditions. The third photo section is entitled "Customs and Traditions: Old Ways Preserved." These photos show the importance of the close-knit society of church, school, and family in preserving the ethnic heritage of Hermann. There are a number of photographs of church and school groups, social events such as the *Maifest*, as well as portraits of individual families and their homes, clearly showing the influence of German architectural styles adapted to Midwestern conditions.

The book contains essays on the life of Edward J. Kemper, a brief history of Hermann, and an assessment of Edward Kemper as photographer. The essays by Anna Hesse, Adolf Schroeder, Erin M. Renn, and Oliver Schuchard are informative and easy to read. The scholarship is evident in the essays, but even without them, Kemper's photographs could stand alone as an eloquent source of information on the economic and cultural influences of German-Americans in the Midwest.

University of Kansas *Tom R. Schultz*

Finding the Grain: Pioneer German Journals and Letters from Dubois County, Indiana.
Edited by Norbert Krapf. Revised and Expanded Edition. Max Kade German-American Center & Indiana German Heritage Society Publications, vol. 9. Indianapolis: Indiana University Printing Services, 1996. xxii + 281 pages. $18.00.

In 1977 Norbert Krapf published a book entitled *Finding the Grain: Pioneer Journals, Franconian Folktales, Ancestral Poems*. This work contained three journals, one letter and a passport, fourteen Franconian folktales in the original German with English translations, and seventeen poems by the editor about his Indiana German heritage. The 1996 edition represents an expansion and revision of only the journal and letter sections of the original work. The other chapters have become three separate works: *Beneath the Cherry Sapling: Legends from Franconia* (1988); *Somewhere in Southern Indiana: Poems of Midwestern Origins* (1993); and *Blue-Eyed Grass: Poems of Germany* (1997). Both the 1977 and the 1996 editions of *Finding the Grain* were motivated by Krapf's desire to learn about his ancestral heritage and to understand why his family and thousands like it had emigrated from Germany and settled in what he calls "the hilly wilderness

of southern Indiana" (xii). The first edition had appeared as part of the Bicentennial celebration in his native Dubois County, Indiana.

Krapf's intention is to make the meticulously edited and annotated documents available to the general public and the academic community. However, he considers the book's main audience the people of Dubois County, especially those readers who are curious about their German roots and family history. A great part of this volume's success is due to the match between the book's primary audience and the "obscure" voices that tell a story that is part of the much larger one of American immigration. The (hi)story of German emigration and the immigrant origins of Krapf's German-Catholic hometown and surrounding communities in southern Indiana is told "from the bottom up, the history of everyday life" (xvi), a phrase he borrows from Wolfgang Helbich. From the journals and letters of these mostly ordinary people, Krapf enables his readers to appreciate the emotional and subjective side of the emigration/immigration experience.

The first chapter contains sixty-six letters of Reverend Joseph Kundek, a Croatian missionary who arrived in Jasper, Indiana, in 1838 intent on satisfying the spiritual needs and increasing the size of the German Catholic population in Dubois County. An addition to the earlier edition, these many letters detail Kundek's vigorous recruitment efforts, his missionary trips within Indiana and to Ohio and Pennsylvania, the establishment of towns and parishes in Ferdinand and Celestine, the building of churches in numerous surrounding communities, and even his attempts to procure priests for southern Indiana from the monastery at Einsiedeln, Switzerland. Another topic of equal urgency that emerges from his letters is the poverty of the people. In a letter to his superior regarding a new settlement, he wrote: "Then to build the church, the school, I cannot rely on the people because they are dreadfully poor. In all my life, I have never seen more severe poverty" (61). This issue of poverty is mentioned in almost all of the succeeding chapters.

Also new to this edition is the biographical sketch of Kundek in chapter two by Reverend Bede O'Connor, one of the priests recruited from Einsiedeln who became the pastor of St. Joseph's Parish after Kundek's death in 1857. This depiction of Kundek offers the reader a succinct chronological summary of his pastoral activities in southern Indiana. Through Kundek's own correspondence the reader sees the official side of this busy servant, whereas the Bede sketch offers a much more human view.

Chapter three presents us with another addition, the Hassfurther/Gerhard Letters. These letters truly depict the notion of "history from the bottom up, the history of everyday life" alluded to earlier. Through this correspondence the reader is confronted with the emotions of emigration/immigration: the fear, anxiety, sorrow, anticipation, tribulation, and joy that accompanied it. Given Krapf's motivations and goals, this is by far the most outstanding chapter in the book.

The next three chapters reintroduce material that appeared in the first edition, albeit either in an expanded or improved version. Instead of letters, two of the chapters comprise journals, and one consists of a single letter and a passport. Together with very factual descriptions of their ocean voyages to America, these writers continue the portrayal of the harsh life experienced in the new world. But just as the others, they also allude to the support network provided by the established German immigrant population that helped make their new lives bearable.

The last chapter comprises two passport papers and two farewell poems. The poems, by far the more interesting entries, serve as a thematic summary of the contents of the book's other letters and journals.

Whether readers are interested in the specialized details of German-Catholic immigrants in Dubois County, Indiana, or in an intimate view of the emotional side of emigration, this book is highly recommended.

University of Missouri-St. Louis *Albert J. Camigliano*

Der Wanderer of St. Paul, the First Decade, 1867-1877: A Mirror of the German-Catholic Immigrant Experience in Minnesota.
By John S. Kulas. New German-American Studies, vol.9 / Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien, vol. 9. New York, etc.: Peter Lang, 1996. xiii + 285 pages. $53.95.

John Kulas presents the history of the first ten years of the German-Catholic newspaper, *Der Wanderer*, and shows how this St. Paul, Minnesota newspaper answered the needs of its immigrant subscribers. For us the newspaper documents the immigrants' history; Kulas shows how it not only recorded, but also became "a collaborator in the historical process" (1). The author then goes one step further and places *Der Wanderer* into the context of the Catholic and the German immigrant experience in the United States.

Kulas's first chapter, "Looking at the Looking Glass," is a bibliographical essay which states the proposition of the study and lays out the various facets that need to be considered. One facet is the press: Kulas reviews research on the German-American press, the German-American Catholic press, and also the U.S. Catholic press. Another facet he considers is the history of German and German-Catholic immigration. German-American cultural development after immigration is another facet, and Kulas reviews the literature on assimilation and ethnic identity and the literature on Catholic and German-American culture, including German-American literature, music, and the theater.

Der Wanderer was edited and owned by Catholic laymen. After its founding in 1867, the newspaper provided needed information and reading material for the many German Catholics who emigrated to St. Paul and to the surrounding land recently opened to settlers. Kulas compares the patterns of German immigration

to Minnesota and to the United States. A chapter on "The Newspaper and the Community" contains background information on editors and founders (An appendix includes biographical information on the shareholders). Most of the editors and owners had established themselves in the St. Paul area before the Civil War.

In the early issues the editors published a statement of objectives and purposes of the newspaper. Kulas's argument is that *Der Wanderer* served as "an agent of preservation" of German culture, but it also served as an "agent of assimilation" of the German-Americans into the new culture. The immigrants felt a need to hold on to their culture, their identity, just as they needed to change in response to the new environment in order to survive. The author demonstrates how the various parts of the newspaper answered these specific needs.

European news provided a comforting tie to the homeland that immigrants had left: they could remain in touch; he states that they could "vicariously experience" (69) events in the homeland. This was very important to them when they arrived in the new land and it helped them retain their language and culture. Kulas studies especially the contents of the Feuilleton of the newspaper and editor's choice of poetry and novels. The serialized novels were by German, not German-American, authors and presented a Biedermeier-like world, which represented the continuation of the homeland's culture and provided nostalgic escape from the immigrant experience. Likewise the poetry chosen in all its variety still presented a similar and unified Catholic view of the world. Religious articles helped them preserve their German Catholic faith in the new land.

On the other hand, local and U.S. news reporting introduced the immigrants to the new land and its politics and society. It helped them cope with challenges. The many German societies organized by the immigrants provided training in leadership for their members, but the news reports of their events helped define the German-American Catholics as a group and made them visible. Immigrants became informed and involved in the wider arena and developed a voice, which placed them in a new context as a group alongside other groups. In this way the newspaper provided its readers the means for becoming part of the American culture.

The author compares *Der Wanderer* to Catholic periodicals of the time in Germany, and to the secular *Gartenlaube*. He also compares it to German-American Catholic and Lutheran periodicals. Since Kulas sees the newspaper's role as a dual one: 1) defending the old culture on behalf of the immigrants, and 2) presenting to these same immigrants the culture of the new world, he concludes in the last chapter that *Der Wanderer* was an example of a "successful failure" (205). It failed to remain a German newspaper; it became an American newspaper. But it accompanied the immigrants on their journey as German-Americans, and helped them succeed in making a new life in the new land. He concludes that "something was gained, something was lost, but more importantly, something new was created" (214).

While the author has chosen one small area for his investigation—a history of the first ten years of a St. Paul, Minnesota, German-Catholic newspaper—he relates it with great clarity to the wider world and the German immigrant experience. John Kulas has contributed solid research and valuable insights to the understanding of the immigrant experience.

It must especially be pointed out that Kulas writes in an engaging style that makes the book a real pleasure to read. The book contains illustrations, including the interesting masthead with its slogan "Glaube! Hoffe! Liebe!" and its "Bote" figure of long German tradition.

University of Cincinnati *Franziska C. Ott*

German-American Painters in Wisconsin: Fifteen Biographical Essays. *By Peter C. Merrill. American-German Studies, vol. 16. Stuttgart: Akademischer Verlag, 1997. 161 pages.*

For many years, Professor Peter Merrill has devoted his considerable research energies to the topic of the German-American artist. (See e.g., vol. 32 [1997] of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* where his *German-American Artists in Early Milwaukee: A Biographical Dictionary* and *German Immigrant Artists in America: A Biographical Dictionary* are reviewed.) The present volume offers a continuation of this research and these publications. The thorough research and the painstaking documentation which one associates with Merrill's work is also present in *German-American Painters in Wisconsin*.

Preceding the fifteen biographies, is Merrill's extremely interesting account entitled "What Happened to the Panorama Painters." This article describes the project of the German-born Chicago businessman, William Wehner, who brought German artists to Milwaukee to create a panoramic painting depicting scenes from the Civil War. (Wehner had been influenced by the success of German panoramic paintings featuring images of the Franco-Prussian War.) This painting, which first went on public display in 1887, has been housed since the turn of the century in Atlanta where it is known as the *Atlanta Cyclorama*. In this essay, Merrill recounts the way in which these German artists went about the business of painting Wehner's panoramic painting, as well as other panoramic works, and what they did after the public interest in panorama paintings ended around 1890. Merrill concludes the article with short biographical sketches of the twenty-two participants. While only two of these artists are treated in the following biographies, the article itself is an apt introduction to them.

In his brief *Preface*, Merrill states that the majority of the biographical essays appeared originally in various journals. Most of these artists were born around the middle of the nineteenth century, while the oldest was born in 1814 and the youngest in 1879. While the lives and artistic activities of these German artists

varied greatly, there are, understandably, some similarities among them. Four (not two, as Merrill states in the *Preface*) were born in the United States of German immigrant parents. Their artistic training varied from being self-taught to lessons by local artists in Wisconsin or attending art schools in the state to schooling in the art schools and academies of Germany and in Paris. Several of them became teachers themselves. A few also branched out into the allied activities of lithography and photography. Two of the artists were involved in theatrical activities and one of them wrote poetry. While a number of the artists traveled to Germany either to study or for visits, only two of them returned home to live there.

For the non-English reading audience of his work, Merrill has provided German summaries for each biography. While these summaries leave out a good deal of the information of the English texts, they do provide the German reader with the major biographical facts for each artist. The volume also contains a number of photographs of the artists and their works (the latter of which unfortunately are reproduced, out of necessity, in black and white.)

In his essay on Hans John Stoltenberg, Merrill points out that it is not his view "that there is or ever has been any distinctly German-American school of art" (146). Consequently, this volume does not offer evidence of any ethnic artistic cohesiveness in the productions of these artists. The volume will doubtlessly have its broadest readership with a regional audience. But for all interested in German-American affairs, *German-American Painters in Wisconsin* offers a fascinating account of how these German-Americans became artists and what "German" forces, if any, were at play in their lives and their art.

The University of Houston *Theodore G. Gish*

Breweries of Cleveland.
By Carl H. Miller. Cleveland, OH: Schnitzelbank Press, 1998. 296 pages. $26.95.

In addition to studies by Germanicists, the Society for German-American Studies has published research by historians, sociologists, and scholars from other academic disciplines. Carl H. Miller's *Breweries of Cleveland* serves as a model for research in the field of business. Aside from an in-depth analysis from a business perspective, it presents the reader with unique insights into the personalities and multifaceted activities of leaders of the city's largest nationality community.

The author is the grandson of Franz Heinrich Müller who immigrated from Germany to Cleveland in 1923. A graduate of Cleveland State University, Carl H. Miller left his employment in the advertising and public relations field to become a freelance writer. In this book, he traces the evolution of the Cleveland brewing industry from the early nineteenth century to the present. Whereas he also treats the roles of the Irish, Bohemians and American-born brewers, he focuses mainly on the city's German breweries and their owners, the earliest of

whom, the Stumpf brothers, began operations about 1846. A future edition of this book should list Mathias Mack (born in Württemberg) as a German brewer. Due to an editorial oversight, he is listed among the Irish (46).

As Miller points out in his introductory comments, Ohio represented "the third largest beer producing state (behind New York and Pennsylvania) for much of the nineteenth century" (11). In the volume of production of beer in Ohio by Germans, Cleveland ranked only behind Cincinnati. Brewing in Cleveland was enhanced by the availability of rail and waterway transportation and the city's being a hub for grain processing which "created an abundance of inexpensive raw materials" (10). Before the advent of artificial refrigeration in the 1870s, beer brewing continued only as long as ice supplies held out. But Lake Erie afforded Cleveland brewers the additional advantage of large quantities of ice. As a result, they were able to establish distribution facilities in Pittsburgh, "where the scarcity and high cost of ice hindered brewing during the warm months" (10).

Researchers seeking information on breweries in other cities that had ties to the Cleveland companies will find this book to be informative. Among them was the Pabst Brewing Company of Milwaukee. It established bottling, packaging, and distributing branches in Cleveland and owned a number of the city's saloons and beer halls (85). Miller also discusses related Cleveland businesses, for example, the Loew Manufacturing Company, an important innovator in brewing equipment.

To place the history of the Cleveland brewing industry into proper perspective, the author treats the impact of competition and antitrust legislation, Prohibition, the assessment of alcohol taxes, labor relations, anti-German sentiment, local and national politics, and the activities of temperance groups (Carrie Nation came to Cleveland, too!). Of special interest is the his assessment of the managerial styles and personal values of the brewers. Jacob Baehr, for example, hired no one "who was not a proven churchgoer," permitted no employee "to engage in 'lewd talk' while on duty," and refused to sell beer "to anyone who was known to use alcohol in any but a moderate manner" (77). At Baehr's death, his wife, Magdalena, assumed management of the business, subsequently raising annual sales from 3,000 to 25,000 barrels and "personally making sure that every drop of beer reached its destination in the city" (78).

In addition to financial and production data and other valuable statistics, this book offers the reader a veritable mini-seminar on brewing terminology and processes. The author also provides interesting accounts of the architecture of the breweries and the brewers's homes. In addition to a discussion of the brewers's other business interests, Miller's extensive biographical profiles of the brewers and their families reflect on their cultural, social, philanthropic, and civic contributions to Cleveland.

Miller has drawn from many original sources and authoritative publications, in English and in German, and has carefully synthesized information which he presents in a fluid writing style. Complementing the narrative are hundreds of

photos and other illustrations, an appendix, a selective bibliography, and an index. The appendix contains brief histories of fourteen breweries not extensively treated in the main text, eight of which were German-owned. A hardbound book printed on a high quality glossy paper in an attractive format and well documented, *Breweries of Cleveland* represents the definitive work on one of Cleveland's leading industries, and on the Cleveland German brewers in particular.

Fairview Park, Ohio — *Robert E. Ward*

Cleveland and Its Germans. 1897-98 Edition.
Compiled anonymously by Jakob E. Müller, et al. Translated by Steven Rowan. Cleveland, OH: The Western Reserve Historical Society, 1998. xvi + 249 pages. [Originally: Cleveland, OH: German-American Biographical Pub. Co., 1897-98]. $17.95.

Cleveland and Its Germans. 1907 Edition.
Compiled anonymously by Jakob E. Müller, et al. Translated by Steven Rowan. Cleveland, OH: The Western Reserve Historical Society, 1998. xx + 187 pages. [Originally: Cleveland, OH: German-American Biographical Pub. Co., 1907]. $14.95.

The funding for the publication of Steven Rowan's translations of *Cleveland und Sein Deutschthum* must be credited to the philanthropy of Dr. Werner D. Mueller, a great-grandnephew of the noted Cleveland forty-eighter, Jakob Müller (1822-1905). These editions represent two of the four German works translated by Rowan and published by the Western Reserve Historical Society as part of the Werner D. Mueller Reprint Series. The first, Jakob Müller's *Memories of a Forty-Eighter: Sketches from the German-American Period of Storm and Stress of the 1850s*, was reviewed in volume 32 of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies*. The fourth, Rowan's translation of the 162-page fiftieth anniversary edition (1902) of Cleveland's longest running German newspaper, the *Waechter und Anzeiger*, is in process. In addition, Dr. Mueller has funded and coedited a translation of Wilhelm Kaufmann's *Die Deutschen im Amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg* (1911) which is slated for publication in 1999.

Cleveland und Sein Deutschthum focuses on the lives of hundreds of immigrants and their descendants. Although it is mainly concerned with persons from the German states, it also treats the activities of German-speaking persons from Switzerland and the Austro-Hungarian Empire as well as several non-Germans who had ties to the local German community. Both editions were published by Jakob E. Müller through his Cleveland firm, Die Deutsch-Amerikanische Historisch-Biographische Gesellschaft, known also as the German-American Biographical Publishing Company. He also published similar

books on the Germans of Buffalo, Chicago, Detroit, and Toledo. Born in Gundersheim in 1850, he died in 1914 in Newark, New Jersey, while compiling data on the New Jersey Germans.

The prefatory sections of his 1897-98 and 1907 Cleveland editions each contain a foreword, a table of contents, and an index to the biographies. The earlier edition is divided into three parts: "History of Cleveland," "Germans in Cleveland," and "Biographies." The later one adds a part treating Cleveland businesses and the unveiling of the Schiller-Goethe Monument in Cleveland. Whereas his chapters on the arrival of the Germans and their establishment of the German press and organizations are brief, Müller's treatment of the development of Cleveland and its economic, social, political, religious, educational, and cultural institutions provides an outstanding backdrop to gauge the historical role of the Germans.

The 1897-98 edition presents 252 biographical sketches, most of which also make mention of the children and spouses, as well acquaintances of the subject persons. Following the same format, the later edition contains 211 biographical articles, 43 of which are repeated from the earlier edition, some of which are rewritten. The indexes in the original volumes and these translations list only the names of the subjects of the biographies. A future reprint of these translations would be enhanced by the inclusion of an index to all names mentioned in the book. Also missing from the English editions are the drawings and the hundreds of portrait photos of the subjects of the biographies. The translated volumes could also be made more useful if they would let the reader know whose portrait photos can be found in the German editions.

In his introductory comments, Rowan makes no mention of the fact that these editions are not the final ones published by their compiler. It should be noted that, after the original publication of these books, Jacob E. Müller expanded and republished both volumes without changing the publication dates on their title pages. Rowan has translated earlier editions of the 1897-98 and 1907 works. At least one later version of each was published. Around 1900 (but carrying the 1897-98 date on its title page), Müller reprinted the first edition with an additional fifty-eight pages of biographical information. The 1907 edition was reprinted around 1910 (but carrying the 1907 date on its title page) with an additional seventeen pages of biographical articles.

With the exception of "Jacob G. Mueller" instead of Jacob E. Mueller (249), "Botteler" (7, 60) for Votteler, and a few other typos, Rowan's translation presents accurate information. The English reads well and overcomes the sometimes complicated sentence structure of the German original. However, the translated names of some of the organizations do not reveal they were distinctly German. For example, in the 1897-98 edition Der Cleveland Gesangverein (the city's most prestigious German singing society) appears as "the Cleveland Singing Society" (60). Revised reprints of these translated editions could include the original German names of the German organizations by placing them in editorial footnotes.

Since serious researchers will want to consult the original German editions when making citations in their writings, it would be helpful if the English editions would make mention of errors in the German ones. For example, in the article on Stefan Buhrer (in the 1897-98 German edition) page 128 is incorrectly numbered as 110. Also, the 1897-98 English edition does not point to the error in the article on Karl Koebler. It states he arrived in 1838 (237) and that his wife died at the age of forty-seven in 1884 (237). However, the 1907 edition says she came with her husband in 1848 (146). If she were born in 1836 or 1837, she would have been too young to be married in 1848.

In his foreword to both of the English editions, Richard Ehrlich, executive director of the Western Reserve Historical Society, points out that the wealth of biographical information in Müller's two German editions has "remained effectively closed" (iv) to researchers who do not read German. Steven Rowan's translations not only provide genealogists and historians with valuable data and insight, but also contribute significantly to an appropriate assessment of the first seventy-five years of German activity in Cleveland.

Fairview Park, Ohio — *Robert E. Ward*

Brewing Beer in the Rubber City.
By Robert A. Musson. Published by the author. 265 pages. $24.95. Available from the author at 2989 Silver Maple Drive, Fairlawn, OH 44333.

During the last decade there has been a significant increase in the amount of scholarship which seeks to evaluate the importance of brewing activity to regional, and even national, social development and economic success. Traditionally important brewing states such as Wisconsin and Pennsylvania have been the focus of attention in the process, but no less importantly, other states which have made substantial contributions now have begun to receive long-overdue analysis. At the front of the pack stands Ohio, which as early as 1810 ranked third in the nation in terms of the number of breweries per state, yet has been curiously underrepresented in the extent to which its brewing heritage has been explored.

The genesis of *Brewing Beer in the Rubber City* came in 1994, when after almost two decades of collecting breweriana, Akron-native Rob Musson realized that no detailed literature existed on brewing activity in northeastern Ohio. An attempt to gather source material for an article or two on the breweries of Akron yielded far more information that could be done justice in such a confined space; over the next three years Musson compiled his findings and expanded the scope of his work into the form of the present volume. Primary sources of information for Musson include city resources such as the Akron city directories and local newspapers, most prominently the *Akron Beacon Journal* and the *Summit Beacon & Weekly Beacon*, in addition to county atlases, deeds, and listings

of property transfers. A more human element is provided by interviews with Akron former brewery employees and descendants of local brewery owners, who offer a number of engaging and enlightening insights into the business of manufacturing and marketing beer.

Brewing Beer in the Rubber City begins with a brief overview of the history of brewing activity in America and the early days of brewing in Akron, highlighted by the reproduction of a lengthy obituary for Fred Horix, known as "the father of Akron brewing." More comprehensive is the next section of the book, "A Tale of Two Akron Brewing Companies," which admirably relates the history of the Akron Brewing Company as a pre-Prohibition establishment; a second brewery of the same name, operational in the post-Prohibition years under different ownership and at a different location, is discussed in the next part of the narrative. Ample evidence is offered as to the German heritage of the brewery before Prohibition, most prominently through reproductions of advertisements for one of its primary products, Würzburger Beer.

The next two chapters of the book discuss at length the history of two other prominent Akron breweries, the George J. Renner Brewing Company and the Burkhardt Brewing Company respectively. In both cases Musson makes judicious use of illustrations, including reproductions of stock certificates, contemporary photographs of brewery business leaders, employee gatherings as well as festive occasions, and recent pictures of surviving brewery edifices. Of further use to brewing industry historians are the numerous newspaper advertisements for both firms which Musson has reproduced. Through the inclusion of these promotional materials, Musson succeeds in conveying the extent to which both breweries forged a business identity within the home community and stressed the German heritage of Akron, a point made particularly evident in long-running promotions for Renner's Grossvater Beer and a Burkhardt-sponsored essay contest designed to fight the growing prohibition movement during the 1910s. A comparison of pre-and Post-Prohibition advertisements for both companies also makes clear the extent to which brewery advertising changed from one era to the other, both at the regional and national level, from an early focus almost exclusively upon attributes of brewery product to packaging innovations and image-based slogans during the post-Prohibition years. While the depiction of both companies is generally positive, Musson makes clear the extent to which local brewing interests--in Akron as elsewhere--twice suffered debilitating blows to their existence, first by fourteen years of national prohibition and later by the competitive imbalance fostered by wealthy, free-spending national brewers able to outadvertise and soon outsell the hometown breweries, culminating in the closure of Renner in 1952 and Burkhardt in 1964, eight years after its purchase by the Cincinnati-based Burger Brewing Company. After Musson's chronicle of the demise of the Akron brewing industry, the next section of the text briefly discusses its revival as part of the growing field of microbrewing during the

1990s, in the form of a new Burkhardt Brewing Company (1991) and the Liberty Brewing Company (1994).

The remaining chapters of *Brewing Beer in the Rubber City* move away from a focus upon the breweries, in favor of discussions of special brewery product, how beer was sold and marketed in Akron, and the use of non-newsprint advertising among Akron brewers. Chapters on the production of bock and near beer make a strong impact, largely through reproductions of *Akron Beacon Journal* advertisements, and foster an appreciation for the traditional role of bock beer as an end-of-winter specialty product and the cumbersome effort required to remarket longtime staple products (such as Renner's Grossvater) and brewery-made soft drinks as nonalcoholic beverages during the early Prohibition years. The treatment of selling beer in Akron includes advertisements from a local retail establishment, showing the wide variety of brews which competed against Akron-made beers during the 1940s and their cost at the point of purchase. The final chapter of the book, "Collectible Brewery Artifacts," illustrates a wide range of Akron breweriana, including cans, serving trays, wooden cases, metal, plastic and lighted wall signs, coasters, and bottle labels, and provides collectors with a highly valuable resource guide to Akron brewery advertising.

While the text of *Brewing Beer in the Rubber City* provides a more-than-adequate overview of the history of brewing in Akron, the greatest selling point for the book is the many illustrations which it contains. Despite the presence of a color cover, all illustrations within the book are black-and-white reproductions. Most of the newsprint advertisements are from microfilm sources, and all images are reproduced in photocopy form, often in marginal quality—an unfortunate but understandable circumstance, given the budgetary constraints inherent in self-publication. Nevertheless, the quality of the reproductions does not detract from the historical importance of the materials presented, nor does it significantly impair the visual impact they make.

In sum, *Brewing Beer in the Rubber City* provides an engaging, highly readable account of the manufacture and marketing of malt beverages in Akron from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. It breaks new ground in scholarly research of the brewing industry and, alongside Carl Miller's excellent recent treatment of the Cleveland brewing industry and a pending manuscript on brewing activity and beer culture in Cincinnati, helps to generate new interest in one of America's most important but long-overlooked brewing states.

Missouri Western State College *Timothy J. Holian*

Charles Follen's Search for Nationality and Freedom: Germany and America, 1796-1840.
By Edmund Spevack. Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1997. 312 pages. $39.95.

Charles Follen was the first and, arguably, the most important of a long list of German radicals who sought exile in the United States in the nineteenth century. He was one of the foremost student radicals in Germany in the years immediately after the fall of Napoleon. Although Follen did not attend the Wartburg Festival in 1817, he was one of its central planners. He aided and may have inspired the assassination of the playwright August von Kotzebue in 1819, thus helping to bring about the hated Carlsbad Decrees against the German radical and student movements. When he immigrated to America in 1825, after several years's exile in Switzerland, Follen carried letters of introduction from none other than the Marquis de Lafayette.

Within a few months of his arrival, Follen was made an instructor of German at Harvard. From 1830 to 1835 he served Harvard as the first professor of German literature at an American college. Not only was he largely instrumental in introducing modern German literature and German idealistic philosophy to the Boston intellectual elite, but he introduced the latest German theological ideas as well. He lectured at the Harvard Divinity School in the late 1820s. By contact with William Ellery Channing, Henry Ware, Jr., and Theodore Parker, he helped shape American Unitarianism while he, himself, became a Unitarian minister. He spurred the construction of Harvard's first athletic grounds and introduced physical education classes of the type developed in Berlin by *Turnvater* Jahn. Follen's progress at Harvard and his path into Boston society was greatly facilitated by his marriage to Eliza Lee Cabot, a woman from one of the best Boston families and nine years his senior. Yet, owing to his outspoken anti-slavery agitation, by the time Follen was killed in a steamship accident in 1840, he was almost as unemployable in Boston and New York as he had been two decades earlier in Jena and Gießen.

While the basic outline of Follen's life is well-established, Edmund Spevack, who was a graduate student of Mack Walker's at Johns Hopkins, has done an admirable job in weaving together the story of Follen's life on two continents. Europe and America receive approximately equal attention. Spevack has searched archives in Gießen, Jena, Wiesbaden, Berlin and Frankfurt am Main, as well as Boston and New York. Yet most of the book is written from printed sources, especially from Eliza Follen's five-volume edition on her husband's works. When he was being investigated by the German police, Charles Follen destroyed most of the papers he accumulated as a student and instructor in Germany. Moreover, his posthumously published papers were carefully selected by an adoring wife. Thus any biographer of Follen works under a considerable degree of difficulty.

In contrast to some earlier biographers, Spevack emphasizes the continuity of Follen's life in America with his life in Germany and Switzerland. He sees the same moral idealism and the same inflexibility behind Follen's student radicalism at Gießen and Jena before 1820 and his uncompromising abolitionist sermons in New York two decades later. He compares articles Follen published in Switzerland with those he published in Boston. Yet some readers may find it difficult to reconcile Follen the Unitarian minister of the 1830s with Follen the student radical who advocated political assassination, or "la guerre des individus," as a step toward human freedom in 1819. Was it the same Follen who refused to accept Jews as citizens of his anticipated German nation in 1818, but who promoted African-Americans as full American citizens fifteen years later? And how, exactly, could this young conspirator to murder have so captivated Eliza Cabot, who was of such a stalwart Boston upper-crust family?

One presumes that sources which would give us greater insight into the personalities of Charles and Eliza are not to be found. Thus the book has a kind of stark tone as it provides the basic facts and analyzes Follen's writings. Unitarians sing about "the freer step . . . the grander view," but their intellectualism can hinder insight as it facilitates knowledge. One looks in vain in this book for an explanation that Follen, as an immigrant, must have progressed through (or found a way to bypass) widely shared stages of acculturation and psychological development. It would seem that before his death, for the second time in his life, Follen recognized that he was in a difficult personal position owing to his refusal to compromise the demands of his ethical sense. Had he lived in our time, it might be said that he was having a mid-life crisis.

One can only speculate about how, had he survived, such an intelligent and educated man might have resolved his personal crisis. Could he then have provided leadership in the years after 1848, as several thousand well-educated revolutionaries debarked on our shores due to further German political reaction? Of course, by 1840, Follen had already turned away from the idea of a German-American state within the union that would help liberate the European homeland. Yet one wonders if he could have helped shape the strengths of the forty-eighters into a more cohesive German-American progressive cultural and political presence which then could have itself felt on this side of the ocean? Follen would have been only sixty-five if he had lived to see the Emancipation Proclamation.

Follen did not live to see the slaves emancipated, and it was to be another hundred years before African-Americans began to achieve real citizenship. A German-American in our century, Reinhold Niebuhr, proclaimed that nothing really worth doing can be accomplished in one lifetime. Follen might have benefited from that insight. He died sure of his conviction but unsure of what he had been able to accomplish on either continent.

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Platt Düütsch/ **Low German: A Brief History of the People and Language.** *By Robert Lee Stockman. Alto, MI: Platt Düütsch Press, 1998. xii + 445 pages.*

One cannot help but be struck by the recent resurgence of interest in the Low German dialects brought to the American Midwest by the nineteenth-century immigrants from northern Germany—among them Pomeranians to Wisconsin and Minnesota, Schleswig-Holsteiners to Iowa and Nebraska, Oldenburgers to Indiana, Hannoverians to Missouri and Kansas, Westphalians to Ohio and Michigan, and the thousands of Low German-speaking Mennonites from the Russian Empire who established settlements from Kansas to the Canadian Prairie Provinces beginning in the 1870s. Heritage groups in Kansas and Missouri have attempted to revive interest in Low German with "theater" presentations in the local dialects. The American Schleswig-Holstein Heritage Society in Iowa has been instrumental in organizing conferences dedicated to the study and preservation of the Low German in the U.S. (the third such Low German conference, organized by the Central Pomeranian Verein of Wisconsin, is to be held in October 1999 in Wausau, Wisconsin). Recent immigration of Mennonites from Mexico to southwestern Kansas has actually introduced a population of Low German-speaking children requiring English as a Second Language services in the primary grades of the local school districts. In the midst of these developments, we note also the recognition accorded to Low German as a protected minority language in northern Germany by the Council of Europe as of 1 January 1999.

Against this backdrop, Stockman's historical overview of the people who speak Low German and the Low German language—albeit with an admitted focus on his own version of Low German, a type of North Saxon brought to northwestern Ohio from the Lüneburger Heide by his ancestors—will provide those interested in Low German much to digest. Stockman's work focuses on the historical antecedents of Low German within the context of the Indo-European and Germanic language families (chapter 2) . He also provides an overview of the sound system and grammatical system of contemporary Low German (chapter 4). A third major section of Stockman's book is devoted to the differentiation of the contemporary Low German dialects in northern Germany (chapter 6). Roughly half of Stockman' book consists of two glossaries, each with approximately 5,000 entries: English--Low German (chapter 3) and Low German—standard German—English (chapter 5). Briefer chapters provide introductory and concluding remarks to round out the work.

Stockman's compilation of numerous comparative word lists, grammatical tables, maps, and discussions of the multifaceted development of Low German and its current status as a collection of dialects having their origin in the plains of northern Germany offers the diligent reader a wealth of information. From pronunciation variants to past participles, from Goths to Mennonites, from Martin Luther to Fritz Reuter, from Low Prussian to Low Franconian: In *Platt*

Düütsch one will find Stockman's comments and insights on just about everything imaginable that might pertain to Low German.

There are, however, several drawbacks to the work. Stockman himself admits in the preface that he is not attempting to produce a work of scholarship, rather a source of reference and enjoyment for anyone interested in Low German. Unfortunately, in working toward that goal, Stockman may have gone too far. The complete absence of any references or bibliography severely limits the usefulness of Stockman's book. Especially for the casual, uninitiated reader there should have been some direction given for further study. A revised edition of the work should definitely included list of references for further reading.

This lack of "scholarly" backup is telling given the numerous statements which do not give the reader an accurate understanding of the matter at hand. Some examples: Gothic is portrayed as the earliest form of High German (390). Stockman confuses the reader by mixing the terms German and Germanic repeatedly. In the preface, he states an enclave of a Slavic language (Sorbic) exists within the Low German area (7), however from his description of the actual dialect there (429) it appears that a form of Low German is spoken in that same area—admittedly an area that did have a Slavic language until the 1600s. In his discussion of the development of Standard German he remarks that the *Kanzeleisprache* of the Court at Dresden was a spoken language in use both there and in the surrounding area of Central Germany (57)—this is a now defunct theory propagated by Theodor Frings prior to World War II. For these and many more questionable statements, there should have been some references so that the interested reader might check further.

There are additional problems which detract from the book and demand a complete revision with careful editing. The most glaring is the plethora of typographical errors. Another area is the loose and often inaccurate use of linguistic terminology. Although Stockman claims the reader can ignore the terminology used, his use of it actually adds to confusion. For example, why did the author use the terms "present" and "past" for a description of English and Low German verb tenses and in the same table compare them to a German "präsent" [sic] and "imperfect" (173), especially when desiring to address non-specialists? Other linguistic errors can be found throughout the section on orthography and grammar: This reader was amazed to find "auf" listed as a German conjunction (172) and a mention of the "present case" and "past case" when referring to the tense system of verbs. In discussing the genitive case for nouns, Stockman presents as an example "Haus des Herrens" (182) for Standard German—an impossible form. Concerning orthography or at least Stockman's spelling of Low German in his glossaries, a final puzzle for this reader was his use of both "sh" and "sch" to express the sound [š] depending on the sound that follows the consonant. He is thus forced to spell forms of the same word differently: *sheet* "to shoot" and *schoten* "shot." There are more such examples which careful editing could correct.

One of Stockman's concluding hopes is that Low German can be preserved and can once again become a written language accessible to its thousands of speakers world-wide. His discussion of the ongoing debate regarding an orthography is one of the more positive aspects of his book. Stockman's version of Low German with populations of speakers both in Germany and in America has a special difficulty. Should the written language overarching the many dialects of Low German reflect the orthographic system of English or Standard German? Pennsylvania German and Mennonite Low German (*Plautdietsch*) whose populations are essentially removed from Germany have not been able to resolve that dilemma either (see review of Reuben Epp, *The Spelling of Low German and* Plautdietsch*: Towards an Official Plautdietsch Orthography* [*YGAS* 32 (1997): 208-9]). Stockman is absolutely right when he states, "a Low German literary language needs to be defined and promulgated." But the task of reaching consensus on such a literary form of Low German encompassing all variants of spoken Low German is formidable.

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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 Bibliography includes references to books, articles, dissertations and selected media relating to the experience of German-speaking people in North America and their descendants.

Abbreviations:

AA	=	*Annals of Iowa*
AHR	=	*American Historical Review*
AJH	=	*American Jewish History*
ASHHSN	=	*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*
IHJ	=	*Illinois Historical Journal*
JAEH	=	*Journal of American Ethnic History*
JAHSGR	=	*Journal of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia*
JCPGS	=	*Journal of the Center For Pennsylvania German Studies*
JLCHS	=	*Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society*
MFH	=	*Mennonite Family History*
MH	=	*Monatshefte*
MHB	=	*Mennonite Historical Bulletin*
MHR	=	*Missouri Historical Review*
ML	=	*Mennonite Life*
MQR	=	*Mennonite Quarterly Review*
NSGAS	=	*Newsletter for the Society for German-American Studies*
PF	=	*Pennsylvania Folklife*
PMH	=	*Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage*
PMHB	=	*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*
SIGA	=	*Studies in Indiana German-Americana*
SGASN	=	*Society for German-American Studies Newsletter*
TMHS	=	*Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*
WHQ	=	*Western Historical Quarterly*
WMH	=	*Wisconsin Magazine of History*
YGAS	=	*Yearbook of German-American Studies*

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III. Topical Index