

YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Volume 34

1999



The Society for

German-American Studies

Depicted on the front cover is the seal of Germantown, Pennsylvania, founded by Francis Daniel Pastorius in 1683. The seal was designed by Pastorius shortly before 1700. The three-fold cloverleaf with Latin motto denotes the three principal occupations among the citizens of Germantown: viticulture and wine-making, flax-growing, and textile production. The Latin motto reads *Vinum Linum et Textrinum* ("grapes/wine, flax/linen, and weaving mill/weaving"). Pastorius formulated the same motto in German as *Der Wein, der Lein und der Webeschrein*.

The Society for German-American Studies has elected to display the Germantown seal on its stationary and membership brochure as well as on the cover of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* in commemoration of the earliest group settlement of German-speaking immigrants in North America. Our source for the image is Rudolf Cronau, *Drei Jahrhunderte deutschen Lebens in Amerika: Ruhmesblätter der Deutschen in den Vereinigten Staaten* (Berlin: D. Reimer, 1926), 69.



**YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES**

Volume 34

1999

Published at the University of Kansas by  
THE SOCIETY FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

with the support of  
THE MAX KADE CENTER  
FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES  
and THE JOYCE AND ELIZABETH HALL CENTER  
FOR THE HUMANITIES

# THE SOCIETY FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Officers 1999-2000

## *President*

Don Heinrich Tolzmann, University of Cincinnati

## *First Vice President*

Volker Schmeissner, North Virginia Community College

## *Second Vice President*

Dolores J. Hoyt, Indiana University-Indianapolis

## *Secretary*

Frances Ott Allen, University of Cincinnati

## *Treasurer/Membership Chair*

William Roba, Scott Community College

## *Newsletter Editor*

La Vern J. Rippley, Saint Olaf College

## *Yearbook Editor*

William D. Keel, University of Kansas

## 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.

© 2000 by The Society for German-American Studies

ISSN 0741-2827

Printed at the University of Kansas Printing Service, Lawrence, KS 66045



YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

*Editor*

William D. Keel, University of Kansas

*Editorial Board*

- Gerhard P. Bassler, Memorial University of Newfoundland  
C. Richard Beam, Millersville State University  
Donald F. Durnbaugh, Juniata College  
Jürgen Eichhoff, The Pennsylvania State University  
Hartmut Froeschle, University of Toronto  
Jerry Glenn, University of Cincinnati  
Marion Lois Huffines, Bucknell University  
Giles R. Hoyt, Indiana University-Indianapolis  
Walter D. Kamphoefner, Texas A&M University  
Frederick C. Luebke, University of Nebraska-Lincoln  
La Vern J. Rippley, Saint Olaf College  
Alexander Ritter, Universität Hamburg  
William Roba, Scott Community College  
Joseph C. Salmons, University of Wisconsin-Madison  
Leo Schelbert, University of Illinois-Chicago  
Helmut J. Schmeller, Fort Hays State University  
Adolf E. Schroeder, University of Missouri-Columbia  
Christoph E. Schweitzer, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill  
Don Heinrich Tolzmann, University of Cincinnati



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

*From the Editor* vii

### ARTICLES

**Stephen D. Engle**

*A Raised Consciousness:*

*Franz Sigel and German Ethnic Identity in the Civil War* 1

**Werner H. Steger**

*German Immigrants, the Revolution of 1848,  
and the Politics of Liberalism in Antebellum Richmond* 19

**Christian B. Keller**

*The Reaction of Eastern Pennsylvania's German Press  
to the Secession Crisis: Compromise or Conflict?* 35

**Annette R. Hofmann**

*One Hundred Fifty Years of Loyalty:  
The Turner Movement in the United States* 63

**Nancy Newman**

*"Gleiche Rechte, gleiche Pflichten und gleiche Genüsse":  
Henry Albrecht's Utopian Vision of the Germania Musical Society* 83

**Sam A. Mustafa**

*"Merchant Culture" in Germany and America  
in the Late-Eighteenth Century* 113



<b>Manfred Zimmermann</b> <i>Quellen zur deutschen Einwanderungsgeschichte in der Bibliothek der German Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia</i>	133
--	-----

<b>Regine Wieder</b> <i>Konrad Nies Rediscovered</i>	141
---	-----

<b>Lawrence Klippenstein</b> <i>Canadian Mennonite Writings: A Survey of Selected Published Titles, 1981-97</i>	153
--	-----

## REVIEW ESSAYS

<b>Jerry Glenn</b> <i>Three Veterans and a Rookie: Recent German-American Literature</i>	171
---	-----

<b>Antonius Holtmann</b> <i>Kein Meisterstück oder: Wie "Liwwät Böke" mit fremden Federn geschmückt wurde</i>	177
--	-----

## BOOK REVIEWS

<b>Edited by Timothy J. Holian</b>	197
------------------------------------	-----

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

<b>Giles R. Hoyt and Dolores Hoyt</b> <b>in collaboration with the Bibliographic Committee of the Society for German-American Studies</b> <i>Annual Bibliography of German-Americana: Articles, Books Selected Media, and Dissertations</i>	225
<i>I. Supplements for 1997</i>	227
<i>II. Works Published in 1998</i>	232
<i>III. Topical Index</i>	284

## From the Editor

Continuing our commemoration of the impact of the revolutionary period of 1848-49 on German immigration to the United States and the contributions of those immigrants, we are pleased to present a selection of articles focusing on the Germans in the United States at the time of the American Civil War. Several of the current essays elaborate on issues raised by the 1999 publication of Steven Rowan's translation of Wilhelm Kaufmann's *Die Deutschen im amerikanischen Bürgerkriege*, originally published in Germany in 1911 (see Book Reviews). Stephen Engle explores the ever controversial and enigmatic Franz Sigel, whose infamous reputation as a general officer on the Union side stands in paradox to his enduring significance for the German Forty-Eighters and others of German descent in the United States. Studies of German-American attitudes regarding the secession crisis and the institution of slavery by Werner Steger—focusing on the German community in Richmond, Virginia, the future capital of the Confederacy—and by Christian Keller—examining the editorial positions of German newspapers in Eastern Pennsylvania, pitting Pennsylvania Dutch against the newly arrived *Deutschländer*—undermine the stereotype of the staunchly pro-Northern German-American. A contribution by Annette Hofmann highlights the significant sacrifices of the German-American Turners during the Civil War and their lasting influence in the American scene.

Among those articles not focusing primarily on the German-Americans and Civil War, Nancy Newman investigates the involvement of concert musician Henry Albrecht with the utopian communistic settlement of Icarians in Nauvoo, Illinois. Sam Mustafa offers evidence of very early German-American connections stemming from the "merchant culture" of the eighteenth century—linking the German seaports of the former Hanseatic League with the coastal cities of the newly formed United States. Manfred Zimmermann and Regine Wieder both report on discoveries inviting further research in the holdings of the German Society of Pennsylvania's library in Philadelphia. Zimmermann finds a treasure trove of detailed information on German immigrants, while Wieder sheds light on the German-American author Konrad Nies. Lawrence Klippenstein offers a survey of nearly two decades of Mennonite writings, ranging from local histories to fiction to dictionaries of Mennonite Low German or

*Plautdietsch*. Finally, a review essay by Antonius Holtmann of the 1987 publication of *Liwwät Böke* claims that this much touted set of texts and drawings by a "pioneer Low German woman" in Ohio must be viewed as a forgery.

Our readers will already have noticed the new appearance of the *Yearbook's* cover. The Executive Board of the SGAS decided that after nearly twenty years it was time for a face lift by adding a bit of color. More practical considerations—a sturdier cover—and a desire to emphasize the connection of the SGAS to the *Yearbook*, with the name of the Society and the seal of Germantown, Pennsylvania, designed by Pastorius on the front, resulted in the current cover. The editor and the Executive Board welcome any comments or suggestions from our readership in this regard.

As always, we want to especially acknowledge the contributions of the other members of the *Yearbook* "team." Our sincere appreciation for their good efforts goes to Timothy Holian, editor of book reviews, Jerry Glenn for his review of current German-American *belles-lettres*, the SGAS Bibliographic Committee headed by Giles and Dolores Hoyt, and last, but most certainly not least, the members of the SGAS Editorial Board, whose evaluations and suggestions maintain the high standards of this publication.

*Max Kade Center for German-American Studies  
at the University of Kansas*

Lawrence, Kansas

January 2000



Stephen D. Engle

**A Raised Consciousness:**

**Franz Sigel and German Ethnic Identity in the Civil War**

How could the German-American community make so much of Franz Sigel during the American Civil War when he was so obviously marginally competent as a military leader? The answer may be revealed by examining Sigel within the context not of military or even political history but of the construction of ethnic group identity. Though historians have linked the Civil War to the process of assimilation, few have identified the war as a catalyst for elevating ethnic consciousness among ethnic groups in America. This is not to imply, however, that assimilation and emphasis of ethnic identity are or were mutually exclusive processes. Indeed, there is a great deal of significant literature attempting to integrate these concepts, most of which demonstrates the subtlety with which they interact.

The neglect by historians, however, in seeing the war as a catalyst for raising an ethnic consciousness stems in part from the widely held view that fighting to preserve the Union and actual combat transcended ethnic boundaries and in fact welded soldiers together despite cultural or ethnic distinctions. This view, that maintains wide currency, assumes that the war was only one of several steps in the "melting" process by which immigrant groups became Americanized. Because the Civil War exercised a tremendous effect on the process of assimilation of Germans in the North, as well as other immigrant groups, scholars have often used the war as a kind of gauge by which to calibrate the process and to argue that the war expedited and completed the assimilation of those Germans who arrived before the war. Indeed, the war may have engendered emphasis on *Deutschtum* as a surge toward, not away from assimilation. In an effort to illustrate this assimilation argument, these scholars have often sought representative figures who reflect the complete assimilation argument.<sup>1</sup>

If Germans "assimilated" during the Civil war, it was not because they saw the war as an opportunity to become more like Americans. Rather, Germans, caught in a kind of identity crisis, found elements of service, combat and politi-

cal life that proved valuable in the self-construction of a German identity by emphasizing their *Deutschtum*—in particular they linked the home front to the battlefield. It was not so much that this emphasis stemmed from communal settlements and institutions that bound group members to one another, but rather from a common cultural maintenance that took shape as those citizens went to war. The war encouraged a “multiculturalist” emphasis on *Deutschtum* and the devices of ethnocultural maintenance. For example, when the German-American press and other publicists stressed the role of German-Americans in the military effort to preserve the Union, they were claiming a bigger slice of the American pie—clearly an assimilationist goal. They wanted to be recognized as Americans, not as immigrants with questionable loyalties. Their accents, both linguistic and behavioral unmistakably identified them as immigrants, as newcomers; they could not escape that. So they made virtue of necessity and argued that their culture and values made them good Americans and maybe even better Americans than many of the native born.<sup>2</sup>

This essay seeks to identify the American Civil War as a major catalyst in forcing the confluence of assimilation and ethnic maintenance that heightened ethnic consciousness of German-Americans in the Union. By focusing on the link between the home front and the battlefield, I argue that Germans emphasized their *Deutschtum* (common cultural maintenance), which revealed how the German-American community revisualized itself during the war. The internal content and external impression of ethnicity has varied from time to time as a reaction to external pressures or challenges to the group. This expression is also a reaction to the changing conditions within the group itself. Ethnicity, then, can be viewed as a continuing process of re-invention, which suggests why “being German” in America might be something quite different from “being German” in the old country.

This essay attempts to investigate Franz Sigel as a protean ethnic icon. It suggests that the Civil War was a crucible for the formation, reformation, rejection, rejuvenation, and use of this hyphenate general as an ethnic symbol both within and outside the ethnic group. Sigel's role in the war illustrates this ethnic emphasis argument, since he was successful in linking the home front and battlefield during the conflict. Because Sigel was a symbol of the German community, his role magnified the worth of the German community in American society. Sigel's wartime experience forced him to recast his own ideological formation and construction as a German. He came to recognize himself as the product the German-American community had created and he was successful in consolidating support for this construction. In mobilizing demonstrations of support in Sigel's behalf, the German community gave evidence of moving in both directions (towards assimilation and towards constructing an ethnic identity) simultaneously—creating firmer ethnic solidarity, on the one hand, and acting effectively in the public sphere, on the other hand.

No German-American was more the “Damned Dutch” to Americans than Franz Sigel, and yet no other German-American military leader possessed his



enormous, albeit perplexing, popularity. The German-American community would produce numerous outstanding soldiers and commanders, yet none quite measured up to Franz Sigel. Though Carl Schurz was America's most celebrated citizen of German descent in the nineteenth century, Franz Sigel proved to be the most popular German-American leader in the Union army during the Civil War. This popularity endured long after the war; its basis continues to baffle Civil War historians.<sup>3</sup>

There was nothing particularly distinguished in Sigel's background that suggested he would ultimately be deserving of visibility and renown. He had been among the leaders in the failed 1848 liberal revolutionary uprising in Germany and led the revolutionary forces of Baden in numerous encounters against the Prussians. Sigel migrated to America in 1852 as did other Forty-Eighters, as they came to be known. Because some Germans in the United States supported the 1848 Revolution, and kept abreast of developments in Germany, the name Franz Sigel was a familiar one in major German-American newspapers. Though he had been the military leader of a failed revolution, his reputation as a champion of liberalism and democracy eclipsed his battlefield failures and made him more appealing to German-Americans seeking political leadership in either combating nativism, or simply representing the German-American community's interest. Sigel's role in the military accentuated the German-American community's desire to point to their participation in the Civil War as testimony to their fitness as citizens of a republic.<sup>4</sup>

Sigel arrived in New York City when Germans were concluding that their venture in the New World had not ended their quest for independence and freedom, but only transplanted it. Doctrines and programs formulated in Europe came to be seen as quite applicable to American conditions. Republicanism and constitutionalism were essential German aspirations that were beneficial to America. The 1848 refugees had seen themselves as fighting for republicanism and constitutionalism in Germany, and had actively tried to persuade other Germans to adopt this ideology as their own. They also saw themselves fighting for the American ideals of liberty, equality, free labor and an end to slavery. In the pre-war decade, this rhetoric was often used to counter anti-immigrant complaints that Germans lacked the background in Anglo-Saxon traditions of republicanism to participate in American democracy. Though the failure of 1848 had forced Sigel into exile, his zeal for reform was unshaken. He became an active participant in organizations to help new arrivals make the transition to America. During the 1850s he emerged as a leader in the New York German-American community. He taught at the Feldner School, a German-American institute in New York City, joined the local *Turnverein*, the Fifth New York Militia, and was instrumental in the organization of other German militias. In 1857, Sigel moved to St. Louis to teach in the popular Deutsches Institut. The rise of the Republican Party captured his attention in 1858 and his interests increasingly shifted to politics. Quickly he became respected and popular among St. Louis Germans for his educational, civic and political leadership.<sup>5</sup>



At the outbreak of the Civil War, Sigel's previous military experience and education, combined with his civic role in the second largest German community in the United States, justified his political appointment as an officer of German soldiers. During the early phase of the Civil War in Missouri, he demonstrated proficiency in organizing an army and bravery in combat. He participated in the battles of Carthage and Wilson's Creek in the summer of 1861. Though his performance was undistinguished, he helped to save Missouri for the Union, which ultimately earned him the reputation of being "Hell on retreat." For his role in securing a Union victory at the Battle of Pea Ridge in March of 1862, he was promoted to major general and transferred to the East, where, unfortunately for Sigel, his imperfections as a military commander were reflected in the battles of Second Bull Run in July 1862 and New Market in May 1864. He was sharply criticized by the press and his superiors for delaying in bringing up his men at Second Bull Run and eventually shelved for his ineffectual role in the Shenandoah Valley in the Summer 1864.<sup>6</sup>

Despite his undistinguished military endeavors, Sigel was, according to Hans L. Trefousse, "still the darling of the Germans."<sup>7</sup> From the beginning of the conflict many Germans throughout the North wanted to fight under Sigel because he represented something larger to them. He was the instrument of their solidarity in the war. The phrase "I fights mit Sigel," used by German soldiers throughout the war, represented more than just military allegiance. The loyalty of the soldiers to Sigel was evident in their refusal to answer Union soldiers as to the name of their company. When an American soldier asked Germans their company, they frequently replied "I fights mit Sigel." A Chicago German, Franz Schilling, wrote Sigel that there was a good number of Germans desiring to serve under Sigel and remarked that "if they cannot manage to do this, they will not serve at all." Though not all Germans were of the same opinion with regard to Sigel's representation, many were, and fighting with Sigel became symbolic of their desire to fight together as Germans in solidarity—a solidarity that extended beyond the battlefield to community. Because he was a symbol of their participation in the war, Germans were extremely sensitive about the treatment of their esteemed general. Whenever he was abused by the press or mistreated by superiors, the German community took it personally, since it identified his treatment as a reflection of their treatment in American society. As the *St. Louis Daily Missouri Democrat* put it plainly and simply, Sigel was "the representative of the German element."<sup>8</sup> Thus, when he resigned from the military on two occasions and when his requests for more significant commands were denied, it injured a community of Germans that transcended the battlefield and linked the battlefield to the home front.

His first resignation in late December 1861, was prompted over what appeared to be a misunderstanding regarding military protocol in the appointment and replacement of commanders. Sigel thought that his replacement by General Samuel Curtis had been an attempt by General Henry W. Halleck, his anti-immigrant superior, to eliminate him from command fearing that Sigel's



prominence among the Germans in the West posed a threat to the Union. Halleck thought that Sigel might utilize his prominence to persuade his German followers to overthrow the Union government. He wrote General George B. McClellan and Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton that there was a plot by the Germans to replace Halleck with Sigel and that the "Damned Dutch" constituted a "very dangerous element in society as well as in the army." Lack of evidence to prove such a plot and President Abraham Lincoln's tactful handling of the affair, including the promotion of Sigel to major general, encouraged the general to withdraw his resignation in January 1862 and satisfied the German community that their interests had been served.<sup>10</sup>

Sigel's second resignation in March 1863 was also prompted by his belief that Halleck was trying to eliminate him. Sigel had complained in February and March of 1863 that his Eleventh Corps, widely though inaccurately known as the German Corps, was the smallest in the Army of the Potomac and that in simple justice to himself it should be enlarged. When his superior responded that he "should do the best he can with it," Sigel again hastily resigned from the army.<sup>11</sup> At the urging of the German community, Sigel rescinded his resignation and planned to return to his old unit. When he showed up in Washington ready to take command, Halleck had no use for him. After spending several months in 1863 without a command, Sigel was finally sent to an obscure military department in Pennsylvania where he resumed his military duties in the summer. But because neither Sigel nor the German community was satisfied with his position, they both pressured the president politically to give the German leader a more significant command. In February 1864, Lincoln acquiesced and placed Sigel in command of the Department of West Virginia. As he had done in 1862, the president made a judicious decision to promote Sigel's interests, and apparently the perceived interests of the German community, in an election year.<sup>12</sup>

On both occasions Sigel's resignations and his desire to return to a more significant command created an uproar in the German community that swelled into national proportions. "The German community . . . is greatly exercised just now about the resignation . . . [of Sigel]," wrote one perceptive Illinois citizen to Senator Lyman Trumbull. To be sure, many German soldiers were outraged by his treatment. Colonel Nicholas Greusel of the Thirty-Sixth Illinois Volunteer Regiment, for example, perhaps best summed up the opinion of most German soldiers regarding Sigel's first resignation saying "I for one am ready to sheath my sword when you do . . . let the Foraign [sic] population lay down their arms, and what is left [but] an army of officers."<sup>13</sup>

Throughout the West in early 1862 the battle cry of the Germans was "We fight with Sigel!" The failure of Wilson's Creek had not soured "Dutch" enthusiasm for the Missouri hero, and success at Pea Ridge merely intensified the German admiration for Sigel. Part of the reason for Sigel's good fortune was that the German press, not only in New York and Boston, but also in Pittsburgh, Columbus, Indianapolis, Milwaukee, Chicago, Belleville, and St. Louis



joined in his defense. The German-American press played a central role in emphasizing Sigel's worth as a German in linking the home front and battlefield, despite the lack of unanimity among editors regarding Sigel's worth as a commander. Sigel got press because he represented the role of Germans in the war, not because he was a particularly great commander.<sup>14</sup>

Germans at home also personalized his affair. His first resignation resulted in the creation of a network of Sigel "Indignation Committees" that sprang up almost overnight in New York and Chicago. These committees sprang from members of the *Turnvereine* and *Arbeitervereine*, and were instrumental in consolidating support for Sigel. They encouraged Germans to actively engage in pressuring newspapers and local politicians to push for Sigel's restoration to command and promotion. German supporters of the general from Missouri to Massachusetts staged "Sigel Festivals" and "Sigel Demonstrations" in several cities, and poems and songs were written in his honor. There were mass meetings objecting to Sigel's resignation throughout the North and the Midwest. Hundreds of soldiers in the Twentieth New York (Turner) Regiment protested against Sigel's treatment by signing a petition asking the army not to accept Sigel's resignation. Franz Grimm, a captain in the Forty-Third Illinois Volunteer Infantry publicly aired his disgust over the affair by writing his home town newspaper the *Belleviller-Zeitung*, denouncing Sigel's treatment and requesting he be reinstated. As divergent as their political interests were, a Milwaukee Copperhead paper nonetheless pointed out that Democratic and Republican Germans in the Wisconsin legislature had cooperated in passing a resolution petitioning the government to re-assign Sigel to a command worthy of his ability. In October 1862, in Milwaukee, the Twenty-Sixth Wisconsin Infantry was quietly mustered in and adopted Franz Sigel as its patron saint. It became popularly known as the "Sigel Regiment," or to Milwaukee residents "Unser Deutsches Regiment." When he returned home to New York City, thousands of Germans would flock to hear him speak. German women's clubs and *Turnverein* members got involved in the effort to see Sigel properly reinstated. Many of these committees used the press as their spokesmen to promote Sigel and to link his case in the military to the case of all Germans fighting in the war and on the home front.<sup>15</sup>

Sigel became a martyr in the German and the American press in the summer of 1861 when the Copperhead *Missouri Republican* published a letter describing the battle of Wilson's Creek, in which Sigel was blamed for the Union disaster. Although Sigel was a Republican, even the Copperhead Democrats among the Germans hesitated to criticize him. Only Karl Heinzen, of the Republican German editors, refused to accept Sigel, who was not enough of an abolitionist, as the perfect symbol of German-Americanism. The Copperhead papers such as the Milwaukee *Banner* and the Cincinnati *Volksfreund* enlisted their support for Sigel by publicly denouncing what they believed were nativist attacks against the general's actions at Wilson's Creek. Oswald Ottendorfer, a Democrat and editor of the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, called for the creation of a "German Brigade" to be led by Sigel. German editor Louis Fieser of the Co-



lumbus *Westbote*, argued that if rank and file Germans seemed fit to fight on the battlefield, Sigel was surely fit to be a major general.<sup>16</sup>

In February 1862, German editors from Philadelphia to St. Louis made it clear to Know-Nothings that nearly 80,000 Germans had mustered into the Union Army. These editors urged their American counterparts to help Sigel obtain a promotion to major general by informing their readers of his accomplishments and his alleged mistreatment. Rudolph Lexow's New York German journal, *New Yorker Criminal-Zeitung und Belletristisches Journal*, lauded Sigel's battlefield exploits and military skill. Some editors went so far as to characterize Sigel as the "highest representative of Germanism." Of course, critics of Sigel such as Karl Heinzen objected to this disproportionate idolatry of one general, arguing that it overshadowed the widespread discrimination against rank and file Germans. Nonetheless, both German and American editors came to Sigel's rescue. Several German newspapers established a clear link between what was happening to Sigel in the army, and what German citizens had experienced before and during the war and saw both as signs of nativism. The editors of the St. Louis *Westliche Post* perceptively summed up the sentiment toward Sigel in the German communities throughout America saying that "a loyal population of four million citizens of German birth and extraction, in the north, will make the supposed sacrifice of Sigel their own grievance."<sup>17</sup>

The German community also pressured its political leaders to make Sigel's affair the affair of all Germans, soldiers and citizens. Sigel's first resignation prompted Illinois Congressman Isaac N. Arnold, leader of a pro-Sigel group in Congress, to send the president a petition in mid-January 1862 demanding that Sigel be made a major general. In a letter to George Schneider, an 1848 German refugee and once editor of the *Illinois Staatszeitung*, Arnold wrote that "I cannot fight 'mit Sigel' now but you may rely upon it, I shall fight for Sigel here."<sup>18</sup> In January 1864, when Sigel's friends were again petitioning the government to place him in a more significant command, Colonel William Boyd wrote Sigel in early January: "You have been treated like an outlaw because your rank and Germanness was never respected . . . foreigners will never be promoted . . . there is existing yet an unjust and infamous system of 'Dark Lanternism' even against foreigners."<sup>19</sup> Still, the Democratic German editors could not understand why Sigel remained loyal to the Lincoln administration after what he had suffered.

Fighting for Sigel on the home front was precisely the kind of solidarity that linked the Germans with the battlefield despite political differences. Germans in the East were unhappy that Sigel was without command and used the press and their political representatives to get Sigel transferred to the East. In April 1862, for example, the German press reported that Germans held more mass meetings in Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, Peoria (Illinois), and Carondelet (Missouri) on Sigel's behalf. The combined propaganda media of the German community influenced the Lincoln administration to transfer Sigel. When Sigel's transfer was approved in May, the general passed through Chicago en route to Washington, and was greeted at the railway station by hundreds of



admirers, who accompanied him to the balcony of the Fremont-House. Addressing the crowd in German, Sigel declared that he was neither a politician nor an orator, but that he would "fight for the Union." When he arrived in Pittsburgh, Sigel was again welcomed by a large demonstrative crowd, and when he reached Washington in late May, another crowd greeted him at Willard's Hotel. His speech to his Washington admirers, echoing his earlier words, was picked up by the German press and widely circulated.<sup>20</sup>

In early 1864, the German press began beating the drums again for Sigel as commanding general in West Virginia. The president sensed the extreme indignation in the German community over the Sigel affairs on both occasions. Whether or not he considered Sigel a worthy and valuable general, it was the influence of the German community that encouraged him to nominate Sigel for a major general's commission in 1862 and put him in command of the Department of West Virginia in 1864. Lincoln anticipated the political consequences, and considered the larger implications of Sigel's position in the German community. In Lincoln's own words the war was a "people's contest." Perhaps he considered that Sigel's case might have effects beyond the battlefield and politics to the German community and work place. A case of such magnitude might severely affect the enlistment of Germans needed for the front and workers needed at home. Though a few newspapers alleged that Sigel had a habit of making his first priority that of "cultivating his German-American constituency as a means of furthering his own political fortunes," they clearly considered him the instrument of the German community itself. Carl Schurz clearly recognized the connection between Sigel and the German community. In 1864, he referred to Lincoln's placing Sigel in command of the Department of West Virginia as a "very judicious measure in every respect."<sup>21</sup> It was this kind of favorable treatment of Sigel that gave Germans, according to Gustav Körner, a leader among Illinois Germans and close friend of Lincoln, "unbounded satisfaction."<sup>22</sup>

Sigel's return to the military and promotions were closely connected with the ability of German-Americans to mobilize and utilize their ethnicity effectively. The *Anzeiger des Westens* declared that because Sigel was the highest ranking military German, "he has to bear the cross of Germany as well."<sup>23</sup> The Louisville *Daily Journal* added that "his loss from the army would be deeply and universally regretted as a national loss for the German community as a whole."<sup>24</sup> Poet William Cullen Bryant recognized Sigel's impact among Germans saying "Sigel's favor among the German population is unanimous." He noted in May 1863 that on the rumor that Sigel would return to the army, "it was the common exclamation that [that] single step was equal to the addition of ten thousand men to the army."<sup>25</sup>

The opportunity to return to the army as commanding general in West Virginia turned out to be yet another disappointment for the Union when the Confederates defeated Sigel's forces at New Market, Virginia, on 15 May 1864. "Sigel must do penance even to the Germans," for this disaster, admitted a Demo-



cratic German paper. Again, German papers of both political parties felt that the nativists were unfair to have expected Sigel to halt the Confederates in the Shenandoah Valley that spring. Rudolph Lexow went so far as to claim that Sigel's performance at New Market would indeed rehabilitate the commander in the eyes of Americans. On the contrary, in June, Sigel was removed from command and placed in command of the defenses at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, some fifty-five miles west of Washington, DC.<sup>26</sup>

Sigel's great popularity among Germans throughout the war, though puzzling for military scholars, merely underscored the active participation by Germans, particularly the Forty-Eighters, in emphasizing their identity, and in the case of some urban Germans, group solidarity during the Civil War. Not all Germans attempted to stoke the fires of alienation and make the gap between Germans and Americans greater than it was during the war. Of course, for every German who eagerly enlisted to fight with Sigel, there was another who quietly or unobtrusively as possible avoided the draft and hired a substitute. The historical record is replete with examples of those who publicly and privately acknowledged their motivations to fight with Sigel and other German officers. One must assume, however, that there were Germans on farms and in cities who did not care much one way or another; ideology was not important for them. Such persons just wanted to be left alone to meet their familial responsibilities in a difficult world, and such views would not have been found in the press.

Still, the war provided Germans with new ways of expressing ethnic identity both as soldiers and as citizens, since it called for a renegotiation of Germanness with respect to the meaning and its relations to both Americans and other ethnic groups participating in the war. As Jörg Nagler argues, Germans actively stressed their *Deutschtum* and saw the war as an opportunity to reapply a familiar shield of identity to new circumstances. The solidarity produced by witnessing how enormous the involvement of German soldiers aided the Union also had ethnic connotations, since Germans attempted to unite their fragmented ethnic group in a political fight for the Union. Whether intentional or not, Sigel's attempts to enhance his military standing took the form of ethnic construction. Germans who felt unappreciated by Americans employed their Germanness to promote the interests of their leader and giving Americans an opportunity to appreciate them not simply because of what they did, but also because of who they were.<sup>27</sup>

During the war Sigel became increasingly aware of his position and stature among the Germans, in the army as well as at home. As a soldier and officer he recognized the ethnic significance of German participation in the war and viewed it as an opportunity to redefine the status of Germans. He became aware of the product the German press had created in him. Indeed some contemporaries came to believe as Murray M. Horowitz has argued that Sigel's first priority was "cultivating his German-American constituency as a means of furthering his own political fortunes." True or not, as an intellectual he realized that accep-



tance of Germans by Americans presumed that American society was open to ethnic contributions and to forming a cultural unity based on racial and ethnic plurality and moral superiority. He thought that "mutual assimilation" between Germans and Americans would lead to the more general case for ethnic difference as an acceptable and positive good. "America," he wrote, "was simply the new starting point in the history of the human family—the continuous life of different elements." In his letters to newspaper editors he urged Germans to fight for the Union and maintain an ideological parallel to Americans, while at the same time he encouraged them to fight collectively in companies, regiments and divisions. Oddly enough, the War Department belatedly sought to use his popularity with the Germans in the North. In 1863, he was sent to recruit volunteers among the German farmers, particularly in Pennsylvania. Speaking to a mass meeting of New York Germans while on leave in February 1863, he encouraged them not to forsake their bond to Germany, but "to sustain the government by all means."<sup>28</sup>

In urging his fellow Germans to support the Union, he spoke of a republicanism that held Americans together politically. He took steps towards a democratized policy of assimilation by insisting on immigrant participation in American institutions and traditions in lieu of drawing up fanciful Marxist-socialist agendas. In a post war essay on the American Republic, he argued that cultural differences were important in the evolution of American culture, but were irrelevant to the political state. Though he urged Germans to embrace American institutions, including political parties, he stressed their freedom to cultivate their own cultural ethnicity and still be Americans. Thus, Sigel believed, as the Civil War posed a threat to the political state, Germans would be seen as contributors to the preservation of the Union, and more acceptable to Americans.<sup>29</sup>

The eager participation by large numbers of Germans in the Union army laid the foundation for the construction of their ethnicity, since it undoubtedly magnified their place and role as German-Americans, not as Hessians, Bavarians, and Prussians. The number of German soldiers who fought in the Union army has been estimated at between 180,000-230,000, or roughly one-tenth of those who served in the Union army; 36,000 of these soldiers served in all-German units under German commanders. Though the majority of Germans did not fight in all German units, many still saw themselves first as Germans fighting to not only preserve the Union, but also for space and acceptability in the social mainstream of America.<sup>30</sup>

Many of the Germans who arrived in the North prior to the Civil War were of military age and without jobs and who believed that service life in the army meant full American citizenship, which was attractive since it was financially worthwhile to enlist. Obviously, Germans desired some degree of assimilation, but the German soldiers felt a strong sense of comradeship among themselves, despite religious, economic and political differences. Many Germans who arrived after the Revolution of 1848 were familiar with military life and sought



to advance their military interests. Most of the German units came from the same American cities and neighborhoods and shared the same values, experiences, and historical memories. These shared experiences, coupled with the unifying fervor to preserve the Union, served to strengthen unit cohesion. The *Turnvereine* were instrumental in recruiting and organizing Germans for the army. Many Germans insisted in forming their own companies and regiments and carried the individual flags of their homeland along with the Union flag into battle. Those Germans who wanted to segregate themselves from American soldiers, did so in part because they feared nativist hostility in the ranks, and in part because with their military skill and education, they had contempt for American military officers. Though German soldiers in the Union army wanted to fight to preserve the Union, many wanted to fight under a commander who understood their Germanness. Whatever the case, those who participated in the Union army contributed extensively to the North's victory, though they would ultimately be characterized as the "Damned Dutch."<sup>31</sup>

Because Civil War soldiers took into the war a strong sense of community, their war experiences would be linked to the communities from which they came. The war provided Germans an opportunity to mobilize and strengthen their community and sense of ethnicity by serving in the military. What transpired on the battlefield had direct implications for the German American community at home. Editors, politicians, and leaders of the *Turngemeinden* and *Arbeitervereine* attempted to capitalize on the discontent in the ranks by emphasizing the mistreatment and neglect of the German soldiers. As Bruce Catton argued, the fight to end slavery was simultaneously a fight by immigrant soldiers for social acceptability on the part of the Americans. On 19 July 1861 when Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas issued War Order No. 45, concerning enlistments, the foreign-born press protested. The German community came to perceive the third paragraph as banning the volunteering of men who did not speak English. At once Germans protested and questioned whether or not Sigel and others like him were any less valuable because they spoke broken English. Thus, from the onset the German-American community fought the "People's Contest" on two fronts.<sup>32</sup>

According to Bruce Levine, the North's German communities followed their countrymen in arms with "great and touchy pride." Indeed they did. The circulation of German newspapers increased dramatically at a time when the influx of Germans had decreased considerably. Oswald Ottendorfer's *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung's* readership, for example, increased because New York City Germans wanted to follow what was happening in the war. A special German weekly called *Das Archiv*, appeared in the summer of 1861, which provided information on German soldiers and units. Rudolph Lexow's *Criminal-Zeitung und Belletristisches Journal* provided the Germans of New York City a detailed study of the causes of the war and weekly reports of battles and commanders. Karl Heinzen's Boston *Pionier* also increased in readership. Through the press, Sigel emerged as a representative who could be seen in the republican ideal of the



citizen as a sort of Cincinnatus, who emerged from his peaceful pastimes to defend the republic and the constitution. Important questions such as why Sigel had not been given command of the West increased the Germans' demand for answers by the government. Newspaper accounts, soldiers' letters to relatives and friends, and word-of-mouth reports kept Germans at home informed about soldier life. These reports described the positive and negative side of soldiering and frequently, nativism. German soldiers and editors routinely, accused American superiors of treating them unfairly by denying them food and supplies, passing over them for promotion, and blaming them for problems typical of the entire army.<sup>33</sup>

Germans at home generally responded by reinforcing their support for the German troops. Local committees organized to press the claims of individual German soldiers and officers or to raise money to aid immigrant units that had been disgracefully neglected. German employers of New York City, for example, encouraged men to join the army and took care of their families while they were away. German soldiers and non-combatants also took up the pen and voiced their concerns and protest of the "alleged" unfair treatment of Sigel to newspaper editors. Efforts such as these won support from the broad social and political spectrum of Germans and emphasized their belief that Lincoln's original definition of the purpose of the war as defending constitutional union. Germans were in the forefront of the movement that opposed Lincoln's re-election from the Left because of his slow pace toward emancipation. At this time, Germans emphasized their idealism—a higher kind of moral virtue that outweighed the petty moralizing of their nativist and temperance detractors and Sabbath-enforcers. Germans also had a positive view of their own military talents, which contributed disciplined and courageous soldiers to the struggle. Whatever the case, German communities were linked to the battlefield, and participated in constructing or perhaps reconstructing their place in American social thought by emphasizing their *Deutschtum*.<sup>34</sup>

Because he was handicapped by being an ethnic political general and dwarfed by West Pointers, Sigel came to rely on politicians and the German community to come to his rescue when he felt abused or mistreated. But if he used politicians for his own purposes, he also viewed the war as an opportunity to enhance the place of the German-American community in American social thought. Perhaps like most Germans who fought in the Civil War, Sigel believed that while he was battling for the defense of the Union, he was also fighting for the positive acceptance of the German people. It was only natural, many of them contended, that Germans wanted to fight under German leadership. German-Americans had never before shared a common experience that might raise their ethnic consciousness. The Civil War provided that common experience that they could point to as testimony to their fitness as citizens of a republic and their willingness to champion republicanism and constitutionalism. The old particularism which had been a curse to Germany was succeeded by a collective



effort to defend American unity. In the process, Germans seized the opportunity to emphasize a sense of Germanness that transcended older and now archaic divisions of village, principality, dialect and religion.<sup>35</sup>

Though it may be difficult to understand Sigel's exalted status for what was largely an unsuccessful military role in the war, his role in establishing the link for Germans between the battlefield and the home front at least helps explain that status. If Germans were aware of Sigel's military shortcomings, they were blinded by his ability to elevate them into a collective awareness about their Germanness and their position in American society. He became a symbol irrespective of merit largely because he was more valuable to the German-American elite, editors and publicists as an ethnic symbol than a military commander. Because of his role in the Civil War, Sigel "elevated the German name and gained honors for it," an editor eulogized on Sigel's death. "[T]he ground of the Union was made fertile through German blood . . . [and] this America of the free and the brave will be for a great part the product of Germans like Franz Sigel."<sup>36</sup> If in fact the Civil War itself tells us much about the society waging it, then the link between community and battlefield for German Americans is an important one in raising the ethnic consciousness of Germans in the Union. As La Vern Rippley perceptively put it, "the Civil War probably did as much for the Germans in America as the Germans in America did for the Union."<sup>37</sup>

Florida Atlantic University  
Boca Raton, Florida

### Acknowledgments

I wish to acknowledge and thank Roger Daniels who helped me conceptualize this essay while we both were in Germany on Fulbright fellowships. The anonymous readers on the editorial board of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* are also to be commended for helping me revise the article, forcing me to rethink some of my conclusions.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup>Kathleen Neils Conzen, "The Paradox of German-American Assimilation," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 16 (1981): 153-60; Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952), 241; Fred Tangwell, "Immigrants in the Civil War: Some American Reactions" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1962); see also Albert Faust, *The German Element in the United States* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1909); Henry Pratt Fairchild, *Immigration: A World Movement and Its American Significance* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1918); Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939); and John A. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German-America* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1940). This essay does not assume that widespread coverage in the ethnic press represents widespread public sentiment, nor does it assume that immigrant leaders represent sentiments of the entire ethnic group. Finally, it does not assume a unanimity of opinion within the German community as the works of Stanley Nadel, Kathleen Neils Conzen, Jörg Nagler, and Bruce Levine have so effectively demonstrated in their published works.



<sup>2</sup>La Vern Rippley, *The German-Americans* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1976), 70; on the emphasis of their ethnicity, "*Deutschtum*," see for example Jörg Nagler, "The Lincoln Frémont Debate and the Forty-Eighters," in Charlotte L. Brancaforte, ed., *The German Forty-Eighters in the United States* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 157. In an attempt to bring the Civil War into its proper social context, social historians in the past decade have sought to link home front and battlefield to emphasize the significance of communities at war. See, for example, Phillip Shaw Paludan, "*A People's Contest*": *The Union and the Civil War* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988); and William L. Burton, *Melting Pot Soldiers: The Union's Ethnic Regiments* (Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press, 1988).

<sup>3</sup>On Sigel's career see Stephen D. Engle, *Yankee Dutchman: The Life of Franz Sigel* (Fayetteville, AR: The University of Arkansas Press, 1993) and on Schurz see Hans L. Trefousse, *Carl Schurz: A Biography* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1982); for a brief overview of a German who distinguished himself militarily see Earl J. Hess, "Osterhaus in Missouri: A Study in German-American Loyalty," *Missouri Historical Review* 77 (1984): 144-67. For a good overview of American ethnicity see, for example, David Steven Cohen, "Reflections on American Ethnicity," *New York History* 72 (July 1991): 319-36; on Germans and ethnicity see Kathleen Neils Conzen, "German Americans and the Invention of Ethnicity," in *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred Year History*, ed. Frank Trommler and Frank McVeigh (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985.), 132-47.

In an article published in the *Journal of American Ethnic History* 12 (Fall 1992): 3-41 entitled "The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the U.S.A." authors Kathleen Neils Conzen, David A. Gerber, Ewa Morawska, George E. Pozzetta, and Rudolph J. Vecoli argue that "ethnicity is a process of construction or invention which incorporates, adapts, and amplifies preexisting communal solidarities, cultural attributes, and historical memories" (4-5). Seen in this light Germans during the 1850s were busy inventing or rather constructing their ethnicity in America as evidenced by the active participation in the work place, community, education and politics to foster a sense of group identity. Though each contingent of German newcomers had to negotiate its particular place in the American social order, most Germans successfully adapted to their new surroundings. Still, according to Roger Daniels in *Coming to America* (New York: Harper Collins, 1990), many aspects of high German culture flourished in America "since many of the immigrants who came before the Civil War were middle-class largely urban types, many of them products of German gymnasiums and universities, who provided leadership and the stimulus for culture" (163). "German Americans developed a great deal of cultural arrogance about the superiority of their culture over and against general American or Yankee culture which of course helped produce considerable tensions between Germans and Americans" (163).

During the nineteenth century Germans were active participants in maintaining their group identity and solidarity. An expression of this ethnic identity could be seen even before the Civil War as Germans developed into America's first of the great urban foreign-language communities that mushroomed in American cities by the end of the nineteenth century. The works of Stanley Nadel, David Gerber, Bruce Levine, James Bergquist, and Kathleen Neils Conzen focusing on the development of the German-American community during the mid-nineteenth century, all argue, for example, that Germans contributed significantly to the development of the urban environment during this period. Thus, even during a period of profound change for Americans, Germans managed to permeate society without being stripped entirely of their cultural norms.

<sup>4</sup>On Sigel's role in the German Revolution of 1848 see, for example, Charles W. Dahlinger, *The German Revolution of 1849* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1903); Franz Sigel, *Denkwürdigkeiten des Generals Franz Sigel aus den Jahren 1848 und 1849* (Mannheim: Verlag von J. Bensheimer, 1902); and Veit Valentin, *1848: Chapters of German History* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1965); on the Forty-Eighters see Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*; and Adolf E. Zucker, ed., *The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950).

<sup>5</sup>New York Historical Society, New York City [hereinafter cited as NYHS], Records of the 5th New York Militia, 1854-56; see also Gustav Scholar Collection, Records of the New York City Turnverein, Letters and Journals, July 1855; on Sigel's political views see Franz Sigel Papers, "Autobiographical," Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, OH [hereinafter cited as WRHS, Franz Sigel Papers, "Autobiographical"]; Alfred F. Kierschner, "New York Turn-Verein 100th Anniver-



sary," *American German Review* 16 (August 1950): 8-10; Robert Wild, "Chapters in the History of the Turners," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 9 (December 1925): 131; Engle, "Yankee Dutchman: The Early Life of Franz Sigel," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 26 (1991): 43-62;

<sup>6</sup>For a short sketch of Sigel's Civil War career see Lawrence E. Griffen, "The Strange Story of Major General Franz Sigel: Leader and Retreater," *Missouri Historical Review* 84 (July 1990): 404-27. For a more in-depth analysis of his military role in each of the battles he fought see for example Hans Christian Adamson, *Rebellion in Missouri* (New York: Chilton, Co., 1961) for the Battle of Wilson's Creek; Engle, "Franz Sigel at Pea Ridge," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 50 (Autumn 1991): 249-70; and William L. Shea and Earl J. Hess, *Pea Ridge: Civil War Campaign in the West* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992) for the Battle of Pea Ridge; and William C. Davis, *The Battle of New Market* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., 1975) for the Battle of New Market.

<sup>7</sup>Trefousse, *Carl Schurz: A Biography*, 124.

<sup>8</sup>*St. Louis Daily Missouri Democrat*, 11 January 1862; Franz Schilling to Sigel, 19 June 1861, Sigel Papers, NYHS; James B. Taylor to Sigel, 25 September 1861, Sigel Papers, NYHS; James S. Lapham, "The German-Americans of New York City, 1860-1890" (Ph.D. diss., St. John's University, 1977), 205; John C. Bodger, Jr., "The Immigrant Press and the Union Army" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1951), 171; Pittsburgh *Freibetsfreund*, 7 February 1862; on Sigel's popularity see for example the *Daily Missouri Democrat*, 30 April 1861; *New York Daily Tribune*, 24 December 1861; *Chicago Tribune*, 21 November 1861; George A. Townsend, *Campaigns of a Non-Combatant During the War* (New York: Blelock and Co., 1866), 232-33; Adamson, *Rebellion in Missouri*, 97-98; Zucker, *The Forty-Eighters*, 186-88; Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), 180; Wilhelm Kaufmann, *Die Deutschen im amerikanischen Bürgerkriege (Sezessionskrieg, 1861-1865)* (Munich: Druck und Verlag von R. Oldenbourg, 1911), 451-66. The very phrase "I fights mit Sigel" served as a passport for Germans entering the military and it originated partly out of the myth that Sigel had fought bravely against the Prussians and had come close to defeating a much superior army. Accounts of his exploits during the revolution could be found in the *Deutsche Schnellpost* and the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*; see, for example, the issues for 10 March; 11 April; 20, 29 May; 15, 29 July 1848; 15 July 1849; and 26 March 1850.

<sup>9</sup>Earl J. Hess, "Sigel's Resignation: A Study in German Americans and the Civil War," *Civil War History* 26 (1980): 5-17; *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1880-1900), series 1, vol. 7:937 and vol. 8:502, 828-29 [hereinafter cited as O.R.]; Wilhelm Kaufmann, "Sigel und Halleck," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* 10 (October 1910): 210-16; *Chicago Tribune*, 21 November 1861; *New York Daily Tribune*, 18, 20, 28 January 1862.

<sup>10</sup>O.R., series 1, vol. 7:937; vol. 8:828-29; Roy Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, NJ: 1953-55), 3:303, 5:101; *New York Tribune*, 23 January 1862; *Anzeiger des Westens*, 13 January 1862; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 11, 12 January 1862; *New York Times*, 17 January 1862; *New York Daily Tribune*, 18, 20, 28 January 1862.

<sup>11</sup>O.R., series 1, vol. 25, part 2:71; Basler, *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 6:93; Kaufmann, "Sigel und Halleck," 210-16.

<sup>12</sup>O.R., series 1, vol. 25, part 2:71, vol. 27, part 3:563; Basler, *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 6:93; National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, General's Report of Service, R.G. 94, Sigel's Report of Service [hereinafter cited as Sigel's Report of Service]; WRHS, Sigel Papers, Military Record; NYHS, Sigel Papers, Military Record; *New York Times*, 2 March; 12 April 1863; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 17 March; 2 April 1863; 24 February 1864; *Philadelphia Freie Presse*, 18 June 1863.

<sup>13</sup>Adam Klippet to Lyman Trumbull, 13 January 1862, Lyman Trumbull Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; NYHS, Sigel Papers, Nicholas Greusel to Sigel, 1 January 1862; *Westliche Post*, 15 January 1862; *Louisville Daily Journal*, 16 January 1862; *New York Times*, 12, 17, 27 January 1862; *New York Daily Tribune*, 18, 20, 28 January 1862; *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, 12, 15 January 1862; *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, 23 December 1861.

<sup>14</sup>Bodger, "The Immigrant Press and the Union Army," 54-57, 171-75; see, for example, *Belleviller-Zeitung*, 9, 16 January 1862; *Columbus Westbote*, 23 January 1862; Pittsburgh *Freibetsfreund*, 31 January 1862.



<sup>15</sup> Bodger, "The Immigrant Press and the Union Army," 171-75; Boston *Pionier*, 16, 23 January 1862; *Belleviller-Zeitung*, 9, 16 January 1862; Pittsburgh *Freiheitsfreund*, 31 January 1862; James S. Pula, "The Sigel Regiment" *German-American Studies* 8 (1974): 27-52; see also Pula, *The Sigel Regiment: A History of the 26th Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, 1862-1865* (Campbell, CA: Savas Publishing Company, 1998), 16-36.

<sup>16</sup> Bodger, "The Immigrant Press and the Union Army," 54-57, 172-75; St. Louis *Anzeiger des Westens*, 28 August 1861; 12 February 1862; Milwaukee *Banner*, 4 September 1861; Boston *Pionier*, 16, 23 January 1862; Columbus *Westbote*, 30 January 1862; *New Yorker Criminal-Zeitung und Belletristisches Journal*, 28 March 1862.

<sup>17</sup> *Westliche Post*, 15 January 1862; *Louisville Daily Journal*, 9, 16 January 1862; *New York Times*, 27 January 1862; 2 March 1863; *St. Louis Missouri Daily Democrat*, 11 January 1862; *Chicago Tribune*, 11 January 1862; *The Missouri Republican*, 14 January 1862; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 11 January 1862; Adam Klippet to Lyman Trumbull, 13 January 1862, Lyman Trumbull Papers; Cincinnati *Daily Commercial*, 23 December 1861; 9 October 1862; Cincinnati *Daily Enquirer*, 3 December 1861; 12, 15 January 1862; Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, 8 January 1862; Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 238-39; Hess, "Sigel's Resignation," *Civil War History*, 10-11; Bodger, "The Immigrant Press and the Union Army," 54-57.

<sup>18</sup> Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, IL, George Schneider Collection, Isaac Arnold to Schneider, 16 January 1862; see also Adam Klippet to Lyman Trumbull, 13 January 1862, Trumbull Papers.

<sup>19</sup> WRHS, Sigel Papers, Miscellaneous Letters and Diaries, letter from Colonel William Boyd to Sigel, 1 January 1864.

<sup>20</sup> Bodger, "The Immigrant Press and the Union Army," 171-75; Chicago *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*, 8-10 April; 31 May 1862; *Chicago Times*, 26 May 1862.

<sup>21</sup> Library of Congress, Washington, DC, Manuscript Division, Robert Todd Collection, letter from Carl Schurz to Lincoln, 13 March 1864; Basler, *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 5:101, 7:129; O.R., series I, vol. 8:826-27; Paludan, "A People's Contest", 10; Hess, "Sigel's Resignation," 5-17. A typical example of editorial criticism of Sigel for using the German community to come to his rescue could be found in the *Philadelphia Gazette*, 4 February 1862.

<sup>22</sup> Basler, *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 5:101.

<sup>23</sup> *Anzeiger des Westens*, 18 December 1861; Steven Rowan, *Germans for a Free Missouri: Translations from the St. Louis Radical Press, 1847-1862* (Columbia: University of Missouri press, 1983), 296-98.

<sup>24</sup> *Louisville Daily Journal*, 9 January 1862; see also Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, 8 January 1862; Cincinnati *Daily Commercial*, 23 December 1861; 9 October 1862; Cincinnati *Daily Enquirer*, 3 December 1861; 12, 15 January 1862.

<sup>25</sup> Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Robert Todd Collection, William Cullen Bryant to Lincoln, 11 May 1863; Basler, *Collected Works of Lincoln*, 6:216.

<sup>26</sup> Bodger, "The Immigrant Press and the Union Army," 58-59, 351-54; Columbus *Westbote*, 26 May 1864; *New Yorker Criminal-Zeitung und Belletristisches Journal*, 27 May 1864.

<sup>27</sup> Conzen, "German-Americans and the Invention of Ethnicity," *America and the Germans*, 133-39; Conzen, et al., "The Invention of Ethnicity," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 4-17; Hess, "Sigel's Resignation," *Civil War History*, 10-17; Brancaforte, ed., *The German Forty-Eighters*, 158. The fact that Sigel remained in command as long as he did and in the capacity that he did had something to do with his military record, but more to do from his influence in the German community has a whole. He stayed in command longer than could be expected from a similar native-born commander with as much success, because the Republican administration sought continued support from Germans in the ranks and in the work place. This alone suggests that the German community was quite influential, and apparently, used this influence quite effectively. It is my contention that this influence was a result in large measure from the link between the battlefield and the home front which forced Germans to emphasize their *Deutschtum* and in the process heightened their awareness about their ethnicity as something to be preserved.

<sup>28</sup> Mary Elizabeth McMorro, "The Nineteenth Century German Political Immigrant and the Construction of American Culture and Thought" (Ph.D., diss., New School for Social Research, 1982), 105-23; Franz Sigel, "The American Republic," *Atlas Essays* (1878): 61-77; see also WRHS,

Sigel Papers, Miscellaneous Journals and Diaries, NYHS, Sigel Papers, Miscellaneous Journals and Diaries; *New York Times*, 2, 3 March; 3 April 1863; see also Conzen, et al., "The Invention of Ethnicity," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 4-17; Murray M. Horowitz, "Ethnicity and Command: The Civil War Experience," *Military Affairs* 42 (December 1978): 185; Bodger, "The Immigrant Press and the Union Army," 58-59; Sigel's views regarding assimilation and ethnicity are briefly stated in his postwar work entitled "The American Republic." Though this work is shorter than the original draft of the manuscript it espouses essentially the same view that American culture was the product of differing ethnic elements, thus the differences within America were also its strengths.

<sup>29</sup> McMorrow, "The Nineteenth Century German Political Immigrant and the Construction of American Culture and Thought," 105-23; Sigel, "The American Republic," 61-77.

<sup>30</sup> The most definitive work on the German contribution to the Union army can be found in Lonn, *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy*, 52-53, 101-15, 146-47, 487-96, 576-79.

<sup>31</sup> Lapham, "German-Americans of New York City," 201-7; Paludan, "A People's Contest," 20-22, 280-85; Rippley, *The German Americans*, 58-71; Bruce Levine, *The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 256; Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 222; see also Cincinnati *Daily Enquirer*, 3 December 1861; 12, 15 January 1862; Cincinnati *Daily Commercial*, 23 December 1861; 9 October 1862; see also Audrey L. Olson, *St. Louis Germans, 1850-1920: The Nature of an Immigrant Community and Its Relations to the Assimilation Process* (New York: Arno Press, 1980).

<sup>32</sup> Paludan, "A People's Contest," 10-12; Rippley, *The German Americans*, 65; Bruce Catton, *The Glory Road* (New York: Doubleday, 1952), 193.

<sup>33</sup> Lapham, "The German-Americans of New York City, 1860-1890," 205-8; *New Yorker Criminal-Zeitung und Belletristisches Journal*, 7 June 1861; Levine, *The Spirit of 1848*, 257-630.

<sup>34</sup> Stanley Nadel, "The Forty-Eighters and the Politics of Class in New York City," in Brancaforte, ed., *The German Forty-Eighters*, 60; Levine, *The Spirit of 1848*, 257-63; Nadel, *Little Germany: Ethnicity, Religion, and Class in New York City, 1845-80* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 149; Lapham, "German-Americans of New York City," 202-6, 217-20; Rippley, *The German Americans*, 61-71; Kevin J. Weddle, "Ethnic Discrimination in Minnesota Volunteer Regiments During the Civil War," *Civil War History* 35 (September 1989): 239-59. In Chicago, for example, the *Turnverein* and *Arbeiterverein* organized benefits in behalf of Friedrich Hecker's "Hecker Regiment"; see also the Michigan *Staats Zeitung*, 4 November 1861, as cited in Cincinnati *Daily Enquirer*, 10 November 1861; *New Yorker Criminal-Zeitung und Belletristisches Journal*, 7 June 1861.

<sup>35</sup> Lonn, *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy*, 658-59; Bodger, "The Immigrant Press and the Union Army," 54-58, 171-75; Lapham, "The German-Americans of New York City, 1860-1890," 205-8.

<sup>36</sup> *Northside News*, 30 August 1902, NYHS, Sigel Papers, newspaper clippings.

<sup>37</sup> Rippley, *The German Americans*, 70; Lonn, *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy*, 658-59; Kaufmann, *Die Deutschen im amerikanischen Bürgerkriege*, 449-66.





Werner H. Steger

### **German Immigrants, the Revolution of 1848, and the Politics of Liberalism in Antebellum Richmond**

In 1857, the German community in Richmond organized a festival in honor of Major General Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben, a German hero of the American Revolution. The festival should have served a dual purpose for the German community in Richmond: in a time when many native-born Americans in the United States, associated with the nativist American Party, doubted the loyalty and reliability of the foreign newcomers, Richmond Germans sought to link the heritage of their country to the American Revolution.<sup>1</sup> In addition the organizers used the festival to strengthen the links of the city's German community with the traditions of Jacksonian Democracy.

The keynote speaker for the first von Steuben festival was Oswald Heinrich, a refugee from the 1848 uprisings in Germany. In his speech he extolled both patriotism and industry of the German element in the city. He admonished his American listeners that "the industry of the Germans . . . transformed the districts of our new fatherland into blooming fields. And do not the Germans gather around the floating banners of that party, which makes the principles of the founders of the republic our own, and protects freedom and equality against attacks and monopolies?"<sup>2</sup> On the surface, it should not come as a surprise that a refugee of a revolution fought for, among other things, individual liberties, should throw his lot in with the Democratic Party in the United States. However, since the Democratic Party not only claimed the heritage of Jacksonian Democracy but also provided the major platform for the defense of slavery and Southern nationalism at the time, the fact that Heinrich was a Forty-Eighter merits more attention. As we will see, Heinrich's career is not entirely untypical for many German Richmonders who dabbled in radical politics in Germany and subsequently found a new political home in the Jacksonian wing of the Democratic Party.<sup>3</sup>

Traditionally historians explain the alliance between antebellum German immigrants and the Democratic Party with the latter's active opposition to the nativism of the Whig and later American Party. This, however, was not the case in Richmond. Both parties had openly supported and encouraged immigration, and consequently, nativism played only a minor role in the city's politics.<sup>4</sup> For example, mayor Joseph P. Mayo, a Know Nothing of Irish lineage, campaigned before Irish immigrants for reelection in 1855 by castigating the Know-Nothings. In the same way Irishmen elected Thomas Wynne, who ran on the Know-Nothing ticket, as superintendent of the gasworks in the same year.<sup>5</sup> Clearly, in the case of Richmond an alternative explanatory framework needs to be found to explain the alliance between the city's Democrats and its German immigrant allies.

This essay will argue that the positions and respect these Germans gained and enjoyed in Richmond's social and civic life suggest a higher level of tolerance towards political liberals exhibited by Southern authorities during the sectional crisis than previously assumed. The existence, however brief, of a radical democratic political organization in the city and the enduring presence of the socialist *Turnverein* throughout the antebellum and Civil War period indicates that a Southern political culture, which became more and more autocratic in terms of its defense of slavery, could provide a hospitable climate for liberals and democrats as long as the latter refrained from questioning the legitimacy of the peculiar institution.<sup>6</sup>

Indeed, it seemed that the political establishment in Richmond had come to terms with German immigrants steeped in the liberal tradition of the revolutionary events of 1848. Vice versa, German immigrants must have found (or forced themselves to find) a referential framework in the republican ideology of the antebellum, Southern wing of the Democratic Party which made the institution of slavery less offensive to or even compatible with their own liberal tradition.<sup>7</sup>

Throughout the antebellum period, Richmond Democrats appealed to aspects of republicanism that would not challenge the legitimacy of the institution of slavery, and yet correspond to and promise amelioration of the Germans' experience of tyrannical subjugation in their homeland. The Democrats' anti-tariff policies and their firm opposition to financial monopolies reverberated among Germans who had emigrated before 1848, and whose countrymen struggled for tariff-free zones and a more liberal economy at home. Having their own quest for an independent and unified Germany in mind, many German immigrants could identify with the rising sentiments of Southern nationalism that stressed such rights as national sovereignty and self-determination.<sup>8</sup>

The political philosophy of the Democratic Party in Richmond intersected with those other Forty-Eighters who also considered themselves "liberals" and "radicals," but who tried to erect a political system "between the anachronisms of autocracy and the horrors of revolution." They aspired to political participation through which they could "exercise a salutary restraint on the ruler with-



out becoming subservient to the lower classes."<sup>9</sup> These liberals did not want to substitute the tyranny of princes with what they considered an unchecked tyranny of the masses, a political outlook eminently compatible with the ideology of Southern Democrats.

Germans who would constitute the core of Richmond's antebellum German community came to the city in the late 1830s and complemented a small number of German merchants associated with one of the large tobacco wholesale houses in northern Germany.<sup>10</sup> In 1835, the James River and Kanawha Canal Company contracted for German and Irish workers to work on a canal project to connect the James with the Ohio River, a project that never came to full fruition. The work conditions on the canal were so hazardous, however, that most imported laborers departed the project soon after it started. After a strike for higher wages and a devastating death toll among mostly Irish hands, the majority of Germans among the canal work force panicked and left the canal site, many of them seeking their fortune in Richmond.<sup>11</sup>

Over the next twenty-five years German immigrants created a cohesive ethnic community. Richmond remained a popular location to settle down for German immigrants as the German-born population in the city rose proportionally faster than the native white population. By 1860 almost 25 percent of the white population in Richmond was foreign born, half of them German.<sup>12</sup>

Veterans of canal construction were instrumental in creating the first religious and relief organizations for Germans in Richmond. Johann Lange founded the *Deutsche Krankengesellschaft* (German Society for the Relief of the Sick) in 1841, a relief society which disbursed more than \$23,000 in benefits between 1841 and 1891 to its members. Canal workers were also instrumental in organizing the first German Lutheran church in 1843. A second Lutheran church, a Jewish Synagogue and a Catholic church soon followed.<sup>13</sup>

Germans did everything to create their own ethnic enclave in the city. By 1853, the German neighborhoods were sprinkled with beer halls and beer gardens, so much so that Samuel Mordecai, an astute observer of Richmond affairs in the early 1850s, estimated that "the number of Saloons . . . is barely exceeded by that of clothing shops, kept also by Germans." Johann Lange was so taken by the business prospects of opening a saloon that he tore down the walls of his shoe shop, put up some tables and chairs, and opened his beer hall "Harmonia."<sup>14</sup>

Beer halls and saloons also provided the infrastructure for social, and later, political organizations.<sup>15</sup> The *Socialer Turnverein*, a gymnastics club with overtly left wing political sympathies, and the singing society "Gesang-Verein Virginia" found their homes in Steinlein's Monticello Hall and August Schad's beer hall. Louis Rueger, August Schad, and Johann Lange, all saloon owners at the time, were also instrumental in organizing a German militia unit, the German Rifles, in March 1850.<sup>16</sup> By forming an ethnic militia company for the defense of the city, Germans showed both pride in their heritage and loyalty to the larger Richmond community.

Finally the successful publication of a German language newspaper rounded off community building by Richmond Germans. After some fruitless attempts to publish a German-language newspaper in the city, Burghardt Hassel, a printer and immigrant from Hesse, set up shop in Richmond and on 1 June 1853, the *Richmond Anzeiger* appeared for the first time. The *Anzeiger* strongly leaned towards the local Democratic Party, and, in alliance with the Democratic *Richmond Enquirer*, would be instrumental in veering the German community towards support of secession in 1861.<sup>17</sup>

By the late 1840s and early 1850s, German immigrants constituted a visible presence in Richmond's cityscape. City chronicler Mordecai told of neighborhoods where "more German names than any other appear over the doors . . . and to judge by the conversations heard in the streets, one might be at a loss to know whether German or English is the language of the country."<sup>18</sup> Thus, by the time word came of the spring uprisings in Germany in 1848, Richmond Germans were well underway to build a socially stratified ethnic community which kept a delicate balance between the preservation of their inherited culture and the building of bridges to Richmond's social and political establishment.

The events of March 1848 in France provoked an exuberant reaction among native Germans and Democrats in Richmond. The editors of the *Richmond Enquirer* admired the "calm, but decisive Revolution in France," that is "destined to work mighty moral effects upon the whole world . . . They are a reflex of the genial influences of our own liberal institutions."<sup>19</sup> Thus the editors were quick to establish a causal link between the American revolutionary heritage and the events transpiring in Europe.

Establishing the principles of the American Revolution as a defining influence on revolutionary movements abroad is nothing new in American history. From the American Revolution on, many Americans were "imbued with an unqualified faith in the doctrine of progress" and assumed that "the American example would automatically and imperceptibly conquer Europe."<sup>20</sup> Indeed, as early as 1842, another Richmond publication, the *Southern Literary Messenger*, foresaw a republican uprising in Europe based on the American model. The editors asserted that the European monarchies have been undermined "by the influence and example of self-government exhibited by the United States," and it would be only a matter of time until these old institutions would receive the "coming shock to crumble into ruin."<sup>21</sup>

Yet, the Democratic editors, when addressing matters concerning the revolutions in Europe, shrewdly singled out the issues of free trade and individual opportunity as the corner stones of their and the Europeans' republican vision; and the party that advocated free trade and by implication economic opportunity was the Southern Democratic Party. Since a Democrat was in the White House at the time, the editors of the *Enquirer* argued that the revolution in Europe might have occurred a century later "than would have been the case if Mr. Clay had been elected over Mr. Polk." They then went on to quote Schiller



who once wrote that "where the ship sails, the wide world's goods sails with her.' Commerce and political freedom are handmaidens, ever vigilant to seeking and administering to suffering humanity." It also helped that the revolution in France started on 22 February, the birthday of another revered Virginian native, George Washington.<sup>22</sup>

For Democrats, mentioning Schiller and Polk in one paragraph was not as absurd as it might seem to us today. The opening of borders and tariff-free exchange of goods also meant exchange of ideas, in this case republican ideas. Thus, according to the editors of the *Enquirer*, Polk's expansionist and free trade policies served as an inspiration for European revolutionaries. At the heart of this entrepreneurial republicanism was the unconditional protection of personal property and freedom of movement. For Southerners, however, talk of protection of personal property always served as a thinly veiled euphemism for the protection of slavery. Therefore, Southern Democrats regarded the expansion of slavery into new territories as a natural right well within the American traditions of republicanism and Manifest Destiny.

The European uprisings came on the heels of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo which formally ended America's war with Mexico and resulted in the acquisition of California and New Mexico. For President Polk as well as such literary figures as Walt Whitman and James Fenimore Cooper, America's war with Mexico seemed part of a worldwide mission to extend democratic ideals beyond her borders, and her triumph confirmation of the superiority of democratic institutions.<sup>23</sup> Polk's dispatch to the delegates of Germany's first parliament in Frankfurt, and his decision, as the world's sole government, to extend diplomatic recognition to the short-lived German republic, illustrates his belief that the revolutions in Europe were part of a global process of democratization.<sup>24</sup>

Southerners in general, and Virginians in particular, were just as enthusiastic about German liberalism's impending triumph as Northerners; and none more so than Ambrose Dudley Mann. A native of Hanover County and a West Point graduate, Mann was the United States agent to Bremen from 1842 to 1846, when he was given special powers by the Polk administration to negotiate commercial treaties with all German states except Prussia. When the German parliament assembled in Frankfurt, he became a special agent for the Polk administration to keep a "vigilant eye . . . on our interest during the formation of this union." While in Frankfurt, Mann tried to advise the Frankfurt assembly on the American system of government, and, at one point, had a draft of a potential German constitution printed and presented to the German parliament.<sup>25</sup>

The German community in Richmond held views similar to Mann's and greeted news of the revolution with enthusiasm. To celebrate the occasion, Germans planned an international parade in honor of the events in Europe. Delegates of each nationality carried their national standards, and speeches were given in several languages during a mass meeting at the First African Baptist church. Every German was expected to procure a rosette of the national colors



of black, red, and gold. The procession's main themes were national German unity and international solidarity with the revolutions in Europe. There prevailed a sense among Richmond Germans that Germans now had achieved in their homeland what Americans did seventy years earlier, namely to forge a nation and state based on republican principles.<sup>26</sup>

Support for the revolutions in Europe was not consigned to Democrats and Germans in Richmond alone. On 15 April, leading citizens, including the mayor, and the publisher of the Whiggish *Richmond Dispatch* called a public meeting in honor of the events of the spring of 1848. The purpose of the meeting was to organize a mass meeting and pass resolutions of sympathy for the republicans in France and Germany.<sup>27</sup> Although the committee to plan the mass meeting was selected, nothing ever came of it. Probably by the time the mass meeting was to take place the revolution in Europe had taken a turn with which the organizers of the meeting could hardly have sympathized.

By July 1848, the coverage of the revolution in the Richmond press had changed considerably. The *Enquirer* now reported on "serious outrages by the peasantry, six thousand of whom have formed a band and commenced the work of conflagration, pillage, and assassination." The provisional government in France was now "tyrannical."<sup>28</sup> As late as 1852 the *Dispatch* would bemoan a revolution entirely gone sour, blaming the failure on the "pretended Republicans of France . . . . Never was a glorious cause ruined so completely, by a set of babbling idiots and impractical scoundrels." Real republicans would have "established a Republican government, which should protect life and liberty." Richmonders felt that little was left of the "calm and decisive" revolution of March 1848, and for them, the "refreshing breeze of liberty from the banks of the Seine" had turned into a mobocratic stench.<sup>29</sup>

For Southerners developments in Europe were proof that mass democracy without constitutional guarantees was fatal to any republic. Additionally, the image of bands of peasants roaming through Europe was a reminder of a class of people living amongst them which periodically rose in violent upheavals. Undoubtedly, incipient fear of slave rebellions at home induced sympathy for a beleaguered aristocracy whose political demise many Richmonders had celebrated only a few months earlier. The republicanism advocated by Southern Democrats was one that linked the free movement of property and ideas with republican virtue, not unrestricted access to the body politic without constitutional guarantees of protection from abuses.

Richmonders reflected this attitude in their reception and treatment of political refugees of different political convictions. Refugees like Oswald Heinrich or Wilhelm Flegenheimer were warmly received in Richmond and inhabited prominent positions in the city's civic and social life. Heinrich, who came to Richmond in the early 1850s after brief stints in Tennessee and the Carolinas, was a veteran from the uprisings in his native Dresden. Once in Richmond he mainly supported himself as a teacher. One of the recent historians of Virginia's German community makes only fleeting comment that Heinrich, although a



Forty-Eighter, did not "indulge in radical politics." During the Civil War Heinrich held a position in the Confederate Mining Office. In postwar Virginia he held the position of superintendent of the lead works of Austinville and the Midlothian Coal Mines in Chesterfield County.<sup>30</sup>

Wilhelm Flegenheimer from Leutershausen in Baden came to Richmond in November 1851 as a twenty-year-old. As a youth Flegenheimer rebelled against his father, an ultra-orthodox Jew, who wanted Wilhelm to become a rabbi. Wilhelm took up a clerkship instead and later started an apprenticeship with a grocer. When the revolution came he served briefly under Franz Sigel and was eventually taken prisoner by the Thirty-Eighth Prussian Regiment after the Battle of Großsachsen. Following an intervention by one of his old lycée teachers, the Prussian army released him and he returned home. Shortly thereafter he left Baden for the United States.<sup>31</sup>

Although he was not persecuted thereafter Flegenheimer apparently decided to leave Baden for political reasons. When a friend asked him to come to France with him to open a business of their own he rejected the offer. According to his autobiographical reflections, he was "bent on the idea of going to a free country, which accorded with my notions of democracy and government by the people instead of monarchs."<sup>32</sup> Once in Richmond, he traveled throughout the South, making a living teaching penmanship and writing cards before returning to Richmond in 1859. In 1861 he was hired to transcribe Virginia's Ordinance of Secession. The admirable performance of the task brought him accolades from Richmond's secessionist press and was considered proof for his Southern patriotism.<sup>33</sup>

Flegenheimer's career and standing in Richmond's community stood in sharp contrast to that of Karl Steinmetz, a fellow Badener and refugee from the revolution. He came to Richmond in 1850 and founded the "Freie Gemeinde," a radical social democratic association advocating universal suffrage, the abolition of the presidency, the abolition of the death penalty, and the eight-hour day. Most threatening, however, was the organization's support of the abolitionist writings of Kentuckian Cassius Clay.<sup>34</sup>

The size of the organization's membership is not entirely clear as the numbers cited by Richmond's newspapers were notoriously unreliable and influenced by each paper's political agenda. In an attempt to diminish the importance of the group, the editors of the *Richmond Enquirer* estimated the membership to be around twenty-five. By contrast, the nativist press in Richmond, led by the *Whig* and the *Penny Press*, in their attempt to discredit the political standing of the entire German community in Richmond, gave the impression that a majority of Germans belonged to the association.<sup>35</sup> In any case, the Richmond Freie Gemeinde never appealed to a majority of Germans and never played more than a brief and marginal role in Richmond's political life. More traditional elements of the city's German community eventually chased Steinmetz out of town. Steinmetz moved on to Cincinnati where he died in 1852.<sup>36</sup>

However brief and marginal the existence of the Freie Gemeinde may appear, there are some indications that the Gemeinde had ties to the established German community in the city as well as to the Democratic Party. The Gemeinde held their meetings in Steinlein's Monticello Hall, and there is some evidence that Simon Steinlein, the proprietor of Richmond's Monticello Hotel, as well as some brewers in the city were affiliated with the organization.<sup>37</sup> For a brief period of time, the Gemeinde was also associated with the German Democratic Association, an organization made up of German Democrats to drum up German support for the Democratic Party before elections. Joseph Hierholzer, a German-born grocer and head of the Association, claimed that the abolitionist members of the Freie Gemeinde were expelled from the association in 1850.<sup>38</sup>

Moreover, the socialist Richmond Turnverein, which shared at least some of the Freie Gemeinde's political goals, continued to be a respected organization in the social fabric of Richmond's German community. When one of the more conservative German organizations in the city attempted to ostracize the Turnverein because of its radical politics, the members of the Gesangverein stood firmly behind the inclusion of the gymnastics society. The minutes taken at the Gesangverein meeting made clear that it was especially the older members of the organization who showed solidarity with the Turners.<sup>39</sup> This suggests that there existed a lingering sympathy within both the German community and the Democratic Party for the ideals of 1848, even if it stopped short of embracing the most radical demands of that generation.

In its basic tenets, Southern Democrats shared the classic liberalism of many radicals of 1848. The men of the extreme left in and outside of Frankfurt's Paulskirche considered themselves to be classical liberal individualists. Men like Julius Froebel or Gustav Struve assumed that the individual possessed inherent natural rights which the state was obliged to protect and guarantee. This required a state with limited powers. The institution of federalism, the separation of powers as well as judicial review were deemed necessary instruments to secure a limited government. In the long run, these men believed that universal suffrage and a representative government were the best guarantors of liberty.<sup>40</sup>

According to these men, laws and constitutions should protect individuals, political minorities, and above all, private property. In addition, members of the left adhered to a theory of history which made progress contingent on the free movement of people. Above all, however, the political thought of these men was permeated with the theme of individual rights and their protection.<sup>41</sup>

Intellectually these men were far from the politics and methods of the Jacobins. Their idea of egalitarianism was not that of Robespierre but of the early days of the French Revolution. As Heinrich Ahrens elaborated in St. Paul's Church,

we are dealing here only with civic equality, not with that crude, materialistic, communistic, equality which seeks to do



away with all natural differences in intellectual and physical endowment and to neutralize their consequences in employment and in the acquisition of wealth. Civic equality is founded on rights and justice . . . . Hence the proposition that all men are equal before the law does not imply that a consistently uniform system of legislation levelling all differences ought to be introduced. It means rather that to all persons and things established in the same position the same laws must apply.<sup>42</sup>

Thus, it was unthinkable for these radicals to endorse peasants striving to redistribute land from extortionary land owners or artisans who called for the abolition of the budding factory system.<sup>43</sup> A constitutionalism extolling the progressive virtues of a free economy and the sanctity of private property seemed incompatible with redistributionist efforts of peasants or the medieval corporate ideals of the artisan class.<sup>44</sup>

Richmonders who observed the constitutional debates in Europe would have detected similarities in the political controversy revolving around constitutional reform in Virginia and the extension of slavery to new territories and states. Proponents of Southern states' rights and later secessionists, suspicious of Northern intentions in regard to the peculiar institution, made every effort to debate the question of slavery's extension within a constitutional framework, stressing freedom of movement and goods and the protection of private property. Both South Carolina's ordinance of secession and Jefferson Davis's inaugural address try to make a Southern audience believe that Southern thinking was steeped in the western tradition of a liberal republicanism, a republicanism championed the last time in open rebellion in 1776 and 1848. Both documents skillfully play down the importance of slavery in their reasoning to sever the ties of union.<sup>45</sup>

There is, of course, good reason to hide the issue of slavery behind a mask of constitutional debate on limited government, private property, and free trade. Southern Democrats needed to shore up support for their cause among white non-slaveholders, artisans and yeomen farmers. To that extent a constitutional convention held in Richmond in 1851 introduced universal white male suffrage in Virginia, thus giving all white men a stake in the political fortunes of the Commonwealth.<sup>46</sup>

How, then, should one evaluate the political passivism of a silent majority of refugees, a number of whom, like Flegenheimer and Heinrich, chose to settle in the slave South? The examination of both German radical and Southern states' rights politics suggests that Forty-Eighters in Richmond saw no need for political action since they regarded the republican vision for which they fought in Germany already a reality in the United States. In addition, there is strong evidence that many Germans in Richmond came to share the racial perceptions

and values of native born Richmonders.<sup>47</sup> Moreover Southern racial prerogatives were not always at odds with those of German revolutionaries. Indeed, in revolutionary circles racism, nationalism, and political liberalism sometimes went hand in hand.<sup>48</sup> One may only think of Julius Froebel's definition of the "*Kulturfähigkeit*" of different races or Wilhelm Jordan's exhortation in Frankfurt on the superior qualities of the German race compared to its Slavic neighbors.<sup>49</sup> Thus, having mostly internalized Southern racial prerogatives, and being dependent on the institution of slavery in their day-to-day dealings, Forty-Eighters and other Germans in Richmond saw no need to oppose a regime that granted them all the republican rights they had fought for in their homeland.

As the comparison of republican visions of 1848 with Southern states' rights doctrines has indicated, Richmond's Germans could side with the South during the sectional debates of the 1850s because they tended to view the South's struggle against Northern domination as a constitutional struggle against abusive and arbitrary federal legislation. Forty-Eighters who would volunteer for the Union army made no sense to patriotic Southerners of German birth. Lange remarked with bitterness during the war that "Germans who had fought at home for their freedom in 1848 helped here to suppress our freedom and our states' rights."<sup>50</sup>

In this context, Hermann Schuricht, the editor of the *Virginnische Zeitung*, could justify the pro-Southern attitude of Richmond's Germans post-factum by arguing that "they [the Germans] never embraced the Southern cause in order to protect the interests of slave holders, but they were ready to defend the political and commercial independence of the States."<sup>51</sup> In similar spirit, the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung* reprinted letters by Germans living in the South, admonishing fanaticism in the North, and pointing out that even Southerners of German birth "who disapproved of slavery would fight to defend states' rights and the guarantees of the constitution."<sup>52</sup>

This is not to say that an overwhelming number of Germans, both Forty-Eighters and older immigrants, did not fight valiantly for the principles of the Union during the Civil War. In addition, the alliance of Richmond Germans with the Confederate cause was short lived. While two German companies entered the fray for the South they only served the first year of the war. And, as the economy in the city worsened, and civil liberties increasingly became victim of an ever more authoritarian Confederate government, many Germans decided to leave Richmond for the North, or to simply sit out the war and wait for better times.<sup>53</sup>

Yet, the evidence presented here suggests that the ideology that divided the nation along sectional lines also ran through the German communities across the Southern states. While a considerable number of Richmond Germans were and remained loyal to the Union during the Civil War, many of them, and not only in Richmond, voluntarily joined Confederate army units. While Richmond supplied two all-German companies to the Southern cause, entire Texas and Louisiana battalions were made up of German immigrants.<sup>54</sup>



Additionally, the defense of slavery seemed not necessarily incompatible with liberal republican politics in the mid-nineteenth century. Indeed, Ambrose Dudley Mann, champion of German revolutionaries and, later, unreconstructed secessionist, preferred to live out his days in European exile rather than to come back to a defeated postwar Virginia under Reconstruction.<sup>55</sup>

Capital College, Penn State Harrisburg  
Middletown, Pennsylvania

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Klaus G. Wust, "German Immigrants and Nativism in Virginia, 1840-1860," *Twenty-Ninth Report, Society for the Germans in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1956): 31-50; Philip M. Rice, "The Know Nothing Party in Virginia, 1854-1856," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 55 (January 1947): 61-75, 159-67.

<sup>2</sup> Don Heinrich Tolzmann, ed., *The German Element in Virginia: Hermann Schuricht's History* (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, Inc., 1993), 32.

<sup>3</sup> Another prominent German with a revolutionary background who ended up embracing Southern nationalism and slavery wholeheartedly was Karl Minnigerode. He had been imprisoned in Prussia for revolutionary activities in the 1830s, and he turned his back on Germany in 1839. Minnigerode came to Richmond in 1844, where he rose to be pastor of the prestigious St. Paul's Church, the place of worship for Jefferson Davis and other high ranking Confederate officials during the Civil War. Throughout the war Minnigerode was a friend and firm supporter of President Davis. Friedrich Kapp, a Forty-Eighter who met Minnigerode in the 1850s, wrote that he was a "fein gebildeter Mann, in der deutschen Politik linker als der radikalste Fortschrittsmann, aber in amerikanischen Dingen weniger für das Zuckerbrot als die Peitsche." Friedrich Kapp, *Aus und über Amerika: Thatsachen und Erlebnisse*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Verlag von Julius Springer, 1876), 2:374.

<sup>4</sup> As a recent historian of the city noted, "Richmond's American Party represented not so much an anti-immigrant stance as a desperate attempt by local Whigs to stay distinct from Democrats and remain part of a national party coalition." Marie Tyler McGraw, *At the Falls: Richmond and Its People* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 129.

<sup>5</sup> Norman C. McLeod, "Not Forgetting the Land We Left: The Irish in Antebellum Richmond," *Virginia Cavalcade* 47 (Winter 1998): 42.

<sup>6</sup> The careers of these men also seem to contradict some prevailing notions about the political convictions of German immigrants in the South as well as the nature of the radicalism the revolutions of 1848 produced. Historians and contemporary nineteenth-century observers have often associated German immigrants to antebellum America with the cause of abolitionism. Referring to Germans in the South, a newspaper editor in Louisiana claimed that it is "to their [the Germans'] interest to abolish slavery. These men come from nations where slavery is not allowed and they drink in abolition sentiments from their mothers' breasts." Cited in Roger Shugg, *Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana: A Social History of White Farmers and Laborers During Slavery and After, 1840-1875* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1939), 119-20. Similarly, early twentieth-century germanophile historians of German-Americans unequivocally asserted the impeccable abolitionist credentials of antebellum Germans in the United States, see Albert Bernhardt Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909), 1:137; Julius Goebel, *Das Deutschtum in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika* (München: J. F. Lehmann, 1904), 59; and George von Bosse, *Das heutige deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten* (Stuttgart: C. Belser'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1904), 255. This paradigm more or less held steady until today. Contemporary historians frequently assume hostility towards the peculiar institution among German immigrants because "men and women who had fled the landlord-dominated societies of Western Europe were hardly predisposed to sympathize with the planter class" (Ira Berlin and Herbert Gutman, "Natives and Immigrants, Free Men and Slaves: Urban Workingmen in the Antebellum



American South," *American Historical Review* 88 [December 1983]: 1197).

<sup>7</sup> Another antebellum Southern city with a fair number of German liberal immigrants was New Orleans. Robert C. Clark, Jr., "The German Liberals in New Orleans (1840-1860)," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 20 (January 1937): 137-51. Clark, however, does not deal with the issue of slavery and reduces German liberalism to nationalism only. German liberals, he argues, were "German nationalists inspired with the humanitarian views of Herder, the nationalistic ideals of Fichte and the revolutionary doctrines of Young Germany" (138).

<sup>8</sup> Revolutionary emphasis on Lockean liberalism and nationalism also suggests a re-evaluation of the nature of Forty-Eighter radicalism in general. Recent work by American historians has emphasized the role the Forty-Eighters played to enhance working class radicalism in the United States and promote abolitionism within the American labor movement. For example, see Bruce Levine, *The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War* (Urbana, IL, and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Levine, "In the Heat of Two Revolutions: The Forging of German-American Radicalism," in *Struggle a Hard Battle: Essays on Working Class Immigrants*, ed. Dirk Höder (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1986), 19-45; and Steven Rowan, "Franz Schmidt and the 'Freie Blätter' of St. Louis, 1851-1853," in *The German-American Radical Press: The Shaping of a Left Political Culture, 1850-1940*, eds. Elliott Shore, Ken Fones-Wolf, and James P. Danky (Urbana, IL, and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 31-48. In Germany, working-class radicals associated with Marx and Engels's newspaper, the *Rheinische Zeitung*, were a minority among German revolutionaries. Workers, of course, played a prominent, if not dominant part, in the revolution. Yet workers did not act homogeneously as a class. Indeed, workers varied in their political convictions as much as the bourgeois participants of the uprising. See Wolfgang Schieder, "Die Rolle der Arbeiter in der Revolution von 1848/49," in *Die Deutsche Revolution von 1848/49*, ed. Dieter Langewiesche (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983), 322-41. By focusing on labor radicalism among Forty-Eighters, historians sometimes tend to neglect other issues such as nationalism and economic liberalism that loomed equally large during the spring days of 1848. Revolutionaries did not only debate the merits of a unified Germany but also territorial expansion into Denmark, Poland, and Austria-Hungary. Curiously, some members of the oppositional left in Frankfurt counted among the more aggressive supporters of territorial expansion. See Günter Wollstein, "Mitteleuropa und Großdeutschland - Visionen der Revolution 1848/49," in *Die Deutsche Revolution von 1848/49*, 237-57, esp. 242-47. For a more detailed account, see his *Das "Großdeutschland" der Paulskirche: Nationale Ziele in der bürgerlichen Revolution 1848/49* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1977).

<sup>9</sup> Theodore S. Hamerow, *Restoration, Revolution, Reaction: Economics and Politics in Germany, 1815-1871* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), 62.

<sup>10</sup> Virginus Dabney, *Richmond: The Story of a City* (1976; repr., Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1990), 15; Klaus Wust, *The Virginia Germans* (1969; repr., Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1989), 204-5.

<sup>11</sup> Peter Way, *Common Labour: Workers and the Digging of North American Canals, 1780-1860* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 55, 265; Johann Gottfried Lange, "The Changed Name or the Shoemaker in the Old and the New World: Thirty Years in Europe and Thirty Years in America," pp. 65-76, Ms, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA. Not accustomed to physical labor Lange had to admit that working on the canal was "hard work. Our hands were not used to shovels which made them blister and gave me callouses that the blood ran through our fingers. And it was so hot that when we came back after lunch to pick up the shovels that we had left lying in the sun we could not touch them. A German . . . had loaned me money and encouraged me to leave the canal and open up a business in the city. I accepted the offer since I saw that every day eight to ten people, poisoned by the bad food, died of dysentery" (76).

<sup>12</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, *The Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*, Richmond City, in Norman McLeod, "Free Labor in a Slave Society: Richmond, Virginia, 1820-1860 (Ph.D. diss., Howard University, 1991), 35-36.

<sup>13</sup> Tolzmann, ed., *The German Element in Virginia*, 41. Curiously Lange does not mention the founding of the Krankengesellschaft in his autobiography, but he mentions that he was still president of the association in 1857 (Lange, "The Changed Name," 122).

<sup>14</sup> Samuel Mordecai, *Richmond in Bygone Days* (Richmond, VA: G. M. West, 1860), 246; Lange,



"The Changed Name," 114-16.

<sup>15</sup> For the importance of the saloon for immigrant and working class life in the nineteenth century, see Klaus Ensslen, "German-American Working-Class Saloons in Chicago: Their Social Function in an Ethnic and Class-Specific Cultural Context," in *German Workers' Culture in the United States, 1850 to 1920*, ed. Hartmut Keil (Washington, DC, and London: The Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 157-80, and Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours For What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 35-64.

<sup>16</sup> Tolzmann, ed., *The German Element in Virginia*, 53-4; Lange, "The Changed Name," 99. Klaus Wust calls the Richmond Sozialer Turnverein a "Gymnastics Club with adult-educational aspects." Wust, *The Virginia Germans*, 208. In reality the Turnverein was associated with its national umbrella organization, the Sozialistischer Turnerbund. Its preamble, which reiterated racial egalitarian principles, would cause trouble for the Richmond chapter during the secession crisis. While local Turnvereine from the lower South seceded from the national organization after the latter's unequivocal declaration in favor of abolitionism in 1855, the Richmond chapter tried to stay loyal to the national organization by keeping a low public profile in Richmond during the Civil War. Robert Knight Barney, "German Turners in American Domestic Crisis," *Stadion* 4 (1978): 351-56. On the national Turners in the United States, see Augustus J. Pahl, "The Turner," in *The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848*, ed. A. E. Zucker (New York: Russell & Russell, 1950), 79-110, and Carl Wittke, "The Turner," in his *Refugees of Revolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952), 147-60. For the influence the Turners exerted on a German-American socialist culture, see Ralf Wagner, "Turner Societies and the Socialist Tradition," in *German Workers' Culture*, 221-40. The German Rifles would eventually become Company K of the First Virginia Infantry Regiment during the initial stages of the Civil War. Michael Bell, "The German Immigrant Community of Richmond, Va., 1848-1852," (M.A. thesis, University of Richmond, 1990), 74.

<sup>17</sup> Lester J. Cappon, *Virginia Newspapers, 1821-1935: A Bibliography with Historical Introduction and Notes* (New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936), 164.

<sup>18</sup> Mordecai, *Richmond in Bygone Days*, 246.

<sup>19</sup> *Richmond Enquirer*, 31 March 1848.

<sup>20</sup> Merle Curti, "The Reputation of America Overseas," *American Quarterly* 1 (Spring 1949): 64.

<sup>21</sup> *Southern Literary Messenger* 8 (July 1842): 6, cited in Curti, "The Reputation of Americans Overseas," 65. The editors of the *Messenger* showed considerably better foresight than the U.S. representative in Berlin, Andrew Jackson Donelson, who, two weeks before the barricades went up in Berlin, wrote to James Buchanan, then Secretary of State, that "the Germans do not like to make a reform by means of revolution. They love the substance but prefer to receive it as a concession from the King, without the risk of civil war" (Andrew Jackson Donelson to James Buchanan, 4 March 1848; "Documents: The American Minister in Berlin on the Revolution of March, 1848," *American Historical Review* 23 [January 1918]: 357).

<sup>22</sup> *Richmond Enquirer*, 14 April 1848.

<sup>23</sup> Robert W. Johansen, *To the Halls of Montezumas: The Mexican War in the American Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 50-51, 58.

<sup>24</sup> Pahl, "The Turners," 92. For a survey on the reactions of Americans to the Revolutions of 1848, see Merle Curti, "The Impact of the Revolutions of 1848 on American Thought," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 93 (June 1949): 209-15. The Polk administration's official stance towards the events in Europe, however, was one of cautious enthusiasm and non-interference. Andrew Jackson Donelson, the U.S. minister to Berlin, who moved to Frankfurt in August, wavered between excitement about the impending victory of German republicans and nervous anxiety about the political chaos and instability a violent overthrow of the German princes might bring with it. His major task was not to advise German liberals on republican forms of government but to initiate a commercial treaty with a new German republic devoid of crippling internal customs duties that characterized her predecessor, the German Confederation. In this regard the U.S. government did indeed have a vested interest in the success of a liberal revolution in the German lands. R. C. McCrane, "The American Position on the Revolution of 1848 in Germany," *The Historical Outlook* 11 (December 1920): 333-39.



<sup>25</sup> James A. Padgett, ed., "The Letters of Judah P. Benjamin to Ambrose Dudley Mann," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 20 (July 1937): 741; Mills T. Kelly, "The Mission of Ambrose Dudley Mann to Hungary in 1849: A Test of Non-Intervention," (M.A. thesis, The George Washington University, 1988), 16-37; quote on p. 27. Mann was intellectually and politically in tune with a movement among young congressmen who called for a moral foreign policy towards the revolutionary regimes in Europe. Led by Stephen A. Douglas, the Young America Movement called for the United States to go beyond sympathetic neutrality and actively support fledgling European republican governments, especially Hungary's struggle for independence. America should help to introduce "a new and better political order in the world," and, if necessary, should intervene militarily to ensure the success of European republicans. Merle Curti, "Young America," *American Historical Review* 32 (1926-27): 34, and his "The Reputation of America Overseas," 81. What distinguished Mann from the others was the fact that he was a Southerner and staunch defender of slavery. Southerners in Congress, both Whigs and Democrats, opposed a more active foreign policy on behalf of Europe's fledgling republics, not out of lack of sympathy for republican movements overseas, but for fear that a more active foreign policy would result in a stronger federal government, and if conducted consistently, would eventually embroil the United States in war with Russia. Curti, "Young America," 37; Donald S. Spencer, *Louis Kossuth and Young America: A Study of Sectionalism and Foreign Policy* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1977), 100-2.

<sup>26</sup> *Richmond Enquirer*, 25 and 31 May 1848.

<sup>27</sup> *Richmond Enquirer*, 18 April 1848.

<sup>28</sup> *Richmond Enquirer*, 11 July 1848.

<sup>29</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, 18 January 1852.

<sup>30</sup> Wust, *The Virginia Germans*, 210; Tolzmann, ed. *The German Element in Virginia*, 33.

<sup>31</sup> William Flegenheimer, "Biography of William Flegenheimer," pp. 1-10, Ms, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>33</sup> The *Richmond Whig* wrote about the transcript that "a more splendid specimen of ornamental penmanship has seldom, if ever, been presented to our inspection" (28 May 1861). The editors of the *Richmond Dispatch* called Flegenheimer an "esteemed patriotic citizen" and his work "a beautiful specimen of calligraphy" (17 June 1861); see also *Richmond Dispatch*, 29 May 1861.

<sup>34</sup> Wust, "German Immigrants and Nativism in Virginia," *op. cit.*, 41-42. A copy of the political platform of the group can be found in John C. Rives, ed., *Appendix to the Congressional Globe*, n. s., 33d Cong. 2d Sess., vol. 31 (Washington, DC: The Government Printing Press, 1855), 95.

<sup>35</sup> *Richmond Enquirer*, 2 February 1855. Tolzmann, ed., *The German Element*, 34-36. Steinmetz himself seemed to have inflated the number of members in his articles he wrote for the left leaning *Baltimore Wecker* in which he described the Freie Gemeinde as an influential and mass-based political organization (Herbert Aptheker, *The Unfolding Drama: Studies in U.S. History* [New York: International Publishers, 1978], 41).

<sup>36</sup> *Richmond Enquirer*, 2 February 1855; Wust, *The Virginia Germans*, 212.

<sup>37</sup> Tolzmann, ed., *The German Element*, 34-36.

<sup>38</sup> *Richmond Dispatch*, 3 and 5 February 1855.

<sup>39</sup> Richmond Gesangsverein, "Minute Books, 1854-1859," 30 January 1856 and 21 November 1856, Ms, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA.

<sup>40</sup> Rainer Koch, *Demokratie und Staat bei Julius Froebel, 1805-1893: Liberales Denken zwischen Naturrecht und Sozialdarwinismus* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1978), 110-19.

<sup>41</sup> Peter Wende, *Radikalismus im Vormärz: Untersuchungen zur politischen Theorie der frühen deutschen Demokratie* (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1975), esp. 100-17.

<sup>42</sup> Cited in Hamerow, *Restoration, Revolution, Reaction*, 169.

<sup>43</sup> Even radicals who favored a reform of property relations were extremely weary of mass democracy. Friedrich Hecker and Gustav Struve, invariably called "communists" or "putschists" by their opponents, while demanding "a share in the profits of labor" for workers and artisans, also called for "security of property" and "prosperity, education, and freedom for all"; and both refused to admit workers or peasants to their councils (Hamerow, *Restoration, Revolution, Reaction*, 66, 119).

<sup>44</sup> The radicals achieved some of their goals in the constitution passed in Frankfurt on 28 March



1849, the "Fundamental Rights of the German People." The constitution granted sanctity of private property, defined the rights of citizenship, granted universal suffrage for a lower chamber of parliament, and gave each citizen the right to live wherever he liked, to purchase any property, and to pursue any occupation.

<sup>45</sup> South Carolina's Ordinance of Secession is presumably based on the premise that the Northern states had abandoned the principles of the American Revolution of 1776. But the authors are quick to reduce the achievements of the Revolution to "one great principle, self government—and self-taxation." The federal government was deemed despotic because it passed federal laws which "infringe upon jurisdiction reserved for local government," when it should have only passed laws "limited to objects of common interest to all sections." Presumably these "objects of common interest" refer to the protection of such natural rights as the holding of property and individual liberty common to individuals of all sections. Slavery was not mentioned by name until well into the fifth page of the document. "The Address of the People of South Carolina, Assembled in Convention, to the People of the Slaveholding States of the United States," in *South Carolina Secedes*, eds. John Amasa May and Joan Reynolds Faunt (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1960), 82-92. Jefferson Davis, in his inaugural address as president of the Confederate States, made even less of slavery as the dividing issue between North and South. He too viewed the Confederate States as the true heir to the "constitution formed by our fathers." The new constitution would secure "the rights of person and property, . . . the freest trade which our necessities will permit, and the . . . fewest restrictions upon the interchange of commodities." Since the federal government of the old union had abrogated these rights, and in a true democracy the government rests upon the consent of the governed, the people of the South had a right to abolish the government "whenever it became destructive of the ends for which [it] was established." Throughout his address Davis did not mention the institution of slavery a single time. Jefferson Davis, "Inaugural Address," *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America*, 7 vols. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1904-1905), 1:64-66.

<sup>46</sup> The debates during the convention on whether to give all white men of age the right to vote took on radical class rhetoric previously unheard of in political forums of the South. Henry Wise, a one time Congressman and future governor of the state exhorted in populist class rhetoric, attacking the "monied aristocracy," the smell of which stunk "in the nostrils of my mind, as well as my body." For Wise, the issue was one of the "right of the people against the right of money—Mammon against Liberty—and may God in his mercy, help the people in this fight" ("Virginia Reform Convention: Supplements to the *Enquirer*, *Whig*, *Times*, *Republican*, and *Republican Advocate*," Supplement 13, 17 February 1851, and Supplement 29, 7 April 1851, Virginia State Library and Archives, Richmond, VA). Wise's commitment to universal white male suffrage, however, was rooted in less than unselfish reasons. A large slaveholder himself, he realized that the loyalty of the white working class to the Southern social and economic system was necessary for the survival of the system (Supplement 29, 7 April 1851).

<sup>47</sup> Johann Lange, like many of his fellow Richmonders, regretted that the slave trade had ever been started, by New Englanders, as he ominously noted. Yet he believed that slavery in general had many reasons and advantages for African-Americans. During the Civil War he reported in his autobiography that he "as a German never had much use for the negroes; and I always wondered why the Germans, who never in their life had seen a negro, could bring these sacrifices for them, since no true Yankee went to war and wanted to use the negro for political purposes only" (Lange, "The Changed Name," 87, 202).

<sup>48</sup> The standard interpretive paradigm for German nationalism before 1871 is that the early German nationalism of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was informed by Enlightenment thought and thus had an emancipatory and antidespotic character and only turned into a conservative and aggressive nationalism during the 1860s and 1870s. See Heinrich August Winkler, "Der Nationalismus und seine Funktionen," in his *Nationalismus* (Königstein: Verlegergruppe Athenäum, Hain, Scriptor, Hanstein, 1978), 5-48; and Christoph Prignitz, *Vaterlandsliebe und Freiheit: Deutscher Patriotismus von 1750-1850* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1981). However, there is at least some evidence that a nationalism based on aggressive expansionism and racial antagonism had its roots as far back as the 1750s. See Hans Peter Herrmann, Hans-Martin Blitz, and Susanna Mossmann, *Machtphantasie Deutschland: Nationalismus, Männlichkeit und Fremdenhass im Vaterlandsdiskurs*

deutscher Schriftsteller des 18. Jahrhunderts (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1996). Brian Eric Vick, in a recent dissertation, argues the middle ground between those two positions. He asserts that the German parliamentarians constructed a notion of German nationhood so as to include Danes, Poles, and Austrians. On the other hand he has to admit that this construction served, at least partly, the purpose to exert political and cultural dominance over Germany's non-German neighbors (Vick, "Conceptions of Nationhood Among the 1848-1849 Frankfurt Parliamentarians" [Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1997]).

<sup>49</sup> For Froebel, slavery was a question of "culturhistorische Zweckmäßigkeit." Forced servitude was legitimate for peoples who could not or refused to participate in the "Civilisirung der Erdoberfläche." According to Froebel, African-Americans and Native Americans fell into this category. He opposed slavery on the basis that it had outlived its utility and promoted the immigration of German artisans and yeomen (Julius Froebel, *Aus Amerika*, 2 vols. [Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1857], 1:132, 146, 120). Jordan, referring to the Poles, argued similarly to Froebel by asserting that Germans had proven their superiority through agricultural colonization of the East, or what he called the "Eroberung mit dem Pflug" (Günter Wollstein, "Mitteleuropa und Großdeutschland—Visionen der Revolution 1848/49," 244-46).

<sup>50</sup> Lange, "The Changed Name," 144. The editors of the *Richmond Dispatch* thought along the same lines when they commented on the Forty-Eighters who volunteered for the federal army thus: "Strange that they who have often fought so bravely though unsuccessfully against invasion, should become invaders: that they who have so promptly rallied under any revolutionary flag that has been spread to the breeze in Europe should so readily become the chief military instruments of a despotic power; that they who have found in this country a refuge from tyranny should seek to deprive the Southern states of their rights and liberties" (*Richmond Dispatch*, 17 July 1861).

<sup>51</sup> When the war broke out, Schuricht told the editor of the *Richmond Enquirer*, of which the *Virginnische Zeitung* then was a supplement, that he only would go on writing under the condition that he never would have to write an editorial defending slavery. At the same time, however, Schuricht editorialized against "northern fanatics inclined to sacrifice a cultural part of the southern people to the terrorism of an uneducated and inferior race" (Tolzmann, ed., *The German Element in Virginia*, 40-41; Wust, "German Immigrants and Nativism in Virginia, 1840-1860," 50).

<sup>52</sup> *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, 15 June 1855.

<sup>53</sup> See Gregg Kimball, "Place and Perception: Richmond in Late Antebellum America," (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1997), esp. chap. 8; and Werner Steger, "'United to Support, But Not Combined to Injure': Free Workers and Immigrants in Richmond, Virginia, During the Secessionist Crisis, 1847-1865," (Ph.D. diss., The George Washington University, 1999), esp. chap. 6.

<sup>54</sup> Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940).

<sup>55</sup> Mann served as a diplomat for the Confederate States in England, Belgium, and the Vatican. Mann stayed in France after the defeat of the Confederacy and wrote his memoirs before he died (Padgett, ed., "The Letters of Judah P. Benjamin to Ambrose Dudley Mann," 742; Kelly, "The Mission of Ambrose Dudley Mann," 32-34).



Christian B. Keller

### **The Reaction of Eastern Pennsylvania's German Press to the Secession Crisis: Compromise or Conflict?**

On 23 January 1861 an editorial appeared in the Allentown *Unabhängige Republikaner*, the local Democratic organ for German-speakers, which rhetorically asked what choice the North intended to make: regain the trust of their Southern brothers before more states joined South Carolina in destroying the Union, or continue sticking by the hard-line Republican banner. Despite its name, the *Republikaner* was far from Republican; its editor, Benjamin F. Trexler, catered to a vocal, Democratic electorate which had strongly supported the Buchanan administration and voted against Lincoln the past November.<sup>1</sup> Yet the current message of the newspaper was the preservation of the Union, through whatever means possible. Since the Republicans were perceived as anticompromise, they would receive the blame if secession spread and war resulted. According to the *Republikaner*, "two methods are suggested to curb the secession movement—one is peaceful, the other forceful." As the Democrats had repeatedly suggested, "a so-called Compromise—a coming-to-terms with our differences in a brotherly spirit"—was the "peaceful way to preserve the Union and overwhelmingly in the spirit in which it was created." A compromise would avoid war, prevent bloodshed, and restore brotherhood and peace between the North and South.<sup>2</sup> But "the other method for preserving the Union consists of the need of strong arguments—physical force, cannons and bullets, bloodshed and brutality. The lost trust of the Southern states in the Union should be restored on the tip of the bayonet and at the cannon's mouth." This was the method of the Republican Party, argued Trexler. The citizens of the South should be "treated like enemies" and "forced through hard blows" back into the arms of the Union.<sup>3</sup> Yet the result of the "second method" would be the secession of the rest of the Southern states and a terrible war, the editor warned: "No one will be so foolish to believe that the Union may be restored through force. In such a struggle victory would be equally as bad as defeat."<sup>4</sup> Compromise was necessary to stem the secessionist impulse and the war which would result from it if

coercionist policies prevailed. The *Republikaner* was certainly not in favor of ruthlessly suppressing South Carolina's secession.

While no scholar has yet specifically examined the Pennsylvania-German press and its reaction to secession, the *Republikaner's* comments challenge a trend in the extant secondary literature, which argues that German-Americans in the North almost all supported an unyielding, Republican stance during the secession crisis. Few historians have even addressed the subject of the Pennsylvania Germans' reactions to the secession crisis, but those who have touched upon it, such as Bruce Levine and William Burton, have assumed that Pennsylvania Germans behaved in a similar fashion to Germans in the Midwest and New York. Bruce Levine, in *The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War*, focuses mainly on the history of the Forty-Eighters and their radical constituents, but still observes that German-American sentiment for compromise during the winter of 1860-61 was "drowned out by the chorus of German Republicans vehemently opposed to conceding anything in their party's 1860 platform."<sup>5</sup> Ken Fones-Wolf and Elliott Shore draw upon Levine's work and arrive at similar conclusions in their essay in *The German-American Radical Press: The Shaping of a Left Political Culture, 1850-1940*. The earlier, traditional interpretation of German-Americans during the era of the Civil War, promulgated by authors such as Carl Wittke and Adolf Zucker, has long supported the assumption that nearly all German-Americans immediately rallied behind the Republican banner once secession of Southern states commenced.<sup>6</sup> Considering the large numbers of German-Americans who did support Lincoln—if not as bona fide Republicans in November, 1860 then as rapid converts to Republican free-labor and Unionist principles in the following months—such a view is not entirely unreasonable. In the last several decades, however, scholars adhering to the "ethnocultural" interpretation of nineteenth-century ethnic politics have substantially revised the traditional interpretation of pan-German Republicanism. Arguing that religious denomination strongly influenced political affiliation (i.e., Catholics and Lutherans voted mainly Democratic while "free thinkers" and Reformed congregations tended to vote Republican), the ethnoculturalists maintain that socio-economic and cultural variables determined German political loyalty more than other factors. They strongly believe that German-Americans were politically divided before the Civil War.<sup>7</sup>

This essay will argue that an ethnocultural interpretation of the reaction of eastern Pennsylvania Germans to secession is appropriate, but that the political turmoil between Democrats and Republicans was more bitter, and longer-lasting than ethnocultural explanations would have us believe. Democratic and Republican newspapers battled for public opinion throughout 1860 and in the early months of 1861, and even after the deep South seceded—indeed, until Fort Sumter was fired upon—the eastern Pennsylvania German press was irreconcilably divided. While few diaries or personal letters survive to help illuminate the thoughts and actions of these people, German-language newspapers from Allentown,



Pennsburg, Skippackville, Reading, and Lancaster provide brief windows on their world during the critical years leading up to the Civil War. The reaction of the Pennsylvania-German press to the secession crisis is thus the best historical means whereby we may gain an understanding of what it meant to be ethnically German in the eastern half of Pennsylvania on the eve of national catastrophe. How great a role ethnicity played (if any) in the decisions of these German-Americans to support or not support Lincoln and the new Republican administration is an important consideration in this analysis and will perhaps shed some light on the relation of cultural background and ethnicity to American decision-making in the late antebellum period. It is also hoped that an analysis of the eastern Pennsylvania-German press's responses to the crises leading up to and during secession will raise new questions about the experiences of ethnic minorities in general during the antebellum years.

Ella Lonn claims in her book, *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy*, that in 1860 the German-born population of the United States consisted of 1,301,136 citizens. Of that number, 138,244 resided in Pennsylvania.<sup>8</sup> Beyond this count of first-generation immigrants, Pennsylvania boasted of hundreds of thousands of longer-settled citizens of direct German lineage. Often referred to as the "Pennsylvania Dutch," these second, third, and fourth-generation residents varied greatly in their retention of the German language and folkways. Some had become completely "anglicized" through intermarriage with English-speakers and constant contact with the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture, while others retained the mother language and strong German traditions. Yet by the middle part of the nineteenth century, the eastern Pennsylvania Germans had clearly shed the idea of being "more German" than American. As Robert Billigmeier asserts, they did retain a "well-defined culture and social system" that was separate from the dominant Anglo-Saxon one, and while religious differences existed among them—there were Lutherans, Reformed, Amish, Mennonite, and Schwenkfelder congregations—the Pennsylvania Germans were viewed by their English-speaking compatriots as a compact, "more or less permanent, differentiated subcultural entity" within the broader American population. They saw themselves collectively as Americans, "but as a particular kind of American" with an independent ethnic tradition that was neither all German nor all English.<sup>9</sup> These Pennsylvania "Dutch" Germans, who lived mainly in the Great Valley of Pennsylvania, thus possessed an ethnicity all their own, one that was at once diverse from the newer, foreign-born German immigrants, many of whom had fled the failed democratic revolution of 1848, and the more numerous Anglo-Saxon core population.<sup>10</sup>

Recent scholarship on ethnicity, such as Eric Hobsbawm's and Terence Ranger's, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, and Kathleen Conzen et al., "The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the U.S.A.," argues that "traditional" societies, such as ethnic communities, may actually "invent" their customs and cultural practices to form a distinct feeling of uniqueness within a larger population. There may indeed be a direct link to an ancient, ethnic past, but that link



may have been weakened or even severed. To regain the continuity with the past, some ethnic groups may actually create their own practices "of a ritual or symbolic nature" reminiscent of the "old ways" but historically fictitious.<sup>11</sup> It is possible that the Pennsylvania Dutch Germans' ethnic behavior might at least be partially evaluated using this new interpretation of "inventing ethnicity." After almost two centuries of exposure to Anglo-Saxon culture, the Pennsylvania German culture had undoubtedly changed from being purely German, as Billigmeier and Frederic Klees suggest. It was no longer ethnically German, but an amalgamation of the German and Anglo-Saxon cultures—an ethnicity altogether different from that of the Germans who had recently arrived from Europe.<sup>12</sup>

The Pennsylvania Dutch were largely long-settled agrarians, living on family farms passed down through the generations. Towns such as Reading, Lancaster and Allentown developed, not originally as sites of independent manufacture and business, but as foci of trade and education whose existence depended almost solely on constant patronage and interaction with the rural populace. The towns, in other words, existed to serve the farms, even in 1860. Communicating on a daily basis in the "Pennsylvanisch" dialect (a type of German similar to that spoken in the Palatinate in Germany), these people nonetheless printed their newspapers in High German, which was considered the language of law, science, and politics. While the newer German immigrants were sometimes absorbed into the Pennsylvania Dutch communities, they were nonetheless ethnically different enough from their "Pennsylvanisch"-speaking neighbors that the political polarization of the Germans in eastern Pennsylvania on the eve of the Civil War might be partially explained by ethnic diversity among the Germans themselves. The newer immigrants flocked not to the countryside but to the towns (where they found employment in the burgeoning, Anglo-Saxon-owned steel mills and factories), spoke some form of modern High German dissimilar to Pennsylvanisch, and arrived with considerably less capital at their disposal than the longer-established Pennsylvania Dutch.<sup>13</sup> Many also were refugees from the chaos of post-1848 Germany. It follows logically that the more recently-arrived Pennsylvania Germans might adopt political views at variance with the longer-resident Pennsylvania Dutch.

Like the newer immigrants, the Pennsylvania Dutch Germans operated and patronized numerous German-language newspapers throughout the state. The German-language press had had a long history in Pennsylvania up to 1860; evidence of it exists as far back as the early 1700s.<sup>14</sup> By the middle of the nineteenth century most of these papers had ceased publication, the victims of anglicization and the westward migration. A core of them survived, however, near the major metropolitan centers of Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, as well as in Lancaster, Berks, Lecha (Lehigh) and other counties of the so-called Pennsylvania Dutch country. The editorials in these publications expressed the views of the Germans better than any other medium: they were written by Germans and were read by German-literate Pennsylvanians. Like its English-language counterpart,



the German press was a barometer of public opinion in the years before the Civil War, and published letters and articles highly representative of its readership's beliefs. For the modern scholar, these primary historical documents may illuminate the reactions of Pennsylvania-Germans to the most momentous political event of the late antebellum period: the secession crisis of 1860 and 1861.

To accurately analyze the progression of thought of eastern Pennsylvania's German residents during this crisis it is first necessary to examine their beliefs in the last years leading up to Southern secession.<sup>15</sup> The Buchanan administration's handling of the situation in Kansas, where Jayhawkers and Border Ruffians conducted their own mini-Civil War in the late 1850s, outraged many Pennsylvanians. Republican newspapers claimed the "dough face" president (a native Pennsylvanian) had sold out to the "slave power" in his official policies toward the territory, recognizing the pro-slavery Lecompton Constitution of the outnumbered Southern minority over the free-soil interests of the majority of settlers.<sup>16</sup> The Lancaster *Volksfreund und Beobachter* echoed its English-language, Republican brethren by condemning Buchanan, who ironically was a native son of the city. On 5 January 1858, it argued that "the major question in Washington concerning the Kansas issue has become this: how should we satisfy the Southern fire-eaters?" Justice would have to be sacrificed to palliate the angry South, and the "spirit and wisdom of the Nebraska Acts" would be wasted. The free citizens of Kansas wanted to overthrow the corrupt government that the administration and Congress supported, and if the president did not heed their pleas, a "crisis will develop." If he refused to act, the *Volksfreund* predicted that "the bayonets of federal troops" might be needed to restore the state government to its "rightful" free-soil governors. "Without question the disunionists are happy about the present development. The radicals in the South, which expect a league of Southern states, the annexation of Central America, and the renewal of the slave trade to result, are jubilant about the new difficulty." Yet a tinge of sympathy for a beleaguered president suddenly emerged later in the editorial: "How can the president operate in the hands of such men? They are already completely untrue to the Union. If he does what he always does, they will go far to unseat the administration." The South wished to keep the Union in turmoil. Its leaders "search for hot water (trouble), and hope to reach their dreams aided by the same."<sup>17</sup>

Even a Democratic paper, the *Berks County Demokrat*, lamented that Buchanan was betraying the ideals of the "true," Jeffersonian democracy, which it claimed its German constituents demanded. In the one-page English section of its 23 March 1859 issue, the editor asked his readers which leader they would rather follow—"Jefferson, whose heart beat singly and alone with the highest, holiest, wisest love of country," or "Buchanan, who has done more to undo Jefferson's great work than all the other followers in the presidency."<sup>18</sup>

Not all of the German papers attacked Buchanan's actions. The Democratic Pennsburg *Bauern Freund*, located in a more rural area than the more



urbanized Lancaster and Reading papers, lauded the president for his strength of character, strong will, and political acumen. He was a brilliant statesman caught in the maelstrom of a cold-blooded conflict in Kansas, and by 7 July 1858, had proven his mettle: "The difficulties which James Buchanan had to endure were so extraordinary and manifold that they had no equal to any which the earlier presidents of the United States endured." The political battle over Kansas was settled by this time, and Buchanan could justly look back at his accomplishments in the last months with pride. Against multitudinous foes the president had stood firm—"his strength of character and spiritual endurance finally won the victory." Mormons, filibusterers, and even Great Britain all had felt his "power," and all had been vanquished, just like the Kansas problem, which "was out of the Congress to reside where it belongs, in the territory itself." Buchanan "could not be everywhere at once." How dare the opposition claim that the president is to blame for the present national crisis! "This opinion carries on its forehead the symbol of a lie." Importantly, at the end of the article, the author disclosed a more practical reason why he supported Buchanan: "James Buchanan was always the true friend of the worker, and has fought his entire life against the 'swindle-system,' for which we can thank the current crisis."<sup>19</sup> The editor was probably referring here to pervasive Democratic fears that big business was taking over the country and, supported by the Republicans, cheating the honest day laborer of his rightful wages.<sup>20</sup>

The *Reading Adler*, another Democratic organ, likewise defended Buchanan, claiming that while he had bungled by meddling in states' affairs and allowing himself to be strongly influenced by advisors, he was still a Democrat, and much preferable to his "federalist-minded" opponents. Democratic presidents had been responsible for the entrance of most of the new states into the Union, and, as one letter to the editor explained, Buchanan deserved support because "he had been put into power by the Democratic Party." According to this reader, the Democrats could do no wrong.<sup>21</sup>

If the *Volksfreund und Beobachter*, *Berks County Demokrat*, *Reading Adler*, and the *Bauern Freund* may be taken as representative samples of the Pennsylvania-German press in early 1858 and 1859, it is clear that much disagreement existed among their German readers. Each paper catered to a different readership which lived within a day's carriage ride of each other, the Lancaster and Reading publications serving more urbanized populations than their Pennsburg counterpart. The *Volksfreund und Beobachter* was politically Republican, and the *Bauern Freund*, *Demokrat*, and *Adler* Democratic. Though some time had passed between the January issue of the former and the April issue of the latter a year later, their respective opinions about James Buchanan were diverse and at odds with each other. What do these facts reveal about the Pennsylvania-German citizenry two years before secession?

First, the papers strongly suggest that the eastern Pennsylvania Germans were far from united in their opinions of the burgeoning sectional difficulties. Even the Democratic papers disagreed with each other about Buchanan, and



they were certainly at odds with the Republican paper. It is well-known that German-Americans were politically divided in the years prior to 1860. Wilhelm Kaufmann, Albert Faust, Carl Wittke, Ella Lonn, William Burton, Bruce Levine, and the "ethnoculturalist" historians all agree that the Germans were divided among Democrats and Republicans.<sup>22</sup> Traditionally, the Democrats had appealed to conservative German sensitivities about ethnic equality (repudiating the nativist Know-Nothings, for example), economic independence, the Jeffersonian and Jacksonian principles of individual freedom, limited government, and importantly, the preservation of an agrarian democracy. They captured the votes especially of the "Greys," or Germans who had settled in America before the mid-century revolutions in Europe. Democrats also appealed to Germans' desire for stability and the preservation of the status quo, which was viewed as financially beneficial by German farmers and small shopkeepers, many of whom had emigrated to America for economic reasons in the 1830s or earlier and were now generally members of the middle class. It made sense that the Pennsylvania Dutch, long-established in family farms or small shops that served them in the small towns, would vote Democratic. According to Willi Paul Adams, the Republicans were far too radical for "religiously conservative Lutherans" and "represented unacceptable 'puritanical' fundamentalist positions."<sup>23</sup>

The Pennsylvania Dutch concept of freedom—defined by their unique ethnicity which had developed independently of much "pure" German influence from the old country—precluded the inclusion of many free blacks, who were perceived as racial inferiors, or the managers and workers of factories and mines—many of whom were newer German immigrants and employed in the developing towns and cities.<sup>24</sup> The growth of manufacturing signalled the advent of a large urban population, which would develop a culture entirely different and perhaps harmful to the Pennsylvania Dutch *Weltanschauung*. Pennsylvania German Democrats, then, may have feared for the future of their regional, ethnic culture as they watched the growth of the Republican Party, which strongly supported industry and manufacturing. Moreover, the abolitionist tinge of the Republicans left a sour taste in the mouth of German Dutch Democrats, who feared racial amalgamation, and perhaps, economic competition. John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry in 1859 elicited a strong reaction from the *Reading Adler* which supports this theory. The editor asked how "our dreamers, who happily dream of equality with the blacks, cannot become awake?" The answer: they actually desired the "animalistic misdeeds" of a slave uprising, and were not concerned with the ramifications of black equality, as long as equality was achieved.<sup>25</sup>

The "Greens," or German immigrants who arrived after the failed democratic revolution of 1848, tended to be poorer and more idealistic than their longer-entrenched brethren, and hence were drawn to the Republican ideology of free-soil labor and the non-extension of slavery into the territories. Employed mainly by Anglo-Saxon businessmen, these working-class Germans lived mostly in the Pennsylvania towns and cities, and, as the authors of the *German-American*



*Radical Press* argue, were much more politically radical than the Pennsylvania Dutch. They were attracted to the Republican plank of a high tariff because it would help assure the prosperity of the industries which provided work for them. Among the Greens were many political refugees from Germany, the so-called "Forty-Eighters." These former revolutionaries, immensely popular among more-recently arrived immigrants—mainly artisans, craftsmen, and skilled workers—strongly united behind the Republican banner, and their stature within the German community captured thousands of votes for the Republicans in 1856 and 1860. Fleeing political persecution in the fatherland, these newly-arrived Germans questioned the wisdom of following a political party dominated by slaveholders strongly reminiscent of the aristocrats they had fought against in Europe. While slavery was an evil to the German Republicans, the workers who followed the erstwhile Forty-Eighters feared a threat of economic competition from freed blacks, and mainly supported the free-soil plank of the Republican party because it left the territories free of blacks, not because it damaged the future of the slaveocracy.<sup>26</sup>

The record in the late antebellum, eastern Pennsylvania German press also supports the inference, mentioned by Don Yoder and Willi Paul Adams, that newer German immigrants flocked to the cities for jobs and tended to vote Republican while the older, "Dutch" Germans lived mainly on farms in the countryside and were staunch Democrats.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, the Pennsylvania Dutch ethnicity of the older Germans strongly influenced their political allegiance with the Democrats whereas the stronger German ethnicity and poorer economic situation of the newcomers gravitated them to the Republicans.<sup>28</sup> It would appear, then, that in 1858 and 1859 the eastern Pennsylvania Germans were indeed divided politically, and that their beliefs were likely influenced by ethnic differences between the Pennsylvania Dutch and the newer German immigrants, but might also have been affected by their geographic location and other, issues. Did this trend continue in the months immediately prior to Lincoln's election?

"Every Tariff Resolution. Under this headline the *Lecha Patriot* last week attempted to create capital for its party, so that it could place great weight on the vote of the state legislature about the tariff, since all Republicans voted for it and all Democrats except one against it." This attempt was filled with lies, explained the editor of the rival Allentown *Unabhängige Republikaner* on 8 February 1860, and it was just like the Republican *Patriot* to promote public disturbances and "play the heckler." The Democrats voted against the most recent tariff proposal because it had included a rider stating "false and unfounded allegations against the President and the Democratic Party," and the Republicans refused to drop these scandalous lines. The Republicans were to blame for the resolution's defeat because they were more concerned with building political capital against the Democrats than their constituents' needs.<sup>29</sup> During the early months of 1860, the *Lecha Allentown Patriot*, a zealous Republican organ, and the *Republikaner*, strongly Democratic, battled for the hearts and minds of Allentown's German residents. The two editors despised each other, and fre-



quently quoted (and misquoted) each other in their editorials. In 1860, Allentown was home to a thriving community of both Pennsylvania Dutch and newly-arrived Germans, replete with German schools and businesses which catered specifically to the interests of the highly German population.<sup>30</sup> Outside of the town limits, tidy Dutch German farms dotted the landscape. The classifieds in both newspapers contained copious advertisements for enterprises as diverse as coffin manufacturers and livestock breeders, but both also contained announcements for the formation and drill of various German militia groups. This phenomenon was not confined to Lecha County; indeed, the Skippackville, Reading and Pennsburg papers also contained ads for militia companies. The Germans were obviously aware of the possibility of conflict and were drilling in their own paramilitary organizations, just like the English-speaking population.<sup>31</sup>

Despite this commonality, the Germans remained politically divided in 1860. The *Republikaner* supported Breckinridge (later Stephen Douglas) for president in February and predicted on 15 February 1860 that "the plan for a southern convention to discuss separation from the Union is outside of South Carolina hardly a possibility. This means that the South as a whole is still healthy regarding the question of the Union. She is sticking to the Constitution—so long as we uphold this right, the Union is safe."<sup>32</sup> The *Patriot* thought otherwise. Issue after issue clamored against the Southern "slave power," blaming it for inventing grievances where none existed. The South was abusing the sacred Constitution as a means to establish its tyranny over Northern freemen. As the national election approached, both newspapers stepped up their incendiary language and their attacks against each other. Republican Andrew Curtin's October victory in the gubernatorial election was a harbinger of the November contest, argued the *Patriot*; the election had been a contest to determine whether "one will speak in favor of free trade in his Lecha or in favor of slavery's extension, in favor of slave-chains."<sup>33</sup>

The *Republikaner* responded to this news with an ominous heading on its 31 October sheet: "Should our glorious Union be preserved? The Democrats say yes . . . the Republicans say no . . . turmoil and civil war will result if the power of the national government falls into their hands." Underneath this declaration was a section in boldface. "With Stephen A. Douglas the Union is safe! With John C. Breckinridge the Union is safe! With John Bell the Union is safe! No one can deny this—but with Abraham Lincoln the Union is not safe!" The following paragraph explained why Lincoln was the worst choice, mainly because he "contradicts the Constitution" and the doctrines of all the great statesman who preceded him: Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Clay and Webster. Interestingly, the last and most recent of these men were Whigs; this fact no doubt was overlooked by Trexler, the editor of the *Republikaner*. The remainder of the article warned Allentown readers that the "South will not wait quietly until Lincoln has taken the White House." A Republican election would be equal to declaring war on the Southern states because they believed their Constitutional rights were threatened. In an almost pleading tone, the paper begged



its readers to vote Democratic in November, not just to uphold the "rights of our Southern brothers," but to avoid disunion.<sup>34</sup> To support its hefty claims against the Republican candidate, the *Republikaner* also included a large cartoon on its front page lampooning Lincoln's log-cabin heritage, the Chicago platform, and abolitionism. A log cabin—held up by a flimsy "platform" of Know-Nothingism, Black-equality and tariff-loving rats drinking from a large whiskey barrel—is about to crash down into ruin, trapping all the rats underneath in a "Black-Republican-Union-Destruction Trap." A caption underneath read, "the log cabin is really only an abolitionist trap, but is called 'Abe Lincoln's Grocery,' so that the easily-fooled voters drink from the barrel underneath."<sup>35</sup>

The language of the *Republikaner* and symbolism of its cartoon are revealing. Germans were particularly sensitive to the aristocratic Whig pretensions and Know-Nothing antifoignier roots of the Republican party, and the Democrats used this fact to their advantage, securing thousands of German votes. The *Reading Adler* echoed this theme, strongly insisting that the Know-Nothings had hidden themselves within the folds of the Republicans, and even listed several of them who were prominent Republicans in its 9 October 1860 issue.<sup>36</sup> In addition to antifoignism, the specter of emancipation which the abolitionists preached frightened many Pennsylvania Dutch Germans who feared the potential racial amalgamation that would occur if four million former slaves headed north after being freed. Not only did Pennsylvania Dutch ethnicity frown upon corruptions caused by urban factory workers, but it also adamantly supported the contention of "inherent black inferiority to whites."<sup>37</sup> In addition, a Republican victory would be anathema to them economically. Germans who had succeeded in establishing a solid economic foundation on their farms or as small shopkeepers patronized by farmers would have feared a Republican victory because they perceived the Republicans as the party of big business and thus urbanization, promoting a culture vastly unlike the one the Pennsylvania Dutch had created—or invented—over many generations. The possible financial repercussions of secession and/or civil war must have also been frightening. Located near the bustling ports of Philadelphia and New York, some German farmers and manufacturers in eastern Pennsylvania undoubtedly shipped their crops and goods to merchants in these cities for trade with the South. A national crisis between the sections, especially a state of war, could potentially spell ruin for these Pennsylvania Germans. Finally, Germans of both the "grey" and "green" variety were staunch supporters of the Constitution and the Union, even if their interpretations of both varied. The freedom these two American institutions allowed the Germans to enjoy was precious to them, mainly because most German speakers either directly remembered a distinct lack of it back in Europe (i.e., the Forty-Eighters) or had become accustomed to it over many years in America (the Pennsylvania Dutch).

In the light of these observations, the attitude of the *Republikaner* is understandable. Its political adversary, the *Patriot*, was less concerned with the possibility of war and unrest than with the idea of righteousness—slavery was wrong



and foreign competition with American businesses was wrong, because it threatened German workers' jobs. Further, the Democrats had allowed their Southern members to trample on the Constitution by threatening secession should their wishes not always prevail over the needs of the rest of the country. It is difficult to say with precision what sort of Pennsylvania German supported which paper—but based on ethnic considerations, it can be argued that the Pennsylvania Dutch, who lived mainly outside Allentown on individual farms, voted strongly Democratic, and it is probable that the Republicans were composed mainly of more newly-arrived, town-dwelling Germans. Ethnically divided between the "grey Dutch" and the "green" followers of the Forty-Eighters, the Pennsylvania Germans were just as divided politically in October 1860, if not more so, than in 1858. They also viewed the coming election with vastly different outlooks. For Pennsylvania German Republicans, a time of reckoning was drawing near; for the Democrats, a time of great apprehension and ominous foreboding.<sup>38</sup>

Democratic fears became reality with Lincoln's election. The 28 November edition of the *Republikaner* was replete with editorials asking "who is responsible?" and claiming that a crisis worse than "bleeding Kansas" now beset the land. Regarding Southern complaints that the fugitive slave law was being ignored in Northern states now more than ever, an article reviewing the laws of all the Northern states indignantly exclaimed that "these unconstitutional state laws against constitutionally guaranteed rights must fall, if the South is to be satisfied." The North, strangely enough, was now playing the role of nullifier, just like South Carolina a few decades ago. What hypocrisy for the North to claim nullification—or secession—illegal if it practiced it itself!<sup>39</sup> A mood of "I told you so" permeated the paper. With Lincoln's election, Northern businesses run by faithful members of the Democratic Party would crumble because of a lack of Southern customers. Northern Democrats would find themselves politically isolated because their Southern counterparts blamed them for the Republican victory, and most importantly, the Union was in great jeopardy of permanently splitting open. "The Northern Democrats made it only too clear that the occurrences in the South and their results would be the bitter reality of business stagnation in the North." The *Republikaner* had been prescient, it reminded its readers, in predicting the secession crisis, "but few probably foresaw or predicted the full impact of events that an electoral victory of a sectional party could have on the entire nation and over the all the people."<sup>40</sup>

Since South Carolina had not yet left the Union (but a declaration of secession was expected any day), in the next few weeks the Democratic editor focused the majority of his tirades on the ominous ramifications of the Republican victory on the economic situation of the country. Impending secession would destroy "open trust and good credit, the ruin of which must occur through the interruption of trade and all industry, and fall on the working masses of the nation." The United States had been "on the road to a shining new upswing in business"—a speedy recovery from the crisis of 1857—until Lincoln's triumph,



and now "with one fell swoop everything is broken up, as if exterminated." Rhetorically asking why and how the country had fallen into such a terrible situation, the *Republikaner* openly attacked the Republicans: "in one word the agitation and advent of the Republican Party is the reason for this growing crisis. . . . With such a party the country cannot enjoy internal peace." It was not the fault of the Democrats that the South is so enraged that it threatened to break up the Union.<sup>41</sup>

Republican Germans were overjoyed at Lincoln's election, and the *Lecha Allentown Patriot* rejoiced in the following weeks, printing jabs at its rival and poking fun of doom-croaking Democrats. It also staunchly defended the legitimacy of the election, the merits of the Republican platform, and, not surprisingly, Lincoln's position against the growing secession movement. When South Carolina seceded, however, the *Patriot* suddenly assumed an air of determined seriousness, completely condemning the state's action as unconstitutional and refusing compromise with the secessionists. After all, the Democrats split their party by refusing to compromise over the question of slavery in the territories: "Now, we for our part have no thoughts that the issue can be sidetracked through a change to the Constitution or through any other compromise, because at its convention the Democratic Party itself could not unify because of the eternal Negro." The irreconcilable issue of slavery between the North and South needed to be met now, because compromise would not only delay the inevitable, but would allow Southerners to "bring their slaves here, and we are convinced the Southerners desire this. No, our farmers would see the same as the highest danger."<sup>42</sup> The last comment was evidence that Pennsylvania German Republicans, just like the Democrats, feared blacks locating in the North. It also indicated that at least some German-speaking farmers were Republican by the end of 1861, a reminder that not all agrarians were Democratic.

The answer to the current crisis was simple: "The slave drivers have nothing further to do than accept the decision of the majority of the people—which is their duty—and if they do not wish to do this, then they must be viewed and treated as enemies of their homeland, yes, just like high-traitors." The issue simply ended there, the *Patriot* maintained. The two choices facing the nation were complete opposites, either the upholding of the Constitution or the trampling of the Constitution and destruction of the Union. Flinging a barb at the *Republikaner*, the Republican editor argued that it would not be hard to choose the correct side, because "he who is for the preservation of the Constitution and the laws, for freedom and integrity of the Union is right . . . and he who is against the laws, against the Constitution, against freedom and against our glorious Union, speaks and behaves in favor of the Southern traitors and Tories." The choice for the *Patriot's* readers, again, was simple.<sup>43</sup>

The decisions facing the Pennsylvania German community were not actually as simple as the editor of the *Patriot* wanted his readers to believe. Neither Republicans or Democrats evinced in their November or December papers much hope for an easy solution to the acute crisis afflicting the country, but neither



yet predicted an all-out civil war. Like other Americans at the time, Pennsylvania Germans appeared to believe that solutions would suddenly present themselves, and, as the *Republikaner* insinuated, clear up the problems just as in 1857. Both papers gave hints, though, about Germans' primary concerns at this stage of the secession crisis. Democrats were strongly concerned with the future of the economy. The interruption of free trade was a primary worry because it violated one of the Pennsylvania Dutch societal pillars: freedom of individual action, in this case freedom to conduct trade with Southern customers. While Democratic farmers most likely were only indirectly connected with the Southern economy, they relied on small-town merchants in Reading, Lancaster and Allentown who probably were affected by it. More importantly, Pennsylvania Dutch farmers realized that a precious trust between the North and South had been lost because of Republican heckling. With no trust between the sections, prices would rise for goods such as clothes and fabric made from Southern cotton, pressing the farmer on a slim budget. In essence, the status quo in which the Pennsylvania Dutch community prospered might be irrevocably altered. Any change in the conduct of daily affairs could transform into threats at their ethnic independence: perhaps Northern industry would expand even faster into their small towns and cities as a result of the burgeoning crisis—a hypothesis that was actually borne out in reality. If trade between the North and South slowed down due to distrust, not only would German merchants and farmers be affected; thousands of German workers who depended on their employers for their livelihood might lose their jobs or receive pay cuts. While the German Democrats could probably not count such workers as the bulk of their constituency, no doubt the lines dividing the livelihoods of Republicans and Democrats were blurred enough to permit some factory workers to be counted in the Democratic ranks. Hence the Democrats could claim to fear for the economic well-being of all Pennsylvania Germans.

The German Republicans were concerned more with philosophical issues than economic ones. Like their English-speaking comrades, they viewed compromise with South Carolina after their hard-won victory as anathema because it would repudiate the free-soil, protectionist platform which had attracted Northern (and recently-arrived German) voters to vote for Lincoln in the first place. It would also show weakness at a time when recent political victory had flushed Republicans with both party pride and optimism for a better future. Inspired perhaps by "Forty-Eighter" idealism, German Republicans also viewed "Southern slave-drivers" as tyrannical, aristocratic enemies, depriving freedom from the black man, but potentially from the Northern freeman as well, should compromise prevail. While most Germans probably knew it was highly unlikely that a political compromise would mean the extension of slavery into the North, the possibility of slavery's extension into the territories meant not only further political strife but also strong competition for immigrants (i.e., Germans), who might someday quit the eastern factories and move west in search of a better life.<sup>44</sup> Why should the perennial slavery question continue to plague the



United States when the Republican victory should indicate to all citizens, North and South, that the majority had spoken and the issue was settled? The German Republicans wanted most of all for the South to accept its legal political defeat and come to terms with the new administration on the administration's terms. There was no middle ground because no middle ground needed to exist—one was either a patriot or a traitor.

So far into the secession crisis, the eastern Pennsylvania Germans, at least according to their newspapers, exhibited minor but significant deviations from the overall reaction of Northern Democrats and Republicans. Their ethnic identity was strongly intertwined with political allegiance, however, depending on whether one was a "grey" Dutchman or a "green" factory worker. Would the respective positions of the German Republicans and Democrats change through the tumultuous winter and early spring of 1861? Did German ethnicity affect German action or inaction in the coming months any more than it did before or directly after Lincoln's election? Although it is difficult to determine from newspaper editorials, ethnicity did nonetheless appear to play a role in the Germans' reaction to the later stages of the secession crisis. Moreover, the eastern Pennsylvania Germans were not solidly united against the South after South Carolina seceded. Instead, the growing secession crisis widened gaps between Republicans and Democrats that were only bridged when the national flag was fired upon at Fort Sumter.

On New Year's Day 1861 the Skippackville *Neutralist und Allgemeine Neuigkeits-Bote* printed a large commentary that waxed philosophical about the fate of the nation. Priding itself on taking a "neutral" stance on political issues, the paper lamented the political tragedy which had befallen the Union, but stressed the economic "hard times." Comparing the United States to a mountain climber, the editor argued that easy living and a booming economy had skyrocketed the country to the pinnacle of success, but now, having reached the top too quickly, the nation teetered dangerously toward an equally rapid descent down the other side. The current secession crisis, which was disrupting the delicately-balanced country, was caused by "a minority that wants to rule, or will coerce victory with the sword." Yet "it is no wonder that the South is becoming rebellious and wants to secede; the North wants to deny it its rights." While those rights included the defense and extension of slavery, which the editor insinuated were evil, the resolution of the crisis "is all guesswork" at this point. Only one being knew how the economic and political troubles would end: God. The *Neutralist* betrayed a tinge of German-Calvinistic foreboding near the conclusion of the article. Were the hard times of the secession winter "the result of who won the last election or a punishment of the higher order? The answer: in past times we find that the founders often willingly accepted punishment for their sins and unrighteousness."<sup>45</sup> The implication that the citizens of the Union had sinned and must therefore jointly accept punishment from God indicates a religiously-inspired resignation that what will pass will pass—without recourse. Americans could do little to stop the burgeoning disas-



ter, and should not perhaps even attempt to halt it, according to the *Neutralist*. While such sentiments did not appear prominently in all German newspapers, it is important to note that most Pennsylvania Germans, particularly the "Dutch," were very religious, members of Lutheran, Reformed, Dunker, Mennonite, Schwenkfelder, and Amish congregations. The last four denominations were particularly zealous adherents of their faith, which dictated that bearing arms against "one's neighbor" was sinful. A pacifistic response to the tense political situation might, therefore, have appeared both logical and morally responsible to them.<sup>46</sup>

The Allentown *Patriot* did not exhibit fateful resignation in its 2 January issue. Instead of the more-neutral, religious stance of the *Neutralist*, the editor of the Republican paper launched an all-out attack on its rival, the *Unabhängige Republikaner*, and its Democratic principles. Under headlines labeled "High Treason" and "4 Million Dollars Robbed," Buchanan's lame duck administration was shown to be the assistant and promulgator of Southern Union killers. Not only had Buchanan allowed huge amounts of money to disappear, argued the *Patriot*, it had permitted it literally to go south to the secessionists. The *Unabhängige Republikaner* should be ashamed of promoting such a corrupt party: if the Democrats would not allow a Republican president to be elected unless the breakup of the Union necessarily followed, "why do they not then carry their 'patriotism' to the point of suggesting an amendment to the Constitution, stating that no one shall have a voice unless he goes head over heels for the Democratic Union-Destruction Party?"<sup>47</sup> The Democrats could profit handsomely off of such a deal that robbed freemen of their rights, the editor cynically reported. He then blurted his outrage at the crime he had concocted for the Democrats—"Shame! Shame!! Shame!!!" Reiterating the all or nothing theme, the question before true Union men remained the same as before: self rule by democratic freemen, or a tyranny of "the Southern bank robbers and traitors." The choice was as simple as it had been a few weeks earlier. "In the North we hold true to the old Constitution of our fathers, and are resolved to uphold the same—and whoever opposes the same through force is a traitor and is solely responsible for the consequences." Even the advertisements in the *Patriot* were tinged with Republican sentiment. "The times are hard," stated one shoemaker, "money is scarce—the Union is in danger—and must be preserved, and the only way to preserve the same is to keep the feet warm and the head cool."<sup>48</sup>

The *Republikaner* was not long in responding to the *Patriot's* incendiary attack. In its 9 January issue, the Democratic paper defended the Buchanan presidency (again), the efforts being made for compromise, and asked "what is the best." Correctly stating that the "main problem between the North and South" was the issue of slavery in the territories, the *Republikaner* entreated its readers to decide what the best future course was: "Indeed the simple question is which is better—the Union with a few Negroes in the territories, or separation of the Union without Negroes in the territories?" Following this rhetorical question, a letter to the editor from a recently emigrated Pennsylvania German in Ten-



nessee presented an emotional appeal for compromise. The anonymous author claimed to have voted for Douglas, "who wanted to keep away the present evil times," and lamented that the "fire-eaters now have placed a civil war in the near future." "I fear very much," he wrote; "that it will then go especially berserk against 'foreigners,' who are all seen here by the Americans as abolitionists and 'Black Republicans.'" In a Fitzhugh-esque argument, the author claimed that black slaves were better-off than northern white workers, and that "having lived in the South four years," he knew that it was impossible to cultivate cotton, rice or sugar without slavery. Germans in the South would side with "American" Southerners should war come, and then, sadly, German would fight German. "It would be all to the best if the Northern Germans would not tamper with slavery here in the South," he argued.<sup>49</sup>

"Each hour enlarges the danger of a bloody civil war and the terrible dissolution of the Union, which was created under great sacrifice through the spirit of peace, and may be preserved only through modern hindsight, tolerance, and duty." Appeals such as this one were scattered all over the January and February issues of the *Unabhängige Republikaner*. Peace would be achieved only through compromise, and if Pennsylvania were ever called upon to furnish troops to suppress the secessionists, "we incidentally hope that this army of 100,000 men will be formed from the Republican ranks, who have voiced their support to that which created this civil discord." The Republicans, moreover, were determined to see a war happen, "because their party is more important than the Union," and as a result, pessimistically predicted the *Republikaner*, "the entire South will attempt to separate into a Southern confederacy."<sup>50</sup>

The more apolitical *Neutralist* likewise called for compromise and the avoidance of bloodshed. On 8 January, it carried an appeal from former governor William F. Packer stressing the need for compromise not only to prevent disunion, but also probable civil war. The article advocated the extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific and a Constitutional amendment guaranteeing slavery's legality underneath 36°30' latitude. The people, not the lawmakers, should decide if national catastrophe was to be averted if the politicians failed to compromise. A 5 February letter to the editor of the *Neutralist* likewise pleaded for compromise enacted by the people, not the politicians. Since the "liberal, upstanding and equalizing" Crittenden Compromise, "which could save our land from disaster," was being rejected by Congress, then the people should take affairs into their own hands. "What do the people want?" asked the author. "Peace and not war. We must view secession for what it really is, and how it is spreading on a daily basis. The Union is as good as dissolved." Therefore, he continued, we must mediate our difficulties and do whatever it takes to restore the nation's integrity. But this could not be accomplished through force: restoration "will occur only through immediate love and friendship, not through force. The advent of force is the end of the Union!" Pennsylvanians needed to raise their voices for compromise and unity.<sup>51</sup>



Another Allentown paper, the non-partisan *Friedens-Bote*, also argued strongly for compromise. Both its 6 and 13 February editions contained long reprints of procompromise speeches delivered by Pennsylvania German congressmen in Harrisburg. Proclaiming slavery "an unquestionable evil," Democrat William G. Lichtenwallner nonetheless contended in the House that "slavery will soon die out in the South," and that the institution existed in the North at the time of the Constitutional Convention. Therefore, while "God will judge the country for its sins," the greater sin of breaking up the Union over slavery was a far worse transgression. Overflowing with biblical allusions (like the parable of a God-defying Jonah swallowed by the whale), Lichtenwallner's address must have struck a chord with religious Germans who feared God's judgment on a wayward nation. Similarly, Senator Jeremiah Schindel proclaimed that "our state [Pennsylvania] has had earlier, and still has great influence with the other states, and if it beckons the Southern states with outstretched hands and decides that all states will have equal rights, then, I believe, the flight of the secessionists will be brought to a halt." The *Reading Adler* offered similar advice to lawmakers. "The ever-true and upstanding friend of the preservation of the Union, untrammelled by shortsighted viewpoints, must feel himself duty-bound to recognize the full legal equality of the Southern states and accept their lawful arguments." Again, compromise was preferable to any other alternative.<sup>52</sup>

Through the rest of February and March 1861, despite reports in every paper about the secession conventions of the remaining Southern states, Democratic and politically "neutral" newspapers solidly supported some sort of compromise with the South. Their stance differed little from that of November 1860, and, if anything, became more resolved to blame the Republicans for the impending disaster. Economic considerations, especially lamentations about the "present hard times" were still important, but the preservation of the Union now became the primary goal. Regarding the last issue, the Democrats united with their adversaries, but the similarities ended there. Republicans threatened war if secession did not end and the legitimate results of the election of 1860 obeyed. They too, did not stray from their earlier course of "no compromise." Significantly, all the papers examined overtly predicted war if their ideologies were not adopted by the nation's politicians. The two Allentown rivals, the *Patriot* and *Unabhängige Republikaner*, continually printed editorials blaming the other for either instigating the present national crisis or siding with traitors. Both papers still argued that there was a "simple" choice for their readers to make; the two choices were different, however, depending on one's political affiliation. Democrats could choose between compromise and war, and Republicans could choose between Union and probable war and the trampling of Constitutional rights accompanied by the destruction of the Union. Notices for weekly drills of militia companies abounded in both Democratic and Republican papers, however, a sign that Pennsylvania Germans were preparing for the



worst. On 13 April 1861 Fort Sumter was fired upon and their worst fears were realized.<sup>53</sup>

The 17 April issue of the *Unabhängige Republikaner* carried the following headline: "The war has begun. It is our sad duty today to report one of the most tragic events of American history, namely the commencement of actual fighting between different sections of the former United States." The Democratic paper immediately blamed the instigation for the attack on Fort Sumter on the impending arrival of a federal fleet laden with troops from Washington, but did not excuse the bellicose action of the South Carolinians. "On the side of the secessionists lies the responsibility for having fired the first shot." A state of war now existed between the seceded states and the federal government, "a war between brothers, who before had fought on a hundred battlefields side by side for liberty and homeland—and when this war will end, God alone knows." A genuine crestfallen and gloomy tone pervaded the newspaper, and the editor admitted that recent events now "force the law-abiding citizen to take up arms to prevent that all state and societal conditions succumb to the all-encompassing conflict." The entire North was now behind President Lincoln, and as a result "the differences of the parties disappear into nothingness; there is but one question, and that is how to bring the danger of this situation most quickly and safely to an end." However, the *Republikaner* could not help taking one last jab at the Republicans. Reacquainting the readers with the ideals of compromise and Constitutional resolution it had preached up to this point, the editor proclaimed the advent of the war the fault of "a fanatical, unpeaceful spirit" which resided in the hearts of "Northern fanatics . . . which the Southern secessionists have brought full circle." Secessionists existed not only in the South, but "had existed also in the North." Nonetheless, the German Democrats would support the Northern war effort in order to uphold the Union—the status quo—they so cherished.<sup>54</sup>

The tone of the Allentown *Patriot* on the same day was unequivocally enthusiastic for the defense of the flag as well as vindictive against the Democratic "traitors," especially those "poor suckers" who edited and supported the rival *Republikaner*. "We advise them to become somewhat cool, and to consider that they themselves, and not us, are to blame" for the war. Headlines such as "What Does One Think About Such People" bitterly questioned the loyalty and patriotism of Democrats, and several editorials scathingly blamed the Democrats for "the national sickness" which resulted in secession, and consequently, the war. One such "sickness" was the inexcusable emptiness of the national treasury, which was "left over from the Democratic leaders. The Democratic thief-sickness is suddenly cured, however, because all such thieves have given themselves up to the Democratic South." Regarding the possibility of war between brothers, the *Patriot* exhorted, "well, who is human who would not be ashamed if such a result became necessary," but this price was worth the potential cost if it "strengthens and defends our dear liberties . . . and preserves the



Constitution and the Union." Now it was the Republicans' turn to say "I told you so," and the editor spared few pains in explicating this fact, blaming the Democrats for upholding their party above the Union. "How terrible a man can sink once he strays from the path of truth and right—the next thing is that he provides only for the good of his party and becomes so corrupt that he would accomplish the same by going through the ruins of our dear country. O God! Forgive such people their misdeeds! They can not possibly know what they do—and yet know still less what terrible responsibilities they impose through such expressions." German Republicans had triumphed.<sup>55</sup>

It was not until the attack on Fort Sumter—late in the secession crisis—that eastern Pennsylvania Germans finally unified in their opinions about the sectional crisis. Even then, the *Unabhängige Republikaner* exhibited signs of defiance, attempting still to argue for the virtue of its previous positions. Yet the Democrats, however begrudgingly, had been obliged to come over to the Republican view of preserving the Union through whatever means necessary. They were undoubtedly disgusted that war would be that means to the greater end, and feared the economic and possible cultural consequences for their Pennsylvania Dutch culture. Yet they still supported the Lincoln administration's stance against the rebellious states on the grounds that the secessionists had fired on the flag. In this interpretation, the Pennsylvania German Democrats differed little from their English-speaking colleagues. German Republicans likewise acted very similar to their compatriots, never deserting the argument that the constitutionality of Lincoln's election must be upheld and the Union preserved at any cost. The history of the eastern Pennsylvania Germans during the secession crisis—as expressed in their newspapers—was, however, a very divided one, and this fact is significant in light of modern scholarship, which has ignored their responses to this critical event. While most historians, particularly the ethnoculturalists, maintain that German-American political sentiments were divided during the late antebellum period, very few have realized how disunited the eastern Pennsylvania Germans were in the very last stages of the secession crisis—the months immediately preceding Sumter.

Ethnicity unequivocally played a substantial role in determining the political responses of Pennsylvania Germans during this crisis, especially those of the Pennsylvania Dutch. Religious overtones may have contributed to a more pacifistic outlook in some German newspapers, but more importantly, the unique ethnicity that the Pennsylvania Dutch had created—an amalgam of German and Anglo-Saxon culture—influenced them to vote Democratic to protect their ethnic and economic interests, which were intertwined. They responded very differently to secession from the newly-arrived, Forty-Eighter-led German immigrants, who tended to vote Republican for mainly ideological reasons. Hence the Pennsylvania German community was divided ethnically and politically during the secession crisis. These conclusions should not only enlighten the

extant historiography on ethnic minorities during the era of the Civil War, but offer a counterpoint to the assumption that mid-nineteenth-century Americans were well on their way to being melted into the common pot.

*The Pennsylvania State University*  
University Park, Pennsylvania

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Mahlon H. Hellerich, ed., *Allentown, 1762-1987: A 225-Year History* (Allentown, PA: Lehigh County Historical Society, 1987), 1:90-97.

<sup>2</sup> "Die demokratische Partei sagt, dass die Unzufriedenheit mit der Union verursacht wurde durch Verlorengehen des Zutrauens . . . und der einzige Weg zu diesem Ziele [restoration of trust and brotherhood] ist ein sogenanntes Compromiss—eine Ausgleichung unserer Differenzen in einem brüderlichen Geiste. Dieses ist der friedliche Weg, die Union zu erhalten, und ist in Übereinstimmung mit dem Geiste der sie erschaffen hat" (*Allentown Unabhängige Republikaner*, 23 January 1861 [Microfilm, Lehigh County Historical Society, Allentown, PA; hereafter cited as LCHS]).

<sup>3</sup> "Die andere Methode für die Erhaltung der Union besteht in dem Gebrauch von heftigen Argumenten—physischer Gewalt. Kanonen und Kugeln, Blutvergießen und Brutalität. Das verlorene Vertrauen der südlichen Staaten in die Union soll an der Spitze des Bayonets und der Kanonen Mündung wiederhergestellt werden. Der Süden soll durch Schläge gezwungen werden, die Union zu lieben!" (ibid.).

<sup>4</sup> " . . . kein intelligenter Mensch wird so verblendet sein, zu glauben, dass die Union durch Zwang erhalten werden könne. In einem solchen Kampf wäre Sieg eben so schlimm für die Union, als Niederlage" (ibid.).

<sup>5</sup> Bruce Levine, *The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 254. Levine's is the most recent scholarly work that even addresses this subject. His emphasis is on the 1850s, but he does examine the secession crisis. Levine, to his credit, does allude to the disparity in partisan sentiment among the Pennsylvania Germans before the secession crisis, but says little about this subject after the election of Lincoln. Burton, whose *Melting Pot Soldiers: The Union's Ethnic Regiments* (Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press, 1988) is the only modern publication dealing with German-American soldiers who fought for the North, treats the Germans' reactions to the 1860 election in Philadelphia, but, like Levine, says very little about the secession crisis which followed (see pp. 28-29).

<sup>6</sup> Ken Fones-Wolf and Elliott Shore, "The German Press and Working Class Politics in Gilded-Age Philadelphia," in *The German-American Radical Press: The Shaping of a Left Political Culture, 1850-1940* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 65. This essay treats the Philadelphia German Press in postwar Philadelphia, but states that "from the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act through the conclusion of the Civil War, German immigrants' 'equal rights' ideas attached them to a political culture galvanizing Northern workingmen around the Union cause." See Carl Wittke's two publications, *The German Language Press in America* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957) and *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952) and Adolf E. Zucker, *The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), for the traditional interpretation of German-American affiliation with the Republican party during the Civil War era. Concentrating on the Forty-Eighter revolutionaries who fled Germany after their democratic revolution failed, it is understandable that these authors would focus on German-American activity in the Republican party.

<sup>7</sup> Prominent among scholars of the "ethnoculturalist school" of thinking are Frederick Luebke, ed., *Ethnic Voters and the Election of Lincoln* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1971); Paul Kleppner, *The Cross of Culture: A Social Analysis of Midwestern Politics, 1850-1900* (New York: The Free Press, 1970); Ronald P. Formisano, *The Birth of Mass Political Parties: Michigan, 1827-1861* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971); Michael F. Holt, *Forging a Majority: The Forma-*



tion of the Republican Party in Pittsburgh, 1848-1860 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1969); and Walter Kamphoefner, "German-Americans and Civil War Politics: A Reconsideration of the Ethnocultural Thesis," *Civil War History* 37,3 (1991): 226-40. While Kamphoefner takes issue with explaining ethnic politics solely through ethnocultural lenses, he still subscribes to the thesis as a critical interpretive tool.

<sup>8</sup> Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), 663-64. Lonn wrote that her statistics are drawn from the national census of 1860.

<sup>9</sup> Robert Henry Billigmeier, "The Pennsylvania Germans from the American Revolution to the First World War," in *Americans from Germany: A Study in Cultural Diversity*, Minorities in American Life Series (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1974), 110-12. Billigmeier states that the "Great Valley" of Pennsylvania was strongly populated by the Pennsylvania Dutch Germans, and that the counties of Berks, Bucks, Carbon, Dauphin, Lebanon, Lehigh, Lancaster, Montgomery, Northampton, Northumberland, Schuylkill, Snyder, and York were the core "Pennsylvania German territory." Gustav Koerner, the German-American politico and war-leader, observes in his book, *Das Deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, 1818-1848* (Cincinnati, 1880), that the Pennsylvania state legislature was publishing the governor's addresses in a German translation by 1837, and German instruction in the schools was sanctioned by law. A quick glance at the rosters of state legislators in the antebellum period reveals hundreds of German-sounding surnames. Koerner also mentions a legislative movement to establish a German teacher's college and a German university. Hence it appears that the Pennsylvania Germans were attempting to protect their unique ethnicity through the preservation of the German language within the framework of state education and politics (Koerner, chap. 2).

<sup>10</sup> Don Yoder has studied the Pennsylvania "Dutch" Germans for several decades, and in his essay in Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh, eds., *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred-Year History*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), he claims that the Forty-Eighters "puzzled the Pennsylvanians—they were Germans, they spoke the German language, but they were radically different in cultural and political outlook. The Pennsylvania Dutch Germans had several names for them—'New Germans' or 'European Germans' or simply *Deutschblenner*, *Deutschländer* or Germany-Germans. . . . They considered immigrant Germans foreigners" while believing themselves to be American (see pp. 51-53 of his essay, "The Pennsylvania Germans").

<sup>11</sup> Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1-14, and Kathleen Conzen, David A. Gerber et al., "The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the U.S.A.," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 12,1 (Fall 1992): 3-32.

<sup>12</sup> Don Yoder agrees with this contention. He argues that the Pennsylvania Germans in the nineteenth century had so broken with their own German ethnicity through generations of residence among English speakers, that the influx of new immigrants from Germany in the middle decades of the century was primarily responsible for the "Germanizing movement" among the "Dutch" Germans, such as the drive to legalize German language instruction in schools. While the two groups did not coalesce into a common cultural and political union, it took the influence of direct German immigration to spur on certain aspects of the "invented" ethnic identity of the longer-settled "Dutch" Germans (see his essay in Trommler and McVeigh, eds., *America and the Germans*, 50-51).

<sup>13</sup> Mahlon H. Hellerich, ed., *Allentown, 1762-1987: A 225-Year History*, 1:91-96; Robert H. Billigmeier, "The Pennsylvania Germans from the American Revolution to the First World War," 110-15; and Frederic Klees, *The Pennsylvania Dutch* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950). Don Yoder calls these immigrants "largely an urban phenomenon," who "settled in the Pennsylvania German cities," and "attempted in part to recreate for themselves in America a German bourgeois atmosphere in their urban neighborhoods, churches, and lodges" (*America and the Germans*, 51).

<sup>14</sup> See Winifred Gregory, ed., *American Newspapers, 1821-1936: A Union List of Files Available in the United States* (Washington, 1939), under "Pennsylvania."

<sup>15</sup> The author chose to examine the German press of the eastern portion of the state only because of time and space constraints, not because of insignificance of sources from the western counties. Likewise, the reader will discover few references to Philadelphia papers here. These pub-



lications, certainly rich in information, were inaccessible during the time of research because of the temporary closure of the two primary repositories: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the German Society of Pennsylvania. For an excellent study of the German-language press in antebellum Philadelphia, see Lesley Ann Kawaguchi, "The Making of Philadelphia's German-America: Ethnic Group and Community Development, 1830-1883 (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1983). It should also be noted that German-language newspapers are much harder to locate than regular English ones. The scarcity of these documents prevents a blow-by-blow, week-by-week narrative about the various papers which may be possible with other, English-language papers; instead, the author has attempted to provide a chronological analysis of thought within the papers he did discover. If large chronological gaps seem to yawn inexplicably, the author cheerfully accepts it with the caveat that it could not necessarily be helped.

<sup>16</sup> "Dough face" was a derogatory term used by Republicans to describe Northern Democrats who sided with their Southern colleagues on slavery-related issues. It was a metaphor for someone easily "pushed around."

<sup>17</sup> "Die Hauptfrage in Washington, wann [sic] die Kansasfrage aufs Tapet gebracht wurde, ist stets gewesen: Wie sollen wir die südlichen Feuerfresser zufrieden stellen? Nicht: Wie sollen wir den Einwohnern von Kansas Gerechtigkeit widerfahren lassen, dadurch dass wir dafür sorgen, dass es ihnen erlaubt wird ihre Institutionen zu bilden nach dem Geist und der Absicht der Nebraska Akte . . . das Land in Streit verwickeln und die übrigen Jahre seines Amtertermins mit der größten Unruhe anfüllen wird . . .

Ohne Zweifel sind die Disunionisten erfreut über die gegenwärtige Verwicklung. Die Radikalen im Süden, welche einem südlichen Staatenbund, dem Anschluss von Central-America und der Erneuerung des Sklavenhandels entgegen sehen, freuen sich über diese neue Schwierigkeit. Wie kann der President in die Hände solcher Männer spielen? Sie sind bereits der Union völlig ungetreu. Mag er thun, was er immer will, werden sie fortfahren die Administration zu beunruhigen. Sie wünschen nicht, dass die Regierung ruhig und friedlich fortschreiten soll. Sie suchen heißes Wasser, und hoffen mittelst desselben ihre Absicht zu erreichen." (Lancaster *Volksfreund und Beobachter*, 5 January 1858 [copy available at the Lancaster County Historical Society, Lancaster, PA.]

<sup>18</sup> *Berks County Democrat*, 23 March 1859 (The Historical Society of Berks County, Reading, PA [hereafter cited as HSBC]).

<sup>19</sup> "Die Schwierigkeiten nämlich, welche James Buchanan zu überwinden hatte, waren so außerordentlich und mannigfaltig, wie sie selten in der Geschichte eines der früheren Präsidenten der Ver. Staaten vorgekommen sind.

Wie zahlreich auch die Opposition war, wie groß und talentvoll die Männer, welche ihm gegenüber standen—seine Charakterfestigkeit und geistige Überlegenheit trugen endlich den Sieg davon. Der Kansas Streit ist aus dem Congress entfernt, dahin verlegt, wohin er gehört, in das Territorium selber.

Für Kinder braucht er nicht zu sorgen, denn er hat keine. Sein Vaterland ist sein nächster Verwandter.

Diese Behauptung trägt das Zeichen der Lüge an der Stirn. . . . James Buchanan war immer der wahre Freund des Arbeiters, und hat sein Leben lang das Schwindel-System bekämpft, welchem wir die Krisis verdanken." (Pennsburg *Bauern Freund* 7 July 1858 [copy available at the Schwenkfelder Library, Pennsburg, PA; hereafter cited as SFL].)

<sup>20</sup> At first glance, this may sound ironic considering the Republican doctrine of free labor, but Democrats attempted to pair the Republican party with corrupt big business, which in their view was cheating laborers of all sorts—rural and urban.

<sup>21</sup> "Was Haben Die Demokraten Vollbracht?" Title of the article describing the various acts of land acquisition accomplished by Democratic presidents. ". . . alle demokratischen Präsidenten, von Jefferson's Zeit bis auf diesen Tag, mochten sie noch so viel Gutes für unser Land thun, von den föderalistischen Zeitungen mit derselben Bitterkeit und Bosheit angefallen wurden, mit welcher dieselben heutzutage James Buchanan verfolgen." Also see letter to editor by "B. S. Kerr," explaining, "Ich habe sie [Buchanan] unterstützt, weil sie von den Demokraten in's Amt erhoben wurden." (Reading *Adler*, 26 April 1859 [HSBC].)

<sup>22</sup> These historians, varying greatly in time of publication, are the chief scholars who have dealt with German-Americans during the era of the American Civil War. See Wilhelm Kaufmann, *Die*



*Deutschen im amerikanischen Bürgerkriege* (Munich: Druck und Verlag von R. Oldenbourg, 1911); Albert Bernhard Faust, *The German Element in the United States: With Special Emphasis to its Political, Moral, Social, and Educational Influence* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909); and Wittke, Lonn, Levine, and Burton, previously cited. See note 7 for a brief listing of the works of Luebke, Holt, and other historians who have promulgated the ethnocultural thesis.

<sup>23</sup> Willi Paul Adams, *The German-Americans: An Ethnic Experience*, trans. La Vern J. Rippley and Eberhard Reichmann (Indianapolis: Max Kade German-American Center, 1993), 31. While not adding substantially new interpretations, Adams has logically condensed much of the thought of the various ethnoculturalists in his chapter on politics.

<sup>24</sup> Hellerich, 93; and Willi Paul Adams, 31.

<sup>25</sup> "Wo kommen da unsere Träumer hin, die unsere Gleichheit mit den Negern so toll träumen und nicht wach werden können? Sie mögen sich die Unthaten, die viehischen Unthaten vorlesen lassen, welche bei allen Neger-Aufständen verübt wurden und sie werden wach und nüchtern werden. Sie mögen sie wohl erwägen und sie werden nicht länger eine Verantwortlichkeit auf sich nehmen wollen." (*Reading Adler*, 7 February 1860 [HSBC].)

<sup>26</sup> For a much-more detailed analysis of Forty-Eighter motivation and influence, see Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*; Levine, *The Spirit of 1848*, and A. E. Zucker, ed., *The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950); Ken Fones-Wolf and Elliott Shore, "The German Press and Working-Class Politics in Gilded-Age Philadelphia," and John B. Jentz, "The 48ers and the Politics of the German Labor Movement in Chicago during the Civil War Era: Community Formation and the Rise of a Labor Press," both in *The German-American Radical Press*.

<sup>27</sup> See the earlier citations of Yoder's work, and Willi Paul Adams, *The German-Americans* "... local studies in Iowa ... have shown that the differences between urban and rural constituencies were more indicative of voter behavior than were religious or ethnic components. The rule of thumb is: the more geographically isolated an election district, the more votes cast for the Democrats" (31). My research supports this assumption in general, but argues that ethnicity also played a substantial role in determining voting behavior.

<sup>28</sup> Much scholarship, particularly that of the ethnoculturalists, supports such a conclusion, and it probably is historically accurate. Voting records for the Pennsylvania counties in question, compared with the national census, would provide verification of this thesis, but such records for Lehigh County, my focus of interest, were not available either in Allentown or at the Pennsylvania State Archives at the time of my research. Such a distinct political polarity, however, betrays a practical consideration which Andreas Dorpalen has correctly asserted: "From the earliest colonial times the German element in this country had shown itself particularly susceptible to environmental pressure. It adopted, and accepted conditions as it found them." Andreas Dorpalen, "The German Element and the Issues of the Civil War," in *Ethnic Voters and the Election of Lincoln*, Frederick C. Luebke, ed. (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1971), 69. It could very well be that the Germans who settled in rural Pennsburg (located about halfway between Allentown and Philadelphia) were longer-settled and more agrarian than their Lancaster cousins, but it is also possible that Pennsburg had a stronger Democratic presence among all of its citizens, English and German-speaking, than the more cosmopolitan town of Lancaster, where loyalties were more evenly divided. William Burton supports this contention in *Melting Pot Soldiers: The Union's Ethnic Regiments* (Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press, 1988), 17. He argues that "immigrants disagreed with each other and could not be counted on to follow ethnic leaders slavishly. ... Like the native American, the foreign-born voter cast his ballot on the basis of complex motivation, with local issues like temperance and ethnic rivalries, along with state and national issues of many kinds, influencing his decision." While I do not think these caveats contradict my research, it is important to keep them in mind.

<sup>29</sup> "JENE TARIFF-BESCHLÜSSE. Unter dieser Überschrift sucht der 'Lecha Patriot' von letzter Woche Capital für seine Partei zu machen, indem er auf die Abstimmung über die Tariffbeschlüsse in der Staatsgesetzgebung hinweist und großes Gewicht darauf legt, dass alle Republikaner für und alle Demokraten bis auf 1 dagegen gestimmt haben. ... Aber es scheint, der Patriot muss immer den Heuchler spielen. ... falschen, ungegründeten Verleumdungen gegen den Präsidenten und die demokratische Partei." (*Unabhängige Republikaner*, 8 February 1860 [LCHS].)



<sup>30</sup> The Allentown *Friedens-Bote*, another German weekly from that city, contained an article on 3 April 1860 listing the numbers of Pennsylvania students being taught in German in 1860. Lecha County, which later became Lehigh County, was ranked second in the state (behind Berks) with 1,145 students (copy available at SFL).

<sup>31</sup> See any of the 1860 editions of the Allentown *Republikaner*, *Patriot*, *Pennsburg Bauern Freund*, *Reading Adler*, or Skippackville *Neutralist und Allgemeine Neuigkeits-Bote* (LCHS, SFL, HSBC).

<sup>32</sup> "Der Plan für eine südliche Convention, um eine Ausscheidung aus der Union zu besprechen, findet außerhalb Süd Carolina nirgends nennenswerthen Anklang. Das zeigt, dass der Süden im Ganzen noch gesund in der Unionsfrage ist. Er hält zur Constitution—so lang wir diese aufrecht erhalten, ist unsere Union sicher" (*Unabhängige Republikaner*, 15 February 1860 [LCHS]). The *Reading Adler* also supported Breckinridge, mainly to preserve party unity. Douglas really did not want the nomination of the Northern Democrats, asserted the editor of the *Adler*, only his "hardnosed friends." They were responsible for the split in the party, not him (*Reading Adler*, 3 July 1860 [HSBC]).

<sup>33</sup> See the various issues of the *Lecha Allentown Patriot* for February, March and April 1860, and especially the October issues. Pennsylvania was a key state in antebellum presidential elections, not only because of its electoral votes, but also since the gubernatorial election, seen as a harbinger of future political allegiance, occurred in October—one month before the presidential election. Regarding the October election: "Ja, es soll sich daraus ergeben, ob man sich in sein Lech zu gunsten von freiem Handel oder zu gunsten der Erweiterung der Sklaverei—und zu gunsten von Sklavenketten ausdrückt oder nicht" (*Patriot*, 3 October 1860 [LCHS]).

<sup>34</sup> "Soll unsere glorreiche Union erhalten werden? . . . Die Demokraten sagen ja, sie soll bleiben mit der Constitution und gleichen Rechten der Staaten. Die Republikaner sagen nein . . . Unruhe und Bürgerkrieg zu befürchten, wenn die Partei die National Regierung in die Hände bekommt. Mit Stephen A. Douglas ist die Union sicher! Mit John C. Breckinridge ist die Union sicher! Mit John Bell ist die Union sicher! Kein Mensch kann dem widersprechen—aber mit Abraham Lincoln ist die Union nicht sicher! weil er der Candidat einer Partei und Repräsentant von Grundfragen ist, die im Widerspruch leben mit unserer Constitution und vor denen die Väter und größten Staatsmänner unseres Landes als Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Clay, Webster, und andere.

Man glaube nicht, dass der Süden gewillt ist, ruhig abzuwarten bis Lincoln im weißen Haus Platz genommen hat." (Allentown *Unabhängige Republikaner*, 31 October 1860 [LCHS].)

<sup>35</sup> "SCHWARZ-REPUBLIKANISCHE UNIONS-ZERSTÖRUNGS-FALLE . . . Die Blockhütte ist in Wahrheit nur eine Abolitionisten-Falle, aber bezeichnet als 'Abe Lincoln's Grocery,' um die leichtgläubigen Stimmgeber an das große Fass unten zu trinken" (*ibid.*).

<sup>36</sup> "Wo sind die KNOW NOTHINGS? Antwort: In der republikanischen Partei." The editorial then proceeds to list prominent Republicans who were known Know-Nothings: Banks, Putnam, Henry Winter Davis, Bates, etc. (*Reading Adler*, 9 October 1860 [HSBC]).

<sup>37</sup> Hellerich, 93: "Implicit in the Democratic position was the assumption of inherited black inferiority to whites and the further assumption that any workable system of race relations rested upon the legal subordination of blacks to whites."

<sup>38</sup> Bruce Levine notes that "nowhere did nativists exercise more power within Republican ranks than in Pennsylvania" (*The Spirit of 1848*, 241). He also argues, "despite both ethnic and class qualms, most organized German craftworkers and other radical democratic organizations evidently supported Lincoln in 1860. The Democratic Party, on the other hand, found strong German support among rural voters generally and those urban dwellers (such as unskilled laborers) less identified with social and political radicalism and more closely tied to the Catholic and conservative Protestant clergy" (250). Levine's last point about the general conservatism of staunch German Protestants may be supported by papers such as the Allentown *Friedens-Bote*, which continually referred contemporary political events to biblical parallels.

<sup>39</sup> "Diese unconstitutionellen Staatsgesetze gegen constitutionell garantierte Rechte müssen fallen, wenn der Süden zufriedengestellt werden soll. . . . Alle Nullification und Sezession im Süden ist nur das Echo solcher Maßregeln im Norden, welche zufolge der Wahl Lincolns dem Süden noch gefahrdrohender erscheinen müssen als früher" (*Unabhängige Republikaner*, 28 November 1860 [LCHS]).

<sup>40</sup> "Die nördlichen Demokraten hielten oder ausgaben, nur allzu klar, dass die Vorgänge im Süden und dass die Resultate davon die Störung aller Geschäfte im Norden der bitterste Ernst sind.



Wenige nur haben wahrscheinlich den vollen Umfang des Urtheils vorausgesehen oder nur vorausgeahnt, das zufolge eines Wahlsieges einer rein sektionellen Partei über das gesamte Land und über das ganze Volk kommen kann." (*Unabhängige Republikaner*, 28 November 1860, and subsequent issues for November and December 1860 [LCHS]; also see the *Reading Adler* for these months for concurring opinions [HSBC].)

<sup>41</sup> "—vor der daraus hervorgehenden Störung des öffentlichen Vertrauens, des Credits und vor dem Ruin welcher dadurch über allen Verkehr und alle Industrie und über die Arbeitermassen des ganzen Landes hereinbrechen müsste.

Alles war auf dem besten Weg zu einem neuen glänzenden Geschäftsaufschwung—da mit einem Schlag ist Alles wie abgebrochen, wie vernichtet.

Mit einem Wort die Agitation und das Auftreten der republikanischen Partei ist der Grund dieser drohenden Krisis. . . . Mit einer solchen Partei kann das Land nicht den inneren Frieden genießen." (Ibid., and subsequent issues for November and December 1860.)

<sup>42</sup> The originals of these quotations appear in the next note.

<sup>43</sup> "Nun, wir für unser Theil haben keinen Gedanken, dass die Sache je durch eine Veränderung der Constitution oder durch irgend andere Compromisse beseitigt werden kann, denn selbst die demokratische Partei konnte bei ihrer Convention sich ja nicht wegen dem ewigen Neger einigen.

. . . Nie wird der Norden einwilligen, dass es den südlichen Negerzüchtern erlaubt wird, ihre Sklaven hierher zu bringen, und dass wir dieselbe dann beschützen sollen, wie dies die Südländer begehren. Nein, unsere Bauern würden sich vor denselben sicher in der höchsten Gefahr glauben.

Die Sklavenzüchter haben daher weiter nichts zu tun, als sich der Entscheidung der Mehrheit des Volkes—dem Grundpfeiler worauf unsere Regierungsform ruht—zu fügen, wie dies ihre Pflicht ist—wollen sie dies aber nicht, so müssen sie also Feinde ihres Vaterlandes—ja geradezu als Hochverräter betrachtet und behandelt werden.

. . . Wer für die Aufrechthaltung der Constitution und der Gesetze, für Freiheit und für den Fortbestand der Union ist, der tadelt mit Recht, das Verfahren der südlichen Unionzerstörer oder Hochverräter—und wer gegen die Gesetze, gegen die Constitution, gegen die Freiheit und gegen unsere glorreiche Union ist, der spricht und handelt zu Gunsten der südlichen Landsverräter und Tories." (*Lecha Allentown Patriot*, 30 December 1860 [copy, LCHS]; also see 9, 16 and 23 December 1860.)

<sup>44</sup> Under the 1862 Homestead Act, which promised cheap land in the western territories to new settlers, this possibility moved closer to reality.

<sup>45</sup> "Die Minderheit will herrschen, oder den Sieg mit dem Schwert erringen.

Es möchte vielleicht ein lieber Leser einwenden und hierauf antworten, kein Wunder, dass der Süden nun rebellisch wird und sich trennen will; der Norden will ja dem Süden seine Rechte bestreiten.

Was ist die Ursache . . . unserer letzten harten Zeit? Ist es die Folge des Sieges unserer letzten Wahl oder ein Strafgericht der hohen Vorsehung? Antwort: in der Geschichte vergangener Zeiten finden wir, dass die Väter oft um ihrer Sünden und Ungerechtigkeiten willen gestraft wurden." (*Skippackville Neutralist und Allgemeine Neuigkeits-Bote*, 1 January 1861 [SFL].)

<sup>46</sup> These denominations all stressed pacifism in the resolution of conflicts. Statements like that which appeared in the *Neutralist* would mesh nicely with their theological doctrines. Later during the Civil War, the Amish and Mennonites contributed high numbers of conscientious objectors to the draft; see Frederic Klees, *The Pennsylvania Dutch* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950), and William T. Parsons, *The Pennsylvania Dutch: A Persistent Minority* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1976).

<sup>47</sup> "Wenn die Editoren des "Unabhängigen Republikaners" den Grundsatz etabliren wollen, dass wir kein Recht haben einen Mann als President zu erwählen, gegen den der Süden keine Stimme gibt—und dass wenn wir thun—sie die Union trennen wollen—warum tragen sie dann ihren Patriotismus nicht dahin aus, dass sie einen Anhang zu der Constitution vorschlagen, dass Niemand zu einer Stimme berechtigt sein soll, außer er geht geradezu über Kopf und Ohren für die demokratische Union-Zerstörungs-Partei . . . ? Schande! Schande!! Schande!!!" (*Lecha Allentown Patriot*, 2 January 1861 [LCHS].)

<sup>48</sup> "Wollen wir auf unseren Rechten beharren, oder wollen wir dieselben samt derjenigen unserer Nachkommen an die Füße der gedachten südlichen Kassendieben und Landesverräter hinlegen? . . . Ja, im Norden halten wir uns an die alte Constitution unserer Väter, und sind

entschlossen dieselbe aufrecht zu erhalten—und wer sich derselben durch Gewalt entgensetzt, der ist ein Landesverrätter, und hat selbst die Folgen für sich . . .

DIE ZEITEN SIND HART, Das Geld ist rar—die Union ist in Gefahr—und muss erhalten werden, und der einzige Weg, dieselbe zu erhalten ist, die Füße warm und die Köpfe kühl zu halten." (Ibid.)

<sup>49</sup> South Carolinian George Fitzhugh was a prominent prewar apologist for Southern slavery. Emphasizing the "positive" benefits of slavery for the slaves, he denounced Northern wage slavery in his incendiary *Cannibals All!*

"Nun ist die einfache Frage: was ist das Beste—die Union mit einigen Neger in den Territorien, oder Trennung der Union ohne Neger in den Territorien?"

. . . Nun haben die 'Feuerfresser' einen Bürgerkrieg in nahe Aussicht gestellt und ich fürchte sehr, dass es dann besonders gegen die 'Ausländer' losgehen wird, die hier von den Amerikanern alle als Abolitionisten und 'Black-Republicans' angesehen werden.

Es wäre am allerbesten, wenn die Deutschen im Norden sich nicht in die Sklaverei hier im Süden mischen würden. Die Neger haben es hier besser als ich und besser als die weißen Arbeiter im Norden. Ich wohne vier Jahre im Süden und weiß, wie es um die Sache beschaffen ist." (*Unabhängige Republikaner*, 9 January 1861 [LCHS].)

<sup>50</sup> "Jede Stunde vergrößert die Gefahr eines blutigen Bürgerkrieges und der gewaltsamen Auflösung einer Union, welche unter schweren Opfern durch den Geist der Friedfertigkeit geschaffen wurde und nur durch gegenseitige Nachsicht.

Übrigens wollen wir hoffen, dass diese Armee von 100,000 Mann aus den republikanischen Reihen aufgemacht wird, die auch das Stimmen gethan haben, wodurch dieser Bürgerzwist verursacht wurde.

. . . Aber leider hat die in Macht stehende Republikanische Partei der letzten Staaten den Willen [zum Compromiss] nicht. Ihre Partei ist ihnen wichtiger als die Union und so wird endlich der ganze Süden in einer abgesonderten südlichen Conföderation suchen müssen." (*Unabhängige Republikaner*, 30 January 1861; see also the February issues for similar sentiments.)

<sup>51</sup> "Sollte der Congress nicht dieses oder ein anderes Amendment zur Constitution sofort vorschlagen, so sollten die Bürger von Pennsylvanien durch Anwendung eines friedlichen Hilfsmittels Gelegenheit haben, die Auflösung der Union zu verhindern." (*Skippackville Neutralist und Allgemeine Neuigkeits-Bote*, 8 January 1861 [SFL].)

"FRIEDE UND KEIN KRIEG! Herr Editor! . . . Wie es scheint, kann oder will der Congress die Verwirrungen nicht lösen, obgleich die Crittenden'schen Beschlüsse so liberal, gerecht und gleichmäßig für alle Sectionen des Landes sind und die Wünsche und Billigung einer großen Mehrheit der Bürger dieser Union für sich haben . . . trotz alledem wird Nichts im Congress gethan, was unser Land vom Untergang retten könnte!

Was will das Volk? Frieden, und keinen Krieg! Wir müssen die Secession für das betrachten, was sie in Wirklichkeit ist und wie sie täglich mehr um sich greift. Die Union ist so gut wie aufgelöst. Wir sollten daher jedes gerechte und ehrbare Mittel ergreifen, um die schwebenden Missheiligkeiten auszugleichen. . . . Aber dieses kann nur durch gegenseitige Liebe und Freundschaft bewerkstelligt werden, nie durch Zwang. Der Anfang des Zwanges ist das Ende der Union!" (Ibid., 5 February 1861.)

<sup>52</sup> ". . . die republikanische Partei [ist] wie der Walfisch, welcher den Jonas verschluckte, nach wenigen Tagen gezwungen war, seine Beute wieder auf das feste Land auszuspeien, und die Demokratie warnt jetzt wie Jonas nach seiner Auslieferung vor den traurigen Dingen, die sich sicherlich ereignen werden, wenn nicht ein anderes Verfahren eingeschlagen wird." (*Allentown Friedens-Bote*, 6 February 1861 [SFL].)

"Unser Staat hatte früher, und hat jetzt noch, großen Einfluss bei den übrigen Staaten, und wenn er jetzt den südlichen Staaten mit ausgestreckten Händen entgegentritt und es als seinen Entschluss verkündet, dass allen Staaten gleiches Recht werde, dann glaube ich, wird der Fluth der Sezession Einhalt gethan." (Ibid., 13 February 1861.)

"Das jeder wahre und aufrichtige Freund der Erhaltung der Union, unbeschadet aller seiner bisherigen Ansichten, sich verpflichtet fühlen muss, die volle Gleichberechtigung der südlichen Staaten anzuerkennen und ihre gerechten Forderungen zu genehmigen." (*Reading Adler*, 15 January 1861 [HSBC].)



<sup>53</sup> See the various issues of the *Lecha Allentown Patriot*, *Unabhängige Republikaner*, *Allentown Friedens-Bote*, the Skippackville *Neutralist* und *Allgemeine Neuigkeits-Bote* and the *Reading Adler* for the months of February and March. For the interests of space, I have condensed their various editorials, letters and articles into the (admittedly) short paragraph above.

<sup>54</sup> "Es ist heute unser traurige Pflicht, einen der betrübendsten Abschnitte der amerikanischen Geschichte anzukündigen, nämlich den Beginn des wirklichen Kampfes zwischen verschiedenen Theilen der früheren Vereinigten Staaten.

... Krieg besteht also—ein Krieg zwischen Brüdern, die hiezuvor auf hundert Schlachtfeldern Seite an Seite gekämpft haben für Freiheit und Vaterland—und wann dieser Krieg wieder enden wird, weiß Gott allein.

... die Verhältnisse des Augenblicks zwingen den gesetzliebenden Bürger die Waffen in die Hand zu nehmen, um zu verhindern, dass alles staatlich und gesellschaftlich Bestehende in dem allgemeinen Konflikte untergehe. Daher ist im gegenwärtigen Augenblicke auch der ganze Norden einstimmig für die Unterstützung der Maßregeln des Präsidenten, daher sinkt der Meinungsstreit der Parteien in Nichts zusammen, vor der einen Frage, wie die dringende Gefahr dieser Lage am schnellsten und sichersten zu beseitigen sei.

Aber ein fanatischer, unverträglicher Geist hat immer mehr überhand genommen und schon vor Jahren sind Bittschriften auf Bittschriften von nördlichen Fanatikern für eine Trennung der Union wegen der Sklaverei eingereicht worden, noch was diesen nicht gelungen ist, haben jetzt die südlichen Secessionisten vollbracht." (*Unabhängige Republikaner*, 17 April 1861 [LCHS]; also see the *Allentown Friedens-Bote*, 23 April 1861 [SFL] for a less editorialized, but equally crestfallen tone of self-resignation in defense of the flag; for a good example of a complete reversal of position in a Democratic paper, see the 23 April 1861 edition of the *Reading Adler*, which was veritably overflowing with patriotic symbols and strong language urging its readers to defend the flag against those who had fired upon it [HSBC].)

<sup>55</sup> "Wir bedauern den armen Schlucker, und müssen ihm rathen die Sache etwas kühl zu nehmen, und zu bedenken, dass er sich selbst, und nicht uns, zu blamiren hat, dass er in seinen 'jetztigen Schuhen steht' . . . .

Er sagt die Regierung in Washington leide an einer ganzen Reihe von Krankheiten. Dies ist zum Theil richtig—denn sie leidet noch an einigen Krankheiten, besonders an der Auszehrung des Geldbeutels, welche Krankheit die demokratischen Leaders zurückgelassen haben. Die demokratische Diebstahls-Krankheit ist aber gänzlich curirt, indem alle jene Diebe sich nach dem demokratischen Süden begeben haben.

... Nun, wo ist noch ein menschliches Wesen, dass sich nicht schämen würde, einen solchen Ausdruck zu gebrauchen, bezüglich darauf, wenn der Vorschlag gemacht wird, dass man sich vorbereite unsere lieben Freiheiten, erkaufte durch das Blut unserer patriotischen Vorväter zu vertheidigen; und die Constitution und die Union aufrecht zu erhalten?

Wie erschrecklich kann doch ein Mensch sinken, wenn er sich einmal von dem Wege der Wahrheit und des Rechts ableiten lässt—denn das Nächste ist, dass er nur für das Wohl seiner Parthei besorgt ist, mag sie auch noch so corrupt sein, und wenn selbst dadurch unsere liebe Union auch in viele Trümmern gehen sollte.—O Herr!—vergib solchen Menschen ihre Missethaten! denn sie können unmöglich wissen, was sie thun—und noch viel weniger wissen, welche schreckliche Verantwortlichkeiten sie sich selbst durch solche Ausdrücke aufladen." (*Lecha Allentown Patriot*, 17 April 1861 [LCHS].)





Annette R. Hofmann

### **One Hundred Fifty Years of Loyalty: The Turner Movement in the United States**

The year 1998 not only commemorated the one-hundred-fiftieth anniversary of the German Revolution of 1848, it also marked the sesquicentennial of the first American Turner societies.<sup>1</sup> The 1848-49 Revolution in Germany brought a few thousand political refugees to the United States and is closely connected with the rise of the Turner movement on the American continent. In the years before the revolution, the *Vormärz*, the German Turner societies<sup>2</sup> had many politically engaged members—among them political leaders—who were later involved in the revolutionary disturbances. Some of the Turners who left Germany and emigrated to the United States founded Turner societies soon after their arrival. During their first decades these *Turnvereine* offered physical education classes for their members, and functioned as vehicles for German immigrants to continue their cultural endeavours in North America, and pretended to spread traditional German customs, language and celebrations and “German nationalism in the American culture.”<sup>3</sup>

The American Turner societies and their union, since 1938 called American Turners, have had quite a turbulent history. During the early decades of their existence their social and political aims reflected those of the Turners who had emigrated during the German Revolution of 1848-49.<sup>4</sup> According to the “Convention Protocol of the Socialistic Turnerbund” from 1859-60, the Turner movement was to be a “planting school for all revolutionary ideas which have their origin in a natural and rational world conception.” The Turners promoted a socialism that concentrated on the rights and freedom of the individual,<sup>5</sup> and opposed monarchy and religious indoctrination of the people. In terms of the sociopolitical circumstances in the United States, this meant, that they fought American nativism, the system of slavery as well as the temperance and Sabbath-day laws.<sup>6</sup> These attitudes also reflected the opinions of the freethinkers, an antireligious movement that advocated rationalism, science and history and

considered itself within the tradition of Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Paine. Many Forty-Eighters and Turners found their political homes in these groups. The Turners' socialistic political orientation was also reflected in the names of some of the first American *Turnvereine* founded in the late 1840s and early 1850s which added the attribute "social" to their names, and to their first union the "Socialist Turnerbund of North America," which was founded in 1850.<sup>7</sup>

Like other ethnic groups that had immigrated to the United States the Germans had to fight the hostility from native-born Americans who did not approve of the high rate of immigration into their country. Despite these difficulties, the Turners tried to express their political opinion not only among their own ethnic group, but tried to reach out to the American public. Most of the Turners supported the political goals of the Republicans during the 1850s and 1860s. This support resulted in the establishment of Lincoln's Turner body guard during his first inauguration, as well as the forming of "Turner regiments" at the beginning of the Civil War in 1861. Before the outbreak of the American Civil War in 1861 over 130 Turner societies could be counted in the United States. Not all of them belonged to the *Turnerbund*. The peak of the American Turner movement was reached in 1894. At that time 317 societies existed with approximately 40,000 members.<sup>8</sup> In the "Research Guide to the Turner Movement in the United States," Pumroy and Rampelmann state that there have been over 700 Turner societies in existence in the United States.<sup>9</sup>

This article will first review the German Turner movement until the outbreak of the German Revolution, then provide an insight into the associational life of the *Turnvereine* in the United States, and summarize how the immigrated Turners and their societies reacted to the political situation in the United States before and during the Civil War. It will finally outline the further development of the Turners to the present-day showing not only a decline in membership but also changes in many areas, such as the Turner's political engagement, their ethnic relations and membership structure as well as the programs offered in the societies.

The results presented are mainly based on anniversary publications, protocols of Turner societies and the Turner union as well as the yearbooks of the American Turner movement written by Heinrich Metzner in the 1890s. The latter tends to reflect a favorable and heroic image of the Turners as older publications on the Germans in the United States often do. The research of sport historian Robert K. Barney and other secondary literature add more valuable information to this study.<sup>10</sup> The figures that show the present condition of the still existing *Turnvereine* are drawn from two questionnaires: one for the management of the societies to get an insight into their societies' structures and how the *Vereinswelt* looks today; the other for members to gain some personal information on their ethnic background and relation to German culture and traditions.



## The Beginnings of the Turner Movement in Germany and Its Transfer to the United States

In the first half of the nineteenth century *Turnen* formed part of a national movement which encouraged self expression, independence and freedom for every German citizen. This movement stood for constitutional government and basic human liberty as well as for the union of the German states.<sup>11</sup> Most important was its systematic program of gymnastics and exercises based on Friedrich Ludwig Jahn's (1778-1852) work. In 1811 Jahn built the first *Turnplatz* on the Hasenheide in Berlin. One of the *Turnwater's* main interests was to strengthen the bodies of young men for the battles against the French military. Due to the radical political life of some Turners who were members of students' corps—*die Burschenschaften*—*Turnen* soon became a target for political repression. From 1819-20 Prussia and other German states ordered a ban of *Turnen*. After the lifting of this *Turnsperre* in 1842 the Turner movement was able to spread all over Germany. Especially during the *Vormärz* many societies—predominantly in the southern German states—were founded.<sup>12</sup> The Turner societies considered themselves educational institutions and developed their own culture with certain rituals, symbols and a *Gemeinschaftsleben* (community life). Besides physical education they focused their interest on political affairs. Their ultimate goal was to spread the movement all over Germany to promote through the culture of *Turnen* a sense of national community and develop a "*Wir-Gefühl*" among the Germans.<sup>13</sup>

Until the outbreak of the German Revolution in 1848 the German Turner movement developed into the largest national organization, although their efforts to found a Turner union in 1848 failed. By that time the Turner movement had split into a national-liberal group and a radical-democratic one. Especially the societies of the southwestern states such as Baden, Hessen and Württemberg showed strong liberal and radical tendencies. Many Turners of this area engaged in the German revolution.<sup>14</sup> The two leaders of the revolution in Baden, Friedrich Hecker and Gustav Struve were members of the *Mannheim Turngemeinde*, a *Turnverein* known for its radical political opinions. Karl Blind, another Turner from Mannheim emphasized in January of 1848: "our purpose is the revolution . . . each Turner is a revolutionary," he added "even dagger, blood and poison should not be spared in the decisive moment."<sup>15</sup> Not all Turners shared this opinion, but many of them defended the ideals of the revolution "freedom, education and prosperity for the people." Besides the Turners from Mannheim, the *Hanauer Turnerwehr*, led by their *Turnwart* August Schärttner and the *Heilbronn Turngemeinde* are well-known for their engagement in the revolution.

After the failure of the revolution many Turners had to leave their home country.<sup>16</sup> They belonged to the group of political refugees, the Forty-Eighters. In his description of these refugees Barney emphasizes not only the fact that they were "classically educated, politically enlightened and motivated, not without some economic means," but also that these men were in "excellent

physical condition through training in gymnastics," which suggests that they were Turners.<sup>17</sup> In the United States these men of "distinct type"<sup>18</sup> were able to present their political opinions without the danger of persecution they had to suffer in the German states. These political refugees founded the first Turner societies in the United States. The oldest still existing is the *Cincinnati Central Turners* which was founded in November 1848 on the suggestion of Friedrich Hecker.<sup>19</sup>

### ***Vereinsleben: Physical and Mental Turnen***

The American Turner societies developed in the German tradition of "Bildungsvereine," which committed themselves to the humanistic belief in progress and a cultivated life.<sup>20</sup> Hecker described the German-American Turner movement during a speech given at a local *Turnfest* in 1882 as "the true tree of a useful life and aspiration which has two branches, a mental one and a physical one."<sup>21</sup> The harmonic education—that includes physical and mental training—Hecker referred to is also expressed in the constitution of the *Cincinnati Turngemeinde* in 1848 that proclaimed: "The purpose of the Turner society is the training and education of right-thinking men in mind and body." The Cincinnati Turners also referred to cultural endeavors and added "preserving and extending the German element in every respect."<sup>22</sup>

Life in the German-American Turner societies was very similar to that in Germany. The *Turnvereine* had their own, or rented, gymnasiums—*Turnballen*—or grounds to perform their exercises. The physical activities included apparatus gymnastics, free exercises, wrestling, climbing, swimming and different athletic disciplines such as running and jumping events.<sup>23</sup> The physical programs also included children. Starting in the 1850s in the "Zöglingsschulen" *Turnen* was offered to children of both sexes.<sup>24</sup> In the 1850s when the German-American population suffered from anti-foreign or nativistic campaigns from the American population, the *Turnerbund* introduced military tactics and exercises such as shooting and fencing.<sup>25</sup>

Besides the physical programs and the "deutsche Gemütlichkeit" that the *Vereinsleben* offered through social get-togethers in the bars or restaurants, the "Rathskeller," many Turner societies had English classes for adults and children alike, some societies taught the basics in mathematics, history, geography and bookkeeping among other subjects.<sup>26</sup> Other *Turnvereine* had special classes for children teaching them German and introducing them to the German culture. This so-called "mental" *Turnen* also consisted of cultural programs such as theater plays, concerts, lectures or discussions.<sup>27</sup> Another important part of the social *Vereinsleben* was the German song. For the nineteenth-century Turner historian Heinrich Metzner the German song is "inseparable from *Turnen*."<sup>28</sup> The cultural value the German song had, is described by the German sport historian German Michael Krüger as a "social- and integrative function" in the process of developing a "Wir-Gefühl"—a solidarity—among the Turners.<sup>29</sup> Thus many Turner societies



had a singing section. The singing section of the *Socialistischer Turnverein New York* had its own statutes. In paragraph nine it reads that singers do not have to participate in the physical exercises which were obligatory for all members.<sup>30</sup>

Another means to educate the Turners and their families was through literature. In 1858 the *Turnerbund* urged all societies which belonged to the national body to establish libraries.<sup>31</sup> The establishment of these libraries depended on different factors such as the interaction with the German-speaking community, and the availability of German-language reading materials. During the early years these libraries functioned as public libraries for the German-American community. Among the German "Classics" by such authors as Schiller, Goethe, and Humboldt one could find more radical German-American authors such as the journalists Karl Heinzen and Wilhelm Rothacker. But not only works of German authors could be discovered in these library collections. English writers like Sir Walter Scott, William Shakespeare, Charles Dickens or the American authors James Fenimore Cooper, Washington Irving or Harriet Beecher Stowe were also popular.<sup>32</sup>

### **The Turners' Reactions to the Political Conditions in the United States and Their Involvement in the Civil War**

During the 1850s the Turners became targets of the nativist movement. Their radical political opinions, their white gymnastic dress and the exercises which partly included military drills and the use of weapons were considered dangerous by anti-immigrant forces within the native American population, such as the members of the "Know-Nothing movement" who defended their dictum "America for Americans."<sup>33</sup> Germans and Turners were often attacked during day trips or *Turnfeste*, as in 1851 in New York and 1854 in Philadelpia. In the Midwest—especially Cincinnati, Columbus, Louisville and Covington—in 1855 and 1856 war-like conditions existed. For the Turners' defense and security the *Socialistischer Turnerbund* recommended the use of weapons and military tactics. Exercises such as shooting and fencing were offered by the societies as part of the exercise classes as early as 1851.<sup>34</sup>

The controversy over slavery and the outbreak of the American Civil War brought some of the German Forty-Eighters back into the political arena. Many of them sided with the movement to emancipate the slaves, reflecting the constitution of the *Socialistic Turnerbund of North America* which opposed the institution of slavery. There were also individual Turners and *Turnvereine* who defended the abolitionist principles of the *Turnerbund*.<sup>35</sup> For example Boston's Turners collectively had quite a few opportunities to defend human rights. Their first opportunity came in December 1860 when abolitionist Wendell Phillips<sup>36</sup> was giving a speech in Boston's Music Hall. Phillips's enemies were present and threatened his life. To protect him on his way home members of the *Turnverein* formed a body guard. One month later the same *Turnverein* was challenged again during a meeting of abolitionists in Boston. This time the Turners showed

up with guns and bayonets and thus made sure that the meeting was a peaceful one.<sup>37</sup> But this appeal for humanity was not supported by all Turner societies. As a result some of the Southern *Turnvereine* left the national union.<sup>38</sup>

### **The Turners' Loyalty to the Republican Government**

During the presidential election in 1860 most Turners supported the Republican Party thus showing the American public that on the one hand they did not approve of the existing undemocratic conditions and behavior, and, on the other hand that they were concerned about civil rights. The Republican campaign was supported by many German immigrants, namely by Turner pioneer Franz Lieber, Friedrich Hecker, future Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz and Wilhelm Pfänder.<sup>39</sup> The leaders of the *Turnerbund* made a special appeal to its societies to vote for the Republican presidential candidate Abraham Lincoln in the upcoming elections.<sup>40</sup> This loyalty of the Turners to the new government was evidenced at Lincoln's first inauguration on 4 March 1861. During the ceremony Turners from Washington and Baltimore were part of the president's body-guard of honor.<sup>41</sup>

Before Lincoln's inauguration some of the Southern states had seceded from the Union and formed a Confederacy under Jefferson Davis. When negotiations between both governments were unsuccessful, Jefferson Davis bombarded Fort Sumter into submission. A company of *Turnerschützen* who fought for the Union's cause was involved in this incident, but they were able to escape the siege.<sup>42</sup> On 13 April 1861 the Fort surrendered and was turned over to the Confederacy. Lincoln immediately called for 75,000 volunteers to reestablish law and order and to suppress the hostile tendencies threatening the Union.<sup>43</sup>

The enthusiastic rush of recruitment that Lincoln's call to arms brought across the Northern states was also found among the Turners, who were in some cities among the first to respond.<sup>44</sup> Some 106 different military units are known in which Turners fought. Approximately 70 percent of the Turner membership or 6,000-8,000 Turners fought for the Union. These soldiers were prepared for the military conflict between the North and the South by their regular gymnastics, military drills and weapons training,<sup>45</sup> which they had started during the anti-foreigner campaigns.<sup>46</sup> In the 1858 statutes of the Western Turner Union<sup>47</sup> it was recommended that all Turner societies should receive military training and should be supplied with pistols. Quite a few Turners also came with military experience from Germany. Some of them had been officers such as the Forty-Eighters Franz Sigel and Friedrich Hecker. These men were able to use their leadership skills to organize Turner regiments.<sup>48</sup>

### **Turner Societies and Their Recruitment**

The best known Turner regiments were the 20th Regiment, New York Volunteers, the 9th Regiment, Ohio Volunteers, and the 17th Regiment, Missouri



Volunteers. The following examples are mainly taken from "Vereins-Festschriften." Besides a short sketch of their involvement examples are given which show that a number of Turner societies supported President Lincoln's politics through the organization of military units. New York recorded many volunteers among the Turners from all corners of the state. There were 265 from New York City, 95 from Williamsburg, 75 from Buffalo, 50 from Brooklyn, 22 from Albany, and 12 from Syracuse; other Turners came from the neighboring state of New Jersey: 65 from Newark, 45 from Bloomingdale, and 15 from Jersey City. They formed the 20th Regiment of New York State which was also called "New York Turnerschützenregiment" or "Turner Rifles."<sup>49</sup> A few days after Lincoln's call to arms the Turner societies of New York state organized a regiment at the suggestion of the *New Yorker Verein*. The former freedom-fighter Max Weber from Baden was the officer in charge of these 1,200 men. On 13 June 1861, the Turner Rifles moved to the front at Fortress Monroe, Virginia.<sup>50</sup> They remained there almost one year and were involved in some battles before they were united in the summer of 1862 with the 6th and 7th Corps of the Army of the Potomac.<sup>51</sup>

Among other skirmishes, these Turners took part in the siege of Richmond, Virginia, the capital of the Confederacy. These Turners carried the black-red-gold flag of the 1848 Revolution with them: "Out of the black night of slavery through bloody strife to the golden dawn of freedom," as the German *Turnwater* Friedrich Ludwig Jahn described the meaning these colors.<sup>52</sup> They were also involved during their deployment in the North of Maryland at the battle of Antietam on 17 September 1862.

Three months later the Turner Rifles fought from 11 to 15 December at Fredericksburg, Virginia, and on 3 May 1863 at Salem Heights. After this last battle the two-year tour of duty for the regiment was over. It ended with an honorable discharge. The arrival in New York, however, was rather sad. Some 131 Turners had lost their lives. Another 174 were reported missing and 201 men of the Turner Rifles had been wounded.<sup>53</sup>

Similar to their *Turnbrüder* in New York, the Turners of Cincinnati went voluntarily to war. They fought together with some of Kentucky's Turners in the 9th Ohio Volunteer Regiment, a German regiment<sup>54</sup> consisting of 1,135 men.<sup>55</sup> Because the first three companies largely consisted of Turners, this military unit was called the "Ohio Turner Regiment." More than half of the Cincinnati *Turngemeinde's* members enlisted. Other Turners came from nearby cities such as Covington, Kentucky, Newport and Hamilton.<sup>56</sup> On 21 April 1861 the regiment was unofficially sworn into the service of the United States on their *Turnplatz*, and on 27 April it was signed up for three years. Two months later Cincinnati's Turners were in the middle of the war.<sup>57</sup> One of the regiment's most important deployments was on the 19 January 1862 at the battle of Mill Springs, Kentucky. This fight delivered most of Kentucky into Union hands.<sup>58</sup> The 9th Ohio was also involved in the battle at Chickamauga on the border between Georgia and Tennessee from 18 to 21 September 1863. Only half of the



regiment survived.<sup>59</sup>

Because of external circumstances it was difficult for the St. Louis Turners to support the Union army. Shortly before the outbreak of the war, the slave state Missouri was experiencing its own crisis. There were supporters of both, the Union and the Confederacy, living in this state.<sup>60</sup> This political instability resulted in clashes within the population. Because of internal unrest some of Missouri's German population decided to form defense forces. A group of volunteers founded the *Schwarzes Jägerkorps*. The Turners of St. Louis decided very early to side with the North.<sup>61</sup> Three months before the outbreak of the war they dissolved their *Turnverein* and instead founded a military unit to protect the Union and freedom. After Lincoln's call the already existing Turner companies united with the Germans of the region to fight for the North. These companies were first enlisted in the 1st Missouri Volunteer Regiment. After three months they were reorganized with the 17th Missouri Regiment which consisted of other members from Turner societies of the Southwest. This regiment became known as the "Westliches Turnerregiment." Metzner writes that these soldiers played a decisive role in the defense of the Federal arsenal in St. Louis and were important for the rescue of the city and the struggle against the secessionistic element in Missouri.<sup>62</sup>

Supporters of the Union living in Kentucky faced similar difficulties. In Louisville, the gateway to the South, the Turners were not very popular after Lincoln's election. In this city the Republicans only received a very small percentage of the votes. The vote for Lincoln was to some degree due to certain Forty-Eighters and Turners of Louisville. An anonymous letter to the city's *Turnverein* requested that the Turners leave the town or they would have to suffer the consequences. The Germans ignored this message and trained publicly for their entry into the Union forces. When they entered the war, they took along their *Turnverein's* flag with its dictum "Through Training to Strength, Through Battle to Light."<sup>63</sup>

In Philadelphia 86 of the 260 members of the Philadelphia *Turnverein* immediately enlisted. In an effort to "sell" the war efforts, the society offered recruits who joined the army a free membership. After a few weeks the society had 400 soldiers holding military exercises in their gymnasium. The Turner society provided food for the men. Because of a disagreement with the governor a group of Pennsylvanian Turners went to New York to join the 29th or Astor Regiment. Another company joined the 17th Missouri Regiment in St. Louis.<sup>64</sup>

Less is known about the involvement of other Turner societies in the Civil War. But examples can be found in different *Festschriften* and Metzner's accounts. For example, Milwaukee's Turners provided 101 volunteers for different Wisconsin regiments. Company C of the 5th Wisconsin Regiment fought together with their New York "friends" called the Turner Rifles.<sup>65</sup> The Turners of Chicago were also active. Two days after Lincoln's call 105 Turners formed the "Turner Union Cadets."<sup>66</sup> In Baltimore all Turners registered for the army under the influence of their leading Forty-Eighters. The *Turnverein* of that city already



had to suffer from attacks of the mob because they had the union's flag hanging outside their building.<sup>67</sup> In Indianapolis all unmarried Turners of the Indianapolis *Turnverein* enlisted in the army. Because of the lack of members, the Turner society had to be disbanded for the duration of the war.<sup>68</sup> The Turner society of Kansas City not only sent its men to war, but also supported the cause financially, by investing all its savings of \$800 in weapons for the Union. Additionally the Turner's wives made silken flags to show both the fighting and Turner spirit of their husbands.<sup>69</sup>

### Turners on the Side of the Confederacy

Not all Germans and Turners supported Lincoln's policies. Some supported the Confederate government. Möll supposes that approximately 35,000 Germans fought for the south.<sup>70</sup> In the South a measure was passed in August 1861 by their new government that stated all male individuals, fourteen years of age or older had to take the "Oath of Loyalty" or leave the South.<sup>71</sup> The Germans were not able to carry out a "policy of non-involvement," as Barney calls it. Their "socio-politico-economic" situation, became more and more difficult. For many Germans their personal, family related and economic security was more important than the abolitionist principles of the *Turnerbund*. As a result, Turners entered the service of the Confederacy and defended their new home and country in the war.<sup>72</sup>

Apart from the work conducted by Barney and Wamsley, research into the number of Turners that fought for the Confederacy is an area that has been sadly neglected by historians. But it is known that Turner companies were formed in the states Texas, Louisiana, Georgia, North and South Carolina, and Virginia, also including some Forty-Eighters.<sup>73</sup>

New Orleans, Louisiana, had the largest German population in the South and two Turner societies existed in this city. Its *Turngemeinde* formed an eighty-man company one month before the incident at Fort Sumter.<sup>74</sup> Special military exercises had prepared them for their entry in the war and the defense of the Conderacy. Before this company was organized, the *Turnverein* had a military unit called the "Homeguard." The members of the city's second Turner society *Turnverein Vorwärts*, were loyal to the Union. This *Verein* dissolved in January 1861. Some 22 members fought in the underground for the North and half of those men lost their lives, while the other half had to flee to the North.<sup>75</sup>

In neighboring Texas the Turners from Galveston and Houston were also unwilling to adopt the political principles of the *Turnerbund* which did not serve the interest of the Turners as citizens of Texas. A unit of the Galveston and the Houston *Turnverein* enlisted after the Confederacy's call for volunteers. According to Wamsley "the Houston Turners became the first Texas entity in the War to come under fire on Texas soil."<sup>76</sup>

These examples illustrate that quite a few Turners showed their loyalty to the South and defended their new home land as did the Northerners. But it

should not be forgotten that there were fewer Germans who had settled in the Southern parts of the United States than in the North. As a result, there existed fewer Turner societies. This fact might account for the low incidence of Turner military units in the South.

### Turner Affairs during the War Years

The outbreak of the Civil War was a setback for the American Turner movement. The executive board of the national *Turnerbund* which was located close to the theater of war in Baltimore urged its societies in vain to fulfill their commitments. Most of the Turners had enlisted in the army and had to face different problems. In many Turner societies the atmosphere was influenced by sorrow over the deaths among their ranks and activities in most clubs declined. Some *Turnvereine* had to be closed down because there were not enough members left. However, there were examples where gymnastic and social gatherings were held, despite the fact that only a few members were left.<sup>77</sup> One of them was the *Louisville Turngemeinde*, which had changed its gymnasium into a military hospital and was forced to rent a different building to carry out its athletic activities.<sup>78</sup> Similar circumstances occurred in Syracuse, New York, where the Turners also tried to go on with their activities. They even purchased a larger gymnasium in 1863.<sup>79</sup> The *Turnvereine* in Kansas City, Covington, and Chicago followed this example.<sup>80</sup> It was not until 1864, when most of the Turners had returned from the war, that once again, cooperative activities among the societies became possible. The Turner union was reorganized in 1865, now called *Nordamerikanischer Turnerbund* or *North American Gymnastic Union*—a name without a political connotation. A renewed enthusiasm for the gymnastic movement spread among the German communities in the United States.

### Postbellum Years

The fact that already before the end of the Civil War new gymnasiums had been built, *Turnfeste* were celebrated, and the *Turnerbund* was reorganized, shows that the German population stayed faithful to its German traditions, even though they had now taken steps—by fighting for the goals of their newly chosen home country throughout the war—toward Americanization.<sup>81</sup> For Alice J. Moonen the Civil War period was a stage in which the transformation from German immigrants to German-Americans had taken place.<sup>82</sup>

After the Civil War an era of reconstruction started not only for the American South but also for the Turner movement. The Turners tried to work toward a new era and revitalize the German-American gymnastic movement which set itself new goals.<sup>83</sup> During these years the number of German immigrants increased and Turners could take advantage of this reservoir. In many American cities new Turner societies were founded, others enlarged their membership. It was the beginning of a boom which lasted until the turn of the century. In these



postbellum years the *Turnerbund* concentrated on educational goals such as the introduction of their physical training programs into public schools; in 1866 they opened a *Turnlehrerseminar* which later became the *Normal School of the American Gymnastic Union*,<sup>84</sup> and some societies were active in the industrial labor movement of the 1870s and 1880s.<sup>85</sup>

Another important task the union had to face after the war was the opening of their societies to women. During the Victorian period it was not proper for women to exercise. Especially physicians and educators saw a danger for future childbirth.<sup>86</sup> However, *Turnen* for women was introduced in the 1880s and became very popular. For the first time in 1909 the number of active female Turners was higher than the one of their male counterpart. Starting in the 1860s many societies also established "Women's Auxiliaries" over the next decades. These auxiliaries supported the Turners financially, helped organize social events, and worked "for the good of the Turner Clubs."<sup>87</sup> The boom that the Turner movement registered with over 40,000 members, more than 25,000 children and around 3,000 women participating in the activity classes in the early 1890s had ceased by the time of World War I.<sup>88</sup> The radical and social revolutionary tendencies in the Turner movement had also declined. This was certainly due to the change in generations; most of the Forty-Eighters and pioneers for social reforms were dead. The Turners focused their engagement in social reforms on their local areas.

With the entry of the United States into the First World War, a very difficult era for German-Americans began and with it for the *Turnbewegung*. In 1917 the *Turnerbund* emphasized that the home of each American Turner was the United States and they should follow their duties as American citizens. It was also emphasized that not the people but the governments were involved in this war. After the war the leaders of the American Gymnastic Union appealed to its members of German descent to do everything in their power to work against the feelings of hatred which the war had evoked and to reconcile all races in this country.<sup>89</sup> This shows the Turners' willingness to contribute to the building of the American nation. The statistical reports of the Turner Union show that the number of societies and membership remained constant in the years of World War I. The Union had around 200 societies with approximately 38,000 members. The decline started after the war in 1918 and did not stop until 1943, when less than 100 societies with only 16,000 Turners belonged to the American Turners.<sup>90</sup>

The Americanization and assimilation process of the Turner movement accelerated after the First World War. This is illustrated by a loss of German as the official language in protocols, statements of principle and in the *Amerikanische Turnzeitung*. By and by the societies took over English and also Americanized their names which always included "Turners," but dropped the German *Turngemeinde* or *Turnverein*. The "Nordamerikanischer Turnerbund" kept its name until 1938, and then changed it to "American Turners." Two years earlier the *American Turner Topics* had replaced the *Amerikanische Turnzeitung* as official organ of the Turners and Turner president George Seibel officially declared that

the American Turner movement "has been the most American of all American associations," the new slogan of the Turners became "Turnerism is Americanism."<sup>91</sup>

During World War II a completely Americanized Turner movement showed its loyalty to the government. Again the Turners showed their loyalty as soldiers in the fight against Hitler's army. They were thankful that the "Government of the U.S. did nothing to hinder or hurt the Turner Movement in America."<sup>92</sup>

The number of societies did not rise after the war, but the membership numbers climbed to 25,000 again in the 1950s. One cause for this rise certainly was the new immigration wave which brought more than 500,000 German immigrants to the United States between 1950 and 1959.<sup>93</sup> During this time the Turners denied the socialistic principles they once defended while they were still under the influence of the Forty-Eighters. The president of the American Turners, Carl Weideman, emphasized in 1952 "I hate communism" and the Turners are "100% Americans and we stand for Americanism all down the line."<sup>94</sup>

### **The American Turners Today**

In 1999 fifty-nine Turner societies belonged to the American Turners. The membership was approximately 13,000.<sup>95</sup> To get a picture of the present condition and the assimilation process of the formerly German Turner societies, two questionnaires were distributed in 1997-98. Thirty-seven societies responded to the first questionnaire and gave information on their physical and social programs, membership numbers, age structure of the members, gender distribution, and the societies' relationship to German culture and tradition. The second questionnaire was returned by 160 individual Turners from fifteen societies and mainly gives insight into the ethnic background of the members as well as the reasons for joining a Turner society.

This survey of the current American Turner movement shows that two-thirds of the members are older than thirty years of age.<sup>96</sup> Seventy percent of the societies have more male members than female members—four societies had no females at all. Sixty-three percent of the individual Turners included in this study confirmed having German ancestry, the rest had their roots in different, mostly European countries.<sup>97</sup> Of the members with a German background 44 percent claimed to have at least some knowledge of the German language. Most of the Turners knew that their societies were founded by German immigrants, but some had difficulties interpreting the term "Turnen" which is part of most societies' names. Some even thought the Turners belonged to TV-magnate Ted Turner.

Among the reasons for joining a Turner society 54 percent of the Turners mentioned the social programs, 43 percent listed meeting friends and 29 percent said they joined for German culture and tradition. For 21 percent the sport offerings were of particular importance. The study also showed that almost two-thirds of the members had belonged to their society for more than ten

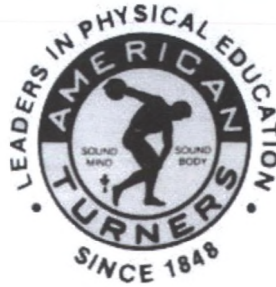


years, which exhibits a certain loyalty and also satisfaction with the society's offerings.

The American Turners still use their motto "sound mind in a sound body," although the *Vereinsleben* does not show this connection between mental and physical education anymore. The offerings in the athletic and social areas look different today, than in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The sport of "Turnen" or gymnastics still exists in many societies, but mainly for children and youth. Adults prefer other athletic programs that the Turner societies present. The most popular activities are volleyball, bowling, basketball, softball and golf. Three Turner societies answered that they did not offer any sport activities, five societies offered at least two sports, and twenty-three societies have more than three different sports for their members. The social *Vereinsleben* is determined by American holiday celebrations, although many Turner societies still try to show their loyalty to German culture by featuring German festivals such as *Octoberfest*, *Fasching* celebrations or a "German Day." "Mental Turnen" does not exist anymore in the form of political discussions, lectures or educational classes. But some societies try to carry on a "cultural" program where they produce handicrafts or art, and the *Turnfest* which is celebrated every four years still includes a cultural component.

From the variety of athletic and social offerings and the ethnic backgrounds of the Turners, the wide range of membership numbers which vary between four and almost 2,000, we may tentatively conclude that a typical American Turner society does not exist. The societies may be categorized as ethnic, social, social-athletic or purely athletic societies. The ethnic category mainly has members of German descent. They visit their Turner society to preserve German or German-American cultural values. The purely social societies often overlap with the ethnic ones. The members of these societies only meet for social purposes such as trips, dinners, festivities or social get-togethers in their clubhouse. The social-athletic Turners offer a sports program in addition to their social life. The last category are purely athletic societies and can be compared with gymnastic clubs. They have gymnastics programs on a high competitive level for children and youth, and participate in events organized by the official American gymnastics federation—USA Gymnastics.

As the Turner societies' offerings have changed, so have their symbols. Many Turners still finish official letters with a "Gut Heil" or simply "Turner greetings." But the owl or the old motto "ffts" (fresh, free, true and strong), that can be found on the walls or furniture in some Turner halls, have lost most of their significance. In the 1930s a discus thrower, which resembles the discus thrower of Greek antiquity by Myron, became the official emblem of the American Turner societies.<sup>98</sup> This emblem does not refer to the German Turner movement and its symbols anymore, as former emblems did, but to the Greek roots of gymnastics. The American flag, the "Star Spangled Banner" also has come to symbolize the Turners over the years and is present at most official Turner meetings to express the Turner's loyalty to the American nation.



## Conclusion

The American Turner movement can look back on an over 150-year history and it still continues certain traditions like the *Fiftieth Bundesturnfest* that was celebrated in 1999 in St. Louis. During their early decades the Turner societies had an important political, social and cultural significance for the German emigrants. These “sub-communities” offered a certain economic and cultural security and solidarity to the new immigrants, and helped them face the harsh life in the new country. Historian Kathleen Neils Conzen describes the German-American *Vereine* as “nurseries of ethnicities” in which German culture could spread and helped forming an ethnic culture and identity.<sup>99</sup> Thus, the Turner societies, too, strengthened the German-American culture and its de-ethnization process was slowed down.

On the other hand the Turners also went through an Americanization process. This can be seen for example in the defense of the democratic principles of their newly chosen home land—especially in the American Civil, in which the majority of Turners fought. With this step the Turners made their contribution to American history. From this point on Turners lived in a country whose rights they had fought for and whose history they were part of. However, the death of the Turner pioneers, fewer German immigrants coming during the first two decades of the twentieth century, and the Germanophobia during the World War I had a decisive impact on the decline of the Turner movement and its change of identity. The majority of German-Americans were assimilated and ethnicity became more private in its expression.<sup>100</sup> With this change the need for a German-American *Vereinsleben* faded. But through the Turner’s solidarity and commitment to their principles as well as the loyalty they show until today towards the American nation, they survived in a foreign country, despite the many internal and external problems they had—and still have—to face. Presently many societies complain they are not attracting enough younger members and are having financial problems due to the lack of members. To meet the financial



needs some Turner societies rent out their facilities or offer gambling events, like bingo.<sup>101</sup>

The declining numbers of Turner societies and Turners show that *Turnen* in the United States never developed into a movement for the masses like it did in Germany. Today many societies have a multiethnic membership—mostly with an European background. There is not much room left for German language or traditions, except in the Turner societies of the ethnic category. The American Turners also lost the influence on physical education they once had and have dropped their socio-political engagement although the American Turners still claim—at least on paper—to promote the participation in local and national civic projects, and it urges its members “to exercise the right of independent thought and action through the ballot and to follow the dictates of their conscience in religious matters,” as it is stated in the revised principles of 1984.<sup>102</sup> The gap between tradition and modernization that the Turner societies have to face today to survive is not easily bridged and it will be a difficult task and a challenge for the American Turners and its societies.

Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität  
Münster, Germany

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> There is evidence that the Louisville Turners in Kentucky were the first Turner society in the United States (see *Louisville Anzeiger*, 25 August 1849).

<sup>2</sup> The German equivalent for Turner society is *Turnverein* or *Turngemeinde*.

<sup>3</sup> See Wilhelm Pfänder, „Bedeutung und Wesen der Turnerei,“ *Turn-Zeitung*, 10 October 1851.

<sup>4</sup> The Turners of the „first generation“ included revolutionaries such as Friedrich Hecker, Gustav Struve, Carl Heinzen, Sigismund Kaufmann, Gustav Tafel and Franz Sigel. Although most of these well-known Forty-Eighters did not participate in the exercise classes, they had a strong political impact on the Turner movement.

<sup>5</sup> The *Turn-Zeitung* (1 December 1851) printed an article with the title „Socialismus und die Turnerei.“ Socialism was a popular topic which the *Turn-Zeitung* took up many times. For example, beginning with the issue of 15 March 1853 an essay „Über die Nothwendigkeit des Socialismus“ appeared in this and the following four issues.

<sup>6</sup> Socialist Turnerbund of North America, *Constitutions Adopted at Their Convention at Buffalo Sept. 24-27 (Buffalo, 1855)*.

<sup>7</sup> Annette R. Hofmann, „Bahn Frei: Das deutsch-amerikanische Turnen von seinen Anfängen bis Ende des Bürgerkriegs,“ (M.A. thesis, University of Tübingen, 1993), 17-21.

<sup>8</sup> See, Nordamerikanischer Turnerbund, „Jahresbericht“ (1896); Robert Knight Barney, „The German-American Turnverein Movement: It's Histiography,“ in *Turnen und Sport*, ed. Roland Naul (Münster; New York: Waxmann, 1991), 3; and the *Research Guide to the Turner Movement in the United States*, comp. Eric L. Pumroy and Katja Rampelmann (Westport, CT; London: Greenwood Press, 1996), 289.

<sup>9</sup> Pumroy and Rampelmann, *Research Guide to the Turner Movement in the United States*, 289.

<sup>10</sup> A more detailed overview of the Turners' engagement in the American Civil War can be found in Annette R. Hofmann, „The Turners' Loyalty for their New Home Country: Their Engagement in the American Civil War,“ *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 12 (1995): 153-68.

<sup>11</sup> Michael Krüger, „Nationalismus,“ in Ommo Grupe and Dietmar Mieth, eds., *Lexikon der Ethik im Sport* (Schorndorf: Hofmann Verlag, 1998), 367.

<sup>12</sup> A detailed list can be found in Brigitte Haug, "... auf dem neuen Turnplatz der Politik ...," *Turnvereine in Baden und Württemberg in der Revolution 1848/49* (Schorndorf: Hofmann Verlag, 1998).

<sup>13</sup> Michael Krüger, *Körperkultur und Nationsbildung: Die Geschichte des Turnens in der Reichsgründungsära—eine Detailstudie über die Deutschen* (Schorndorf: Hofmann Verlag, 1996), 14.

<sup>14</sup> See, Haug "... auf dem neuen Turnplatz der Politik ..."

<sup>15</sup> Lothar Wieser, *150 Jahre Turnen und Sport in Mannheim* (Mannheim: Turn- und Sportverein Mannheim e.V. 1846, 1996), 37.

<sup>16</sup> Michael Krüger, *Einführung in die Geschichte der Leibeserziehung und des Sport. Teil 2: Leibeserziehung im 19. Jahrhundert: Turnen fürs Vaterland* (Schorndorf: Hofmann Verlag, 1993), 36-97.

<sup>17</sup> Robert Knight Barney, "Knights and Exercise: German Forty-Eighters and Turnvereine in the United States during the Antebellum Period," *Canadian Journal of the History of Sports* 2 (1982): 63f.

<sup>18</sup> See "Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Convention of the American Turnbund," St. Louis, MO, 23-26 June 1923.

<sup>19</sup> Cincinnati Central Turners, *The First Turner Society in America* (Cincinnati, 1948).

<sup>20</sup> Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Ethnicity as Festive Culture: Nineteenth-Century German Americans on Parade." in *The Invention of Ethnicity*, ed. Werner Sollor (New York, 1989), 49.

<sup>21</sup> Friedrich Hecker, "Turnfestrede anlässlich des 16. Bezirksturnfestes in St. Louis," *Amerikanischer Turner-Kalender* (1882), 95.

<sup>22</sup> Socialist Turnbund, *Convention Protocols of the Socialist Turnbund* (1858).

<sup>23</sup> Heinrich Metzner, *Geschichte des Turner-Bundes* (Indianapolis, 1874), 12.

<sup>24</sup> Socialist Turnbund, *Convention Protocols of the Socialist Turnbund* (1858).

<sup>25</sup> North American Turnbund, *Official Minutes and Decisions* (Pittsburgh, PA, 1854); and Socialist Turnbund, *The Convention of the Socialist Turnbund of North America* (Indianapolis, IN, [4-8 September] 1858), para. 12 and 16.

<sup>26</sup> Socialist Turnbund of North America, *The Convention of the Socialist Turnbund of North America* (1857 and 1858).

<sup>27</sup> The statistical reports of the Turnbund until 1950 show the different offerings of mental *Turnen*.

<sup>28</sup> Metzner, *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei* 1:122-25.

<sup>29</sup> Krüger, *Körperkultur und Nationsbildung*, 347-50.

<sup>30</sup> Statutes of the New York Turnverein 1855.

<sup>31</sup> Socialist Turnbund of North America, *The Convention of the Socialist Turnbund of North America* (1858).

<sup>32</sup> See Dolores Hoyt, "The Role of Libraries in the American Turner Organizations" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1993), 133. The national Turner union kept records on the volumes each society owned. The highest number was in 1909 with 70,000 volumes in all Turner libraries. The number of books some individual societies owned was quite large. For example, the library of the *San Francisco Turnverein* contained 8,500 volumes in 1903. At that time the library of the University of California had 28,600 books and the San Francisco Free Public Library offered 70,000 publications; see Roberta Park "German Associational and Sporting Life in the Greater San Francisco Bay Area, 1850-1900," *Sport, Leisure, and Identity in the West* 26 (1987): 47-64; (1987): 51; Nordamerikanischer Turnbund, *Jahresbericht des Vororts* (1910).

<sup>33</sup> Robert Knight Barney, "German-American Turnvereins and Socio-Political-Economic Realities in the Antebellum and Civil War Upper and Lower South," *Stadion* (1984): 160.

<sup>34</sup> Carl Witke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952), 186f.; Heinrich Metzner's *Jahrbuch II der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei*, vols. 1-3 (New York: 1891-94) cites several examples, esp. pp. 5-16 and 188; Heinrich Huhn, "Die principiellen Kämpfe des Turnerbundes," *Turner-Kalender* (1892): 45-63. For the recommendation of weapon drills see North American Turnbund, *Official Minutes and Decisions* (Pittsburgh, PA, 1854).

<sup>35</sup> H. Streichmann, "Turners in Boston Were Guardians of Free Speech," *American Turner Topics* 11 (1937): 2; Horst Ueberhorst, *Turner unterm Sternenbanner* (Munich: Heinz Moos Verlag,



1978), 57-59.

<sup>36</sup> Wendell Phillips (1811-84) was a speaker from Boston who questioned slavery; see Allison Heisch, "Wendell Phillips," in *The Heath Anthology of American Literature*, ed. Paul Lauter et al. (Lexington, MA; Toronto: D. C. Heath and Company, 1990), 1847f.

<sup>37</sup> Streichmann, *Turners in Boston Were Guardians of Free Speech*, 2.

<sup>38</sup> Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 191-95.

<sup>39</sup> Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 215f.

<sup>40</sup> Heinrich Metzner, *History of the American Turners*, 3d rev. ed. (Rochester, NY: National Council of the American Turners, 1974), 15.

<sup>41</sup> Two months earlier, on 1 January, this group of Turners had become part of the 8th Battalion, the first military unit of volunteers on the Union's side. The Turner Company of this battalion protected Lincoln's train on its arrival in the capital at Washington. This bodyguard of honor accompanied the new president while taking his oath of office. After this honorable recognition the battalion protected the train connections between Annapolis, MD, and Washington, DC, during the first months of the war. It was also responsible for the supply of food to the capital. See, A. J. Prahl, "The Turner," in *The Forty Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848*, ed. Adolf E. Zucker (New York, 1950), 105; and Carl Eugene Miller, "The Turners Mobilize for War," *Turner Topics* 4 (1989): 5.

<sup>42</sup> Miller, "The Turners Mobilize for War," 9.

<sup>43</sup> Bruce Catton, *The Civil War* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1987), 24-26, 284.

<sup>44</sup> Heinrich Metzner, *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei* (New York 1891-94), 62.

<sup>45</sup> See Hugo Gollmer, *Namensliste der Pioniere des Nordamerikanischen Turnerbundes der Jahre 1848-1862* (St. Louis, 1885) and Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 230f.

<sup>46</sup> During the absence of its soldiers the New York Turn Verein prepared its students (*Zöglinge*) beginning in 1862 in a specially created military section of its *Turnschule* for an eventual entry in the army. From 1864 on it was officially organized as the *New York Turner Cadets*. This organization existed twenty-seven years. See New York Turn Verein, *History of the New York Turn Verein for the Centennial Celebration* (New York, 1959).

<sup>47</sup> Because of regional controversies the American Turnerbund was divided in the years 1856-59 into a Western and a Eastern union. In 1859 they reunited. See Hofmann, "Bahn Frei: Das deutsch-amerikanische Turnen," 22-24.

<sup>48</sup> Sigel even became a Major General in 1862 under General Frémont and two regiments were named after Hecker. See, for example, Jörg Nagler, *Frémont contra Lincoln: Die deutsch-amerikanische Opposition in der Republikanischen Partei während des amerikanischen Bürgerkriegs* (Frankfurt, 1984), 47, 71. Hecker's engagement in the Civil War is described in Sabine Freitag, *Friedrich Hecker* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998), 254ff.

<sup>49</sup> Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 225f.; additionally Miller mentions members of the Turner societies of neighboring states New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts (Sugerties, Union Hill, and Boston) who joined the 20th New York Regiment. See Carl Eugene Miller, "The Influence of Immigrant Geographic Origin on the Conduct of the Turner's Regiment in the American Civil War" (paper presented in 1989).

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Poster of Sturcke and Mohr located at the New York Turners, Inc., Long Island, NY.

<sup>52</sup> That is *Turnvater* Jahn's interpretation of the meaning of these colors; see Prahl, *The Turner*, 85.

<sup>53</sup> New York Turn Verein, *100th and 125th Anniversary*.

<sup>54</sup> Cincinnati Central Turners, *The First Turner Society in America*, 26.

<sup>55</sup> Metzner, *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei*, 3:71.

<sup>56</sup> Cincinnati Central Turners, 26.

<sup>57</sup> Metzner, *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei*, 3:70.

<sup>58</sup> Frederic Trautmann, *We Were the Ninth* (Kent, OH; London: Kent State University Press, 1987), 3.

<sup>59</sup> Metzner, *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei*, 3:71.

<sup>60</sup> Hannes Neumann, *Die deutsche Turnbewegung in der Revolution 1848/49 und in der amerikanischen Emigration* (Schorndorf: Hofmann Verlag, 1968), 106f.

<sup>61</sup> Albert Faust, *Das Deutschtum in den Vereinigten Staaten* (Leipzig, 1912), 439.

<sup>62</sup> Metzner, *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei*, 3:64-67; Hofmann, "Bahn Frei: Das deutsch-amerikanische Turnen," 59-60.

<sup>63</sup> Robert Knight Barney, "German-American Turnvereine and Socio-Political-Economic Realities in the Antebellum and Civil War Upper and Lower South," *Stadion* (1984): 150.

<sup>64</sup> If at least one company consisting of Turners existed in a regiment, it was called "Turner Regiment" (Miller, "The Turners Mobilize for War," 10).

<sup>65</sup> Metzner, *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei*, 3:143-44.

<sup>66</sup> Metzner, *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei*, 3:141-43.

<sup>67</sup> Fred Eugene Leonard, "German-American Gymnastic Societies and the North American Turnbund," in *American Physical Education Review* 15 (December 1910): 622.

<sup>68</sup> Indianapolis Turnverein, *75th Anniversary* (Indianapolis, 1926), 11.

<sup>69</sup> Karel Booy, *The History of the Kansas City Turners* (Kansas City, 1973), 1.

<sup>70</sup> Walter Möll, "Mit Sense und Dreschflegel durch die USA: Die Reise der Heckergruppe vom 13-19. März 1992," in *Friedrich Hecker in den USA: Eine deutsch-amerikanische Spurensicherung*, ed. Alfred G. Frei (Konstanz: Stadler Verlagsgesellschaft, 1992), 167f.

<sup>71</sup> Kevin B. Wamsley, "A Home in the South: The Turners of Galveston, Texas, 1840-65," in *Ethnicity and Sport in North American History and Culture*, ed. George Eisen and David K. Wiggins (Westport, CT; London: Greenwood Press, 1994), 43-54.

<sup>72</sup> Barney, *German-American Turnvereine and Socio-Political-Economic Realities*, 169.

<sup>73</sup> Barney, *Knights and Exercise*, 68-69.

<sup>74</sup> Robert K. Barney, "German Turners in American Domestic Crisis," *Stadion* 4 (1978): 344.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 355; Metzner, *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei*, 3:84.

<sup>76</sup> Barney, *German-American Turnvereine and Socio-Political-Economic Realities*, 172; Wamsley, *A Home in the South*, 48f.

<sup>77</sup> Hoffman, "Bahn Frei: Das deutsch-amerikanische Turnen," 68f.

<sup>78</sup> L. Stierlin, *Der Staat Kentucky mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des deutschen Elements* (Louisville, 1873), 29.

<sup>79</sup> Syracuse Turners, *125th Anniversary* (Syracuse, NY, 1979).

<sup>80</sup> Booy, *The History of the Kansas City Turners*, 1; Convington Turner Society, *The First Hundred Years* (Covington, 1955), 14; Metzner, *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei*, 3:190.

<sup>81</sup> Ueberhorst, *Turner unterm Sternenbanner*, 83.

<sup>82</sup> Alice Joyce Moonen, "The Missing Half: The Experience of Women of the Indiana Athenaeum Turnverein Ladies Auxiliary 1876-1919" (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1993), 87.

<sup>83</sup> Hofmann, "Bahn Frei: Das deutsch-amerikanische Turnen," 70ff.

<sup>84</sup> This was the second institution in the United States where one could become a physical education teacher. The first one was Dio Lewis Normal Institute for Physical Education, founded in 1861 in Boston. See Edward Mussey Hartwell, *Physical Training in American Colleges and Universities* (Circular of Information of the Bureau of Education, no. 5-1885, 1886).

<sup>85</sup> See Pumroy and Rampelmann, *Research Guide to the Turner Movement in the United States*, introduction.

<sup>86</sup> Allen Guttmann, *Women's Sports: A History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 95.

<sup>87</sup> See summary of the Turner societies' histories in Pumroy and Rampelmann, *Research Guide to the Turner Movement*; and Akron Turner Club, *Centennial Anniversary 1885-1985* (Akron, 1985).

<sup>88</sup> See annual reports of the Nordamerikanischer Turnbund for the 1890s.

<sup>89</sup> Annual Reports of the Nordamerikanischer Turnbund 1915 and 1917.

<sup>90</sup> See "Statistical Reports" of the Nordamerikanischer Turnbund 1914-43.

<sup>91</sup> "Annual Reports" of the Nordamerikanischer Turnbund (1925), 11; and (1935), 3; as well as "Annual Report" of the American Turners (1938), 6; and Pumroy and Rampelmann, *Research Guide to the Turner Movement in the United States*.

<sup>92</sup> "Annual Report" of the American Turners (1944), 8.

<sup>93</sup> Willi Paul Adams, *The German-Americans: An Ethnic Experience*, American edition, trans. and adapted by La Vern Rippley and Eberhard Reichmann (Indianapolis: Max Kade German-American Center, 1993), 6.



<sup>94</sup> Protocol of the 44th Turner Convention of the American Turners in 1952, 3f.

<sup>95</sup> American Turners, *Directory of National Council, District Councils, Society Leaders* (Louisville, 1999).

<sup>96</sup> Of the Turners included in the second questionnaire, 62 percent were older than 50 years, 28 percent between 31 and 50 years, and 10 percent younger than 30 years.

<sup>97</sup> Other members claimed the following ancestries: 21,5 percent Irish; 15,6 percent English; 5,6 percent Swedish; 5 percent each Italian and Scottish; other nationalities were negligible.

<sup>98</sup> Illinois Senator William F. Mahor even described the Turners as discus throwers in a Senate Resolution which proclaimed 1 May 1993 as National American Turner Day in commemoration of their 145th anniversary (State of Illinois, 88th General Assembly, Senate Resolution No. 3000 offered by Senator William F. Mahor). See *American Turner Topics* 40 (1993): 9.

<sup>99</sup> See Conzen, *Ethnicity as Festive Culture*, 50, 58; and Frederick Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I* (De Kalb, IL, 1974), 43.

<sup>100</sup> Kathleen Neils Conzen, 'Patterns of German-American History,' in *Germans in America: Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Randall M. Miller (Philadelphia: The German Society of Pennsylvania, 1984), 32.

<sup>101</sup> For example the Aurora Turners in Illinois or the Springfield Turners in Massachusetts offer bingo regularly. In the "old days" the Turners disapproved of gambling. Statute 22 of the Nordamerikanischer Turnerbund in 1880 pronounced that "Veranstaltungen von Lotterien in irgendeiner Form, zu welchen Zwecken auch immer, sind verboten." See *Turner-Kalender* (1880): 96.

<sup>102</sup> See Heinrich Metzner, *History of the American Turners*, 4th rev. ed. (Louisville, KY: National Council of the American Turners, 1989), 51.





Nancy Newman

***"Gleiche Rechte, gleiche Pflichten und gleiche Gemisse":***  
**Henry Albrecht's Utopian Vision of the**  
**Germania Musical Society**

On 12 September 1854 the Germania Musical Society resolved to dissolve their association, an orchestra of about two dozen men that had concertized widely in the United States and Canada for the six preceding years. Within a few days of their decision, John Sullivan Dwight published a report about the members' future plans in his *Journal of Music*. The two musicians who had assumed conducting posts, Carl Bergmann and Carl Zerrahn, were afforded a few lines each. The intentions of the others, most of whom had joined various performing organizations, were described in several long sentences. The majority of the report, however, was devoted to Henry Albrecht:

Mr. ALBRECHT, the second clarinetist, one of the most modest members of the body, but who has been perhaps its most complete impersonation of that devotion to an ideal, artistic and social, and that fraternal self-sacrificing sentiment; which has kept them so long and heartily united, seeks a new sphere for the exercise of that same spirit in M. Cabet's Icarian Community in Nauvoo, Ill. There much account is made of music, as a type and furtherer of their ideal social harmony . . . . Mr. Albrecht, as well as others of the Germanians, has long been deeply interested in the pacific plans of social harmony. . . . His library of music and of musical books, for one collected by so young a man, is really quite a wonder.<sup>1</sup>

Who was Henry Albrecht, and why was Dwight interested in his plans? Although the Germania Musical Society is widely acknowledged to have been one of the most important traveling orchestras to visit the United States in the

nineteenth century, Albrecht is not a figure who has left many traces in the historical record. As he neither conducted nor performed in important musical organizations after the orchestra disbanded, his strictly "musical" activities have offered little to the musicological record. The difficulty of recognizing Albrecht's accomplishments is compounded by the fact that, although historians generally recognize that the tremendous influx of German immigrants to the United States around 1848 included many musicians, there has been little recent research on the individual participants of this migration and their impact on American musical life.

Henry Albrecht's emergence from historical obscurity, however, helps to illuminate the Germania Musical Society's presence at many of the important junctures, both musical and social, around 1848. Albrecht was the only member of the orchestra to publish a firsthand account of the ensemble's activities. The significance of this memoir is its articulation of a specific attempt, by a group of musicians in Berlin on the eve of the March Revolution, to organize themselves outside the prevailing patronage system. In the midst of a burgeoning commercial musical culture, these instrumentalists gave serious attention to what the shift from patrons to market meant for their own social and musical relations. Albrecht chronicled their inimitable attempt at self-determination in a pamphlet entitled, *Skizzen aus dem Leben der Musik-Gesellschaft Germania*, published fifteen years after the group disbanded.<sup>2</sup> As this essay will show, the nature of this articulation has been only partially understood in the musicological literature.

The Germania Musical Society was organized in Berlin in January and February of 1848 as an orchestra of twenty-four men with the immediate intention of concertizing abroad. During their six years in the United States, they performed nearly nine hundred concerts and reached more than a million listeners.<sup>3</sup> The group concertized primarily along the Eastern seaboard, and also made two substantial tours as far west as St. Louis. The Germania Musical Society premiered numerous compositions by contemporary European composers, including Mendelssohn, Spohr, and Wagner, for American audiences.<sup>4</sup> Many of these works subsequently became a regular part of the concert repertoire. The group impressed Americans with the high standard of its orchestral playing; according to contemporary accounts, the integration of the ensemble was admired and emulated by other orchestral groups. The Germans performed with many of the prominent touring artists of the day, including Jenny Lind, Henriette Sontag, Fortunata Tedesco, Ole Bull, Camille Urso, and Alfred Jaell,<sup>5</sup> as well as with resident music organizations, such as Boston's Handel and Haydn Society. All the members of the Germania settled in the United States after the group disbanded, and several individuals became prominent figures in their respective local music scenes. The most musically active of these men were: Carl Bergmann (1821-76), conductor of the Germania Musical Society from 1850-54, and conductor of the New York Philharmonic from 1855-76;<sup>6</sup> Carl Lenschow (1820-90), the original conductor of the Germania, and director of the Balti-



more *Liederkrantz* from 1850 and the *Germania Männerchor* from 1869; Wilhelm Schultze (1828-88), first violinist of the Mendelssohn Quintet Club, 1858-77, and director of the newly-formed music department at Syracuse University from 1877-88; Carl Sentz, cofounder of the Germania Orchestra of Philadelphia, 1856; and Carl Zerrahn (1826-1909), conductor of the Handel and Haydn Society, 1854-98, the Harvard Musical Association, 1866-82, and the Worcester County Musical Association Choral Conventions, 1866-97.

### Henry Albrecht and the Situation to 1848

Two members of the Germania, Bergmann and Zerrahn, were included in A. E. Zucker's "Biographical Dictionary of the Forty-Eighters." Both were characterized as having fled Europe because they had been "involved in the Revolution." Carl Wittke's description of the "Germania Orchestra" is likewise limited to the names of these two individuals.<sup>7</sup> One of the few sources for biographical information on Albrecht is Frédéric Ritter, a multifaceted musician from Alsace who nearly qualifies as a Forty-Eighter himself. His *Music in America* includes a chapter that is almost entirely devoted to the Germania Musical Society, and as with Dwight's account, contains a relatively lengthy section on Henry Albrecht.<sup>8</sup>

As the excerpts below demonstrate, Ritter's account of Albrecht's life and idealism is both moving and sympathetic; it is also anomalous in a book otherwise devoted to strictly musical accomplishments. A personal connection may well have existed between the two men; at very least, the two knew of each other through Joseph W. Drexel, member of the wealthy Philadelphia family.<sup>9</sup> This connection is substantiated through a letter to Ritter dated 23 April 1875, in which Drexel mentions Albrecht's departure for Germany.<sup>10</sup> What the three men shared was a passion for the collection of musical literature.

Albrecht, Ritter, and Drexel hold the distinction of possessing the largest musical libraries in the United States during the 1850s. A large portion of Dwight's account of the break-up of the Germania was devoted to a report on Albrecht's library, which was recognized in 1854 as "the most complete in America."<sup>11</sup> Albrecht's unfinished, handwritten catalogue indicates that his collection consisted, at that time, of "477 works in 661 volumes."<sup>12</sup> When Ritter arrived in Cincinnati in 1856, he was in possession of "a valuable musical library," which was "then the second best in this country."<sup>13</sup> Drexel began his library with the purchase of Albrecht's collection in 1858.<sup>14</sup> Drexel also seems to have retained Albrecht to manage his holdings, which were soon expanded through further purchases; Ritter states that Drexel gave Albrecht "*carte blanche* to complete the collection."<sup>15</sup> Drexel's correspondence to Ritter reveals that he made his extensive library available for the latter's scholarly projects, even purchasing items specifically for that purpose.<sup>16</sup> Ritter dedicated the first edition of *Music in America* to Drexel in 1883.

The eldest of the three men, Henry Albrecht was born on 13 March 1822 in Grevesmühlen, Mecklenburg-Schwerin.<sup>17</sup> The son of a physician, he was trained



as a musician in his youth and evidenced a strong interest in the literature of music even as a young adult. Drexel reports that Albrecht began collecting musical writings in 1845, at the age of twenty-three.<sup>18</sup> According to Ritter, this interest had earned Albrecht the friendship of Siegfried Wilhelm Dehn by 1847. The latter was well-known in Berlin as a music theorist and teacher, and as the editor of *Cäcilia: Eine Zeitschrift für die musikalische Welt*. In his capacity as curator of the music section of the Royal Library in Berlin, Dehn offered Albrecht an appointment as his assistant, which Albrecht declined.<sup>19</sup>

Albrecht was probably a member of Joseph Gungl's orchestra at this time.<sup>20</sup> Many of the original members of the Germania Musical Society came from Gungl's group.<sup>21</sup> In their earliest newspaper notices in the United States, the Germania advertised itself as "formerly of Jos. Gungl," thus capitalizing both on Gungl's prior reputation and his much-heralded arrival in the United States a few weeks later.<sup>22</sup> Gungl's thirty-six-member *Privatorchester* had been founded in Berlin in 1843 with the encouragement of his exclusive publisher, Gustav Bock. Leadership of the orchestra provided ready-made publicity for Gungl's numerous compositions.

Groups such as the private orchestras are significant for the social history of music in that they operated outside the patronage system, i.e., as a form of private enterprise. Organizers of private orchestras seem to have taken as their model the ensemble of Johann Strauss, Sr., who had visited Berlin from Vienna with his thirty-member orchestra in 1834.<sup>23</sup> Similar groups proliferated in Berlin during the 1840s. Private orchestras were considered "modern" by contemporaries in several respects, including the fact that their repertory ranged from dance music to classical symphonies to new compositions.<sup>24</sup> The court orchestra in Berlin had become increasingly conservative about playing new works, largely as a result of A. B. Marx's campaign in the late 1820s to establish the German, classical symphony as the cornerstone of Berlin concert life.<sup>25</sup> The static quality of the court's musical offerings, however, proved to be a boon for the eventual members of the Germania Musical Society. Albrecht relates with considerable pride that the orchestra members could play without written parts, and Ritter viewed their ability "to play a Beethoven symphony by heart" a mark of their artistry.<sup>26</sup> Repeated performances of Mozart, Haydn and Beethoven symphonies, of which they undoubtedly availed themselves during their early adulthoods in Berlin, served them well in their mission to convince the people of the United States of the pleasures and value of the symphony orchestra.

As Berlin's court and private orchestras, along with the military bands, were in general competition for the same listenership, all had very high standards of musicianship. Ticket prices, however, were higher for court performances, making the audiences more exclusive; many tickets were undoubtedly by invitation only. There was also a significant difference in the performance venues of the various types of ensembles, reflecting the prerogatives of the court. In addition to the court orchestra's monopoly on the royal theater and opera house, access to the large royal concert halls was either prohibitively expensive



or altogether restricted.<sup>27</sup> Instead, private orchestras played in smaller halls, restaurants, inns, and outdoors. Gungl's orchestra, like that of Strauss, also travelled extensively.

This was the environment, during the final period of the *Vormärz*, in which German musicians began to hold meetings to discuss their situation. At the beginning of 1847, Franz Brendel, editor of the Leipzig music journal, *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, called for a musicians' assembly, to be modeled on other national scholarly conferences that had recently taken place in Germany. Berlin had actually formed a *Tonkünstler-Verein* a few years earlier, but it had only about twenty members and no national pretensions. The first *Tonkünstler-Versammlung*, which attracted 141 participants, was held 13-14 August 1847 at the Leipzig *Gewandhaus*. A national *Tonkünstler-Verein* was formed as a consequence of this meeting, with local chapters throughout Germany.<sup>28</sup>

According to Ritter, 1847 was also when Albrecht read Etienne Cabet's utopian novel, *Voyage en Icarie*.<sup>29</sup>

The poverty and misery of the lower classes of the German people, aggravated in the year 1847 by a quasi-famine, touched his [Albrecht's] heart to such a degree that he began to devote his thoughts to projects for the amelioration of the lot of the poorer classes. Then it was that Cabet's book, "Voyage en Icarie," fell in his hands. He became devoted to communism as the only possible means that would enable him to carry out his humanitarian aims.<sup>30</sup>

Albrecht began a lifelong engagement with "Icarian communism" after reading Cabet's novel. This six-hundred-page tome contains the blueprint for a social utopia founded by a benevolent dictator, Icar, and administered through egalitarian democracy. Cabet envisioned a "society without private property or money, devoid of political corruption, unemployment, immorality, and crime."<sup>31</sup> To compensate for the lack of private accumulation, the *communauté de biens* (*ikarischen Gütergemeinschaft*) distributes necessities and luxuries, providing for each according to his or her needs. Agriculture and manufacturing are managed scientifically, education is stimulating and universal, and diverse entertainments and recreation provide ample amusement and edification.

Cabet's original intention seems to have been to establish "Icaria" in France; his hope was that a "community of goods" could be implemented in his native country. As a propagandist for such a cause, Cabet was undeniably effective, and his following was extensive. The initial appeal of Icarian communism was mainly among "the urban working classes, above all from among distressed artisans (such as tailors and shoemakers) whose livelihood was threatened less by the direct impact of machinery than by concentration of ownership, increasing division of labor, and generally more efficient means of organization in their still largely handicraft occupations."<sup>32</sup> The influence of Icarian communism

reached its height in France in 1846-47. While it is difficult to assess the exact extent of such a movement, one indication of Cabet's following can be seen in subscriptions for Cabet's monthly newspaper. *Le Populaire* averaged 3,500 copies per issue in 1846, representing as many as 70,000 readers.<sup>33</sup> A press run of this magnitude makes *Le Populaire* comparable in size (excepting the Paris daily *Le Siècle*) to most of the other national and major regional newspapers in France at the time.<sup>34</sup> Christopher Johnson asserts that "there can be little doubt that Cabet exercised a more profound influence on the workers of France than any other writer in the pre-1848 period."<sup>35</sup> He was especially important in creating a worker's movement that was not limited to secret societies and clandestine clubs. Cabet, a tireless writer and publicist, "desired to bring communism out into the open."<sup>36</sup> Change was to be sought through legal channels and passive resistance (*courage civil*) rather than through conspiracy and violence.

Copies of *Voyage en Icarie* were circulated by Cabet as early as 1838, and five editions were published in Paris between 1840 and 1848.<sup>37</sup> While it is possible that Albrecht read the novel in French, the appearance of a German translation in 1847 leads to a consideration of Cabet's influence among German speakers more generally. The novel was translated by August Hermann Ewerbeck, under the pseudonym Dr. Wendell Hippler, as *Reise nach Ikarie*.<sup>38</sup> The edition was published in Paris, where Ewerbeck, a young physician from Danzig, was living at the time. Paris was home to upwards of 80,000 Germans in the late 1830s and 1840s, mainly workers and artisans who had come for economic opportunity, but also intellectuals and political refugees.<sup>39</sup> Veit Valentin considered Ewerbeck "the most intelligent and energetic of the middlemen between French and German social-revolutionaries."<sup>40</sup> He was Cabet's most important spokesman in the League of the Just (*Bund der Gerechten*), a secret political society founded in 1836 in Paris. Ewerbeck's promotion of Icarian communism had a strong influence on Wilhelm Weitling, who became prominent in the League, and whose own brand of communism is indebted to Cabet.<sup>41</sup> Another Weitling acquaintance, the religious "prophet" Christian Albrecht, had translated Cabet's *Credo communiste* into German in 1842.<sup>42</sup>

Cabet's primary influence among German speakers seems to have been through the exiles living abroad, especially in France, Switzerland, and London.<sup>43</sup> The most significant of these figures were Marx and Engels, whose estimation of Cabet ranged from praise "for his practical attitude toward the proletariat"<sup>44</sup> to castigating the "dogmatic abstractions" of his utopian vision.<sup>45</sup> Nevertheless, when Marx and Engels began the *Communist Manifesto* by saying that the specter of communism was haunting Europe, they tacitly acknowledged that "no one was more important in making it so than Cabet."<sup>46</sup>

As Ritter's description of Albrecht's reaction to *Voyage* indicates, Cabet's appeal was due in part to the worsening conditions throughout Europe. The political situation was exacerbated by poor harvests, leading to food shortages; declining prices, which meant lower wages, deteriorating working conditions, and increased unemployment; and a financial and banking crisis.<sup>47</sup> The situation



for musicians, whose position was analogous to that of artisans in several ways, had also declined. For both groups, general population increases during the previous several decades had led to decreased opportunities for advancement. At the same time, their relatively high level of skill and education meant that these individuals could avail themselves of a burgeoning literature devoted to social and political reform. Where censorship prohibited the circulation of such materials, the geographical mobility of journeymen and musicians resulted in access to ideas that were impossible to obtain otherwise. For many, of course, the hope that a better life might be found elsewhere found its realization in emigration.

The deteriorating economic and political situation may have led Cabet to the recognition that his message of *courage civil* was increasingly ineffectual, at least in France. Heightened class antagonism, including the suspicion and persecution of communists, indicated that the implementation of Icaria in his native country was an impossible goal. On 9 May 1847 Cabet announced a plan to establish his utopia in the United States in the pages of *Le Populaire*. By the following November he had arranged, through the English environmental social utopian, Robert Owen, that this colony would be in Texas. An *avant-garde* of sixty-nine men departed from Le Havre on 3 February 1848.<sup>48</sup>

Meanwhile, Henry Albrecht and the twenty-three other members of the Germania Musical Society were considering the viability of forming their own orchestra.

Während der Monate Januar und Februar d. J. 1848 fanden in Berlin öfter Versammlungen von Musikern statt, die in dieser Residenz, welche bekanntlich als der Mittelpunkt der schönen Künste und Wissenschaften Norddeutschlands betrachtet wird, seit längerer Zeit als Mitglieder eines Privat-Orchesters fungirt hatten. Durch jahrelanges Zusammenwirken hatten sie sich gegenseitig achten und lieben gelernt, so dass in Wahrheit das Band brüderlicher Freundschaft sie umschlang.

Von dem Wunsche beseelt, eine in individueller Beziehung gänzlich unabhängige Lebensweise zu führen, kamen sie zu dem Entschlusse, ein Concert-Orchester zu bilden, welches nicht nur in musikalischer, sondern auch in socialer Hinsicht als ein Musterbild zu betrachten sei. (Musiker, die irgend eine lasterhafte Angewohnheit besaßen, oder über deren untadelhaften Charakter nur der geringste Zweifel obwaltete, konnten unter keiner Bedingung Aufnahme finden.)<sup>49</sup>

With the outbreak of Revolution in March, the orchestra members accelerated their departure for the United States. They gave a farewell concert in Berlin on 4 May 1848. In addition to works by Beethoven and Carl Maria von Weber, they played a Festival Overture by their conductor, Carl Lenschow, and a sym-

phony (in manuscript) by the English ambassador, the Earl of Westmoreland, who was in attendance.<sup>50</sup> Other listeners included the ambassador of the United States, "der königl. Kapellmeister Taubert, der General-Musikdirector Wieprecht, die Kammer-Musiker Böhmer, Griebel und andere Mitglieder der königl. Capelle, sowie auch die ersten Kunstkritiker Berlins."<sup>51</sup> A mixture of sociomusical relations can be seen in this group, in which aristocrats functioning as bureaucrats, musicians with court appointments, and professional journalists mingled, linked as *Musikfreunde*. The subsequent careers of two participants also illustrate the fluctuations of contemporary musical life. Wilhelm Wieprecht (1802-72), for example, organized his own *Privatorchester*, the Euterpe, the following year (1849). He held several court appointments and engaged in various types of private musical enterprise, including the manufacture of valved brass instruments, during the next two decades. Ferdinand Griebel (ca.1819-58), after hearing the Germania, abandoned his position in the royal orchestra and joined the Germania as first violinist for a short time, eventually emigrating to Canada.

After the concert, Wilhelm Taubert (soon to become known to Americans as the composer of Jenny Lind's *Bird Song*) praised the young musicians in a speech full of admiration and good wishes. More importantly, the royal *Kapellmeister* sent along "a considerable quantity of recommendations . . . addressed to highly-placed people in England" from himself and the Earl of Westmoreland. Such letters were an essential feature of the old social relations among musicians and their patrons, as they virtually guaranteed performing opportunities, replete with assistance from local musicians.<sup>52</sup>

Armed with these valuable recommendations, the Germanians left for London four days later. The orchestra spent the summer in England, where it soon became clear that many musicians from the Continent were waiting out the political turbulence. The letters proved quite useful, and the orchestra quickly earned the favor of the Duke of Cambridge, "welcher als ein enthusiastischer Musikfreund und guter Violinspieler allgemein bekannt war." On one occasion, the Duke, perhaps relying on the conventions of privilege, took a seat next to the first violin for Weber's *Jubel* Overture. The Duke revealed his modern sentiments when a draft blew the music to the ground. "[D]er Herzog in seiner jovialen Liebenswürdigkeit eiligt [die erste Violinstimme] von der Erde aufnahm, und sie eigenhändig bis zum Schluss der Ouvertüre festhielt." Such behavior did not go unnoticed. "Diese in den Augen der hohen Aristokratie ganz unerhörte Ehrenbezeugung erregte unter den anwesenden Lords so große Sensation, dass vielseitig die Meinung laut wurde: 'der Herzog müsse nie bevor ein so ausgezeichnetes Orchester gehört haben.'" The Duke indirectly admonished the other guests by telling the orchestra, in a loud voice, that they had exceeded his expectations, having been recommended by his friend in Berlin, the Earl of Westmoreland.<sup>53</sup>

Despite their precarious position at the mercy of such "society," the Germanians were tempted to stay in London, especially after dining sumptuously at the Baring Brothers' villa. They also received an invitation to play



before Queen Victoria during the next season. Nevertheless, they remained steadfast in their determination to come to the United States, and arrived in New York on 28 September 1848.

### **A Beacon for the World to See: The Icarians and Germanians in the United States**

Secondary literature on the Germania Musical Society is surprisingly scarce. The most substantial treatment appeared in a 1953 *Musical Quarterly* article by H. Earle Johnson (cited in note 4). This article is largely based on Albrecht's *Skizzen*, and is faithful on most accounts. Johnson follows Albrecht in describing the constitution adopted by the members, which stipulated, "Gleiche Rechte, gleiche Pflichten und gleiche Genüsse." A motto, "Einer für Alle und Alle für Einen," was also adopted. "Es wurde gleichzeitig beschlossen, so bald als möglich eine Reise nach den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika anzutreten, um in den Herzen dieses politisch freien Volkes, durch zahlreiche Aufführungen der Meisterwerke unserer größten Instrumental-Componisten, als Bach, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Spohr, Schubert, Mendelssohn, Schumann, sowie auch Liszt, Berlioz, Wagner u.s.w., die Liebe zu der Schönen Kunst der Töne zu entflammen und zu fördern."<sup>54</sup>

H. Earle Johnson says, "Their decision to form a new orchestra was taken with purposeful awareness that democracy was"—and here he quotes Albrecht—"the most complete principle of human society."<sup>55</sup> In contrast, Albrecht's actual sentiments were as follows:

Die damaligen politische Unruhen, welche im Februar und März sich in allgemeine Völker-Revolutionen verwandelten, beschleunigten die Bildung und baldige Abreise der Musikgesellschaft. Bei Entwerfung der Statuten dieses Vereins wurde das kommunistische Prinzip zur Grundlage erwählt, indem sämtliche Mitglieder der Germania die Überzeugung hegten, dass der Kommunismus das vollkommenste Gesellschaftsprinzip ist. (Dass es keine Illusionen waren, hat die Musikgesellschaft Germania durch die That bewiesen.)<sup>56</sup>

The impression that the Germania Musical Society was organized according to democratic, rather than communistic, principles has been perpetuated in music history texts since Johnson's 1953 article whenever the Germania is mentioned.<sup>57</sup> Whatever the reasons for Johnson's rephrasing of Albrecht's words, and his complete neglect of anything pertaining to Cabot, the historical record is certainly made richer when it is rendered accurately.<sup>58</sup> Fortunately, it is still possible to recover the context in which the Germania was organized.<sup>59</sup>

A fundamental aspect of the Germania's organization is indicated by Albrecht's play on the term *Gesellschaft*.<sup>60</sup> The orchestra was envisioned as a



The Germania Musical Society, ca. 1853. Henry Albrecht is standing third from the right. (Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA.)



microcosm of society at large; likewise, the Icarians felt their "experiment" offered a model for the world to see. According to Albert Shaw, whose ethnography of the Icarians was published while the settlement was still viable, the work of the Icarian doctrine "was to teach the world the philosophy of a better social system, and to demonstrate the practicality of that philosophy."<sup>61</sup> This sense of purpose was admired by Shaw, and he credits it with enabling the Icarians to persevere in the face of tremendous material deprivation. A less sympathetic observer, Charles Nordhoff, was nonetheless impressed with their perseverance, which he likened to religious faith: "communism was their religion."<sup>62</sup> Similarly, Albrecht asserted that it was the orchestra members' faith in their organization that allowed them to persist through circumstances that ruined other orchestras.

Durch die Gewährung gleicher Rechte und durch gleichmäßige Vertheilung des pecuniären Gewinnes standen sämmtliche Mitglieder in persönlicher Beziehung auf gleicher Stufe. Das gemeinschaftliche Interesse bewirkte, dass die Gesellschaft mit ungetheilter Kraft ihr Ziel verfolgen konnte. Hauptsächlich dieser weisen Einrichtung hat die Germania ihren außerordentlichen Erfolg während ihrer sechsjährigen Kunstreisen in Amerika zu verdanken. Ihre Gesetze verliehen ihr die Kraft, alle Hindernisse und Gefahren, die sich ihr entgegenthürmten, und welche alle ähnlichen Concert-Orchester in wenigen Monaten ruinirt haben, mit leichter Mühe zu beseitigen.<sup>63</sup>

Key to both organizations was the communal principle, the submission of the individual ego to the good of the whole. Cabet frequently spoke of the debilitating effects of *égoïsme* on the individual and on the social whole. Both the bourgeois elite and the aristocracy erred by condoning individualism and not embracing *la Communauté*.<sup>64</sup> Albrecht translated this concept into musical terms, comparing the Germania's musical achievements to the deleterious effects of egoism on musical life generally:

Der glückliche Umstand, dass die Organisation der Gesellschaft auf echt socialistische Prinzipien basirt war, zeigte sich in musikalischer Beziehung eben so wirksam als im socialen Leben dieser jungen Künstlerschar. Beim Vortrage von Orchesterwerken erkannte jedes Mitglied als heiligste Pflicht, niemals eine besondere, individuelle Künstlermanier geltend zu machen. In den fürstlichen Capellen Europa's, die bekanntlich aus Virtuosen ersten Ranges bestehen, sucht im Orchester (mit wenigen Ausnahmen) Jeder durch Geltendmachung besonderer Kunstmanieren im Vortrage sich

hervorzuthun, wodurch natürlicher Weise selten eine Aufführung ganz untadelhaft erscheint.<sup>65</sup>

By contrast, the Germania Musical Society was known for the total integration of the ensemble. Their signature piece became Mendelssohn's Overture to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, which requires that the orchestra function in a truly unified manner.<sup>66</sup> Demand for this piece was so great that they performed it more than a thousand times. Albrecht offers an inherently social explanation for the Germania's musical achievements: "Wie im Leben, so in der Kunst, waren sie ein Herz und eine Seele. Hieraus erklärt sich die Übereinstimmung im Vortrage, wo stets sämtliche Orchesterinstrumente als ein einziges, mächtig wirkendes Konzert-Instrument erschienen."<sup>67</sup>

Inevitably, the Germania Musical Society endured both highs and lows on its six-year concert tour. Financial success, even if all rewards were shared equally, was elusive at first. They were warmly received by musicians in New York—especially Henry Timm (president of the New York Philharmonic Society), Henry and Antoinette Otto, and William Scharfenberg—but receipts were mediocre. Philadelphia was worse, with a New Year's Eve concert netting less than \$10. The decision had already been made to disband when an invitation came to play for Zachary Taylor's inauguration. It is difficult to determine the origin of this offer, but Joseph Gungl's band, which was still concertizing in the United States, played for the Whig's victory ball.<sup>68</sup> Both groups gave concerts in Baltimore as well. Pastor Henry Scheib of Zion Church promoted the Germania Musical Society, and a group of unidentified ladies rounded up subscriptions. In April the orchestra ventured to New England, giving concerts in Worcester, Providence and Boston. Somehow they were invited to spend the summer in Newport, Rhode Island, which became a much-appreciated obligation for the orchestra. Subsequent summers were spent at this seaside resort town.

The Germania spent much of their second autumn and the following spring (1850) in Baltimore. Their conductor, Carl Lenschow, decided to settle in that city, and shortly after his resignation Carl Bergmann assumed the position of director. The orchestra toured with Jenny Lind for about thirty concerts soon after meeting her in Baltimore (December 1850). Two trips as far west as the Mississippi were undertaken in the Spring of 1853 and 1854. German audiences were especially receptive, and a review by Heinrich Börnstein, editor of the *Anzeiger des Westens*, demonstrates that the orchestra had the capacity to evoke elaborate metaphors of political unity among its listeners.<sup>69</sup> The majority of their last three years together were concentrated in Boston, where they played a leading role in the city's musical life.

As a prerequisite for incorporating the orchestra, which took place on 25 April 1853 in Massachusetts, the members became citizens of the United States. Ironically, it was just a year after the incorporation that the possibility of dissolving the orchestra after the close of the season in Newport was raised. It is difficult to determine the exact reasons for the break-up, but there seems to have



been differences between the remaining original members, who had endured considerable struggle, and the new recruits. Dwight provided his own list of reasons for the orchestra's dissolution:

The natural love of change; the desire on the part of individuals to exchange a wandering for a settled life (and in some cases, doubtless, for the sweets of a domestic sphere); and the consideration of hard times, the increased expense of concert-giving, and the doubtful chance of continued pecuniary profit in the years to come, have led them, in spite of their strong fraternal feeling and the rich experiences that have bound them together so long, to this step.<sup>70</sup>

On the evening of 13 September 1854 the fourteen original members of the Germania met "in secret conclave" at Downing's Yacht House, Newport, had a "bounteous supper," and ended their formal association.<sup>71</sup>

While the Germania concertized, Cabet's adherents attempted to implement Icaria in the United States. The initial group of settlers (the *avant-garde* of 1848) soon discovered that the land Cabet had purchased in Texas was completely unsuitable. The Icarians were tremendously discouraged and returned to New Orleans, where they met with Cabet and over four hundred adherents in January 1849. Two hundred voted to leave after hearing about the failure in Texas. Many returned to France, where a large contingent sued Cabet for taking their money and deceiving them.<sup>72</sup> The followers who remained loyal soon became aware that the Mormons were trying to sell the land and buildings they had left behind in Nauvoo, Illinois, a few years earlier. The Mormons' settlement could easily be adapted to Cabet's vision of communal work and living arrangements, and the necessary steps were taken for the journey up the Mississippi to Illinois. The Nauvoo Icaria thrived initially, attracting sufficient recruits within a few years to increase the number of adherents to more than four hundred again. Unlike the Mormons, the Icarians' conventional conjugal relations were satisfactory to the local inhabitants; Cabet believed that everyone ought to be married and monogamous. Although the Icarians were somewhat restricted by their beliefs and by their use of the French language from mixing with neighboring people, much of their organization was admired by outsiders. Their library of over four thousand volumes was the largest in Illinois at the time, and local people came to their orchestra concerts, dances, and theatrical events.<sup>73</sup>

Albrecht took the opportunity to visit various communal societies while the Germania toured the United States.<sup>74</sup> On 30 August 1854 Cabet printed a series of letters he had received from Albrecht at the beginning of that month inquiring about admission to the colony in Nauvoo, Illinois. It was not uncommon for German speakers to be interested in joining. Cabet had made a special effort to recruit them, issuing a leaflet to that effect, *Aufruf an die Deutschen in*

*Amerika*, in 1852.<sup>75</sup> A report published in the Icarian newspaper at Nauvoo, *Colonie Icarienne*, indicates that nearly 10 percent of the settlement was German by the summer of 1854.<sup>76</sup> At the time that Albrecht contacted Cabet, the Icarians were in the midst of preparations to establish a second colony in Adams County, a remote section of southwestern Iowa. Cabet was also trying to forestall what would become the first major schism among the Icarians, and Albrecht arrived just in time to participate in the drama.

In his initial letter to Cabet, Albrecht presented himself as a man of high morals and moderate habits, "a stranger to the wicked habits that one would call vices," such as the use of tobacco, hard liquor, and playing cards. Cabet was ardently opposed to tobacco and liquor, and a great deal of strife in the community was caused by his attempts to eliminate these gratifications.<sup>77</sup> Albrecht goes on to say:

The Germania Musical Society, of which I am a member, has as its principle: all for one and one for all; equality in rights and in duties. Each member thus renounces freely and voluntarily all financial advantages, because laws that would not be based on these social principles would not be able to assure the liberty and the independence of the associated, considering that where there is inequality of wealth, true liberty is an illusion, or rather, a falsehood. It is the brotherhood of men, and not egoism, which is the greatest stimulant of all useful activities.<sup>78</sup>

That Cabet recognized his own reflection in these words is clear from his reply. "It seems that the Germania Musical Society has a communist sentiment, even an Icarian feel: I would hear of this with pleasure."<sup>79</sup>

Cabet probably also appreciated Albrecht's modification of the *Doctrine de Saint-Simon*, "A chacun suivant sa capacité, à chaque capacité suivant ses oeuvres," along more egalitarian and compassionate lines. In Saint-Simon's vision, differences between people are rewarded in proportion to their social utility.<sup>80</sup> The 1848 printing of Cabet's *Voyage en Icarie* included the slogan, "A chacun suivant ses besoins, de chacun suivant ses forces," on the title page.<sup>81</sup> Cabet's rephrasing of the St. Simonian maxim is indicative of the paternal image that Cabet cultivated among his followers; Icaria was the place that one would be cared for, despite infirmity or old age. Albrecht echoed this sentiment in his later writing, envisioning a future society that would have asylums—instead of prisons—for the weak and disabled.<sup>82</sup> As we have seen, Albrecht related in *Skizzen* that the phrase, "Gleiche Rechte, gleiche Pflichten, und gleiche Genüsse," formed the basis of the Germania's statutes. In a footnote, he explained, "Hinsichtlich der Rechte, eine absolute Gleichheit; hinsichtlich der Pflichten und Genüsse, eine relative; d.h. Jeder nach seinen Fähigkeiten und Bedürfnissen."<sup>83</sup> Like Cabet, Albrecht assumed that individuals would operate in an altruistic fashion, work-



ing to the best of their ability for the group, and sacrificing their own interest for the good of the whole.

In addition to his request for admission, Albrecht presented several challenging questions to Cabet. He observed that the Rappists, whose colony in Economy, Pennsylvania, he had visited twice, were much wealthier than the Icarians. He also asked if provisions had been made for the continuation of Icaria after Cabet was no longer able to govern. Cabet took Albrecht's challenges as an opportunity to expound on his vision of a more prosperous Icarian future. He soon printed his lengthy response, along with Albrecht's correspondence, in a pamphlet entitled, *Ce que je ferais si j'avais cinq cent mille dollars*.<sup>84</sup>

If Albrecht reproached Cabet with the material success of George Rapp's Harmony Society, which they agreed was valued at nine million dollars, he also asserted that the moral burden of such vast wealth rested with the Rappists.<sup>85</sup>

Are not the rich communists of Economy obligated, at least morally, to aid through their cooperation the enterprise of Mr. Cabet, who has [only] the goal of happiness for wretched humanity? And if they want to be the true successors to Jesus Christ, if his doctrine and his religion in their primitive purity is their first principle, have they not committed a type of crime against humanity by not employing the excess of their riches in the interest of humanity?"<sup>86</sup>

Albrecht took it upon himself to try to direct some of the Harmony Society's wealth to the cause of Icaria.<sup>87</sup> In a letter dated 18 September 1854, Albrecht asked the Rappists' current leader, Jacob Henrici, to consider lending the Icarians the sum Cabet desired, \$500,000, for the development of the second colony in Adams County, Iowa. Albrecht assured the Harmony Society that the Icarians would be able to repay this amount within a period of ten years. He also argued that the Rappists, who were aging and without heirs, would gain everlasting gratitude from humanity by providing these funds:

Es wird Ihnen hierdurch Gelegenheit geboten, Ihren edlen Charakter und Ihre humanen Gesinnungen gegen Ihren Mitmenschen, durch die That zeigen zu können. . . . Sie würden sich durch diese große, wahrhaft edelmüthige That, die Liebe und Verehrung aller civilisirten Völker erwerben, und nicht bloß von der gegenwärtigen Generation, sondern auch von der Nachwelt als würdige Nachfolger unseres Heilandes "Jesus Christus" bezeichnet werden.<sup>88</sup>

Henrici's reply of 7 October was negative; he reported that all the Harmonists' funds were currently invested. Henrici also cautioned Albrecht on his enthusiasm for communism, because "for fallen and non-regenerated man

there is no system under which he could be truly happy, just as for the truly regenerated, loyal follower of Jesus there can be no condition under which he can be really unhappy." Henrici felt obligated to take a stand on Cabet's philosophy as well, and commented that "we have no faith whatever in the religious principles of Icaria," with which we are "fairly well acquainted."

Although Albrecht did not inquire directly about joining the Rappists, his letter to Henrici was filled with fond and flattering recollections of his two visits to the Harmony Society. "Ich gestehe es offen, dass der edle Charakter sämtlicher Mitglieder der Gemeinde, einen so unbeschreiblichen Eindruck auf mich machte, dass ich mit Thränen in den Augen mich selbst fragte: 'Bist du wirklich noch auf derselben Erde, wo du bisher gelebt hast?'"<sup>89</sup> In several respects, Economy would have been a suitable residence for Albrecht. Not only were the Rappists German speaking, but they were well-known for the high quality of their musical activities.<sup>90</sup> However, the Harmonists accepted very few new members after the death of their founder, George Rapp, in 1847. One assumes that this was for the best, since Albrecht's general antagonism to religion would probably have been a source of conflict with this messianic sect.<sup>91</sup> On 22 November 1854 Cabet published an account of the Harmony Society by Albrecht that questioned the sagacity of the elders' demand that celibacy be observed by members.<sup>92</sup>

Having demonstrated his engagement with, and commitment to, Cabet's philosophy in his letters—prerequisites for admission to the community—Albrecht made arrangements to join the Icarians in Nauvoo. Cabet agreed to Albrecht's proposal that he visit in September 1854, but he may not have arrived until later that autumn. His name does not appear on a list of performers in the Icarian orchestra printed in the *Colonie Icarienne* on 27 September. Henrici's letter of 7 October, rejecting Albrecht's appeal to the Harmony Society, was addressed to him, "care of Louis Stave," in Chicago.<sup>93</sup> The earliest indication of Albrecht's presence in Icaria is found in the February 1855 issue of the *Revue Icarienne*, which reported that Albrecht had already arrived and had asked for definite admission to the colony.<sup>94</sup>

Dissent within the colony intensified over the next year, and on 17 March 1856 a group opposing Cabet named Albrecht to a commission monitoring Icarian publications.<sup>95</sup> Cabet, who had acted in an increasingly dictatorial manner since suffering a minor stroke the previous autumn, was accused (among other things) of mishandling the community's finances. On 12-13 May 1856, a knock-down, drag-out meeting was held to decide the future administration of the community. Albrecht's name was included with those of the majority, who voted against Cabet. Shortly after this, Albrecht left Nauvoo, at least temporarily.<sup>96</sup> He may have gone to Newport for the summer, as he reports that the core of the Germania honored their obligations there for two successive seasons after the orchestra officially disbanded.<sup>97</sup>

For a few months after the schism, the community tried to live together. Hostilities escalated, however, as the majority attempted to install a new admin-



istration. On 27 September 1856 the tense situation was remedied with Cabet's formal expulsion from Icaria. He and his remaining followers (about 180) attempted to form a new Icaria in St. Louis, but Cabet did not survive the ordeal. On 8 November 1856 he died from complications following another stroke.<sup>98</sup>

For the next three years, the Nauvoo settlement worked to develop the land in Adams County, to which they gradually relocated. Conditions were extremely difficult after the schism, the majority having lost significant labor power, supplies, and funds. The community had enormous debts, and the new land was isolated and difficult to cultivate. It is not clear whether Albrecht returned to Icaria after his departure in the summer of 1856.

Albrecht's musical library, which Dwight had reported was going with him to Nauvoo in 1854, was retrieved and sold to Joseph Drexel of Philadelphia in 1858.<sup>99</sup> How Albrecht and Drexel met, and the extent of their contact over the next two decades, is difficult to determine. Albrecht moved to Philadelphia, where he was involved in the increase and maintenance of Drexel's library. From 1860 through 1875, Albrecht is listed as a musician in Philadelphia city directories such as *McElroy's* and *Gopsill's*. His surname is sometimes anglicized to "Allbricht" or "Albright."

In 1869 Drexel published a catalogue of his music library, which by then consisted of "over 1,500 works, and about 2,200 volumes."<sup>100</sup> The title page indicates the nature of Drexel's collection, which included "Musical Writings, Autographs of Celebrated Musicians, Prints Relating to Music (Including Portraits of Composers, &c.) and Music for the Church, Theatre, Concert Room, &c."

The preface, which was printed in German with an English paraphrase, states:

Ohne Zweifel wird es vielen Musikfreunden willkommen sein, wenn wir über die Entstehung und Vermehrung obiger Sammlung noch einige Worte hinzufügen. Diese musikalische Bibliothek wurde im Frühjahr 1858 gegründet, durch Erwerb einer sehr reichhaltigen Sammlung musikalischer Schriften, Autographen berühmter Musiker und Abbildungen, die auf Musik Bezug haben. Dieselbe war derzeit Eigenthum des Musikers H. F. Albrecht, Mitglied der ehemaligen Musikgesellschaft Germania, und von ihm den Jahren 1845 bis '58 in Europa und Amerika gesammelt. Mehr als die Hälfte der in gegenwärtigem Catalog angeführten Werke gehörten dieser Sammlung an, sowie auch sämtliche Abbildungen und Autographen.<sup>101</sup>

The English paraphrase gives a further tribute to Albrecht, adding that, "it is to his untiring Energy that the present Collection is due." Both Albrecht's chronicle, *Skizzen aus dem Leben der Musik-Gesellschaft Germania*, and Drexel's catalogue

**Gegenwart und Zukunft.**

# **Unsere sozialen Zustände**

vor dem

**Richterstuhl der gesunden Menschenvernunft,**

nebst Andeutungen, auf welche Weise ein

**Bernünftig organisiertes Gesellschaftsleben**

erreichbar ist.

„Was der Vernunft widerspricht,  
ist Irrthum und Thorheit.“

(Th. Paine.)

Von

**H. F. Albrecht,**

Mitglied der Marien Gütergemeinschaft in „Maria“, Adams Co., Iowa.

**Mit einem Anhang:**

„Die soziale Organisation Mariens“ von E. Cabet, sowie auch eine kleine  
aphoristische Beschreibung der Kolonie Marien enthaltend.

**Philadelphia.**

Wiedruckt und zu haben bei J. W. Thomas und Söhne.

Title page of Henry Albrecht's *Gegenwart und Zukunft* (ca. 1873). (Courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA.)



were published by King and Baird of Philadelphia in 1869. Albrecht's text was dedicated to Drexel, "in hochachtungsvoller und freundschaftlicher Zuneigung der Verfasser."<sup>102</sup>

The organization of Drexel's catalogue is very similar to that used by Albrecht in the manuscript catalogue of his own collection: an alphabetical listing "preceded by a tabular breakdown by language and subject."<sup>103</sup> Drexel died in 1888, and his library, which by that time consisted of about 6,000 items, was donated to the Lenox Library. In 1895, the Lenox merged with the Astor Library and the Tilden Trust to form the New York Public Library. Albrecht's library is thus preserved as part of the Drexel Collection at Lincoln Center.

Although he appears to have been a resident of Philadelphia throughout the 1860s, Albrecht described himself as "Mitglied der ikarischen Gütergemeinschaft in 'Icaria,' Adams County, Iowa" in the 1869 *Skizzen*. The same phrase appears on the title page of his 1873 pamphlet, *Gegenwart und Zukunft*. This philosophical tribute to Icarian communism was printed for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the community. Albrecht's "Sachregister," which affords a glimpse into his idealistic nature, appears at the conclusion of this article. Whether Albrecht was actually a member in the community's eyes during this period is doubtful, however. What is known is that his attempts to be re-admitted to the Adams County settlement in 1870 led to a larger conflict that ultimately split Icaria once again. When Albrecht made his request, the current president, perhaps relying too heavily on Albrecht's being "loved and esteemed by all," side-stepped procedures. This action aggravated burgeoning tensions over how admissions were decided.<sup>104</sup> Albrecht was not re-admitted, and the president, the German artist J. C. Schroeder, quit his post. Soon after, these tensions developed into actual conflicts over the admission of the "Internationalists," several politically active people who had been involved in the Paris Commune.<sup>105</sup> Eventually, differences over the direction of the community resulted in a split between young and old, and the Adams County community was dissolved in 1878.

By this time Albrecht was long gone. Ritter claims, however, that he had never become disillusioned.

Though disappointed in his communistic experiences, he was not weary of his noble idealism. But he was out of his element; his great sense of justice was continually wounded . . . his inborn kindness of heart was exploited by sharpers. . . . [O]ur idealist sighed for a home . . . where he might dream out his communistic dream, far removed from all the cares of prosaic existence. With the means he possessed, he bought a small property in his native town. He took passage on the steamer, "Schiller"; and, when that ill-fated vessel went down, Albrecht, with his wife and three children, found a watery grave in the Atlantic Ocean.<sup>106</sup>

The date was 7 May 1875. The shipwreck of the *Schiller* was a terrible disaster in which over three hundred people were drowned. The symbolism of a dreamer like Albrecht losing his life on a vessel bearing the name of one of the most celebrated poets of human freedom and solidarity would surely have registered with Ritter and a great number of his readers. It is mysterious, however, that Albrecht's name was not included in the passenger lists published in the *New York Times* the week of the disaster.<sup>107</sup> Equally puzzling is that traces of Albrecht's further activities cease at this time. If it is immaterial after all these years to ask what became of him, might we still consider what became of Albrecht's vision?

## Conclusion

A few years after Albrecht's disappearance, John Sullivan Dwight would reminisce that "the old Germania" had "a communistic character, in a pure sense."<sup>108</sup> Dwight had been a member of Brook Farm in the 1840s, and despite the general antagonisms between Fourier's and Cabet's respective social theories, Dwight seemed to find fulfilled in the Germania Musical Society something he and his friends there had tried to achieve: "There was a romantic flavor in the mutual devotion of the Germanians. They were young men, friends, who had been drawn together in a little social orchestra in Berlin. . . . It was the fraternal spirit of their union, with their self-sacrificing zeal for art . . . it was this 'art religion,' so to speak, that gave them an immense advantage over all the larger orchestras in every city." In the Harvard Musical Association, and later in his *Journal*, Dwight proselytized tirelessly for music that could be appreciated "for its own sake," as the phrase goes, without the restrictions of organized religion, patrons, or commerce. Musicians, however, perhaps forgetting that they had only recently been released from various types of servitude, ultimately and perhaps necessarily joined the ranks of the middle class. The struggle to form a musicians' union during the 1890s, as well as the rationalization of musical composition and production in Tin Pan Alley and the Hollywood movie studios, would demonstrate once again the difficulties of self-determination. Eventually, the Frankfurt School's analysis of the Culture Industry—exerting a more profound influence than Albrecht could have ever hoped to achieve—produced a powerful articulation of the musician's plight as worker.<sup>109</sup> Like Albrecht's sketches of the Germania Musical Society, this articulation includes a plea for the preservation of music's utopian potential.

*Brown University*  
Providence, Rhode Island



## Appendix

### Translation of Albrecht's "Sachregister"

*Gegenwart und Zukunft.* Unsere sozialen Zustände vor dem Richterstuhl der gesunden Menschenvernunft, nebst Andeutungen, auf welche Weise ein vernünftig organisiertes Gesellschaftsleben erreichbar ist.

*Present and Future.* Our social conditions before the judgment seat of common sense, along with suggestions of the way in which a rationally organized social life can be achieved.

**Index.** The following catalogue contains a selection of the most essential, vital questions that have been touched upon in the present writing; at the same time, this survey permits a view into the "mirror of truth unveiled." Therein one perceives the panorama of this world of fools, and sees mankind as it truly is, and as it should be according to reason.

Instead of wrong social conditions, — a rationally organized social life.

Instead of private property, the root of all evils, — joint property, the source of all life's joys.

Instead of the squandering of human labor and the means of sustenance, — wise economy as a result of mutual production and consumption.

Instead of wealth and poverty, — general prosperity.

Instead of masters and slaves, — social equality and individual freedom.

Instead of ignorance and crudeness, — education, decency and ethical behavior.

Instead of wrong, unnatural child-rearing, — rational methods of teaching and cultivation.

Instead of blind church-belief, — religion according to reason, that is, general love for mankind and pure ethical life.

Instead of churches and prayer houses, — lecture halls for the people's enlightenment and education.

Instead of theology and priests, — scientists, life philosophers, and hard-working teachers.

Instead of falsehood and deceit, — truth and honesty.

Instead of vice and crime, — virtue and justice.

Instead of penitentiaries and prisons, — asylums for people weakened by age and unable to work.

Instead of judges and lawyers or pettifoggers, — teachers of ethics, duties, and virtue.

Instead of doctors, quacks, and early death, — teachers of healthiness and hundred-year life.

Instead of commerce and speculation, — fair exchange of goods and works created with one's own hands.

Instead of idle people and production of unnecessary things, — industrious and usefully active people.

Instead of squalor and misery, — unclouded human happiness.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> "The Germania Musical Society," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 5,24 (16 September 1854). The following article is excerpted from my forthcoming Ph.D. dissertation, "Good Music for a Free People: The Germania Musical Society and Transatlantic Musical Culture of the Mid-Nineteenth Century" (Brown University). My research has been generously supported by the Graduate School of Brown University, the American Antiquarian Society, the John Nicholas Brown Center for the Study of American Civilization, and the Dena Epstein Award for Archival and Library Research in American Music. Thanks to Jane Fulcher, Ralph Locke, Matt Malsky, Sanna Pederson, Ora Frishberg Saloman, Rose Rosengard Subotnik, and William Weber for their thoughtful responses to earlier versions of this article.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Albrecht, *Skizzen aus dem Leben der Musik-Gesellschaft Germania* (Philadelphia: King and Baird, 1869), 20 pp. A copy of this rare document is in the New York Public Library.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 18-19.

<sup>4</sup> H. Earle Johnson, "The Germania Musical Society," *Musical Quarterly* 39,1 (January 1953): 75-93. For specific premieres, see Johnson's *First Performances in America to 1900: Works with Orchestra*, Bibliographies in American Music (Detroit: College Music Society, 1979).

<sup>5</sup> The Germania performed with numerous soloists, including the singers Lind (1820-87), Sontag (1806-54), Tedesco (1826-after 1866), and August Kreissman (1823-79); the violinists Bull (1810-80), Urso (18420-1902), and Miska Hauser (1822-87); and the pianists Jaell (1832-82), Maurice Strakosch (1825-87), and Otto Dresel (1826-90).

<sup>6</sup> Bergmann was also an advocate for Wagner's music in the United States, premiering many of the composer's works with the Germania and later with his own orchestra. See Joseph Horowitz, *Wagner Nights: An American History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 38-47 and *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> A. E. Zucker, ed., *The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), 278 and 356; Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952), 295-96.

<sup>8</sup> Frédéric Louis Ritter (1834-91) was born in Strasbourg, emigrated to the United States in 1856, founded Cincinnati's Cecilia and Philharmonic Societies, and achieved prominence as a com-



poser, choral conductor, and historian. In 1867, he was appointed professor of music at Vassar College, where he remained until his death. *Music in America* was the first comprehensive history of music in the United States (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1883); see esp. chap. 17, "Travelling Orchestras," 2d ed. (1890), 334-48.

<sup>9</sup> Joseph W. Drexel (1833-88) was the youngest son of Francis M. Drexel, founder of the Philadelphia banking house, Drexel & Co. (1837). Along with his older brothers, Joseph assumed leadership of the company after the father's death in 1863. In 1871 he moved to New York to help his brothers and J. Pierpont Morgan manage the newly formed Drexel, Morgan & Co. A proficient musical amateur, Joseph became a well-known figure among New York music lovers after his retirement from business in 1877. He served as president of the New York Philharmonic Society from 1881-88. Like several other members of the family, he devoted himself to numerous philanthropic and cultural activities. See Susan T. Sommer, "Joseph W. Drexel and His Musical Library," in *Music and Civilization: Essays in Honor of Paul Henry Lang*, ed. Edmond Strainchamps and Maria Rika Maniates (New York: Norton & Co., 1984), 270-78.

<sup>10</sup> Vassar College Library holds more than twenty letters from Drexel to Ritter, dating from 1875 to 1888. Thanks to Nancy Mackechnie, Special Collections, for making this correspondence available to me.

<sup>11</sup> *Newport Daily News*, as quoted in *Dwight's Journal of Music* 5,24 (16 September 1854); also, Christian Essellen, "Literarische Notiz," *Atlantis* 1 (1854): 318-19.

<sup>12</sup> "Alphabetisch geordnetes Verzeichnis einer Sammlung musikalischer Schriften," (Newport, RI, 1854), 31 pp. This manuscript is held by The New York Public Library.

<sup>13</sup> Ritter, *Music in America*, 410. Ritter's library is presently in the possession of Tufts University. A "Catalogue of the Music Library of the Late Frédéric Louis Ritter, Mus. Doc.," was printed in the 1890s.

<sup>14</sup> Preface to *Catalogue of Joseph W. Drexel's Musical Library*, pt. 1, *Musical Writings* (Philadelphia: King and Baird, 1869).

<sup>15</sup> "Drexel's Musical Library," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 28,23 (30 January 1869); Ritter, *Music in America*, 346.

<sup>16</sup> For example, correspondence of 11 August 1877; 13 June 1879; and 7 June 1882. Ritter Papers, Vassar College.

<sup>17</sup> Letter from Albrecht to Etienne Cabet, printed in *Colonie Icarienne*, 30 August 1854. Thanks to Marla Vizdal of the Center for Icarian Studies, Western Illinois University (Macomb, IL), for her generous and thoughtful assistance with this research.

<sup>18</sup> Preface to *Catalogue of Drexel's Musical Library*.

<sup>19</sup> Ritter, *Music in America*, 344. Dehn (1799-1858) numbered several prominent musicians among his students, including Peter Cornelius, Mikhail Glinka, and Anton Rubinstein. Recent discussions of Dehn's significance as a theorist include *Music Analysis in the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. 1: *Fugue, Form and Style*, ed. Ian Bent (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 97-107 and Carl Dahlhaus, "Geschichte als Problem der Musiktheorie: Über einige Berliner Musiktheoretiker des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Studien zur Musikgeschichte Berlins im frühen 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1980), 405-13. Albrecht's private musical library included Dehn's 1837 translation of Henry Delmotte's *Notice biographique sur Roland Delattre* (Paris, 1836).

<sup>20</sup> Gungl (1810-89) was a Hungarian bandmaster and composer. Several of his works are still in the repertory, including *Träume auf dem Ozean*, opus 80 (Berlin: Bock, 1849), a waltz written to commemorate his tour of the United States in 1848-49.

<sup>21</sup> Joseph Bunting, "The Old Germania Orchestra," *Scribner's Monthly* 11,1 (1875): 98-107. This article was purportedly based on the journal of Germania first violinist Wilhelm Schultze. However, I have not been able to locate such a document.

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, 24 October 1848. On Gungl's first concert in the United States, see the same paper, 16-17 November 1848.

<sup>23</sup> Hans Fantel describes Strauss's first visit to Berlin and other German (in contrast to Austrian) towns in vivid terms. See *The Waltz Kings: Johann Strauss, Father & Son, and Their Romantic Age* (New York: William Morrow & Co., Inc., 1972), 54-58.

<sup>24</sup> Christoph-Hellmut Mahling, "Berlin: 'Music in the Air,'" in Alexander Ringer, ed. *The Early Romantic Era: Between Revolutions: 1789 and 1848* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall,

1990), 132-40.

<sup>25</sup> Sanna Pederson, "A. B. Marx, Berlin Concert Life, and German National Identity," *19th Century Music* 18,2 (Fall 1994): 87-107.

<sup>26</sup> *Skizzen*, 15; *Music in America*, 342.

<sup>27</sup> Mahling, "Berlin," 116. William Weber (California State University, Long Beach) is working on the question of how access to performance venues was controlled during the transition to professional concert management from the earlier patronage system over the course of the nineteenth century. See "The Rise of Concert Managers," forthcoming in the proceedings of "Le Concert et le Public, 1780-1914," Max Planck Institute for History, Göttingen, June 1996.

<sup>28</sup> Sanna Pederson, "Enlightened and Romantic Music Criticism, 1800-1850" (Ph. D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1995), 227. Chap. 6, "The Liberal Politics of *Vormärz* Music Criticism" (pp. 226-47), describes the viewpoints of several music critics, as well as the annual *Tonkünstler-Versammlungen* 1847-49.

<sup>29</sup> Cabet (1788-1856) was trained in law at the University of Dijon. In 1820 he moved to Paris, where he became involved with one faction of the *Charbonnerie*. He was appointed *procureur-général* of Corsica in 1831 for his support of the July Revolution, but within a few months was elected to the chamber of deputies in Dijon. Dissatisfied with the broken promises of the new administration, he published attacks on the government. In 1834, he was sent into exile for violation of the press laws. Cabet then spent five years in England, where he came under the influence of Robert Owen and wrote his magnum opus, *Voyage en Icarie*. Robert Sutton, *Les Icariens: The Utopian Dream in Europe and America* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 5-22.

<sup>30</sup> *Music in America*, 344-45.

<sup>31</sup> Sutton, *Les Icariens*, 3. For a more extensive description of Icaria, see chap. 2, "Icaria Conceived," pp. 16-30.

<sup>32</sup> Christopher Johnson, *Utopian Communism in France: Cabet and the Icarians, 1839-1851* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), 16.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 144-49. Also, Christopher Johnson, "Communism and the Working Class before Marx: The Icarian Experience," *American Historical Review* 76,3 (June 1971): 642-89.

<sup>34</sup> Jonathan Sperber, *The European Revolutions, 1848-1851*, New Approaches to European History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 58.

<sup>35</sup> Johnson, *Utopian Communism*, 296.

<sup>36</sup> Christopher Johnson, "Etienne Cabet and the Problem of Class Antagonism," *International Review of Social History* 11 (1966): 408. Also, Johnson, *Utopian Communism*, 66-82.

<sup>37</sup> The publication history and framing story of the novel are complex; both represent Cabet's attempts to distance himself from authorship. Apparently Cabet felt this was necessary in order to avoid being arrested (again) for violation of the press laws. See Sutton, *Les Icariens*, 21 and 31-32. A bibliography of Cabet's numerous writings appears in Jules Prudhommeaux, *Icarie et son Fondateur, Etienne Cabet* (Paris: F. Rieder, 1926).

<sup>38</sup> Christopher Johnson, "Etienne Cabet and the Icarian Communist Movement in France, 1839-1848" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1968), 353 and 361. Ewerbeck also translated (under the same pseudonym) Cabet's *Comment je suis communiste* and *Mon credo communiste*, which appeared as a single volume, *Wie ich Kommunist bin und mein kommunistisches Glaubensbekenntnis* (Paris, 1847).

<sup>39</sup> Carl Wittke, *The Utopian Communist: A Biography of Wilhelm Weitling* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1950), 19.

<sup>40</sup> *1848: Chapters of German History*, trans. Ethel Scheffauer (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1940), 412.

<sup>41</sup> Wittke, *Weitling*, 17-22 and *passim*.

<sup>42</sup> Christian Albrecht's translation was entitled, *Das kommunistische Glaubensbekenntnis* (Vevey: Michod, 1842). Johnson, *Etienne Cabet and the Icarian Communist Movement*, 353; Gian Mario Bravo, *Wilhelm Weitling: e il comunismo tedesco prima del Quarantotto* (Edizioni Giappichelli Torino, 1963), 149. Jules Prudhommeaux's generally reliable *Icarie et son Fondateur* is the source of some confusion concerning the two Albrechts. The index entry fails to distinguish between the prophet (Christian) and the musician (Henry), who are conflated under a single heading, "Albrecht, Henri." For more on the prophet Albrecht, who was from Altenburg and was jailed in Germany in the



1830s, see Wittke, *Weitling*, 37-38. Henry Albrecht (the musician) was a mere child in the 1830s. I have seen nothing to indicate any family relation between the two. Nor have I seen anything that links Henry Albrecht directly to Weitling, though he was undoubtedly aware of Weitling's activities in the United States in the 1850s.

<sup>43</sup> Johnson, *Etienne Cabet and the Icarian Communist Movement*, 352-74, provides a survey of Cabet's European influence outside of France.

<sup>44</sup> Letter to J. B. Schweitzer, 24 January 1865, as quoted in Johnson, *Utopian Communism*, 20.

<sup>45</sup> Marx to Arnold Ruge, "For a Ruthless Criticism of Everything Existing," originally published in the *Deutsche-Französische Jahrbücher* (1844). As reprinted in *The Marx-Engels Reader*, 2d ed., ed. Robert Tucker (New York: Norton, 1978), 12-13.

<sup>46</sup> Johnson, *Utopian Communism*, 260-63.

<sup>47</sup> Sperber, *The European Revolutions*, 105-7.

<sup>48</sup> Johnson, *Utopian Communism*, 235-42; Sutton, *Les Icariens*, 44-50. Karl Marx, among others, never forgave Cabet for resorting to such escapism. See Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, reprinted in *The Marx-Engels Reader*, 497-99.

<sup>49</sup> Albrecht, *Skizzen*, 5. "During the months of January and February 1848, frequent meetings of musicians took place in Berlin, which, as everybody knows, was viewed as the central point of the fine arts and sciences in North Germany. These musicians had functioned for a long time as members of a private orchestra. Through years of working together, they had learned respect and love for each other, so that in truth the ribbon of brotherly friendship entwined them. Inspired by the wish to lead a way of life completely independent in individual relations, they came to the resolution to form a concert orchestra, which would be viewed as a paragon not only in musical, but also in social respects. (Musicians who possessed a few wicked customs, or about whose flawless character even the smallest doubt prevailed, could under no condition become members.)"

<sup>50</sup> The Eleventh Earl of Westmoreland (Lord John Fane Burghersh, 1784-1859), in addition to being ambassador at Berlin from 1841-51, was a composer of instrumental and operatic works in a predominantly Italian style. He was also among the founders of the Royal Academy of Music in London, and was its president for thirty-seven years (1822-59).

<sup>51</sup> Albrecht, *Skizzen*, 6-7.

<sup>52</sup> On working conditions for musicians in London, see Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain Since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

<sup>53</sup> Albrecht, *Skizzen*, 9. The Duke "was known to everyone as an enthusiastic friend of music and a good violin player. . . . The Duke, in his jovial amiability, picked [the first violin part] up from the ground most speedily, and held it fast with his own hands until the conclusion of the Overture. This completely unprecedented mark of respect—in the eyes of the high aristocracy—aroused such a great sensation among the lords present that on many sides the opinion became loud: 'the Duke must never before have heard such a distinguished orchestra.'"

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 5-6. "It was decided, at the same time, to set out on a trip to the United States as soon as possible, in order to enflame and stimulate in the hearts of these politically free people, through numerous performances of our greatest instrumental composers, such as Bach, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Spohr, Schubert, Mendelssohn, Schumann, as well as Liszt, Berlioz, Wagner and so forth, love for the fine art of music."

<sup>55</sup> H. Earle Johnson, "Germania Musical Society," 75.

<sup>56</sup> *Skizzen*, 5. "The contemporary political disturbances, which in February and March transformed into a general people's revolution, accelerated the formation and early departure of the Music Society. When the statutes of this union were drafted, the communist principle was chosen as the foundation, since all members of the Germania held the conviction that communism was the most perfect principle of society. (The deeds of the Germania Musical Society have proven that this was no illusion.)"

<sup>57</sup> It is misleading, rather than incorrect, to say that the group was democratic, as there is overlap between the two terms. Cabet, for example, has frequently been described as a proponent of "a secular, rational democracy" by writers describing communistic societies. See, for example, Charles Nordhoff, *The Communistic Societies of the United States* (New York: Schocken Books, 1965 [1875]), 339, and Albert Shaw, *Icaria: A Chapter in the History of Communism* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1884), vii-ix.



<sup>58</sup> On the difficulties of such an imperative, see Rose R. Subotnik, "The Role of Ideology in the Study of Western Music," in her *Developing Variations* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 3-14.

<sup>59</sup> Several studies on the influence of the French Utopian Socialists on musical life, while not dealing directly with Cabet, have set a precedent for such an investigation. A general examination of the ideological and musical issues can be found in Jane Fulcher's "Music and the Communal Order: The Vision of Utopian Socialism in France," *Current Musicology* 27 (1979): 27-35. The impact of Saint-Simon's teachings on musicians, especially on the composer Félicien David, is the subject of Ralph Locke's *Music, Musicians, and the Saint-Simonians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986). Discussions of Fourier's influence on Brook Farm member John Sullivan Dwight can be found in Ora Frishberg Saloman, *Beethoven's Symphonies and J. S. Dwight* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1995) and Sterling Delano, "The Harbinger" and *New England Transcendentalism: A Portrait of Associationism in America* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1983).

<sup>60</sup> Thanks to Katharine Topf-Medeiros, who pointed out this word play and much else about Albrecht's text.

<sup>61</sup> Shaw, *Icaria*, 94.

<sup>62</sup> Nordhoff, *Communitistic Societies*, 39.

<sup>63</sup> Albrecht, *Skizzen*, 6. "Through the granting of equal rights and through equal distribution of financial rewards, all the members stood at the same level in their personal relations. Their mutual interest had the effect that the Society could pursue its goal with undivided strength. The Germania owes its extraordinary success during its six year concert tour of America principally to this wise organization. [The Germania's] statutes granted it the power to abolish with little trouble all hindrances and dangers that rose against it, and by which all comparable concert orchestras have been ruined in a few months." (Please note that I have rendered the feminine "Die Germania" with the conventional English neuter.)

<sup>64</sup> For example, see *Voyage en Icarie*, 5th ed. (Paris, 1848), 561-66; Johnson, *Etienne Cabet and the Icarian Communist Movement*, 153, 513-14, and 525.

<sup>65</sup> Albrecht, *Skizzen*, 6. "The fortunate circumstance, that the organization of the Society was based on genuine socialist principles, showed itself in musical respects even as effectively as in the social life of this young artistic group. In the performance of orchestral works, every member realized that it was his holiest duty to never exhibit an exceptional, individual artistic mannerism. In the princely musical courts of Europe, which as everyone knows consists of virtuosi of the first rank, everybody in the orchestra (with few exceptions) seeks to expose himself through the assertion of distinctive mannerisms in performance; because of this, of course, a performance rarely appears totally flawless."

<sup>66</sup> For an amusing account of the Boston Academy of Music's attempt to play this work, and their reaction to the Germania's superior rendition, see Thomas Ryan, *Recollections of an Old Musician* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1899), 43-48.

<sup>67</sup> Albrecht, *Skizzen*, 19. "As in life, so in art, they were one heart and one soul. This accounts for their concordance in performance, where always all orchestral instruments seemed to be a single, powerfully effective concert instrument."

<sup>68</sup> Reports of the preparations for the inauguration can be found in the *National Intelligencer* (Washington, DC) for the week preceding 5 March 1849. Gungl's program for the Grand Inauguration Ball was printed in the *Baltimore American*, 7 March 1849.

<sup>69</sup> Börnstein prefaced his review with a complaint about the "want of unity among the Germans, which chokes and deranges everything." He continues: "And for this very reason was the Germania Society a noteworthy and refreshing phenomenon to us. Three and twenty Germans, who for five years now in this 'free' land have kept together faithful and united,— that is indeed a rarity, deserving to be held up as an example to be imitated,— a phenomenon which shows us in a refreshing manner what Germans *could* accomplish here in every respect, if they would only remain faithful and united." Emphases in the original; reprinted in *Dwight's Journal of Music* 3, 14 (9 July 1853). A short biography of this colorful character appears in Rowan's introductory essay to Börnstein's *Memoirs of a Nobody: The Missouri Years of an Austrian Radical, 1849-1866*, trans. and ed. Steven Rowan (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1997 [1881]), 3-25.

<sup>70</sup> *Dwight's Journal of Music* 5, 24 (16 September 1854).



<sup>71</sup> Bunting, "The Old Germania," 106. Albrecht gives 12 September as the date of dissolution, and does not mention the dinner. The perceived need for secrecy is reminiscent of the older members' youth, a time of democratic clubs and secret societies.

<sup>72</sup> See Jacques Rancière, *The Nights of Labor*, trans. John Drury (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989 [1981]), 349-416, for a postmodern interpretation of the Icarians' thwarted desires.

<sup>73</sup> Sutton, *Les Icariens*, 43-84, gives a concise portrait of the failure in Texas and the subsequent flourishing of the colony in Nauvoo.

<sup>74</sup> "Depuis 6 ans mon étude de prédilection a été l'étude de tous les systèmes socialistes et communistes. J'ai visité dans ce but, toutes les Colonies communistes, et je n'ai pas manqué de faire de la propagande pour le principe de la Communauté." (For the last 6 years my study of choice [preference] has been the study of all socialist and communist systems. I have visited, toward this goal, all the communist colonies, and I did not miss the opportunity to campaign for the principle of Community.) *Colonie Icarienne*, 30 August 1854. Thanks to Laura Doyle Gates for several fruitful conversations about the French sources for Albrecht's contact with Cabet.

<sup>75</sup> On the *Aufruf* and other German-language publications by and about Cabet, see Robert Cazden, *A Social History of the German Book Trade in America to the Civil War* (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1984), 680-82.

<sup>76</sup> *Colonie Icarienne*, 26 July 1854, as cited by Prudhommeaux, *Icarie et son Fondateur*, 284. The colony numbered 405 at this time.

<sup>77</sup> *Colonie Icarienne*, 30 August 1854. "Depuis mon enfance, j'ai tâché de me perfectionner; et pour être heureux, j'ai adopté pour première règle la modération dans la jouissance. Je suis étranger aux mauvaises habitudes qu'on pourrait appeler des vices, telles que l'usage du *tabac* (à fumer, à priser et à chiquer), des *liqueurs fortes*, des jeux de cartes, etc." For Cabet's attitude toward liquor and tobacco, see Sutton, *Les Icariens*, 83.

<sup>78</sup> *Colonie Icarienne*, 30 August 1854. "La société musicale, *Germania*, dont je suis membre, a pour principe: *chacun pour tous et tous pour chacun*; égalité en droits et en devoirs. Chaque membre renonce donc librement et volontairement à tous les avantages pécuniaires, parce que des lois qui ne seraient pas fondées sur ces principes sociaux ne pourraient point assurer la liberté et l'indépendance des associés, attendu que là où est l'inégalité de fortune la vraie liberté est une illusion ou plutôt un mensonge. C'est la *fraternité des hommes*, et non l'égoïsme, qui est le plus grand stimulant de toute activité."

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, "Il semble qu'elle a le sentiment Communiste, même Icarien: je l'apprendrais avec bien du plaisir."

<sup>80</sup> The *Doctrine* can be paraphrased as, "To each one according to his capacity, and to each [capacity] according to his works." Frank E. Manuel, "Toward a Psychological History of Utopia," in *Utopias and Utopian Thought*, ed. Frank E. Manuel (Boston: The Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966), 69-98.

<sup>81</sup> 5th ed. (Paris, 1848). "To each according to his needs, from each according to his strength."

<sup>82</sup> *Gegenwart und Zukunft* (Philadelphia: F. W. Thomas und Sohne, ca. 1873). See Albrecht's "Sachregister" for this text, a translation of which appears at the end of this article.

<sup>83</sup> *Skizzen*, 5-6. "Equal rights, equal duties, and equal rewards." Footnote: "In respect to rights, an absolute equality; in respect to duties and rewards, a relative one, that is, each according to his capabilities and needs."

<sup>84</sup> Etienne Cabet, *Ce que je ferais . . .* (Paris: Bureau de Populaire, December 1854), 30 pp. According to Prudhommeaux, this pamphlet was printed in English (*If I Had \$500,000*) and German (*Wenn ich \$500,000 hätte*). A general discussion of this text can be found in Janet Fischer Palmer, "The Community at Work: The Promise of Icaria" (Ph. D. diss., Syracuse University, 1995), 191-95. Charles Nordhoff, whose regard for Cabet was not very high, found it reprehensible that, "four years after he [Cabet] came to Nauvoo he should still have spent his time in such an impracticable dream, [which] shows, I think, that he was not a fit leader for the enterprise." In the place of such scheming, Nordhoff advocated "the patient accumulation of property by the labors of the members" (*Communitistic Societies*, 334-35).

<sup>85</sup> While the Rappists were undeniably prosperous, rumors of their worth seem to have been exaggerated. Weitling reported that Economy was valued at twelve to fourteen million dollars in late 1851 (Wittke, *Weitling*, 179). Nordhoff (*Communitistic Societies*, 93) says that an 1854 investiga-



tion by the Pennsylvania courts revealed the settlement to be worth over a million, i.e., nowhere near the sums Weitling, Albrecht and Cabet imagined.

<sup>86</sup> *Ce que je ferais* . . . , 4-5. "Les riches communistes d'*Economie* ne sont-ils pas obligés, du moins moralement, d'aider par leur concours l'entreprise de M. Cabet, qui a pour but le bonheur de l'Humanité malheureuse? Et s'ils veulent être les vrais successeurs de Jésus-Christ, si sa doctrine et sa religion dans leur pureté primitive sont leur premier principe, ne commettent-ils pas une espèce de crime envers l'Humanité en n'employant par le superflu de leur richesse dans l'intérêt de l'Humanité?"

<sup>87</sup> Albrecht may well have been aware that the Harmony Society had in the past lent money to various enterprises, including government agencies. See, for example, a description of a loan to the state of Indiana in Karl Arndt, *George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1785-1847*, rev. ed. (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1972 [1965]), 171-72. Also, see Karl Arndt, *George Rapp's Successors and Material Heirs, 1847-1916* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1971), 121-40, for a description of the Harmonists' later generosity toward other causes.

<sup>88</sup> "It [this action] will provide to you the opportunity to show your noble character and your humane sentiments toward your fellow-man. . . . You would earn through this great, truly nobly gallant action, the love and respect of all civilized peoples, and will be designated as worthy emulators of our holy Jesus Christ, not merely on the part of the present generation, but also by posterity." Transcriptions of Albrecht's letter (German only) and Henrici's reply (German and English) appear in Karl Arndt, editor, *George Rapp's Re-Established Harmony Society: Letters and Documents of the Baker-Henrici Trusteeship, 1848-1868* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1993), 287-90, and 292-94.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 288. "I admit it openly, that the noble character of all the members of the congregation made such an indescribable impression on me, that with tears in my eyes I asked myself: 'Are you still on the same earth, where you till now have lived?'"

<sup>90</sup> Richard Wetzel, *Frontier Musicians: A History of the Music and Musicians of George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1805-1906* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1976), 94-95.

<sup>91</sup> In *Gegenwart und Zukunft* (p. 9), Albrecht criticized the isolation of religious communities, their lack of influence on the world, and their narrow-minded neglect of intellectual pursuits for the sake of their rituals.

<sup>92</sup> "Les Rappistes," *Colonie Icarienne*, 22 November 1854.

<sup>93</sup> City directories do not indicate that Albrecht took up residence in Chicago during this period.

<sup>94</sup> This journal had recently replaced the *Colonie Icarienne* as the community newspaper. "Albrecht, dont la *Colonie Icarienne* No. 7 a rapporté plusieurs lettres, et qui est arrivé séparément, a aussi formé sa demande pour être admis définitivement." *Revue Icarienne* 1,2 (February 1855). Albrecht had arrived "separately" from a large group of new recruits that had joined the Nauvoo Icaria in November 1854.

<sup>95</sup> Etienne Cabet, *Guerre de l'opposition contre le citoyen Cabet, fondateur d'Icarie* (Paris: 1856), 12.

<sup>96</sup> In July 1856, Cabet wrote, "Albrecht, Hardoin, Winkelmann viennent de partir." *Guerre de l'opposition*, 37-38. Prudhommeaux, *Icarie et son Fondateur*, 393-98.

<sup>97</sup> *Skizzen*, 14.

<sup>98</sup> Sutton, *Les Icariens*, 85-102.

<sup>99</sup> *Dwight's Journal* 5,24 (16 September 1854): 189; Christian Essellen, "Literarische Notiz," *Atlantis* 1 (1854): 318-19.

<sup>100</sup> "Drexel's Musical Library," *Dwight's Journal of Music* 28,23 (30 January 1869).

<sup>101</sup> "Without doubt, it will be welcomed by many friends of music if we add a few words about the origin and increase of the collection. This musical library was founded in the Spring of 1858 through the acquisition of a very rich collection of musical writings, autographs of famous musicians, and prints, which are relevant to music. The same [collection] was at that time the property of H. F. Albrecht, member of the former Germania Musical Society, and gathered by him from 1845 until '58 in Europe and America. More than half of the items in the present catalogue belonged to this collection, as well as all the prints and autographs." Joseph Drexel, *Catalogue of Joseph W. Drexel's Musical Library*, pt. 1, *Musical Writings* (Philadelphia: King and Baird, 1869). Part 2, "Autograph letters, documents and music," and part 3, "Music for the church, theatre, concert room and



chamber" are listed as manuscripts in the *New York Public Library Dictionary Catalogue of the Music Collection*.

<sup>102</sup> "... in the most respectful and friendly affection of the author." Albrecht, *Skizzen*, 3.

<sup>103</sup> Sommer, *Drexel's Musical Library*, 275.

<sup>104</sup> Prudhommeaux, *Icarie et son Fondateur*, 506-12. Also, J. B. Gérard, *Quelques vérités sur la dernière crise icarienne* (Coring, IA: 1880), 21.

<sup>105</sup> Sutton, *Les Icariens*, 126-33; Prudhommeaux, *Icarie et son Fondateur*, 506-7. Albert Shaw, who interviewed Icarian residents shortly after this time, presents his understanding of this second schism in chap. 6, "The Sons vs. the Fathers," *Icaria*, 91-109.

<sup>106</sup> *Music in America*, 345-46.

<sup>107</sup> The wreck was front page news for several days, and the names of the cabin and steerage passengers, as well as the crew, were printed in *The New York Times*, 9-13 May 1875. Albrecht was not mentioned in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* or *New York Tribune* reports either.

<sup>108</sup> "The History of Music in Boston," in *The Memorial History of Boston, 1630-1880*, vol. 4, pt. 2, ed. Justin Winsor (Boston: Ticknor and Company, 1882), 429-30.

<sup>109</sup> Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, trans. John Cumming (New York: Continuum, 1989 [1944]), 120-67.





Sam A. Mustafa

### **“Merchant Culture” in Germany and America in the Late-Eighteenth Century**

Happy is the man who has reached the harbor  
and left the sea and storm behind  
and now sits warm and peaceful in the good Ratskeller of Bremen.

(Heinrich Heine, “Im Hafen”)

When Thomas Mann completed *Buddenbrooks* in 1900, the minutely imagined chronicle of life among the nineteenth-century Hanseatic merchant class was so uncomfortably realistic that its publication caused a social earthquake in Mann's hometown of Lübeck. The twenty-five-year-old author depicted a mercantile elite that was often shallow, relatively unappreciative of high culture, obsessed with reputation and status, grasping and frequently deceitful yet constantly mouthing Christian platitudes. Mann painted the rest of Germany in broad strokes. Prussians were stoic and slightly dim, honest but easily duped. Rhinelanders were awkward provincials with bad tempers and no social graces. The Bavarians were a lovable collection of absurdities: perpetually inebriated, slothful, unambitious, inarticulate, yet playful and warm-hearted. Throughout the novel, Mann leaves little doubt that the Hanseatic merchant families considered themselves a breed apart from all other Germans. By virtue of their money, accumulated through two generations of buying and selling, the Buddenbrooks and their rival families moved through society like minor royalty, trailed by a fleet of servants and sycophants, convinced that their worldly calling was divinely sanctioned and superior to all others.

By the time Mann wrote his startling debut novel, independent merchants (like the fictional firm of Johann Buddenbrook & Sons) were all but gone, replaced by broadly-based international trading lines like the North German Lloyd and the Hamburg-Amerika. But little more than a century earlier, at the time of the American Revolution, they had been at the zenith of their powers. Between

the liberation of the Americas and the onset of European industrialization, the independent merchants dominated the trade of the western world.

As the Enlightenment gave way to what was indisputably the West's "bourgeois century," the role of the independent merchant took on new significance.<sup>1</sup> Elisabeth Fehrenbach has written that this era witnessed the last period of "bureaucratic absolutism," which was replaced by a rapidly-spreading capitalist revolution, a liberation of what would become the "investing class."<sup>2</sup> Independent merchants, usually operating in the major seaports, stood in the front ranks of these "liberated" capitalists in both Germany and North America.

The remarkable number of social, economic, and political similarities between German and American businessmen formed the bases for the earliest German-American commercial and diplomatic relationships. In the last two decades of the eighteenth century, commerce rapidly developed between the merchant houses of the Hanseatic cities of Bremen and Hamburg and their American counterparts in cities like Boston, New York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia. This blossoming business was not simply the result of capitalist impulses, but was nurtured by a striking cultural similarity that acted as a catalyst for trade, and transcended linguistic and national differences.

In the late eighteenth century, goods and passengers traveled on two kinds of merchant vessels. Packets, also called "traders," ran regularly between two or more ports, sometimes serving a triangular or four-pointed circuit like the vessels which sailed from England to Africa, thence to the West Indies, to the American colonies, and finally back to England. In the age of sail, these regular routes were less common than the transient or "tramp" voyages, which were made by ships picking up cargoes wherever they could. Vessels plying this kind of trade made two or three trips per year, depending upon opportunities for cargo, as well as upon distance, weather, and experience sailing to a particular port.

"Tramp" voyages were riskier enterprises than running packets, but they could prove stupendously profitable. The Perkins Brothers of Boston recorded the results of several shipments to France and to Hamburg, often citing 200 percent profits after all expenses had been paid.<sup>3</sup> The Baltimore merchant Robert Oliver wrote to a German colleague that he had realized nearly 300 percent profit on purchases of German metalwares (primarily silver and pewter) from a pair of shipments to Hamburg in 1799, even after paying the American agent in Hamburg who had brokered the deals.<sup>4</sup> The amounts paid to brokers, freight-handlers, and other middlemen who demanded a small percentage of the total sales (usually 1-3 percent), indicate that it was possible for a shipper in America to realize as much as 1,000 percent profit for a shipment of tobacco to Bremen, if weather, government inspectors, and the local economy all cooperated.

Certainly merchants kept an eye on all these factors as best possible, given the limitations of communication in the era. They were often keenly aware of prevailing prices in the world's major markets, well-informed on political events that might have an impact on business, and very quick to fire off a letter of



complaint or even withhold the transfer of funds if they felt anyone was charging them unfairly.<sup>5</sup> Information on the state of the market was apparently considered public domain knowledge, and shared among merchants with a readiness that makes it easy to forget that these men were all competitors. Merchant firms shared information on prices, access to credit and transport, the reliability of certain brokers, the supply and demand at various locations, etc. The acerbic Baltimore merchant Thomas Rutland, who did a large trade in tobacco with both Germany and Britain, paid close attention to details of this nature. In 1786, when he was first investigating the possibility of expanding his operations to Germany, Rutland commissioned a clerk to research all the major tobacco buyers in Bremen and Hamburg and to investigate "the differences between the merchants [in Germany and America] and continental scales of depreciation and exchange."<sup>6</sup> Robert Oliver, interested in expanding his business to include German textiles, wrote to the Bremen firm of Hermann Heymann Sons with an analysis of the markets and the financial considerations: "German and Silesia Linens are generally in demand and sell to advantage, but our credits on these articles are long, say 8 Months."<sup>7</sup>

Local merchant houses and tramp merchantmen had a mutually-dependent relationship. The merchant brokers served as liaisons between the ship-handlers looking for cargoes and the producers and sellers looking to have their goods taken abroad. In order for the merchants to keep up a lively business, they had to be willing to be diverse in their dealings, and they needed to be exceptionally well-informed on a number of economic and political factors, both local and foreign. As long as merchants were successful, the tramps would keep coming back to that port, looking for new cargoes. As long as the tramps called regularly, merchants could do a brisk business with a wide array of customers and goods.

The arrival of steam travel in the mid-nineteenth century made packets more common, and encouraged the development of regular shipping lines.<sup>8</sup> This spelled the beginning of the end for independent merchants, as most of the world's ports were by that time open to each other's commerce, and regular, predictable lanes could be established.<sup>9</sup> In their heyday, however, the independent merchants came to dominate the American harbors, as they had done in the Hanse for centuries. In both America and the Hanse, prominent merchants were invariably well-connected socially and politically. Thirteen of the fifty-six signers of the Declaration of Independence were merchants, second in number only to lawyers.<sup>10</sup>

The economic, social, and political linkage of the merchant class was a relatively recent development in America, but a long-standing tradition in the Hanse. For centuries, the most successful merchant houses had provided the largest part of the social and political leadership of Bremen and Hamburg. Johannes Lange, who founded the first tobacco importing firm in Bremen in 1642, was an alderman, later a senator, and his family produced a number of other civil servants over the next two centuries.<sup>11</sup> The Oelrichs family, origi-



nally from East Prussia, entered the independent shipping business shortly after American independence, specializing in *Kolonialwaren* (colonial goods). They rose to become one of Bremen's most prominent and influential families, who in the course of three generations produced a senator, a general-consul, and an alderman.<sup>12</sup> The merchant dynasty founded by the Kulenkampff brothers in 1806, which operated the biggest tobacco import house in Bremen, contributed two senators, several consuls, and a number of prominent attorneys and judges.<sup>13</sup>

The example of another Bremen family, the Wichelshausens, is instructive. Even though they had moved from the Rhineland relatively recently—in 1702—the Wichelshausens were a perfect example of the kind of family which dominated the Hanseatic cities for centuries.<sup>14</sup> In the two generations prior to the French Revolution, they had produced a *Bürgermeister*, two senators, and two noted magistrates. In addition, the family boasted some of Bremen's best-known private persons, including three physicians, a writer, and several prominent merchants.<sup>15</sup> Friedrich Jacob Wichelshausen served as the U.S. consul to Bremen for thirty-three years. His brother Hieronymus Daniel moved to Baltimore, where he became a successful merchant, an influential person in the German-American community (serving on the boards of most of the German-American associations), and ultimately Bremen's consul in that city.<sup>16</sup>

Bremen and Hamburg were governed by senates, which comprised representatives from the most wealthy and powerful merchant families. After 1712, in fact, a minimum of one of Hamburg's four mayor's positions and half of the twenty-four senators' seats were reserved exclusively for merchants.<sup>17</sup> The franchise was limited to a moneyed elite, which ensured that the senate was re-elected, generation after generation, as the representatives of the merchant class. It was customary for men to ascend into the positions held by their fathers, moving up from the position of consul to senator, for example, assuming that the family and its business had not suffered any untoward developments such as scandals or financial reverses.

The political and economic arrangement of the Hanse was essentially the opposite of that in most German states, where the merchant class was decidedly subservient to the nobility, church, and even the scholarly and professional elites. Indeed, it more closely resembled the situation developing in young America, where budding capitalism had created a patrician class of well-educated merchants who were interested in worldwide trade and local politics. Business and politics meshed in more than one family in both the Hanse and the American seaboard, the cousins John and Samuel Adams being the most notable example in the New World, although the business-political connections could also be found in a single man. Stephen Girard, at the height of his mercantile powers, also served in various positions in the Philadelphia city government.<sup>18</sup>

In both societies, the merchants themselves represented only small percentages of the total populations. Bremen in 1796 had only 156 registered independent merchants and sixty major commercial houses. These men and their fami-



lies accounted for slightly less than 2,000 people, or under 5 percent of the city's roughly 40,000 inhabitants. They owned the most expensive homes, virtually all in the *Altstadt*, the oldest, most central district of Bremen, closest to the major religious and government structures. In Lübeck, with a total population of approximately 25,000, roughly the same percentage were members of this economic elite. Hamburg, which had over 100,000 inhabitants in 1800, had a slightly larger merchant class of over 8,000 people, who lived primarily in the St. Nicolas and Ste. Catherine neighborhoods. In no case did this group exceed 10 percent of the total populace of any Hanseatic city.<sup>19</sup> It must be noted, however, that the number of citizens either directly employed by the merchant elites or connected in some material way to their enterprises was very high, and is far more difficult to ascertain. Since industry in these cities was small and limited to a few fields, it is logical to conclude that the majority of working men were involved in one or another facet of commercial activity, and that a good number of the working women were employed by these wealthy families as domestic help.

The Hanse usually "spoke for" German commerce in the wider world, since Germans imported and exported largely through Hanseatic harbors. In the 1790s, Bremen and Hamburg alone accounted for more than half of all imports to German-speaking lands from non-German states.<sup>20</sup> Apart from the Hanse, the rest of Germany's merchants were inward-looking. Saxony, for example, had a healthy trade in the 1780s and 1790s, and the Leipzig Fair attracted merchants from across northern and eastern Europe. Such German markets, however, dealt predominately with other German-speaking states, and most of what Saxony did receive from the trans-oceanic world came via Hamburg.<sup>21</sup> The Hanse were thus uniquely suited among all the German states to serve as interlocutors between Germany and the United States. In many ways the Hanseatic business class had more in common with its counterpart on the American seaboard than with most regions of Germany.

Whether or not we accept the portrait drawn by Thomas Mann, it is clear that we can speak of some sort of "merchant culture" extant in the seaports of both Germany and the United States. Certainly the common ground shared by German and American merchants served as a catalyst for German-American relations as a whole. Although they would have been attracted to the new and expanding markets of North America in any event, the Hanseatic merchants were additionally drawn to the very idea of the American "commercial republic" (as a French representative to Congress had described the United States in 1779.) A trans-national collegiality existed among these men of business. German and American merchants spoke a mutual second language: liberal capitalism.

In addition to the political and economic similarities between the merchant classes of North Germany and the American seaboard, a great many socio-cultural similarities existed as well. The two peoples were religiously compatible. In both the Hanse and the United States the population was overwhelmingly

Protestant. Much of English North America, of course, began as a Protestant religious sanctuary. Many of the cities of the Hanse were Protestant, but Bremen and Hamburg were particularly influenced by the large number of Huguenots fleeing France in the 1600s. These people flooded into the North German ports; virtually the entire Huguenot community of La Rochelle resettled in Bremen.<sup>22</sup> But despite being staunchly Protestant, by the late eighteenth century both America and the Hanse were exceptionally tolerant of religious minorities in their midst. A general mistrust of Catholics admittedly existed in both societies, although both they and the Jews were allowed to participate actively in the economy, albeit not in the clubs and the social lives of the elite.<sup>23</sup> The English writer Thomas Cooper, describing the new United States to prospective immigrants, listed matters of conscience as the most important of the many reasons to relocate there:

You would seek in America in the first place, an asylum from civil persecution and religious intolerance . . . and where you might be permitted to enjoy a perfect freedom of speech as well as of sentiment.<sup>24</sup>

Hamburg's Jews comprised around 5 percent of the city's total population in the period 1770-1820. Since 1612 they had enjoyed a protection agreement (*Schutzvertrag*) with the senate, renewed *pro forma* every year. Although they had a Jewish quarter, it was not a ghetto, and they were not legally required to live there and nowhere else. The Jews were overwhelmingly employed in banking, trade, and money-changing—the most important businesses to their community, although their firms were usually small-to-medium sized, and did not really compete with the big trading houses. The successful merchant banking firm of M. M. Warburg, for instance, made only 13,000-15,000 marks banco per year, or less than one-tenth what John Parish earned in the same period.<sup>25</sup>

The principle of tolerance was most dramatically evident in the way the Hanse eschewed the conservative German paranoia about Freemasons and similar semi-secret organizations. Indeed, in both the Hanse and the United States, many of the most prominent public figures were quite open about their Masonic ties, and their homes and gravestones are adorned with the symbols of their orders. In young America, where accommodation for oppressed adherents of minority groups and faiths was something of a tradition, this is perhaps not surprising.<sup>26</sup> But when contrasted with the occasional persecution of Masons in other regions of Germany, the Hanseatic attitude is quite striking.

In 1798-99, conservative passions and paranoias threatened a witch-hunt of Masons in both Germany and New England. The prominent American scholar William Bentley, friend of Jefferson and an open defender of Masons, collaborated with his friend Christopher Daniel Ebeling, the equally prominent Hamburg scholar and Americanist, on a literary counterattack in both countries. Ebeling, city librarian of Hamburg and former head of the Academy of Trade



(*Handelsakademie*), wrote frankly of his membership in both the Illuminati and the Masonic Lodge. He pointed out that his friends in both institutions included the city's best-known and most respected men of letters and affairs.<sup>27</sup> American defenders of Freemasonry were just as eloquent and just as prominent in society.

Concurrent with Protestant ethics, both the Hanse and young America were relatively conservative in dress and drink. In neither society did the wealthy indulge in splendors on the scale of French or Italian balls and fêtes.<sup>28</sup> This was particularly true of the New Englanders, and of the equally sober and parsimonious German-Americans in the mid-Atlantic.<sup>29</sup> A German observer in Philadelphia who had also lived in France commented on the rather spartan entertainments to be found even among the wealthiest of merchant society.<sup>30</sup> Thomas Cooper remarked in 1794 that a wealthy European man would actually have trouble spending his money in America, because "there are not such variety of amusements, nor as expensive amusements, nor does an expensive style of living procure so much respect."<sup>31</sup>

Though Bremers cherished their several fine old breweries, coffee was the primary social beverage of the Hamburgers, consumed in numerous coffeehouses where wealthy men read their foreign-language newspapers and discussed politics and business.<sup>32</sup> Although plenty of imported (mostly French) wine passed through the harbors in Bremen and Hamburg, it appears that almost all of it was sold to other regions of Germany. Hamburg especially was a remarkably "dry" city where many tea-totaling American puritans would have felt quite comfortable with Caspar Voght's cautionary platitudes about "drunken idleness" and "the miseries of drinking."<sup>33</sup>

In both the Hanse and the American port cities, the merchant elites who dominated public affairs were the *hautes citoyens* in republics which officially disdained nobility. Recent research has shown that in Germany at this time, in areas of great mercantile activity, there was usually no nobility. Instead, the "high bourgeoisie" filled the role of "nobility."<sup>34</sup> Hanseatic society was dominated first by merchants—a great many of whom, like Arnold Delius, had studied law as young men—plus a few early industrialists and a few Protestant clergy.<sup>35</sup>

As in America, Hanseatic society was led by businessmen and lawyers who claimed to love and defend democracy and republicanism. In reality, of course, both societies' franchises and electoral systems were carefully restricted to allow only members of the existing elite to ascend to power.<sup>36</sup> The American merchant elite supported the city incorporation movement of the 1780s and 1790s because it helped to place political power more firmly in their own hands. By 1800, Boston was the only major American city not incorporated, primarily because its relatively small size and slow growth allowed for the survival of the more democratic "town meetings." The Federalists—particularly Hamilton—openly distrusted "democracy" as one short step from the abyss of mob-rule, and thus sought to narrow the definition of "liberty" in order to preserve the sanity and self-discipline of the republican system. Ironically, German-Ameri-

cans (many of whom were first- or second-generation transplants from authoritarian states) were in the vanguard of those who resented and rebelled against the exclusive and "monarchist" impulses of the Federalists in the 1790s.<sup>37</sup>

Thus the Hanseatic and American republics were *de jure* republics, but *de facto* oligarchies administered by a jurisprudent merchant "nobility." While working-class Germans (and many Americans) were initially enthusiastic and supportive of the democratic ideals of the French Revolution, the wealthy bourgeois leaders of the Hanse (and the Federalists in America) were immediately skeptical. Revolution, after all, is usually bad for business.<sup>38</sup>

American democracy, even in its earliest and most restrictive forms, did not exhibit the kind of class-structures that characterized the Hanse. There were no places in the U.S. Senate reserved for "Notables," who could only be elected by a certain class of people, determined by ownership of significant amounts of property. Nonetheless, it is clear that both societies had constructed republics in which the money-making and money-managing elites controlled virtually all policy initiatives, unless their hands were forced by the occasional popular rebellion.

However tentative and qualified their commitments to democracy, both societies were nonetheless wholly devoted to capitalism. A mid-eighteenth-century German visitor to Hamburg commented that:

The importance of business in Hamburg and the variety of things connected with it are so great that one could profitably spend an entire year here and learn something new each day. There are few European seaports which Hamburg's ships do not enter, and there is no seafaring people in this part of the world which does not traffic with Hamburg. Its superb location has made the city the emporium of all Germany. . . . The Elbe and the canals . . . are almost blanketed over with ships. The assembly on the Stock Exchange is one of the largest [in Europe] and the place teems with negotiants. In a word, one finds here a perpetual motion of all nations and peoples caught up in the business of money-making.<sup>39</sup>

As in the Hanse, the American port cities were centered upon the commercial action at the waterfront. Boston's main trading-place in Faneuil Hall stands only one block downhill from the old State House. In Philadelphia the merchants and their ships plied their trade three blocks east of the building that housed the Continental Congress. Similarly, prior to the construction of the modern industrial-age dockyard downstream, Bremen's *Rathskeller*, centrally located on the little island of the *Altstadt*, was no more than four blocks in any direction from the merchant ships at anchor in the Weser. These cities were admittedly small; at roughly 40,000 inhabitants each, Philadelphia and Bremen were "medium-sized" ports for the era, Hamburg and New York were larger,



Boston and Lübeck smaller. But in every sense, these were societies where business and politics—capitalism and republicanism—were inextricably bound together.

Several late-Enlightenment exponents of republicanism such as Thomas Paine and Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès predicted a liberation of creative business impulses if the bourgeoisie were allowed the dominant say in national affairs.<sup>40</sup> In the Hanseatic cities and in young America, we find not only a belief that republicanism brings out the best in capitalism, but also the obverse: the belief that the egalitarian impulses of republicanism were indeed a function of capitalism, a demonstration of business at its best. The greatest virtue of capitalism, according to an anonymous author of a 1790 editorial in Hamburg's *Kaufmännisch-politische Zeitung*, was that more people have more opportunities and basic civil rights than had ever been possible under an aristocracy.<sup>41</sup> The editor of the popular journal *Hamburg und Altona* concurred in 1802, writing that, as a result of Hamburg's special societal arrangements, not the least of which was commitment to free trade, "We have no nobility, no patricians, no slaves, indeed not once even subjects. All real Hamburgers know and have only a single rank, the rank of citizen."<sup>42</sup>

The wealthy merchant was expected to be philanthropic and liberal, although privately: in spheres outside his work. "Humanity and liberal, enlightened spirit follow the true merchant only to the door of his warehouse," wrote Johann Arnold Minder of his colleagues in Hamburg: "Not seldom one can also find those respectable men who possess two souls at the same time: one for the profession and one for society—and in the Hanseatic cities more frequently than in others."<sup>43</sup> Hamburg "employed" unpaid civil servants (*ehrenamtlich*) inevitably drawn from the rich, who performed much of the city's administrative tasks part-time, for the honor of the title. The inspector of shipping, for instance, might have been a wealthy man serving as a volunteer.<sup>44</sup>

Hanseatic government was heavily paternalistic and familial.<sup>45</sup> The aldermen and government leaders were active in efforts to improve the public welfare, such as the building of poor houses and the dispensing of food and clothing to the destitute. Many of the leading citizens of Hamburg were members of the "Patriotic Society," formed in 1765 by Johann Ulrich Pauli. "Patriotism," in this North German bourgeois sense, was less a political concept than it was a social impulse inspired by the French Enlightenment: a sense of doing good for the community.<sup>46</sup> Caspar Voght was a leader in the movement among Hamburg's business elites to set up a centralized administration to care for the poor. His arguments were remarkably enlightened for his era, refuting the conventional wisdom that poor morals caused poverty, and that the poor were poor because they lacked the Christian virtues of honesty, sobriety, and diligence:

We generally blame them [the poor] for it, as if these qualities were so very common in the higher classes, and as if corruption did not always spread from the higher to the lower or-

Voght paid for a "Poor Census" in 1788, as well as donating thousands of suits of new clothing to the needy.<sup>48</sup> As in Hamburg, the wealthy merchant families of Bremen funded many philanthropic public works such as parks and gardens, and the scenic, tree-lined canal just beyond *Am Wall*, built in 1787.<sup>49</sup>

The American counterparts of these men were often equally generous with their wealth; Stephen Girard's name still graces the buildings of more than a dozen public institutions he founded through charitable donations and endowments. Ultimately Girard willed less than 4 percent of his net worth to his family. The rest of his massive estate went to charity.<sup>50</sup> The wealthy Boston merchant T. H. Perkins regularly used his Masonic connections to raise funds for local charities. Perkins donated his own mansion, and several thousand dollars, to founding an asylum for the blind.<sup>51</sup> Unlike later "liberals" in Britain and elsewhere, these men generally were not *laissez-faire* about the social problems around them.

American society was, and in some respects still is, the ultimate example of social mobility. Robert Oliver, head of a multi-million-dollar Baltimore merchant house, began virtually penniless as a twenty-six-year-old Irish immigrant.<sup>52</sup> Stephen Girard, born "Étienne Girard," arrived in Philadelphia from France as a young sailor. Peter Grotjan, another Philadelphia trade magnate, was the son of a Hamburg bureaucrat. Starting with a small warehouse he inherited from his uncle, he turned twenty on the ship to America, and by age twenty-two had founded his own firm in the New World.<sup>53</sup> Richard Derby was a second-generation American, his middle-class grandfather having brought the family from England at the turn of the century. Millionaires John Jacob Astor and David Parish both came from Germany, although the latter arrived already quite wealthy. Once the Revolution began, many of the states used enticing legislation to encourage a change of citizenship for men such as these. Maryland, for instance, passed a "Naturalization Act" in 1779, encouraging all foreigners to become citizens by giving them two years' exemption from taxation.<sup>54</sup> While Germany generally inclined toward the traditional European sense of class and nationality as a fairly iron-cast distinction for an individual or family, the Hanse—particularly Hamburg—demonstrated a social flexibility much more like the New World than the Old. Mary Lindemann has written:

To a large extent, it would appear that the path taken by Hamburg into the modern world diverged from that followed by the rest of Germany. . . . Hamburg was freer, richer, and happier than the other German cities or territories. In the eighteenth century, Hamburg's *Bürger* considered themselves a breed apart. They lived in a city owing no allegiance to a higher authority (except a tenuous one to the Holy Roman Empire). The city ruled itself and, according to one observer, "citizens



govern citizens." There was no legally defined patriciate. Hamburg's elite proved quite receptive to newcomers.<sup>55</sup>

We have already encountered families like the Wichelshausens and Kulenkampffs, who ascended to the highest circles of Bremen's society within two or three generations of their arrival in the city. Cases from Hamburg are even more remarkable. Young Caspar Voght, who, according to family legend arrived in the city in 1722 with less than three marks in his pockets, spent a decade as an apprentice at a merchant firm. He then was sent by the firm to manage its new branch in Lisbon, where his success was such that, upon his return, he married the daughter of his employer and established his own business. In 1765 he was elected to the senate.<sup>56</sup> A large number of Hamburg's senators in the eighteenth century had very humble origins; fathers or grandfathers who had arrived as common laborers and sent their sons to law school or apprenticed them in merchant firms.

In both societies, mobility worked in both directions. A family or firm might fall even more quickly than it had risen, going from riches to rags in the space of a single failed business transaction or unfavorable court decision. The suicide of David Parish, son of John Parish and manager of the largest portion of the latter's massive Hamburg-based merchant empire, serves as a grim reminder of the lack of a safety net in this early capitalist society. The Parish name was one of the strongest among businessmen in both the New World and the Old; the family was wealthy enough to underwrite a third of the United States' \$16 million loan in 1813.<sup>57</sup> With all of his fortune and a large part of his father's, David Parish invested in a new banking house in Vienna in the 1820s. The bank's office was magnificently appointed; home to one of the greatest collections of art in a city known for great collections of art. Parish and his partners had the blessing of Prince Metternich, under whose auspices they underwrote a loan for the Austrian government. Nonetheless, in the financial crisis of 1825, bad debts proved unrecoverable, Metternich withdrew his support, and the firm declared bankruptcy at the end of the year. Parish, rather than facing his father and Hamburg society in the wake of the catastrophe, leapt into the Danube and to his death.<sup>58</sup>

Both the Hanse and the American ports were the urbanized, ocean-going fringes of nations whose interiors were deep, relatively provincial and out-of-the-way, and generally far less interested in commercial activity than their seafaring cousins. Nonetheless, the port cities depended upon the interior country, where most of the buyers of their imports lived. Relations between the two zones were sometimes fractious, owing to a cultural gulf which caused mistrust and resentment. In 1784, George Washington (who was a coastal planter, and thus not a member of either camp) advised his merchant-legislator colleagues to make attempts to cultivate better relations between the ports and the hinterland. "The western settlers," he said, "stand as it were upon a pivot. . . smooth the road, and make easy the way for them, and see what an influx of articles will

be poured upon us; how amazingly our exports will be increased by them, and how amply we will be compensated for any trouble and expense we may encounter to effect it."<sup>59</sup> A decade later, an Irish visitor in Baltimore wrote that, "The size of all towns in America . . . has hitherto been proportionate to their trade, and particularly to that carried on with the back settlements."<sup>60</sup>

Germany's interior differed as profoundly from her ports as did America's. The area surrounding the Hanseatic cities, however—as far south as Kassel—had a number of things in common with the port cities, including an enlarged bourgeoisie much more numerous and developed than in other parts of Germany, even by 1800. This had been the case for over two centuries, almost entirely because of the mercantile economy of the Hanseatic ports, which attracted businessmen from other parts of Germany. Farming existed in the German lowlands around the Hanse, and small industry was present, as in all areas of Germany, but the North was notable, he argues, for its dominant merchant class and the resulting concentration around the few major seaports. The area was fairly urbanized by contemporary German standards; some 25 percent of the population lived in towns or cities in 1800—a much higher percentage than in the rest of Germany. Just as in the early United States, the most prominent men of affairs could be found in the port cities.<sup>61</sup>

A list of German merchants published in 1798 attests to the dominance of the bourgeoisie in what one historian calls the "Greater Hanse" area: "it constitutes, if you will, the "Who's Who" of the German bourgeoisie."<sup>62</sup> The multifaceted and multi-national nature of their businesses meant that the merchant firms were linked to virtually all the other bourgeois occupations, if not involved in them in some way directly. Many firms performed all the services of market-scouting, contact, transportation, storage, wholesaling, and retailing. Inevitably for merchants who enjoyed success in one kind of commerce, temptations arose to branch out into new markets and new commodities.<sup>63</sup>

Proximity to the sea—the highway of world commerce—created a worldly and cosmopolitan bourgeoisie in the Hanse and the American ports. Incoming ships meant constant contact with other nations and their citizens and wares. Ferdinand Beneke, moving from Bremen to Hamburg in 1796, remarked on the latter's "Venetian splendour," and its massive and chaotic multinational waterfront.<sup>64</sup> John Quincy Adams, who as scion of a prominent Boston family was certainly no stranger to either wealth or busy harbors, wrote of the impressive size and sophistication of Hamburg when he visited for the first time in 1797. John Parish (the Scottish merchant turned Hamburg entrepreneur turned American consul turned British double-agent) entertained Adams for a week at the luxurious homes and salons of his many business friends from Britain and a half-dozen European countries.<sup>65</sup>

In these salons, which were essentially coffeehouses, Adams would have found other men of his class and educational level from a variety of nations, reading newspapers and magazines from all over Europe. As the eighteenth century ended, Stephen Daniel Uhalde argues, a new generation of "cultural patri-



cians" was emerging in Hamburg: more worldly, extravagant, educated, and enlightened than their fathers.<sup>66</sup> In clubs like "Harmonie," which by 1800 had over five hundred members, these gentlemen drank coffee and tea, played cards, exchanged foreign books and journals, and entertained visiting foreign persons of note like the young John Quincy Adams. The Harmonie soon spread to other German cities, first in the Hanse, then elsewhere.<sup>67</sup> The fictitious Senator Thomas Buddenbrook in Mann's novel was a member of the Lübeck chapter of the Harmonie, which Mann described as "a gentleman's reading club" in which all the prominent merchants gathered to smoke their pipes, exchanging journals, gossip, and *bons mots*.<sup>68</sup>

America had its share of coffeehouses too, also frequented by the business-political classes. Charles Buck, a transplanted Hamburg merchant who would later serve as Hamburg's consul to the United States, remarked happily that Philadelphia's coffeehouses made him feel at home. On a visit to New York, Buck "found the city much engaged in business," but still found the time to make the rounds of the various coffeehouses, stopping in to give his regards to fellow merchants, and to gather useful information or gossip. There were so many Hanseatic merchants in New York by 1800 that Buck found gentlemen's clubs in which English was rarely heard; one tavern frequented by them was called "The City of Hamburg." When Buck returned to Hamburg after years in America, he went straight to a coffeehouse to catch up on the news.<sup>69</sup>

Other clubs for gentlemen were dedicated to more scholarly or philosophical interests. In Bremen, the well-known historian (later *Bürgermeister*) Dr. Liborius Diderich von Post was a scholar from a mercantile family which had interest and family members in the United States. He was a founding member of a society for the study of new ideas in science and the humanities. He and the other men of this group corresponded frequently with Benjamin Franklin regarding the latter's experiments with electricity and lightning.<sup>70</sup> In the well-read circles of the coffeehouses, people often perused journals like *Bruchstücke von Gedanken und Geschichte*, which for its motto tackled the rather ambitious questions: "*Woher bin ich? Wer bin ich? Warum und wozu bin ich? und wohin soll ich?*" Its enlightened assault on "old thinking" attempted to offer a perspective, "for every man, for every business, and for the whole world."<sup>71</sup>

As John Quincy Adams discovered, Hamburg was a hub for traveling men of affairs, where nationality was less important than class. Thomas Aston Coffin, an exiled American Tory, arrived there in the summer of 1784, on his way from London to Brunswick. He spoke no German, and had apparently arrived at the height of the business cycle when all the major inns and hotels were full. Coffin proceeded to a gentleman's club, where he met a German merchant who was fluent in English and happy to assist him in finding both lodging for the night and travel arrangements on to Brunswick. The next morning Coffin met a second merchant "who was so kind to take me with him on his journey."<sup>72</sup>

Cosmopolitanism and fascination with foreign ideas—particularly new and controversial ones—was a hallmark of most of America's "founding fathers"



and many of their mercantile colleagues. (Consider the way Franklin cultivated scholarly European friends and devoured the latest European scientific journals, or the excitement and care with which Jefferson planned his sight-seeing tour of the Rhineland.)<sup>73</sup> Stephen Girard was fascinated by European systems of education, and collected pamphlets in German and French on the subject.<sup>74</sup> He also prided himself on his expertise in European-styles of horticulture, planting with his own hand several impressive vineyards and orchards, and writing articles on tree surgery. He did his best to import European plants and husbandry techniques to the New World; one of his biographers credits Girard with introducing the artichoke to America.<sup>75</sup> Like John Quincy Adams, Girard learned German on a business/pleasure trip. While Adams spent his off-duty time away from Berlin touring Silesia and Saxony, Girard preferred the mercantile aura of Hamburg, where he made several business contacts and collected some German literature. Clearly, this Philadelphia businessman felt quite at home in the largest Hanseatic port. He returned in 1798 and visited his friend Johann Berenberg Gosseler, a sugar merchant.<sup>76</sup>

Despite the remarkable similarities between the Hanseatic bourgeois elite and their American counterparts, there were important differences between these two societies. First, like most Europeans, the Hanseatic Germans abhorred slavery. Although John Jay, Alexander Hamilton, and other prominent Americans north of the Potomac belonged to emancipation societies, Germans frequently felt that the majority of the American leadership tried to finesse the issue of the "peculiar institution."<sup>77</sup> Second, the Hanseatic cities were part of the Holy Roman Empire—such as it was by this point—and were thus beholden to imperial politics. The emperor's decision to blockade all French commerce during the wars of the French Revolution hurt Bremen a great deal, since the city had maintained a large and profitable wine trade with Brest, Bordeaux, and La Rochelle for hundreds of years.<sup>78</sup> While the American port cities would be similarly constrained by the Embargo Acts, the Hanseatic cities were extremely vulnerable: nestled into a crowded European political map where economic policies could result in the arrival of vengeful armies within a matter of weeks. This was indeed to be the fate of the Hanse in the twenty years following the onset of the French Revolution, a fate which most of America's ports were spared (although Baltimore came perilously close in 1814.)

Finally, a profound difference existed between the economies of the Hanse and those of cities like Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, with regard to manufacturing. From the outset, the American harbors were industrial as well as commercial centers. American manufacturing was modest, by any measure, in its first half-century, primarily because of the difficulty of competing against British manufactures. Thomas Cooper, visiting from England in the 1790s, predicted that, "while America and England are at peace, there will be little or no temptation to set up manufactures in the former country. The prices of labour are too high; the master has not the same kind of command over his men."<sup>79</sup>

Nonetheless, America's harbors were workplaces for more than just commercial activities. Baltimore's largest workshops and first factories were all clus-



tered near the waterfront, as were Boston's. Richmond's port on the James River was only four blocks downstream of her tobacco-rolling plants; equidistant from the state capital Jefferson had designed on the hill which overlooked both. Shipbuilding was still a principle industry in all the American ports, particularly so in the North, because American timber was still plentiful, unlike the heavily deforested regions around Bremen and Hamburg.<sup>80</sup> Only in New York did the commercial significantly outweigh the industrial, but there again they were present in close proximity.

The Hanse, by contrast, were devoted overwhelmingly to commerce by the late eighteenth century. Hamburg's economy was not self-sustaining, and its growth was totally dependent upon the frequently capricious winds of commerce. The Hanse were trading societies with very little domestic production, and thus dependent on other lands for resources, markets, and thus, prosperity.<sup>81</sup> Calico printing and sugar refining had been the major industries in Hamburg since the early 1600s, but the former had declined as the city's economy became almost wholly based upon trade and its various support services. Sugar refining remained Hamburg's only real domestic industry, since even shipbuilding was no longer done in the city, which had been completely deforested since the seventeenth century.<sup>82</sup> In the mid-to-late eighteenth century, Hamburg somewhat belatedly entered the tobacco importing business with great enthusiasm, although it would never catch up to Bremen in that field. In both cities, however, the majority of cigarette-rolling and cigar-making shops were located in the surrounding countryside, rather than in the city proper. In the case of Hamburg, this usually meant Danish territory, so Hamburg's citizens bought their smokes only after the tobacco had traveled from America to Hamburg, to a Danish town, and back again to Hamburg as a finished product.<sup>83</sup>

By the time of the American Revolution, the economies of Bremen and especially Hamburg were only slightly involved in manufacturing, and had become almost entirely dependent upon trade. An increasing number of men (and, apparently, a substantial number of working women) were drawn to the cities to perform day-work for the bourgeoisie as domestic servants, porters, etc. Caspar Voght estimated in 1788 that there were about 15,000 "female servants" working in Hamburg, almost entirely in the homes and businesses of the wealthy.<sup>84</sup> The economy and livelihood of the Hanse—from top to bottom—were thus entirely balanced upon the continued success of trade. The Hanse were profoundly vulnerable to the whims of powerful neighboring states, who could with little effort or inconvenience upset this carefully-balanced prosperity. Small wonder that the merchants of Bremen and Hamburg reacted with glee at the prospect of an independent America. For once, they could establish a commercial relationship with a people who had absolutely no territorial ambitions in Europe.

Although most of the early American politicians could be counted upon to wax poetic on ideological points (and some, like Patrick Henry and Thomas Paine, could approach hysteria), America's merchants had supported the revo-

lution largely for more fundamental and practical reasons of economics. The Salem shipping magnate Richard Derby provides a typical example. Frustrated at his inability to expand his rum and molasses exports, feeling cheated by unscrupulous British agents in the Bahamas and the West Indies, Derby was by 1776 an open supporter of rebellion. He turned his fortune to the aid of the revolutionary cause, smuggling guns, powder, and other supplies for the rebels, and hoarding them in his warehouses. Derby was a "patriot" because the British restricted his business ambitions.<sup>85</sup>

Had ideology been the foremost concern of the American merchants, more of them would probably have heeded the urgings of Jefferson and Madison to abandon their dealings with Britain and to shift American commerce in the direction of France, Holland, Spain, and other "friends" in Europe. That no such shift occurred after 1783 indicates the relative lack of enthusiasm among American businessmen for any kind of ideology that would impinge upon their pocketbooks.<sup>86</sup> The American bourgeoisie was above all practical.

The primacy of profit was the hallmark of the merchant culture which the Americans shared with their counterparts in the Hanse. Rolf Engelsing has made a strong case for the Hanseatic cities being culturally and ideologically detached from the rest of Germany, which varied wildly from ultra-conservative feudalism to woolly-headed philosophical flights of fancy. The Hanse, he argues, were focused entirely upon the "ideology" of money-making. Once French society began to disintegrate into chaos in the 1790s, the perceived dangers of ideological loyalties became even more pronounced, and the Hanse clung more staunchly than ever to the sensible capitalist examples of Britain and the United States: "They aren't idealists, but rather materialists. They are realistic and industrious."<sup>87</sup>

Bremen was somewhat less attached to the Anglo-American model than was Hamburg, where more than one pamphleteer had described the city as merely "one of the suburbs [*Vorstädte*] of London."<sup>88</sup> Napoleon would later weigh in with his own damning agreement on the matter: "Hambourg? Ne me parlez pas de cette ville anglaise!"<sup>89</sup> Nonetheless, the Bremer merchants shared with their American counterparts a general skepticism for any ideology that had no practical economic applications. Hans Wiedemann writes:

Here lies the key to Bremen's politics. Only within the context of trade can one understand it. The striving for neutrality, the search for backing from the great powers which was to have guaranteed its position . . . shows Bremen's guiding principle. Neither nationalism, nor cosmopolitanism, nor even religion, but rather a purely practical point of view motivated the thinking of Bremen's civic leaders.<sup>90</sup>

In his last years, the eloquent and prolific Adam Duckwitz, one of Bremen's most famous statesmen and a vehement defender of free trade, looked back at



his sprawling business and political career all over Germany and Europe, and concluded that while he had lived among Americans and Englishmen, "Ich war in meinem Elemente."<sup>91</sup>

Thus we find that, by time of American independence, the Hanseatic merchant families were ideally poised to serve as the intermediaries between the German and American people and economies. They shared a host of social, political, and cultural traits, and above all a mutual thirst for free trade. Via their common merchant culture, German and American businessmen began to establish the first ties between their nations. They were often well aware of this cultural heritage that gave them a commercial *lingua franca*. A 1783 letter from a group of Hamburg senators to Benjamin Franklin emphasizes the many things which Hanseatic and American society have in common, concluding with a "hope and wish that a solid foundation can be laid for the strong basis of friendship and community between the citizens of our republics."<sup>92</sup>

To this day, remnants of the mercantile heritage linger on both sides of the Atlantic. We find it in the statue of Sam Adams gesturing out over the entranceway to the preserved eighteenth-century Quincy Market in Boston. It is inescapable in the upper-middle class suburbs of northern Bremen, where virtually every major street carries the name of an eighteenth-nineteenth century merchant firm: Kulenkampffallee, H. H. Meier Allee, Gröningstraße. In a dozen other places in America and the Hanse, the old merchant culture remains at the intersection of the very different roads on which German and American history has traveled.

*The University of Tennessee*  
Knoxville, Tennessee

## Notes

Abbreviations in notes:

AHR	<i>American Historical Review</i>
APS	Archives of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, PA
MAHS	Archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, MA
MDHS	Archives of the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, MD
NYHS	New York Historical Society, New York City
PHS	Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia
SAB	Staatsarchiv Bremen
SAH	Staatsarchiv Hamburg
SuUB	Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen, "Bremensia" collection
SuUH	Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, "Hamburgensia" collection

<sup>1</sup>The term is Percy Ernst Schramm's, from *Hamburg, Deutschland und die Welt: Leistung und Grenzen hanseatischen Bürgertums in der Zeit zwischen Napoleon I. und Bismarck, ein Kapitel deutscher Geschichte* (Hamburg: Hoffman & Campe, 1952), 10.

<sup>2</sup>Elisabeth Fehrenbach, "Der Einfluss des napoleonischen Frankreich auf das Rechts- und Verwaltungssystem Deutschlands," in Armgard von Reden-Dohna, ed., *Deutschland und Italien im Zeitalter Napoleons* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1979), 23-40.

<sup>3</sup> Carl Seaburg and Stanley Patterson, *Merchant Prince of Boston: Colonel T. H. Perkins, 1764-1854* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), 106-7.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Oliver to Mallhüsen & Sillem of Hamburg, 29 January 1799 (MDHS, Oliver Record Books, Ms 626.1).

<sup>5</sup> Examples abound. The ongoing correspondence of Frederick König in Baltimore with D. F. Kalkmann in Bremen, for instance, over the price of tobacco in Germany (MDHS, Ms 522). Or, Ambrose Clarke to Friedrich Amelung, 24 April 1807, on the plausibility of re-opening a coffee and sugar trade from New York to Bremen, given the political situation (MDHS, Ms 1754).

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Rutland to John Hale, 6 December 1786 (MDHS, Thomas Rutland Letterbook, Ms 1726). "Acerbic" is perhaps charitable. Judging from the harsh tone of most of his letters, Rutland must have been something of a terror to his contemporaries. To all business associates, he wrote in the imperative, never thanking, always giving orders. To his son, his tone varied from accusing to contemptful. Even to the mayor of Annapolis, who sent a ham as a birthday gift, Rutland replied with a single line of thanks, and then a paragraph of complaints about recent difficulties in obtaining the paperwork for shipping Virginia tobacco.

<sup>7</sup> Robert Oliver to Hermann Heymann Sons, 17 December 1799 (MDHS, Ms 626.1).

<sup>8</sup> "Ein Dampfschiff verband Bremen mit Nordamerika," *Weser Kurier* (14 June 1997), 49.

<sup>9</sup> Robert G. Albion, *The Rise of New York Port* (New York: Scribner, 1939), 416.

<sup>10</sup> Anna Rochester, *American Capitalism 1607-1800* (New York: Free Press, 1949), 77.

<sup>11</sup> Robert Bargman, ed., *Bremen: Die Tabakstadt Deutschlands* (Bremen: Franz Leuwer, 1939), 41.

<sup>12</sup> SAB, "Die graue Mappen," Oelrichs.

<sup>13</sup> The brothers were Peter Andreas and Caspar Gottlieb. See Hermann Kellenbenz, "Der Bremer Kaufmann: Versuch einer sozialgeschichtlichen Deutung," *Bremisches Jahrbuch* 51 (1969): 39-40; see also Bargman, *Bremen: Die Tabakstadt Deutschlands*, 44; and SAB, "Die graue Mappen," Kulenkampff.

<sup>14</sup> Franz-Josef Pitsch, *Die wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen Bremens zu den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Bremen: Selbstverlag des Staatsarchivs, 1974), 20. The Kulenkampffs also were relatively recent arrivals, having lived in Bremen only since the late 1600s.

<sup>15</sup> The death notices of the Wichelshausen family read like a "Who's Who" of Bremen in the *Neuer Nekrolog der Deutschen* (Altona, 1856), 124-28.

<sup>16</sup> In addition to his consular file in the SAB, see the MDHS, Ms 1846, in which H. D. Wichelshausen is one of a dozen Baltimore notables who raises money to outfit the "Baltimore Horse Artillery."

<sup>17</sup> Steven D. Uhalde, "Citizen and World Citizen: Civic Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism in 18th Century Hamburg," (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1984), 50.

<sup>18</sup> He ran for a number of other offices, but was defeated. See Harry E. Wildes, *Lonely Midas: The Study of Stephen Girard* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1943), 153-57.

<sup>19</sup> Hans-Erich Bödecker, "Marchands et Habitat: Le Nord-Ouest de l'Allemagne vers 1800," *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* 41,4 (1994): 577-79.

<sup>20</sup> Percy Ernst Schramm, "Die deutschen Überseekaufleute im Rahmen der Sozialgeschichte," *Bremisches Jahrbuch* 49 (1964): 35. It is admittedly somewhat futile to speak of "German commerce" in this era; there was no such thing, rather a number of competing states.

<sup>21</sup> William E. Lingelbach, "Saxon-American Relations, 1778-1828," *AHR* 17 (April 1912): 517.

<sup>22</sup> Reinhard Pateman, "Die Beziehungen Bremens zu Frankreich bis zum Ende der französischen Herrschaft 1813," *Francia* 1 (1973): 482-507.

<sup>23</sup> Uhalde, "Citizen and World Citizen," 27-28. It should be noted that Uhalde disputes the view of Rösig, Chapman, and others, who have held that North Germany was the center of anti-Semitism in the country, particularly after the Congress of Vienna. Uhalde writes: "Occupation, residence, and religious practice were severely restricted. Nevertheless, they too [the Jews] were now part of the scene" (47).

<sup>24</sup> Thomas Cooper, *Some Information Respecting America* (London: J. Johnson, 1794), 3.

<sup>25</sup> Rosenbaum and Sherman, *M. M. Warburg and Company*, 17-21.

<sup>26</sup> Two of many examples are Copp's Hill cemetery in Boston and Hollywood cemetery in Richmond, Virginia, where Protestants rest in close proximity to Jews, Catholics, and a variety of Masons (and in Boston, a few African-Americans).



<sup>27</sup> Pochmann, *German Culture in America*, 54.

<sup>28</sup> Uhalde, "Citizen and World Citizen," 27-28, and Rolf Engelsing, *Bremen, England, und die USA im 19. Jahrhundert* (Bundes-Firmenregister) (n.p., n.d.), 5.

<sup>29</sup> For the origins of this trend during Colonial times, see Nash, *The Urban Crucible*, 84-85.

<sup>30</sup> "Il n'y a ici ni promenade, ni spectacle, l'on ne peut se voir qu'à table, et ce sont des séances de 4 à 5 heures" (Lingelbach, "Saxon-American Relations," 530).

<sup>31</sup> Cooper, *Some Information Respecting America*, 1794.

<sup>32</sup> Uhalde, "Citizen and World Citizen," 29.

<sup>33</sup> See Voght, "A Letter to Some Friends of the Poor in Great Britain," NYHS.

<sup>34</sup> Jefferey Diefendorf, *Businessmen & Politics in the Rhineland* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 43. Rhenish elites seem to have been more divided along scholarly, juridical/political, and mercantile lines than in the Hanse, where all three blurred together.

<sup>35</sup> Lindemann, *Patriots and Paupers*, 10.

<sup>36</sup> The structure of the American electoral college, and the fact that only representatives were to be popularly elected, serve as reminders that early American democracy was every bit as exclusive as the elections to the senates of the Hanse.

<sup>37</sup> For a comprehensive analysis of the role of German-Americans in anti-Federalism, see Paul Douglas Newman, "The Fries Rebellion of 1799: Pennsylvania Germans, the Federalist Party, and American Political Culture" (Ph.D. diss., University of Kentucky, 1996), 4-20.

<sup>38</sup> Walther Vogel has written: "The men at the highest ranks of the small Hanseatic republics were far too sober politicians to allow themselves to become carried away [by] . . . careless writings." See Walther Vogel, "Die Hansestädte und die Kontinentalsperre" (Blatt 9, 1913), in *Pfingstblätter des Hansischen Geschichtsvereins*, an annual published in Leipzig by the Verlag von Duncker & Humblot.

<sup>39</sup> Lindemann, *Patriots and Paupers*, 3.

<sup>40</sup> The Abbé Sieyès in *Qu'est-ce que le Tiers Etat?* went so far to suggest that a government based on the propertied and producing classes was the only way for a nation to save its "soul."

<sup>41</sup> SuUB, Zeitschriften und Journale (file no. 516).

<sup>42</sup> Quoted in Uhalde, "Citizen and World Citizen," 49.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 29.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 47-51.

<sup>45</sup> Mary Lindemann, *Patriots and Paupers*, calls it a government of "fathers and uncles."

<sup>46</sup> Lindemann, *Patriots and Paupers*, 5.

<sup>47</sup> Voght, "A Letter to Some Friends of the Poor in Britain" (p. 5), NYHS.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 38-39.

<sup>49</sup> Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der freien Hansestadt Bremen*, 1:504.

<sup>50</sup> APS, Stephen Girard Papers, microfilm.

<sup>51</sup> Carl Seaburg and Stanley Patterson, *Merchant Prince of Boston: Colonel T. H. Perkins, 1764-1854* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), 378-81.

<sup>52</sup> Bruchey, *Robert Oliver*, 52.

<sup>53</sup> Peter Grotjan Memoirs (unpublished, no page numbers), PHS.

<sup>54</sup> Stuart Weems Bruchey, *Robert Oliver, Merchant of Baltimore, 1783-1819* (Baltimore, 1956), 33.

<sup>55</sup> Lindemann, *Patriots and Paupers*, 9.

<sup>56</sup> SAH, 621-1 Familie Voght. This story is confirmed by Uhalde and Schramm.

<sup>57</sup> The other two investors were Stephen Girard and John Jacob Astor. It is interesting to note that they, and Parish, were all immigrants; none had been born in the New World.

<sup>58</sup> Philip G. Walters and Raymond Walters, Jr., "The American Career of David Parish" *Journal of Economic History* 4 (1944): 165.

<sup>59</sup> James Weston Livingood, *The Philadelphia-Baltimore Trade Rivalry 1780-1860* (Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1947), 8.

<sup>60</sup> Isaac Weld, 1797, quoted in Bruchey, *Robert Oliver*, 30.

<sup>61</sup> The first Federal census counted slightly less than 10 percent of the American population living in towns or cities.

<sup>62</sup> Bödecker, "Marchands et Habitat," 573-75. "Il dresse une liste précise des grands négociants et manufacturiers pour chaque ville, et constitue, si l'on veut, le Who's Who de la bourgeoisie de

l'Allemagne."

<sup>63</sup> John G. Hutchins, *The American Maritime Industries and Public Policy, 1789-1914: An Economic History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941), 241.

<sup>64</sup> Uhalde, "Citizen and World Citizen," 22-23.

<sup>65</sup> C. F. Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, 1:201. Parish's astonishing career is thoroughly investigated in Richard Ehrenberg, *Das Haus Parish in Hamburg* (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1905). Parish's secret role as a British agent, however, was not discovered until the 1950s, by crossindexing references from Karl Sieveking's diary, encoded British consular reports, and mysterious omissions in the British *Bullion Report* of 1810.

<sup>66</sup> Uhalde, "Citizen and World Citizen," 60-64.

<sup>67</sup> By the twentieth century, most chapters of "Harmonie" in German cities were little more than music-appreciation societies. See Martin Kirschstein, *Die Harmonie* (Hamburg: Hermann Kampen, 1913).

<sup>68</sup> Thomas Mann, *Buddenbrooks*, trans. John E. Woods (New York: Vintage, 1994), 312.

<sup>69</sup> Charles N. Buck Diary (no page numbers), PHS.

<sup>70</sup> Schwarzwälder, *Geschichte der freien Hansestadt Bremen*, 1:509.

<sup>71</sup> SuUB, Zeitschriften und Journale (file no. 510).

<sup>72</sup> Thomas Aston Coffin to Francis Coffin, 7 June 1784, MAHS, Coffin, Hamburg, Germany, six letters, 1784.

<sup>73</sup> For a fascinating perspective on Jefferson as the archetypal American ingenue in Europe, see George G. Shackleford, *Thomas Jefferson's Travels in Europe, 1784-1789* (Johns Hopkins, 1995).

<sup>74</sup> APS, Stephen Girard papers, microfilm, reels 435-36 and 474 contain several of these pamphlets as well as Girard's notes on European education models he was considering for what would become Girard College.

<sup>75</sup> Wildes, *Lonely Midas*, 205.

<sup>76</sup> It is unclear to what degree Girard actually had any "friends." He was, according to all witnesses, a profoundly lonely and solitary man, unusual among the members of his class in that he loathed and avoided society. The notes on the trip to see Gosseler, however, indicate that the visit was social as well as professional. APS, Stephen Girard papers, microfilm, reel 63. The ship on which Girard sailed on this trip, the *Sally*, was involved two years later in a legal dispute with a Bremer merchant named Friedrich Delius—older brother of Arnold.

<sup>77</sup> Uhalde, "Citizen and World Citizen," 109.

<sup>78</sup> Hans Wiedeman, *Die Außenpolitik Bremens im Zeitalter der Französischen Revolution 1794-1803* (Bremen: C. Schünemann, 1960), 24.

<sup>79</sup> Cooper, *Some Information Respecting America*, 1.

<sup>80</sup> Hutchins, *The American Maritime Industries and Public Policy*, 74.

<sup>81</sup> Uhalde, "Citizen and World Citizen," 5.

<sup>82</sup> Lindemann, *Patriots and Paupers*, 44.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 39-40.

<sup>84</sup> Voght, "A Letter to Some Friends of the Poor in Great Britain" (p. 11), NYHS.

<sup>85</sup> Phillips, "The Life and Times of Richard Derby," 280-89.

<sup>86</sup> Abundant statistics are available which chart the almost unbroken dominance of British commerce in the United States after 1783. John H. Frederick's *The Development of American Commerce* remains useful, as is the statistical information to be found in Robert G. Albion's *The Rise of New York Port* (New York: Scribner, 1939).

<sup>87</sup> Rolf Engelsing, *Bremen, England, und die USA im 19. Jahrhundert* (Bundes-Firmenregister) (n.p., n.d.), 5.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>89</sup> Cited in Clapp, *The Port of Hamburg*, 20.

<sup>90</sup> Hans Wiedemann, *Die Außenpolitik Bremens im Zeitalter der Französischen Revolution 1794-1803* (Bremen: C. Schünemann, 1960), 27-28.

<sup>91</sup> Engelsing, *Bremen, England, und die USA im 19. Jahrhundert*, 8.

<sup>92</sup> Baasch, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Handelsbeziehungen zwischen Hamburg und Amerika*, 56-57. "Mit tiefgefühlter Freude mache ich diese Mittheilung und hoffe und wünsche, daß ein solider Grund möge gelegt werden für die feste Gründung der Freundschaft und Gemeinschaft zwischen den Bürgern unserer Republiken."



Manfred Zimmermann

### **Quellen zur deutschen Einwanderungsgeschichte in der Bibliothek der German Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia**

Die German Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia verfügt über eine einzigartige, in vielerlei Hinsicht beachtenswerte Bibliothek, die lange Zeit nicht die ihr gebührende Aufmerksamkeit, namentlich pekuniäre Aufmerksamkeit, gefunden hat. Gegründet im Jahre 1817, aber in ihren Anfängen auf die Geburt der Deutschen Gesellschaft 1764 zurückgehend, in ihrem jetzigen Domizil seit 1888, wurde sie ständig ergänzt zunächst durch Ankäufe, dann vor allem durch Schenkungen und Vermächtnisse. Vor einigen Jahren zusätzlich vermehrt durch Inkorporierung der Bibliothek der Carl-Schurz-Gesellschaft, besitzt die Sammlung nicht nur umfangreiche Bestände früher Deutsch-Amerikana, sondern auch unvermutete Schätze deutscher (d.h. deutsch-deutscher) Provenienz. Erwähnen will ich nur Erstausgaben deutscher Klassiker und deutscher Barockdichter wie Martin Opitz; am interessantesten sind die Bestände an deutscher "Trivialliteratur," besser populärer Leseliteratur, die sich andernorts nicht erhalten haben, einfach, weil sie zerlesen wurden. Für einen hohen Prozentsatz der Titel ist die Bibliothek wahrscheinlich Fundort des einzigen Exemplars in der westlichen Hemisphäre, manche scheinen selbst in Deutschland nicht nachweisbar zu sein.

Die bibliothekarische Betreuung und Erschließung lagen geraume Zeit im argen, desgleichen die baulichen Verhältnisse. Tatkräftige Persönlichkeiten haben jedoch vor mehreren Jahren Zuschüsse und Gelder für ein Projekt zur bibliographischen Aufnahme der Buchbestände eingeworben, das schon beachtlich weit gediehen ist. Ein ambitioniertes Renovierungsprogramm für das Gebäude ist ebenfalls in Angriff genommen.<sup>1</sup>

Nach dieser Hintergrundinformation möchte ich nun die Aufmerksamkeit darauf lenken, dass die Bibliothek auch archivalische Quellen beherbergt. Dies sind zunächst Archivalien und Dokumente der Deutschen Gesellschaft selbst.

Einige Bestände jedoch gehen in ihrer Bedeutung weit über die Gesellschaft hinaus und stellen eine bislang unausgebeutete Goldgrube für die Geschichte der deutschen Einwanderung in die USA dar.

Dazu gehören die Archivalien des Unterstützungskomitees der Gesellschaft, meist einfach "Agentur" oder auch "Ausschuss" genannt. Dreizehn dickleibige Foliobände, mittlerweile schön restauriert, geben detaillierte Auskunft über die Tätigkeit dieses Gremiums. In penibler Buchführung berichten diese Bände über die Unterstützung bedürftiger deutscher Einwanderer oder deutschstämmiger Einwohner Philadelphias. Die Einträge, soweit erhalten, beginnen mit dem 28. September 1869, enden am 29. Juni 1914 und decken somit eine wichtige Periode der deutschen Immigration ab. Zahlreiche weitere Bände enthalten Register, allgemeine Tätigkeitsberichte, Finanzberichte und anderes, auf das wir gleich zu sprechen kommen werden.

An dieser Stelle seien die einzelnen Folianten mit den durch sie repräsentierten Zeiträumen aufgeführt. Auf der Außenseite tragen sie die Jahresangaben. Auf den Innenseiten der Vorderdeckel, teilweise auch auf der Außenseite, befinden sich römische und arabische Ziffern, die zu einem früheren Zeitpunkt zweifellos archivalischen Ordnungszwecken gedient haben, deren System allerdings nicht mehr durchschaubar ist. Diese Zahlen sind im folgenden am linken Rand ausgeworfen.

- III 22: 1869-1871: Dienstag, 28. September 1869 - Mittwoch, 4. Januar 1871<sup>2</sup>
- III 10: 1871-1875: Freitag, 6. Januar 1871 - Montag, 27. Dezember 1875
- III 16: 1876-1879: Dienstag, 28. Dezember 1875 - Montag, 29. Dezember 1879
- III 17: 1879-1884: Dienstag, 30. Dezember 1879 - Sonnabend, 26. April 1884
- III 23: 1884-1886: Dienstag, 29. April 1884 - Montag, 29. März 1886
- III 7 : 1886-1888: Dienstag, 30. März - Montag, 27. Februar 1888
- III 25: 1888-1890: Dienstag, 28. Februar - Sonnabend, 7. Juni 1890
- III 26: 1890-1893: Montag, 9. Juni 1890 - Dienstag, 21. Februar 1893
- III 27: 1893-1895: Mittwoch, 22. Februar 1893 - Dienstag, 31. Dezember 1895
- III 28: 1896-1898: Donnerstag, 2. Januar 1896 - Freitag, 26. August 1898
- III 9: 1898-1901: Montag, 29. August 1898 - Freitag, 31. Mai 1901
- III 48: 1901-1907: Samstag, 1. Juni 1901 - Montag, 30. Dezember 1907
- III 31: 1908-1914: Dienstag, 31. Dezember 1907 - Montag, 29. Juni 1914<sup>3</sup>

Was enthalten nun diese genannten dreizehn Bände? Im einzelnen enthalten sie Menschenschicksale in denkbar knapper Form. In ihrer Gesamtheit entwerfen sie ein Bild eines Segments der deutschen Einwandererpopulation, das nur selten Spuren in den historischen Quellen hinterlassen hat. Diese Menschen hatten es nicht oder noch nicht geschafft. Wir haben eine Gelegenheit, zu sehen, wie schwer das Leben für manchen war, der möglicherweise mit großen Hoffnungen für eine bessere Zukunft aufgebrochen war. Deutsche aus dem Raum Philadelphia, die aus irgendwelchen Gründen in Not geraten sind, z.B. durch Tod des Ernährers, Alter, durch Arbeitsunfälle—ein erschreckend häufiger Posten—oder



einfach als arm und bedürftig beschrieben werden, erhalten eine den Umständen entsprechende Hilfe. Kürzlich Angekommene auf der Durchreise nach Westen, manchmal auch nach Osten, erhalten ein Zehrgeld oder nur ein Nachtlager und Abendessen. Andere werden auf Kosten der Gesellschaft zu einem Arzt geschickt, wieder andere zu einem deutschen Rechtsanwalt: Nicht selten beklagen sich Petenten, dass ihnen ein Teil ihres Lohnes vorenthalten worden sei. Die Gesellschaft betrieb außerdem eine Arbeitsvermittlung, mit Listen von Arbeitssuchenden mit ihren Qualifikationen und von potentiellen Arbeitgebern mit ihren Anforderungen, ebenfalls eine sozialgeschichtliche Quelle von einigem Rang.

Die typische Form des Eintrags enthält: Name, Alter, Beruf, wie lange im Lande, landschaftliche Herkunft aus Deutschland (Stadt, Staat, Provinz) mit Einschluss von Österreichern und Schweizern sowie gelegentlich Volksdeutschen vom Balkan und aus Russland; teilweise werden auch das Schiff der Überfahrt und das Datum der Ankunft erwähnt.

Als Beispiel finden wir: "Fritz Schulze aus Nürnberg in Bayern, 26 Jahre, Weber, 2 Jahre im Lande, kommt von New York, will nach Kansas." Diese Kurzform ist in den meisten Fällen durch Angaben über die näheren Verhältnisse erweitert, die uns am Schicksal des betreffenden Einwanderers teilhaben lassen. Insgesamt haben wir Zehntausende von Eintragungen mit namentlich genannten deutschen Immigranten, ihrer Herkunft und ihren Lebensumständen. Der Reichtum an Information, der hier der Erschließung harzt, kann gegenwärtig nur erahnt werden.

Die Unterstützungsempfänger umfassen das gesamte Spektrum im Hinblick auf die bereits im Lande verbrachte Zeit und auf ihr Alter. Wir hören gleichermaßen von einem zwei Wochen zuvor in New York gelandeten Siebzehnjährigen wie von einer dreißig Jahre zuvor angekommenen siebzيجährigen Frau, die als "alt, krank und schwach" beschrieben wird. Höheres Alter ist allerdings nicht unbedingt gleichbedeutend mit längerem Aufenthalt im Lande—manchmal machten sich Menschen in erstaunlich fortgeschrittenen Jahren auf die Reise.

Geben wir einige konkrete Beispiele aus den Eintragungen, wobei wir die Zitate einigermaßen willkürlich herausgreifen, da es viele ähnliche Einträge mit entsprechenden Informationen gibt. Unter dem 31. Dezember 1884 lesen wir: "Carl Müller, 18 Jahre, kommt von Camenz bei Dresden. Zur Einlösung von Wäsche 25 Cents." Carl Müller hatte offensichtlich seine Kleider im Pfandhaus versetzen müssen.

Ein Beispiel für vergleichsweise hohes Alter zum Zeitpunkt der Einwanderung, vor allem angesichts der durchschnittlichen Lebenserwartung zur damaligen Zeit, finden wir am gleichen Tag: "Leberecht Gottlieb Schäfer, 66 Jahre alt, 6 Monate im Lande, Farmer, bei Dresden zu Hause, Familie in Deutschland." Er erhält 50 Cents.

Immer noch am 31. Dezember 1884 zwei zusammengehörende Einträge:

Joseph Kolbe, 70 Jahre, 2 Jahre im Lande, wohnt 1209 Sturm St. - 50 Cents.

August Kolbe, kommt von Mittelwalde, Österreich, Sohn des Vorigen, ist 3 Jahre im Land, hat 3 Kinder, ist 33 Jahre alt, keine Arbeit - [ebenfalls] 50 Cents.

August Kolbe hatte anscheinend seinen damals achtundsechzigjährigen Vater Hachtundsechzigjährigen nachgeholt, aber die Vorstellungen der Familie hatten sich zumindest kurzfristig nicht erfüllt.

Am entgegengesetzten Ende des Lebensaltersspektrums bewegt sich der unmittelbar vorhergehende Vermerk: "Magdalena Fuchs, Kind [keine Altersangabe], begleitet von Cecilia Well. Die Mutter ist angeblich gestorben." Trotz der in dem Wort "angeblich" zum Ausdruck kommenden Skepsis werden die Bittsteller positiv beschieden: "Für Schuhe für das Kind - 1 Dollar." Magdalena Fuchs wird in den folgenden Jahren regelmäßig zu Weihnachten auftauchen und Unterstützung empfangen.

Später werden wir Zeuge eines Dramas, das der Buchführer der Deutschen Gesellschaft durch Einkleben von Zeitungsausschnitten dokumentiert. Ein vierzehn- oder fünfzehnjähriges Mädchen kommt alleine in Philadelphia an, um ihren Bruder zu suchen, von dem sie aufgrund vager Nachrichten annimmt, dass er in der Nähe wohnt. (Man fragt sich, welche Familienverhältnisse hier vorliegen). Völlig abgerissen und ohne weiterzuwissen, wird sie von einem wohlhabenden deutschen Einwanderer auf der Straße aufgelesen und in seinem Hause versorgt. Nach einigen Tagen verschwindet sie jedoch unter Mitnahme ihr nicht gehörender Gegenstände. Sie wird arretiert, doch auf Fürsprache des Bestohlenen und eines deutschen Anwalts freigelassen. Als nächstes lesen wir, dass ein anderer Bürger Philadelphias vor Gericht erscheint und \$500 Kaution stellen muss. Er hatte das Mädchen wiederum aufgenommen, wird aber beschuldigt, sie betrunken gemacht und, die Gazetten formulieren da sehr diskret, sexuell missbraucht zu haben. Den Fortgang der Geschichte würden wir wohl in den Zeitungen Philadelphias jener Tage finden.

Nicht alle Bittsteller werden unterstützt. Zum Beispiel lesen wir in einem Fall nach Angabe der Personalien: "Ist ein frecher Lügner - Abgewiesen." Oder wieder unter dem 31. Dezember 1884: "Joseph Straßburger, kommt von Constanza, arbeitete in einer Brickyard nahe New York. Jetzt 5 Wochen in Philadelphia. Verwickelte sich in Widersprüche." Es überrascht uns nicht, dass keine Unterstützung vermerkt wird.

Die Amtsträger der Gesellschaft stellten in zweifelhaften Fällen auch Nachforschungen an. Am 23. Februar 1886: "Christine Mathias, 40 Jahre alt, 3 Kinder von 17, 15, 14 Jahren alt, Witwe, sagt, wohnt 428 7<sup>th</sup> St." Sie bekommt trotz der deutlichen Zweifel eine Zuwendung von einem Dollar, aber kurze Zeit später wird mit Bleistift nachgetragen: "Ist nicht so!" Hier ein für die gründliche Arbeit der "Agentur" instruktiver Fall vom 2. März 1886: "Gustav Maheincke, wurde am 19. Januar 1885 als Zahlpatient nach dem Deutschen



Hospital geschickt. Sagt, dass er erst im May ins Land gekommen. Hat gelogen. Abgewiesen."

Woher wusste der Buchführer das? Nach deutscher Tradition ist das Geheimnis einer ordnungsgemäßen Verwaltung eine ordentliche Registratur. Der Eintrag vom 2. März enthält außerdem den Vermerk: "SS. 194, N. 448." Auf Seite 194 unter Nummer 448 steht tatsächlich am 19. Januar 1885: "Gustav Maheincke, 17 Jahre alt, seit 8 Wochen im Lande, kommt von Baden und ist Bäcker von Geschäft. Nach dem Deutschen Hospital geschickt als Zahlpatient." Der Beauftragte der Gesellschaft verfügte über ein elaborates Index-System. Alle Antragsteller wurden namentlich in einem speziellen alphabetischen Registerbuch erfasst, von denen sich einige erhalten haben. Auf diese Weise wurden schwarze Schafe ausgesondert.

Man macht auch einen deutlichen Unterschied zwischen Deutschen und Amerikanern. Im Zusammenhang mit einem anderen beim Schwindeln ertappten Bittsteller heißt es am 26. Dezember 1872: "Nicolaus Hasenstal, 56 Jahre alt, kranke Frau und 3 Kinder, 2 Jahre im Lande, aus Bayern, 1006 Hope St. - Wird untersucht." Das Untersuchungsergebnis: "Falsche Adresse - schönes Haus - wohnen Amerikaner drin!" Die Schwindler stellen freilich nur einen geringen Anteil der Einträge, die weitaus meisten Hilfesuchenden sind wirkliche Härtefälle des Lebens.

Gelegentlich fehlt auch nicht eine gewisse unfreiwillige Komik. Am 24. Dezember 1873 (Heiligabend) hören wir: "Alexander Fuchs, Farmer, 25 Jahre, 4 Monate im Lande, aus Württemberg, rothe Haare, mittellos." Trotz seiner "rothen Haare" wird Alexander Fuchs unterstützt. Am gleichen Tag erscheint "Henrietta Lipp, Witwe, 1 Kind, K 9 [=Knabe von 9 Jahren]." Der Buchführer ist vorsichtig und verhält sich abwartend: "Zu besuchen." Wenig später ein negativer Vermerk: "Sehr großes Maul; wurde abgewiesen."

Auch die zahlreichen Deutschen, die in der Neuen Welt Kriegsdienste leisten oder geleistet haben, hinterlassen Spuren. Im Jahre 1876 übernimmt die Gesellschaft die Kosten für den Aufenthalt eines alten Mannes in einem Hospital, heute würden wir wohl sagen Pflegeheim: "Adolph v. Könitz, alter 69jähriger blinder Mann, Militär, Artillerie, gebürtig aus Hessen-Cassel, machte hier den Revol. Krieg [gemeint ist natürlich der Bürgerkrieg] mit, verlor durch Luftdruck einer Kanonenkugel zuerst das rechte Auge, später das linke. Auch gebrochen durch einen Sturz am 27. Oktober."

Rückwanderer begegnen nicht selten. Am 4. April 1896 heißt es über Joseph Grafenecker aus Dürmersheim in Baden: "39 Jahre alt, 4 Monate im Lande, Familie in Deutschland, 6 Kinder, das jüngste 6 Monate alt [war also 2 Monate, als der Vater nach Amerika ging], will nach New York, um sich nach Deutschland hinüberzuarbeiten." Weihnachten 1876 gibt ein anderer auf: "Albin Aulicher, Schieferdrucker, aus Schlesien, in Berlin erzogen, 23 Jahre alt, seit Juni im Lande, arbeitete kurze Zeit in Wilkesbury, seit 2 Monaten auf Reisen, kommt von Westen, hofft, nach Deutschland zurückzukommen, schlechtes Schuhwerk." Er erhält eine Fahrkarte nach New York. Prägnant ist der Eintrag vom 25.

August 1885: "Ludwig Adam Feit - Amerikamüde - will mit Familie nach Deutschland - Gumbinnen bei Königsberg, die Reise kostet 92 Dollar, hat nur etwa \$30.00."<sup>4</sup> Dies hört sich wie ein Beispiel für die Rezeption von Kürnbergers Roman von 1855 an.<sup>5</sup> Bei den Rückwanderern scheint jene Desillusionierung durch, die Kürnberger bei seinem Aufenthalt nach 1848 in Hamburg kennengelernt und literarisch verarbeitet hat.

Wenn wir die Einträge in den Folianten lesen, wird uns bewusst, wenn es uns vorher noch nicht bewusst gewesen sein sollte, dass die Verhältnisse im gelobten Land nicht so rosig waren, wie mancher heute denkt oder wie sie seinerzeit von Auswanderungsagenten dargestellt wurden. Es ist eigentlich eine deprimierende Lektüre. Seite um Seite werden wir mit Armut, Krankheit und Pech im Leben konfrontiert. Aber das liegt in der Natur dieser Quellen. Es gibt auch eine andere Seite. Die bloße Existenz dieser Archivalien legt Zeugnis ab von der besseren Seite des Lebens, von einem gewissen Wohlstand, der durch Spenden die Tätigkeit der "Agentur" erst ermöglicht, von der erfolgreichen Selbstorganisation der deutschen Einwanderer, die mit Bürgersinn zur Hilfe für ihre weniger glücklichen Landsleute schreiten, ganz unsentimental, die faulen Kunden aussondernd und weniger ein permanentes Wohlfahrtsinstitut darstellend, als vielmehr Hilfe zur Selbsthilfe gebend bei sparsamer Haushaltsführung, mit Unterstützungsbeträgen, die oft nicht höher als 25 Cents, 50 Cents, ein Dollar liegen oder einfach mit Briefpapier, einem Umschlag und einer sorgfältig verbuchten 5-Cents-Briefmarke aushelfen.

Der Eindruck, den wir von der Deutschen Gesellschaft mitnehmen, ist der einer aktiven, organisierten, selbstbewussten und ihres eigenen Wertes und positiven Beitrags sicheren Volksgruppe. Um zum Abschluss einen Begriff vom Umfang der Hilfstätigkeit zu geben, zitiere ich einen der monatlichen, zusammenfassenden Rechenschaftsberichte, willkürlich herausgegriffen die "Recapitulation" vom 22. Februar 1886 für den vorausgegangenen Monat:

621 Ansuchen gingen ein,  
306 Fälle wurden mit Bar unterstützt,  
204 Billette für Mahlzeiten und Logis ausgegeben.  
Es waren unter den mit Bar unterstützten  
137 bedürftige Familien und Einzelpersonen,  
68 Reisende.  
23 Personen erhielten Schlafgeld  
20 wurden für Wäsche unterstützt  
15 für Schuhe flicken  
2 zu Rezepten  
5 für Hausierhandel  
3 mit Expresskosten  
3 für Kohlen  
10 zum Ankauf alter Schuhe  
2 zur Beerdigung



- 3 zur Einlösung von Effecten
- 3 erhielten Unterhemden
- 4 zum Ankauf von Hosen
- 1 Person erhielt ein Bruchband
- 1 Anleihe von \$ 1.50 bewilligt
- 1 Person für Haarschneiden
- 45 Besuche wurden abgestattet
- 15 Briefe geschrieben
- 11 Personen erhielten Briefpapier, Envelopes und Postage
- 10 eingegangene Briefe abgeliefert
- in 2 Fällen wurde Gepäck eingelöst und weiterbefördert
- 41 Personen wurden abgewiesen
- 2 Personen wurden in Rechtssachen an Anwalt Wireman verwiesen
- 3 an Hospitäler empfohlen
- 4 an Dispensarien empfohlen
- 5 an Guardians of the Poor
- 32 an Wayfarers Lodges
- 10 Paar neue Schuhe ausgegeben
- 3 Personen an Magistrats empfohlen
- 3 an District Charity Offices
- 4 Familien an Suppen-Anstalten.

Mir scheint, eine Erschließung dieser Quellen, vom Verfasser der vorliegenden Zeilen in Angriff genommen, ist kein nutzloses Unterfangen.<sup>6</sup>

*University of Cincinnati*  
Cincinnati, Ohio

### Summary

The purpose of this article is to draw attention to the fact that the Library of the German Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, besides its considerable holdings of printed books of high scholarly interest, also houses archival sources which, in their scope, go far beyond being just of regional importance, but are able to shed light on significantly wider aspects of the German immigration experience.

The Support Committee of the Society, the "Agentur" or "Ausschuss," kept meticulous records about its activities. They represent a hitherto untapped source of historical knowledge. Thirteen hefty leather-bound volumes of the daily logs of the committee, covering the period from September 1869 to June 1914, have survived. They document, on a day-by-day basis, the support, financial or otherwise, given to needy German immigrants, either from the Philadelphia area who had fallen upon hard times, or recent arrivals on their way west in search of their American dream, but in need of food or clothing.

These logs contain tens of thousands of entries concerning German immigrants, with a wealth of personal information about them, at a time when German immigration had reached a high-water mark. They typically record name, age, length of time in America (sometimes giving the name of the ship and date of arrival), place of origin in Germany, occupation or trade, frequently the circumstances necessitating support, and the support given or the reason for it being denied. They provide a fascinating insight into the situation of the German immigrant community of the time, especially of a social stratum that frequently receives little attention, because these are individuals and families who "had not yet made it" and who consequently left few records outside these sources.

This information is supplemented by business reports, general activity reports, archival evidence of an informal labor exchange and a medical and legal aid service, etc. They document a well-functioning support network of a strong, vibrant, and self-assured immigrant community. The present author intends to make these resources available to research and scholarship.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup>Vgl. *Project Reports and Newsletters: The German Society Library and Building Projects* (Philadelphia: The German Society, Fall 1996).

<sup>2</sup>Die ehemals eingeklebte letzte Seite mit dem Rest der Eintragungen für den 4. Januar und für den 5. Januar fehlt heute.

<sup>3</sup>Die caritative Tätigkeit der Gesellschaft begann bereits unmittelbar nach ihrer Gründung 1764. Noch im Jahre 1897 lagen für die Zeit seit 1800 vollständige, für die Periode 1765 bis 1799 fragmentarische Unterlagen vor; vgl. "Die Agentur der Deutschen Gesellschaft und ihre Tätigkeit," Vortrag des Herrn Joseph Bernt, Agenten der Deutschen Gesellschaft, nebst Ansprache des Herrn Dr. C. J. Hexamer, Vorsitzers des Bibliotheks=Committees der Deutschen Gesellschaft, gehalten Donnerstag, den 22. April 1897 [Rechenschaftsbericht im Archiv der Gesellschaft, Sign. AC 225]. Auch finden sich in den oben erwähnten ersten Bänden gelegentlich Verweise auf frühere Unterstützungsvorgänge in den 1860er Jahren. Diese Unterlagen scheinen verloren oder harren noch ihrer Auffindung.

<sup>4</sup>Da er bereits am Tage zuvor vorgesprochen hatte, finden wir dort nähere Angaben über ihn: "Ludwig Adam Feit, 54 Jahre, sagt, dass er 4 Monate im Lande ist. Kam mit 'Werra' von Bremen. Frau Helena, 35 Jahre, 3 Kinder von 16, 9 und 4 Jahren, Tischler von Geschäft, will wieder nach Deutschland. Hat Pass und Taufschein, aber kein Reisegeld."

<sup>5</sup>Ferdinand Kümberger, *Der Amerika-Müde: Amerikanisches Kulturbild* (Frankfurt, 1855). Der Buchtitel war zu jener Zeit wohl ein verbreiteter, feststehender Begriff unter Deutschamerikanern. Joseph Bernt widmet in seinem Vortrag (Anm. 3, S. 9) dem Phänomen unter der Überschrift "Amerika=Müde" zwei Absätze, die er mit folgenden Worten einleitet: "Auffallend groß ist die Zahl derjenigen Personen, die nach längerem oder kürzerem Aufenthalte in diesem Lande wieder in die alte Heimath zurückkehren wollen."

<sup>6</sup>Referat gehalten anlässlich des Symposiums der Society for German-American Studies vom 23. bis 26. April 1998 in Indianapolis.



Regine Wieder

### Konrad Nies Rediscovered

During a recent clean-up day in the German Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, whose extensive library is currently being recatalogued and updated, an amazing manuscript collection was literally brought to daylight. The complete manuscripts and private correspondence of Konrad Nies (1861-1921), the most prominent and prolific German-American author of the turn of the century, were discovered in one of the Society's attic rooms.<sup>1</sup> The documents originally became part of the collection of the National Carl Schurz Association shortly after 1933, when the first and only comprehensive scholarly work on Nies was written by Walther Thomas at Dickinson College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and later came into the possession of the German Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. The documents are mostly in good shape and provide excellent insight into Nies's life, his popularity as well as his position within the German-American intelligentsia.

It is the aim of this article to illustrate the importance of Konrad Nies for not only German-Americana, but also for a more complete understanding of the origins and history of America's current ethnic make-up. The recent discovery of the manuscript collection has given access to aspects of Nies's life which have so far been unknown. Firstly, I shall give a summary of Nies's life which I have been able to piece together from his numerous letters, manuscripts and newspaper clippings. Secondly, with this article I hope to put Nies into the context of a United States facing mass German immigration and the concomitant social, cultural and political issues. Thirdly, this article will show Nies as one of the first literary proponents of environmentalism based on conservation of our natural resources, and someone who believed in a life in unison with nature. Nies was a key member of an influential circle of writers and politicians in America. His contributions came as an author of short stories, a poet, journalist, travel writer and according to his friends, Nies considered himself a true romanticist. In 1899 the Strasbourg journal *Erwinia* placed him between Romanticism and Modernism and called him a "representative of realistic romanticism."<sup>2</sup>

## Konrad Nies: A Biographical Sketch

Konrad Nies, a native of Alzey in Hesse, immigrated to the United States in 1883, in order to join his brother, Philip Nies, who had arrived a few years earlier. After an initial period of struggling in and adaptation to the New World, the young man who had been looking for a career as an actor realized that his success was not going to be on stage. Instead, Nies decided to travel across the North American continent as an itinerant reciter, journalist and poet. Nies very soon became a figure with whom many German-Americans could identify. In Milwaukee, where he was a traveling representative of the Freidenker Publication Co., he married Elisabeth Waldvogel in 1887. Shortly thereafter the young couple moved to Omaha, Nebraska, where Nies began to edit his own monthly publication, *Deutsch-Amerikanische Dichtung*.<sup>3</sup> In 1888, after the birth of his daughter, Nies moved again, this time to Newark, Ohio, after having been appointed teacher of German at the local high school, but soon uprooted his family once again and moved to New York. From 1888 to 1889 he continued his aforementioned monthly, a journal dedicated to poetry, literary reviews, and novelettes. In 1891 he published *Funken*, his first collection of poetry.<sup>4</sup>

Nies spent the summer of 1892 in Germany with his family. After an attack of consumption, a form of tuberculosis, Nies tried to recover in Palenville, New York, where his son was born in June 1893. Due to his bad health, Nies was unable to go back to his teaching post, and after three months in Orlando, Florida, Nies once again returned to Germany in 1894 and stayed until the following year. During his stay in his *Vaterland* he befriended many famous contemporaries, including the pacifist Bertha von Suttner and the authors Emil Prince of Schönaich-Carolath and Herman Alexander.<sup>5</sup> He also lectured on German-American literature in Berlin, Breslau, and Wiesbaden. Fairly discontented and without having received the necessary literary inspiration, he returned to America. He had been asked to take over the Victoria-Institut, a boarding school for the daughters of St. Louis high society. However, Nies quickly realized this task did not satisfy his potential. He quickly abandoned the project and left the responsibility with his wife. He once again started traveling across the North American continent and lectured in over eighty cities, in some of them as many as ten times. After another illness from 1900-1902, Nies was able to first rest and then travel abroad from 1905-1907 with funds that his faithful and generous supporters had collected for him. Before his departure, he arranged the publication of the second volume of his poetry, *Aus westlichen Weiten*.<sup>6</sup> In the company of his mistress Olga Khripunova, a young Russian noblewoman, he traveled through Italy, Palestine, Egypt and the Balkan countries.<sup>7</sup> *Dein Herz besteht auf seiner Liebe Recht!* . . . The trip resulted in a mixed blessing for Nies, both emotionally and professionally: Even though this love affair ended in disappointment, Nies had received the necessary literary inspiration from it. Upon his arrival in the U.S., his supporters and the press welcomed him warmly. On the other hand, through his restlessness, he had estranged his wife and children,



and with them, many of his old friends.

For a while, Nies was confronted with poverty, but a small bequest left by his mother upon her death gave him the means to finally bring his family together. In 1909 he moved to California where he and a friend purchased a small cottage in Corte Madera in Marin County. During the seven years in his *Waldnest*, the name he gave his new home, Nies wrote some of his most mature poetry (*Welt und Wildnis* [1921]). His retirement proved to be rather temporary and was interrupted in 1916, when he was asked to become editor in chief of the *Colorado Herold* in Denver. He died on 10 August 1921 after an appendectomy in San Francisco's German Hospital.

### **The Plight of the "Hyphenated" American**

In 1900 the *New Yorker Staatszeitung* wrote the following about Nies's drama *Rosen im Schnee*: "... in der Tat eine eminent deutsch-amerikanische Dichtung. ... Jenes eigenartige Gemisch deutscher und amerikanischer Empfindung, das in der Gedankenwelt unserer Kinder lebt und webt, hat hier prägnanten poetischen Ausdruck gefunden." In another newspaper article from Nies's collection we read "Uns Deutsch-Amerikanern steht er doppelt nahe, weil in fast allein seinen prächtigen Gedichten der Pulsschlag deutschamerikanischen Lebens deutlich fühlbar ist." What is this "mixture of German and American emotions" that he so well addresses in his literature? Why was Nies such a popular figure among German-Americans in his day? It is because Nies represented the hope and aspirations of German immigrants in a new land. Through his writings and oral recitals, he was able to capture these dreams—as well as a shared cultural heritage. He also served as a source of pride for, and a reflection of, the Germans in America. And there were many of them. Around 1905 the total population of Germans in the United States (including those that were born in Germany as well as those descendent from German parents) was 12 million—more than a seventh of the total population.<sup>8</sup> New York had the same number of German inhabitants as Hamburg; Chicago had more than Munich, and Philadelphia just as many as Bremen. Two-thirds of Milwaukee's population was German. Despite the ubiquity of the German language, however, it was impossible for the German-Americans to avoid English. In the street, in their work environment, and in public institutions, the language of the New World was indispensable, and after all, since one was constantly exposed to it in daily life, its acquisition was fairly easy. As a result, in areas with a large German population—like Pennsylvania or Ohio—many English words and expressions were incorporated into the immigrants' German. Ludwig Fulda, a contemporary of Nies and a well-respected author himself, reports a few examples from Columbus, Ohio: "Dann sind wir in die Bar 'gange und habe die Deisbox [dice box] g'nomme und habe für die Drinks geschähkt [to shake] und er hat mich gebiet [to beat]." A German-American pastor apparently said the following in his sermon: "Man könnte noch mehr schwätzen von der Gnade des Herrn, wenn's die Lungen nur



ständen [to stand] thäten." Even in an academic environment, Fulda witnessed: "Der Herr Professor ist heute ganz besonders bissig [busy] und konnte nicht länger stehn [to stay]." <sup>9</sup>

It is obvious that after the emigration to a new country, the newcomer's identity easily becomes quite diluted or even entirely lost in the new cultural and ethnic influences that become part of a daily routine. As a result, one's own cultural background becomes more important than ever before; it provides stability, a sense of community in an otherwise heterogeneous environment as well as *Heimatgefühl*. In the case of German immigrants to the United States, German sports clubs, choirs, cultural evenings and even typical German cuisine suddenly enjoyed a unique popularity, and the exaggerated emphasis on German heritage became a new form of identity.

The best medium to preserve a cultural heritage, however, is without a doubt the use of the native language. Apart from the many German newspapers (among which the *New Yorker Staatszeitung*, the *Cincinnati Volksblatt* and the *Illinois Staatszeitung* in Chicago were the best) a motley collection of German-American literature was on the market.<sup>10</sup> Carl Schurz and Rudolf Cronau's historical works, for example, were directed at the more intellectual German-American readership, whereas the works of authors like Edna Fern (*nom de plume* of Fernande Richter), Theodor Kirchhoff, Herman Alexander, Friedrich Carl Castelhun and above all Konrad Nies were accessible to a larger percentage of German-Americans. The theme of their literature was the theme of the Germans in America. If we take a glance at some of the poetry anthologies of the time, we find titles like *An mein Vaterland* (Conrad Krez), *Abschied von Deutschland* (Adolf Puchner), *Auswanderer's Schicksal* (Julius Dresel), *Das deutsche Lied* (K. Nies, H. Rubland, Ernst Anton Zündt), *Deutschamerikaner* (Edna Fern), *Deutsch-Amerikaner* (Karl Kniep), *Das deutsche Volkslied* (Alfred Walter Hildebrandt), *Liebesgruß an die Heimat* (Theodor Kirchhoff), *Gruß der Deutschen in Amerika* (Kaspar Butz)<sup>11</sup> just to name a few. Despite these many well-regarded writers, the German press across the whole of the North American continent considered Konrad Nies the most famous and talented German-American writer of the turn of the century.<sup>12</sup> Rudolf Cronau writes in his book *Deutsche in Amerika* (1909) that the main reason for Nies's fame is *Das deutsche Lied*.<sup>13</sup> Just as in many of his other poems and short stories, Nies successfully caters to the homesickness of those who had left their country of birth. It is also characteristic of the time that German newspapers as well as literature books were full of sentimental poetry and fiction. Upon arrival in the United States, German newcomers were able to experience a sense of community as a recipient of German language literature and were only gradually introduced to a new environment. As a prototype of German-American poetry, *Das deutsche Lied* provided stability in a new cultural environment for many a German immigrant.

Nies's mission was not only a literary one. He also involved himself in politics when he felt German-Americans were unfairly portrayed. In one of the



editions of the *Colorado Herold* from early 1916, a letter from Nies to Theodore Roosevelt (U.S. President from 1901 until 1909 and later, in 1912, a third-party presidential candidate) was printed together with an article about the precarious position of the Germans in the United States. According to this article, in both 1904 and 1912, presidential candidate Roosevelt consistently praised and admired Germany as well as her emigrants who had come to the United States. Since then, Roosevelt had repeatedly condemned the German-Americans and pejoratively referred to them as "hyphenated Americans" despite all the achievements and contributions of the New World's "adopted citizens." Nies served as the spokesperson of the German-American population by openly expressing disappointment and resentment. His letter both highlights and condemns the contradictory utterances of Roosevelt towards the "hyphenated" Americans. He begins with obsequious flattery, and then shifts to sharp criticism of the hypocrisy he saw in Roosevelt's behavior:

San Francisco, Cal., Jan. 15th, 1916  
Col. Theodore Roosevelt, Oyster Bay, N.Y.

DEAR SIR:

A few years ago, when the "Pacific Sangerbund" celebrated its first "Groes Bundes-Sangerfest," you were kind enough to send us your picture with a friendly dedication. Your kindness was greatly appreciated then, and a copy of your picture was added to our souvenir-program. Being chairman of the literary committee, I enjoyed the pleasure of being allowed to retain the original picture as a highly valued keepsake. I had it framed and hung up in my room among some pictures of such men as Lincoln, Washington, Bismarck, Moltke, Schiller, Emerson, and others of equal importance.

Whenever I happened to look at it, I always gave it a friendly thought, considering it the picture of the true type of an ideal American and of a gentleman of national reputation and world-wide fame, who as a friend of the Germanic peoples and their art and culture understood and appreciated the meaning and mission of the "deutsche Lied."

To my deepest regret I have found out that I was mistaken in this supposition.

The hostile utterances and unjustifiable accusations which you recently have been hurling not only at Germany and everything connected with her, but also in the same unreasonable, one-sided and exorbitant manner against the Americans of German descent, have sufficiently proved your almost fanatic animosity for the land of my birth;—though I shall never forget that day at the World's Fair in St. Louis, when

you, with tears in your eyes and your voice warm with genuine emotion, lauded and extolled the greatness of Germany and the superior qualities of her former sons who have become citizens of the United States.

I, too, have been such a citizen for more than thirty years, proving by my writings how I love and appreciate everything good and great in this country, yet I have never found it in any discord with my patriotic duties as a faithful American to cherish the memories of the land of my birth.

Considering the facts stated above, and your contempt for the "hyphenated" Americans, I fear your picture will find itself now as much out of place and uncomfortable in its surroundings here, as it is painful for me to look at it now, for to me it has ceased to represent anything but a shattered idol. I, therefore, take the liberty to return it to you.

With due respect.

Konrad Nies

In another newspaper clipping from Nies's collection, (probably from the *New Yorker Staatszeitung*) we find under the heading "Bildnisse" a sonnet to Theodore Roosevelt, which Nies has sent in from San Francisco. Most likely it was written around the same time as his "open letter":

Theodore Roosevelt

Du warfst voll Wucht dich ins Parteigetöse  
Und wußtest so viel Lärm um nichts zu machen,  
Bis alle Welt beklatscht mit Beifallslachen  
Das Kunststück des Rauhereiters, das famose.

So wuchs dein Blendermut ins Bodenlose  
Und täuschte flücht'gen Scheins der Völker Wachen,  
Um schemengleich im Sande zu verflachen  
Mit einer letzten eitlen Retterpose.

Unvornehm stets, schreist du, vom Volk verlassen,  
Dem einst du Abgott, nun in tollem Wüten  
Grell des Entthronten Haß durch alle Gassen.

Und als die tollste deiner Tobsucht Blüten  
Lehrst du dies Land, das deutsche Volk zu hassen.  
So sucht ein Götze toten Ruhm zu hüten! . . .



In the summer of 1911 a series of articles by Konrad Nies was published in all the major German-American newspapers encouraging those who were tired of the stressful and hectic urban life to join a colony in California.<sup>14</sup> To attract recruits, he mentioned the successful Roycrofters in East Aurora, New York, the Fellowship Farms in Westwood, California, as well as the Colony of Artists in Carmel-by-the Sea, California. Nies, after having dedicated some studies to the Austrian philosopher Rudolf Steiner, was looking for like-minded German-Americans who were willing to support his anthroposophic project. However, the colony was never founded, even though the idea had received considerable response, not only in the German newspapers but also in the German societies throughout the United States. The reason for the failure might have been the utopian and slightly communist bent that was inherent in the plan. The idea to develop the whole human being by living in unison with nature but at the same time providing mental stimulation was the result of Nies's intense study of theosophy and a strong belief in a back-to-nature movement.<sup>15</sup> The beauty of nature—and therefore the necessity of its protection—seem to have been two prominent themes in Nies's life and works. In some of his diary entries from 1908 he says that the time he spent in solitude in the mountains near Domerock in Colorado was the happiest of his life. Far away from any civilization, he led a wholesome life in which he considered the appreciation of nature as paramount. Four years earlier in 1904, Nies had already drawn attention to an important environmental problem in one of his best poems, for which he was awarded first prize at the *Baltimorer Blumenspiele* and about which Georg Sylvester Viereck, a respected author and New York publisher, said: "If his revenge of the forests had been written in the English language, it would be impossible to ignore him in the history of American literature." As a ballad condemning deforestation all over the North American continent, "Die Rache der Wälder" vigorously admonishes man and his destructive activities.

### Die Rache der Wälder

Des Nachts, wenn die Sonne im Meere entschwand,  
Und die Wolken im Sturme jagen,  
Da geht in den Lüften ein Brausen durch's Land,  
Wie geächteter Rechte Klagen.  
Aus den Catskills kommt's, wo die Eichen weh'n,  
Aus Pennsylvanien's Gebreiten,  
Von den Tannen an Minnesota's See'n,  
Aus Texas waldigen Weiten,  
Aus den Föhren und Fichten bricht es hervor  
In Colorado's Gesteinen,

Aus den Rotholzriesen am Goldenen Tor,  
 Aus den Cedern in Florida's Hainen,  
 Aus Ost und West, aus Süd und Nord,  
 Durch Klüfte und Felsen und Felder  
 Erschwillt er im donnernden Sturmakkord—  
 Der Racheruf der Wälder!  
 Wir wuchsen und wachten viel tausend Jahr'  
 Bei der Wildnis rotem Sohne;  
 Wir boten ihm Obdach und Waffe dar  
 Und Liebe ward uns zum Lohne.  
 Wir sproßten in Frieden, wir grüntem in Ehr',  
 Wir schützten und schirmten die Lande.  
 Da brachen die Bleichen waldein über's Meer  
 Und lösten die heiligen Bande.  
 Sie danken uns Heimat, sie danken uns Herd,  
 Die Bleichen, die Klugen, die Feinen.  
 Doch danklos verwüsten, von Habgier verzehrt,  
 Das Mark sie von Wäldern und Hainen!  
 Uns Hüter des Hochland's, uns Wächter der See'n,  
 Der Vorzeit heilspendende Erben,  
 Sie fällen uns herzlos in frevlem Vergeh'n.  
 Um Haufen von Gold zu erwerben;  
 Doch eh' wir zerbrochen, als lebloses Gut,  
 Der Habsucht uns fügen zum Dache,  
 Hört, Sturm, uns, und Erde und Feuer und Flut,  
 Euch rufen herbei wir zur Rache!  
 Ihr seid uns Genossen seit ewiger Zeit;  
 Die Urkraft, euch lieb sie die Waffen,  
 D'rum sollt Ihr Vergeltung im rächenden Streit  
 Am Werke der Menschen uns schaffen.  
 Was immer gezimmert aus unserm Gebein,  
 Der Städte Getümm und Gemäuer,  
 Reiß es ein, du, o Sturm, reiß es ein, reiß es ein!  
 Verzehre in Flammen es, Feuer!  
 Die Brücken der Ströme, die Schiffe im Meer,  
 Mit unserem Herzblut errichtet!  
 Verschling sie, o Flut, bis Wälle und Wehr  
 Verstrudelt, verstrandet, vernichtet!  
 Verschütte, o Erde, du, Mine und Schacht,  
 Die deinem Schoße entragen! . . .  
 Auf! Auf! Ihr Genossen der Nacht, zur Schlacht,  
 Bis die Werke der Menschen zerschlagen!

So hallt es und schallt es im nächtlichen Chor



Durch Klüfte und Felsen und Felder,  
 Vom Hudson landein bis zum Goldenen Tor:  
 Der Schrei der geächteten Wälder.—  
 Und täglich und stündlich erstarrt uns das Blut,  
 Wenn neu uns die Kunden umwogen,  
 Daß Sturmwind und Erde, daß Feuer und Flut  
 Die Rache der Wälder vollzogen.<sup>16</sup>

## The Konrad Nies Collection

So far the only access to Nies was provided through his published works *Funken* (1891), *Rosen im Schnee* (1900), *Deutsche Gaben* (1900), *Aus westlichen Weiten* (1905), *Welt und Wildnis* (1921) and a few anthologies of German-American poetry which can be found in any well-stocked library in the United States. The newly discovered Konrad Nies Collection at the German Society of Pennsylvania now creates access to one of the most neglected, but also one of the most rewarding areas of literary research within German-Americana. It not only enlightens us about Nies and his works, but also reveals to us the existence of a well-connected circle of authors and intellectuals of which he was a crucial part. At the moment the Konrad Nies manuscript collection is being organized and archived. The author of this article will be working on several publications over the next two to three years.

*University of Pennsylvania*  
 Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

## Appendix 1: The Konrad Nies Collection

The collection comprises approximately five feet of documents, among which the following items are the most important:

1. two diaries:
  - a. 29 August 1907 - 21 October 1913
  - b. 11 February 1906 - 18 August 1907
2. letters by Nies to:
  - a. Adolf Levi - 34
  - b. his manager Petersen - 20
  - c. Bertha und Louise Schmitz - 5
  - d. Anna Nitschke - 1
  - e. Frieda Liess - 5
3. letters to Nies from:
  - a. Marie von Stoffela - 7
  - b. Margarethe Halm - 10
  - c. Fanny Bloomfield Zeisler - 12

- d. Clara Adles-Wolfstein - 13
  - e. Anna Nitschke - 13
  - f. Herman Alexander - 1 to Nies; 1 to Nies's wife
  - g. Theodor Kirchhoff - 1
  - h. publisher Ronge - 33
4. correspondence with publishers Baumert & Ronge, Reclam, Härtel
  5. Nies's guest book
  6. manuscripts of published and unpublished poetry
  7. fragments of short stories or novels
  8. some dramatic fragments
  9. several hundred newspaper clippings about Nies collected by Nies
  10. photographs and postcards of Nies and his female friends
  11. bedside notes from the German Hospital in San Francisco
  12. "Poesiealbum" with entries by the greats of his time: Bertha von Suttner, Rudolf Cronau, Udo Brachvogel, Carl Schurz, Herman Alexander, Ludwig Fulda, Ernst Henrici, Georg Sylvester Viereck, Theodor Kirchhoff, and many more
  13. a few books and journals of Nies's possession
  14. paraphernalia

## Appendix 2: Selected Bibliography

### 1. Works by Konrad Nies

- Funken*. Großenhain and Leipzig: Verlag von Baumert und Ronge, 1891.
- Deutsche Gaben*. St. Louis: Verlag der C. Witterschen Buchhandlung, 1900.
- Im Zeichen der Freiheit*. 1902.
- Die herrlichen Drei*. Indianapolis: Nordamerikanischer Turnerbund, 1905.
- Rosen im Schnee: Ein deutsch-amerikanisches Weibnachtsspiel in vier Bildern*. St. Louis: C. Witter, 1900.
- Aus westlichen Weiten*. Großenhain and Leipzig: Verlag von Baumert und Ronge, 1905.
- Welt und Wildnis*. Leipzig: Verlag von W. Härtel & Co. Nachf., 1921.
- Deutsch-Amerikanische Dichtung*, edited by Nies. New York: Verlag von Herm. Rosenthal & Co., 1888-89.

### 2. Works Treating Konrad Nies

- Burger, A. *Bibliographie der schönen Literatur Hessens*. 1907.
- Cronau, Rudolf. *Drei Jahrhunderte deutschen Lebens in America*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1909.
- von Elpons, Werner. "Über Konrad Nies." *Die Neue Zeit* 9 (1928): 41.
- Erckmann, Fritz. "Konrad Nies, ein vergessener Alzeier Dichter." *Sonderdruck der Rheinbessischen Volksblätter* (18 January 1933).



- Friedrichs, Elisabeth. *Literarische Lokalgrößen 1700-1900: Verzeichnis der in regionalen Lexika und Sammelwerken aufgeführten Schriftsteller* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1967).
- Harris, E. P., and D. H. Tolzmann, "An Unpublished Letter of Nies to H. H. Fick." *German-American Studies* 8 (1974).
- Jockers, Ernst. "Deutschamerikanische Dichtung" *Der Auslandsdeutsche—Mitteilungen des Deutschen Auslandsinstituts* (1929).
- Leser, L. L. *Deutsche Dichtkunst in den Vereinigten Staaten: Das Buch der Deutschen in Amerika*. Philadelphia: Walther's Buchdruckerei, 1909.
- Neeff, G. A. *Vom Lande des Sternenbanners*. Heidelberg, 1905.
- Thomas, C. R. Walther. "Konrad Nies." *Dictionary of American Biography*.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Konrad Nies: Ein deutscher Dichter in Amerika." Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1933.
- Ward, Robert E. "Konrad Nies: German-American Literary Knight." *German-American Studies* 3 (1971).

## Acknowledgments

I wish to thank Prof. Karl F. Otto, Jr. (University of Pennsylvania) and Walter Andonov for their valuable editorial assistance and in particular Prof. Frank Trommler (University of Pennsylvania) and Dr. Elliott Shore (Bryn Mawr College) who have kindly included me in their German Society project and without whom I would not have discovered the Konrad Nies *Nachlass*. The German Society Library project is sponsored by the Thyssen, Bosch and Krupp Foundations, the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the University of Pennsylvania as well as the German Society of Pennsylvania.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> The documents were discovered by the author of this article in October 1997.

<sup>2</sup> Valentin Traudt, *Erwinia: Monatsblätter des literarischen Vereins "Alfabund"* (Straßburg i. E.), 1 October 1899.

<sup>3</sup> Konrad Nies, ed., *Deutsch-Amerikanische Dichtung* (New York: Verlag von Herm. Rosenthal und Co., 1888-89).

<sup>4</sup> Konrad Nies, *Funken* (Großenhain and Leipzig: Verlag von Baumert und Ronge, 1891).

<sup>5</sup> In his diary entry of 17 August 1906 Nies reports the following about Bertha von Suttner: "Von meinem Aufenthalt in Reichenhall habe ich noch Vieles nachzuholen. Zunächst muß ich berichten vom Besuch Berthas von Suttner, die 8 Tage lang Gast von Rechtsanwalt Nathan war. Ich war während der Zeit fast jeden Tag dort zum Essen eingeladen. Um 3 Uhr am Nachmittag stand dann gewöhnlich der Wagen bereit, der die Baronin und mich in die Berge nach irgendeinem bekannten Ausflugspunkte brachte. Es waren höchst genussreiche Stunden, die ich auf diese Weise in der Gesellschaft der berühmten Frau erleben durfte. Sie gab sich sehr natürlich und einfach. In ihrer Konversation merkte man ihr kaum die geistreiche Frau an. Sie ist leider nicht mehr jung, hat graues Haar und ist sehr stark. Anfangs war sie etwas kühl, wenn auch gleich äußerlich höchst liebenswürdig. Nach und nach taute sie auf unseren Spazierfahrten immer mehr auf. Und zuletzt verkehrten wir wie zwei alte Freunde zusammen." Bertha von Suttner (1843-1914) was an Austrian writer and pacifist. Her two novels *Die Waffen nieder!* (1889) and *Martha's Kinder* (1893), persuaded large numbers of people to join the peace movement. Her initiative helped inspire the foundation of the Nobel Peace Prize, which she received herself in 1905.

<sup>6</sup> Konrad Nies, *Aus westlichen Weiten* (Großenhain and Leipzig: Verlag von Baumert und Ronge, 1905).

<sup>7</sup> The Konrad Nies manuscript collection includes a photograph of Olga Khripunova and a postcard from her in German. Before the Russian Revolution most of the nobility were fluent in several languages which allowed them to travel extensively. In Nies's poetry collection *Welt und Wildnis* we find the following sonnet dedicated to Olga under the title "Olja," the Russian nickname for Olga:

Verschleiert träumt dein Aug', als trüg's ein Schein  
Von deiner Heimat Steppen, von den weiten.  
Wie sie, durch die der Wolga Wogen gleiten,  
Voll stiller Größe ist dein ganzes Sein.

Und deine Elfenhand, so vornehm klein,  
Sie kann solch großes Märchenglück bereiten,  
Wenn heiß der Liebe Blitz voll Seligkeiten  
In dein tartarisch Fürstenblut schlägt ein.

Jung, stolz, voll Rasse; frei von Mädchenränken,  
Berührt dich nur, was tief und lebensecht.  
Wo kleine Seelen scheu die Waffen senken,

Steht deine Großmut furchtlos im Gefecht.  
Mag kühl auch dein Verstand dein Glück beschränken,

<sup>8</sup> See Ludwig Fulda, "Amerikanische Eindrücke," *Neue Freie Presse*, 4 September 1906.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> According to La Vern J. Rippley there were over 800 German publications around 1894. La Vern J. Rippley, *The German-Americans* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1976), 161.

<sup>11</sup> See L. L. Leser, *Deutsche Dichtkunst in den Vereinigten Staaten: Das Buch der Deutschen in Amerika* (Philadelphia, 1909); Konrad Nies, ed., *Deutsch-Amerikanische Dichtung* (New York, 1888-89); and Rudolf Cronau, *Deutsche in Amerika* (1909).

<sup>12</sup> Nies collected several hundred newspaper articles about himself from the German and English press; most of them are glued into scrap books and give excellent insight into his reception as a prominent writer.

<sup>13</sup> *Das deutsche Lied* in its original was also discovered in the German Society of Pennsylvania together with some of Rudolf Cronau's correspondence.

<sup>14</sup> From some of his correspondence we know that Nies's colony for which he had chosen the name "Luginsland" was supposed to be a non-profit business and mainly self-sustained.

<sup>15</sup> We know this from some study notes on theosophy, which are part of the Konrad Nies collection. Included were also a few newspaper articles on the theories of vegetarianism and healthy life-styles.

<sup>16</sup> Printed in Konrad Nies, *Welt und Wildnis* (Leipzig: W. Härtel und Co., 1921); also in *Columbia: Monatsschrift zur Förderung des deutsch-amerikanischen Exporthandels und zur Pflege freundschaftlicher Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und den Vereinigten Staaten*, 15 June 1904, in a slightly varied form as well as in several poetry anthologies of the time. The Manuscript Collection of the Library of Congress contains an English translation of "Die Rache der Wälder" by J. P. Goetz.



Lawrence Klippenstein

### **Canadian Mennonite Writings: A Survey of Selected Published Titles, 1981-97**

This survey will update, in part, a similar bibliographic summary for the decade of the 1970s published about fifteen years ago.<sup>1</sup> As at that time, the focus now will be primarily on studies in literature, language, history and sociology as the currently dominant (though not at all the only) areas of Mennonite research, and also the ones with which this author is most familiar. A few references may overlap somewhat with the earlier report, and some very recent publications may not have made it in this time around.

For those not conversant with the Mennonite story it may be useful to provide a very brief note on the history and composition of the Canadian Mennonite community as a whole.<sup>2</sup> Its first families came to the province of Ontario in Canada from Pennsylvania in the United States around 1786. This group actually had direct European roots in that the forebears of these families had come from Switzerland and southern Germany a century or more earlier.<sup>3</sup>

A considerably larger contingent of so-called Russian Mennonites, about 7,000 in all, emigrated from southern Russia (now Ukraine) to Manitoba in the 1870s.<sup>4</sup> Several later emigrations from the Soviet Union, notably in the 1920s after the Russian Revolution and Civil War, and in the late 1940s after World War II, added about 30,000 persons to that original body of immigrants. Some of these Russian Mennonites also settled in Ontario, but the majority of them moved on to Western Canada, in the main to Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Today the total of their descendants still thinking of themselves as Mennonites, and spread all across Canada by now, may number 250,000 or more.<sup>5</sup>

Academic writing and the creation of belles lettres did not really begin among Canadian Mennonites until after World War I.<sup>6</sup> Researchers of these early efforts suggest that it was in fact a group of Russian Mennonite emigré *literati*, trying to come to terms with their foreign environment who began this type of writing in the late 1920s and the decade following.<sup>7</sup> Such conclusions may need

revising after more thorough research on literary activity prior to World War I has been completed, but until then this can remain a working thesis with some weight of evidence behind it.

The recent republication of some of those materials, many of them originally self-published by their authors, is an area of activity which pertains specifically to this discussion.<sup>8</sup> The most ambitious of these projects has been the production of a four-volume collection of the works of Arnold Dyck, a poet, novelist and editor from Steinbach, Manitoba.<sup>9</sup> Dyck, a Russian Mennonite from the Old Colony of Chortitza (actually Jasykovo) on the Dnieper River, and emigré too of the 1920s, was possibly the most prolific writer of the *literati* referred to above.<sup>10</sup> The editors of this four-volume new edition, totalling about 2,000 pages, were Al Reimer, George K. Epp, Harry Loewen, Elisabeth Peters, and Victor Doerksen, all professors at the University of Winnipeg or the University of Manitoba at that time.<sup>11</sup>

Most of the writings of Dyck's colleague, Gerhard Friesen (using Fritz Senn as a pen name) had been similarly republished somewhat earlier. They appeared in a volume of poems edited by Victor Doerksen<sup>12</sup> with a shorter collection of Friesen's poetry already published in 1974.<sup>13</sup> Elisabeth Peters had served as editor of that volume which had, in fact, been sponsored by the Society for the Preservation of the German Language, still functioning as a Mennonite organization at the time. These were not new materials, as was stated, but in the view of the editors were worth "introducing" to a wider, hopefully also a younger, reading audience than had been the case originally.<sup>14</sup>

It is noteworthy perhaps that all the above-mentioned titles were issued in the German language. Indeed in the case of Dyck, two of the four volumes containing his complete works (volumes 2 and 3) remain essentially unchanged in the Mennonite Low German dialect as they came from his pen. Efforts are being made to translate some of these Low German works into English. Critics do contend, of course, that much that was the genius of Dyck in word painting his unique portraits of Mennonite characters (such as Koop en Bua) will be lost in the process.<sup>15</sup>

This may be the place to say again that the so-called Mennonite dialect, Low German (or *Plautdietsch*), has itself become a topic of considerable interest in some circles. Local communities in areas of Mennonite population (notably in Western Canada) continue to enjoy the presentation of Low German dramas and musical renditions, but other writing using the dialect has been done in academic circles as well.

Some of the best examples of serious research on the use of Low German are the collection of folk songs gathered and published by Doreen Klassen, and Victor Friesen's additional collection of nursery rhymes, proverbs and other sayings common to many Canadian Mennonite communities as well as those in other countries such as Mexico, Paraguay, Brazil and Bolivia. Some basic elements in the development of the language (its history and spelling) have been set forth in two works by Reuben Epp in Kelowna, British Columbia.<sup>16</sup>



Two dictionaries of Low German, one by Jack Thiessen, professor emeritus at the University of Winnipeg, and the other by Herman Rempel of Morden, Manitoba, certainly need to be mentioned here also.<sup>17</sup> One may note as well *A Sackful of Plautdietsch*<sup>18</sup> with its potpourri of short stories and poems, and the book by Ted Klassen and Gerhard Peters, *Kobmt met no Expob* (Come with us to Expo).<sup>19</sup> A number of Jack Thiessen's stories have been translated by Andreas Schroeder and published as *The Eleventh Commandment*, or in a book written jointly by Thiessen and Victor Peters titled *Plautdietsche Jeschichte* (Low German Stories). A quite serious book of stories about mission work has been published by Dr. Jacob Loewen of Abbotsford, British Columbia.<sup>20</sup>

Creative literary work produced in the Mennonite scholarly community is quickening its pace, and finding recognition within a wider Canadian literary community. This means that traditional Mennonite depictions are frequently being incorporated as such within the treatment of more universal themes. Al Reimer's ambitious and well-researched novel about Mennonites in tsarist Russia, *My Harp is Turned to Mourning*, for instance, quickly found a nearly bestseller kind of reader interest not only among Mennonites but in other circles also.<sup>21</sup> Major new anthologies are available now with the appearance of Hildi Thiesen's collection of Mennonite short stories, *Liars and Rascals*, and the publication of a special edition of *Prairie Fire: A Magazine of Canadian Writing* subtitled "New Mennonite Writers."<sup>22</sup>

The writings of Armin Wiebe, originally also from southern Manitoba, deserve a note of their own in this regard. First we were given his novel, *The Salvation of Jasch Siemens* (so controversial that at least one major Mennonite bookstore refused to market it), then came a second novel, *Murder in Gutental: A Schnepa Knjals Mystery*, and most recently, to finish a trilogy, *The Second Coming of Yeeat Shpanst*. Deeply rooted in a southern Manitoba setting, with "Low Germanisms" liberally sprinkled in throughout, Wiebe evokes the "plain people ethos" of Mennonite communities on a level that seems to irritate some readers, yet appears to inspire and challenge, certainly amuse, many others.<sup>23</sup>

One could probably say the same thing about the short stories of Doug Reimer, based on his growing-up experiences in another southern Manitoba village, *Darp Aultneiv* (Altona village), and also about Lois Braun's writings composed in the same general community, but less dependent on that "hominess" for its thematics and local colour.<sup>24</sup> Two new books titled *Born Hutterite* and *Dance Like a Poor Man* written by an ex-Hutterite, Samuel Hofer, might be mentioned here as well.<sup>25</sup>

At this point one must certainly also note the growing list of works of a dozen or more other new writers, raised in small Mennonite communities, for the most part, introspective and highly self-conscious, as well as anxious to link themselves to a wider world of thought and life. Some readers comment on a pronounced bent to criticism of their upbringing, an overtly rebellious tone in much of the material. The majority of these writers seem to have made their debut in literature as poets, often with their first, and then additional volumes



of writing published by Winnipeg's Turnstone Press. Their names are established by now—Pat Friesen, David Waltner-Toews and Victor Enns among the early ones, then Di Brandt, Audrey Poetker, John Weier and Sarah Klassen. These names do not exhaust the list, as younger writers (like David Bergen and Glenn Bergen) enter the scene.<sup>26</sup>

The range of titles authored by Mennonites in the past decade and a half may suggest that history is in fact really the forte of most writers in this community. Some have thought this is so because history can be used so readily to undergird a collective community ego and to build a self-gratifying public image. There may be some uncomfortable truth in that but this view may remain uncontested for now. One can nevertheless report that a very substantial amount of historical research and writing has in fact occurred, and is continuing at the present time.<sup>27</sup>

Since my earlier survey of 1980, MacMillan of Canada has published the second volume of *Mennonites in Canada*, written by the late Frank H. Epp of Waterloo, Ontario, author also of the first volume in a new projected four-volume series. Very recently the University of Toronto Press has also published the third volume done by Ted D. Regehr, formerly of the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon. This volume covers the years 1939-70. A one-volume more popular version of the story has been proposed, but the sponsor of this ambitious project, the Mennonite Historical Society of Canada, has taken no action on such a project as yet. Andreas Schroeder's *The Mennonites: A Pictorial History of Their Lives in Canada* published a bit hastily, some thought, in the context of the Mennonite World Conference of 1990, may point in that direction already. Another book of photographs and appropriate commentary, *Meditations on a Place and a Way of Life*, prepared by Ken Loewen and Margaret Loewen Reimer, fits this genre also. A book of essays resulting from a symposium on Canadian nationalism and Mennonites edited by Abe J. Dueck and titled *Canadian Mennonites and the Challenge of Nationalism* (1994) illustrated the kind of topical studies which had preceded the multiple-volume set.<sup>28</sup>

Community and institutional histories have formed a significant strong supplement to the sweeping macro approach of *Mennonites in Canada Vol. I-III*. Gerhard J. Ens's study of the Mennonite Collegiate Institute in Gretna, Manitoba, and his earlier work on the Rural Municipality of Rhineland (also in Manitoba) were well-researched, if not widely distributed as yet. One can say that also of Sam Steiner's quite new history of the Rockway Mennonite Collegiate in Kitchener, Ontario.<sup>29</sup> At the same time such titles as the telling of the story of a small town, Altona, by Esther Epp-Tiessen, Garry and Gaile Whelan Enns's similar documentation of Gretna's history, and above all Royden Loewen's very ambitiously-conceived and well-written book on Blumenort, a Mennonite village of the former East Reserve (now Hanover Municipality, again Manitoba) provide inspiring models for what local histories are all about, and how they ought to be put together.



Loewen's more recent highly-acclaimed work, *Family, Church and Market: A Mennonite Community in the Old and the New Worlds, 1850-1930* offers a larger perspective much needed for more local writings. The award-winning and professionally-crafted monograph by Adolf Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?: The Mennonite Experience in Canada, 1870-1925*, also places its definitive details within a broader perspective of national historical analysis and the larger Mennonite experience in Canada.<sup>30</sup>

In the area of church history Jack Heppner wrote *In Search of Renewal: The Story of the Rudnerweide EMMC 1937-1987*, Peter Zacharias authored *Footprints of a Pilgrim People: Story of the Blumenort Mennonite Church* (a "West Reserve" congregation), William Neufeld did *From Faith to Faith: The History of the Manitoba Mennonite Brethren Church*, and Cornelia Lehn wrote *Frontier Challenge: A Story of the Conference of Mennonites in British Columbia*. These examples have been supplemented by Harvey Plett's *Seeking to Be Faithful: The Story of the Evangelical Mennonite Conference* and a well-done volume, *In Search of Unity: Story of the Conference of Mennonites in Manitoba* by Anna Ens of Winnipeg, Manitoba. Several historical treatments of Mennonite Central Committee organizations should be mentioned here as well.<sup>31</sup>

In this overview the written output of Delbert Plett, an attorney from Steinbach, Manitoba, in his six-volume *The Mennonite Kleingemeinde Historical Series* exists in a class by itself. Now totalling nearly 3,000 pages in all, and not yet completed (at least one more volume has been promised), this corpus of documents, interpretive essays, maps, genealogical portraits and other related materials (though no photos) represents the most ambitious undertaking of its kind in Canadian Mennonite historical research and publication. When Plett's family book, *Plett Picture Book: A Pictorial History of the Children and Grandchildren of Cornelius Plett (1820-1900) and Sara Loewen (1822-1903)*, and the most recent of his two novels titled *Sarah's Prairie* are added to this list, one realizes that the limits of personal productivity are well beyond what we may have thought them to be until now.<sup>32</sup>

In addition Plett has been promoting an even broader publication program under the umbrella of the Hanover Steinbach Historical Society in a series edited by John Dyck of Winnipeg, Manitoba. The East Reserve Historical Series, focussed on furthering local history writing, now includes three published titles, with a fourth being prepared for the press. The Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society has launched a similar local history series, the West Reserve Historical Series, again under the general editorship of John Dyck, with the publication of *Reinländer Gemeinde Buch 1880-1903*, and a second one in the series going to press shortly also.<sup>33</sup>

Several chapters of Sam Steiner's biography, *Vicarious Pioneer: The Life of Jacob Y. Shantz*, contribute significantly to the story of Mennonite immigration to Manitoba in the 1870s. Shantz was a leader of that move to western Canada.<sup>34</sup> The details about his part in founding the town of Didsbury, Alberta, form an interesting additional facet of that study. Somewhat earlier John B. Toews of



Vancouver, BC, gave us the biography of Rev. Benjamin B. Janz, an important community leader from Coaldale, Alberta.<sup>35</sup> *Stumbling Heavenward: The Extraordinary Life of an Ordinary Man, Peter Rempel*, written by Urie A. Bender and dealing with Youth Orientation Units, has an Alberta setting as well.<sup>36</sup>

A very large segment of current historical research among Canadian Mennonites deals with what one could call "the Russian ( and Ukrainian) experience." These chapters of trials and triumphs are still being retold again and again as personal experiences by thousands of persons who lived there at one time. Many of these "survivors" retell these stories often to their children and grandchildren if they will sit long enough to listen.<sup>37</sup> The year 1989 was the two-hundredth anniversary of Mennonite life in tsarist and Soviet Russia.<sup>38</sup> That anniversary was celebrated with several special symposia in Canada and Germany, while Mennonites in the Soviet Union had their own commemorative celebrations to help remember and reflect on their pioneer as well as more recent recent and far more difficult years.<sup>39</sup>

Two highly significant historical studies related to this theme appeared almost simultaneously. First came James Urry's study of the first century of Mennonite life in Russia.<sup>40</sup> It was quickly followed by a volume of essays assembled "in honour of Gerhard Lohrenz," a long-time teller of Russian Mennonite stories, and edited by John J. Friesen from the Canadian Mennonite Bible College in Winnipeg, Manitoba.<sup>41</sup> Urry brought forward a somewhat revisionist interpretation, while Friesen's work took a more inclusive "state of the art" approach that covered the entire two-hundred-year period under both the tsars and the Soviets. The projected three-volume German-language work on Russian Mennonites (1788-1917) by George K. Epp of Winnipeg will significantly augment these treatments. Logos Publications has just published the first volume. John B. Toews's treatment titled *Czars, Soviets and Mennonites*, along with his shorter study on the founding (ca. 1860) of the Mennonite Brethren Church in Russia, followed a series of articles and other studies which together gained for the author an unchallenged place of prominence in research and writing on Russian and Ukrainian Mennonites undertaken in the past fifteen years.<sup>43</sup>

In the late 1970s several translations of German-language publications and manuscripts signalled renewed interest in Russian Mennonite research. First came *A Russian Dance of Death*, written originally in German by Diedrich Neufeld, and now translated by Al Reimer at the University of Winnipeg. He did Hans Harder's *In Vologdas Weißen Wäldern* next as *No Strangers in Exile*.<sup>44</sup> Not long afterwards Peter Pauls prepared a translation of Peter Epp's *Eine Mutter*, and it appeared as *Agatchen: A Russian Mennonite Mother's Story*.<sup>45</sup>

The publication of diary and memoiristic material has added much detailed and interesting material to the larger story. One example is the publication of excerpts from the extensive diaries of one Peter J. Dyck from the village of Ladekopp of the Molotschna settlement. Edited by his son John, of Springstein, Manitoba, these fragments became the exciting work titled *Troubles and Triumphs 1914-1924*. The Mennonite Historical Society of Canada then published



a portion of the diaries of a young woman, Anna Baerg, written in the same general area and during part of the same period.

The University of Toronto brought out a much more extensive portion of diary documentation prepared by Dr. Harvey Dyck of Toronto from the writings of a mid-nineteenth century Mennonite minister, Jacob Epp, who lived in the so-called *Judenplan* (Jewish quarter) settlement not far from Krivoi Rog in Ukraine.<sup>46</sup> Another minister, Aron Toews, had succeeded during the 1930s in preserving his diary during his term of Siberian exile where he died. It would eventually appear as part of his biography, *Einer von Vielen* (One of Many) done by his daughter, Olga Rempel. Another Mennonite minister, (Peter) Isaak Derksen of Felsenbach village, west of the Old Colony, wrote his memoirs only after he could leave the Soviet Union to move to Germany in the 1970s. His work titled *Es wurde wieder ruhig: Die Lebensgeschichte eines mennonitischen Predigers in der Sowjetunion* was then edited and published in Canada.<sup>46</sup> Helene Dueck's *Durch Trübsal und Not* (Through Sufferings and Pain) fits the picture here as well.

Gerhard Thiessen, a Mennonite estate owner, kept other records which descendants in Leamington, Ontario, decided to publish as his *Diary from the Years 1907-1912*.<sup>47</sup> A woman's personal view of Mennonite estate experiences and the trials of those who saw this way of life destroyed by the Communists became public when Helen Goossen Friesen's personal notes appeared as *Day-dreams and Nightmares: Life on the Wintergrün Estate*.<sup>48</sup> In the category of memoirs one must mention also the story of another elder from south Russia, Heinrich Winter. His biography was prepared in a German edition by his son Heinrich, also of Leamington, Ontario, and sold out very quickly. It was then reissued in English as *A Shepherd of the Oppressed: Heinrich Winter the Last Ältester of Chortitza*.<sup>49</sup> John P. Nickel translated his father's diary and sermons so he could ultimately publish the volume *Hope Springs Eternal: A Legacy of Love and Service in Russia During Difficult Times*. The same author went on to translate accounts of refugee experiences and publish them in *Hope Beyond the Horizon: Stories by Mennonite Refugees Fleeing the Soviet Union* (1996).<sup>50</sup>

The trilogy produced by Karl Fast of Winnipeg is also an important contribution to this body of material. First he reissued his autobiographical work titled *Geht der Wahrheit die Ehre* (1989), focussing on his prison experience in the Soviet Union, then he did *Lass dir an meiner Gnade genügen* (1989), a biographical volume on his mother, and finally, *Orenburg: Die letzte mennonitische Ansiedlung in Europa* (1995). Some readers may want to know also about *Snowborne: The Siberian Chronicles of Henry Schulz*, dealing with a region of Russia that needs a broader study as far as the Mennonite experience is concerned. The photo albums on Mennonite life in Russia and Ukraine published several decades ago by Walter Quiring (1960s) and Gerhard Lohrenz (1970s) have now been uniquely expanded by Rudy Friesen's spotlight on architecture in the book *Into the Past: Buildings of the Mennonite Commonwealth* (1996).<sup>51</sup>

In this context one needs to draw attention to the efforts of at least six small



independent publishing ventures that have made significant contributions in the area under consideration here. One is known as CMBC Publications, founded at Canadian Mennonite Bible College in Winnipeg around 1974. A large number of its titles fall into the field of history with an emphasis again on Russian Mennonite studies.<sup>52</sup> The same publisher is involved as partner in a more recent and somewhat different project in which fourteen out-of-print German-language volumes on Russian Mennonites are being republished in English. They were originally produced by Arnold Dyck's Echo Verlag (Echo Publishers) of Steinbach, Manitoba. The Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society is co-sponsor of this series. Seven titles have appeared so far.<sup>53</sup>

Windflower Communication's director, Gilbert Brandt, was able recently to list at least fifteen titles that his new Winnipeg publishing firm (actually called Henderson Books) has produced since its founding in 1990. These included an art book, *Balancing the Clouds*, edited by John Unrau, several novels such as Victor Thiessen's *The Sign of the Manipogo*, Hilda Dueck's *An Orphan's Song*, a number of children's books, and John Friesen's study of several former Mennonite settlements in present-day Ukraine, *Against the Wind. The Story of Four Mennonite Villages* published in 1994.<sup>54</sup>

Sand Hill Books Inc. St. Jacobs, Ontario, does not have a long list of titles off the press, but its productions are of excellent quality and set a high standard of publication. In 1981 they published a collection of Peter Gerhard Rempel's photographs of Mennonites in Russia, titled *Forever Summer, Forever Sunday*. It was edited by Paul Tiessen, who teamed up with his wife, Hildi, and then put out *A Sunday Afternoon: Paintings by Henry Pauls* ten years later.<sup>55</sup>

Two other significant Mennonite publishers in Canada are the Centre for Mennonite Brethren Studies and Kindred Publications, both headquartered in Winnipeg. The Centre could provide a list of at least sixteen titles for the period 1980-1995. John A. Toews's *People of the Way* (1981) headed this list. Abraham H. Neufeld's translated edition of *Herman and Kathrine: Their Story* appeared in 1984 as the third item. The most recent title to be published by the Centre was the fourth volume of the *Mennonitische Rundschau Index* (1997), edited by Alf Redekopp.<sup>56</sup>

Kindred Publications has done a number of volumes written by we Mennonites, but its series *Perspectives on Mennonite Life and Thought* does include *Mennonite Martyrs*, translated and edited by John B. Toews, and Peter Penner's thorough study of Mennonite Brethren missions in India. Not in the series, but also from Kindred Publications was a book by Herbert and Maureen Klassen on C. F. Klassen. An upcoming possibly 1998 volume is a book of documents produced by Mennonite Brethren communities in Russia and the Soviet Union, translated and edited by Abe Dueck, director of the Centre of Mennonite Brethren Studies.<sup>57</sup>

Steinbach's *Mennonitische Post* publications relate to its main product, the German-language newspaper, *Mennonitische Post*, begun in 1977. Most recently the *Post* brought out a bilingually texted folk art volume of sketches done by



Sarah Unger de Peters, and related to the seventy-fifth anniversary of Mennonites in Mexico. The editor was Abe Warkentin, also editor of the *Post*, who had already prepared and published a comprehensive photo collection on Latin American Mennonites about a decade earlier.<sup>58</sup>

When the focus is shifted to sociological works one finds numerous titles on Mennonites revealing an ethnic accent. Examples of such studies are the work of Cal Redekopp, J. Winfield Fretz, Donovan Smucker and especially Leo Driedger who has become a kind of pace-setter in research and publication during the past decade or more. To his credit belongs *Mennonite Identity in Conflict*, to which he added a shorter more popular survey entitled *Mennonites in Winnipeg* which could be viewed as a kind of prospectus suggesting broader studies on various topics outlined in its half dozen chapters or more.<sup>59</sup>

The question of identity surfaced similarly in a collection of autobiographical essays edited by Harry Loewen titled *Why I am a Mennonite: Essays on Mennonite Identity*.<sup>60</sup> Soon after that, in 1989, J. Winfield Fretz drew together much of his research done while working at Conrad Grebel College in Waterloo, Ontario and then published *The Waterloo Mennonites: A Community in Paradox*. It is described as "a sociological history of the large Mennonite and Amish community in the Waterloo area." His colleagues, Calvin Redekop and Sam Steiner, had just edited and published a collection of essays which appeared as *Mennonite Identity: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*. Redekop, who had already written on the topic of Mennonite and aboriginal relations in South America and several themes related to that work and its effects, followed up these efforts now with a wider-ranging and again more Mennonite-oriented volume, *Mennonite Society*.<sup>61</sup>

Another sociologist from Conrad Grebel College, Donovan Smucker, attempted to update his bibliographical efforts in this field with a second volume of annotated listings, *The Sociology of Mennonites, Hutterites and Amish: A Bibliography with Annotations*. A comparative motif also nurtured an important study undertaken from a political science perspective in William Janzen's *The Limits of Liberty in Canada: The Experiences of Mennonites, Hutterites and Doukhobours* published by the University of Toronto Press in 1990.<sup>62</sup>

Women's studies have been taking their place unapologetically within the broader socio-historical scene. On the one hand there now exists a growing list of memoiristic materials like Helen Janzen's *Memories*, Anna Paetkau's *Memories and Reflections of a Widow*, *Under His Wings: Events in the Lives of Elder Alexander Ediger and His Family* by Katharina Ediger, Helene Wiebe's *und dennoch glücklich*; two books by Elisabeth Peters, *Erzählungen aus dem mennonitischen Leben* and *Wem Gott will rechte Gunst erweisen . . .*; Anny Goerzen's *Anny: In Gottes Armen geboren*, and writings by A. E. Heidi Koop, such as her recent *Surviving the Medical Maze* and an earlier work *The Hell of God's Call* published by Spitzli Publications.<sup>63</sup>

Biographers and academics are doing analyses and interpretive works at another level. Some examples here are Lorraine Roth's *Willing Service: Stories of*



*Ontario Mennonite Women; The Work of Their Hands: Mennonite Women's Societies in Canada* by Gloria Neufeld Redekop; and *Going by the Moon and the Stars: Stories of Two Russian Mennonite Women*, by Pamela E. Klassen. Quite to the point here is another very new work which reaches into a larger field of research not really covered in this survey. This is a volume titled *Profiles of Anabaptist Women: Sixteenth-Century Reforming Pioneers*, edited by C. Arnold Snyder and Linda A. Huebert Hecht. It is listed as the third volume in the publisher's series "Studies in Women and Religion."<sup>64</sup>

Even a highly selective listing such as this (made necessarily with apologies to those whose work has not been mentioned) should make some room for reference works of various kinds. To begin with, a publication of Mennonite historical maps, prepared by William Schroeder and Helmut Huebert, was warmly received by many researchers, especially genealogists and teachers of Mennonite history. That was no less true of the two-volume atlas of the Manitoba Mennonites's East and West Reserve homesteading acreages, researched and released by the late John Rempel and William Harms, both of Altona, Manitoba.<sup>65</sup>

Among other reference materials should be noted the indexes of two well-established German Mennonite newspapers, *Der Bote* and *Mennonitische Rundschau*. Peter H. Rempel edited his second volume of *Der Bote Index*, covering the years 1948-63, while Bert Friesen and Alf Redekopp completed five volumes of an index to *Mennonitische Rundschau*.<sup>66</sup> A very professionally published second edition of an inventory of the Peter J. Braun archival collection from Odessa, Ukraine, edited by Ingrid Epp and Harvey L. Dyck, sets a high standard for other similar volumes of the future.<sup>67</sup> The first volume of a guide to the holdings of the Mennonite Heritage Centre Archives in Winnipeg, a directory of Mennonite archival centres throughout the world, and preliminary drafts of serials directories in several major Canadian Mennonite archival centres came off the press in the past decade also.<sup>68</sup>

## Conclusions

Researchers in Canadian Mennonite studies used to think they could keep up with the total output of publications related to this field. Not many may be doing that successfully now. If one were to include the many volumes published privately within the whole range of non-academic endeavours, the list of items would double and triple, perhaps to several hundred in the period of this survey alone. Research initiatives are being directed almost in every directions, and the question could be asked whether there is as much connecting between these disciplines as there might be.

In my earlier survey, it was suggested that someone ought to do a serious kind of "critical global review" of all this material—something not really attempted before, or in this essay either. By that was meant an analysis that would, for instance, look more carefully at the common themes that come through in this whirlwind of publishing activity, and perhaps wrestle with other important



questions not being addressed well enough, or not at all.

Some of all this voluminous research, amateur as it may at times seem to be, could be utilized in ways not attempted until now. Take genealogical studies, for example. Nothing has been said here about this huge corpus of data and publication.<sup>69</sup> Several hundred published titles and bulky unpublished manuscripts now relatively easy to access ought to provide substantial documentation for other kinds of studies—in demographics, perhaps, or the study of trends in family size, marriage patterns, etc.—all sociological dimensions, but there might be other approaches one could take as well. The political thought and actions of Mennonites have not been treated in depth as yet, nor has the historical development of Mennonite business enterprises been examined closely so far.<sup>70</sup>

It would be very helpful to extend a survey like this to include also the works of Mennonite musicians, psychologists, theologians, lawyers, physicians, and other professionals active in their fields. Perhaps in the near future this gap will be filled by someone qualified to take this broader approach to the literature as it extends to all areas by now. This fuller picture is needed to evaluate the significance of all this activity, as well as the direction it is taking the Mennonite community, and others connected with it in some way.<sup>71</sup>

*Mennonite Heritage Centre*  
Winnipeg, Manitoba

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> See Lawrence Klippenstein, "Canadian Mennonite Writings: A Bibliographical Survey, 1970-1980," *Mennonite Life* 37 (March 1982): 9 - 13.

<sup>2</sup> Ted D. Regehr, "Canada," *Mennonite Encyclopedia* (Scottsdale, PA and Kitchener, ON, 1990), 5:121-24. See also Rodney J. Sawatsky and Frank H. Epp, "Mennonites," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 2d rev. ed. (Edmonton, 1988), 2:1325-1326.

<sup>3</sup> Richard K. McMaster, *Land, Piety, Peoplehood: The Establishment of Mennonite Communities in America 1683-1790* (Scottsdale, PA; Kitchener, ON, 1985).

<sup>4</sup> William Schroeder, *The Bergthal Colony*, 2d rev. ed. (Winnipeg, MB, 1986).

<sup>5</sup> Utilizing fairly recent membership statistics, Margaret Loewen Reimer has portrayed the "Mennonite mosaic" in *One Quilt Many Pieces: A Concise Reference Guide to Mennonite Groups in Canada*, 3d rev. ed. (Waterloo, ON, 1990). A survey of the early years of Mennonite life in Canada is found in Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People* (Toronto, 1982). See also Krista Taves, "Reinterpreting the Old Mennonite/Russländer Encounter in 1924," *Ontario Mennonite History* 14 (March 1996): 6-14.

<sup>6</sup> See Harry Loewen, "Canadian Mennonite Literature: Longing for a New Homeland," in Walter E. Riedel, ed., *The Old and the New World: Literary Perspectives of German-Speaking Canadians* (Toronto, ON, 1984), 73-93.

<sup>7</sup> See George K. Epp, "German Mennonite Writing in Canada," in *Unter dem Nordlicht: Anthologie des deutschen Schrifttums der Mennoniten in Canada*, ed. George K. Epp and Heinrich Wiebe (Winnipeg, MB, 1977), ix-xxi.

<sup>8</sup> Arnold Dyck, the publisher of a German-language Mennonite newspaper, *Steinbach Post*, and creator of Echo Verlag (Echo Publishing) at Steinbach, Manitoba, probably did more than anyone to support these writers. He published much of their work on his press, while still leaving a lot to private "self-publishers" who could find no one like Dyck to publish what they had written. See

Kurt Kauenhoven, "Arnold Dyck, ein Blick auf sein Schaffen," *Mennonite Life* 14 (April 1959): 89-90, and Al Reimer, "The Role of Arnold Dyck in Canadian Mennonite Writing," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 9 (1991): 83-90.

<sup>9</sup> The four volumes contain almost all of Dyck's previously published works, as well as several pieces not published before, such as an autobiographical sketch, several letters, and some of his art work. See Arnold Dyck, *Collected Works/Werke*, 4 vols. (Winnipeg, MB, 1985-1990).

<sup>10</sup> Academic studies on the work of Arnold Dyck are found in Elisabeth Peters, "Der Mennonitendichter, Arnold Dyck in seinen Werken," (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1968), and in Catherine Joyce Froese Klassen, "The Unmasking of Arnold Dyck: An Exploration of the Dyck Letters," (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1991). A major portion of Dyck's original correspondence was recently archived at the Mennonite Heritage Centre in Winnipeg. See vols. 4557-4564.

<sup>11</sup> For a brief biography of Arnold Dyck see also Al Reimer, "Introduction," *Collected Works/Werke*, 1:1-13, and Elisabeth Peters, "Der Mennonitendichter . . .," 26-41. A brief discussion of the entire series is found in a book review by Gerhard Ens in *Mennonite Historian* 17 (March 1991): 8.

<sup>12</sup> Fritz Senn (Gerhard Johann Friesen), *Gesammelte Gedichte und Prosa* ed. Victor Doerken (Winnipeg, MB, 1987).

<sup>13</sup> Fritz Senn, *Das Dorf im Abendgrauen: Gedichte* ed. Elisabeth Peters (Winnipeg, MB, 1974).

<sup>14</sup> Discussion of these materials occurred in German newspapers such as *Der Bote*, first published in Rosthern, Saskatchewan, under the editorship of Diedrich H. Epp, and then in Saskatoon, SK, with Walter Quiring serving as editor. A writers' club of sorts emerged with the formation of a Mennonite writers' organization. See Henry Tessman, "Echo Verlag: The First Mennonite Book Club in Canada," *Mennonite Historian* 11 (December 1985): 1-2.

<sup>15</sup> For examples of translating Dyck's work into English see Al Reimer, "Koop and Bua Go Travelling," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 7 (1989): 51-70, and Arnold Dyck, *Two Letters: The Millionaire of Goatfield: Runde Koake*, trans. Elisabeth Peters (Steinbach, MB, 1980).

<sup>16</sup> The fall 1997 presentation of the Paraguayan Mennonite drama *De Jeschaftsmaun* (The Businessman) in several Manitoba Mennonite communities, always to packed audiences, attests to the ongoing interest in Low German productions of all kinds. See Doreen Helen Klassen, *Singing Mennonite: Low German Songs Among the Mennonites* (Winnipeg, MB, 1989), and Victor Carl Friesen, *The Windmill Turning: Nursery Rhymes, Maxims and Other Expressions of Western Canadian Mennonites* (Edmonton, AB, 1988), and various cassette recordings of spoken and sung Low German materials.

<sup>17</sup> Jack Thiessen, *Mennonitisches Woerterbuch/Mennonite Low German Dictionary* (Marburg, Germany, 1977), and Herman Rempel, *Kjenn jie noch Plautdietsch?: A Mennonite Low German Dictionary* (Winnipeg, MB, 1984). The latter has recently appeared in an enlarged revised edition under the same title (Rosenort, MB, 1995), while Thiessen's work is still under revision and also to appear in a new edition. Reuben Epp of Kelowna, BC, has sought to place the development of the language in its historical context in *The Story of Low German and Plautdietsch* (Hillsboro, KS, 1993). See also his more recent publication *The Spelling of Low German and Plautdietsch: Towards an Official Plautdietsch Orthography* (Hillsboro, KS, 1996). Both of these were published by Reader's Press.

<sup>18</sup> Al Reimer, Anne Reimer and Jack Thiessen, eds., *A Sackful of Plautdietsch: A Collection of Mennonite Low German Stories and Poems* (Winnipeg, MB, 1983).

<sup>19</sup> Ted Klassen and Gerhard Peters, *Kohmt met no Expob* (Winnipeg, MB, 1989). The volume has had a second printing.

<sup>20</sup> See Jack Thiessen, *The Eleventh Commandment* translated by Andreas Schroeder (Saskatoon, SK, 1990). In this connection one should also note Jack Thiessen and Victor Peters, *Plautdietsche Jeschichten: Gespräche-Interviews-Erzählungen* (Marburg, Germany, 1990), as an example of excellent story-telling in Low German. Recent conversations about the promotion of Low German have included proposals for starting a Low German journal, publishing another book of Low German poetry, preparing a series of cassette tapes which would include readings, singing, story-telling, instruction on learning the Low German language, and the establishment of a central audio archival collection of all kinds of recorded materials which would help to preserve samples of the dialect as it is used today. The preparation of a CD of Low German songs has been commissioned recently also.



Several years ago MCC *Kanadier* Concerns sponsored a series of taped interviews of Mexican Mennonites done by Doreen Klassen of Winnipeg, MB.

<sup>21</sup> Al Reimer, *My Harp is Turned to Mourning* (Winnipeg, MB, 1985), published by the now-defunct Hyperion Press in Winnipeg. In its day Hyperion did a number of other Mennonite publications such as Wesley Berg's *From Russia with Music: A Study of the Mennonite Choral Singing Tradition in Canada* (1985).

<sup>22</sup> Hildi Froese Tiessen, ed., *Liars and Rascals: Mennonite Short Stories* (Waterloo, ON, 1989), and Hildi Froese Tiessen and Dale Boldt, eds., "New Mennonite Writers," *Prairie Fire: A Magazine of Canadian Writing* 11 (Summer 1990). Commentary and criticism on such publications can be found in Hildi Froese Tiessen and Peter Hinchcliffe, eds., *Acts of Concealment: Mennonite/s Writing in Canada* (Waterloo, ON, 1992).

<sup>23</sup> See Armin Wiebe's trilogy, *The Salvation of Jasch Siemens* (Winnipeg, 1984), *Murder in Gutental: A Schneppe Kjnals Mystery* (Winnipeg, 1991), and *The Second Coming of Yeeat Shpanst: A Novel* (Winnipeg, 1995).

<sup>24</sup> See Doug Reimer, *Older Than Ravens* (Winnipeg, 1989), and a trilogy by Lois Braun of Altona, Manitoba, *The Stone Watermelon* (Winnipeg, 1986), *The Pumpkin Eaters* (Winnipeg, 1990) and *The Montreal Cats* (Winnipeg, 1995). Reimer has a novel "also about Altona" going to press shortly. Even more to the point, possibly, are Di Brandt's *Questions I Asked My Mother* (Winnipeg, 1987) with her more recent work *Wild Mother Dancing* (Winnipeg, 1993), and Audrey Poetker's *I Sing for My Dead in German* (Winnipeg, MB, 1987).

<sup>25</sup> Samuel Hofer, *Born Hutterite* (Saskatoon, SK, 1991), and *Dance like a poor man* (Winnipeg, MB, 1995). A quite different genre of novels, more in the mode of fantasy, but with a serious theological base, was introduced with the appearance of Victor Thiessen's *The Sign of the Manipogo* (Winnipeg, MB, 1991).

<sup>26</sup> For a brief note on some of the earlier titles done by these authors, see Lawrence Klippenstein, "Mennonite Writers Featured by Winnipeg Publisher," *Mennonite Historian* 13 (June 1987): 8. Very recent publications from this group include books like John Weier's *Steppe: A Novel* (Saskatoon, SK, 1995), Di Brandt's *Jerusalem, Beloved* (Winnipeg, MB, 1995), and David Bergen's *Sitting Opposite My Brothers* (Winnipeg, MB, 1993).

<sup>27</sup> Many of the Canadian Mennonite historical titles of the past fifteen years have been mentioned in the review and book notes columns of periodicals like *Journal of Mennonite Studies* and *Mennonite Historian*, a research bulletin published jointly by the Mennonite Heritage Centre and Centre for Mennonite Brethren Studies in Winnipeg. The *Journal* began in 1983, remains Canada's most important outlet for article length writings on topics discussed in this paper. See also the annual spring and fall features of new books found in the newspaper *Mennonite Reporter*, for example, in the issues dated 29 May 1995, B:8-12, and 27 November 1995, 12ff.

<sup>28</sup> See Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1920-1940: A People's Struggle for Survival* (Toronto, ON, 1982), Ted D. Regehr's *Mennonites in Canada 1939-1970: A People Transformed* (Toronto, ON, 1996), and also Abe Dueck, ed., *Canadian Mennonites and the Challenge of Nationalism* (Winnipeg, MB, 1994).

<sup>29</sup> Gerhard J. Ens, "Die Schule muss sein": *A History of the Mennonite Collegiate Institute* (Gretna, MB, 1990), and his earlier work, *The Rural Municipality of Rbineland: Volost and Municipality 1884-1984* (Altona, MB, 1984). A parallel to the MCI history appeared recently in Samuel J. Steiner's work on an Ontario Mennonite high school entitled *Lead Us On: A History of Rockway Mennonite Collegiate 1945-1995* (Kitchener, ON, 1995).

<sup>30</sup> Esther Epp-Tiessen, *Altona: The Story of a Prairie Town* (Altona, MB, 1982), with a kind of partly overlapping supplement in Ted E. Friesen and Victor Penner, eds., *Altona: A Pictorial History* (Altona, MB, 1990). See also F. Garry and Gail Whelan Enns, *Gretna: Window on the Northwest* (Gretna, MB, 1987), as well as Royden Loewen, *Blumenort: A Mennonite Community in Transition 1874-1982* (Blumenort, MB, 1982), and Adolf Ens, *Subjects or Citizens?: The Mennonite Experience in Canada, 1870-1925* (Ottawa, ON, 1994). A 750-page community history titled *Hague-Osler Mennonite Reserve 1895-1995*, ed. Jacob Guenther et al., and published in Saskatoon, SK, 1995, became a minor sensation when two printings with a total of 2,000 or more copies almost sold out in two years.

<sup>31</sup> Jack Hepfner, *Search for Renewal: The Story of the Rudnerweiden/Evangelical Mennonite Mission Conference 1937-1987* (Winnipeg, MB, 1987); William Neufeld, *From Faith to Faith: The History of the*



*Manitoba Mennonite Brethren Church* (Winnipeg, MB, 1989); Peter Zacharias, *Footprints of a Pilgrim People: Story of the Blumenort Mennonite Church* (Blumenort, MB, 1985); and Cornelia Lehn, *Frontier Challenge: A Story of the Conference of Mennonites in British Columbia* (Clearbrook, BC, 1990). In 1996 two other titles were added here. One was Harvey Plett's, *Seeking to be Faithful: The Story of the Evangelical Mennonite Conference* (Steinbach, MB, 1996), and the other was Anna Ens's *In Search of Unity: Story of the Conference of Mennonites in Manitoba* (Winnipeg, MB, 1996). A celebratory twentieth-anniversary brief history of Mennonite Central Committee Canada was written by Bert Friesen and Frank H. Epp, *Partners in Service: The Story of Mennonite Central Committee Canada* (Winnipeg, MB, 1982). A very recent example of a congregational history is Henry Neufeld, ed., *Sharing the Faith: Bergtaler Mennonite Church of Plum Coulee 1897-1997* (Plum Coulee, MB, 1997). A longer title list of published congregational histories in the Mennonite Historical Library of Canadian Mennonite Bible College in Winnipeg, was prepared by Dennis Stoesz in "Congregational Histories," *Mennonite Historian* 11,2 (June 1985): 2-3.

<sup>32</sup> The six historical volumes, all published by D. F. P. Farms of Steinbach, Manitoba, are as follows: *History and Events: Writings and Maps pertaining to the History of the Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde from 1866 to 1876* (1982); *The Golden Years: The Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde 1812-1849* (1985); *Storm and Triumph: The Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde 1850-1875* (1986); *Profile of the Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde 1874* (1987); *Pioneers and Pilgrims: The Mennonite Kleine Gemeinde in Manitoba, Nebraska, and Kansas 1874-1882* (1990), and *Leaders of the Kleine Gemeinde 1812-1882* (1994). Plett's latest 350-page novel is entitled *Sarah's Prairie* (Winnipeg, MB, 1995). He is also editor of a local history newsletter/journal titled *Preservings* which has appeared in eleven issues so far (December 1997).

<sup>33</sup> The East Reserve Historical Series so far includes three volumes, all edited by John Dyck of Winnipeg. They are entitled *Working Papers of the East Reserve Village Histories 1874-1910* (1990), *The Bergthal Gemeindebuch* (1993), and *Historical Sketches of the East Reserve 1874-1910* (1994). The fourth volume has gone to press, and a fifth one is in preparation. The first volume of the West Reserve Historical Series was titled *Reinländer Gemeinde Buch 1880-1903 Manitoba, Canada*, and published in 1994. Its next volume will feature the West Reserve Settlement Register, and related materials from pre-1900 Mennonite life in that region of Manitoba. Dyck is the editor of both of these volumes also. His debut as a published author of books came earlier with *Oberschulze Jakob Peters 1813-1884: Manitoba Pioneer Leader* (Steinbach, MB, 1990). He has also edited two major family studies, including the recent 1996 one titled *Three Hundred Years: Peter Penner (1850-1924) and Margaretha Wiebe (1854-1945)*.

<sup>34</sup> See Samuel J. Steiner, *Vicarious Pioneer: The Life of Jacob Y. Shantz* (Winnipeg, MB, 1988). Further comments on this volume are found in this author's review published in *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 23,1 (1991): 141-42.

<sup>35</sup> John B. Toews, *With Courage to Spare: The Life of B. B. Janz 1877-1964* (Hillsboro, KS, 1978).

<sup>36</sup> See Urie A. Bender, *Stumbling Heavenward: The Extraordinary Life of an Ordinary Man, Peter Rempel* (Winnipeg, MB, 1984).

<sup>37</sup> The story of the main Mennonite emigration to Canada from the Soviet Union in the twentieth century is carefully detailed in Frank H. Epp, *Mennonite Exodus: The Rescue and Resettlement of the Russian Mennonites since the Communist Revolution* (Saskatoon, SK, 1962). Other Mennonites came to Canada from the Soviet Union right after World War II, and still others, though fewer, from the 1960s on.

<sup>38</sup> This bicentennial based its calendar calculations on the coming of Mennonites to Russia from Royal and East Prussia in 1788-89. Depictions of this move are found in David G. Rempel, "From Danzig to Russia: The First Mennonite Migration," *Mennonite Life* 24 (January 1969): 8-28, and Lawrence Klippenstein, "The Mennonite Migration to Russia 1786-1806," in *Mennonites in Russia 1788-1988: Essays in Honour of Gerhard Lobrenz*, ed. John Friesen (Winnipeg, MB, 1989), 13-42 (referred to below as *Mennonites in Russia*).

<sup>39</sup> Reports on these celebrations include Neil Janzen, "The Mennonite Bicentennial Celebration at Zaporozh'e," *Mennonite Historian* 15 (September 1989): 5, and Peter H. Rempel, "Reflections on the Russian Mennonite Bicentennial Symposium," *Mennonite Historian* 15 (December 1989): 6.

<sup>40</sup> James Urry, *None but Saints: The Transformation of Mennonite Life in Russia 1789-1889* (Winnipeg, MB, 1989).



<sup>41</sup> *Mennonites in Russia* also includes an essay by Walter Sawatzky on Mennonite life under the Soviet regime.

<sup>42</sup> Both Urry and Friesen included extensive bibliographies to indicate the scope of earlier research and writing in this field. See specifically (Lawrence Klippenstein), "A Select Bibliography with a Note on Archival Sources," *Mennonites in Russia*, 365-78.

<sup>43</sup> John B. Toews, *Czars, Soviets and Mennonites* (Newton, KS, 1982), and *Perilous Journey: The Mennonite Brethren in Russia 1860-1910* (Winnipeg, MB and Hillsboro, KS, 1988). Both books are well footnoted but neither includes a bibliography.

<sup>44</sup> Diedrich Neufeld, *A Russian Dance of Death: Revolution and Civil War in the Ukraine*, trans. and ed. Al Reimer (Winnipeg, MB, 1977), and Hans Harder, *No Strangers in Exile*, trans., ed., and expanded by Al Reimer (Winnipeg, MB, 1979).

<sup>45</sup> Peter Epp, *Agatchen: A Russian Mennonite Mother's Story*, trans. and ed. Peter Pauls (Winnipeg, 1986).

<sup>46</sup> John P. Dyck, ed., *Troubles and Triumphs 1914-1924* (Springstein, MB, 1981); Anna Baerg, *Diary of Anna Baerg 1916-1924* (Winnipeg, MB, 1985), trans. and ed. Gerald Peters; Jacob Epp, *A Mennonite in Russia: The Diaries of Jacob D. Epp 1851-1880* (Toronto, 1991), trans. and ed. Harvey L. Dyck; Olga Rempel, *Einer von Vielen: Die Lebensgeschichte von Prediger Aron P. Toews* (Winnipeg, 1979), along with its English translation *Siberian Diary of Aron P. Toews*, trans. Esther Bergen and ed. Lawrence Klippenstein (Winnipeg, 1984), and Peter Derksen, *Es wurde wieder rubig: Die Lebensgeschichte eines mennonitischen Predigers aus der Sowjetunion*, ed. Lawrence Klippenstein (Winnipeg, MB, 1989). Victor Janzen's autobiography, *Vom Dnjepr zum Paraguay Fluss* (Steinbach, MB, 1995) may be noted here also.

<sup>47</sup> Gerhard Thiessen, *Diary from the Years 1907-1912*, trans. Helen Epp and Marie Hiebert, and ed. Rudy Wiens (Leamington, ON, 1988).

<sup>48</sup> Helen Goossen Friesen, *Daydreams and Nightmares: Life on the Wintergrün Estate*, ed. Marg Franz (Winnipeg, MB, 1990). An extended foreword on the subject of Mennonite estates in tsarist Russia and a series of editorial notes were added by James Urry.

<sup>49</sup> Henry H. Winter, *A Shepherd of the Oppressed: Heinrich Winter Last Ältester of Chortitza* (Wheatley, ON, 1990), which first appeared in German as *Ein Hirte der Bedrängten: Heinrich Winter, letzter Ältester von Chortitza* (Wheatley, 1988).

<sup>50</sup> John P. Nickel, trans. and ed., *Hope Springs Eternal: A Legacy of Service and Love in Russia During Difficult Times* (Nanaimo, BC, 1988). In the wings, as it were, is also a projected three-volume work on Mennonites in Russia written in German by the late George K. Epp of Winnipeg, MB. The first volume, published by Logos Verlag in Germany, appeared in mid-summer 1997.

<sup>51</sup> The first edition of Fast's autobiographical work appeared as a three-part publication in 1950-52. It was serialized in an English translation in *The Canadian Mennonite* some years later. Siberian Mennonites may this year celebrate a centennial of life in their area. See Henry Schulz, *Snowborne: The Siberian Chronicles of Henry Schultz*, rev. ed. (Campbell River, BC: Ptarmigan Press, 1982). It may be of interest to know that copies of *Hildebrand's Zeittafel* by J. J. Hildebrand are available again at Mennonitische Post in Steinbach, Manitoba. Hildebrand also wrote other books dealing with Siberian Mennonites. Much of Rudy Friesen's book material first appeared in a lengthy series of articles published by *Der Bote* in the mid-1990s.

<sup>52</sup> The materials published to date were recently publicized in a brochure entitled "Books: CMBC Publications." This listing includes *For Everything a Season: A History of the Alexanderkrone Zentralschule*, written by Ted D. Regehr, with assistance from J. I. Regehr (Winnipeg, MB, 1988). See especially also three new autobiographies: Siegfried Bartel, *Living with Conviction: German Army Captain Turns to Cultivating Peace* (Winnipeg, MB, 1994), Henry J. Gerbrandt, *Enroute (Hinjawaeajis): The Memoirs of Henry J. Gerbrandt* (Winnipeg, MB, 1994), and most recently Jake Unrau and Johann D. Funk, *Living in the Way: The Pilgrimage of Jake and Trudie Unrau* (Winnipeg, MB, 1996).

<sup>53</sup> See "Echo V. Series to be translated," *Mennonite Historian* 12 (June 1986): 3. English reprints available to date include: C. P. Toews, Heinrich Friesen and Arnold Dyck, *The Kuban Settlement* (1989); Heinrich Sawatzky, *Mennonite Templers* (1990); H. Goertz, *Mennonite Settlements of Crimea* (1992); Franz Bartsch, *Trek to Central Asia* (1993); Heinrich Goertz, *The Molotschna Settlement* (1993); David H. Epp, *Johann Cornies* (1995), and Johannes Dyck and W. E. Surukin, *Am Trakt* (1995). Studies on Sagraadowka (Gerhard Lohrenz) and Memrik (Heinrich Goertz) are being considered for



future publications. The series contains fourteen titles in all.

<sup>54</sup> All Windflower Communications/Henderson Books publications appear in an annual distribution catalogue published by *Mennonite Books . . . and More*, the largest distributor of Mennonite books in Western Canada. It is also directed by Gil Brandt, and based at 844-K McLeod Ave., Winnipeg, Manitoba.

<sup>55</sup> See the very excellent coffee-table pictorial volumes, *Forever Summer, Forever Sunday: Peter Gerhard Rempel's Photographs of Mennonites in Russia, 1891-1917* (1981), ed. with an Introduction by John D. Rempel and Paul Tiessen, with letters and diaries trans. Hildegard E. Tiessen, and *A Sunday Afternoon: Paintings by Henry Pauls* (1991), ed. Hildi Froese Tiessen and Paul Gerard Tiessen.

<sup>56</sup> The Centre for Mennonite Brethren Studies is under the direction of the Historical Committee of the Canadian Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches. The next book to be published in this program is David Ewert's *Honour Your Leaders*, scheduled for early 1998. See note 66 for other notes on the *MR Index*.

<sup>57</sup> A total listing of Kindred Publications is available from their publishing office in Winnipeg, MB. For our discussion here see John B. Toews, *Mennonite Martyrs: People who Suffered for their Faith 1920-1940* (Winnipeg, MB, 1990) and Peter Penner, *Russians, North Americans and Telegu: Mennonite Brethren Missions in India 1885-1975* (Winnipeg, MB, 1997). Note also Herbert and Maureen Klassen, *Ambassador to His People: C. F. Klassen and the Russian Mennonite Refugees* (Winnipeg, MB, 1990). The title projected for Dueck's volume is *Moving Beyond Secession: Defining Russian Mennonite Brethren Mission and Identity 1872-1922*.

<sup>58</sup> Abe Warkentin, ed., *Mennoniten in Mexiko/Mennoniten in Mexiko*, vol. 1 (Steinbach, MB, 1996), and *Gäste und Fremdlinge: Heb. 11:13/Strangers and Pilgrims: Heb. 11:13* (Steinbach, MB, 1987).

<sup>59</sup> See Leo Driedger, *The Ethnic Factor: Identity in Diversity* (Toronto, ON, and Montreal PQ, 1989), *Mennonite Identity in Conflict* (Lewiston and Queenston, ON, 1988), and *Mennonites in Winnipeg* (Winnipeg, MB, 1990).

<sup>60</sup> Harry Loewen, ed., *Why I Am a Mennonite: Essays on Mennonite Identity* (Kitchener, ON, and Scottsdale, PA, 1988). Also drawing public notice currently is Loewen's most recent work *No Permanent City* (Waterloo, ON, 1995), now also available in a slightly expanded German edition as *Keine bleibende Stadt*, trans. and expanded by Peter and Kilian Foth (Hamburg, Germany, 1995). J. Winfield Fretz, *The Waterloo Mennonites: A Community in Paradox* (Waterloo, ON, 1989).

<sup>61</sup> Calvin Redekop and Samuel J. Steiner, eds., *Mennonite Identity: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (Lanham, New York, NY, and London, UK, 1988). Calvin Redekop, *Mennonite Society* (Baltimore, MD, and London, UK, 1989). See also Redekop's *Strangers Become Neighbors: Mennonite Indigenous Relations in the Paraguayan Chaco* (Scottsdale, PA, 1980).

<sup>62</sup> Donovan E. Smucker, *The Sociology of Mennonites, Hutterites, and Amish: A Bibliography with Annotations*, vol. 2, 1977-1990 (Waterloo, ON, 1991), and William Janzen, *The Limits of Liberty in Canada: The Experience of the Mennonites, Hutterites and Doukhobors* (Toronto, ON, 1990).

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Helen Janzen, *Memories* (Winnipeg, MB, 1985); Anna Baerg, *Diary of Anna Baerg 1916-1924* (Winnipeg, MB, 1985); Helene Wiebe, . . . und dennoch glücklich (Winnipeg, MB, 1994[?]); Anna (Pauls Thiessen) Paetkau, *Memories and Reflections of a Widow* (n.p., 1991), trans. John M. Thiessen; Elisabeth Peters, *Erzählungen aus dem mennonitischen Leben* (Winnipeg, MB, 1994), and also her *Wem Gott will rechte Gunst erweisen . . .* (Winnipeg, MB, 1994); Anny Penner Klassen Goerzen, *Anny: In Gottes Armen geboren: Eine wahre Geschichte aus Russland* (1988), (also available in English) Katharina Ediger, *Under His Wings: Events in the Lives of Elder Alexander Ediger and His Family* (1994) and A. E. Heidi Koop, *The Hell of God's Call: One Woman's Pilgrimage from "Commitment to" through "Uncommitment from" Church Ministry* (1995), and *Surviving the Medical Maze* (1996).

<sup>64</sup> See Lorraine Roth, *Willing Service: Stories of Ontario Mennonite Women* (Waterloo, ON, 1992); Gloria Neufeld Redekop, *The Work of Their Hands: Mennonite Women's Societies in Canada* (Waterloo, ON, 1996); and C. Arnold Snyder and Linda A. Huebert Hecht, eds., *Profiles of Anabaptist Women: Sixteenth Century Reforming Pioneers* (Waterloo, ON, 1996).

<sup>65</sup> William Schroeder and Helmut Huebert, eds., *Mennonite Historical Atlas* (Winnipeg, MB, 1990), republished in 1996 in a revised expanded edition. In 1986 Huebert published one of the most comprehensive Russian Mennonite village histories in print in *Hierschau: An Example of Russian*



*Mennonite Life*. John Rempel and Williams Harms, eds., *Atlas of Original Mennonite Villages and Homesteaders of the East Reserve, Manitoba* (Altona, MB, 1988), and *Atlas of Original Mennonite Villages, Homesteaders and Some Burial Plots of the Mennonite West Reserve Manitoba* (Altona, MB, 1990). Both volumes are now out of print.

<sup>66</sup> Peter H. Rempel, ed., *Der Bote Index Vol. II (1948-1963)* (Winnipeg, MB, 1991), and Bert Friesen, ed., *Mennonitische Rundschau Index*, vols. 1-3 covering 1880-1909, along with an author index for 1880-1909 (designated as vol. 1A); and followed by volume 5, 1920-29, ed. Alf Redekopp. All were published in Winnipeg in the period 1991-93. Friesen was also the editor of the Mennonite Central Committee-sponsored study, *An Index of Peace and Social Concerns by the Mennonites and Brethren in Christ 1787-1982* (Winnipeg, MB, 1986). Mennonite newspapers such as *Mennonite Reporter* and earlier *Mennonite Mirror* also have indexes to access their materials easily.

<sup>67</sup> Ingrid Epp and Harvey L. Dyck, eds. *The Peter J. Braun Russian Mennonite Archive, 1803-1920: A Research Guide* (Toronto, ON, 1996). The Peter J. Braun archives collection of microfilm (ca. 70 reels) is available to researchers at the University of Toronto, Conrad Grebel College, Mennonite Heritage Centre and the Mennonite Archives in Abbotsford, BC.

<sup>68</sup> See Lawrence Klippenstein, Adolf Ens and Marg Franz, eds., *Resources for Canadian Mennonite Studies: An Inventory and Guide to Archival Holdings at the Mennonite Heritage Centre* (Winnipeg, MB, 1989), and Lawrence Klippenstein and Jim Suderman, eds., *Directory of Mennonite Archives and Historical Libraries*, 3d rev. and expanded ed. (Winnipeg, MB, 1990). Both are unfortunately out of print. Plans are underway to prepare an Internet fourth edition of the *Directory* in the near future.

<sup>69</sup> All the larger archival centres of Canadian Mennonites hold extensive lists of genealogical publications and related holdings.

<sup>70</sup> One should however mention here John Dyck's study, *History of Crosstown Credit Union 1944-1994* (Winnipeg, MB, 1993). The title seems to be a misprint since the study really does not go into 1994. See also Doris Penner, ed., *Steinbach 1946-1996: So Much to Celebrate* (Steinbach, MB, 1997) for a vivid picture of current business activity in this community.

<sup>71</sup> An effort to prepare a comprehensive index to all published Mennonite material world-wide is in Nelson Springer and Abram J. Klassen, eds., *Mennonite Bibliography 1631-1961*, vols. 1 and 2 (Scottsdale, PA, 1977). More recently has appeared a bibliography of works on Mennonites in Saskatchewan by Victor G. Wiebe entitled *Saskatchewan Mennonite Bibliography 1962-1995* (Saskatoon, SK, 1995).





Jerry Glenn

**Three Veterans and a Rookie:  
Recent German-American Literature**

**Flussbettworte / Fluvial Discourse.**

*By Lisa Kahn. Lewiston: Mellen, 1998. 211 pages, illustrated. \$29.95.*

**Wortort Tarock unter anderem: Gedichte und Gesichte.**

*By Peter Pabisch. Deutschschreibende Autoren in Nordamerika, vol. 5. Freeman: Pine Hill, 1999. 75 pages, illustrated.*

**Wenn Farben blühen: Gedichte zu Blumenbildern von Martina Mohren.**

*By Margot Scharpenberg. Mühlacker: Stieglitz, 1999. 80 pages, illustrated. DM 29.80.*

**Adrift between Two Worlds.**

*By Dolores Hornbach Whelan. Raleigh: Pentland, 1997. 118 pages. \$11.95.*

The three veterans of my title, Lisa Kahn, Peter Pabisch, and Margot Scharpenberg, are among the leading contemporary German-American creative writers. Their new publications can only solidify this reputation. The new-comer, Dolores Hornbach Whelan, who immigrated in 1956, makes her literary debut, in English.

**Lisa Kahn's** *Flussbettworte* is an ambitious project. A fanciful drawing by her son, Peter, precedes the table of contents, which in turn reminds us of something that the size of the book suggested: there are 209 pages, and nearly that many poems. Neither at the beginning nor at the end is there any information on the author. That is, I think, a mistake: each new volume brings new readers, and many of them would appreciate a brief biographical note, if not a more formal introduction.

The opening and title poem stands alone. It is interesting from a typographical standpoint: the title is centered, the first eight lines and four later in the poem are flush left, and the rest begin a couple of characters past the middle. The first lines impressively set the tone for the "Flussbettworte" that follow: "Vorm Überschreiten der Schlafschwelle / schlängeln sie sich aufsteigend aus /

Flut Sumpf Algen ins Ohr / bleiben bei dir im Traum / machen sichs heimisch  
/ unter deinen Lidern in den / Kranzgefäßen im Schoß / raunen:" (1). These  
lines, in a rhythmical free verse rich in suggestive symbolism, are typical of  
Kahn's recent poetry, including that of the present collection.

Following this introductory poem, the rest of the volume is divided into  
sections characterized by bodies of water. The first six refer to European rivers  
and seas, the seventh is devoted to American lakes, the next to "Mittelmeer und  
Nil," then come the Gulf of Mexico, the oceans, and the concluding "Missis-  
sippi / Cummins Creek," the subjects of which range from "Old Man River"  
(150-51) to a number of places we do not normally associate with water, such as  
"Doppelter Mond über Death Valley" (162) and, perhaps my favorite poem in  
the collection, "Las Vegas" (184-85). We have here in miniature many of the  
issues and themes found throughout the book, including mythology, long a  
favorite of Kahn's and prominently featured in the section on the "Mittelmeer."  
In "Las Vegas," "Wer die Höhlen betritt—und immer herrscht / Halbdunkel im  
Hades— // darf seine Eurydike / um die Uhr herum suchen . . ." (184).

In conclusion, I would like to refer the readers to the very interesting cycle  
of twelve poems on a Parisian cemetery, and here quote one of them in its  
entirety, "Père Lachaise III" (67):

Weder Pförtner noch Auskunftsbüro  
des Friedhofs noch Grabreiniger  
noch Besucher haben je von einem  
Georg Forster  
gehört keiner weiß um sein Grab

man will mich die Fremde abschieben  
nach Montparnasse nach Montmartre  
und ich weiß doch dass er hier ruht  
der so lange ruhelos der Reisende  
der Revolutionär verlassen nicht  
nur von Therese verlassen von  
aller Welt

The second collection, *Wortort Tarock unter anderem* by **Peter Pabisch** (pro-  
fessor of German at the University of New Mexico), opens with an informative  
two-page introduction by Gert Niers, reminding us that this is the author's fifth  
collection of poetry, that he is the author of a scholarly study entitled *Lustlustig:  
Phänomene deutschsprachiger Lyrik 1945 bis 1980*, and that—as the latter title sug-  
gests—his poetry follows in the playful footsteps of, e.g., the Wiener Gruppe. A  
brief purely biographical sketch is found at the end of the volume.

The first two poems of the first of the book's four sections illustrate the  
playful tone. The first, a seventeen-line poem entitled "MORGEN," begins:  
"frisch und feurig / heiße sonne / brüchig die winternacht / die da blüten ihren



geist / st st (ohne sch)" (2). And the second, reads in its entirety "each and every lioness / likes to wear / the newest dress" (3; the first of only two English poems in the collection). An irregular alternation of rather complex playing with language and aphoristic texts continues throughout the book. "AMERIKA" is introduced: "was du kannst / kannst du / und / was du nicht kannst / kannst du auch" (6; the complete text), to be followed on the next, facing page by the longer "LING," which begins: "gelber schmetter / ling und lingt er / blüht o blüten / im wackerwerk / vor blatt."

The theme of the second and longest section is given in the title, "zu orten mir vorgestellt." Beginning in "Schönbrunn" (12), our journey, at first "Im Zug" (13), later by air, takes us to a variety of destinations. The play element, or at least the purely playful element, is not as important here as it was in the first section, but it is still present. One of its manifestations is the presence of a number of Finnish words, with their totally exotic appearance.

The title of the third section, "wärmere zonen," is itself playful, since the journey we just ended included not only Germany and Finland, among other northerly destinations, but "ATHEN" and "CAMINO REAL" (18-19) as well. Warm here has many frames of reference: passion and friendship, for example, and "16. Juli 1995," the fiftieth anniversary of the explosion of the first atomic bomb, in the author's beloved New Mexico: "... erinnern sich / die zeitungen von heute / in kleinspalten daran" (57). The final and shortest section, "Erstaunliches," marks an eclectic and effective conclusion to an interesting collection of very contemporary German verse. Seven of the author's sketches are interspersed throughout the book.

If Pabisch's poetry is quite different from Kahn's, that of **Margot Scharpenberg**—at least in the present context—is itself entirely different from both of them. Continuing in the vein of her recent work and as the subtitle indicates, *Wenn Farben blühen: Gedichte zu Blumenbildern von Martina Mohren* is a collection of poems exclusively on paintings depicting flowers. The title itself is intertextual: it is taken from a Scharpenberg poem on Emil Nolde's "Blumengarten" published in 1982. For new readers, there is a brief biographical passage on Scharpenberg (74-75), and for the benefit of what surely will prove to be most readers, a similar text on the artist (78-79).

In his introduction, Andreas Hölscher mentions Nolde and Georgia O'Keefe, and these names will convey a general sense of what kind of paintings are reproduced here: bright, lively, and unashamedly beautiful. Hölscher perfectly captures the essence of this remarkable artistic collaboration: "Und dieses sinnliche Erlebnis des Betrachtens der Arbeiten von Martina Mohren geht mit der Lyrik von Margot Scharpenberg eine ideale Symbiose ein" (6).

Turning to the poems, we find that a "Vorwort" in verse (9) is followed by thirty poems on paintings, each one having as its title simply the name of the flower in question (each painting is reproduced in vivid color on the facing page). In spite of the similarity in subject matter, the poems themselves are remarkably diversified in style and approach to the subject. Some are poetically



descriptive, as can be illustrated by the concluding stanza of "Schwertlilien": "aus Iristiefe / äugt durch Bläue Rot / und manchmal büstet Gelb / blitzend die Ränder" (20). Others employ traditional meter and rhyme, while maintaining the serious tone of the lines just quoted, as in the opening of "Gelbe Tulpen," the first three lines of which could be from a Rilke Dinggedicht: "Sie sind auf ihre weißen Ränder stolz / und tragen sie wie hochgeschlagene Kragen / bei ihrem ersten Aufbruch in die frische Luft / man hört sie sozusagen 'Frühling' sagen" (26). While others, reflecting the more playful sounding names of the flowers, are themselves playful. The first stanza of "Gänseblümchen" reads: "Gänseblümchen / nimm dich vor den Tieren bloß in Acht / Gänse grasen auf dem Rasen / und die Hoppelhasen aasen / neben dir im Klee bei Tag und Nacht" (34).

As these quotes will, I hope, make clear, Scharpenberg's is a subtle poetic voice. No review can do justice to good poetry, and that difficulty is compounded in this case by the absence of the paintings, which go hand in hand with the poems.

The final book under review, *Adrift between Two Worlds* by **Dolores Hornbach Whelan**, is different from those discussed above in two important respects: this is the author's first collection of verse, and it is, as the title suggests, entirely in English (with the partial exception of the final poem, which appears in English and German versions). We are told very little about the author in a brief note on the back cover. A search for other titles by her reveals that she wrote and later published a dissertation on Eduard von Bauernfeld, confirming suggestions in the poetry that she holds the doctorate. Otherwise, the poems reveal much about her.

The first chapter, "New World Found," opens with one of the more delightful sequences in the collection, the first two stanzas of "Entry" (2): "At Idlewild in 1956 / (The Ellis Island of more recent years), / An eight-month pregnant woman seeks admittance / To milk and honey's land of liberty // "Let me in, please let me in." / "Not by the hair of my chinny chin chin!" Although it is easy to be distracted by the date 1956, the first four lines, the first stanza, are perfect blank verse. Indeed, they sound like the beginning of a traditional extremely positive immigrant poem (if stylistically more impressive than most). And then the mood is shattered by the incongruous nursery rhyme. Of course, things get worse. The poor woman is asked: "Well, do you plan to overthrow / The government of the United States?" and "Do you plan to earn your income as a prostitute?" a question followed by the comment "Her husband had to clarify the meaning." The woman's understandable reaction is to ask her husband for a ticket "back to Heidelberg, / . . . where / A woman doesn't have to be an anarchist / Or whore to make a living." The remaining poems in this first section have varied themes, but the attitude toward America is on the whole not very positive. Some are purely personal, without any cultural implications. The form alternates between free verse and a stanzaic pattern with rhyme and meter (typically for humorous effect, as in "Entry").



Patriotic readers will become apprehensive upon reading the title of the second section, "Inside the Rotting Apple," and they will find their fears fully realized in the third poem, "Lady Liberty" (44-45), without question the most negative poem I have ever seen about the Statue of Liberty. Nonetheless, it is a powerful and clever statement. A parody of Goethe's "Prometheus," it begins "If you must, lady on the pedestal, / Practice with your lawbook-boomerang; / Throw it on elm trees or sycamores / Like boys behead pink thistle tops. / Don't throw your book at me." Toward the end we read: "Bathe, Liberty, in your light, / The greedy, the criminals and the fakes. / As ever, you keep on turning your back / On those who are decent and honest." Perhaps the single American institution most frequently selected for censure is the educational establishment, especially its emphasis on technology: "... But they shout, / 'We'll kick butt of Japs and kraut / With our high technology! / Who needs hearts, civility?'" (68). Not all of the criticism of America is as serious. In the first line of a delightful poem, we read the exhortation: "Americans, rise from your slumber!" Within this first stanza there follow six lines, rhyming couplets, leading up to the concluding line: "You need a salad of cucumber!" (21).

In the fourth section, "Old World Lost," the tone is often rather sentimental, but not in a negative sense. "Corpus Christi 1933," a series of reflections upon viewing a picture of herself as a child dressed up in her Sunday finery, is especially poignant. The final two sections, "From This World to the Next" and "Life Goes On," are clearly manifestations of a long illness mentioned in the very brief introduction. Although "Pater Noster" (98-102), the Lord's Prayer with the speaker's contemporary but not irreverent commentary, is quite interesting, on the whole these final poems are in my opinion the weakest in the collection.

But it would be thoroughly inappropriate to conclude the discussion of *Adrift Between Two Worlds* on a negative note. This is a very impressive first collection, and I look forward to reading more of Whelan's poetry, in English or German.

*University of Cincinnati*  
Cincinnati, Ohio





Antonius Holtmann

**Kein Meisterstück oder:  
Wie "Liwwät Böke" mit fremden Federn geschmückt wurde**

**Liwwät Böke, 1807-1882: Pioneer. The story of an immigrant pioneer woman and her husband who settled in western Ohio as told in her own writings and drawings.**

*Herausgegeben von Luke B. Knapke. Minster, Ohio: The Minster Historical Society, 1987.*

Diese 1987 erschienene Geschichte einer deutschen "pioneer woman" aus dem Oldenburger Münsterland ist schon faszinierend. Raymond E. Crist vom Department of Geography der University of Florida in Gainesville, hat jeder privaten oder öffentlichen "library of Americana" empfohlen, sich ein Exemplar dieses "thrilling masterpiece" zuzulegen, das uns eine "creative artist, perceptive writer, a poet in Low and High German, a gifted historian, pioneer, student, wife, mother, grandmother, devoted home maker, midwife, linguist, community spokesperson, neighbor, friend of bishops, gardener, and citizen" nahebringe.<sup>1</sup> Im *Palatine Immigrant*<sup>2</sup> schrieb Eleanor Brucker über ein "rare and unusual work," das "fascinating to read" sei. Liwwät Böke sei "Ohio's first liberated woman" gewesen, hieß es im Oktober 1995 im *Ohio Magazine* in einer Würdigung von John Baskin. Baskin meinte sogar: "She is more authentic than most of us alive."

Fasziniert war ich auch, als ich im Sommer 1986 in Minster einige Texte und Bilder einsehen und im Frühjahr 1987 Fotokopien der mehr als 1000 Seiten nach Oldenburg mitnehmen konnte—zur Verfügung gestellt vom Herausgeber Luke B. Knapke. Im Herbst 1987 traf das englischsprachige Buch ein. Ich habe es sofort in meinen Lehrveranstaltungen benutzt. Eine plattdeutsch schreibende emanzipierte katholische Frau in den Urwäldern von Ohio zu Beginn des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts war zu verlockend, als dass ich es, kaum beachtet, in den Bücherschrank gestellt hätte. Und diese Verlockungen im Kontext des vertrauenerweckenden kleinstädtischen und familiären katholischen Milieus von

Minster (Ohio) und Luke Knapkes Familie haben Zweifel erst gar nicht aufkommen lassen. Im Gegenteil: das Ungewöhnliche bestätigte nur immer wieder die Außerordentlichkeit der Liwwät Böke. Ein Plattdeutsch-Experte an der Universität Groningen, dem ich einige Manuskriptproben zur Beurteilung geschickt hatte, nannte die Texte "erstaunlich," und ein Experte für nordwestdeutsche Kulturgeschichte vom Museumsdorf in Cloppenburg bemerkte, es könne sein, dass Liwwät Böke die "Pictures from my Childhood at Home in Nellinghof and Neuenkirchen" irgendwo abgezeichnet habe. Man vertraute mir und Luke B. Knapke und der Minster Historical Society.

Marron F. Fort, Amerikaner aus Ohio und Mitarbeiter der Universitätsbibliothek in Oldenburg, hat zuerst und entschieden Bedenken geäußert (Dezember 1987)—und aufgrund einiger noch unzulänglicher Indizien gefolgert, zumindest große Teile des Buches seien gefälscht; er hat es nicht beim Verdacht belassen.

Mehr als einen Verdacht ließen diese Indizien aber nicht zu. Anglizismen enthielten die Texte: sie waren z. T. ja auch in den USA geschrieben; Neuenkirchen sei hochdeutsch geschrieben im plattdeutschen Text, da wäre eine Plattdeutsche doch in ihrer Sprache geblieben und hätte "Nienkercken" geschrieben: das ist plausibel, aber nicht zwingend; Wilhelmshaven habe es 1834-35 noch gar nicht gegeben, sei aber auf der Karte eingezeichnet, so auch West-Virginia, das erst im Bürgerkrieg entstanden sei: beides kann Liwwät Böke nachträglich eingetragen haben. Und der Anmerkung von Marron F. Fort, "German Catholics did not discuss sex in the nineteenth century and here in Oldenburg, they still don't," kann leicht entgegengehalten werden, dass es immer Menschen gibt, die ihrer Zeit voraus sind.

So ist es schon verständlich, dass die Minster Historical Society am 23. Januar 1988 feststellte: "The questions, allegations, suggestions and implications involved have been discussed in detail by the Trustees. All are refuted or explained to the complete satisfaction of the Trustees. We must and do accept the Liwwet Böke materials as genuine."

Und das habe ich zunächst auch getan, bis ich, angeregt durch Marron F. Fort, nach Fehlern suchte und viele gefunden habe. John Baskin berichtet, ein Beobachter der Kontroverse habe das Ganze "an intramural pissing match" genannt, und auch ich sei, nach einem Gespräch mit Luke Knapke in Minster, von der Echtheit überzeugt, wieder abgereist. Luke Knapke wird zitiert: "I think all parties felt relieved and gratified with the understandings gained."

So hab ich es nicht wahrgenommen. Es war für mich ein behutsames Gespräch, in dem wir einander nicht verletzen wollten, die Gesprächsform also bestimmender war als der Inhalt und jeder vermuten konnte, den anderen (ein wenig) überzeugt zu haben. Also sei nun noch einmal und öffentlich vorgetragen, was Teile des Buches als Fälschung erweist und alle anderen Teile dem mehr oder weniger dringenden Verdacht aussetzt, gefälscht zu sein.



## **"Pictures from my Childhood at Home in Nellinghof and Neuenkirchen" (167-83)**

Die Vorlagen zu diesen Zeichnungen sind enthalten in zwei Aufsätzen von Bernhard Winter (1871-1964): "Unsere alte Volkstracht" und "Der Schmuck des Hauses" (in Wilhelm Schwedde, Hrsg., *Heimatkunde des Herzogtums Oldenburg*, Bd. 1 [Bremen: Schönmeyer, 1913], 335-65). Bernhard Winter war elf Jahre alt, als Liwwät Böke (1807-82) starb. Bernhard Winter kann nicht von Liwwät Böke, Liwwät Böke nicht von Bernhard Winter abgezeichnet haben. Dass beide aus dem Sachsenspiegel abgezeichnet haben, ist völlig unwahrscheinlich. Bernhard Winter hat dies nur bei wenigen Abbildungen getan und jeweils vermerkt. Darüber hinaus wären dann, sollten sie beide unabhängig voneinander abgezeichnet haben, nicht nahezu identische Bilder entstanden. Bernhard Winter hat nicht durchgezeichnet, sondern sich Freiheiten erlaubt, an denen "Liwwät Böke" sich orientiert hat. Und die meisten Zeichnungen, die "Liwwät" ihre eigenen nennt, gibt es nur bei Bernhard Winter, oder deutlicher: die meisten dieser Zeichnungen entsprechen nur denen von Bernhard Winter. Es gibt für sie keine dritte, evtl. von beiden benutzte Vorlage. Nicht "Liwwät," sondern jemand anders muss sie abgezeichnet und Liwwät Böke zugeschrieben haben. Noch einmal: Die weitaus meisten Bilder, deren Kopien auch bei Liwwät Böke abgedruckt sind, sind Original-Zeichnungen von Bernhard Winter, erstmals veröffentlicht 1913, einundzwanzig Jahre nach dem Tod von Liwwät Böke. "Liwwät Böke" will sie 1825-32 gezeichnet haben.

Wer immer gefälscht haben mag: Beschriftungen Bernhard Winters sind verändert bzw. falsch verstanden worden. Bettgestelle, die Bernhard Winter als dem Sachsenspiegel (1336) entnommen gekennzeichnet hat, werden den Dörfern Bieste und Althausen zugeordnet, ein Ammerländer Schrank wird ins Böke-Haus verlegt, und eine "Mütze aus Pferdehaaren, Stroh und Glasperlen" wird zu einem "straw hat for horses." Ein solcher Fehler kann Liwwät Böke nicht unterlaufen sein: nämlich den Oldenburger Pferden Strohhüte aufgesetzt zu haben. Aus Bernhard Winters Vermerk: "Hausrat aus dem Oldbg. Sachsenspiegel aufgezeichnet durch den Mönch Hinrich Gloyesten, einem geb. Ammerländer" wird: "Hüisraad ut den Oldenburger-Munsterland - de Böke 1667 bei Bieste-Herrenberg" (falsches Plattdeutsch!), falsch übersetzt mit: "house cart from the Oldenburger Munsterland - the Boekes 1667 at Bieste-Herrenberg." Aus Hausrat (household furnishings, utensils) wird ein Wagen (cart), nur weil Bernhard Winter diesen Hinweis mit einer Kopie aus dem Sachsenspiegel geschmückt hat: mit einem Ackerwagen. Und aus der "jüngeren Form" eines Stuhls macht der Fälscher einen "jünger Stohl" und der Übersetzer einen "youngster's chair," aus der "älteren Form" einen "aollen Stohl," der Übersetzer einen "oldster's chair."<sup>3</sup>

Diese Zeichnungen Bernhard Winters sind in eine Kladde (252 Seiten) eingefügt, die 29 Seiten handschriftliche lateinische Rechtsbestimmungen enthält über staatliche Gewalt und Freigelassene, über Eheverträge, Adoption und die Rechte des Hausvaters. "All de Beller in dut Lütik Bök hewt ik moalt," steht auf



Sachsenspiegel (1336)



Bernhard Winter (1913)



Liwwät Böke (1825-32)



der letzten Seite, unterschrieben mit "Liwwät Böke." Liwwät Böke kann die Bilder weder selbst gezeichnet noch abgezeichnet haben. Die Kladde enthält, durchsetzt mit "ihren" Zeichnungen, den handschriftlichen "Anfang der Welt" in (3440) Versen, in Hochdeutsch. Sie sind, nach "eigenen" Angaben, über einen Zeitraum von einundzwanzig Jahren, für "Natz un usse Blagen" (for "Natz and our children") entstanden.

Die Zeichnungen stammen nicht von Liwwät Böke, also stammen auch die 3440 Verse nicht von ihr. Die Verse sind sehr wahrscheinlich abgeschrieben worden, ein wenig ergänzt vom Fälscher. Im korrekt geschriebenen Deutsch ist in falschem Deutsch in Anmerkung 9 in Klammern eingefügt: "In Lage Schule habe ich gelahrt, man spricht: Omm daffähr," franz.: homme d'affair." Und in Anmerkung 20: "Wofür man in Lage-schule Vorhall hört."

### **"Weaving and Spinning 1830: Cottage Industry in Neuenkirchen" Zeichnung(59)**

Diese Zeichnung ist mit "Liwwät Böke" signiert und mit der Jahreszahl "1830" versehen. Die Zeichnung entspricht, abgesehen von leichten Veränderungen—ein Kreuz ist hinzugefügt, ein Blumentopf entfernt—Bernhard Winters Gemälde "Ehemalige Webstube in Nordermoor," das auf der Großen Berliner Kunstausstellung 1898 gezeigt worden ist. Im oben genannten Aufsatz des Malers ist es auf Seite 338 reproduziert.

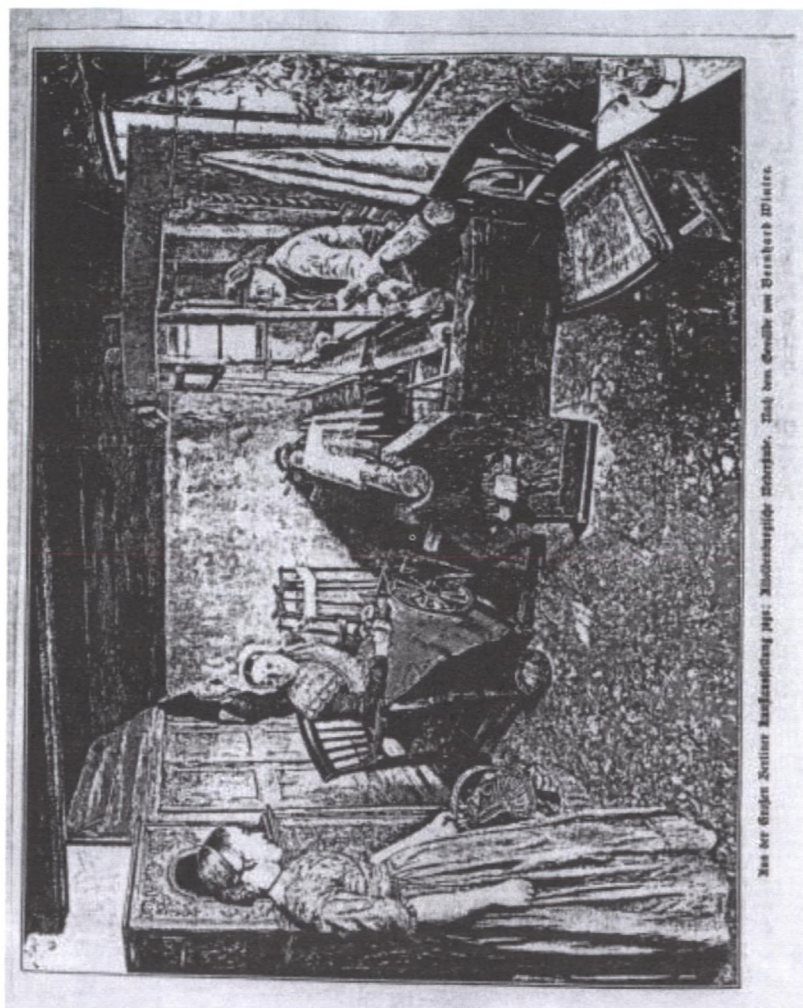
Siebenundzwanzig Jahre alt war Bernhard Winter 1898, und Liwwät Böke war schon sechs Jahre tot. Bernhard Winter kann sein Gemälde nicht von Liwwät Böke übernommen, Liwwät Böke "ihrer" Zeichnung nicht das Gemälde von Bernhard Winter zugrunde gelegt haben.

### **"My Early Life" (53-60)**

Vom 17. bis 20. Lebensjahr will "Liwwät" in Osnabrück zur Schule gegangen sein, um Hebamme zu werden. Es gab Hebammenausbildung in Osnabrück um 1825, aber nicht in einer Domschule. Es war eine staatliche, d. h. "großbritannisch-hannoversche" Einrichtung, die ein halbes Jahr lang (nicht drei Jahre lang) jeweils sechs Frauen praktisch und berufsorientiert ausbildete.<sup>4</sup>

Das hochdeutsche Manuskript enthält Abschnitte in einem solch schlechten Deutsch, dass es nicht 1835 (von "Liwwät Böke" signiert), von einer Frau geschrieben sein kann, die das Hochdeutsche beherrscht haben soll. Es ist ein englisches Deutsch; die Syntax ist Wort für Wort aus dem Englischen abgeleitet. Beispiele (English translation by Luke Knapke):

Mit meinem Eintritt in den Lehrlingsschaft für Hebammendienst (53) -  
With my entry in apprenticeship for midwife service;



Bernhard Winter, *Ehemalige Webstube in Nordermoor* (1898)





Weaving and spinning 1830. Cottage industry in Neuendorf.

Liwwät Böke, "Weaving and Spinning" (1830)

Studieren und Ausübung mit Schwangerschaft und Kindes-Entbindung, dies war auch nicht anders möglich (53) -

Studying and practicing with pregnancy and child delivery made all else impossible;

Ich hätte die Prüfung bestehen und gehörig honoriert werden, so daß ich sagte: Ich bin jetzt ein Würde Hebammen (53) -

I had passed the examinations and was suitably honored so that I said: Now I am a dignified Midwife;

Die Zeiten waren jammer un hungerlich (57) -

The times were miserable and starving;

den Zug an den Gartenmusiker und Lustbarkeit -

the attraction of the garden musicians and amusements;

Hierauf entdeckte wir unser Eltern und die Autorität unser Vorhaben, zur Amerika Ehebund zu geben -

At this we disclosed to our parents and the authorities our intention of going to America as man and wife;

hatte ich die Freude, . . . mein lieben Natz, mein Ehemann Herrn Böke fröhlich nach Bremen zu reisen, bald angestellt worden in Segelschiff (60) -

I had the pleasure . . . of seeing my beloved Natz, my husband, Herr Bernard Böke, happily journey to Bremen, soon to be installed on a sailing vessel;

trat ich ein vorausgeßt ledigen Mädchen auch in Segelschiff, und in drei monaten, unner vielen Hindernisse, in den Weg legen, zuleßt in Ausschöpfung und Müede wär ich wieder bi Nätz geküsst: ein herzhafter und Kraftiger Kuß.

[In vertretbares Deutsch übertragen: Auch ich, die ich für ein lediges Mädchen gehalten wurde, betrat ein Segelschiff, und in drei Monaten, nach vielen Hindernissen, die uns im Weg standen, zuletzt erschöpft und müde, wurde ich wieder von Natz geküsst: ein herzhafter und kräftiger Kuss.] -

I, a presumed unmarried maiden, also boarded a sailing ship, and in three months, in spite of abstacles along the way, exhausted and weary, at last was kissing again by Natz, a bold and effective kiss.

Luke Knapke hat "englisches" Deutsch in ordentliches Englisch übersetzt, nachdem der Fälscher aus ordentlichem Englisch englisches Deutsch abgeleitet hatte, eben schlechtes, ja falsches Deutsch. Zu vermuten, Liwwät Böke habe den Text in den 1870er Jahren geschrieben und auf 1835 zurückdatiert, ist abwegig: die ums Deutsche und Plattdeutsche bemühte Frau hätte sich ihr ansonsten



perfekt geschriebenes Deutsch in diesem Falle nicht so sehr von ihrer Umwelt anglisieren lassen.

### **“A History of Christopher Columbus”**

Luke Knapke hat diesen Text (102 Seiten) nicht ins Buch aufgenommen. Der Text soll 1844 entstanden sein, nach “Liwwäts” eigenen Worten für den Deutschunterricht in Ohios Schulen, im Auftrage der Regierung, für \$188. Sie hat dies in miserabilem “englischem” Deutsch aufgeschrieben: “Diese Lexionen geschrieben um dem Ortsgericht für Schulen, den Staatenhaus, Columbus Ohio zu verbessern, Fehler und Irrtümer Sache des Textkritikens, zum besser werden – und sich besseren Zustände die Hochdeuches Sprechende Katolischeren Kinder und Schulenlehrer(in). Das Papier und Tinte waren versorgen der Staat. Ich war bezahlt für drei verschiedene Abschriften, d.h. Kopie und Abschreibebühren und Abdruckt. Summa \$ 188.00.” Ihre pädagogische Einleitung ist in einem entsprechend falschen, sehr “englischen” Deutsch geschrieben: “Geschichte der Christof Columbus für Schule Kindern zur anhören erst bei dem Lehrer(in) zu lesen – um dann – wieder über verstellen langsamlich mit die Kinder. 10-zehn Monaten jeden Wochen, für die leste Klasse.”

Und dann, nach dieser Stümperei, der Schulbuch-Text in bestem Deutsch, 102 Seiten lang in “ihrer” Handschrift: “Daß Christoph Columbus vor 300 Jahren Amerika entdeckt hat, wissen meine jungen Freunde. Trotzdem ist seine kühne That von solcher Bedeutung, daß sie in einem Buche über Amerika nicht übergangen werden darf . . . .”

“In einem Buch über Amerika . . . ,” also ein abgeschriebener Auszug aus einem Buch über Amerika, kein Columbus-Text für Ohio’s Regierung. Und das so schlechte und das so gute Deutsch, in einem Atemzug geschrieben, passen einfach nicht zueinander.

Vermutlich hat jemand den Text verfasst, der (auf S. 22 des Manuskripts) 30 (portugiesische) Kronen in “468 Mark” umrechnet, “damals - 1492 - vielleicht zehnmal soviel werth.” In der nordwestdeutschen Heimat der Liwwät Böke hat man um 1830-40 in Groschen und Grote, in Taler und Gulden, in Louisdor und Pistolen gerechnet, aber nur selten (bis 1873) in Mark. Und schon gar nicht hätte eine Schulbuchautorin in den USA im Jahre 1844 deutsch-amerikanischen Kindern eine Umrechnung (nur) in Mark zugemutet; sie hätte (auch) in Dollar gerechnet.

### **“Tensions with Brunner”**

Luke Knapke hat diesen Text (17 Seiten) nicht ins Buch aufgenommen. Ein nahezu unverständliches Deutsch steht neben präziser sprachwissenschaftlicher Diktion: “ . . . der ungelehrt und unwissend ist unwürdig Kritik, mit großen Mund, mit heidnisch Haß in siener Schweizerische Mundart. dieser kirchlicher zwei wient heute, möglicherwiese, je, in den zukunftig Jahren hier in Maria

Stien Kloster und anderen kostbaren Blut Priester-Seminars sind herrenlosen Eigentumen verlassen!"

Dann geht falsches Deutsch unvermittelt in gelungene Wissenschaftssprache über:

Alle Texte un Schreiben wir brauchen hier in Saon Jaon aohne Priester sind in der niederdeutschen von Damme, Bieste gegeben, dessen ist die miestens hier ihr Hiemat, südlich in Oldenburg, je wie auch in Epe ist, d.i. südlich von Gronau an der westfälisch-holländischen Grenze. Unser Mundart gehört zu der Westfälischen Gruppe (des) wie Westmünsterlandischen, das die westliche Vermittelung bildet zwischen dem Echtwestfälischen (Kerngebiet um Tecklenburg-Osnabrück-Münster) und dem Frankisch-Westfälischen, d.h. im besonderen dem Geldersch-Ouverysselschen als einem Teil des Niedersächsischen in Holland (Kerngebiet um Dewenter-Lochem-Oldenzaal). . . . Wenn auch dem sprachlich Interessierten die Texte unser Schriebung hier in Amerika jetzt eine genügende Charakteristik des Westmünsterländischen bieten, so ist es hier doch nicht überflüssig, einige Besonderheiten der Platt Mundart hervorzuheben.

Es braucht für den wissenschaftlich Interessierten wohl nicht besonders hervorgehoben werden, daß diese Zeichen nur gan(s)z in allgemeinen eine Vorstellung von der Eigenart dieser Zwielaute geben können, sozusagen an einen . . . "zerquetschen" Laut erinnern, dessen Anfang enger gebildet ist als der Ausgang, dessen zweiter Teil wohl schallvoller ist, aber nicht stärker betont als der erste. In der Regel stehen sie unter einem stark geschnittenen Silbenaccent, d.h. sie haben festen Anschluß an den folgenden Mitlaut.

Auch dieser Text enthält einen verdächtigen Satz: "Es sind diese Eigentümlichkeiten, die auf die Nachbarschaft im Norden und jenseits der deutschen Reichsgrenze hinweisen." Das Heilige Römische Reich Deutscher Nation gab es seit 1806 nicht mehr, dafür einen Deutschen Bund seit 1815 und ein Deutsches Reich erst seit 1871.

Diesen Brief mit Details zu niederdeutschen Sprachvarianten soll "Liwwät" 1847 (nur Jahres-, keine Tages- und Monatsangabe) an den Bischof Purcell von Cincinnati geschrieben haben, ein Plädoyer fürs Plattdeutsche als Gebets- und Predigtsprache in der Kirche. Auf ein Buch (nach 1871 geschrieben) verweist aber diese Stelle, die nicht in einen Brief an den Bischof passt, der dafür sorgen soll, dass der heimische Pastor sich nicht mehr gegen das Plattdeutsche in der Kirche sperrt:



nicht unerwähnt mag bleiben, daß vorläufig noch von einer Reihe anderer tiefgreifender Neuerungen in der Schreibweise, die sich aus wissenschaftlichen und ästhetischen Rücksichten empfahl, abgesehen wurde, um dem allzu sehr unter dem Banne der hochdeutschen historischen Orthographie stehenden (durch) durchschnittleser die Gewöhnung nicht übermäßig zu erschweren.

Es ist vorläufig nicht der Wechsel d:t durchgeführt (mit Rücksicht auf den Durchschnittleser, den vielleicht die neuartige phonetische Schreibung stören könnte), es steht also das im Inlaut eines Wortes gebrauchte Zeichen d auch im Auslaut dieses Wortes, wo es dann natürlich nach fester Regel stimmlose Geltung hat.

### **“Low German Catholic Catechism”**

Luke Knapke hat diesen Text (276 Seiten mit mehr als 160 Illustrationen) nicht ins Buch aufgenommen. Von 1819 bis 1827 will “Liwwät” ihn abgeschrieben haben von einer Vorlage aus den Jahren 1547 und 1667, also im Alter von 12 bis 20 Jahren. “Liwwät” hat auf die letzte Seite geschrieben: “de beller hewes ik maol’t.” (Die Bilder habe ich gemalt.)

Diese Aussage ist falsch. Die hier beigefügten Bilder können nicht in den 20er Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts gezeichnet worden sein, weder die Fabrik noch die Männer am Konferenztisch, auch nicht die an Barlach und an die katholische kirchliche Kunst der 1950er Jahre erinnernde Gruppe.

Und dieser Text kann nicht aus dem 16. und 17. Jahrhundert stammen. Unter dem Titel “Weltmission” steht da u. a.: “In de Mission Lant in Afrika-Mission arbäiten Pastoren, Bröer, Schwester, Kateksten, Lährer-Lährin, Ärzte un annere Hölper. - de Mäisten Missionaren kommt ut Christlüke Lant, - anneren stammt ut dat Missionlant süwer. . . . dien Gelt dient de Bau von Kiärken, Schol, un Krankenhüüse.” Das ist die Wortwahl unserer Zeit, und von einer Afrika-Mission kann vor den Entdeckungen und dem Kolonialismus des 19. Jahrhunderts so gut wie keine Rede sein.

### **Ludwig Richter (29, 60, 143, 155)**

Ludwig Richter (1803-84) war Zeitgenosse von Liwwät Böke. Er hat ganz gewiss ihre Zeichnungen nicht gekannt, also auch nicht deren Bilder abgezeichnet. Den im Buch reproduzierten Bildern dienten Zeichnungen als Vorläge, die Ludwig Richter zwischen 1855 und 1866 in Deutschland veröffentlicht hat.<sup>5</sup> Ein Fälscher kann sie abgezeichnet und “Liwwät” zugeschrieben haben. Liwwät Böke kann sie aber auch zwischen 1855 und 1882 in Cincinnati und Minster kennengelernt haben. Dann wäre es immer noch ein selbst für das 19. Jahrhundert



Ludwig Richter, *Der Lenz ist angekommen* (1855)





Liwwat Knapke, Spitakel! Gedruss! Biätten kann he nich! (1827)

bedenklicher und auch wohl ehrenrühriger geistiger Diebstahl gewesen; sie selbst hätte Entstehungsdaten und die Beschriftung verändert und die Zeichnung damit sich selbst zugeschrieben.

Auf Seite 29 z. B. wird aus der "Ährenlese" (1866) "Blagen, Hunne, de Gaten is doag insäit't. 1828 Liwwät Knapke" (Children, dogs; thus the garden is seeded); auf Seite 60 aus "Dein Reich komme" (1858) "von Grauten Beld - de Sutsengelen past de Blagen up! Liwwät Knapke 1828" - (from a large picture - The guardian angels watch the children).

Das Bild auf Seite 143 wird neu gedeutet. Aus Ludwig Richters "Der Lenz ist gekommen" (1855) wird bei Liwwät Böke "Spitakel! Gedruss!! Biätten kann he nich! Liwwet Knapke 1827" (Noise! Commotion!! Pray he cannot). Auf S. 155 wird aus "Kling, klang, gloria" (1858) "Kinnerspielerin, Liwwät Knapke 1825" (Children's play), und aus der "Ernte" (1866) schließlich "Arbeit in Feld, hungerich un dörstig. Liwwät Knapke 1827". (Work in the fields; they are hungry and thirsty).

### **Inneramerikanische geistige Diebstähle? (46, 47, 76, 146-47)**

Das Bild auf Seite 46 habe ich auch gefunden in John Clark Ridpath, *History of the World* (New York: Merrill and Baker, 1894), 4:83, und im *Cinti Illustrated 1892 Business Directory* (Cincinnati, 1891). In Deutschland ist das Bild 1879 in der Nr. 1880 der *Illustrierten Zeitung* erschienen: "Amerikanische Skizzen: Auswanderer auf dem Weg nach dem neuen Eldorado Leadville in Colorado." "Adventures en Route Overland to California" und "Getting There" hieß es bei Ridpath und im *Business Directory*, bei Liwwät Böke aber "1835. hew ik moalet ut min sinn in 1864" (I drew this from my mind in 1864). Die Seite 47, d. h. "usse flatschiff de fussen hendhal" (our flatboat down the river) habe ich auf einem Bilderblatt der Cincinnati Historical Society wiedergefunden, und die Seite 76 als Abbildung, zu der die State Historical Society of Missouri das Copyright besitzt. Hier hat "Liwwät" acht Personen entfernt und nur "ihren Mann" und den Hund der Familie verbleiben lassen ("ein jaohr later" [one year later]).

Das große Bild auf Seite 146-47 habe ich gefunden in Sarah Burns, *Pastoral Inventions: Rural Life in Nineteenth-Century American Art and Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), 71. Danach stammt der Holzschnitt aus *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* vom 19. Oktober 1878 und zeigt "Dakota Territory—The Great Wheat Fields in the Valley of the Red River of the North—Threshing by Steam on the Dalrymple Farm, Formerly a Barren Prairie." Drei Dampf- und Dreschmaschinen fehlen bei Liwwät Böke und eine Kirche und eine Flussniederung und Andeutungen von Äckern sind hinzugekommen—um Minsters relativ kleinräumige Landwirtschaft und feuchte Niederungen anzudeuten? Bei ihr heißt es: "Dösken mit de niee Dampfer un Döscker, sex wagens, seeptein perde, eichteihn männer, frulür, water junge, holt bringer, 1879" (Threshing with the new steam engine and threshingmachine, six wagons, seventeen horses, eighteen men, women, water boys, wood carriers).



Liwwät Böke kann dies Bild 1879 abgezeichnet haben–hätte dann aber „vergessen,“ die Quelle anzugeben.

## Bilanz

Die Bilanz ist vielschichtig und mehrdeutig. Die „Pictures from my Childhood,“ auch „Weaving and Spinning“ und „My Early Live“ können nicht von Liwwät Böke stammen, sind also eindeutige Fälschungen. Die Vorlagen sind erst nach ihrem Tode entstanden, und ihre Lebensgeschichte ist zum Teil falsch (drei Jahre Hebammenausbildung) und in zu fehlerhaftem Deutsch geschrieben, als dass der Text von ihr geschrieben sein könnte.

„A History of Christopher Columbus,“ „Tensions with Bruner“ und der „Low German Catholic Catechism,“ drei Texte, die nicht im Buch stehen, sind auch eindeutig gefälscht: die Brüche zwischen falschem und richtigem Deutsch sind zu offensichtlich. Einzelheiten lassen auf Texte des späten 19. und des 20. Jahrhunderts schließen. Das ist unübersehbar beim Katechismus der Fall: die Bilder passen nicht ins frühe 19. Jahrhundert, und die Afrika-Mission mit ihren Ärzten und Lehrerinnen und Krankenhäusern und auch heimischen Missionaren schon gar nicht ins 16. und 17. Jahrhundert, als Rom genug mit dem Protestantismus in Mittel- und Nordeuropa, mit dem 30jährigen Krieg und mit der Abwehr der Türken auf dem Balkan zu tun hatte.

Die Bilder nach Ludwig Richter und nach amerikanischen Vorlagen können von Liwwät Böke stammen; sie wären dann aber gestohlen, weil Quellenangaben fehlen und neue Datierungen und Texte Eigenproduktion vortäuschen.

Damit gerät der gesamte Bestand unter Fälschungsverdacht. Wie z. B. der Text „Our Passage to America,“ Seite 39-47: Warum hat „Liwwät“ in ihrem Tagebuch weder Tag noch Monat eingetragen? Seit 1830 gab es Bremerhaven an der Wesermündung. Seitdem bestiegen die Auswanderer erst dort und nicht schon in Bremen die Seeschiffe, die man von Bremen aus in 24 bis 48 Stunden mit einem Weserkahn erreichte. Sie unterscheidet nicht zwischen Kajüte und Zwischendeck. Kajüte konnte sie sicher nicht bezahlen, und Schlafkojen mit Schiebetüren und Schubladen darunter gab es nicht an Bord, schon gar nicht im Zwischendeck, das auf der Rückreise für Baumwoll- und Tabakballen benötigt wurde.

Wie z. B. der Text „Baltimore - Those Who Were Indentured,“ Seite 51: Diese Form der Auswanderung ging um 1820 zu Ende, auf jeden Fall mit Beginn der 1830er Jahre: die Reise nach den USA auf Kosten von Amerikanern, bei denen die Passage über einige Jahre abgearbeitet werden musste. Es ist auch unwahrscheinlich, dass „sick, the blind, or the elderly“ überhaupt vom Kapitän zur Dienstleistung angeboten wurden. „Liwwäts“ Aussage ist unglaubwürdig, Württemberger und Pfälzer *indentured servants* seien auch auf ihrem Schiff gewesen. Nicht weniger unglaubwürdig ist ihre Bemerkung: „The suffering and crippled often lay on the ship two or three weeks until they died.“ Wie z. B. das Bild auf S. 39: Eine solche Architektur gab es nicht im Oldenburger Münsterland.







*Blockhaus, State Historical Society of Missouri.*

Wie z. B. das Bild auf S. 19: Eine solche Landschaft mit Kirche und Steilhang und Serpentine zur Burg[?] hin gab es nicht in Bieste. Wie z. B. das Bild auf S. 8: Eine solche Feuerstelle (Kamin) gab es nicht in einem Oldenburger oder Osnabrücker Bauern- oder Heuerhaus. Wie z. B. das Bild auf S. 189: Gemalt 1880, der Kalender an der Wand zeigt aber Mai 1881. Die Karte übrigens, die von 1835 mit Wilhelmshaven und mit dem Jadebusen, ist eindeutig gefälscht. Es muss ein ganz aktuelles Blatt aus den 1970er/1980er Jahren abgezeichnet worden sein, weil "Liwwät Böke" die Eindeichungen der Jahre nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg von Wilhelmshaven bis hinauf nach Hooksiel berücksichtigt hat (Albrecht Eckhardt und Heinrich Schmidt, Hrsg., *Geschichte des Landes Oldenburg: Ein Handbuch* [Oldenburg: Holzberg, 1987] Kartenanhang). Hermann Havekost, dem Leiter der Universitätsbibliothek Oldenburg, ist dies aufgefallen.

Drei Bemerkungen zum Schluss. (1) Mag das Buch auch Fehler enthalten: so ist es zum Teil gewesen und so könnte es auch gewesen sein, bis hin zum Aufschrei einer starken Katholikin in den Wäldern Ohios gegenüber dem Bischof von Cincinnati: "Sex is always in the right season. . . . It doesn't matter what they are doing, they must get their clothes off! Sex is perhaps the only way they are together with one another" (S. 82). (2) Der Fälscher, wohl ein Plattdeutscher aus Ohio, hat, vermutlich ungewollt, das Ohio-Platt dieses Jahrhunderts konserviert. Das ist seine große Leistung, weil so wertvolles Material für die deutsch-amerikanische Migrationsgeschichte und für die German Studies in den USA entstanden ist. (3) Luke B. Knapke, Herausgeber der englischsprachigen Edition, ist nicht der Fälscher. Dem Vertrauensvorschuss dem Lieferanten der Texte und Bilder gegenüber hat er sich, auch wegen unzulänglicher Kenntnis der Syntax der deutschen Sprache, nicht entziehen können. Als Amerikaner ist ihm das "englische" Deutsch nicht aufgefallen, aber eine gute Übersetzung gelungen. Auch ich bin zunächst der Anziehungskraft des Materials und der immer noch bestehenden und geachteten vertrauenswürdigen Redlichkeit des Herausgebers erlegen.

*Carl-von-Ossietzky-Universität Oldenburg*  
Oldenburg, Germany

### Summary

Despite assertions to the contrary, the materials, both those published in 1987 and those still unpublished, attributed to the "pioneer Low German woman" *Liwwät Böke* in western Ohio, are indeed authentic, a closer inspection of both the illustrations, the circumstances, and the linguistic aspects of the materials reveals them to be largely a forgery. The publication of the texts and accompanying drawings in 1987 produced at first a wave of fascination, but questions were soon raised about the originality of the materials. Such allegations of forgery were dismissed by the Minster (Ohio) Historical Society which stated



on 23 January 1988 that they "must and do accept the Liwwät Böke materials as genuine."

This reviewer accepted that judgment initially, but lingering doubts led to further investigation. The results of that investigation leave little doubt about the plagiarism of a number of items in the *Liwwät Böke* materials and cast suspicion on other parts of the material that they, too, were falsified or plagiarized.

A number of illustrations allegedly created by Liwwät Böke in Ohio in the period 1825-32 are quite demonstrably copies of drawings by Bernhard Winter originally published in *Heimatkunde des Herzogtums Oldenburg* (1913). The same is true for other illustrations. The language usage also indicates that it could not have been written by a woman who was fluent in High German; it is an anglicized version of German often following English word order word-for-word. The translation of this material into English by Luke Knapke is quite good, leading to the suspicion that whoever produced the Liwwät texts translated first from English into German allowing for the retranslation back into English to be quite smooth. Several texts allegedly by Liwwät were not included in the published materials. These reveal both almost scholarly command of High German and a total inability to construct simple sentences in German without error. A paradox that leads to the suspicion that some texts were copied and others produced by a non-German fluent forger.

Other illustrations in the published texts offer evidence of plagiarism of works by Ludwig Richter. Still others reveal themselves to be copied from American sources. In the final analysis the entire set of published and unpublished materials is questionable. This reviewer has three parting thoughts: First, the factual errors in the published materials can be perhaps be explained rationally; second, the forger has preserved an Ohio version of Low German for which we can be thanks; and finally, Luke Knapke, who edited the English edition of the materials, is not the forger. He—and in the beginning I, too—fell into the trap set by the true forger.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of Cultural Geography* 10,2 (1990): 113-15.

<sup>2</sup> 16,2 (1991).

<sup>3</sup> Mamoun Fansa, Hrsg., *Aus dem Leben gegriffen: Ein Rechtsbuch spiegelt seine Zeit* (Oldenburg: Isensee, 1995), 156; Egbert Koolman u. a., Hrsg., *Bilderhandschriften des Sachsenspiegels* (Oldenburg: Isensee, 1995), 432f.

<sup>4</sup> Staatsarchiv Osnabrück.

<sup>5</sup> Ludwig Richter, *Das Ludwig Richter Album*, 2 Bde. (Hamburg: Rogner und Bernhard, 1968).





## Book Reviews

Edited by Timothy J. Holian  
Missouri Western State College

### **The Germans in the American Civil War.**

*By Wilhelm Kaufmann. Translated by Steven Rowan; edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann with Werner Mueller and Robert E. Ward. Carlisle, PA: John Kallmann, Publishers, 1999. viii + 392 pages. \$49.95 (cloth); \$29.95 (paper).*

Nearly ninety years after Kaufmann's German-language original appeared (*Die Deutschen im amerikanischen Bürgerkriege* [Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1911]), scholars and students of both the German element in the United States and the American Civil War now have access to what may be the most thorough account—albeit not without a tinge of filiopietism—of the massive German-immigrant participation in that conflict. Kaufmann's original work appeared at the fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of the Civil War, at a time when the surviving German-American veterans of that war, especially those who had served on the Union side, were still enjoying the respect and admiration of their fellow countrymen. That era of "good feelings" toward German-Americans as well as any opportunity for Kaufmann's book to have much impact fell victim to the anti-German hysteria which engulfed the nation during the First World War. Now, thanks to the masterful translation of Steve Rowan and the careful editing of Don Tolzmann, Werner Mueller and Robert Ward, we can attempt to recast the history of the Civil War with due acknowledgment of the war-time contributions of the newly arrived Germans, Swiss and Austrians as well as the descendants of earlier German immigration.

Following Kaufmann's original, the main body of the text consists of five chapters. The first chapter provides cultural and political background of the North and the South leading up to the secession crisis following Lincoln's election in November 1860. The second chapter details the statistics of German participation in the war as well as the pro-Union sympathies of most of the recent immigrants and the role of the Forty-Eighters. The third chapter exam-

ines briefly German units in the Eastern theatre of the war in 1861 while concentrating on the crucial role of German volunteer units in saving St. Louis and Missouri for the Union cause from April 1861 until the Battle of Pea Ridge in March 1862—the fate of Forty-Eighter Franz Sigel throughout this period is described in some detail. The fourth chapter first describes the participation of German units and German officers the Union campaigns in Tennessee during 1862, including the Battle of Shiloh (April 1862), and then focuses on those in the Eastern theatre—featuring again Franz Sigel in the Second Battle of Bull Run (August 1862)—taking the reader through the decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation and the bloody Battle of Fredericksburg in December. The final chapter follows the German units through the battles of 1863 (Chancellorsville and Gettysburg in the East; Vicksburg, Chickamauga and Chattanooga in the West) and continues on to the end of the war in April 1865. The 1864-65 period describes German units involved in both Grant's final campaign against Richmond as well as Sherman's march through Atlanta to the sea and then north through the Carolinas. Considerable attention is again given to Franz Sigel in his final defeat in the Shennandoah Valley at New Market (May 1864). It is indeed remarkable how frequently the action of a particular German officer or largely German regiment is characterized as "one of the greatest moments of glory on the battlefield." Of course, Kaufmann is writing to set the record straight; a record he believes has neglected to include the accomplishments of the large number of German officers and units during that war.

Following these detailed descriptions of the important engagements involving German units and German officers, Kaufmann provides an appendix containing a "Biographical Directory" with information on some 500 Union officers—as well as a few important civilians—of German, Austrian or Swiss birth and over thirty who served in the Confederate Army as officers, including the infamous Henry Wirz, who had the misfortune to end up commanding the Andersonville, Georgia, prisoner-of-war camp and was hanged by the Union victors after a court martial. Kaufmann goes to some length to downplay the importance of Franz Sigel vis-à-vis other German general officers in the Union Army such as Peter Joseph Osterhaus or August von Willich. On the other hand, he repeatedly defends Sigel's and other German officers' reputations against the critical opinions and machinations of the cliquish West Pointers who—as Kaufmann claims—did not have sufficient respect for the "foreigners" in their officer ranks. A second appendix contains a variety of short supplementary articles on such topics as "Pastorius and the True Beginning of German Immigration," "The Old Germans in the Shenandoah Valley," "The Sioux before New Ulm," and "The Treatment of War Prisoners." The translated original notes are supplemented by notes from the translator and the editors. The volume also includes thirty-six original maps detailing the German troop movements in the various campaigns and battles and brief selected bibliography by the translator and editors.



Despite the filiopietistic tenor and the many instances of exaggerated praise or defense of German officers and units, Kaufmann's depiction overwhelms the reader by its detail of the German participation in the Union cause. He rightfully focuses much attention in the first year of the war on the enthusiastic German participation in saving the Union from being rent asunder by secession, especially in the critical border state of Missouri. One can at the same time also understand the antagonism of nativists toward those they termed the "Damned Dutch" or "Damned Hessians" when one realizes that many of the early skirmishes and battles in Missouri were fought with "native" Missourians on the side of the South and units whose ranks approached 90 percent German-born on the Union side. One of the most interesting aspects of Kaufmann's book is its depiction of the internal politics involved in appointing German general officers in the Union Army. Lincoln was frequently at odds with his staff officers, primarily West Pointers, when attempting to satisfy the demands of the "Germans," perhaps believing that the wrong move might cost him reelection in 1864.

Kaufmann's original book had a number of flaws. Apparently some of Kaufmann's errors were corrected by the translator and editors. Others have not been corrected, leaving the reader with some uncertainty about the accuracy of the material. This is especially problematic given that Kaufmann provided no sources for his information—his justification for that omission is understandable given the circumstance in which he produced his book, but nonetheless troubling (3). Such errors can even be found in the biographical information of important figures such as Colonel Carl Eberhard Salomon (318). He is listed as colonel of the 3rd Missouri Regiment—the 3rd was actually the regiment commanded originally by Franz Sigel; Salomon commanded the 5th Missouri Regiment (both regiments were routed at Wilson's Creek in 1861). Kaufmann also seems to have had some difficulty with American geography, especially river directions. For instance, in describing the attack on Fort Henry in the winter of 1862, he wrote that Grant's forces moved "south down the Tennessee"—they were actually going up river (153). Since Kaufmann relied so heavily on the recollections of surviving veterans nearly a half-century after the conflict, a number of the many discrepancies were perhaps unavoidable. One editorial matter also puzzled this reviewer: The editors state that a selected bibliography follows the introduction (iv); however, the bibliography compiled by the editors does not appear until after Kaufmann's main text and two appendices (347-48).

Despite the book's factual flaws and a number of typographical errors—in an early section there is an annoying omission of apostrophes—Rowan's translation of *Die Deutschen im amerikanischen Bürgerkriege* should have a place in every library devoted to the coverage of the German-American element and the American Civil War. Civil War buffs will find it a fascinating volume. By detailing the involvement of several hundred thousand Germans, Austrians and Swiss in the American Civil War, this book is a lasting memorial to the dedication and

sacrifices of a unique generation of German-Americans for their adopted homeland.

University of Kansas

William D. Keel

### **Louisville Breweries.**

By Peter R. Guetig and Conrad D. Selle. *Louisville*: Mark Skaggs Press, 1995. 305 pp. + index. \$24.95.

*Louisville Breweries* presents the most extensive overview to date of the history of brewing and malting activity in Kentucky, focusing on Louisville proper but with a concurrent examination of breweries in nearby New Albany, Indiana, and their history. German contributions to local beermaking activity are given heavy emphasis in the book, including reproductions of numerous German-language advertisements from the *Louisville Anzeiger* of the late nineteenth century. While credit for finding these resources goes to Guetig and Selle, they acknowledge a heavy debt to the late J. William Klapper, formerly of the SGAS and the Kentuckiana Germanic Heritage Society, whose services to the authors included translations of many German-language advertisements and extensive histories of the various pre-Prohibition breweries.

The book is organized according to several categories of information, beginning with a general overview of the history of brewing in Louisville. Early sections of the book—there are no chapters, *per se*—briefly discuss the origins of brewing activity in Kentucky, the role of British immigrant brewers, the arrival of German brewers and consumers, and rapid expansion of the industry during the mid-to-late-nineteenth century. The onset of Prohibition and its effect upon brewing in Louisville is also treated, along with the rebirth and later decline of local brewing, leading up to the modern-day regeneration of beer production in the form of microbreweries and brewpubs. Foremost among the revelations presented here is the existence of a previously undocumented brewery, the first in Kentucky, preceding the oldest otherwise known by almost forty years; the authors reproduce an advertisement placed by John Nancarrow on 8 September 1789 (12), about a brewery in the Bluegrass region at Scott's Landing on the Kentucky River.

Subsequent early sections of the book, comprising roughly forty pages of narrative, are given over to a treatment of various aspects related to the production process and packaging issues. A brief discussion of brewery working conditions is followed by an overview of malt production and malthouses, draft beer production and the manufacture of beer barrels, and the importance of bottled and canned beer. The early role of common beer—a precursor to lager beer, which would dominate the market thanks largely to German immigrants beginning in the 1840s—receives welcome attention, given its importance to early American brewing operations and its general lack of coverage in many other



brewing history books. Included in this part of the text is a detailed discussion of bock beer, serving to dispel several myths about the origin of the beverage. Its Germanic heritage is reinforced through the reproduction of eight rare advertisements from long-gone breweries, seven of which are in German and, presumably, are culled from microfilm copies of the *Louisville Anzeiger*.

The middle part of *Louisville Breweries*, the lengthiest portion of the book, offers the histories of the many breweries which operated in Louisville from the early nineteenth century until the closure of its last old-line brewery, the Falls City Brewing Company, in 1978. Given that the vast majority of brewers in Louisville were of German descent, references to German-American customs and culture abound, and are augmented frequently by German-language advertisements and translated passages from publicity campaigns. Illustrations of many pioneer German brewers also are present, along with brief biographical references where information on the individual brewers has been found. While many of the German-related images are taken from the *Louisville Anzeiger*, numerous photographs—particularly of the few brewing concerns that survived Prohibition, such as Oertel, Frank Fehr, and Falls City—are taken from the archives of the University of Louisville as well as private collections. Photos of the brewery complexes, delivery trucks, and packaging materials give the companies a human face and serve as a welcome reminder of the days when the local beers outsold now-dominant nationally-manufactured brews with few if any ties to the community.

A final section of *Louisville Breweries* covers brewery sites in Shippingport—originally a separate settlement, but now a part of Louisville—and New Albany, Indiana, and also discusses independent beer bottlers and the saloon trade in Louisville. As with the previous sections of the book, there is ample evidence of the dominance of German culture in the saloon setting, including a reminiscence by Klapper about the times when, as a youth, he was sent by his father with a small bucket to fetch beer for the family from a local dispensary. The practice, commonly referred to as “rushing the growler,” has its roots in the German saloons of the mid-nineteenth century and remains one of the fondest memories of the heyday of German-American drinking establishments.

Several features enhance the usefulness of *Louisville Breweries*. A comprehensive directory of fifty-six known Louisville brewing sites, with opening and closing dates where available, makes clear that the city served as a center for brewing activity in the Ohio Valley, as well as the extent to which it was dominated by German-American interests. A hand-drawn map of the Louisville area shows where each concern was located, making it possible for latter-day explorers to see where remnants of Louisville's brewing past may be found. An index is provided, making it easy to find entries for the individual breweries. A spot check of index references revealed them to be accurate—something that, experience has shown, cannot necessarily be taken for granted in other, comparable works. However, there are several areas in which room for improvement may be noted. While many illustrations taken from microfilm copies are “clean,”

others (often important to the textual references presented) suffer from occasional microfilm spots and lines which, in extreme cases, detract from the readability of the message; some basic work with Adobe Photoshop or comparable software could have rectified this problem with relative ease. Although an extensive bibliography is provided at the end of the book, specific references seldom are given within the text to where the authors found their information, making it difficult for future scholars to corroborate some of the more interesting revelations. Also, the quality of photo reproduction throughout, while acceptable, generally is inferior to other recent publications in the area. Presumably for cost reasons, the authors chose to utilize basic paper stock; some scholars of the brewing industry will be left wanting for clearer copies of the photographs, particularly those from the University of Louisville archives, given their rarity and importance. All illustrations are presented in basic black-and-white within the book, although color copies of some of the materials are known to exist.

Taken as a whole, *Louisville Breweries* represents a welcome and worthy addition to the growing canon about the American brewing industry and its social and economic importance. The strong focus upon German-American participation in brewing will be particularly appreciated by scholars in this field. No less importantly, the book does an admirable job of demonstrating that Louisville, far from being a provincial outpost as it is occasionally portrayed to be, in fact served as a center of brewing activity and beer culture for well over a century, and contributed a healthy share of innovations that continue to be felt to this day.

*Missouri Western State College*

*Timothy J. Holian*

### **Das Deutschlandbild in der amerikanischen Literatur.**

*By Waldemar Zacharasiewicz. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1998. 419 pages. DM 64.00.*

The image of Germany and of the Germans in the literature of the United States during the past two centuries is the focal point of this major contribution to scholarship. This monograph precipitates an understanding of the zeniths and the depths of the social, political and economic relationships between these two nations and two peoples. With his extensive research findings, the author communicates easily with an erudite public and he also reaches those who may not be experts in the field.

The scope of this monograph is outlined in the introduction: it will examine the images of Germany and of the Germans in the nineteenth and in the twentieth centuries in many but, of course, not all literary works published on the western shores of the Atlantic. The emphasis is essentially upon literary works, but the author—recognizing the significance of periodicals, belletristic,



media and other forms of popular culture, especially in the twentieth century—includes also these facets as they become manifest in the U.S.-American experience. Excluded, because of its extensive dimensions, is the news press. It itself would necessitate a most voluminous separate investigation.

This study is chronological in approach. At the outset a brief discussion of the images evoked by Germany and the Germans in eighteenth-century America is sketched in order to establish an unbroken evolution thereof. As a result of this uninterrupted verbal panorama, one becomes cognizant that the German image has vacillated from high plateaus to deep valleys and also often found and finds itself somewhere between these extremes.

A broad spectrum of literature in both centuries is examined. Most of the authors scrutinized are household names; a few are perhaps more esoteric. The introduction, a most helpful one in focusing upon the task to be undertaken, might well be augmented by the reader before commencing with the detailed examination of the text by reviewing chapter 9, "Resumee und Ausblicke." With the presentation of such a wealth of detailed material, one might tend to lose direction. Chapter 9, the concluding chapter, eliminates this with alacrity through its summation of the two examined centuries of German images and also codifies succinctly the well-documented conclusions achieved by the author.

As an Austrian, the author is part of and yet slightly on the sidelines of the controversies surrounding the German image, as it were. This lends itself, it would seem, to greater objectivity. To be sure, Austria as a cultural contribution in the broader sense to the German image is not neglected. The importance of the milieu of Vienna and of Salzburg, for example, upon the American literati experience during their respective physical or mental sojourns in Central Europe is included.

How essentially positive images of the nineteenth century, even if often highly romanticized, became superseded by negative ones prevalent in many but not all American literary works after the Franco-Prussian conflagration and after the founding of a strong economic and military empire under Prussian authorship is minutely examined. The romantic images of the nineteenth century became shattered by the catastrophe of World War I and the events leading up to it. From an image of a land of poets and thinkers immersed in a whimsical land of forests, rivers and castles, negative clichés and stereotypes emerged of a stubborn, arrogant, even ruthless people, perceptions which have continued to haunt the German image to the present day. The effect of anti-German propaganda efforts toward the end of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century are shown to have a long-range and continuous impact upon the image.

The works of authors of German, German-American and "purely" American background are examined in order to determine if personal ethnic origins may have colored the pictures presented in the works of the respective writers. Such a possibility is dealt with here with psychological finesse and cultural insight. The period of the Weimar Republic and the early 1930s, as reflected in literary works, offered in general a respite from the negative images of the pre-



ceding decades and resulted often from an understanding on this side of the Atlantic of the unfairness of the Versailles Treaty and a recognition of the conscious attempts of many Germans on all levels of society to rebuild upon a model of democratic principles.

Yet, during this tumultuous period, when the seeds of National Socialism were being sown, some American writers remained oblivious to the possibility of an impending disaster. This often seems to have been fostered by a willingness to see the German dilemma as one which would be self-solving. Few, even in the earlier years of the National Socialist regime, recognized or perhaps wanted to recognize what was occurring. After September 1939 an about-face on the part of many writers became prolific. With it came also the conjuring up of clichés and images employed in the World War I period. They were and perhaps are, it would seem, dormant, having never been eradicated, and may well surface if external or internal, public or personal factors call them forth.

In the early post-World War II period American society was facing its own problems of racism. This led in part to an avoidance of a complete condemnation of everything German. Authors rather tended to condemn immoral acts committed by an immoral regime rather than condemning Germany and the German people *carte blanche*. There is no shying away, of course, from the images which have been evoked through the trauma of the Holocaust. Pointed out and well-documented is the fact that the virtual preoccupation with the Holocaust as a theme does not become manifest until rather late, i.e., essentially not until the 1960s. The reasons for which are also scholarly documented and resulted in part through the recognition by American literati of parallels in domestic society such as the plight of the Afro-Americans and the treatment and virtual extermination of Native American culture.

At the conclusion of the study, translations into German of all English language literary quotes cited in the study serve as a guide for the non-English language reader. Also the copious "Anmerkungen" as well as the bibliography offer a wealth of still further readily available topical information. The index of persons and topics, the final pages of this monograph, could perhaps have been more detailed. Political cartoons, also a factor in creating the German image generated in the United States, are interspersed throughout the volume, often illustrating literary views expressed in the respective periods under consideration.

The author presents here a milestone in the understanding and in the evolution of the image of Germany and the Germans in the American psyche during the last two hundred years, as seen in its literary works as well as—especially on the contemporary scene—in other forms of communication. A question also is tacitly posed: how will the newly unified Germany and its emergence as a superpower, at least in Europe, influence the image held by Americans today and in the future? Will it evoke pejorative images similar to those when a united Germany emerged before, more than a century ago, or will Germany be viewed through the rose-colored glasses as a society of poets and thinkers as it was



during a good part of the nineteenth century? Or rather will the future and the literary works of the future aim at objectivity in which a recognition of the human condition on both sides of the Atlantic will supersede stereotypes?

*Lehigh University*

*Alexander Waldenrath*

**Preußens und Sachsens Beziehungen zu den USA während des Sezessionskrieges 1860-1865.**

*By Michael Loeffler. 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. 10. Münster: Lit, 1999. 353 pages.*

The political and economic forces associated with national unity and unification form a major theme in U.S.-American history as well as in the history of Germany during the sixties and seventies of the nineteenth century. It is, consequently, readily comprehensible that the U.S.-American Civil War, fought in the 1860s, has so captivated the curiosity also of scholars of history in Germany. The parallels between these two nations in these years is marked. The author of this study examines in detail these historical similarities.

The Civil War in the United States ended in 1865; it was in 1866 that the North German League was established in Germany. Although the conflagration itself on North American soil ended in 1865, the period of reconstruction, the era when internal unity was firmly cemented, lasted well into the 1870s. Again it was also during the 1870s that Germany too finalized its internal unity. Historical similarities continue. Both nations achieved unification through the power of their northern states. These centers of power on both sides of the Atlantic evolved respectively into entities which emerged politically, economically and militarily as the stronger or strongest. These years in the nineteenth century were the time when both geographical areas, in Germany and in America, emerged as industrial states and were also led by men, however different, who exhibited strong political convictions which, to be sure, were intensely guided by instinctive pragmatism.

The author further documents how and why the industrial might of Germany was concentrated in the North, essentially in Prussia and Saxony. In the South, however, the largest state, Austria, remained more indebted to an economy dependent upon concepts of a previous era. It should not be surprising, this study demonstrates, that these two northern German states stood strongly behind the cause of the Union in North America. The interrelationship of three major factors within the development of Prussia, Saxony and the United States and their reciprocity, namely economic, political and ethical concerns, are focused upon in this monograph. How and why this political affinity with the

northern states in America manifested itself in both Prussia and in Saxony is examined. The author pursues, therefore, the developments in both German states which intertwine themselves with interests in North America: emigration from both states to America; the significance of reciprocal political, economic and commercial interests; and the question of ethical issues. Of course, these German states had political and economic ties to the United States prior to 1860 but, as is verified here, the war with its results radically altered forever the scope and significance of these relationships.

In regard to the third topic studied, the question of ethical issues, i.e., primarily the institution of slavery, the author is candid. This concern was a significant one particularly for the Prussian aristocracy, i.e., Junkers. Indeed, the Junkers had in reality much more in common with the land barons of the South in temperament and orientation than with the Americans of the North, emerging manufacturers, artisans and farmers. Why then did Prussia so strongly support the American North? Bismarck's pragmatism overcame class consciousness with the recognition of future Prussian political and commercial interests as being paramount.

The author structures his study succinctly in order to illustrate his conclusions factually. Initially he details German immigration to the northern and to the southern states before 1860 and its socioeconomic and intellectual influence upon America. From the outset, and consistently followed throughout this monograph, is the separate attention of the specifically-researched topics as they relate on the one hand to Prussia and then on the other to Saxony. Yet their interrelationship, in similarities and dissimilarities, is well documented.

Following a detailed introduction, concentration falls upon the period of the Civil War itself. An extensive discussion of formal governmental relationships between Prussia and the United States and between Saxony and the United States is preceded by one dealing with the economic and commercial relationships of both German states to the North as well as to the South. An observation of the influence exercised by German-Americans in the northern states and in the southern ones follows. The subsequent section examines the role and the orientation of the press in Prussia and in Saxony as it reflected public and personal views. This detailed chapter is enhanced by a shorter but no less significant review of the orientation of the press in other German states. Augmenting this detailed study is an extensive number of pages consisting of governmental and private correspondence and reports. These documents offer insight into the complex dealings of major figures participating in the events of these tumultuous years. A prolific bibliography of scholarly studies in the field is also included. The last pages offer an extensive and most useful index of individuals and places.

The author is to be commended for undertaking such a momentous task and for his diligence in researching the wealth of extant materials in so many archives on both sides of the Atlantic. This work firmly establishes the new direction into which the American economy, as a result of the war and its con-



sequences, would evolve. There came a new perspective to the fore in which industrial development would take precedence over agriculture. The emergence of a powerful new nation, the United States, was recognized especially by Bismarck. This, with his pragmatism, influenced essentially the orientation of Prussia toward the efforts of the North and Bismarck's astuteness in cementing strong ties to Washington. In Berlin and in Dresden one recognized that the victory of the North laid the foundation for the United States to become the economic-industrial-technological giant known today.

Lehigh University

Alexander Waldenrath

### **Early German-American Imprints.**

By Heinz G. F. Wilsdorf. *New German-American Studies/Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien*, vol. 17. New York: Peter Lang, 1999. xvi + 259 pages. \$51.95 (cloth), \$34.95 (paper).

The publication of Arndt and Eck's *The First Century of German Language Printing in the United States of America* (2 vols., 1989) laid the bibliographical foundation for research into the history of the printing activities of the early German immigrants, despite the regrettable fact that the originally projected third volume, covering the ca. 1,000 German language broadsheets surviving from this period, never appeared, so that it continues to remain a *desideratum* devoutly to be wished for. Nevertheless, this foundation provides the basis for in-depth studies of the activities of the early printers, the social, political, cultural, and economic conditions under which they had to work and struggle, their role in the intense religious controversies of the time, and the problems of operating in a pioneer society, to name but a few potential venues of research.

Heinz Wilsdorf's intention is to provide an English-language introduction to the study of German-American imprints, fleshing out, so to speak, some of the bibliographical information in Arndt and Eck, thus facilitating future research into the German-American press during colonial times and in the early days of the Republic and familiarizing monolingual Americans with an important aspect of their history. He sets out "to give a brief overview of the emergence of German language printing in this country with an emphasis on cultural developments in predominantly German language communities." He distills the bibliographical information into "a number of tables . . . which provide convenient summaries," and makes "extensive use . . . of facsimile title pages which not only give an impression of the artistic flavor of the book art at the corresponding time and its gradual evolution but also serve often as abstracts of the books' content" (4).

The author indicates in his "Acknowledgement" (xvi) that his book started its existence as a series of essays, a fact which is clearly obvious from the structure of his publication. After two brief four-page chapters, "Historical Intro-

duction" and "The Printer in a Frontier Society," the first and main part (15-123) of the work under review deals with three important early enterprises which he calls "Printers of Distinction" (21): Benjamin Franklin as a German-language printer, the Saur family, and the Ephrata Cloister press. Occasional overlaps between these sub-chapters are indicative of their previous existence as three separate essays now assembled under the roof of a monograph. Their value lies not so much in original research, as they rely heavily on C. William Miller (1974) for Franklin, Edward F. Hocken (1948) for the Saur family, and Julius F. Sachse (1899-1900), among others, for Ephrata. It is rather the condensation of previous detailed research into a form more easily digestible for many non-specialist readers and bringing it between the covers of a single book, which makes this work attractive and commendable. That it seems to satisfy a demand and fill a void is witnessed by the fact that at the time of writing this review (November 1999), the hardback edition had already sold out. The author's judgments are generally sound, some minor reservations on specific points notwithstanding.

The second major part, "Expansion of German Language Printing into the 19th Century" (125-212), shows more original work, offering valuable statistical information and insights into the expansion of the German printing trade after the earlier groundbreaking efforts. One irritating problem which rears its head repeatedly (139, 142, 147, and passim) is that despite being generally aware of the fact that in the early days printing and bookbinding were, as a rule, separate activities, the author in his discussion of specific copies of certain books treats their bindings as if they were the result of marketing decisions by the printers, comparable to modern publishing houses, and not based on the tastes and preferences of individual buyers. Christoph Saur, Sr., of course, had done both, but this was rather an expression of his incredible commercial versatility that included running a glazing shop, a clockmaking shop, and a lamp-black factory parallel to his printing and bookbinding business and, on top of that, working as a barber-surgeon and apothecary.

An appendix contains what previously had been a fourth essay, "Johann Arndt: *True Christianity*" (229-49), which would not have fitted well into the main body of the study concentrating on the pioneering efforts of the early practitioners of the printing art. This work, by a former "General-Superintendent des Fürstenthums Lüneburg" (1555-1621) enjoyed, together with its companion volume *Paradies-Gärtlein*, great popularity particularly among pietist congregations and groups with mystical leanings. Wilsdorf traces its American printing history from the first edition in 1751 at Franklin's press to an 1872 edition by the large Philadelphia publishing company of Ignaz Kohler and, in the process, provides the reader with much information (though he could have mentioned that it was printed well into the twentieth century). Useful for purposes of comparison would have been D. Peil, "Zur Illustrationsgeschichte von Johann Arndts 'Von wahrem Christentum,'" *Archiv für die Geschichte des Buchwesens* 18 (1977): 963-1066.



All in all, this is a very welcome contribution to the literature on early German language printing in America. Particularly welcome are the numerous (112) facsimile reproductions of title pages, frontispieces and illustrations, which are of great assistance to the reader to visualize the subject matter under discussion and are often quite indispensable. The author even goes to great trouble, not always successfully, to translate the frequently difficult and convoluted title pages of pietist and mystical works into English. He capitulates, however, before a short, four-line laudatory poem on Jacob Böhme (189, fig. 93), which he describes as "almost incomprehensible." This reviewer finds it perfectly comprehensible.

Finally, one general criticism: This work would have benefitted immensely from a last round of revision and proofreading. I am not concerned with misprints, though there are substantially more than are unavoidable; rather I wish the author had eliminated the large number of stylistic and linguistic infelicities and embarrassing *faux pas*, beginning with his list of abbreviations (xi).

University of Cincinnati

Manfred Zimmermann

**Vorwärts in die Vergangenheit: Das Bild der USA im deutschsprachigen Roman von 1776 bis 1855.**

By Wynfrid Kriegleder. Tübingen: Stauffenberg, 1999. 494 pages. SF 121.00.

The subtitle of Wynfrid Kriegleder's study, *Vorwärts in die Vergangenheit: Das Bild der USA im deutschsprachigen Roman von 1776 bis 1855*, is an unfortunate one, because it engenders the expectation that the author intends to follow a traditional methodology in a corpus less familiar to the reader, but which, nevertheless, does not promise to yield particularly fresh insights. Quite the contrary, however, is true. In the revised version of his *Habilitation* thesis, Kriegleder attempts to provide a methodological expansion of the now popular discipline of imageology. If such a study is to prove valuable, it ought to attempt to present a new approach or at least revise and refine existing approaches, the result of which is that such a study should yield new insights and raise new questions about the subject at hand. Moreover, in the case of German-American literature it is imperative now, after many of the works of the more well-known writers have been discussed, to locate and explore other neglected works—texts that previously have not been subjected to interpretive scrutiny.

Kriegleder addresses these issues in his study. He carefully develops an approach that attempts to locate the novel depicting American settings, motifs, and ideograms in what he refers to as the larger discourse systems of the respective period. In contrast to previous studies, Kriegleder incorporates pragmatic as well as semiotic concerns to ascertain not only how the image of America is constituted in the fiction of the period, but also "which argumentative interests



it serves" (14). In order to transcend the traditionally mimetic approaches to this subject, Kriegleder not only connects these novels with historical givens, but also with the available knowledge, ideological and mythic constructs, as well as other literary forms of the period. The latter point is very important, because Kriegleder argues that "Die gewählte Gattung—das ist eine zentrale Hypothese dieser Untersuchung—bestimmt in hohem Ausmaß das je realisierte Amerikabild" (13). The result is that such traditional terminology as the *Amerikaroman*, the *exotischer Roman*, all acquire a new significance in the context of the larger semiotic systems of the period. Furthermore, the traditional terminology of the *Amerikaroman* gives way to a more accurate and historical understanding of the significance of America for the German novel and how the German novel molded the idea of America to suit its variegated purposes. America was not restricted to one type of novel, but became the property of a whole series of different types of novels from the *Individualroman* to the *historischer Roman* and included such novelistic types as the *Robinsonade*, the *Thesenroman*, *Gesellschaftsroman*, *Liebesroman*, and *Familienroman*, to mention only a few.

Perhaps Kriegleder's most significant contribution in this study is to bring otherwise unknown and hardly known extant works back within the purview of scholarly inquiry. In each of the three sections of his study, Kriegleder offers the scholar a list of the works read and examined—most of these, of course, being widely read during the period in question, but at present thoroughly forgotten. Thus, in the first section, which covers the time span from 1770 to 1805, we find not only Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, but also David Cristoph Seyboldt's *Reizenstein* (1778–79), Sophie Merau's *Das Blütenalter der Empfindung* (1794), Sophie von La Roche's *Erscheinungen am See Oneida* (1798), to mention only a few, as well as the works of the better-known Johann Daniel Zschokke. In the second section, covering the time period from 1805 to 1830, in addition to Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*, we also find Therese Huber's *Die ungleiche Heirath* (1820), Henriette Fröhlich's *Virginia oder die Kolonie von Kentucky* (1820), as well as Eichendorff's *Abnung und Gegenwart* (1815). In the final section the more well known novels of Ferdinand Kümberger, Charles Sealsfield, and Friedrich Gerstäcker are examined as well as the works of other lesser known writers, e. g., Theodor Mügge's *Deutsche Liebe in Kentucky* (1836), F. R. Eylert's, *Rückblicke nach Amerika* (1841), Talvy's *Die Auswanderer* (1852), among others. Kriegleder's achievement here is that he has virtually exhumed a lost canon of fiction that runs the gamut from the *Trivialroman* to more serious *Belletristik*. In this process of exhumation our understanding of the fiction of this period is enhanced, not only because the affinities between popular and serious fiction are illuminated, but also because the connections and boundaries between different novelistic forms and their different modes of interpreting history and social knowledge are charted.

Finally, the insights derived from such a study point to the complexity of a subject that traditionally has been neglected or ignored by scholars. Kriegleder extricates the *Amerikaroman* from its marginal position in the field of German



Studies and shows it to be an essential preoccupation of the German novel. But other insights also prove to be important. Although the fiction dealing with America is complex and diverse, the essential ways America is used in the German novel prove to be similar. All of these works, Kriegleder notes, contain a "conspicuous continuity" since Seyboldt's *Reizenstein* (401). Regardless of whether the novel is intended to be a conservative novel of edification (*Erbauungsroman*) or what he calls a novel couched in the tenets of liberalism, both types upon examination reveal a "conservative deep structure" (405). Whether they represent America as a realm outside the pale of history or as a place where the laws of history can be regulated to preserve an ideal state free from the excrescences of modernity, or where the cycle of history can always be transcended by recourse to an earlier stage (Sealsfield and the frontier) or where America becomes the portent of a future gone awry (Kürnberger), all of these constructs are ultimately Eurocentric. They all reveal either an antipathy or ambivalence regarding modernity and modernization. Kriegleder here is indebted to Peter Brenner's seminal study *Reisen in die Neue Welt* (1991)—especially his thesis that the German construction of America is based on a "Flucht in die Zukunft" as well as a "Flucht vor modernen Entwicklungen." However, it is Kriegleder's achievement that he plots this entire development between these two concepts with meticulous accuracy, showing that the development of an image is at the same time the development of a society and culture. His final thesis that Kürnberger's *Der Amerikamüde* (1855) concludes a tradition of novelistic writing on America is important, because it means that America becomes appropriated within the ethnocentric narrative of emerging nationalisms. That America merely becomes, according to Kriegleder, "ein Land wie jedes andere" (428) is strongly contested by Jeffrey Sammons's recent study *Ideology, Mimesis, Fantasy: Charles Sealsfield, Friedrich Gerstäcker, Karl May, and Other German Novelists of America* (1998).

One further point ought to be made with respect to Kriegleder's study. The writers of such surveys and interpretive syntheses are expected to review the secondary literature critically. Kriegleder does this masterfully, not only by trenchantly summarizing the criticism on the *Amerikaroman* but also by presenting his case persuasively, especially in his discussion of Charles Sealsfield, where he argues forcefully both against a Bakhtinian reading of Sealsfield's fiction as a polyphonic narrative as well as the thesis of Sealsfield as a proto-modernist sustaining multiple perspectives in his fiction. Kriegleder is a careful analyst who places his own literary agenda to one side before delving into the text, all the time considering literature both in its historical context and form.

One reservation, however, may be made about the Kriegleder text. Because of the carefully designed structure of his study, in which the three sections of the work are subject to the same mode of analysis, many of Kriegleder's significant insights are attenuated by repetition. It is not possible to rewrite a brilliant insight in a variety of ways and still always sustain intellectual excitement.

In conclusion, Kriegleder's study is a significant work of synthesis that will

become a standard work in the further discussion of the German literary preoccupation with America.

University of Turku

Jerry Schuchalter

**Künstler, Cowboys, Ingenieure . . . : Kultur- und mediengeschichtliche Studien zu deutschen Amerika-Texten 1912-1920.**

*By Deniz Göktürk. Literatur und andere Künste. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1998. viii + 265 pages. 27 illustrations.*

Far beyond the period of time which is the focus of Deniz Göktürk's study, roughly the years between 1912 and 1920, stereotypical assumptions about the United States provided material for arguments in discussions about sociocultural changes in Germany. America and "Americanization" still serve as positive, as well as negative, examples in debates about different forms of societal change, which Göktürk summarizes as modernization. During the controversy in Germany in the summer of 1999 about whether German law should accommodate the consumer's wish to be able to shop on Sundays, this was certainly the case. This debate showed clearly the current political relevance of Göktürk's interdisciplinary investigation. Similarly, her work reviewed here is able to bring out interesting connections between research in the humanities and ongoing discussions in German everyday life.

Göktürk's study is situated at the crossroads of several discourses: literary, sociological, and historical discourse, but also German-American relations and, to a large extent, film studies. Primarily in the introduction of the book, the author tackles the political dimension of her inquiries. When she states its general agenda, namely how, in the first two decades of the twentieth century, the experience of the motion pictures and the (German) imaginations about America find their expression in literature, it becomes clear, however, that Göktürk's interest lies beyond political considerations and more in aesthetic representation. Indeed, several chapters of her study are classified as literary criticism: with respect to discussions on cinema contemporary to them, she reads a series of German novels from the 1910s which have America as their subject. The author complements these discussions of literature by examining movies, some of which were actually made from these novels. Other films investigated cannot claim a novel as their basis but share the subject of supposedly American imagery.

Chapter one contains an analysis of what is perhaps the most eminent artistic work treated in Göktürk's book, Franz Kafka's novel fragment *Der Verschollene*. An investigation follows of the "pact between the poet [*Dichter*] and mass culture," i.e., a contract of an established literary author with the motion picture industry. Gerhart Hauptmann, his novel *Atlantis* (published in 1912), and the movie of the same title supply the examples for such a "pact"



(chapter two). Göktürk then turns to the intertwining of "controversies on Berlin's industrialization and modernization, forms of life in the metropolis, traffic and new cultural institutions" on the one hand, and debates about "Americanization" on the other hand. This context provides the basis for the discussion of two German Science Fiction novels from 1913, *Der Tunnel* by Bernhard Kellermann and *Der Golfstrom* by Hans Ludwig Rosegger (chapter three). Yet another novel, Alfred Bratt's *Die Welt ohne Hunger* with a giant in the meat industry as its protagonist, is the focus of the next chapter. Interpreting this work, Göktürk explores the relation between the meat industry, film production, and the role of the mass media in social utopias such as "a world without hunger" (chapter four). In Chapter five, the author approaches a figure which still today tries to impress us as an "icon of male steadfastness" in cigarette ads: the cowboy. Her special interest in this figure is, again, not the "real" American cowboy, but his image in Germany during the years before and soon after World War I, an image cultivated by adventure novels (Karl Postl alias Charles Sealsfield, Karl May) and later by German cinematic contributions to the western genre. Göktürk surprises the reader in this context with probably the most unexpected materials of her book: silent western movies produced in Heidelberg and Munich in the late 1910s. Finally, the long forgotten Austrian writer Robert Müller is the topic of Göktürk's last chapter. Especially the analysis of Müller's essayistic works on "Americanism" and the connections between images of America and their realistic content round up her book on many different aspects of such images. Göktürk juxtaposes Müller's critique of literary "Americanism" which leads him to the provocative statement "America does not exist at all," with a discussion of his novel *Der Barbar*. According to Göktürk, this novel embodies the essence of his critique, namely that the possibility of representing the reality of America in literature is non-existent, although the book is decisively an *Amerikaroman*.

*Künstler, Cowboys, Ingenieure* . . . is an excellent source-book for discoveries in literature as well as in motion picture history. Göktürk brings long forgotten authors such as Kellermann, Rosegger, and Bratt back to the memory of the literary historian. Especially Rosegger's *Der Golfstrom* is a striking example that fascist ideology did not only surface in texts praising a distant past of the *Blut und Boden* literature, but also in the science fiction genre. Through her juxtaposition of this conservative novel with *Der Tunnel*, a work of the more liberal author Kellermann, she provides the surprising insight into how works of pre-World-War-I German authors with opposing political views draw from the same, basically negative, image of America. This image consists mostly of a country defined by a boundless market of media and publication which is at the same time threatening and fascinating. For the reader interested in film, in particular for American readers, Göktürk also proffers unexpected phenomena. She gives evidence to the fact that the Western movie genre, for example, was truly an international genre in its early developmental stage-somewhat unbelievable for a genre which is, through names such as John Ford, John Wayne, or Robert

Mitchum, from today's perspective so tightly associated with the United States.

Aside from supplying the reader with a lot of new and exciting information, the book is well-written and provides a good overview over the critical history of its topics. Through such a form of investigation, Göktürk does an excellent job of putting her work in a broader context. In particular, the book's introduction would be an ideal starting point for a class on the history of the representation of America in German culture.

Nonetheless, the book, which after reading its introduction brings the reader to expect a truly interdisciplinary study, leaves these expectations partially unfulfilled. The subtitle announces a contribution to the "history of culture and of the media" (*Kultur- und mediengeschichtliche Studien*). The investigation does, however, not wholly correspond to this declaration because a major part of it—the 233 pages of the main part of Göktürk's book contain, after all, discussions of six extensive novels—is "just" literary criticism. For example, the subject of cinema and its impact on the interpretation of the treated literary works rarely moves beyond the level of content; the theoretical relevance of the subject is a minor one. In the chapter about Kafka, a lack of substantial connection is most apparent. For although Göktürk's interpretative claim that *Der Verschollene* presents the reader with a reversal of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* is insightful and far-reaching, it does not appertain to cinema in the least. The discussion of Hauptmann's *Atlantis* in connection with the film which originated from it occasionally runs the risk of reducing the literary imagination to biographical and factual meanings. Another less positive aspect of the study is the marginality of its analyzed objects. That may, perhaps, be a matter of taste and therefore not deserve to be criticized. Still, to read several pages of plot summaries of not very sophisticated silent movies is a somewhat troublesome task after the reader was told by the author that these movies were, indeed, poorly made. A similar weakness surfaces in the chapter about Bratt's novel *Die Welt ohne Hunger* where Göktürk indulges in several pages of paraphrase coupled with lengthy quotes from the book. Such accumulation of detail would seem less tedious if it formed the starting point of original theoretical considerations. The immense potential of the notion of interdisciplinarity lies, after all, in innovative theoretical thinking. Nonetheless, with *Künstler, Cowboys, Ingenieure . . .*, Göktürk contributes a pioneering study to the field of German images of the United States which provides excellent information to anybody interested in literature, motion pictures, and the aesthetics of the early decades of the twentieth century.

University of Kansas

Paul Gebhardt



## **Lives and Letters of an Immigrant Family: The van Dreveltdts' Experiences along the Missouri, 1844-1886**

*Written and translated by Kenneth Kronenberg in association with C. Hans von Gimborn. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1998. xxvi + 210 pages. \$45.00.*

Anton and Theodore van Dreveltdt were wealthy and intelligent brothers, troubled by a hidden family origin. Each migrated from the Prussian Rhineland to Missouri in the 1840s. Neither seemed fully at home either on their large European estate or in America. Even Anton's son Bernhard, the third principal writer of the letters collected here, and more Americanized than his father and uncle, dreamed of returning to Germany as a wealthy man. This collection of family letters is of considerable interest due to the events of the family's history, the personalities of its members, and the observations made by the van Dreveltdts of the immigration experience and events around them in the new world.

The brothers were sons of a Catholic priest and his housekeeper in Emmerlich in Prussian Cleves. The priest, of Dutch descent, managed in 1813 to acquire an estate of more than 800 acres after Napoleon confiscated church lands. Anton took over the estate in the 1830s. Theodore, after joining a *Burschenschaft*, or political fraternity at the university at Bonn, served almost a year in prison when the fraternity was investigated. Afterward, he was denied entry into the Prussian civil service. Having read Gottfried Duden, in 1844 Theodore joined an old university friend along the Missouri River in Montgomery County, Missouri. There he waited several years for Anton to send the money which would have allowed him to become a large-scale farmer. He suffered from malaria and the usual frontier deprivations. He spent the winter of 1847-48 freezing in a miserable cabin in what was soon to become Minnesota Territory.

Early in 1849, Theodore returned to Germany. His letters reveal increasing disillusionment with the society that had been produced by the political freedom he had valued so highly. Yet why he returned to Germany just as the Revolution of 1848 was waning is not explained. Kronenberg's short chapter of background material on the Revolution of 1848 seems almost extraneous. Did personal reasons completely overwhelm the political in this instance?

Very soon after his return to Germany, Theodore married. Just as quickly, Anton, the older brother, migrated to St. Louis with his sons. By this time, however, Anton had become a quarrelsome alcoholic. He tried farming but with little success. Few letters from these years are provided. Anton was always reluctant to write. In 1855, he returned to Germany to sell the estate to Theodore, but by October of that year, he was back in America. He bought a large farm in Illinois only a few hours by wagon from St. Louis. His son Bernhard opened a store. After Anton died in 1859, Bernhard sweated out the American Civil War ever fearful of his business and of being conscripted into the Union Army. His letters from those years are much better informed about events than are most

such, yet, the racism he displayed as a unionist Democrat is distasteful to modern readers. Indeed, the politics of all groups during that era, except the radical Republicans, are distasteful to us now. Bernhard died in 1866 after which his widow and children returned to Germany. Here the book ends, although Theodore's sons and Bernhard's brothers-in-law also immigrated to America.

These were intelligent and articulate, if difficult, people. Their observations and example of how wealthy Germans viewed America in their time are of considerable value. Translations of original letters and documents comprise only half this book. The remainder is Kronenberg's attempt to explain the letters and provide historical background of the family and its times conducive to understanding what is said in the letters. The explanatory material pertaining to the times is generally reliable and essential for the general reader, but historians who know about nineteenth century Germany, German emigration to America, and the Civil War in the Midwest will find little that is new.

The letters themselves reveal much that even specialists will find of interest, but they leave many questions unanswered. Nor can the author-translator address all matters of potential interest. An example of the latter concerns the use of Dutch versus German. Apparently the letters were all in German, but Anton's grave marker in St. Louis is in Dutch. In general, however, Kronenberg has provided a treatment of the letters characterized by both intelligence and sympathy. Perhaps this owes in part to the parallels between American idealists of the "baby boom" generation (or which Kronenberg and the reviewer are a part) and German idealists of the post-Napoleonic era. Disconnection from family and heritage may also serve as an element linking the author to his subjects. According to the preface, Kronenberg is a Jew of German descent whose family was "largely destroyed in the Holocaust." That he could come to care for these German gentiles of a previous century and could work so well with their modern descendants in producing this book, gives us hope, indeed, touches the heart as much as does the story of the van Drevelts themselves.

Hendrix College

Robert W. Frizzell

### **A Strong Mind in a Strong Body : Libraries in the German-American Turner Movement.**

*By Dolores J. Hoyt. New German-American Studies—Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien, vol. 12. New York: Peter Lang, 1999. 205 pages. \$48.95.*

The growing body of research in the field of German-American Studies has not yet paid significant tribute to the importance of libraries in shaping the intellectual life of German-Americans. In particular, research on the American Turner movement has yielded surprisingly few publications to illustrate the role of reading and libraries within the German-American communities and



societies. This may be surprising in view of the proclaimed Turner motto, "a strong mind in a strong body." Dolores Hoyt's recent study, which focuses primarily on the Midwest between 1848 and 1918, presents a welcome contribution to the understanding of German ethnic groups, as well as library development in the United States. Numerous charts and tables illustrate the author's findings in detail. She also entered the statistical data collected from library remnants, historical societies, and archives—such as the American Turners Archives at Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis—into a database to run correlation analyses.

Starting with an overview of American Turner organizations and their libraries, the author examines in detail the Turner library holdings in several Midwestern communities, the organization and maintenance of the collections, their content and usage, as well as the interaction with emerging public libraries. The communities range from the small Turner settlement of New Ulm to the large metropolitan areas of Chicago, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, and Indianapolis. The early bylaws of the National Federation of American Turners indicated that each Turner society was to create a library for its members. The author demonstrates that over 50 percent of the societies achieved the established goal. Thus, they contributed to the professed objective of the liberal Germans emigrating after the failed Revolution of 1848, to "challenge its members intellectually and make them informed, critical-thinking citizens" (131).

All of the libraries examined showed a definite emphasis on German literature, which was also the most frequently used category. Popular titles included the classics, especially Schiller and Heine. The author also intends to support the widely-held premise that the new German immigrants were interested in more than their own background. Their goal was to actively engage in the democratic process of their new fatherland. The heavy circulation of books dealing with American history is seen as proof that "assimilation was desired by the Germans, but not at the expense of the complete abandonment of their cultural and linguistic heritage" (3). Unfortunately, the author can base her hypothesis on only limited direct evidence of the actual use of Turner libraries. Many records were destroyed, actual borrowers' records are often incomplete or tangential. Thus the discovery of the borrowers' record book of the Wilmington Turngemeinde in Delaware must suffice to provide a case study of actual usage.

Despite an increasing overlap with emerging public libraries, the Turner libraries were often the primary or only source for liberal political texts, such as the writings by the radical Forty-Eighter Karl Heinzen, or Gustav Struve's controversial, multi-volume *Weltgeschichte*. Obviously, the Turner libraries also specialized in publications on gymnastics and physical fitness. In comparing her study of Turner libraries with public libraries, Hoyt can utilize Robert Cazden's categorization which identified the Turners as one of the major groups impacting the development of public libraries. An interesting phenomenon is the New Ulm Turner Library. It constituted the primary library until 1937, when the New Ulm Public Library was founded. However, the newly emerging library



refused accepting the Turner collection when it was offered to them, citing the German titles as being of little interest or relevance to the modern community. Whether the rising Nazism in Germany had any bearing on this decision is, unfortunately, not discussed. Another interesting case study pertains to the St. Paul Turnverein in Minnesota. This is a rare situation of a gymnastics society developing out of a literary association, the German Reading Society.

The author concludes her study with the realization that the Turner libraries followed the development of the Turner societies themselves. Whereas the early immigrants were committed to education and proclaimed liberal and radical ideas, later generations shifted their interest to physical education. Mental gymnastics gave way to physical fitness. The Turners continued fostering the "sound body," but they had to increasingly turn to public library German-language collections to nurture the "sound mind." Moreover, not only did the younger generation feel more at ease with the English language, but also German as a mother tongue became jeopardized.

*Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis*

*Claudia Grossmann*

**Migration—Siedlungsbildung—Akkulturation: Die Auswanderung Nordwestdeutscher nach Ohio, 1830-1914.**

*By Anne Aengenvoort. Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beibefte, 150. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999. 371 pages. DM 136.00.*

The interconnected processes of emigration, settlement and acculturation lie at the heart of German-American studies. Aengenvoort's detailed analysis of the causes and the course of emigration from selected northwestern territories of nineteenth-century Germany in itself would make this study of great value. However, in following those emigrants as they selected areas for settlement in West Central Ohio in the 1830s, built their communities and established their institutions, and ultimately acculturated themselves to their new American environment, the author has provided us with a comprehensive picture of the German immigrant experience in both the Old and the New World. Building on the earlier immigration and acculturation studies of scholars such as Kamphoefner, Gjerde and Conzen, Aengenvoort confirms and elaborates their essential findings with much detail and at the same time poses questions for further research.

Her study is bolstered by its focus on the transfer of a very compact group of emigrants, nearly all of them from neighboring districts in the Prussian province of Westphalia, the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg, and the Kingdom of Hannover, to a similarly compact area in the southern townships of Auglaize County in Ohio. Reflecting the religious differences in the places of origin in Germany, the settlers formed three contiguous and yet distinctive communities in Ohio: Minster/Catholic; New Bremen/Lutheran; New Knoxville/Reformed.



Despite the bond of a common linguistic heritage—closely related dialects of Low German—each of these communities developed distinctive German-American institutions and cultures. Despite much change and the overall acculturation of these communities to a more or less mainstream American culture, the original religious distinctions continue to be reflected in the varying development of those communities to this day.

In addition to an introductory and a concluding chapter, Aengenvoort's study has four main divisions. In her second chapter, she explores the economic, social and personal factors that culminated in the decision by so many in rural northwest Germany to leave their homeland for America in the third decade of the nineteenth century. She provides a detailed analysis of the interaction of industrialization's impact on the rural cottage weavers, population growth, and even religious intolerance in creating a mentality susceptible to the idea of emigration. The interplay of so-called "push" and "pull" factors, especially reports and letters from friends and relatives already in America, ultimately led hundreds of families to leave in a chain migration to Ohio. Aengenvoort's third chapter details the process of selecting the location of the new settlements and the establishment of the new communities. Newer immigrants tended to follow the earlier ones to a particular community largely on the basis of common religious belief and relationship, either through family ties or common origin in Germany.

Her fourth and fifth chapters explore the transition from German immigrant settlements in mid-nineteenth century to German-American communities by the beginning of the twentieth century. In the fourth chapter she focuses on the social and economic aspects of that transition. In the fifth chapter, Aengenvoort argues that religion and language played the most significant roles in the maintenance of German ethnicity. Paradoxically, the distinctive religious beliefs of the three communities (Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed) prevented the formation of a larger German community—a "little Germany"—in western Ohio, despite the common regional and linguistic origins of all three communities. Even in the preservation of the Low German dialects, each community perpetuated a distinctive dialect reflecting the different origins of the immigrants in northwestern Germany, rather than developing some kind of homogenous settlement dialect. Ultimately, Aengenvoort argues that common religious belief rather than common German origin is the critical factor in the formation of these communities.

Beyond her contribution to immigration and acculturation research, Aengenvoort provides a wealth of detailed information for the linguistic researcher of German-American *Sprachinseln*. The role of a common religious belief in maintaining the linguistic cohesion of an immigrant settlement is strongly confirmed by Aengenvoort. Similar patterns of linguistic acculturation have been documented for Low German, Swiss, Mennonite, Volga German, and Bukovina German settlements on the Great Plains. Where the religious beliefs require continued use of German in worship services the results are also clear

for maintenance of some type of German dialect in everyday speech (e.g., Amish, Hutterites). One minor problem though—and this is not uncommon in linguistic studies as well—are references to masses held in German in the Catholic churches (in Aengenvoort p. 278) of German-American communities. Until after the Second Vatican Council in the 1960s, we should be very skeptical of claims that Catholic masses were held in German rather than Latin. At best such statements are misleading. There can be no comparison to regular use of High German in the German Protestant services and its impact on the preservation of German and German dialects in such communities.

*University of Kansas*

*William D. Keel*

**Memoirs of a Nobody: The Missouri Years of an Austrian Radical, 1849-1866.**

*By Heinrich Boernstein. Translated by Steven Rowan. St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1997. \$34.95.*

This well-edited book consists of the second half of Boernstein's autobiography, which was first published in 1879. Of particular interest to intellectual and regional historians, Boernstein's life (1805-92) reveals the failure of European radicalism in the post-Civil War period. His personality and social pretensions led many to dismiss him as a crackpot. Rowan states succinctly that because of "his own pretensions to higher culture, he was more schlockmeister than auteur, pitching sensationalism and scandal with a thin admixture of tony material" (4). At any rate, he became a failed and forgotten ideologue before his death; the Rowan edition has rescued him from oblivion and provided the reader with an interpretation of the era which will serve as a model for decades to come.

Rowan's judicious editing is evident throughout the text. He has retained successfully the original flavor of the text and added meticulously researched and polished footnotes that enhance the text. Rowan consistently uses language accessible for the general reader not only for textual terms, but also for references and allusions as part of the background of the period. In particular Rowan succeeds brilliantly in detailing the panoramic setting of St. Louis and its relationship to the Upper Mississippi Valley. He also provides a remarkably cogent account in the footnotes of Boernstein's Civil War adventures in western Missouri. This section is very valuable for students of the Failed Southern Rebellion.

Rowan is at his best in providing crucial information on the rise of Boernstein and explaining his importance as a Freethinker, an almost archetypal American intellectual of the nineteenth century. Boernstein arrived in St. Louis on 20 April 1849 on the steamboat *Sarah*. Within a year he became the influential editor of the *Anzeiger des Westens*. This is the most miraculous transformation



in the entire autobiography. How could Boernstein become a successful homeopathic physician in the town of Highland, Illinois, some one hundred kilometers to the east of St. Louis? Boernstein blithely tells the reader that a three-page letter changed his life. He traveled to the home of Theodore Olshausen, a radical politician from Schleswig-Holstein, and stayed the night. He had dinner and found that "the friendly, cozy tone of a north German home was elevated and rendered more beautiful by the American sense of independence. There were readings, music was played, the events of the day were earnestly discussed, and over everything there reigned a cheerful and hospitable spirit binding everything together" (132). Possibly there was a rekindling of memories of his youth in Hamburg, from the fire and friendship of Olshausen. Perhaps more of a discussion of medicine at mid-century would have been helpful to the reader.

By 1857 Boernstein had become a wealthy man and a community leader of St. Louis, a supporter of literature, education, and popular theater. Additionally, he sponsored a number of voluntary organizations such as the Society of Free Men, which rapidly replicated itself in Burlington, Davenport, and other cities settled by Germans in the 1850s. This organization sponsored festivals, picnics, concerts, and theatrical presentations for the public. There were also cultural clashes in this period over the rise of the American Party, or as it was called by its enemies, the "Know Nothing" Party. In the election of 1852 there were demonstrations in St. Louis and other Midwestern cities. In March Ned Buntline (E. Z. C. Judson) arrived and organized against the Democrats of the city. Boernstein thought they were just a bunch of rowdies who tried to disrupt the city elections of 5 April 1852. In his editorials he railed against a mob of 1,000 that was "joined by a number of plundering Irishmen" who set houses afire (179). Luckily for the property owners, German militia companies quelled the disturbance.

This is a very interesting moment in American history because Buntline later helped "Buffalo Bill" Cody to write his first biography in 1869. Further, a young printer, Sam Clemens, experienced his first taste of community violence, which he later incorporated into his stories as "Mark Twain." This is popular culture synchronicity of the highest order, deserving of the analysis of the next generation of German-Americanists.

*Scott Community College*

*William Roba*

### **Hometown Beer: A History of Kansas City's Breweries.**

*By H. James Maxwell and Bob Sullivan, Jr. Kansas City, MO: Omega Innovative Marketing, 1999. 300pp. \$59.95.*

From a historical perspective, it has been easy to overlook the contributions of northwestern Missouri to national beer production and the German-American role in it. Often-neglected for its status as a neighbor to long-dry



Kansas, the region was home to several major producers in Kansas City and St. Joseph, few of which have been afforded more than perfunctory mention in assessments of brewing activity in the American Midwest.

That oversight has been rectified to an admirable extent by *Hometown Beer*, in which the many aspects related to brewing and selling beer in Kansas City are explored. The book begins with a useful prologue, followed by a two-page overview of key dates in American beer history from 1612 (the founding of the first brewery in the New World) to 1994 (when it finally became legal to mention specific alcohol content on beer containers). A chapter on lesser-known breweries in Kansas City provides available information on nineteenth- and early twentieth-century producers from which little historical documentation has survived. In the case of brewers with a more visible profile, Maxwell and Sullivan have gathered materials from a variety of sources to piece together lengthy overviews of their operating years, the products they manufactured, and the reasons for their ultimate demise. In lesser hands, many of the narratives might have degenerated into a redundant summary of business practices, yearly output, and names of beers produced, but the authors skillfully weave information about the brewer barons and other people key to business operations together with salient details about local beer manufacturing and distribution operations. The result is a series of engaging profiles not only of important area businesses, but also of civic-minded individuals—such as the Muehlebachs and the Heims, both of whose family legacies are felt to this day—who transformed local brewery operations and served as community leaders at a time when the city was coming of age.

Much of the focus of *Hometown Beer* is placed upon breweries which operated in Kansas City before and after Prohibition, most notably the aforementioned Muehlebach and Heim concerns as the most prominent beer producers in the city's history. But in the interest of completeness, the authors have also included detailed discussions of beer depots established in the city by breweries located outside of Kansas City. As a result, chapters devoted to operations such as Anheuser-Busch (headquartered in St. Louis), Lemp (also of St. Louis), Dick Brothers (Quincy, Illinois), and others shed light on the extent to which "foreign" beers, distributed by local agents although manufactured many miles away, penetrated the Kansas City market before Prohibition. Two other chapters pursue a related theme, the post-Prohibition development of brewing operations in Kansas City by producers with established breweries located outside of the city, specifically Schlitz (Milwaukee) and Goetz (St. Joseph).

Although there is no chapter in *Hometown Beer* specifically devoted to German-American contributions, elements of German-American culture run throughout the work. Images of pre-Prohibition breweriana, particularly that of the Heim Brewing Company, reveal a strong connection with the local German community. In one specific case, the authors shed light upon the long-mysterious crescent-moon and number 11 emblem that served as the brewery's corporate symbol. As Maxwell and Sullivan explain the story, the emblem has



its roots in nineteenth century German *Biervereine*, gentlemanly drinking societies in which beer served as a social emollient. Ten strict rules of conduct governed such associations, but an eleventh, unwritten order ("*Es wird wieder getrunken*") also was emphasized—and later was adapted by Heim to advertise its name and products (138).

While the text of *Hometown Beer* will more than satisfy those curious about Kansas City's brewing heritage, the illustrations presented are the real selling point of the work. The authors have included hundreds of rare photographs—where possible in full color—and advertisements from archives and private collections throughout the region. Reproduced in large size and with excellent clarity, and printed on deluxe paper stock, many of the images appear to jump off of the page, bringing to life much of what was unique about each brewer and distributor. Maxwell and Sullivan also utilize an attractive, computer-generated layout to present the materials in a fresh, uncluttered way, making it easy for the reader to digest a large volume of information.

With *Hometown Beer*, Maxwell and Sullivan have raised the standard of excellence for the field of brewing industry scholarship. While the price of the book is higher than that of most works in the discipline, even a cursory examination reveals that the cost differential is more than justified by the large number of rare images presented, particularly those reproduced in color, as well as the broad variety of information provided. Clearly the authors undertook this project as a labor of love; readers of *Hometown Beer* will be thankful not only for their work to clarify the importance of a significant midwestern brewing center, but also that they have remained faithful to their expansive vision for the project.

Missouri Western State College

Timothy J. Holian





## **Annual Bibliography of German-Americana: Articles, Books, Selected Media, and Dissertations**

Giles R. Hoyt and Dolores J. Hoyt in collaboration with the Bibliographic Committee of the Society for German-American Studies.

Co-Chairs: Giles R. and Dolores J. Hoyt, Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI).

Bibliographers: Frances Ott Allen, University of Cincinnati; James A. Baldwin, IUPUI; Robin Rohrkaste Crumrin, IUPUI; Randall Donaldson, Loyola College, MD; Ronald W. Dunbar, Indiana State University; Robert W. Frizzell, Hendrix College; Antonius Holtmann, Universität Oldenburg; William Keel, University of Kansas; Peter Linberger, University of Akron; Jonathan David Makepeace, IUPUI; William Roba, Scott Community College; Helmut J. Schmeller, Fort Hays State University; Steven J. Schmidt, IUPUI; Alexander Waldenrath, Lehigh University.

The Bibliographic Committee wishes to thank the IUPUI University Library for its generous cooperation.

The Bibliography includes references to books, articles, dissertations and selected media relating to the experience of German-speaking people in North America and their descendants.

### Abbreviations:

AA	=	<i>Annals of Iowa</i>
AHR	=	<i>American Historical Review</i>
AJH	=	<i>American Jewish History</i>
ASHHSN	=	<i>American/Schleswig-Holstein Heritage Society Newsletter</i>
BLT	=	<i>Brethren Life and Thought</i>
DR	=	<i>Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society</i>
GCT	=	<i>German-Canadian Yearbook</i>
GQ	=	<i>German Quarterly</i>
GSR	=	<i>German Studies Review</i>

HR	=	<i>Heritage Review</i>
HRBC	=	<i>Historical Review of Berks County</i>
HSR	=	<i>Historic Schaefferstown Record</i>
IHJ	=	<i>Illinois Historical Journal</i>
IMH	=	<i>Indiana Magazine of History</i>
JAEH	=	<i>Journal of American Ethnic History</i>
JAHSGR	=	<i>Journal of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia</i>
JCPGS	=	<i>Journal of the Center For Pennsylvania German Studies</i>
MFH	=	<i>Mennonite Family History</i>
MHB	=	<i>Mennonite Historical Bulletin</i>
MHR	=	<i>Missouri Historical Review</i>
ML	=	<i>Mennonite Life</i>
MQR	=	<i>Mennonite Quarterly Review</i>
MH	=	<i>Monatshefte</i>
PF	=	<i>Pennsylvania Folklife</i>
PMH	=	<i>Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage</i>
PMHB	=	<i>Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography</i>
PAST	=	<i>Pioneer American Society Transactions</i>
SIGA	=	<i>Studies in Indiana German-Americana</i>
SGASN	=	<i>Society for German-American Studies Newsletter</i>
TMHS	=	<i>Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society</i>
WHQ	=	<i>Western Historical Quarterly</i>
WMH	=	<i>Wisconsin Magazine of History</i>
YGAS	=	<i>Yearbook of German-American Studies</i>

#### Collections:

Mueller-Vollmer. Mueller-Vollmer, Kurt, and Michael Irmscher. *Translating Literatures, Translating Cultures: New Vistas and Approaches in Literary Studies*. Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 1998. 214 pp.

Tolzmann. Tolzmann, Don Heinrich, ed. *The German-American Forty-Eighters, 1848-1998*. Indianapolis: Max Kade German-American Center, Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis; Indiana German Heritage Society, 1998. 121 pp.



## I. Supplements for 1997

1. Alert, Anja, and Werner Pade, eds. *Back to the Roots: Wanderungen von und nach Mecklenburg: Gründe, Richtungen und Folgen mecklenburgischer Migration: Kolloquiumsmaterialien 1995/96*. Rostock: Institute for Migration and Ancestral Research: Neuer Hochschulschriftenverlag, 1997. 157 pp.
2. Barron, Stephanie, ed. *Exil: Flucht und Emigration europäischer Künstler, 1933-1945*. Mit Sabine Eckmann. München, New York: Prestel Verlag, 1997. 423 pp.
3. Barry, Thomas F. "Naive Nature: Landscape Imagery and Writing in Adalbert Stifter's *The High Forest* and Charles Sealsfield's 'The Jacinto Prairie'." *Journal of the College of Foreign Languages (Himeji Dokkyo Univ.)* 10 (1997): 75-100.
4. Blöcker, Karsten. "Thomas Mann: Lübecker, Deutscher, Tschechoslowake, Amerikaner." *Lübeckische Blätter* 162.4 (Feb. 15, 1997): 53-55.
5. Bobersky, Alexander T., and David T. Stephens. "Germans in Yankee Territory: An Ethnic Island in Southern Portage County, Ohio." *PAST20* (1997): 13-23. Survey of barn styles and street names.
6. Brilliant, Richard. "*Facing the New World*": *Jewish Portraits in Colonial and Federal America*. pp. München, New York: Prestel Verlag, 1997: 128
7. Brubaker, Noah, and Shertzer. *The Shertzer Family from Michelfeld*. Lewisburg, PA: Noah Brubaker, 1997. 106 pp.
8. Burkholder, L. J. *A Brief History of the Mennonites in Ontario*. N.p.: Mennonite Conference of Ontario 1997, c1935. 358 pp.
9. Campbell, Craig S. "The Midland 'Mango' Region: A Reflection of German Channel Migration?" *Journal of Cultural Geography* 17.1 (Fall/Winter 1997): 35-54. Phenomenon of the renaming of the common green paper to "mango" in the Ohio Valley region.
10. Daniels, Roger. "Going to America: Observations on the Historiography of Immigration." *Amerikastudien* 42 (1997): 333-43.
11. Davis, Richard W. *Emigrants, Refugees, and Prisoners: An Aid to Mennonite Family Research*. Vol. 2. Provo, UT: Richard Warren Davis, 1997. 450 pp. Vol. 1 published in 1995, 429 pp.
12. "Deutsche in Amerika: Dieter Sonnenburg 'vermöbelt' die Stars, ein deutscher Tischler in New York." *Das Fenster* 93.3 (Jan. 1997): 45.
13. Duclaux, Denise. "No Cold-Hearted Bankers Here." *ABA Banking Journal* 89.2 (Feb. 1997): 38-41. Rural banker Mike Grove; with related article on Grove's relationship with Hutterite community.
14. Dull, Keith A. *Early Families of Berks, Bucks, & Montgomery Counties, Pennsylvania*. Westminster, MD: Family Line Publications 1997. 149 pp.
15. \_\_\_\_\_. *Early Families of Lancaster, Lebanon and Dauphine Counties, Pennsylvania*. Westminster, MD: Family Line Publications 1997. 155 pp.
16. \_\_\_\_\_. *Early German Settlers of York County, Pennsylvania*. Westminster,

- MD: Family Line Publications, 1997. 398 pp.
17. Dunkelberger, George F. *The Story of Snyder County: From Its Earliest Times to the Present Day*. Middleburg, PA: Snyder Co. Hist. Society, 1997. 1,000+ pp. 1948 reprint with new comprehensive index.
  18. Durnbaugh, Donald F. *Fruit of the Vine: A History of the Brethren, 1708-1995*. Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1997. 675 pp.
  19. Eller, David B. "A Cumulative Bibliography of Publications by Donald F. Durnbaugh." *Brethren Life and Thought* 43.3/4 (Summer/Fall 1997): 276-96.
  20. Friesen, Helene Sarah. *David Toews: A Brief Sketch of His Life and Work, 1870-1947*. Winnipeg, MB: Mennonite Heritage Centre, 1997. 16 pp. Mennonite.
  21. Gassert, Philipp. *Amerika im Dritten Reich: Ideologie, Propaganda und Volksmeinung, 1933-1945*. Transatlantische historische Studien, Bd. 7. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1997. 415 pp. Originally presented as a doctoral thesis, Universität Heidelberg, 1995/96.
  22. Gerstner, Franz Anton Ritter von. *Early American Railroads: Franz Anton Ritter von Gerstner's "Die innern Communicationen" (1842-1843)*. Ed. by Frederick C. Gamst. Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1997. 844 pp. A German railroad expert's tour of Am. railroads.
  23. Goyne, Minetta Altgelt. *Tales from the Sunday House*. Fort Worth: Texas Christian Univ. Press, 1997. 144 pp. G-As in fiction. Settings for the 11 stories are New Braunfels, TX; originally a 1946 master's thesis, Univ. of Texas, Austin.
  24. Grabbe, Hans-Jürgen. "Before the Great Tidal Waves: Patterns of Transatlantic Migration at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century." *Amerikastudien* 42 (1997): 377-89.
  25. Grünzweig, Walter. "Charles Sealsfield." In: *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, ed. by Robert L. Gale, v. 186, 336-47. Detroit: Gale Research 1997.
  26. Gustmann, Karin, ed. "Mecklenburger wandern nach Amerika aus: ein geschichtlicher Rückblick aus einer Chronik." *Mecklenburg: Zeitschrift für Mecklenburg-Vorpommern* 39.10 (1997): 20-21.
  27. Hara, Kenji. "Eine 'amerikanische' nationale Literatur: zu Charles Sealsfields roman *Lebensbilder aus der westlichen Hemisphäre*." *Tohoku Daigaku Bungaku Kenkyu Nenpo* 46 (1997): 204-16. Eng. trans. of journal title: Annual Reports of the Faculty of Arts and Letters, Tohoku Univ.
  28. Helbig, Wolfgang. "Immigrant Adaptation at the Individual Level: The Evidence of Nineteenth-Century German-American Letters." *Amerikastudien* 42 (1997): 407-18.
  29. Henderson, Clayton W. "The Slippery Slopes of Fame: Paul Dresser and the Centennial of 'On the Banks of the Wabash, Far Away'." *Traces of Indiana and Midwestern History* 9.4 (Fall 1997): 4-13.
  30. Henning, Eckart, and Gabriele Jochums. *Familiengeschichtliche Bibliographie; Bd. 1: 1945-60*. Neue Folge, 1. Stuttgart: Deutsche Arbeitsgemeinschaft



- Genealogischer Verbände, 1997. 284 pp.
31. Hery, James, and Dennis Simmons. *Along the Octorara: Images of America*. Dover, NH: Arcadia Publishing, 1997. 128 pp. Southeastern PA, 1850-1960.
  32. Hoppenstedt, Wolfram. *Gerhard Colm: Leben und Werk (1897-1968)*. Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte, Bd. 65. Stuttgart: In Kommission bei F. Steiner, 1997. 470 pp. Economist who emigrated to U.S. in 1933.
  33. Houser, Mary Lou Weaver. *A Weaver's Sourcebook: Uphome with Jonas and Emma*. With Carolyn Ehst Groff. Lancaster, PA: Mary Lou Weaver Houser, 1997. 304 pp.
  34. Jarausch, Konrad Hugo, and Hannes Siegrist, eds. *Amerikanisierung und Sowjetisierung in Deutschland (1945-1970)*. Frankfurt, New York: Campus, 1997. 411 pp.
  35. Kleinschmidt, Johannes. *Do not Fraternize: die schwierigen Anfänge deutsch-amerikanischer Freundschaft, 1944-1949*. Mosaic, Bd. 1. Trier: WVT Wissenschaftler Verlag, 1997. 256 pp. Orig. presented as the author's Ph.D. diss., Universität Tübingen, 1995.
  36. Kothmann, John H. "German Half-Timber Construction in 19th Century Texas." *PAST* 20 (1997): 76. In: "Abstracts of Unpublished Papers" section.
  37. Leiding, Gerlinde. "The Settler's Home: A Reflection of Nostalgia." *PAST* 20 (1997): 77. In: "Abstracts of Unpublished Papers" section.
  38. Lewis, Arnold. *An Early Encounter with Tomorrow: Europeans, Chicago's Loop, and the World's Columbian Exposition*. Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1997. 353 pp.
  39. Lützeler, Paul Michael. "Jackson vs. Metternich: Karls Postls frühe Amerika- und Europa-Essays." In: *Europäische Identität und Multikultur: Fallstudien zur deutschsprachigen Literatur seit der Romantik* Paul Michael Lützeler, 63-85. Stauffenburg Discussion, Bd. 8. Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 1997.
  40. "Management Theory's True Believers." *The Christian Century* 114.17 (May 21, 1997): 499-500. "How the Bruderhof cult, which opposes perceived modern evils, examines management theories."
  41. Martin, Ezra B., and Violet Martin. *David & Barbara Sensenig Family Record, 1873-1997*. Ephrata, PA: Ezra B. and Violet Jean Martin, 1997. 237 pp.
  42. Martin, Paul Henry. *Jacob A. Martin: His Ancestors and Descendants*. Morgantown, PA: Masthof Press, 1997. 67 pp.
  43. McBride, Michelle. "From Indifference to Internment: An Examination of RCMP Responses to Nazism and Fascism in Canada from 1934 to 1941." M.A. thesis, Memorial Univ. of Newfoundland, 1997. 319 pp.
  44. McInvale, Morton R. "Web of Deception Surrounds North Georgia's 'Silk King'." *North Georgia Journal* 14 (Winter 1997): 48-51. German adventurer, Louis Magid.
  45. Meldrum, Charlotte D., and Martha Reamy. *Early Church Records of Chester County, Pennsylvania. Vol. 2*. Westminster, MD: Family Line Publications, 1997. 233 pp.
  46. Michelman, Dorothea S. "Shangri-La: Floridas Heilbadparadies nach

- deutschem Muster." *Das Fenster* 93.3 (Jan. 1997): 42-43.
47. \_\_\_\_\_. "Deutsche in America: Gisela Lindau, Malerin, Bildhauerin and Galeristin; Sonja Wahl, Kustos des Textilmuseums in Clayton, New York." *Das Fenster* 93.5 (Mar. 1997): 24-25.
  48. \_\_\_\_\_. "Traumschloss eines deutschen Emigranten." *Das Fenster* 93.6 (Apr. 1997): 8-9. History of the home built on Heart Island, NY, by George Boldt.
  49. \_\_\_\_\_. "Deutsche und Österreicher in Amerika." *Das Fenster* 93.7 (June 1997): 28-29. Biographies of Gerda Atzl and Elke Seefeldt, artists.
  50. Morse, Kenneth I. *Preaching in a Tavern and 129 Other Surprising Stories from Brethern Life*. Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1997. 342 pp.
  51. Newswanger, Xtian. *Amishland*. Intercourse, PA: Amishland Prints 1997. 130 pp.
  52. Nugent, Walter. "Four New World Migration Targets: Some Comparisons." *Amerikastudien* 42 (1997): 391-406.
  53. Öfele, Martin. *General August Valentin Kautz: Erinnerungen an der Bürgerkrieg*. Military Men. Wyk auf Föhr, Germany: Verlag für Amerikanistik, 1997. 190 pp.
  54. Olmstead, Earl P. *David Zeisberger: A Life Among the Indians*. Kent, OH: Kent State Univ. Press, 1997. 444 pp. Moravian missionary among the Iroquois and Delaware Indian nations of NY, PA, OH, and MI.
  55. Örtzen, Wilhelm Thedwig von. "An der Amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitserklärung wirkten auch Auswanderer aus Mecklenburg mit!" *Mecklenburg: Zeitschrift für Mecklenburg-Vorpommern* 39.2 (1997): 5.
  56. Oszusick, Philippe. "German Traditions Assimilated in the architecture of the Mid-Nineteenth Century American West." *PAST* 20 (1997): 80-81. In: "Abstracts of Unpublished Papers" section.
  57. Pitzer, Donald E., ed. *America's Communal Utopias*. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1997. 537 pp.
  58. Rehwagen, Günther. "Hurra, wir fahren nach Amerika!" In: *Festschrift zum Jubiläum der Stadt Goldberg*, 67. Goldberg: Festkomitee zur 750-Jahr-Feier der Stadt Goldberg, Landesverband M.-VP. des Kulturbundes 1997.
  59. Reiling, Johannes. *Deutschland, safe for democracy?: deutsch-amerikanische Beziehungen aus dem Tätigkeitsbereich Heinrich F. Alberts, kaiserlicher Geheimrat in Amerika, erster Staatssekretär der Reichskanzlei der Weimarer Republik, Reichsminister, Betreuer der Ford-Gesellschaften im Herrschaftsgebiet des Dritten Reiches: 1914 bis 1945*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1997. 461 pp.
  60. Ritter, Alexander. "Forschungsbeiträge zur Südtiroler Literatur und grundsätzlichen Diskussion deutschsprachiger Minderheitenliteratur." In: *Literatur in Südtirol*, ed. by Johann Holzner, 161-74. Schriftenreihe Literatur des Instituts für Österreichkunde, v. 2. Innsbruck, Wien: Studien-Verlag, 1997. Corrected entry.
  61. Roberts, Warren E. "Notes on the Ethnic Origins of Traditional Agriculture in the Eastern United States." *Material Culture* 29.3 (Fall 1997): 29-43.



Includes Germans in MO.

62. Rupp, I. Daniel. *History of Lancaster County: To Which is Prefixed a Brief Sketch of the Early History of Pennsylvania*. Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1997. 568 pp. Reprint of 1844 ed.; "best early history of Lancaster County".
63. Salter, Ronald. "Deutsche Emigranten in der amerikanischen Buchkunst." *Marginalien* 147 (1997): 6-24.
64. Schmeissner, Volker. "Deutsche in Amerika: Ehrungsfeier für die ersten Deutschen." *Das Fenster* 93.11 (Sept. 1997): 17-18. First Germans in Jamestown.
65. Schütze, Carola. "Deutsche in Amerika." *Das Fenster* 93.4 (Feb. 1997): 8. About Claus Baumgart's research on Saxon emigration.
66. Shaffer, Ken, Donald Durnbaugh, Garber Julie, and , et al. *By Water and the Word: The Birth of the Brethren*. Elgin, IL: Brethren Vision for the '90s, 1997. 25 min.
67. Soyer, Daniel. *Jewish Immigrant Associations and American Identity in New York, 1880-1939*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1997. 291 pp.
68. Spevack, Edmund. *Charles Follen's Search for Nationality and Freedom: Germany and America, 1796-1840*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1997. 312 pp.
69. Stricker, Gerd. *Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas: Russland*. Berlin: Siedler Verlag, 1997. 669 pp.
70. Tessendorf, K. C. "Meet Me at the Hyphen." *American History* 32 (Dec. 1997): 17-56.
71. Tolzmann, Don Heinrich, ed. *German-Americana in Europe: Two Guides Relating to American History in the German, Austrian, and Swiss Archives*. Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1997. 2 v. in 1 (683 pp.) Reprint of two separate vols. published in 1912 and 1916 by the Carnegie Institution Washington. *Guide to the Manuscript Materials Relating to American History in the German State Archives* by Marion Dexter Learned — *Guide to the Materials for American History in Swiss and Austrian Archives* by Albert B. Faust.
72. Walter, Elizabeth B. *Barefoot in the Rubble*. Palatine, IL: Pannonia Press, 1997. 265 pp. Autobiographical experiences of a Danube Swabian whose family were in Yugoslavian concentration camps in WWII.
73. Walther, Klaus. "Stifters Wäder, Sealsfields Prärie." In: *Böhmen am Meer: Literatur im Herzen Europas*, ed by. Walter et al. Schmitz, 89-97. Zwickau: Chemnitzer Verlag, 1997.
74. Weaver, J. Denny. *Keeping Salvation Ethical: Mennonite and Amish Atonement Theology in the Late Nineteenth Century*. Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History, 35. Scottdale, PA: Herald, 1997. 316 pp.
75. Weaver, Lester. *Levi G. and Anna B. Witmer: Ancestors and Descendants, 1835-1997*. New Holland, PA: Lester M. Weaver, 1997. 229 pp.
76. Wieler, Edith Mae. *A Bible and a Plow: The Peter Wieler Family, 1740-1996*. Clyde, AB: Author, 1997. 346 pp. Mennonites.

## II. Works Published in 1998

77. *Aber wo sollen wir hin: Briefe von Russlandmenoniten aus den Jahren ihrer Gefangenschaft, Verbannung und Lagerhaft in der Sowjetunion.* Göttingen: Verlag Hirtenstimme, 1998. 298 pp.
78. Adams, William. *The Turners in Bloomington: Bloomington, Illinois Turnverein, 1855-1948.* Normal, IL: W. Adams, 1998. 64 pp.
79. Agarwala, Richa, Leslie G. Biesecker, and Alejandro A. Schaffer. "Software for Constructing and Verifying Pedigrees within Large Genealogies and an Application to the Old Order Amish of Lancaster Country." *Genome Research* 8.3 (Mar. 1998): 211+.
80. Ahlquist, Karen. "Mrs. Potiphar at the Opera: Satire, Idealism, and Cultural Authority in Post-Civil War New York." In: *Music and Culture in America, 1861-1918*, ed. by Michael Saffle, 29-51. *Essays in American Music*, v. 2. Garland Reference Library of the Humanities, v. 1952. New York: Garland, 1998.
81. Alert, Anja. "Von Stralsund nach Amerika." *Heimathefte für Mecklenburg und Vorpommern* 8.1 (1998): 28-30.
82. Allen, Minne Elisabeth. *Tenderness & Turmoil: Letters to a German Mother, 1914-1920.* Trans. and ed. by Julius W. Allen. Santa Ana, CA: Seven Locks Press, 1998. 283 pp. Letters addressed to Julie Müller-Liebenwalde.
83. Altmann, Heidi. "An Analysis of Non-Standard Verb Placement by American Learners of German as a Foreign Language." M.A. thesis, Univ. of Wyoming, 1998. 79 leaves.
84. Amberg, Marion. "The Christmas Stowaway." *German Life* 5 (Dec. 1998/Jan. 1999): 46-47. German-Texan fruitcake; Master baker August Weidmann.
85. American Historical Society of Germans from Russia. *Annotated Bibliography of Materials Available for Purchase.* Lincoln, NE: American Historical Society of Germans from Russia 1998. 48 pp.
86. "Amish Man Wins Buggy Case in Iowa." *Church & State* 51 (Dec. 1998): 19.
87. Ammon, Richard, and Pamela Patrick. *An Amish Wedding.* New York: Atheneum Books for Young Readers, 1998. 1 v. unpagged Amish in juvenile fiction.
88. Anderson, Charles Baird. *Camp Hang Loose.* Simcoe, ON: Pottahawk Press, 1998. 153 pp. Mennonites in fiction.
89. Anderson, Mark M., ed. *Hitler's Exiles: Personal Stories of the Flight from Nazi Germany to America.* New York: New Press, 1998. 354 pp.
90. Anderson, Ruth Yaeger. *It's Kitzel—It's me!: A Memoir, 1918-1932.* Tucson, AZ: Patrice Press, 1998. Biography of a St. Louis, MO, German-American.
91. Andreas, Morgan. "Reflectons of a PA German." *JCPGS* 5.4 (1998): 3-4. Retired UCC pastor.
92. Appelhanz, Isadore. "Topeka Newspapers: Volga-German Arrivals in 1875." *JAHSGR* 21.2 (1998): 16-29.
93. Arner, Carl, ed. "die Summerzeit." *Da Ausauga* 38.3 (July/Aug./Sept. 1998):



1-6.

94. \_\_\_\_\_, ed. "Die Wannerfitz et al. Gedichte." *Da Ausauga* 38.1 (Jan./Mar. 1998): 1-6.
95. \_\_\_\_\_, ed. "Remembering The One-Room School." *Da Ausauga* 38.4 (Oct./Nov./Dec. 1998): 1-6.
96. \_\_\_\_\_, ed. "Wilcum tzu unser Yaerlich Fersommling." *Da Ausauga* 38.2 (Apr./May/June 1998): 1-6.
97. Arnold, Ben. "Music in Lancaster, Kentucky, 1885-1910: Local Talent, Touring Artists, and the Opera House." In: *Music and Culture in America, 1861-1918*, ed. by Michael Saffle, 197-230. Essays in American Music, v. 2. Garland Reference Library of the Humanities, v. 1952. New York: Garland, 1998. Includes information on German and German-American influences.
98. Arp, Merle. "De Mueck secht/The Mosquito Said." *American Schleswig-Holstein Heritage Society Newsletter* 10.5 (Sept./Oct. 1998): 13. Story in Northern German with trans.
99. \_\_\_\_\_. "The Schleswig-Holstein 1848-50 Veterans Society." *American Schleswig-Holstein Heritage Society Newsletter* 10.3 (May/June 1998): 1, 4.
100. Arthur General Store, Arthur, IL. *A Taste of Arthur, 1873-1998: From the Land to the Table: 125 Years of Cooking, Arthur, Illinois*. Arthur, IL: Arthur General Store, 1998. 136 pp. English and Amish folks of the Arthur area provide recipes to celebrate the 125 anniv. of the founding of Arthur.
101. Arthur, Linda B. "Deviance, Agency, and the Social Control of Women's Bodies in a Mennonite Community." *NWSA Journal* 10.2 (Summer 1998): 75-99.
102. Astor, David. "Amish Woman Doesn't Need Electricity to Be a Columnist." *Editor & Publisher* 131.39 (Sept. 26, 1998): 48-49.
103. Atherton, Lewis E. "Missouri's Society and Economy in 1821." *MHR* 93.1 (1998): 2-25. Influence of Gottfried Duden on early German immigration to MO.
104. Ayres, Katherine. *Family Tree*. Braille ed. Cincinnati, OH: Cloverhook Printing House for the Blind, 1998. 1 v. of braille. Amish in fiction. Also available as a tape recording, Cutting Corporation, Bethesda, MD.
105. Baader, Maria T. "From the 'Priestess of the Home' to 'the Rabbi's Brilliant Daughter': Concepts of Jewish Womanhood and Progressive Germanness in Die Deborah and the American Israelite, 1854-1900." *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 43 (1998): 47-72. *Die Deborah* is described as "the most important Jewish-German language periodical in nineteenth-century America".
106. Badham, Roger A. "Redeeming the Fall: Hick's Schleiermacher versus Niebur's Kierkegaard." *Journal of Religion* 78.4 (Oct. 1998): 547-70.
107. Baglyos, Paul A. "Samuel Simon Schmucker and the Primitive Church." *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 71.4 (Winter 1998): 167-84.
108. Baker, William J. "Jesse Owens and the Germans: A Political Love Story." In: *Crosscurrents: African Americans, Africa, and Germany in the Modern*

- World*, Ed. by David McBride, Leroy Hopkins, and C. Asiha Blackshire-Belay, 167-76. Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1998.
109. Balisky, Esther Peters. *In Grandpa's Shoes*. Belleville, ON: Essence Pub., 1998. 355 pp. Alberta Mennonites; Peters family.
  110. Balzer, John. "From America to Russia and Back." *JAHSGR* 21.1 (1988): 1-6. Articles by a KS Mennonite in 1914.
  111. Barber, Charles M. "A Diamond in the Rough: William Langer Reexamined." *North Dakota History* 65.4 (1998): 2-18. Germans from Russia.
  112. Barkin, Kenneth. "An Introduction to Du Bois's Manuscripts on Germany." *Central European History* 31.3 (Summer 1998): 155-70. Discusses the role of Germany in his life.
  113. Barnhart, Howard D. *Byerle (Baurlein): Colonial Recordings*. N.p.: Author?, 1998. 377 pp. Byerly Family (PA) genealogy records.
  114. Bartholomew, Robert E. "War-Scare Hysteria in the Delaware Region in 1916." *Delaware History* 28.1 (1998): 71-76.
  115. Bassler, Gerhard P. "The Problem of German-Canadian Identity." *YGAS* 33 (1998): 157-65.
  116. Batts, Michael S. *A Brief Survey of Germanic Studies at Canadian Universities from the Beginnings to 1995*. Canadian Studies in German Language and Literature, Bd. 44. Bern, New York: P. Lang, 1998. 191 pp.
  117. Bauman, Mark K. "Factionalism and Ethnic Politics in Atlanta: the German Jews from the Civil War through the Progressive Era." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 82.3 (Fall 1998): 533-58.
  118. Bauschinger, Sigrid. *The Trumpet of Reform: German Literature in Nineteenth-Century New England*. Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture. Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1998. 211 pp. Eng. trans. of: *Posaune der Reform*.
  119. Baxter, Linda. *Prairie Meeting*. Illus. by Jenny Heath. Cover-to-Cover Novel. Logan, IA: Perfection Learning Corp., 1998. 72 pp.
  120. Beardslee, G. William. "An Otsego Frontier Experience: The Gratz Tract 1770-1779." *New York History* 79.3 (July 1998): 233-54.
  121. Beck, Hamilton H. "Censoring Your Ally: W. E. B. Du Bois in the German Democratic Republic." In: *Crosscurrents: African Americans, Africa, and Germany in the Modern World*, ed. by McBride David, Leroy Hopkins, and C. Asiha Blackshire-Belay, 197-232. Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1998.
  122. Becker, M. J. "The Forty-Eighters, the Major Figures." In: Tolzmann, 69-95.
  123. Becker, Nancy. *50 Years of Good Cooking and Camping at Camp Mennoscab: Celebrating the 50th Anniversary of Camp Mennoscab, Murdock, Kansas*. Hesston, KS: Hesston Prestige Printing, 1998. 194 pp. Mennonite Camp.
  124. Behler, Ernst. "Translating Nietzsche in the United States: Critical Observations on *The Complete Works of Friedrich Nietzsche*." In: Vollmer-Mueller, 125-46.



125. Behr, Hartmut. *Zuwanderungspolitik im Nationalstaat: Formen der Eigen- und Fremdbestimmung in den USA, der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Frankreich*. Leverkusen: Leske + Budrich, 1998. 327 pp.
126. Behrens, Ernst. "Twee Woer/Two Words." *American Schleswig-Holstein Heritage Society Newsletter* 10.3 (May/June 1998): 10. Poem in North German with trans.
127. Behrens, Robert H. *We Will Go to a New Land: The Great East Frisian Migration to America, 1845-1895*. Mahomet, IL: Behrens Pub. Co., 1998. 406 pp.
128. Beiler, Joseph F. "The Amish Book Committee: A Capable and Successful Committee." *JCPGS* 5.1 (1998): 4-6.
129. Beller, Manfred. "Amerikanische Charakteristiken für deutsche und für englische Leser: Schreibstrategien in C. Sidons *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika* (1828) und in *The United States of North America as They are* (1828)." In: *Charles Sealsfield: Politischer Erzähler zwischen Europa und Amerika: Perspektiven internationaler Forschung, Symposium Bergamo 1994*, ed. by Gustav-Adolf Pogatschnigg, 194-205. Schriftenreihe der CSG, Bd. 9. München: Charles-Sealsfield-Gesellschaft; Turin: Silvio Zamorani Editore, 1998.
130. Bender, Carrie, and Mary Clemens Meyer. *Miriam's Cookbook*. Miriam's Journal. Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1998. 136 pp. Amish cookbook.
131. Bender, Esther. *Virginia and the Tiny One*. Lemon Tree Series. Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1998. 104 pp. Sequel to: *Katie and the Lemon Tree*. MD G-As in fiction; set in the 1850s.
132. Bergman, Phyllis, and Robert Toevs. *History of the Mennonites in the Paso Robles Area*. Paso Robles, CA: First Mennonite Church of Paso Robles, 1998. 18 pp. 16 plates.
133. Best, Jane Evans. "Bear Saga Update: Part Two." *PMH* 21.4 (Oct. 1998): 15+.
134. Bitting, Diane. "J. William Frey, PA Dutch Expert, Author, F&M Prof." *JCPGS* 5.3 (1998): 17. Obituary; reprinted from *Lancaster New Era*, Aug. 28, 1989.
135. Blackwood, Michael. *The German Americans*. Director: Mead Hunt. Bonn: Michael Blackwood Productions; Press and Information Office of the FRG, 1998, c1983. 1 videocassette. 57 min. VHS. Brief overview of the history of German immigration with a focus on 3 G-A families.
136. Blair County Genealogical Society. *German Evangelical Lutheran Church Records, Tyrone, Pa.: 1854-1919*. Publication, no. 78. Altoona, PA: The Society, 1998. 60 pp.
137. Blosser, Eugene, and Holly Blosser Yoder. "Twists and Turns in the Road; Eugene Blosser's Journey from Farmy to Missionary." *Iowa Mennonite Historical Society Reflections* 12.4 (Oct. 1998): 1-4.
138. Bobersky, Alexander T. "Germans in a Yankee Realm: A German Cultural Island Centered on Liverpool Township, Medina County, Ohio." *Pioneer*

- American Society Transactions* 21 (1998): 90. Abstract listed in section of journal: "Abstracts of Unpublished Papers."
139. Bodling, Kurt A. "A Century of Muhlenberg Biographies: An Analysis." *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 71.2 (Summer 1998): 86-93.
  140. Bohnet, Jerry J. *Descendants and Ancestors of Christian Bohnet*. Zwolle, LA: J. J. Bohnet, 1998. 21 pp.
  141. Bommes, Michael, and Jost Halfmann, eds. *Migration in nationalen Wohlfahrtsstaaten: Theoretische und vergleichende Untersuchungen*. IMIS-Schriften, Bd. 6. Osnabrück: Universitätsverlag Rasch, 1998. 300 pp.
  142. Born, Joachim, and Angelika Gärtner. "Dialekt, Sprachkontakt und Interferenzen im Deutschen Rio Grande do Suels (Südbrasilien)." *Muttersprache: Vierteljahresschrift für deutsche Sprache* 108.1 (Mar. 1998): 15-37.
  143. Bowen, Keith, and Dan Gutman. *Katy's Gift*. Philadelphia, PA: Courage Books, 1998. 1 v. unpagd. Amish in fiction.
  144. Brand, Millen. *Fields of Peace: A Pennsylvania German Album*. Photography by George A. Tice. Rev. ed. An Imago Mundi Book. Boston: D.R. Godine, 1998. 176 pp. Also published in a limited ed. Mennonites.
  145. Braun, Hans, and Wolfgang Klooss, eds. *The University at the Turn of the Century: Canadian and German Perspectives: Essays in Honour of Herbert Zirker*. Schriftenreihe des Zentrums für Kanada-Studien an der Universität Trier, Bd. 7. Kiel: I&F Verlag, 1998. 173 pp.
  146. Brednich, Rolf Wilhelm. *Die Hutterer: Eine alternative Kultur in der moderne Welt*. Freiburg, Basel, Vienna: Herder, 1998. 157 pp.
  147. Brock, Peter. "Accounting for Difference: The Problem of Pacifism in Early Upper Canada." *Ontario History* 90.1 (Spring 1998): 19-30.
  148. Brophy, Alfred L. "Notes and Documents: The Quaker Bibliographic World of Francis Daniel Pastorius's Bee Hive." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Bibliography* 122.3 (July 1998): 241-92.
  149. Brosius, Shirley G. "Millersburg Comes Close to Small Town Perfection." *Pennsylvania Magazine* 21.6 (Nov./Dec. 1998): 20-23.
  150. Brumit, Joseph Leroy. *Henry Otto Keebart (Otto Heinrich Kübbirt): A German to Missouri*. Sun City West, AZ (12947 W. Blue Bonnet Dr., Sun City West 85375-2517): J.L. Brumit, 1998. 122 pp.
  151. Bruncken, Ernest. "German Political Refugees in the United States (1815 to 1860)." *The German-American FortyEighthers, 1848-1998*, ed. by Don Heinrich Tolzmann, 5-68. Max Kade German-American Center, IUPUI, and Indiana German Heritage Society, v. 11. Indianapolis: Max Kade German-American Center, Indiana Univ.-Purdue Univ. at Indianapolis; Indiana German Heritage Society, 1998.
  152. Buck, Anita. *Behind Barbed Wire: German Prisoner of War Camps in Minnesota*. St. Cloud, MN: North Star Press, 1998. 126 pp.
  153. Bumbalough, Barbara Sinn. *Come with Me to Germantown: Ridgeway, North Carolina Revisited*. Warrenton, NC: Record Print. Co., 1998. 328 pp.



154. Bungert, Heike. "Mann über Bord": Die Bemühungen der amerikanischen Regierung um ein deutsches Emigrantenkomitee 1943." *Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte* (Sommer 1998). Page numbers not supplied.
155. Burgoyne, Bruce E. *The Hessian Collection Volume 1*. Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1998. 1 CD. Includes diaries of: Friedrich Julius von Papel and Philipp Waldeck; includes women with Hessian auxiliaries.
156. Burkholder, Lester K. *Pennsylvania Mennonites in Mexico: A History of Four Lancaster County Mennonite Families' Pilgrimage to Mexico During World War II 1942-1946*. Fredericksburg, PA: L.K. Burkholder, Masthof Press, 1998. 145 pp.
157. Burrill, Elizabeth. "Health Conception, Family Health Work and Health Promoting Lifestyle Practices in Latin American Mennonite Families." M.S.N. thesis, Univ. of Western Ontario, 1998. 124 leaves.
158. Bush, Perry. *Two Kingdoms, Two Loyalties: Mennonite Pacifism in Modern America*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1998. 362 pp. Based on the author's doctoral diss., Carnegie Mellon Univ.
159. Byler, J. "Schpotyaahr (I & II); Am Coonhunde; Die Owedschtunn." *JCPGS* 5.1 (1998): 24-25. Poems in PA German.
160. Byler, John J., comp. *Amish Directory and History of the Atlantic Settlement in Crawford County, Pennsylvania 1924-1997*. Hartstown, PA: Available from J.J. Byler; Carlisle Printing, 1998. 198 pp.
161. Byrne, Jamie Maria. "An Ethnographic and Rhetorical Study of Women Scribes for *Die Botschaft*, an Old Order Newspaper." Ph.D. diss., Pennsylvania State Univ. 1998. 218 leaves.
162. Calder, J. Kent, and Susan Neville, eds. *Falling Toward Grace: Images of Religion and Culture from the Heartland*. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press in association with The Polis Center at IUPUI, 1998. 158 pp. Religion in Indianapolis, including G-A.
163. Capp, Kristin, Sieglinde Geisel, and Rod Slemmons. *Hutterite: A World of Grace*. Zurich; New York: Edition Stemmler, 1998. 143 pp. Documentary photography.
164. Carpenter, Robert C., and Mark Smith. "David Henkel and the Genesis of American Lutheran Confessionalism." *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 71.4 (Winter 1998): 185-211.
165. Carruthers, Susan L. "The Americanization of Europe." *International Affairs* 74.4 (Oct. 1998): 883-92.
166. Carson, William E. "Social Change and Rational Choice a Contemporary Interpretation of the Amish: A Dissertation ..." Ph.D. diss., Ohio State Univ. 1998. 244 leaves.
167. Carstensen, Hans. "In Davenport (Iowa) wird Plattdeutsch gesprochen: Bosseln am Mississippi." *Bauernblatt: Mitteilungsblatt der Bauernverbände Schleswig-Holstein und Hamburg* 52/148.41 (Oct. 10, 1998): 28-29.
168. Catozzi, Jeff, and Brandon Yonker. *St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church Funeral Records, 1887-1997*. Marion, WI: J. Catozzi & B. Yonker, 1998. 100

pp. Includes records for Trinity Lutheran Church, 1904-1946.

169. "Cats: Superstitions and Beliefs! / Alde Weiwer Glaawe!" *JCPGS* 5.3 (1998): 19-20. "by Der Alt Bauer, April 27th, 1953." In PA German with Eng. trans. and notes.
170. Centre County Genealogical Society, PA. *The Cemeteries of Gregg Township, Centre County, Pennsylvania*. State College, PA: Centre County Genealogical Society, 1998. 153 pp. Includes Amish, Mennonite, and Lutheran cemeteries.
171. Chamber Singers, Eastern Mennonite University, Harrisonburg, VA. *Singing at the Fire Voices of Anabaptist Martyrs*. Performers, Kenneth Nafziger, et al. Newton, KS: Faith and Life Press, 1998. 1 compact disc.
172. Champion, Elke Lorenz. "Der Briefwechsel zwischen Sidonie Náhern $\Omega$  und Albert Bloch (September 1947-September 1950): Mit einer Einführung in die Widmungsgedichte von Karl Kraus an Sidonie Náhern $\Omega$ ." Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Kansas 1998.
173. Chislett, Anne. *Quiet in the Land*. Toronto: Playwrights Canada Press, 1998. Play. Amish in fiction.
174. "The Church Agenda (Liturgy)." *Concordia Historical Quarterly* 71.2 (Summer 1998): 94-100.
175. Cincinnati Central Turners. *Cincinnati Central Turners Sesquicentennial Celebration August 1, 1998*. Cincinnati: Cincinnati Central Turners, 1998. 54 pp.
176. Clark, Phyllis Blair. "Cary Hulin." *Ceramics Monthly* 46.5 (May 1998): 50-5. Amish potter.
177. Claussen, Albrecht. "German Jesuits in Sonora as Contributors to the History of German Literature." *YGAS* 33 (1998): 41-54.
178. Clinton, Bill. "Proclamation 7133 - German-American Day, 1998." *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* 34.41 (Oct. 12, 1998): 1980. Transcript.
179. Coburn, Carol K. "Ethnicity, Religion, and Gender: The Women of Block, Kansas, 1868-1940." In: *European Immigrants in the American West: Community Histories*, ed. by Frederick C. Luebke, 129-46. Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1998. Originally appeared in *Great Plains Quarterly*, 1998.
180. Cochran, Richard M. *The Giese Family of Mecklenberg-Schwerin and Michigan*. Big Rapids, MI: R.M. Cochran, 1998. 126 leaves.
181. Coffey, Brian, and Allen G. Noble. "The Impact of Tourism in an Amish Settlement Area." *PAST* 21 (1998): 92. Abstract in section of the journal: "Abstracts of Unpublished Papers."
182. Coghill, Anna L. "Work for the Night is Coming / Schafft denn die Nacht is am Kume." *JCPGS* 5.4 (1998): 16. Hymn written in 1860; trans. into PA German by Jacob A. Schrock.
183. Conley, Rory T. *Arthur Preuss, Journalist and Voice of German and Conservative Catholics in America, 1871-1934*. New German-American Studies, v.



16. New York: Peter Lang, 1998. 361 pp.
184. Coomber, James E., Dennis R. Fournier, and Sheldon W. Green. "Building Churches on the Prairie: The Partnership of Bishop Vincent Wehrle and Anton Dohmen." *North Dakota History* 65.1 (1998): 17-26. German Catholics in ND.
185. Cronau, Rudolf. *The Army of the American Revolution and Its Organizer: Rudolf Cronau's Biography of Baron von Steuben*. Ed. by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Bowie, MD: Heritage Books 1998. 153 pp. Originally published: New York: R. Cronau, 1923.
186. Crosby, David F. "The Wrong Side of the River." *Civil War Times* 36.7 (Feb. 1998): 48-57. Pro-Union TX Germans.
187. Crumrin, Timothy. "Jews in Indiana and the Midwest." *Midwest Open-Air Museums Magazine* 19.1 (1998): 14-20. Study of early Jewish immigration to the Midwest. Part of its focus is on the influx of Jewish immigrants from Baden-Württemberg, 1800-1870.
188. Cuadrado, John A. "Heart Forms in American Folk Art." *Architectural Digest* 55.6 (June 1998): 78-82. Introduction of the motif by Eng., German, Swiss, and French immigrants.
189. Dacrema, Nicoletta. "Enrico Misley und die politische Publizistik von Charles Sealsfield." In: *Charles Sealsfield: Politischer Erzähler zwischen Europa und Amerika: Perspektiven internationaler Forschung, Symposium Bergamo 1994*, ed. by Gustav-Adolf Pogatschnigg, 28-38. Schriftenreihe der CSG, Bd. 9. München: Charles-Sealsfield-Gesellschaft; Turin: Silvio Zamorani Editore, 1998.
190. Daeg de Mott, Dianne K. "German Americans." In: *Worldmark Encyclopedia of Cultures and Daily Life*, ed. by Timothy L. Gall, v.2, 190-92. Detroit: Gale, 1998.
191. Daniels-Howell, Todd Jesse, and Gregory Hunter Mobley, comps. "Shaping the Circle: German-Americans in Indianapolis, 1840-1918." Web page, 1998. Available at <http://www.ulib.iupui.edu/special/hdip/home.html>. World Wide Web site. Using items from the Ruth Lilly Special Collections and Archives, IUPUI University Library, this digital exhibit demonstrates the influence German-Americans have had on music, architecture, and physical education in Indianapolis.
192. Darroch, Gordon. "Scanty Fortunes and Rural Middle-Class Formation in Nineteenth-Century Rural Ontario." *Canadian Historical Review* 79.4 (Dec. 1998): 621-59.
193. Davidheiser, James C. "Die auswärtige Sprachpolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland aus der Sicht eines amerikanischen Germanisten." *Muttersprache: Vierteljahresschrift für deutsche Sprache* 108.3 (Sept. 1998): 193-206.
194. Daviess County Visitors Bureau. "Map of Daviess County Indiana." Washington, IN: The Bureau, 1998. 1 map. 41 x 26 cm. Visitors guide to Daviess County, IN & the Amish community.
195. Debrunner, Hans W. "Africa, Europe, and America: The Modern Roots

- from a European Perspective." In: *Crosscurrents: African Americans, Africa, and Germany in the Modern World*, ed. by David McBride, Leroy Hopkins, and C. Asih Blackshire-Belay, 3-28. Columbia, SC: Camden House 1998.
196. Decker, Sonja M. *Peace Is the Way: The Adventures of a Mennonite Family since 1653*. N.p.: S.M. Decker, 1998. 216 pp.
  197. Dellin, Anke. "Berufe in der Stadt und im Kirchspiel Garding: Zur Zeit der Volkszählungsliste vom 13. II. 1803." *Dor is wat in de Klock: Mitteilungen der Heimatkundlichen Arbeitsgemeinschaft Stadt und Kirchspiel Garding* 11 (1998): 15-22.
  198. "Deutsche in Amerika: Bonnerin bringt frischen Wind in die 30jährige Deutsche Funksendung." *Das Fenster* 94.9 (July 1998): 20-21. Susanne Nielsen's German radio programs in Central Florida.
  199. DeWitt, Petra. "Fighting the Kaiser at Home: Anti-German Sentiment in Missouri during World War I." M.A. thesis, Truman State Univ. 1998. 162 leaves.
  200. DeZayas, Alfred M. *Die Anglo-Amerikaner und die Vertreibung der Deutschen: Vorgeschichte, Verlauf, Folgen*. 10., vom Autor erw. und aktualisierte Aufl. Berlin: Ulstein, 1998. 391 pp.
  201. "Die Aern un Dresche / Harvest and Thrashing." *JCPGS* 5.2 (1998): 15. Poem in PA German.
  202. "Die Katz mit en Greitz! / The Cat with the Cross!" *JCPGS* 5.3 (1998): 20-21. "by Der Alt Bauer, April 13, 1953." Tale in English.
  203. Dillon, John Bernard, and Barbara Leary Hinrichsen. *The Frances Ellis Collection of North American German Textbooks: A Preliminary Catalogue of Holdings in the Department of Special Collections*. Madison, WI: General Library System, Univ. of Wisconsin-Madison, 1998. 344 pp.
  204. Divita, James J. "Unter dem Schutze des heiligen Joseph." *Indiana German Heritage Society Newsletter* 14.3 (Summer 1998): 10-12. Destruction of a 1874 Catholic G-A cemetery chapel.
  205. Doerfler-Dierken, Angelika. "Luthertum und Demokratie: Deutsche und amerikanische Lutheraner des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts zu Demokratie und Demokratisierung von Staat, Gesellschaft und Kirche." Habilitationsschrift, Univ. of Heidelberg, 1998. 461 pp.
  206. Domentat, Tamara. "Hallo Fräulein": deutsche Frauen und amerikanische Soldaten. Berlin: AufbauVerlag, 1998. 229 pp.
  207. Douglas, Ab. *No Dancing God: Mennonite Stories*. Kelowna, BC: Rutgers Publication, 1998. 143 pp. Mennonites in fiction.
  208. Dove, Barbara Schmid. *Diamonds for a Prairie Rose*. Mandan? ND: B. Dove, 1998. 85 pp. 12 plates. Swiss-Am. immigrants to ND.
  209. Dreiser, Theodore. *Dawn: An Autobiography of Early Youth*. Ed. by T. D. Nostwich. Santa Rosa, CA: Black Sparrow Press, 1998. 616 pp.
  210. Driedger, Jack. *Growing up in Blumenheim, Saskatchewan: Life in an Old Colony Mennonite Village During the Thirties and Forties*. Saskatoon, SK: J. Driedger, 1998. 43 pp.



211. Dudek, Jerry. "Collecting, Preserving Anabaptist History, Culture." *JCPGS* 5.2 (1998): 18. About the Ohio Amish Library, near Berlin, OH.
212. Dueck, Arden M., et al., eds. *Quellen Kolonie*. Torreón, Coahuila, Mexico: Printed by Impresora Colorama, 1998. 302 pp. Mennonites in Mexico.
213. Duerksen, Carol, and Maynard Knepp. *Affair of the Heart*. Skye Series, 2. Hillsboro, KS: Willow Spring Downs, 1998. 167 pp. Amish in fiction.
214. Dunkelmann, Mark H. "'A Just Right to Select Our Own Officers': Reactions in a Union Regiment of Officers Commissioned from Outside its Ranks." *Civil War History* 44.1 (Mar. 1998): 24-34. Includes the case of Rudolph Hullub recommend by Gen. Adolph von Steinwehr.
215. Durnbaugh, Hedwig T. "The Amish Singing Style: Theories of Its Origin and Description of Its Singularity." *JCPGS* 5.3 (1998): 2-9.
216. Dutkova, Ludmila. "Texas Czech: An Ethnolinguistic Study." Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Arizona, 1998. 780 leaves. Explores the role "that an obsolescent language continues to play in the immigrant community and in the shifting definitions of its members' ethnic identity." Moravians.
217. Dyck, Arnold. *Hochfeld: ein Steppendorf im Bürgerkrieg: Ukraine 1918/19*. Uchte, Germany: Sonnentau Verlag, 1998. 128 pp.
218. Dyck, Harvey and Anne Konrad, eds. *Mennonites in the Soviet Inferno*. Russian and Soviet Mennonite Studies. Kitchener, ON: Pandora Press, 1998.
219. Dyck, John, and William Harms, eds. *1880 Village Census of the Mennonite West Reserve, Manitoba, Canada*. The West Reserve Historical Series, v. 2. Winnipeg, MB: Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society 1998. 500 pp.
220. E.I.V. Book & Video Productions. *Reflections of Amish Life*. Akron, OH: E.I.V. Book & Video Productions, 1998. 1 videocassette. 60 min. VHS.
221. "Ein Ernstlicher Ruf an die Deutschen in Pennsylvania." *JCPGS* 5.4 (1998): 5-10. Orig. published as a 15 page pamphlet in Lancaster, PA, 1799 for the PA gubernatorial race. Article signed: "Ein Pennsylvanischer Deutscher".
222. Elder, Theresia. *Celebrating the Gift of Life: Elder-Gardner Family History*. Regina, SK: T. Elder, 1998. 1 v. various pagings. Documents the families of Kasper and Katherine (Senger) Elder and Sebastian and Mary Anna (Bast) Gardner, all of whom emigrated from Russia and settled at Balgonie, SK. Original spelling of names was Elter and Gartner.
223. Elsaesser, Thomas. "American Friends: Hollywood Echoes in the German Cinema." In: *Hollywood and Europe: Economics, Culture, National Identity, 1945-95*, ed. by Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, and Steven Ricci, 142-55. UCLA Film and Television Archive Studies in History, Criticism, and Theory. London: BFI Publishing, 1998.
224. Emsinger, Robert. "Variant Log Sweitzer Barns in Pennsylvania." *Pioneer American Society Transactions* 21 (1998): 93. Abstract in section of the journal: "Abstracts of Unpublished Papers."
225. Endy, Christopher. "Travel and World Power: Americans in Europe, 1890-1912." *Diplomatic History* 22.4 (Fall 1998): 565-94.

226. Enta, Tom, and Tammi Y. Kwan. "Melanocytic Nevi in Sun-Protected Canadian Hutterite Children." *Archives of Dermatology* 134.3 (Mar.1998): 379+.
227. Epler, Mark S. "Amish Framing Techniques." *JCPGS* 5.1 (1998): 9-13.
228. \_\_\_\_\_. "Autobiography of Mark S. Epler." *JCPGS* 5.1 (1998): 13-14.
229. Essmann, Helga. "Weltliteratur Between Two Covers: Forms and Functions of German Translation Anthologies." In: Vollmer-Mueller, 149-63. American and other literary translations into German.
230. Estes, Steven R. "Bishop Joseph Stuckey (1826-1902) and the Amish Conferences of 1862-1878: Unity and Division among the Amish in Nineteenth Century North America." M.S. thesis, Illinois State Univ. 1998. 128 leaves. Typescript.
231. Evans, Jennifer Lee. "Spatial Patterning at the Casterliner Site (36YO332): Uncovering the Home and World of Augusta Geibler Casterliner." Honors thesis, Millersville Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1998. 65 leaves. Typescript. Archaeological excavation in York County, PA.
232. Eze, Katherine Faull. "Self-Encounters: Two Eighteenth-Century African Memoirs from Moravian Bethlehem." In: *Crosscurrents: African Americans, Africa, and Germany in the Modern World*, Ed. by David McBride, Leroy Hopkins, and C. Asih Blackshire-Belay, 29-52. Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1998. Two African autobiographies written in German held in the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, PA.
233. Farrell, Ellen Risser. *Friedelsheim Mennonite Congregation Church Book: History of Church; Register of Individuals (Births, Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths), 1814-1997; Emigration by Families*. Morgantown, PA: Masthof Press, 1998. 158 pp.
234. Fassett, Kathy. *Ancestral Voices: A Family History Written in the Form of a Novel*. Wilsonville, OR (7250 S.W. Arbor Lake Dr., Wilsonville 97070): K. Fassett, 1998. 184 pp. Werner family, a fictional account.
235. Fehrenbach, Heide. "Rehabilitating Fatherland: Race and German Remasculinization." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture & Society* 24.1 (Autumn 1998): 107-27. Focuses on social policy concerning the relationships and offspring of white German women and African Am. soldiers.
236. Felstiner, John. "Translating as Transference: Paul Celan's Versions of Shakespeare, Dickinson, Mandelshtam, Appollinaire." In: Vollmer-Mueller, 165-75.
237. Fickert, Kurt. "The Myth of America in Peter Handke's *Der kurze Brief zum langen Abschied*." *GSR* 21.1 (1998): 27-40.
238. Fisher, Gideon. "The Early Days of Intercourse." *JCPGS* 5.2 (1998): 17-18.
239. *Fodor's Philadelphia and the Pennsylvania Dutch Country*. New 10th ed. New York: Fodor's Travel Publications, 1998. 227 pp.
240. Foege, Alec. "Care and Compassion." *People Weekly* 49.20 (Sept. 14, 1998): 222+. About Elton Lehman, a doctor who served the OH Amish for 35 years.



241. Foreman-Peck. "Insiders and Outsiders: The Political Economy of International Migration during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries." In: *The Politics of Immigrant Workers: Labor Activism and Migration in the World Economy since 1830*, ed. by Camille Guerin-Gonzales, and Carl Strikwerda, 297-321. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1998.
- 241a. Foulke, Stephen Wail (see no. 285).
242. Frank, Armin Paul. "Schattenkultur and Other Well-Kept Secrets: From Historical Translation Studies to Literary Historiography." In: Vollmer-Mueller, 15-30.
243. Frantz, John B. "Franklin and the Pennsylvania Germans." *Pennsylvania History*: 65.1 (Winter 1998). Note: Bibliographer did not include pages.
244. Freeland, Thomas. "Heiner Müller's *Mommsen's Block* and the Language of the Stage." In: Vollmer-Mueller, 197-208.
245. Freiligrath, Ferdinand. "*Trotz alledem und alledem*": *Ferdinand Freiligraths Briefe an Karl Heinzen 1845 bis 1848: mit einem Verzeichnis der Schriften Heinzens*. Ed. by Gerhard Friesen. Vormärz-Studien; Forum Vormärz Forschung, 3. Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 1998. 167 pp.
246. Freitag, Robert W. "A Content Analysis of American and German Bibliotherapeutic Literature Using Allport's Descriptive Statistics: Emic and Etic Multicultural Themes." Ed.D. diss., Northern Illinois Univ., 1998. 353 leaves.
247. Freitag, Sabine. *Friedrich Hecker: Biographie eines Republikaners*. Transatlantische historische Studien, Bd. 10. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1998. 548 pp.
248. \_\_\_\_\_. "The German 1848 Revolution—150 Years: The German-American Dimension: Ein Bericht zum 22. Symposium der Society for German-American Studies (SGAS), April 1998 im Deutschen Haus/Athenaeum in Indianapolis, USA." *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften* 9.4 (1998): 583-86.
249. \_\_\_\_\_. "A *Republikaner* Becomes a Republican: Friedrich Hecker and the Emergence of the Republican Party." *YGAS* 33 (1998): 5-17.
250. \_\_\_\_\_. ed. *Die Achtundvierziger: Lebensbilder aus dem deutschen Revolution 1848/49*. München: C. H. Beck, 1998. 354 pp. 25 biographies.
251. Fridsma, Bernard J. *Never Broken Bond: 60 Years of Frisian Activity in America: the Memoirs of Bernard J. Fridsma, Sr.* Grand Rapids, MI: Calvin Copy Center, 1998. 445 pp., 25A, 9B, 3C Trans. of *Nea ferbrutsen ban*, published in 1991 by De Tille, Ljouwert, Friesland.
252. "Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben: und andere Deutsche in der amerikanischen Revolution." *Das Fenster* 94.11 (Sept. 1998): 39-40, 46.
253. Friesen, Frank, trans. "Material Accompanying the 'Ausbund'." *JCPGS* 5.1 (1998): 14-23. Includes orig. Ger. and Eng. trans. of "Vorrede" and "Confessio" of the *Ausbund*.
254. Friesen, Gerhard. "Some Sources of Sealsfield's *Süden und Norden*." In: *Sealsfield Studien 1*, ed. by Alexander Ritter, 137-44. Schriftenreihe der CSG, 11. München: Charles-Sealsfield-Gesellschaft, 1998.

255. Friesen, Ted Erwin, Elisabeth Peters, and Glenn Bergen, eds. *Memories of Grigorievka*. Winnipeg, MB: CMBC Publications, 1998. 295 pp.
256. Frizzell, Robert W. "The Low German Settlements of Western Missouri: Examples of Ethnic Cocoons." *YGAS* 33 (1998): 103-25.
257. Fugina, David, Mrs. *Geschichte von Fountain City, Wisconsin, 1839-1998: Stories of Fountain City, Wisconsin*. Compiled and edited for the Fountain City Area Historical Society by Jeanne Fugina. Volume II: Featuring *Out with the Fleet*, by Alberta Kirchner Hill. Fountain City, WI: The Society, 1998. 171 pp.
258. Garrett, Daphne Dalton. *Giddings Deutsches Volksblatt, 1899-1949: A History of the Newspaper and Print Shop of the Texas Wends*. Warda, TX (P.O. Box 35, Warda 78960): Garrett Historical Research, 1998. 151 pp.
259. Garrett, Ottie A. and R. Irene Garrett, comps. *True Stories of the X-Amish*. Horse Cave, KY: Neu Leben, Inc., 1998. 124 pp.
260. Gates, Margaret, Susan Jurgelski, and John Gattuso. *Pennsylvania Dutch Country*. Getaway Guides. Milford, NJ: Stone Creek Publications 1998. 199 pp. Includes "Who are the Amish?" by Donald Kraybill; additional reviews by Judith Rollman, et. al.
261. Gay, Peter. "My German Question." *American Scholar* 67.4 (Autumn 1998): 25-49. Author explores his German Jewish origin, including survival during Nazi years.
262. Geiger, Steven R. "Crossing New Boundaries: 'Concepts of Regionalism'." *Max Kade Institute Newsletter* 7.3 (Fall 1998): 3-5.
263. Gemünden, Gerd. *Framed Visions: Popular Culture, Americanization, and the Contemporary German and Austrian Imagination*. Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany. Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1998. 240 pp.
264. Genesee, Fred, and Nancy Cloud. "Multilingualism is Basic." *Educational Leadership* 55.6 (Mar. 1998): 62-65.
265. Gerhard, Paul, and Miriam Gillis-Carleback, eds. *Menora und Hakenkreuz: zur Geschichte der Juden in und aus Schleswig-Holstein, Lübeck und Altona (1918-1998)*. Neumuenster: Wachholz Verlag, 1998. 943 pp.
266. *The German American*. Issue 1- . (Spring 1998- ) Hales Corners, WI: German-American Heritage Society of Wisconsin, Inc..
267. German-American Citizens League of Greater Cincinnati, Archives Committee. *Archives Report*. Chaired by Mike Pelzel. Cincinnati German-American Citizens League of Greater Cincinnati 1998. 12 leaves. Items which provide a glimpse of the past activities of various G-A organizations in Cincinnati, OH.
268. *Germanic Genealogist*. v.1.1-. (Winter 1998-) St. Paul, MN, The Germanic Genealogy Society. Quarterly.
269. Germunden, Gerd. "Gone Primitive: The Indianerphantasien of Herbert Achternbusch." *Germanic Review* 73.1 (Winter 1998): 32-49. German depictions of Native Americans in film.



270. Gersema, Rick. "Ostfriesische Nachrichten." *Ostfriesen Newsblatt* 2.1 (Feb. 1998): 1.
271. Giacobazzi, Cesare. "Die Duplizität Karl Postl / Charles Sealsfield und die Duplizität der Fremde." In: *Charles Sealsfield: Politischer Erzähler zwischen Europa und Amerika: Perspektiven internationaler Forschung, Symposium Bergamo 1994*, ed. by Gustav-Adolf Pogatschnigg, 94-103. Schriftenreihe der CSG, Bd. 9. München: Charles-Sealsfield-Gesellschaft; Turin: Silvio Zamorani Editore, 1997.
272. "Gideon L. Fisher: A Tribute." *JCPGS* 5.2 (1998): 21. Obituary, orig. published in *The New Era*, Lancaster, PA, Nov. 5, 1996. Amish writer and historian.
273. Gilbert, Joan. "Life on the Lehigh Canal." *Pennsylvania Heritage* 24.2 (Spring 1998): 12-19.
274. Gingrich, Ruth Ann, and Jan Mast. *An Amish Nativity: Complete Projects and Instructions*. Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 1998. 92 pp. Includes Amish dolls and doll quilts.
275. Ginns, Edward I., Pamela St. Jean, and Steven M. Paul. "A Genome-Wide Search for Chromosomal Loci Linked to Mental Health Wellness in Relatives at High Risk for Bipolar Effective Disorder Among the Old Order Amish." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 95.6 (Dec. 22, 1998): 15531-36.
276. Giovacchini, Saverio. "'The Land of Milk and Honey': Anti-Nazi Refugees in Hollywood." *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 18.3 (Aug. 1998): 437-43.
277. Glass, Brent D. "History and Community: Pennsylvania's First Lady Makes the Connection." *Pennsylvania Heritage* 24.1 (Winter 1998): 22-31.
278. Glen, John M., et al. "Indiana Archives: Archival Holdings in Southern Indiana." *IMH* 94.3 (1998): 240-59. Southern IN is heavily populated by G-As.
279. Glenn, Jerry. "From Babylon to Jasper: Recent German-American Literature: Review Essay." *YGAS* 33 (1998): 167-74.
280. Glick, Myron. "Dietary Cardiovascular Risk Factors and Serum Cholesterol in an Old Order Mennonite Community." *American Journal of Public Health* 18.8 (Aug. 1998): 1202-05.
281. Goehner, Lawrence C. *The Goebner Odyssey*. Spokane, WA: L. Goehner, 1998. 50 pp. 1897 immigrants from Beresina, Russia, who settled near Kulm, ND.
282. Good, Debbie. "Gemein House Laurel Ridge: A Place Apart." *The Moravian* 29.8 (Oct. 1998): 26-27.
283. Good, Edwin M. "William Steinway and Music in New York, 1861-1871." In: *Music and Culture in America, 1861-1918*, ed. by Michael Saffle, 3-27. *Essays in American Music*, v. 2. Garland Reference Library of the Humanities, v. 1952. New York: Garland, 1998.
284. Good, Phyllis Pellman, and Rachel Thomas Pellman, eds. *From Amish and*

- Mennonite Kitchens*. Rev. ed. Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 1998. 415 pp.
285. Foulke, Steven Wail. "Shaping of Place: Mennonitism in South-Central Kansas." Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Kansas 1998.
  286. Grassl, Gary C. "Joachim Gans of Prague: The First Jew in English America." *AJH* 86.2 (June 1998): 195-217.
  287. Grassmann, Antjekathrin, ed. *Schlüssel zur Geschichte: 700 Jahre Lübecker Archiv*. Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde, 78. Lübeck: Schmidt-Roemhild, 1998. 528 pp.
  288. Grathwohl, Marya. "Something That Sleeps." *ReVision* 21 (Summer 1998): 23. G-A tracing her ancestry; includes Native Am. influences on her historical interpretation.
  289. Grauer, Michael R. "Gisella Loeffler, a Taos Legend." *Southwest Art* Nov. 1998: 50-52, 146.
  290. Greater Ridgewood Historical Society. *Genealogical Research: Pennsylvania*. Ridgewood, N.Y.: Greater Ridgewood Historical Society, 1998. Multiple vols. Compilation of genealogical materials on Pennsylvania, including Mennonites.
  291. Green, Marianne Stuecken. "German Immigration to the United States: What Was Expected, What Was Found: A Study of My Father, 1906-1997." M.A. thesis, Georgetown Univ., 1998. 79 leaves.
  292. Greenberg, Mark. "Becoming Southern: The Jews of Savannah Georgia, 1830-70." *AJH* 86.1 (1998): 55-75.
  293. \_\_\_\_\_. "Savannah's Jewish Women and the Shaping of Ethnic and Gender Identity, 1830-1900." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 82.4 (Winter 1998): 751-74.
  294. Gross, Leonard. *The Golden Years of the Hutterites: The Witness and Thought of the Communal Moravian Anabaptists During the Walpot Era, 1565-1578*. Rev. ed. Studies in Anabaptist and Mennonite History, no. 23. Kitchener, ON: Pandora Press; Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1998. 277 pp. Reprint of the 1980 ed. with minor corrections.
  295. Grossman, Claudia. "Freethinkers in Indianapolis: Their Impact on Education." *SGASN* 19.2 (June 1998): 12-13.
  296. Grünzweig, Walter. "Comedies Instead of Log Cabins: The Contradictory World of Charles Sealsfield's Louisiana." In: *Creoles and Cajuns: French Louisiana - la Louisiane Française*, ed. by Wolfgang Binder, 141-64. Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1998.
  297. \_\_\_\_\_. "Die tänzerische Demokratie: Charles Sealsfields französisches Louisiana." In: *Charles Sealsfield: Politischer Erzähler zwischen Europa und Amerika: Perspektiven internationaler Forschung, Symposium Bergamo 1994*, ed. by Gustav-Adolf Pogatschnigg, 157-69. Schriftenreihe der CSG, Bd. 9. München: Charles-Sealsfield-Gesellschaft; Turin: Silvio Zamorani Editore, 1998.
  298. Gumpel, Liselotte. "Meaning in Metaphor: The World in Verbal Translation." In: Vollmer-Mueller, 47-78.
  299. Gurock, Jeffrey S., ed. *Central European Jews in America, 1840-1880: Migra-*



- tion and Advancement. AJH, 2. New York: Routledge, 1998. 389 pp.
300. Gustmann, Karin, ed. "Bewegte Geschichte der Auswanderer erforscht: erste internationale Tagung zur Migrationsgeschichte im Juni in Glaisin." *Mecklenburg: Zeitschrift für Mecklenburg-Vorpommern Land und Leute, Kultur, Geschichte* 40.7 (1998): 11.
  301. Haag, Earl C. comp. *The First One Hundred Years: An Index of Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society (1891-1990) Including the Yearbooks of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society (1936-1966)*. Kutztown, PA: Pennsylvania German Society, 1998. 140 pp.
  302. Haarer, Rebecca. *Honoring the Quiltmaker and Her Art Form As We Approach the Millennium a Lecture by Rebecca Haarer*. South Bend, IN: Indiana Univ. South Bend, 1998. 1 videocassette. 77 min. VHS. Recorded April 19, 1998 at Indiana Univ. South Bend, Schurz Library. Historical and social perspective. Haarer is a resident of the Amish & Mennonite community of Shipshewana, IN.
  303. Haenni, Sabine. "The Immigrant Scene: The Commercialization of Ethnicity and the Production of Publics in Fiction, Theater, and the Cinema, 1890-1915." Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Chicago, 1998. 342 leaves. Case studies addressing early immigrant fiction, G-A, Yiddish, and Italian-Am theater, and the early feature film.
  304. Hahn, Regina Ursula. "Political Agency in Stefan Heym's American Writing." Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Chicago, 1998. 185 leaves.
  305. Hailbronner, Kay, Martin Martin, and Hiroshi Motomura, eds. *Immigration Controls: The Search for Workable Policies in Germany and the United States*. Migration and Refugees, v. 4. Providence, RI: Berghahn Books, 1998. 230 pp. Modern immigration issues.
  306. Hallman, Clark N. "Hutterites: A Selected Bibliography." Web page, 1998. Available at <http://www.sdstate.edu/li08/http/bibs/huttintr.htm>.
  307. Hamlin, Cyrus. "Transplanting German Idealism to American Culture: F. H. Hedge, W. T. Harris, C. T. Brooks." In: Vollmer-Mueller, 107-24.
  308. Hansen, Carl Edward. *Jacob and Justina: Pilgrims: The Odyssey of a Family*. Morgantown, PA: Masthof Press, 1998. 202 pp. Mennonite German-Canadians from Russia.
  309. Hansen, Kevan M. *Finding Your German Ancestry*. Salt Lake City, UT: Ancestry, 1998.
  310. Hara, Kenji. "Zwei Paradiese: Sinngebung und Sinnverschiebung in Charles Sealsfields Roman *Das Cajütenbuch* im Vergleich mit einigen ausgewählten Texten von Stifter und Nestroy." In: *Sealsfield-Studien 1*, ed. by Alexander Ritter, 97-124. München: Charles-Sealsfield-Gesellschaft, 1998.
  311. Harder, Lydia Marlene. *Obedience, Suspicion and the Gospel of Mark: A Mennonite Feminist Exploration of Biblical Authority*. Studies in Women and Religion, v. 5. Waterloo, ON: Published for the Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion by Wilfrid Laurier Univ. Press, 1998. 168 pp.
  312. Harder, Stanley Mark. *From Prussia to Russia to North America, 300 Years:*

- Peter S. Harder & Mary G. Quiring. Rev. ed. Phoenix, AZ (3137 E. Wescott Dr., Phoenix 85024): S.M. Harder, 1998. 151 pp. Mennonites.
313. Harmon, James A. "A Master of Diversity." *Austria Kultur* 8.5 (1998): 7. William E. Unger.
  314. \_\_\_\_\_. *William E. Unger, 1914-1980: A Retrospective Exhibition of Works in America, September 21-October 25, 1998*. Kirksville, MO: Truman State Univ. Foundation, 1998. 48 pp.
  315. Harms, William, and John Dyck, eds. *1880 Village Census of the Mennonite West Reserve, Manitoba, Canada*. The West Reserve Historical Series, v. 2. Winnipeg: Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society, 1998. 500 pp.
  316. Harris, Moira F., ed. *Louise's Legacy: Hamm Family Stories*. St. Paul, MN (4 Cardinal Lane, 55127): Pogo Press, 1998. 132 pp. Louise Hamm, with husband Theodore, were founders of St. Paul's beer dynasty.
  317. Hartzler, Betty J. "My Grandfather Harry Edward Kaufman, 1890-1996." *MFH* 17.4 (Oct. 1998): 157+.
  318. Hassan, Hazel Nice. *Six Families of Jo Daviess County, Illinois: Biographies of the Nineteenth Century Bahr, Durrstein, Hammer, Heer, Musselman, and Neuschwanger Families*. 2nd ed. Elizabeth, IL (214 W. Main St., Elizabeth 61028): J.A. Graves, 1998. 404 pp. Mennonites.
  319. Hatton, Timothy J., and Jeffrey G. Williamson. *The Age of Mass Migration: Causes and Economic Impact*. New York, Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1998. 301 pp.
  320. Hausmann, Friederike. *Die deutschen Anarchisten von Chicago, oder, Warum Amerika den 1. Mai nicht kennt*. Originalausg. Wagenbachs Taschenbücherei, 320. Berlin: Wagenbach, 1998. 205 pp.
  321. Hausner, Karl, ed. *Heimat zwischen Oder und Mobra*. Hinsdale, IL (P.O. Box 322, Hinsdale, IL, 60522-0322): The Hausner Foundation, 1998. 67 pp.
  322. Hawn, Carleen. "A Second Parting of the Red Sea." *Forbes* 161.5 (Mar. 9, 1998): 138-41. Business ventures and technologies of the Old Order Amish.
  323. Heide, John J. "The History of the Old Order Amish Settlements in Arkansas." M.S., History, Univ. of Central Arkansas 1998. 106 leaves.
  324. Heidenfelder, Gabriele. *From Duppel to Truman Plaza: die Berlin American Community in den Jahren 1965 bis 1989*. Ed. by Willi Paul Adams and Knud Krakau. Studien zu Geschichte, Politik und Gesellschaft Nordamerikas, Bd. 5. Hamburg: Lit, 1998. 175 pp.
  325. Heisey, John W. "Adding To Your Pedigrees." *MFH* 17.2 (April 1998): 90+.
  326. \_\_\_\_\_. "Lost Census of 1890." *MFH* 17.4 (Oct. 1998): 161+.
  327. Hellerich, Mahlon H. "A Pennsylvania German Precisionist." *DR* 32.1 (1998): 24-27.
  328. Hendricks, Dave. "Just for Winnerfitz." *JCPGS* 5.3 (1998): 17-18. Some thoughts on PA German by a native speaker. Orig. published in *Boyertown Area Times*, May 11, 14, and Apr. 30, 1998.
  329. Heppner, Ernest G. *Fluchtort Shanghai: Erinnerungen, 1938-1945*. 1. Aufl.



- Bonn: Weidle Verlag, 1998. 262 pp. Trans. from English.
330. Hering, Jeffrey Peter. "Fit for Heaven and for Glory': Lutheran Revivalism in Antebellum New York, 1826-1845." Ph.D. diss., State Univ. of New York at Buffalo, 1998. 394 leaves.
  331. Herr, Patricia T. *Amish Arts of Lancaster County*. A Schiffer Design Book. Atglen, PA: Schiffer, 1998. 160 pp.
  332. Hersey, John. "A Real Dutchman." *JCPGS* 5.4 (1998): 10. About newspaper man and author, A. Monroe Aurand, research on PA Dutch.
  333. Herzog, Keith P. "Pennsylvania Farmer Soldiers of the Battle of Brandywine." *Proceedings of the Lehigh County Historical Society* 41.1994 (1998): 91-99.
  334. Hewner, Sharon J. "Fertility, Migration, and Mortality in an Old Order Amish Community." *American Journal of Human Biology* 10.5 (Sept./Oct. 1998): 619-28.
  335. Heyl, Allen V., Jr. "The Autobiography of Caroline Laury Laubach." *Proceedings of the Lehigh County Historical Society* 41.1994 (1998): 79-86.
  336. Heyl, John K. "One Boy's Allentown: 1908-1818." *Proceedings of the Lehigh County Historical Society* 41.1994 (1998): 47-61.
  337. Hiebert, Carl E. *Us Little People: Mennonite Children*. Erin, ON: Boston Mills Press, 1998. 119 pp.
  338. "History of Dubuque Shooting Society." *Julien's Journal* 23.8 (Aug. 1998): 15.
  339. Hoard, Robert J., and Toni Prawl. "The Origins and Evolution of Rock Fences in Missouri." *Material Culture* 30.1 (Spring 1998): 1-22. Includes fences built on G-A homesteads.
  340. Hockman-Wert, David Patrick. "The Role of Religion in Motivating Sustainability: The Case of the Old Order Amish in Kishacoquillas Valley, PA." M.A. thesis, Univ. of Oregon 1998. 148 pp. Typescript.
  341. Hoecherl-Alden, Gisela, and Madelon Köhler-Busch. "Expanding on Authenticity: A Case for Immigrant Letters, Photographs and Other German-Americana in the Language Classroom." *Unterrichtspraxis* 31.1 (1998): 38-46.
  342. Hoelscher, Steven D. *Heritage on Stage: The Invention of Ethnic Place in America's Little Switzerland*. Madison, WI: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1998. 348 pp.
  343. Hofer, Samuel. *Hutterites: Lives, Histories and Images of a Communal People*. Saskatoon: Hofer Publishers, 1998. 184 pp.
  344. Hoffman, William Michael, and Bertha Marie Heidtmann Hoffman. *A Turn of the Century Courtship: Mom and Dad's Letters*. Ed. by Ann Marie Godfrey and Leone Hoffman. Ripon, WI: A.M. Godfrey & L. Hoffman, 1998. 131 pp.
  345. Holder, Jimmy, and Andrew C. Warren. "Prevalence of Alzheimer's Disease and Apolipoprotein E Allele Frequencies in the Old Order Amish." *Journal of Neuropsychiatry and Clinical Neurosciences* 10.1 (Winter 1998): 100-

346. Hollis Taggart Galleries. *Concerning Expressionism: American Modernism and the German avant-garde: [exhibition] May 20th-July 31st, 1998*. Introd. by Patricia McDonnell. New York: Hollis Taggart Galleries, 1998. 112 pp. German influences on Am. art.
347. Holly, John H. "Statistics Tell of Joys and Hardships Facts From Figures: Masts, Hollys, and Relatives." *MFH* 17.2 (April 1998): 86+.
348. Holstein, William J. "Chrysler's New Identity Crisis." *U.S. News & World Report* Oct. 26, 1998: 50. Merged car company no longer considered Am.
349. Holt, Harvey H. "[Poems]: Alte Gedanke Fer Yunge Leit / Old Thought for the Young; In Memory of Ellen H. Zimmermann; Wedding Poem; Warum ist der Geist im Mensch so stolz?" *JCPGS* 5.2 (1998): 16-17, 20-21. Poems in PA German with one Eng. trans.
350. Holtmann, Antonius. "Migration und Heimat: Mehrdeutigkeiten und Kehrseiten in den German Studies—Anmerkungen aus der alten für die neue Heimat." *Unterrichtspraxis* 31.1 (1998): 12-25.
351. Hönicke, Michaela. "Know Your Enemy American Interpretations of National Socialism, 1933-1945." Ph.D. diss., Univ. of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1998. 578 leaves.
352. Hook, Nancy. "Pastor Lubke Hundling." *Ostfriesen Neuesblatt* 2.1 (Feb. 1998): 2.
353. Hoover, Amos B. "The Ausbund." *JCPGS* 5.1 (1998): 7. Includes Ger. and trans. of "Vorred" (p. 3-4) of orig. ed. and one used today (p. 14-15, 20); also "An Early Hymn Deleted from the Ausbund" (p. 7-9).
354. Hopkins, Leroy. "Black Prussians": Germany and African American Education from James W. C. Pennington to Angela Davis." In: *Crosscurrents: African Americans, Africa, and Germany in the Modern World*, ed. by David McBride, Leroy Hopkins, and C. Asiha Blackshire-Belay, 65-81. Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1998.
355. Horning, Michael Z., comp. *Greetings of Love: Banks M. Horning ...: Letters, Diary 1921-1978*. Newmanstown, PA: M.Z. Horning; Ephrata, PA: Grace Press, 1998. 184 pp. Letters written to Mennonite Minister Banks M. Horning, Lancaster Co., PA, and a diary of Horning's travels to Ontario, Indiana, Ohio and Missouri.
356. Horowitz, Daniel. "The Emigré as Celebrant of American Consumer Culture." In: *Getting and Spending: European and American Consumer Societies in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Susan Strasser, Charles McGovern, and Matthias Judt, 149-66. Publication of the German Historical Institute. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1998.
357. Hörst, Corinna A. "'More than Ordinary ...': The Female Migration Experience and German Immigrant Women in Nineteenth Century Cincinnati." Ph.D. diss., Miami Univ., 1998. 297 leaves.
358. Hostetler, Ann. "The Unofficial Voice: The Poetics of Cultural Identity and Contemporary U.S. Mennonite Poetry." *MQR* 72.4 (Oct. 1998): 511-



359. Hsueh, Vicki. "The Enemy Within." *Lingua Franca* 6.7 (Oct. 1998): 9-11. Reviews the academic discussions on G-A internment in the U.S. during WWII.
360. Huebert, Melva Horst. "The Schänwiese Manuscript: Musical Remnant of the Russian Mennonites." M.A. thesis, Kent State Univ., 1998. 419 leaves. Mss. in German and English.
361. Huebner, Harry, ed. *Mennonite Education in a Post-Christian World: Essays Presented at the Consultation on Higher Education, Winnipeg, June 1997*. Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1998. 165 pp.
362. Hull, Aaron. *Camp Mennoscab: The First Fifty Years*. North Newton, KS: Retreat Committee of the Western District Conference of the General Conference Mennonite Church, 1998. 77 pp. Mennonite church camp in Murdock, KS.
363. Hummel, R. L., and G. S. Foster. "German/American Shooting Societies: Continuity and Change of Schuetzenvereins." *International Journal of the History of Sport* 15.2 (Aug. 1998): 186-93.
364. Humphrey, John T. *Pennsylvania Births: Berks County, 1710-1780*. Washington, DC: Humphrey Publications, 1998. 393 pp.
365. \_\_\_\_\_. *Pennsylvania Births: Berks County, 1781-1800*. Washington, DC: Humphrey Publications, 1998. 400 pp.
366. Hutterite Brethren. *The Chronicle of the Hutterian Brethren, Volume II: known as Das Kleine-Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brüder*. Ste. Agathe, MB: Hutterian Brethren, Crystal Spring Colony, 1998. 867 pp. Translation of: *Das Kleine-Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brüder*. Companion vol. to: *The Chronicle of the Hutterian Brethren, Volume I: known as Das Große Geschichtsbuch der Hutterischen Brüder*. Rifton, NY: Plough Pub. House, 1987.
367. Hyson, Leon O. "Congregational! Evangelical! Wesleyan?: The Evangelical Congregational Church, 1922-1950." *Methodist History* 36.4 (1998): 207-19. A small body descended from the church of Jacob Albright.
368. "In Memoriam, Helmut T. Lehmann, 1914-1998." *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 71.3 (Fall 1998): 105-6.
369. "In Search of Amish." *Folk Dance Scene* 34.1 (Mar. 1998): 10-12. Discussion of Amish social customs, including music, dance, and festivals.
370. Ingraham, Aukjen Tadema. "Henry Weinhard: Portland's Elusive Founding Father." B.A. thesis, Whitman College, 1998. 86 leaves. Portland brewer and philanthropist.
371. Jakes, John. *American Dreams*. New York: Dutton, 1998. 495 pp. Also available from: Thorndike, ME: G.K. Hall, 1998, and as a large print ed. from Dutton. G-As in fiction.
372. \_\_\_\_\_. *Homeland*. Abridged ed. Performed by Edward Herrmann. Los Angeles, CA: Dove Audio: Distributed by NewStar Pub., 1998. 4 cassettes. 6 hrs.

373. Janke, Volker. "Stadtluft macht frei: Ein Beitrag zur Bevölkerungsdynamik mecklenburgischer Städte im Zeitraum 1800-1920." *Stier und Greif: Blätter zur Kultur- und Landesgeschichte in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern* (1998): 23-29.
374. Janzen, Jacob H. *Lifting the Veil: Mennonite Life in Russia Before the Revolution*. Ed. and trans. by Leonard George Friesen and Walter Klaassen. Mennonite Reflections. Kitchener, ON: Pandora Press, 1998. 132 pp. Trans. of: *Aus meinem Leben: Erinnerungen von J.H. Janzen*.
375. Jarvie, Ian. "Free Trade as Cultural Threat: American Film and TV Exports in the Post-War Period." In: *Hollywood and Europe: Economics, Culture, National Identity, 1945-95*, ed. by Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, and Steven Ricci, 34-46. UCLA Film and Television Archive Studies in History, Criticism, and Theory. London: BFI Publishing, 1998.
376. Jefferson, Jan, and Maggi McCormick Gordon. *The Quilter's Guide to Amish Quilts*. London: Collins & Brown, 1998. 127 pp. Also published by Simon & Schuster, East Roseville, N.S.W.; and Quilt Digest Press, Lincolnwood, IL.
377. Job, Marcus. *A Genealogy Book of Job: Jopp, Jobb*. Chippewa Falls, WI: M. Job. 1998 pp. Documents descendants of Martin and Katarina Job, who emigrated from Neudorf, Russia and settled at Hosmer, S.D.
378. Johns, Galen, et al. *Some Ministers of Vision in the Early 1900s*. Goshen, IN: Michiana Anabaptist Historians, 1998. 15 pp. "Presented at the Spring meeting of the Michiana Anabaptist Historians held at Forks Mennonite Church, rural Middlebury, Indiana, Saturday, March 21, 1998."
379. Johnson, Anne Walker, and Robert Eugene Johnson, comps. *Montgomery County, Ohio German Church Records*. Dayton: Montgomery County Chapter, Ohio Genealogical Society, 1998-. 2 v.
380. Johnson, Chris. "The Volga German Dialects of Kansas: Research Past and Present." *Max Kade Center Newsletter* 1.2 (Mar. 1998): 7-8.
381. Jones, George Fenwick, and Paul Martin Peucher. "'We Have Come to Georgia with Pure Intentions': Moravian Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenberg's Letters from Savannah, 1735." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 82.1 (Spring 1998): 84-120.
382. Kaderli, Janet. *Molasses Cookies*. Illus. by Patricia Arnold. Dallas, TX: Hendrick-Long Pub. Co., 1998. Texas German-Americans in juvenile literature; grandchild learns about grandmother's immigration to TX in mid-1800s while baking Christmas cookies.
383. Kaelcke, Wolfgang. "Auf Auswandererspuren." *Puett: Schrifltreibe des Heimatbundes e.V. Parchim in Mecklenburg* (1998): 34-36.
384. Karamanski, Theodore J. "Memory's Landscape: Statues and Memorials Built in Chicago in the Wake of the Civil War Helped to heal Animosity Between Returning Veterans and the Rapidly Changing City." *Chicago History* 26.2 (Summer 1998): 54-72. G-A Veterans Civil War monument in St. Boniface Cemetery; painter Louis Kurz.
385. Kauffman, Dennis W. *Centennial Edition of the Mountville Mennonite Church*



- 1898-1998. Mountville, PA: Mountville Mennonite Church, 1998. 81 pp.
386. Kauffman, Ivan J. *Confessions of a Mennonite Catholic: Essays 1963-1988*. Washington, DC: I.J. Kauffman, 1998. 344 pp.
387. Kaufman, Orlando J. *Personal Memoirs of Orlando J. Kaufman, September 6, 1916 - June 12, 1997*. Ed. by Harris H. Waltner. Goshen, IN?: Lenore and James Waltner, 1998. 86 pp.
388. Kazal, Russell Andrew. "Becoming 'Old Stock': The Waning Of German-American Identity in Philadelphia, 1900-1930." Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1998. 652 leaves.
389. Kebler, Roger. *Ancestors and Descendants of Christian Kebler, 1825-1916, and Elizabeth Katherine Schleh, 1827-1899*. Nottingham, NH: R. Kebler, 1998. 79 leaves.
390. Keel, William. "Documenting German Settlement Dialects in Kansas." *Max Kade Center Newsletter* 1.2 (Mar. 1998): 4-6.
391. \_\_\_\_\_. "From *Freischärler* in Baden to American Patriot: Wendelin Bührle: A Common Soldier in Two Struggles for Freedom." *YGAS* 33 (1998): 19-40.
392. \_\_\_\_\_. "In Memoriam: Professor John Antony 'Toni' Burzle." *Max Kade Center for German-American Studies (Lawrence, KS)* Nov. 1998: 1-2.
393. \_\_\_\_\_. "J. Anthony 'Toni' Burzle: In Memoriam." *YGAS* 33 (1998): 1-4.
394. Keim, Albert N. *Harold S. Bender, 1897-1962*. Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1998. 592 pp. "Sponsored by the Mennonite Historical Society, Goshen, Indiana."
395. Keller, Edward F. *Memory Stories: With Rural Midwestern Dakota Roots*. Dickinson, ND: Edward Keller, 1998. 1 sound cassette. 90 min. ND Germans from Russia.
396. Kelly, Joseph M. "Technology Onboard at Amish LBM Dealership." *Home Improvement Market* 235.2 (Feb. 1998): 34-35. Lumber building materials.
397. Kemper, Edward J. *Little Germany on the Missouri: The Photographs of Edward J. Kemper, 1895-1920*. Ed. by Anna Hesse. Columbia: Univ. of Missouri Press, 1998. 166 pp.
398. Kern, Albert. *Homeland Book of the Bessarabian Germans*. Fargo, ND: Germans from Russian Heritage Collection, North Dakota State Univ. Libraries, 1998. 356 pp.
399. Kersten, Holger. "Culture Wrapped in Broken Speech: Hans Breitmann's Humorous Achievement." *Essays in Arts and Sciences* 27 (1998): 37-52.
400. \_\_\_\_\_. "Mark Twain and the Funny Magic of the German Language." In: *New Directions in American Humor*, ed. by David E. E. Sloane, 199-209. Tuscaloosa: Univ. of Alabama Press 1998.
401. Kessenich, Joseph L. *The Kessenich Family*. Waunakee, WI (5692 Steeplechase Dr., Waunakee, 535978605): J.L. Kessenich, 1998. 372 pp.
402. King, Michael A. "Fractured Dance: Steps and Missteps in Conversation and in Application of Gadamer to a Mennonite Debate on Homosexuality." Ph.D. diss., Temple Univ., 1998. 393 leaves.

403. Kiracofe, Clifford Attick. "Palms for the Prairie: George Wittbold, Nineteenth-Century Chicago Florist and Nurseryman." *Journal of Illinois History* 1.1 (Autumn 1998): 23-42
404. Kirkpatrick Advertising, Inc. "Ohio Amish Country Map, Your Free Map & Visitors Guide." New Philadelphia, OH: Kirkpatrick Advertising, Inc., 1998. 1 map. 27 x 40 cm. Eleven local maps..
405. Kittel, Harald. "Inclusions and Exclusions: The "Göttingen Approach" to Translation Studies and Inter-Literary History." In: Vollmer-Mueller, 3-13. Translations as "interlingual exchange and ... intercultural contact, communication and transfer".
406. Klassen, Bill. *The Descendants of Margaret, Jacob, and Aron Pauls*. Winnipeg, MB: B. Klassen, 1998. 145 pp. Canadian Mennonites.
407. Klassen, Paul. *From the Steppes to the Prairies: A History of the Agneta and David Klassen Family in Russia and Canada*. Winnipeg, MB: City Press, 1998. 304 pp.
408. Klein, Naomi, et al., comps. *100 Years of Growth: Rekindling the Spirit: Wishek Centennial Cookbook*. Wishek, ND: The Centennial Cookbook Committee, G & R Pub. Co. 1998. 280 pp. Germans from Russia in ND.
409. Kleppinger, Theodore C. "A Serendipitous Genealogical Journey—Along the Alchemists' Trail." *Proceedings of the Lehigh County Historical Society* 41.1994 (1998): 153-76. Also published in *DR* 31.1 (1998): 2-23.
410. Kline, Dorothy K. "Early History of the Pennsylvania Deitsch Dialect un Kultur Society." *JCPGS* 5.4 (1998): 18-20. Includes an "In Memoriam" written in PA German on the death of the author in 1995 and the monthly programs of the society, 1980-98.
411. Klippenstein, Lawrence. "Der Bote 75: 1924-1999: Diedrich H. Epp kommt nach Kanada (I)." *Der Bote* 30 (Aug. 12, 1998): 5.
412. \_\_\_\_\_. "Der Bote 75: 1924-1999: 1924-Das erste volle Jahr von *Der Bote* (erster Teil)." *Der Bote* 75.35 (Sept. 16, 1998): 5.
413. Kloberdanz, Timothy J. "Henry John Deutschendorf, Jr.: The World Knew Him as John Denver." *JAHSGR* 21.3 (1998): 1-5.
414. \_\_\_\_\_. "'The Traditions We Share': Folkore in Four Cultures on the Northern Plains." *North Dakota History* 65.4 (1998): 19-31.
415. Kluttz, Roger S. *Beside the Still Waters: The Story of German Settlements and the Lutheran Church in Wythe County, Virginia*. Wytheville, VA: R.S. Kluttz, 1998. 2 v.
416. Koch, Barry L., Jr. "Die Rausch Grick." *JCPGS* 5.4 (1998): 11-16. Rausch Creek, a PA coal-mining town, 1857- late 1960s. Includes maps & photographs. In English.
417. Koch, Friedrich Carl Ludwig. *The Mineral Regions of the United States of North America on Lake Superior, Michigan, and on the Upper Mississippi, Wisconsin, Illinois and Iowa: A Guide for German Immigrants, Namely for Miners and Smelter Workers as Well as for Woodsmen and Artisans; Outlined According to His Own Observations and Experiences*. Ed. and trans. by J.



- Kalliokoski. N.p.: N.p.1998. 38 pp. Original 1851 text of *Die MineralGegenden der Vereinigten Staaten Nord Amerika's am Lake Superior, Michigan, und am obern Mississippi, Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa* published in Göttingen by Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht. Held at Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison Library. Designed to encourage emigration to the United States from economically depressed areas of Germany.
418. Koenig, Angela T. "Cincinnati, Ohio: Celebrating the Queen City." *German Life* 5 (June/July 1998): 46-49.
  419. Kopp, Achim. "Language Maintenance and Language Shift Among the Pennsylvania Germans: An Investigation into Linguistic Behavior of Six Families Over Three Generations." Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Heidelberg, 1998.
  420. Kraft, Volker. "Psychoanalyse paedagogischen Denkens am historischen Beispiel: Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827)." *Psyche: Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse und ihre Anwendungen* 52.3 (Mar. 1998): 236-56. Among other discussions, quotes the G-A educationist, Siegfried Bernfeld (1892-1953) to the effect that a history of education could only take the form of a satire.
  421. Krapf, Norbert. *The Sunday Before Thanksgiving: Two Prose Memoirs*. Chicago, IL: Rain Crow Publishing, 1998. 32 pp.
  422. Kraybill, Donald B. *On the Back Road to Happiness: the Amish Pursuit of Happiness*. N.p.: Phi Theta Kappa, 1998. 1 videocassette. VHS. Lecture at the Phi Theta Kappa Honors Institute, 1998.
  423. \_\_\_\_\_. "Plain Reservations: Amish and Mennonite Views of Media and Computers." *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 13.2 (1998): 99-110.
  424. \_\_\_\_\_. *The Puzzles of Amish Life*. Rev. ed. People's Place Booklet, No. 10. Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 1998. 126 pp.
  425. Krehbiel, James Woodrow. *References to Swiss Russian Mennonites*. Charleston, IL: James W. Krehbiel, 1998. 341 pp.
  426. Kreider, Robert S., et al. *Joseph & Elizabeth: A Sourcebook: The Lives and Ancestry of Joseph Shellenberger Shoemaker (1854-1936) and Elizabeth Sechrist Brubaker (1856-1931)*. North Newton, KS: Shoemaker Family Association, 1998. 145 pp. Includes "History of the Freeport Mennonite Church" and poetry by J.S. Shoemaker.
  427. Kreider, Robert S. *Looking Back into the Future*. Cornelius H. Wedel Historical Series, 11. North Newton, KS: Bethel College, 1998. 302 pp. Prepared as a part of a symposium held at Bethel College, fall 1998.
  428. Kreitner, Kenneth. "Jacob Guth in Montrose: A Town Band in Central Pennsylvania, 1888-1897." In: *Music and Culture in America, 1861-1918*, ed. by Michael Saffle, 231-69. Essays in American Music, v. 2. Garland Reference Library of the Humanities, v. 1952. New York: Garland, 1998.
  429. Kriegleder, Wynfrid. "Amerika-Idyllik und Europa-Skepsis: zum Verhältnis Amerika-Europa im Werk Charles Sealsfields." In: *Sealsfield-Studien*, 1, ed. by Alexander Ritter, 11-25. Schriftenreihe der CSG. München: Charles-Sealsfield-Gesellschaft, 1998.
  430. \_\_\_\_\_. "Amerikathematik und Erzählsystem in Sealsfields *Lebensbildern*."

- In: *Charles Sealsfield: Politischer Erzähler zwischen Europa und Amerika: Perspektiven internationaler Forschung, Symposium Bergamo 1994*, ed. by Gustav-Adolf Pogatschnigg, 180-93. Schriftenreihe der CSG, Bd. 9 München: Charles-Sealsfield-Gesellschaft; Turin: Silvio Zamorani Editore, 1998.
431. \_\_\_\_\_. *Vorwärts in die Vergangenheit: das Bild der USA im deutschsprachigen Roman von 1776 bis 1855*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 1998.
  432. Krisztinkovich, Maria, and Peter C. Erb. *An Annotated Hutterite Bibliography*. Kitchener, ON: Pandora Press, 1998. 312 pp.
  433. Kronenberg, Kenneth. *Lives and Letters of an Immigrant Family: The van Dreveldts' Experiences along the Missouri, 1844-1866*. Written and trans. by Kenneth Kronenberg in association with Carl Hans von Gimborn. Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1998. 210 pp.
  434. Kruse, Len. "The Herrmann Museum." *Julien's Journal* 23.10 (Oct. 1998): 54-55. Richard Herrmann (1849-1941) migrated from Saxony to Dubuque, IA.
  435. Kucher, Primus-Heinz. "Zur europäischen Sealsfield-Reception: eine Projektskizze." In: *Sealsfield-Studien 1*, ed. by Alexander Ritter, 27-38. Schriftenreihe der CSG. München: Charles-Sealsfield-Gesellschaft, 1998.
  436. Kunze, Konrad. *Atlas Namenkunde Vor- und Familiennamen im deutschen Sprachgebiet*. Munich: DTV Verlag, 1998. 229 pp.
  437. Kurthen, Hermann. "Gone with the Wind?: German Language Retention in North Carolina and the United States in Comparative Perspective." *YGAS* 33 (1998): 55-83.
  438. Kurtz, Paul Stoltzfus. "The Amateur Computer Operator." *MFH* 17.4 (Oct. 1998): 156+.
  439. \_\_\_\_\_. "Tennessee John's Box." *MFH* 17.4 (Oct. 1998): 138+.
  440. Kusler, Ruth Weil. *Tender Hands: Ruth's Story of Healing*. With Peggy Sailer O'Neil. Fargo, ND: Germans from Russia Heritage Collection, North Dakota State Univ. Libraries, 1998. 69 pp. Includes chapter of family remedies.
  441. Labi, Nadya. "Amiss Among the Amish: A Drug Indictment Reveals that All is not Well Among the Youth of an Austere Christian Sect." *Time* 151.26 (July 6, 1998): 81.
  442. Lamb, Mary Beth. "First Contact: Swiss Benedictine Sisters at Standing Rock Missions in a Cross-Cultural Frame, 1881-1890." Ph.D. diss., Graduate Theological Union, 1998. 427 leaves. German-speaking Benedictines of Maria Rickenbach, Switzerland, first encountered the Lakota/Nakota peoples of Standing Rock Reservation (SD & ND) in the late 19th century.
  443. "Landskroner Emigration to the American Midwest." *Max Kade Institute Friends Newsletter* 7.3 (Fall 1998): 8-11; 7.4 (Winter 1998): 1-2.
  444. Landsmannschaft der Deutschen aus Russland, and Kulturrat der Deutschen aus Russland. *Volk auf dem Weg: Deutsche in Russland und in der GUS 1763-1997: Nemtsy v Rossii i SNG 1763-1997*. 6 vyp. Moskva, Stuttgart: Zemliachestvo nemtsev iz Rossii; Sovet po kul'ture nemtsev iz Rossii, 1998.



64 pp.

445. Langley, Linda, Susan G. LeJeune, and Claude F. Oubre, eds. *Les vieux temps: Recreation and Family Traditions of Southwestern Louisiana*. Folklife Series, v. 4. Eunice, LA: Louisiana State Univ. at Eunice, 1998. 76 pp. Includes "German traditions: yesteryear in Roberts Cove".
446. Laskas, Jeanne Marie. "100 Years of Living." *Good Housekeeping* 226.1 (Jan. 1998): 20-21. Profiles Rose Kotz, NJ, and her marriage and divorce with Alfred, member of German-American Bund.
447. Laudon, Robert T. *Leopold Bruenner, Cecilian and Democrat*. Minnesota Musicians of the Cultured Generation. Minneapolis, MN: The Author, c1998. 47 leaves.
448. Lehman, Celia, ed. *History of the Ohio Mennonite Relief Sale*. Sugarcreek, OH: Printing by Carlisle Printing, 1998. 106 pp.
449. Lehman, Daniel W. "Graven Images and the (Re)Presentation of Amish Trauma." In: *Migrant Muses: Mennonite/s Writing in the U.S.* ed. by Ervin Beck, and John D. Roth, 97-107. Goshen, IN: Mennonite Historical Society, 1998.
450. \_\_\_\_\_. "Graven Images and the (Re)Presentation of Amish Trauma." *MQR* (Oct. 1998): 477-87.
451. Lehman, Helmut T. "Missioner Extraordinary: Henry Melchior Muhlenberg." *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 71.2 (Summer 1998): 56-71; 71.3 (Fall 1998): 102-27.
452. Lehman, James O. *Lindale's Song: A Century of Harmony, Growth and Fellowship, 1898 to 1998*. Harrisonburg, VA: Lindale Mennonite Church, 1998. 298 pp.
453. Lehmann, Andreas. *Go West!: Ostdeutsche in Amerika*. Berlin: Schwarzkopf, 1998. 256 pp.
454. Lenya, Lotte. *Lenya*. Discography by Richard Weize, and Rainer E. Lotz. Hambergen, Germany: Bear Family Records, 1998. 11 sound CDs. + book of 252 pp. with essays by Kim Kowalke, et al. All commercial recordings made by Lenya, plus previously unissued tracks, interviews, TV performances, etc., recorded between 1929 and 1975.
455. Letkemann, Peter. "Mennonite Victims of Revolution, Anarchy, Civil War, Disease and Famine, 1971-1923." *Mennonite Historian* 24.2 (June 1998): 1-2, 9.
456. Levine, Bruce. "Against All Slavery, Whether White or Black": German-Americans and the Irrespressible Conflict." In: *Crosscurrents: African Americans, Africa, and Germany in the Modern World*, ed. by McBride David, Leroy Hopkins, and C. Asiha Blackshire-Belay, 53-64. Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1998.
457. Lewis, Beverly. *The Confession*. Narrated by Barbara Caruso. Prince Frederick, MD: Recorded Books, 1998. 6 cassettes. 8.25 hrs.
458. \_\_\_\_\_. *Hide Behind the Moon*. Summerhill Secrets, 8. Minneapolis, MN: Bethany House Publishers, 1998. 143 pp. Amish in juvenile fiction.

459. \_\_\_\_\_. *The Reckoning*. The Heritage of Lancaster County, 3. Minneapolis, MN: Bethany House Publishers, 1998. 283 pp. Also published in a large print ed. by Thorndike Press, Thorndike, ME, 1999. Amish and young women in PA. Fiction.
460. \_\_\_\_\_. *The Shunning*. Narrated by Barbara Caruso. Prince Frederick, MD: Recorded Books, 1998. 6 cassettes. 8.75 hrs. Amish in fiction.
461. \_\_\_\_\_. *Was Auch Geschehen Mag*. Trans. by Silvia Lutz. Marburg an der Lahn: Francke; St. Johannis Druckerei, 1998. 227 pp. Trans. of *Shunning*.
462. Liegel, Gregory J. "Voluntary Emigrants': Massachusetts and the Use of German Immigrants in the Union Army During the American Civil War." Senior thesis, Boston College, 1998. 158 leaves.
463. Lind, Michael. "Reading Immigrant History by the Books." *Max Kade Institute Friends Newsletter* 7.3 (Summer 1998): 1-2.
464. \_\_\_\_\_. "The Time is Ripe for the Third Man." *New Statesman* 127 (Nov. 13, 1998): 25. About theories of G-A economist Friedrich List.
465. Linke, Lars-Peter. "Gespenstische Aufklärung: Überlegungen zur Erzählung 'Die Grabesschuld' als Beispiel für Sealsfields Umgang mit populären Genres." In: *Sealsfield Studien 1*, ed. by Alexander Ritter, 145-64. Schriftenreihe der CSG, 11. München: Charles-Sealsfield-Gesellschaft, 1998.
466. \_\_\_\_\_. "Stillstand und Bewegung: Sealsfields *Cajütenbuch* als 'Joint Venure' von amerikanischer "Frontier"-Ideologie und europäischem Fortschrittsdenken." In: *Charles Sealsfield: Politischer Erzähler zwischen Europa und Amerika: Perspektiven internationaler Forschung, Symposium Bergamo 1994*, ed. by Gustav-Adolf Pogatschnigg, 137-57. Schriftenreihe der CSG, Bd. 9. München: Charles-Sealsfield-Gesellschaft; Turin: Silvio Zamorani Editore, 1998.
467. Linnes, Kathleen. "Middle-Class AAVE Versus Middle-Class Bilingualism: Contrasting Speech Communities." *American Speech* 73.4 (Winter 1998): 339-67. Studies whether the alternation of African-Am. English Vernacular and Standard Am. English variants is comparable to the conversational code-switching of the G-A bilingual community.
468. Little, Monroe H., Jr. "The Black Military Experience in Germany: From the First World War to the Present." In: *Crosscurrents: African Americans, Africa, and Germany in the Modern World*, ed. by David McBride, Leroy Hopkins, and C. Asiha Blackshire-Belay, 177-96. Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1998.
469. Livingston, Martin S. "Harvest of fire: Archaic Twinship and Fundamental Conflict within a Community and in Group Therapy." In: *Self Experiences in Group: Intersubjective and Self Psychological Pathways to Human Understanding*. ed. by Irene N. H. Harwood, and Malcolm Pines, 5869. International Library of Group Analysis 4. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 1998. Used "Harvest of Fire," a TV production about barn burnings in an Amish community, to illustrate the importance of twinship needs in analytic group therapy.



470. Locke, Don C. *Increasing Multicultural Understanding: A Comprehensive Model*. 2nd ed. Multicultural Aspects of Counseling Series, 1. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1998. 238 pp. Includes Old Order Amish.
471. Loewen, Royden K. "Steinbach and Jansen: A Tale of Two Mennonite Towns, 1880-1990." In: *European Immigrants in the American West: Community Histories*, ed. by Frederick C. Luebke, 161-78. Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1998. MB and NE Germans from Russia.
472. Lohr, Lawrence L. "If Thou but Suffer God to Guide Thee': The Journey of a Lutheran Hymn." *The Hymn* 49.3 (1998): 28-34.
473. Lookwood, Annette. "Kumm Esse (Come Eat): Christmas in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania." *German Life* 5 (Dec. 1998/Jan. 1999): 42-44.
474. "Low Tech Goes High Tech." *Wood & Wood Products* 103.8 (July 1998): 143-47. Amish woodworkers in PA; includes related article on Amish wood-working genius Elam Fish.
475. Lowry, James. "The Martyrs' Mirror Made Plain: A Study Guide." *JCPGS* 5.2 (1998): 4-5.
476. Lubinski, Axel. "Friedland um 1850: der Beginn der Nordamerikaauswanderung aus einer kleinen mecklenburgischen Landstadt." *Friedländer Heimatblätter* 7 (1998): 155-69.
477. \_\_\_\_\_. "Massenauswanderung aus Mecklenburg im 19. Jahrhundert." *Vorträge zur mecklenburgischen Familienforschung: Landesheimatsverband und Familien- und Personengeschichte Landesheimatsverband* 6/7 (1998): 34-42.
478. Lundgren, Albert Louis, and Ruth Ann Lundgren. *Haist-Balzer: A History and Genealogy of the Ancestors and Descendents of Michael Haist and Wiegand Balzer*. MI?: A.L. Lundgren and R.A. Lundgren, 1998. 118 pp.
479. Lunte, Gabriele M. "The Catholic Bohemian German Dialect of Ellis, Kansas." Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Kansas, 1998. 324 leaves.
480. Marando, Mary E. Jaeger. *Descendants of John Jaeger, 1838-1928*. Crown Point, IN: M. Marando, 1998. 325 pp. 1898 or 1899 immigrants from Russia who settled in Pierce County, ND.
481. Marhencke, Ernst-Erich. "Hans Reimer Claussen (1804-1894): Kämpfer für Freiheit und Recht in zwei Welten: Ein Beitrag zur Herkunft und Wirken der 'Achtundvierziger'." Ph. D. diss., Univ. of Kiel, 1998. 400 pp.
482. Marr, John. *My Life*. West Bend, WI: West Bend Art Museum, 1998.
483. Martin, Kern. "The Emigration of German Sinologists, 1933-1945: Notes on the History and Historiography of ..." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 118.4 (Oct./Dec. 1998): 507-29.
484. Martin, Rebecca. *A Horse Called Willing*. Harrisonburg, VA: Christian Light Publications, Inc., 1998. 165 pp. Mennonites in fiction.
485. Masuk, Lesley C. "Patriarchy, Technology and the Lives of Hutterite Women: A Field Study." M.A. thesis, Univ. of Saskatchewan, 1998. 152 leaves.
486. May, Janet P. "Research Note: Genealogical Connections Among Bowman, Brennemen, Brubaker, and Smith Families." *PMH* 21.4 (Oct. 1998):

487. Mayer, Sigrid, and Martha Hanscom. *Critical Reception of the Short Fiction by Joyce Carol Oates and Gabriele Wobmann*. Literary Criticism in Perspective. Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1998. 231 pp.
488. Mazrui, Ali A. "The German Factor in the Global Black Experience: From the Berlin Conference to the Berlin Wall." In: *Crosscurrents: African Americans, Africa, and Germany in the Modern World*, ed. by McBride David, Leroy Hopkins, and C. Asiha Blackshire-Belay, 240-51. Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1998.
489. McCollum, Monica J. "Uncovered and Unfazed." *Hospitals & Health Networks* 74.14 (July 20, 1998): 38. Amish who do not carry health insurance.
490. McDonough, Merry Lynn. "Germans in the Valley: German Immigrants, Their Descendants and Culture in Montgomery County, Ohio 1796-1918: An Exhibit Plan." Masters thesis, Wright State Univ., 1998. 146 leaves.
491. McDougal, Robert A. "Dedication of Historical Marker." *Indiana German Heritage Society Newsletter* 15.1 (Winter 1998/99): 5. Dedication in Indianapolis, IN, for the German greenhouses and truck gardens.
492. McKee, Susan. "The Historic Athenaeum: 100 Years of German Americans in Indianapolis." *German Life* 4 (Apr./May 1998): 46-49.
493. McLean, Alison. "Together They Stay a World Apart." Photographs by Andrew Holbrooke. *Smithsonian* 29.8 (Nov. 1998): 148-55. Profile of Hutterites.
494. Mejias, Jordan. "Bernd Heinrich: The Unwilling Philosopher." *German-American Cultural Review* (Winter 1997/98): 66-68.
495. *The Mennonite*. v.1.1- (Feb. 1998-) Scottdale, PA: GCMC Interim Periodical Board. 48 issues yearly.
496. Mennonite Hour Singers. *Favorite Hymns a Cappella Music*. Harrisonburg, VA: Mennonite Media, Mennonite Board of Missions, 1998. 1 CD.
497. Mennonite Information Center, Berlin, OH. *Behalt in Search of Love and Understanding*. Camera, Gregory James Gaugel. Narrator, Rod Daniels. Berlin, OH: Distributed by Mennonite Information Center, 1998. 1 videocassette. 60 min. VHS. "Behalt" is a mural painted by Heinz Gaugel depicting the history of the Anabaptists, Amish, Mennonites, and Hutterites. Located at the Mennonite Information Center at Berlin, OH.
498. Merrill, Peter C. "Art Teachers, Art Schools and Art Museums in Early Wisconsin." In: *Foundations of Art in Wisconsin*, 1-5. West Bend, WI: West Bend Art Museum 1998. Exhibition catalog.
499. \_\_\_\_\_. "German Immigrant Women in American Art." *Migration World Magazine* 26 (Sept./Oct. 1998): 24-28.
500. Meyer, John Frederick. *The German Element in Two Great Crises of American History, 1776-1861*. Columbus?, OH: J.F. Meyer, Allied Print., 1998, c1915. 29 pp. Contains: "The German Element in America during the Revolutionary War" and "The German Element in America during the Civil War". Photocopy at the Cincinnati Univ. Libraries.



501. Meyer, R. Paul. "Germans in the Sauk Prairie Area." *Max Kade Institute Friends Newsletter* 7.3 (Summer 1998): 6-8.
502. *MHEP Quarterly*. v.1.1-1. (Feb. 1998-) Harleysville, PA: Mennonite Historical Society of Eastern Pennsylvania .
503. Michaelson, Mike. "Visiting with the Plain Folk." *Home & Away* 19.2 (1998): 5A-9A.
504. Michelman, Dorothea S. "Deutsche Dorfgemeinden." *Das Fenster* 94.8 (June 1998): 26. Amana Colonies.
505. \_\_\_\_\_. "Deutsche in Amerika." *Das Fenster* 94.12 (Oct. 1998): 18. Britta Konau's work at the Woman's Museum, Washington, DC.
506. \_\_\_\_\_. "Deutsche in Amerika: der preisgekrönte Küchenchef Gerhard Wolfgang Brill." *Das Fenster* 94.4 (Feb. 1998): 20.
507. \_\_\_\_\_. "Deutsche in Amerika: die älteste amerikanische Kochschule." *Das Fenster* 94.6 (Apr. 1998): 18.
508. \_\_\_\_\_. "Ein wichtiges Stück deutscher Geschichte." *Das Fenster* 94.7 (May 1998): 16. About the brewer, Christian Heurich, Washington, DC.
509. \_\_\_\_\_. "Mitten in der Kanadischen Prärie." *Das Fenster* 94.3 (Jan. 1998): 14.
510. Middleman, Raoul F. "Two Letters, Two Worlds: Cultural Identity in the Making." *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 71.1 (Spring 1998): 44-51. Carl Holtermann's 1890 letter from Cole Camp, Missouri and 1931 letter from Rock Island, Illinois showing process of Americanization.
511. Milich, Klaus J., and Jeffrey M. Peck, eds. *Multiculturalism in Transit: A German-American Exchange*. International Political Currents, v. 3. New York: Berghahn Books, 1998. 290 pp. Collection of essays.
512. Miller, Carl H. *Breweries of Cleveland*. Cleveland, OH: Schnitzelbank Press, 1998. 296 pp.
513. Miller, DeVon, ed. *Iowa Amish Directory 1998*. Millersburg, OH: Published by Abana Book Services, Schlabach Printers, 1998. 248 pp.
514. \_\_\_\_\_. ed. *Kentucky Tennessee Amish Directory with Pinecraft, Fl 1998*. Millersburg, OH: Published by Abana Books; Schlabach Printers, 1998. 158 pp.
515. Miller, Evelyn Yoder. "Breaking and Keeping Silence: A Novel and Prologue." Ph.D. diss., Ohio Univ., 1998. 357 leaves.
516. Miller, J. Virgil. "Which is the Correct John Miller?" *MFH* 17.4 (Oct. 1998): 174+.
517. Miller, Joanne. *Pennsylvania Handbook: Including Pittsburgh, the Poconos, Philadelphia, Gettysburg, and Dutch Country*. Moon Travel Handbooks. Chico, CA: Moon Publications, 1998. 419 pp.
518. Miller, Monroe J. *Amish Church Record*. Dundee, OH: Available from M.J. Miller; Carlisle Printing, 1998. 52 pp.
519. Miller, Peter E. *Ohio Amish Directory: Geauga County and Vicinity*. 1998. Middlefield, OH: Available from Peter E. Miller; Carlisle Printing, 1998. 444 pp.

520. Miller, T. P., and Glen Linscheid. *Galician Family Study*. Jackson, TN: T.P. Miller, 1998. 9 v. Mennonites.
521. Mindel, Charles H., and Roosevelt Wright, eds. *Ethnic Families in America: Patterns and Variations*. 4th ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1998. 518 pp. Includes Amish.
522. Montee-Nelson, Theresa K. Bogner. *The Banat German Hungarians Who Came to Southwestern North Dakota: Wiver Sach (Women's Stuff)*. Dickinson, ND: T.K.B. Montee-Nelson, 1998. 4 v.
523. Moore, Lorraine A. *Back Roads & Buggy Trails: A Visitor's Guide to Ohio Amish Country*. 4th ed. Millersburg, OH: Bluebird Press, 1998. 278 pp.
524. Morford, LaDean. "Variations in Health Promotion Practices among Adult Hutterites." M.S. thesis, Univ. of North Dakota. 36 leaves. Hutterites in SD.
525. Morse, Susan M. "The Power of Memory and the Presence of a Collective History in Holocaust Literature: Analysis of Jewish and German Perspectives." M.A. thesis, Univ. of Montana, 1998. 153 leaves.
526. Moseley, Richard H. "What the Amish Can Tell Us About...Cholestasis." *Hepatology* 28.3 (Sept. 1998): 888+.
527. Moss, Pat Buckley, and Merle Good. *Reuben and the Quilt*. Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 1998. 1 v. unpagged Amish in fiction.
528. Moss, Robert. *The Interpreter: A Story of Two Worlds*. New York: Tom Doherty Associates, 1998, c1997. 420 pp. PA G-As in fiction during the Colonial Period.
529. Moyer, Dennis K. *Fraktur Writings and Folk Art Drawings of the Schwenkfelder Library Collection*. Pennsylvania-German Society Yearbook, v. 31, 1997. Kutztown, PA: Pennsylvania German Society; King of Prussia, PA: Printed and bound by Centennial Printing, 1998. 301 pp.
530. Muehl, Siegm. "Shock of the New: Advising Mid-Nineteenth-Century German Immigrants to Missouri." *YGAS* 33 (1998): 85-101.
531. Mueller, Ulrich. *Zusammenfassung der Geschichte der Mennoniten in Paraguay*. Asunción: Artes Gráficas Zamphirópolis, 1998. 78 pp.
532. Mueller-Vollmer, Kurt. "German-American Cultural Interaction in the Jacksonian Era: Six Unpublished Letters by Francis Lieber and John Pickering to Wilhelm von Humboldt." *Unterrichtspraxis* 31.1 (1998): 1-11.
533. ———. "Translating Transcendentalism in New England: The Genesis of a Literary Discourse." In: Vollmer-Mueller, 81-106.
534. Mueri, Johannes. "Der Herrnhuter Missionar Johann Heckewälder." *Unitas Fratrum: Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Gegenwartsfragen der Brüdergemeinde* 44 (1998): 107-32.
535. Murrow, Mary Sue. "Somewhere Between Beer and Wagner: The Cultural and Musical Impact of German Männerchöre in New York and New Orleans." In: *Music and Culture in America, 1861-1918*, ed. by Michael Saffle, 79-109. *Essays in American Music*, v. 2. Garland Reference Library of the Humanities, v. 1952. New York: Garland, 1998.



536. Mustafa, Sam A. "The Role of the Hanseatic Cities in Early US-German Relations." *Maryland Historical Magazine* 93.3 (Fall 1998): 265-88.
537. Myers, Margaret E. *Births and Baptisms from the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Frederick, Maryland, October 21, 1848 to December 26, 1855*. Frederick, Md. (409 Culler Ave., Frederick 21701): M.E. Myers, 1998. 37, 15 leaves.
538. Myers, Tamar. *Between a Wok and a Hard Place: A Pennsylvania Dutch Mystery with Recipes*. New York: Penguin, 1998. 263 pp.
539. \_\_\_\_\_. *Eat, Drink, and Be Wary: A Pennsylvania Dutch Mystery with Recipes*. New York: Signet, 1998. 272 pp.
540. Nagler, Joerg. "Nationale Minoritäten im Krieg: 'Feindliche Ausländer' und die amerikanische Heimatfront während des Ersten Weltkrieges." Habilitationsschrift, Univ. of Kiel.
541. Nakhla, Anne-Marie Elizabeth. "Troubling Memories: Communism and the Russian Mennonites, 1928-1945." M.A. thesis, Western Washington Univ., 1998. 231 leaves.
542. Namikas, Lise. "Samoa and US Empire." *Peace Review* 10.3 (Sept. 1998): 375-81. Details on the U.S.-German relations in the final days of Pres. Grover Cleveland's administration.
543. Naumann, Christine. "African American Performers and Culture in Weimar Germany." In: *Crosscurrents: African Americans, Africa, and Germany in the Modern World*, ed. by David McBride, Leroy Hopkins, and C. Asih Blackshire-Belay, 96-112. Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1998.
544. Neidlein, Judith Eva-Maria. "Bonding, Bonnets, Bible Meetings: Mennonite Women's Diaries, 1900-1930." M.A. thesis, Miami Univ., 129 leaves.
545. Neill, Christina M. "The Widows of Park Place and Park Village: The Role of Personal Spirituality and Religious Social Activity in the Lives of Older Widowed Women." B.S. thesis, James Madison Univ., 1998. 59 leaves.
546. Neufeld, Bernie, ed. *Music in Worship: A Mennonite Perspective*. Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press; Newton, KS: Faith & Life Press, 1998. 260 pp.
547. Niess, Anny Marguerite. "Die Mädchenerziehung bei den Deutschbrasilianern: eine geschichtliche Studie; Education of Girls among People of German Stock in Brazil." M.A. in Missions, Columbia Biblical Seminary and Graduate School of Missions, Körtal, Columbia International Univ., 1998. 133 leaves. Typescript. Includes study of Catholic and Lutheran schools.
548. Nieuweboer, Rogier. "The Altai Dialect of Plautdietsch: West-Siberian Mennonite Low German: Proefschrift ..." Doctoral diss., Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 1998. 380 pp.
549. Noël, N. A. *Joy in Simplicity: An Artistic & Poetic Journey into Amish Country, Featuring Original Art by N.A. Noël*. Special gold ed. Indianapolis, IN: Noël Studio, 1998. 1 v. unpagd. Amish children in art.
550. Nolt, Steven M. "Finding a Context for Mennonite History: Pennsylvania German Ethnicity and Old Mennonite Experience." *PMH* 21/4 (Oct. 1998): 2+.

551. \_\_\_\_\_. "Formal Mutual Aid Structures among American Mennonites and Brethren: Assimilation and Reconstructed Ethnicity." *JAEH* 17.3 (Spring 1998): 71-86.
552. \_\_\_\_\_. "German Faith, American Faithful: Religion and Ethnicity in the Early American Republic." Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Notre Dame, 1998. 310 leaves.
553. "North Indiana Amish Country Map: Close to You, but Worlds Away." Elkhart, IN: Elkhart County Convention & Visitors Bureau, 1998. 6 maps on 1 sheet. 19 x 39 cm. or smaller on 46 x 42 cm. folded sheet.
554. Northern Indiana Family Safety Committee. *Weeds in Our Garden: Farm Safety Activity Book*. West Lafayette, IN: Northern Indiana Family Safety Committee; Indiana Rural Safety and Health Council, 1998. 24 pp. A farm safety coloring and activity book designed especially for Amish children. Publication supported by Menno-Hof Mennonite Amish Visitors Center, et al.
555. Offner, Judith. "Pow-wowling: The Pennsylvania Dutch Way to Heal." *Journal of Holistic Nursing* 16.4 (Dec. 1998): 479-86.
556. Oke, Janette. *The Calling of Emily Evans*. Mass market ed. Women of the West. Minneapolis, MN: Bethany House Publishers, 1998, c1990. 283 pp. Mennonite women in fiction.
557. "Old Salem." *Das Fenster* 94.9 (July 1998): 26-27. NC Moravians and historic Bethabara Park.
558. "100 Years Young." *Julien's Journal* 23.5 (May 1998): 14-15. Early German company which brewed Star beer in Dubuque, IA.
559. Opitz, Andrea. "Between Two Texts: Translating James Welch's *Fools Crow* into German." M.A. thesis, Univ. of Montana 1998. 167 leaves.
560. Ostfriesen Heritage Society. *Telling What's on Our Minds: Orally Transmitted Culture in Iowa's Oldest East Friesian Colony*. Project director, Dee Lindaman. Project scholar, Phil Webber. N.p.: N.p., 1998. 3 videocassettes. 110 min. VHS.
561. Papet, Friedrich Julius von. *Canada during the American Revolutionary War: Lieutenant Friedrich Julius von Papet's Journal of the Sea Voyage to North America and the Campaign Conducted There, 15 May 1776 to 10 October 1783*. Ed. by Bruce E. Burgoyne. Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1998. 222 pp.
562. Parr, Eric Brian. "A Case Study of Mennonite and Non-Mennonite Farming Practices in Haskell County, Kansas." M.A. thesis, Kansas State Univ., 1998. 146 leaves.
563. Patterson, Ruby Seyfried. *The Seyfried-Rebfuss Family History*. Ypsilanti, MI: R.S. Patterson, 1998. 483 pp.
564. Paul, Heike. "Mapping Migration: Women's Writing and the American Immigrant Experience." Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Leipzig.
565. Paull, Ruby. *Erna's Medley*. Edmonton: Brightest Pebble, 1998. 133 pp. Alberta Germans from Russia.
566. Paulson, Lloyd M. *The Distance Delivery of a High School Program to Hutterite*



- Colonies*. Research in Rural Education Series, no. 9. Brandon, MB: Rural Development Institute, 1998. 45 pp.
567. Pellman, Rachel Thomas. *Amish Quilt Patterns*. Rev. ed. Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 1998. 124 pp.
568. ———. *Small Amish Quilt Patterns: for Crib Quilts and Wall Hangings*. Rev. ed. Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 1998. pp.
569. Pellman, Rachel Thomas, and Kenneth Pellman. *The World of Amish Quilts*. Rev. ed. Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 1998. 128 pp.
570. *Pennsilfaanisch Deitsch Barichta*. 1998-. Kutztown, PA: Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Culture Society, Quarterly. Continues: *Pennsylvania Dutch News and Views*.
571. Pennsylvania Dutch Convention & Visitor's Bureau. "Lancaster County, Pennsylvania Dutch Country, Official Map." Lancaster, PA: Pennsylvania Dutch Convention & Visitors Bureau, 1998. 1 map + visitors guide, 45 pp. 38 x 39 cm., on sheet 52 x 40 cm. ca. 1:215,000.
572. Peters, Henning. "Dietmarscher baute 1875 Wetterdienst in Amerika auf: Gustav Dethlef Hinrichs." *Bauernblatt: Mitteilungsblatt der Bauernverbände Schleswig-Holstein und Hamburg* 52.148 (May 23, 1998): 21.
573. Petersen, Herbert. *Torn Between Two Countries: One Man's Life: An Autobiography*. Tavares, FL: Lifestyles Press, 1998. 200 pp. Biography of a GA immigrant who returns to Germany and is drafted into Hitler's army.
574. Peterson, Fred W. *Building Community, Keeping the Faith: German Catholic Vernacular Architecture in a Rural Minnesota Parish*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1998. 196 pp.
575. Pfliger, Joseph N. *Anton and Michelina Pfliger Family History, 1843-1998*. Sioux Falls, SD: J.N. Pfliger, 1998. 2 v. loose-leaf. Documents the descendants of immigrants from Elsas, Russia to SD; includes family in ND and Saskatchewan.
576. Phillips, Gene D. *Exiles in Hollywood: Major European Film Directors in America*. Bethlehem: Lehigh Univ. Press; Associated Univ. Presses, 1998. 257 pp. Includes Fritz Lang, William Wyler, Otto Preminger, Fred Zinnemann, Billy Wilder.
577. Pickle, Linda Schelbitzki. "Teachable Texts: Integrating German-American in the Classroom." *Unterrichtspraxis* 31.1 (1998): 47-50.
578. Piston, William Garrett. "The 1st Iowa Volunteers: Honor and Community in a Ninety-Day Regiment." *Civil War History* 44.1 (Mar. 1998): 6-23.
579. Plain, Belva. *Legacy of Silence*. New York: Delacorte Press, 1998. 344 pp. Also published in Braille: San Jose, CA: Braille Transcription Project of Santa Clara County. 8 v. (549 p.) Paperback ed.: Delacorte Press, 1999. German-Americans in fiction.
580. Pleve, I. R. *Nemetskie kolonii na Volge vo vtoroi polovine XVIII veka*. Moskva: Gotika, 1998. 444 pp. At head of added t.p.: Internationaler Verband der deutschen Kultur.
581. Pogatschnigg, Gustav-Adolf. "Die politischen Novellen Charles Sealsfields

- im *Englishman's Magazine* von 1831: Vorüberlegungen zu einer kommentierten Textausgabe." In: *Charles Sealsfield: Politischer Erzähler zwischen Europa und Amerika: Perspektiven internationaler Forschung, Symposium Bergamo 1994*, ed. by Gustav-Adolf Pogatschnigg, 39-55. Schriftenreihe der CSG, Bd. 9. München: Charles-Sealsfield-Gesellschaft; Turin: Silvio Zamorani Editore, 1998.
582. Ponzi, Mauro. "Von Wildness zur Modernität." In: *Charles Sealsfield: Politischer Erzähler zwischen Europa und Amerika: Perspektiven internationaler Forschung, Symposium Bergamo 1994*, ed. by Gustav-Adolf Pogatschnigg, 83-93. Schriftenreihe der CSG, Bd. 9. München: Charles-Sealsfield-Gesellschaft; Turin: Silvio Zamorani Editore, 1998.
583. Popp, Mary. *A Century in the West: Life of a Pioneer Woman: Mary Popp's Story*. Langenburg, SK: Twin Valley Consulting, 1998. 241 pp.
584. Preus, Daniel. "Recalling Our Heritage: The Word of the Lord Grows in Missouri." *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 71.4 (Winter 1998): 212-19.
585. Ptak, Al. *Firestorm to Snowstorm*. Popkum, BC: Arashido Pub., 1998. Biography of a German-Canadian author.
586. Public Broadcasting Service. *United Tastes of America*. Exec. producer, Sue Shephard. Directors: Nicola Colton, David Presswell, and Cassie Farrell. Alexandria, VA: PBS Home Video, 1998. 2 videocassettes. 240 min. VHS. Includes G-A tastes in v. 2.
587. Puppe, James. *The Family Record of Ferdinand and Minna (Brehmer) Born*. Fargo, ND: J. Puppe, 1998. 1 v. various pagings. Documents the descendants of 1881 immigrants from Prussia to WI; most of the children settled in ND.
588. Quiring, Elizabeth Ann. "Reexamining World War II Alternative Service: Mennonite Civilian Public Service as Environmental Stewardship." M.A. thesis, Wichita State Univ., 1998. 143 leaves.
589. Raber, Harvey P. *Danville Amish Directory 1998*. Fredericktown, OH: H.P. Raber, 1998. 36 pp.
590. Radish, Kris. "The Wurst Brothers." *German Life* 5 (Oct./Nov. 1998): 48-50. James Prange and Alan Pape, 4th generation WI G-As, owners of the Wurst Brothers Brat Shop.
591. RavenWolf, Silver. *American Folk Magick: Charms, Spells & Herbals*. 2nd ed. St. Paul, MN: Llewellyn Publications, 1998. 291 pp. Rev. ed. of: *HexCraft*, 1995. PA folklore.
592. Redekop, Calvin Wall. *Leaving Anabaptism: From Evangelical Mennonite Brethren to Fellowship of Evangelical Bible Churches*. Telford, PA: Pandora Press; Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1998. 267 pp.
593. Redekop, Magdalene. "The Painted Body Stares Back: Five Female Artists and the 'Mennonite Spectator'." *Conrad Grebel Review* 16.3 (Fall 1998): 25-49.
594. Reenstjerna, Fred R. "Wie geht's, y'all? German Influences in Southern



- Cooking." *Southern Cultures* 4.2 (Summer 1998): 106-8.
595. Reeser, Robert L. *History of the Mount Pleasant Mennonite Church: The Little White Church on the Hill*. Paradise, PA: Mount Pleasant Mennonite Church, 1998. 286 pp.
  596. Reeves-Marquardt, Dona. "A German-Russian Artist from Kansas: E. Hubert Deines." *JAHSGR* 21.3 (1998): 1-6.
  597. Reichmann, Eberhard, and Ruth Reichmann. "The Tradition of Belsnickel." *Indiana German Heritage Society Newsletter* 15.1 (Winter 1998/99): 2-3.
  598. \_\_\_\_\_. "Elderhostels: Teaching and Learning with Americans of German Descent." *Unterrichtspraxis* 31.1 (1998): 63-66.
  599. Reichmann, Felix. *Christopher Sower, Sr., 1694-1758, Printer in Germantown: An Annotated Bibliography*. Bibliographies on German American History, no. 2. Philadelphia: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, 1998, c1943. 78 pp. Photocopy at Cincinnati Univ. Libraries.
  600. Reimer, Margaret Loewen. *Mennonites and the Artistic Imagination*. CMBC Winter Lectures, 1998. Winnipeg, MB: Canadian Mennonite Bible College, 1998. 59 pp.
  601. Reimer, Margret Loewen. "Mennonites and the Artistic Imagination." *Conrad Grebel Review* 16.3 (Fall 1998): 6-24.
  602. Remnick, David. "Bad Seeds: In the Heartland of the Amish, the Outside World Finally Intrudes." *The New Yorker* 74.20 (July 20, 1998): 28-33. Case of two men who sold cocaine to their fellow Amishmen.
  603. Rhode, Robert T. "The Road-Building Ruebels of Cincinnati." *Queen City Heritage* 56.2 (Summer 1998): 29-35.
  604. Riley, Jobie E. "A Different Kind of Picnic: Summer 1994." *JCPGS* 5.2 (1998): 22-23. Amish.
  605. Rimland, Ingrid. *Lebensraum: A Passion for Land and Peace: A Novel*. Toronto: Samisdat Publishers, 1998. 3 v. Mennonites in fiction.
  606. Rippley, LaVern J. "The 1848ers: Germany's Great Gift to America." *SGASN* 19.1 (Mar. 1998): 7-8.
  607. \_\_\_\_\_. *The Columbus Germans*. Max Kade German-American Center, IUPUI, & Indiana German Heritage Society Publication, v. 12. Indianapolis, IN: Max Kade German-American Center, IUPUI, and Indiana German Heritage Society, 1998. 45 pp. Reprint of 1968 ed. with new foreword. Columbus, OH.
  608. \_\_\_\_\_. "A Course in German-American Studies for Upper-Level Undergraduate Students of German." *Unterrichtspraxis* 31.1 (1998): 31-37.
  609. \_\_\_\_\_. and Ernst-Erich Marhenecke. "Die schleswig-holsteinische Erhebung von 1848 und ihre Auswirkungen auf die nordamerikanischen Bundesstaaten Wisconsin und Iowa." *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte* 123 (1998): 217-32.
  610. Risser, Barbara B. *A People Reaching Out, 1968-1998: Marion Mennonite Church Centennial 1898-1998*. Chambersburg, PA: Published by Marion Mennonite Church, 1998. 96 pp.

611. Ritter, Alexander. "Ausgewählte Literatur zum aktuellen Forschungsstand (1990-1997)." In: *Charles Sealsfield: Politischer Erzähler zwischen Europa und Amerika: Perspektiven internationaler Forschung, Symposium Bergamo 1994*, ed. by Gustav-Adolf Pogatschnigg, 206-13. Schriftenreihe der CSG, Bd. 9. München: Charles-Sealsfield-Gesellschaft; Turin: Silvio Zamorani Editore, 1998.
612. \_\_\_\_\_. "Charles Sealsfield (1793-1864; eigentl. Karl Postl): Bibliographie 1945-1998." *Zeitschrift für Germanistik in Toboku (Japan)* 42 (1998): 87-113. Primary and secondary literature.
613. \_\_\_\_\_. "Charles Sealsfield (eigentl. Karl Postl): Bibliographie 1945-1998." *Zagreber Germanistische Beiträge* 7 (1998): 153-67. Primary and secondary materials.
614. \_\_\_\_\_. "Charles Sealsfield - Karl Postl: Bibliographie 1987-1998." *Sprachkunst: Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft* 29 (1998): 402-20.
615. \_\_\_\_\_. "Dilemma und Krise—Finale? Abwägende Hinweise zur deutschsprachigen Literatur des Auslands 1998." *Kulturelemente: Zeitschrift für aktuelle Fragen* 11 (1998): 5 f.
616. \_\_\_\_\_. "Ein Bankpräsident ohne Schattenwurf oder: Sealsfields Schreiben gegen die Krise und sein demontierender Umgang mit dem historischen Roman." In: *Charles Sealsfield: Politischer Erzähler zwischen Europa und Amerika: Perspektiven internationaler Forschung, Symposium Bergamo 1994*, ed. by Gustav-Adolf Pogatschnigg, 104-17. Schriftenreihe der CSG, Bd. 9. München: Charles-Sealsfield-Gesellschaft; Turin: Silvio Zamorani Editore, 1998.
617. \_\_\_\_\_. "'Louisiana—the new Egypt!'" A European Focus by Travelogue on the United States: Charles Sealsfield's Doubled Search for Identity and His Report on the U.S., the South, and Louisiana in the 1820s." In: *Sealsfield-Studien 1*, ed. by Alexander Ritter, 63-95. Schriftenreihe der CSG, 11. München: Charles-Sealsfield-Gesellschaft, 1998.
618. \_\_\_\_\_. ed. *Harry Graf Kessler: Notizen über Mexico*. Insel Taschenbuch 2176. Frankfurt am Main, Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1998. 182 pp. "Mit zahlreichen Abbildungen, Personen-, Wort- und Sacherklärungen, Nachwort und Literaturverzeichnis."
619. Roba, William Henry. *The Unpleasantness in the Club Rooms: Anti-German Hysteria and the Contemporary Club*. Davenport, IA: Author, 1998. 11 leaves. Typescript. A paper read before The Contemporary Club, Quad-Cities, 24 Nov. 1998.
620. Roeber, A. G. *Palatines, Liberty, and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America*. Johns Hopkins paperbacks ed. Early America. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1998. 432 pp.
621. Roli, Maria Luisa. "'Das Sublime und Ridicule ist dicht nebeneinander': Charles Sealsfields emphatische Prosa im Hintergrund der kritischen Rezeption." In: *Charles Sealsfield: Politischer Erzähler zwischen Europa und Amerika: Perspektiven internationaler Forschung, Symposium Bergamo 1994*,



- ed. by Gustav-Adolf Pogatschnigg, 69-82. Schriftenreihe der CSG, Bd. 9. München: Charles-Sealsfield-Gesellschaft; Turin: Silvio Zamorani Editore, 1998.
622. Romberger, John A. "My Pennsylvania German Experience." *JCPGS* 5.3 (1998): 21-22.
  623. Rommelfanger, Karyl Enstad. "Einwanderer: The Evolution of a Supplementary Reader on German-Americana." *Unterrichtspraxis* 31.1 (1998): 51-54.
  624. Roper, Gayle G. *The Document*. Sisters, OR: Palisades, 1998. 274 pp. Amish in PA. Adopted children. Mental illness.
  625. Rosenberger, Jesse Leonard. *The Pennsylvania Germans: Jesse Leonard Rosenberger's Sketch of Their History and Life*. Ed. by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1998. 173 pp.
  626. Rosenblatt, Joel. "The Old-World Commuter: A Long Day in the Life of an Amish Businessman." *New York* 31 (Nov. 2, 1998): 22.
  627. Roth, Lorraine. *The Amish and Their Neighbours: The German Block, Wilmot Township, 1822-1860*. Waterloo, ON: Mennonite Historical Society of Ontario, 1998. 118 pp.
  628. Rowan, Steven W., trans. *Cleveland and its Germans*. 1st English ed. The Western Reserve Historical Society Publication, no. 184-185. Werner D. Mueller Reprint Series. Cleveland, OH: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1998. 2 v. Originally published in German as *Cleveland und sein Deutschthum*. Cleveland, OH: German-American Biographical Pub. Co., 1897-98 (v. 1) and 2nd ed. 1907 (v.2).
  629. Royer, L. O., comp. "Early History of the Gardner Family." *Hoosier Genealogist* 38.3 (Sept. 1998): 146-49. Bavarian immigrants to IN; description of early frontier life.
  630. Ruark, Dawn Alicia. "German Immigrants in Rock Township, Jefferson County, Missouri, Prior to the Civil War." M.A. thesis, Truman State Univ., 1998. 108 leaves.
  631. Rudy, Norma. *A History of Chesley Lake Camp, 1948-1998*. Allenford, ON: Chesley Lake Camp Association, 1998. 248 pp. Mennonite church camp.
  632. Ruff, Paul Miller. *Brush Creek Lutheran Church, Hempfield Township, Westmoreland County Parish Records. Pt. 2: 1821-1848*. Greensburg, PA: P.M. Ruff, 1998.
  633. \_\_\_\_\_. *Four Mile Lutheran and Reformed Church Records, Donegal Township, Westmoreland County. Pt. 2: 1821-1850*. The German Church Records of Western Pennsylvania. Greensburg, PA: P.M. Ruff, 1998.
  634. Sabathy-Judd, Gerlinde. "The Diary of the Moravian Indian Mission of Fairfield, Upper Canada, 1792-1813." Ph.D. diss., Univ. Of Western Ontario, 1998. 1244 leaves. An annotated trans. from the original German of the official diary of the Moravian Indian mission of Fairfield, Upper Canada.
  635. Saint Saveur-Henn, Anne, ed. *Zweimal verjagt: die deutschsprachige Emigration und der Fluchtweg Frankreich-Lateinamerika 1933-1945*. Reihe

- Dokumente, Texte, Materialien, Bd. 25. Berlin: Metropol, 1998. 248 pp.
636. Samek, Susan. "Rooting, Uprooting: The West Side." *Chicago History* 27.2 (Summer 1998): 26-41. Buenger Family; Haymarket Riot.
  637. Sammons, Jeffrey L. *Ideology, Mimesis, Fantasy: Charles Sealsfield, Friedrich Gerstäcker, Karl May, and other German novelists of America*. Univ. of North Carolina Studies in the Germanic Languages and Literatures, no. 121. Chapel Hill, NC: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1998. 342 pp.
  638. \_\_\_\_\_. "Were German Americans Interned During World War II? A Question Concerning Scholarly Standards and Scholarly Integrity: Review Essay." *German Quarterly* 71 (1998): 73-77.
  639. Sanderson, Rena. "Gender and Modernity in Transnational Perspective: Hugo Munsterberg and the American Woman." *Prospects* 23 (1998): 285-86. German-Jewish Munsterberg argued against emancipation of women in his criticism of Am. culture.
  640. Sanelli, Thomas A. "Immigration to Allentown, Bethlehem and Reading 1890-1924." *Proceedings of the Lehigh County Historical Society* 41.1994 (1998): 110-28.
  641. Sauer, Angelika. "Who's Who in German-Canadian History: Wilhelm Hespeler." *German-Canadian Studies Newsletter* 3.1 (Spring 1998): 3; 3.2 (Fall 1998): 2. With research by Emily Stokes-Rees. German immigrant to Winnipeg, MB. Also available on the Internet: [http://www.uwinnipeg.ca/~germcan/Newsletter\\_Intro.html](http://www.uwinnipeg.ca/~germcan/Newsletter_Intro.html).
  642. Sawyer, Kem Knapp, ed. *The Pennsylvania Dutch: the Amish and the Mennonites*. Perspectives on History Series. Carlisle, MA: Discovery Enterprises, Ltd., 1998. 64 pp.
  643. Scaff, Lawrence. "Weber's *Amerikabild* and the African American Experience." In: *Crosscurrents: African Americans, Africa, and Germany in the Modern World*, ed. by David McBride, Leroy Hopkins, and C. Asih Blackshire-Belay, 82-95. Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1998.
  644. Schacht, Frank E. *Schools, Families, Friends: Recollections of a Wandering Youth*. Danbury, CT: Rutledge Books, 1998. 207 pp. Texas G-A teacher.
  645. Schäfer, Axel R. "Social Ethics and Police Power: American Progressives and German Reform 1890-1920." Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Halle-Wittenberg, 1998.
  646. Schamber, Bob. *The Knittel Family: A Three-Hundred Year Journey Through Germany, Crimea, and America (1700-2000)*. Folsom, CA: B. Schamber, 1998. 384 pp.
  647. Schapansky, Henry. "Kronsgarten: The Old Colony, Russia; The First Settlers: 1811-1816." *MFH* 17.4 (Oct. 1998): 166+.
  648. Schelbert, Urslpeter, comp. *Index of Volumes 1-33: Tables of Contents, Index of Authors, Personal Names, and Book Reviews of the Swiss-American Historical Society Review*. Chicago: Swiss-American Historical Society 1998. 114 pp.
  649. Schemenauer, Elma. *Jacob Siemens Family since 1685: Includes Early Menno-*



- nites: Sawatzky, Bergman, Enns, Andres, Dyck, Janzen, Martens, Kehler, Quiring, Neufeld, Friesen, Penner, Goertzen, and More. Toronto: Farland Press, 1998. 200 pp. Canadian Mennonites.
650. Scherer, Gabriela. "Charles Sealsfields *Lebensbilder: Die Farbigen*." In: *Charles Sealsfield: Politischer Erzähler zwischen Europa und Amerika: Perspektiven internationaler Forschung, Symposium Bergamo 1994*, ed. by Gustav-Adolf Pogatschnigg, 172-81. Schriftenreihe der CSG, Bd. 9. München: Charles-Sealsfield-Gesellschaft; Turin: Silvio Zamorani Editore, 1998.
651. ———. "Die Fremde und ihre Transposition in Charles Sealsfields *Süden und Norden*." In: *Sealsfield Studien 1*, ed. by Alexander Ritter, 125-35. Schriftenreihe der CSG, 11. München: Charles-Sealsfield-Gesellschaft, 1998.
652. Schirz, Shirley Rounds. "'The Great Runge Caper'." *Julien's Journal* 23.12 (Dec. 1998): 68-69. Julia's Runge's German-northeast IA traditions at Christmas.
653. Schissler, George. "From Volga-German Heritage to Proud American." *JAHSGR* 21.2 (1998): 21-23.
654. Schlecht, Friedrich. *On to Texas!; Mein Ausflug nach Texas*. English trans. and notes by Charles Patrick. Large size ed. Masterpieces of Texas-German Literature. Manor, TX (P.O. Box 711, Manor 78653): Indio Bravo Press, 1998. 115 pp. "A journey to Texas in 1848"; includes a biography of the author by Clara Matthaei.
655. Schlecht, Wilbur. *Schlecht: Descendants of Johann & Karolina*. Reunion ed. Enderlin, ND: W. Schlecht, 1998. 190 pp. Documents the descendants of 1889 immigrants from Friedenstal, Bessarabia, Russia, to near Fredonia, ND.
656. Schmidt, August, and Karl Friedrich Rueffer. *The Hesse-Cassel Mirbach Regiment in the American Revolution*. Ed. by Bruce E. Burgoyne. Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1998. 128 pp. Journals of two Hessian soldiers in the Am. Revolution.
657. Schmidt, Hilda, and Carl Schmidt. *Directory of the Mennonite Cemetery, Beatrice, Nebraska*. Updated ed. Beatrice, NE: Hilda and Carl Schmidt, 1998. 1 v. unpagged.
658. Schneider, Dorothee. "The German Bakers of New York City: Between Ethnic Particularism and Working-Class Consciousness." In: *The Politics of Immigrant Workers: Labor Activism and Migration in the World Economy since 1830*, ed. by Camille Guerin-Gonzales, and Carl Strikwerda, 49-69. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1998.
659. Schneider, Peter K. "Deutsche in Amerika: der nördlichste deutsche Verein der Welt in Alaska." *Das Fenster* 94.3 (Jan. 1998): 28.
660. Schneider, Tassilo. "Finding a New Heimat in the Wild West: Karl May and the German Western of the 1960's." In: *Back in the Saddle Again: New Essays on the Western*, ed. by Edward Buscombe, and Roberta E. Pearson, 141-59. London: British Film Institute 1998.
661. Schoebachler, Matthew. "Republicanism in the Age of Democratic Revolu-

- tion: The Democratic-Republican Societies of the 1790s." *Journal of the Early Republic* 18.2 (Summer 1998): 237-61. Emerged with the creation of the German Republican Society of Philadelphia.
662. Schowen, Richard. "American Science and European Emigration." *Max Kade Center for German-American Studies (Lawrence, KS)* Nov. 1998: 11-16.
663. Schreuder, Y. "The German-American Pharmaceutical Business Establishment in the New York Metropolitan Region." *Environment & Planning A* 39.10 (Oct. 1998): 1743-56.
664. Schrott, Lambert. *Pioneer German Catholics in the American Colonies (1734-1784); The Leopoldine Foundation and the Church in the United States (1829-1839) by Theodore Roemer*. United States Catholic Historical Society Monograph Series, 13. New York: The United States Catholic Historical Society, 1998, c1933. 211 pp. Photocopy from the Cincinnati Univ. Libraries.
665. Schubert, Werner. *Auswanderer aus Ostbevern nach Amerika, 1833-1889: Namensliste*. Ostbevern: Werner Schubert, 1998. 11 leaves.
666. Schulte, Rainer. "Translation Studies: A Dynamic Model for the Revitalization of the Humanities." In: Vollmer-Mueller, 31-45.
667. Schultze, Brigitte. "Highways, Byways, and Blind Alleys in Translating Drama: Historical and Systematic Aspects of a Cultural Technique." In: Vollmer-Mueller, 177-96.
668. Schüppen, Franz. "Abendländischer Sinneswandel: von Kapitän Murkys Kajüte zu Uncle Tom's Hütte." In: *Charles Sealsfield: Politischer Erzähler zwischen Europa und Amerika: Perspektiven internationaler Forschung, Symposium Bergamo 1994*, ed. by Gustav-Adolf Pogatschnigg, 120-38. Schriftenreihe der CSG, Bd. 9. München: Charles-Sealsfield-Gesellschaft; Turin: Silvio Zamorani Editore, 1998.
669. ———. "Mehrsprachige Spätromantik in Europa und Amerika: zu Gérard de Nervals Transkription eines Textes von Charles Sealsfield." In: *Sealsfield Studien 1*, ed. by Alexander Ritter, 39-62. Schriftenreihe der CSG, 11. München: Charles-Sealsfield-Gesellschaft, 1998.
670. Schwalm, Glenn P. *Combined Records of Frieden's Evangelical Lutheran Church (1848-1972) and Frieden's Reformed Church (1855-1957) of Hegins, Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania*. Apollo, PA: Closson Press, 1998. 146 pp.
671. Schwartz, Moses J., and Susan Schwartz, comps. *The Directory of the Families of the Mennonite Christian Fellowship Congregations*. Mt. Perry, OH: Published by Moses & Susan Schwartz, Carlisle Printing 1998. 314 pp.
672. Schwarz, Angela. "'Send the Homeless, Tempest-tost to Me?': Das viktorianische Amerika und die 'neue Einwanderung' am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts." *IMIS-Beiträge* 7 (1998): 35-53.
673. Scott, Stephen. *Plain Buggies: Amish, Mennonite, and Brethren Horse-drawn Transportation*. Rev. ed. People's Place Booklet, no. 3. Intercourse, PA: Good Books, c1998. 96 pp.
674. Segal, Deann Bice. "The Enemy among Us: German POWs in South Carolina." M.A. thesis, Winthrop Univ., 1998. 151 leaves.



675. Seidel, Brigitta. "Aufbruch Pellwormer in der Fremde." *Schriften des Nordfrieschen Museums Nissbaas* 45 (1998): pages not provided by bibliographer..
676. Seidensticker, Oswald. *Erster Teil der Geschichte der Deutschen Gesellschaft von Pennsylvanien: von der Gruendung im Jahre 1764 bis zur Jubelfeier der Republik 1876*. Topton, PA: John H. Heffner, 1998, c1917. 1 v. various pagings. Originally printed: Philadelphia: Graf & Breuninger, 1917; abridged and reprinted by John H. Heffner. Includes name indexes.
677. \_\_\_\_\_. *Geschichte der Deutschen Gesellschaft von Pennsylvanien: von der Gruendung im Jahre 1764 bis zur Jubelfeier der Republik 1876*. Philadelphia, PA: Graf & Breuninger, 1998. v. 1- . Vol. 1 consists only of membership list (p. 593-633).
678. Selle, Conrad D., trans. *English Language Key and Study Aid to the Louisville Anzeiger Jubilee Supplement: To Begin the 61st Year of its Existence, 1849-1909: Peace, Progress and Well Being for Our City, Louisville, Ky.* N.p.: N.p., 1998. 1 v.
679. Sensbach, Jon F. *A Separate Canaan: The Making of an Afro-Moravian World in North Carolina, 1763-1840*. Chapel Hill, NC: Univ. of North Carolina Press, for Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1998. 342 pp.
680. Shaddinger, Anna E. *Shaddinger Kin*. Doylestown, PA: A.E. Shaddinger, 1998. 263 pp. PA Mennonite family.
681. Shandley, Robert R., ed. *Unwilling Germans?: The Goldhagen Debate*. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1998. 295 pp. Collection of articles.
682. Shea, Robert J., and Giles R. Hoyt. "Teaching German-Americana with Assistance from the Web." *Unterrichtspraxis* 31.3 (1998): 59-62.
683. Shell, Marc. "Hyphens: Between Deutsch and American." In: *Multilingual America: Transnationalism, Ethnicity, and the Languages of American Literature*, ed. by Werner Sollors, 258-71. New York: New York Univ. Press 1998.
684. Shenk, Kenneth M. *Go Ahead on 'er!* Mount Vernon, WA: Northwest Graphics, 1998. 370 pp. Life and times of Mennonite Kenneth M. Shenk.
685. Shirk, John B. *History of the Groffdale Conference in Missouri 1970-1998*. Versailles, MO: J.B. Shirk, Masthof Press 1998. 131 pp. Order of moves to MO and of marriages; baptisms; grave records.
686. Siamanda, George. *The Mennonites of Manitoba*. Executive producer: Bob Dambach. Prairie Public Heritage Collection. N.p.: Prairie Public Broadcasting, 1998. 1 videocassette. 57 min., 30 sec. VHS. A documentary on the Mennonites of southern Manitoba, from their first arrival in 1874 to the present day.
687. Sifton, Elisabeth. "The Serenity Prayer." *Yale Review* 86.1 (Jan. 1998): 16-65. Origins of prayer; composed by G-A theologian Reinhold Niebuhr; first recited in MA church service in 1943.
688. Smith, Catherine Parsons. "Inventing Tradition: Symphony and Opera in

- Progressive-Era Los Angeles." In: *Music and Culture in America, 1861-1918*, ed. by Michael Saffle, 299-321. Essays in American Music, v. 2. Garland Reference Library of the Humanities, v. 1952. New York: Garland, 1998. European ethnic influences, including German.
689. Smith, Sheryl. "Making German-American Connections through Culture Projects." *Unterrichtspraxis* 31.1 (1998): 55-58.
690. Snyder, Ben. "The Great Depression in Yellow Creek Land." History Sr. Seminar paper, Goshen College 1998. 42 leaves.
691. Snyder, Suzanne G. "The Indianapolis Männerchor: Contributions to a New Musicality in Midwestern Life." In: *Music and Culture in America, 1861-1918*, ed. by Michael Saffle, 111-40. Essays in American Music, v. 2. Garland Reference Library of the Humanities, v. 1952. New York: Garland, 1998.
692. Sollors, Werner. "The Blind Spot of Multiculturalism: America's Invisible Literature." *The Chronicle of Higher Education* 45.10 (Oct. 30, 1998): B4-B5. Discusses the many 19th-century texts omitted from Am. literature because they were written in languages other than English.
693. Sommer, Elisabeth. "Gambling with God: The Use of the Lot by the Moravian Brethren in the Eighteenth Century." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 59.2 (Apr. 1998): 267-86.
694. Spilker, Gerd, ed. "Mecklenburger wanderten nach Amerika aus: zahlreiche Doberaner, Koepeliner un [sic.] Neubukower nutzen die neuen Möglichkeiten." *OstseeZeitung/Bad Doberaner Zeitung* (July 7, 1998): 14.
695. Spitzbarth, Uwe, and Hans-Peter Stamp. "Aus Schleswig-Holsteins Geschichte: Max Bauer in den USA." *Bauernblatt: Mitteilungsblatt der Bauernverbaende Schleswig-Holstein und Hamburg* 52/148.35 (Aug. 29, 1998): 26.
696. Splitter, Wolfgang. "The Germans in Pennsylvania Politics, 1758-1790: A Quantitative Analysis." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 122.1 (Jan. 1998): 39-76.
697. \_\_\_\_\_. *Pastors, People, Politics: German Lutherans in Pennsylvania, 1740-1790*. Mosaic, Bd. 4. Trier, Germany: WTV. Wiss. Verl. Trier, 1998. 401 pp. Based on 1993 Ph.D. diss.
698. Springer, Joe A. "Evaluating Genealogical Information With Comments on Name Forms and Standardizing Information in Computer Files." *MFH* 17.2 (April 1998): 73+.
699. Springer, Paul Joseph. "German Prisoners of War in America During World War II." M.A. thesis, Univ. of Northern Iowa, 1998. 140 leaves.
700. St. George, Dennis Alan. "Optimal Interbirth Intervals in a Nineteenth Century Migrating Mennonite Congregation." M.A. thesis, Western Washington Univ., 1998. 94 leaves.
701. Staebler, Edna. *More Food That Really Schmecks*. Toronto: M&S, 1998, c1979. 318 pp. Mennonite cooking. Also published as a 1998 Trade paperback ed. by McClelland and Stewart, Toronto.



702. Stamp, Hans-Peter. "Aus Schleswig-Holsteins Geschichte: Die Angel-Sachsen westwärts." *Bauernblatt: Mitteilungsblatt der Bauernverbaende Schleswig-Holstein und Hamburg* 52/148.33 (Aug. 15, 1998): 22-23.
703. Stauffer, Louella S. *Our Tioga Home: Where Mountains Rise*. Assisted by Janice E. Stauffer and Yvonne M. Stauffer. Port Treverton, PA: L.S. Stauffer, Masthof Press, 1998. 133 pp.
704. Stein, Martha Brooks. *Amish Afghans*. Big Sandy, TX: Annie's Attic, 1998. 10 pp. Crochet patterns.
705. Stein, Peter, Florian Vassen, and Detlev Kopp, eds. *1848 und er deutsche Vormärz*. Jahrbuch / Forum Vormärz Forschung, 1997. Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 1998. 346 pp.
706. Stern, Guy. *Literarische Kultur im Exil: gesammelte Beiträge zur Exilforschung: (1989-1997); Literature and Culture in Exile*. Philologica, Reihe A, Bd. 1. Dresden: Dresden Univ. Press, 1998. 426 pp.
707. Stevens, Linda Walker. "Constantin Hering: Father of Homeopathy in America." *German Life* 4 (Feb./Mar. 1998): 42-44.
708. Stockman, Robert Lee. *Platt Düütsch/Low German: A Brief History of the People and Language*. Alto, MI: Platt Düütsch Press, 1998. 445 pp.
709. Stoesen, Sigrid Lehmann. *Crossroads to Freedom*. Tampa, FL: North Shore Press, 1998. 134 pp. G-A biography.
710. Stoll, Joseph. *A Michigan Summer: A Sequel to Shagbark Hickory*. Aylmer, ON; LaGrange, IN: Pathway Publishers, 1998. 182 pp. Amish in juvenile fiction.
711. Stoltzfus, Louise. *Traces of Wisdom: Amish Women and the Pursuit of Life's Simple Pleasures*. New York: Hyperion, 1998. 360 pp.
712. Stone, Debra Sue. *Detour: A Novel*. Irvine, KY: Hand Hewn Publications, 1998. 320 pp. Amish in fiction.
713. Streett, Anitra Rustemeyer. *Through Fire and Water: The Braun/Brown Family of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ontario: Palatine Germans 1660 to Present*. Falls Church, VA: Stepping in the Light, Inc., 1998. 274 pp.
714. Strite, Amos L., and Carrie Strite. *The Directory of the Families of the Mennonite Christian Brotherhood*. Hagerstown, MD: Prepared for the members of the Mennonite Christian Brotherhood of North and South America, Grace Press, Inc. 1998. 168 pp.
715. Struve, Gustav, and Amalie Struve. *Heftiges Feuer: Die Geschichte der badischen Revolution 1848*. Freiburg: Rombach, 1998. 391 pp. Originally published as two separate works: *Geschichte der drei Volkserhebungen in Baden* (1849) Gustav Struve and *Erinnerungen aus den badischen Freiheitskämpfen* (1850) Amalie Struve. New annotations and fore- and afterwords by Irntraud Götz von Ohlenhusen and Thea Bauriedel.
716. "The Stuhr Museum of the Prairie Pioneer." *American Schleswig-Holstein Heritage Society Newsletter* 10.4 (July/Aug. 1998): 1, 4-5.
717. "Surnames, Sources and Places." *German Genealogical Digest* 14.2 (Summer 1998): 35+. Focus on G-A resources in US archives and libraries. Resources

- of the Berkshire Athenaeum in Pittsfield, MA, are described.
718. Sutter, Paul S. "A Black Spot on the Map": Aldo Leopold, Wilderness, and U. S. Forest Service Recreational Policy, 1909-1924." *WHQ* 29.2 (Summer 1998): 187-214.
  719. Suttner, David B. "Brief History of the German-American Lawyers Association." *The Michigan Bar Journal* 77.6 (June 1998): 556+.
  720. Swartley, Willard M., and Donald B. Kraybill, eds. *Building Communities of Compassion: Mennonite Mutual Aid in Theory and Practice*. Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1998. 319 pp. "A Pandora Press U.S. book."
  721. Swartzendruber, Joe. "Joetown's Jewels." *Iowa Mennonite Historical Society Reflections* 12.4 (Oct. 1998): 5-7.
  722. Swartzendruber, Ruth Ann, ed. *The Story of Pleasant View Mennonite Church, Hydro, Oklahoma, 1898-1998*. Hydro, OK: Pleasant View Mennonite Church, Bell Books 1998. 120 pp.
  723. Sweigart, Esther T. "Statistics of the 1948 Hornberger Reunion, August 8, 1948." *JCPGS* 5.4 (1998): 17-18.
  724. Swenson, Don. *Roth-Albright Family, Minnesota Pioneers, 1848 to 1998*. Des Moines, IA (2800 Stanton Ave., Des Moines 50321): The Compiler, 1998. 140, 22 leaves.
  725. Tan Tay Keong. "Silence, Sacrifice and Shoo-fly Pies: An Inquiry into the Social Capital and Organizational Strategies of the Amish Community in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania: A Thesis." Ph.D. diss., Harvard Univ. 1998. 373 leaves.
  726. Tangires, Helen. "Farmers Markets in the Public Eye." *Pennsylvania Heritage* 24.4 (Fall 1998): 4-11.
  727. Tawa, Nicholas E. "Why American Art Music First Arrived in New England." In: *Music and Culture in America, 1861-1918*, ed. by Michael Saffle, 141-65. *Essays in American Music*, v. 2. Garland Reference Library of the Humanities, v. 1952. New York: Garland, 1998. Study of five New England composers, 4 of which were trained in Germany; Horatio Parker's mother was a German immigrant.
  728. Taylor, Sue D. "The Shield and the Sword: Free Speech Rights of Naturalized German-American Dissidents During World War II." M.A. thesis, Univ. of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1998. 127 leaves. Concerns Baumgartner v. United States, 320 U.S. 665 (1944) and Knauer v United States, 328 U.S. 654 (1946).
  729. Terras, Rita. *Semiotische Übungen: Erzählungen / Exercises in Semiotics: Short Stories*. New German-American Studies, 15. New York: Peter Lang, 1998. 147 pp.
  730. Thiesen, Dolly. "Dat ole Dorp/The Old Village." *American Schleswig-Holstein Heritage Society Newsletter* 10.1 (Jan./Feb. 1998): 13. North German with Eng. trans.
  731. Thode, Ernest, George Fenwick Jones, and Angus Baxter. *German Genealogy Research Guide*. Family Archive, CD 199. Novato, CA: Bröderbund



1998. 1 compact disc + user's manual. Includes Thode's *German-English Genealogical Dictionary*; Jones' *German-American Names*; Baxter's *In Search of Your German Roots*; Thode's *Address Book for German Genealogy*. Requires: Version 3.02 or higher of Family Tree Maker for Windows, or, version 4.0 or higher of Family Archive Viewer.
732. Thompson, Michael D. "Liberty Loans, Loyalty Oaths, and the Street Name Swap: Anti-German Sentiment in Ohio, Spring 1918." *YGAS* 33 (1998): 139-56.
733. 340-23 Club. "Map of Amish Farmland, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania." Intercourse, PA: Printed by the 340-23 Club, 1998. 1 map. Shows points of interest and tourist accommodations
734. Tidball, Eugene C. "The View from the top of the Knoll: Capt. John C. Tidball's Memoir of the First Battle at Bull Run." *Civil War History* 44.2 (Sept. 1998): 175-93. Includes description of Col. Blenker.
735. Tiessen, Grace. *Listing of Amish and Mennonite Churches in Iowa*. Kalona, IA: Mennonite Historical Society of Iowa, 1998. 19 pp.
736. Tiessen, Hildi Froese. "Beyond the Binary: Reinscribing Cultural Identity in the Literature of Mennonites." *MQR* 72.4 (Oct. 1998): 491-502.
737. *Timbrel: The Publication of Mennonite Women*. v.1.1-. (Jan./Feb. 1998-) Newton, KS: Mennonite Women 6 issues yearly. Alternate title: WMSC Voice. Window to Mission.
738. Timm, Klaus. *Migration of the Timms from Germany to the USA 1850-1900*. Wentorf bei Hamburg: eigene Edition, 1998. Also available from: Fred L. Timm, P.O. Box 04775, Milwaukee, WI, 53204.
739. "Tips: Arkansas to Washington; Mennonite Family History." *The Treeseacher* 40.4 (Winter 1998): 161+.
740. Tobias, Steven M. "Early American Cookbooks as Cultural Artifacts." *Papers on Language and Literature* 34.1 (Winter 1998): 3-18. How the study of cookbooks & food preparation offers insight into the sociohistorical transformations of the US is described; includes Gustav Peters's Pennsylvania Dutch *Die geschickte Hausfrau*, 1848.
741. Toews, John B., ed. and trans. *Journeys: Mennonite Stories of Faith and Survival in Stalin's Russia*. Perspectives on Mennonite Life and Thought, 14. Winnipeg: Kindred Productions, 1998. 226 pp.
742. Tofield Church History Committee. *Tofield Mennonite Church, 1937-1987: A History of its First Fifty Years*. Tofield, AB: Tofield Mennonite Church, 1998. 166 pp.
743. Toll, William. "The Origins of an Ethnic Middle Class: The Jews of Portland in the Nineteenth Century." In: *European Immigrants in the American West: Community Histories*, ed. by Frederick C. Luebke, 75-89. Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1998. "[R]evision and condensation of two chapters in the author's book *The Making of an Ethnic Middle Class: Portland Jewry over Four Generations* (1982)."
744. Tolzmann, Don Heinrich. *Covington's German Heritage*. Bowie, MD: Heri-

- tage Books, 1998. 127 pp.
745. \_\_\_\_\_. "The First Turnverein in America." *SGASN* 19.3 (Sept. 1998): 19.
  746. \_\_\_\_\_. *German-Americana at the American Antiquarian Society: Results of a Computer Search for German-American Imprints, 1831 to 1998*. Cincinnati: Univ. of Cincinnati German-American Studies Program, 1998. 37 leaves.
  747. \_\_\_\_\_. *German-Americana at the Library of Congress: Results of a Computer Search for German-American Imprints, 1831-1901*. Cincinnati: German-American Studies Program, Univ. of Cincinnati, 1998. 121 leaves. With chronological arrangement.
  748. \_\_\_\_\_. *German-Americana Collection: Inventories to the Collections*. Cincinnati: Univ. Libraries Archives and Rare Books Department, 1998. 1 v. looseleaf.
  749. \_\_\_\_\_. *The John A. Roebling Suspension Bridge on the Ohio River*. Max Kade Occasional Papers in German-American Studies, no. 1, 1998. Cincinnati: Max Kade German Center, Dept. of Germanic Languages and Literatures, Univ. of Cincinnati, 1998. 17 pp.
  750. \_\_\_\_\_. "The Forty-Eighters: A 150th Anniversary Assessment." In: Tolzmann, 1-4.
  751. \_\_\_\_\_. ed. "A German-American Position Statement: The Louisville Platform." In: Tolzmann, 96-105.
  752. \_\_\_\_\_. ed. *German-Americans in the World Wars. Vol. V: Germanophobia in the U. S.: The Anti-German Hysteria and Sentiment of the World Wars - Supplement and Index*. München: K. G. Saur, 1998. 354 pp.
  753. \_\_\_\_\_. ed. "A German-American Position Statement: The Louisville Platform." In: Tolzmann, 96-105.
  754. Traupman-Carr, Carol. "Hangin in the Archives: Editing Moravian Music." *Moravian Music Journal* 43.2 (Fall 1998): 6-10.
  755. Trefousse, Hans Louis. *Carl Schurz, A Biography*. 2nd ed. The North's Civil War, no. 5. New York: Fordham Univ. Press, 1998. 386 pp.
  756. Treyer, David A. *The Writings of David A. Troyer Published After His Death: An English Translation ...* Ed. by Paton Yoder, and Joseph Troyer Joel Stoll. Aylmer, ON, LaGrange, IN: Pathway Publishers, Pathway Bookstore, 1998. 144 pp. Includes brief biography of author; Troyer's *Hinterlassene Schriften*; Articles in the *Herold der Wahrheit*.
  757. "A True Account Concerning the Brethren in Switzerland in the Zürich Region of the Tribulation." *JCPGS* 5.1 (1998): 23-24; 5.2 (1998): 5-15. Second part is given in Ger. and Eng.; contains biographical information.
  758. Turk, Eleanor L. "Prince Henry's Royal Welcome: German-American Response to the Visit of the Kaiser's Brother, 1902." *YGAS* 33 (1998): 127-38.
  759. Twardy, Chuck. "Old Salem: A Bit of Moravia in the American South." *German Life* 4 (Dec. 1997/Jan. 1998): 43-45.
  760. Ulrich, Kenneth, comp. *Roanoke Mennonite & Linn Amish Mennonite Cemetery: Two Miles West and One and One Half Miles South of Roanoke, IL*. Roanoke, IL: Roanoke Mennonite Cemetery Association, 1998. 1 v. loose-



leaf.

761. United States. Congress. House. Committee on Education and the Workforce. Subcommittee on Workforce Protections. *The Effect of the Fair Labor Standards Act on Amish Families and H.R. 2038, the MSPA Clarification Act Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Workforce Protections of the Committee on Education and the Workforce, House of Representatives, One Hundred Fifth Congress, Second Session, Hearing Held in Washington, DC, April 21, 1998*. Washington, DC: U.S. G.P.O., 1998. 167 pp. Distributed to some depository libraries in microfiche. Serial no. 10594.
762. Universal Map. "Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Streetmap: Including East Petersburg, Lampeter, Landisville, Millersville ... Pennsylvania Dutch Country." Williamson [sic], MI: UniversalMAP, 1998. 1 map. 70 x 58 cm. Scale ca. 1:26,500.
763. *Unsere Heimgegangenen und tragische Unfälle*. Strassburgo, Mexico: Strassburg Platz, 1998. 60 pp.
764. Vambery, Renate. *Biography of the Holocaust: A Humanist Remembers*. Chicago, IL: Remembrance Press, 1998. 109 pp. German-American Holocaust survivor.
765. Van Dyke, Margaret. "Theatrical Re/enactments of Mennonite Identity in the Plays of Veralyn Warkentin and Vern Thiessen." M.A. thesis, Univ. of Alberta, 1998. 124 leaves.
766. Vastag, Harold, and Bonnie Vastag. *The Ancestors and Descendants of Henry C. Hartmann and Mary Bender Hartmann*. Oneida, WI: H. and B. Vastag, 1998. 62, 37 leaves. ND Germans from Russia.
767. Vinyard, JoEllen McNergney. *For Faith and Fortune: The Education of Catholic Immigrants in Detroit, 1805-1925*. Statue of LibertyEllis Island Centennial Series. Urbana; Chicago: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1998. 310 pp.
768. Vogt, Peter. "A Voice for Themselves: Women as Participants in Congregational Discourse in the Eighteenth-Century Moravian Movement." In: *Women Preachers and Prophets through Two Millennia of Christianity*, ed. by Beverly Mayne, and Pamela J. Walker, 227-47. Berkeley, CA: Univ. of California Press, 1998.
769. Volkwein, Karin A. E., ed. *Fitness as Cultural Phenomenon*. German and American Studies in Sport, 4. Münster; New York: Waxmann, 1998. 259 pp.
770. Voran, Roxie. *A Good Work Begun: Houston Mennonite Church, the Church of the Sermon on the Mount: Thirty Years of Healing and Hope 1967-1997*. Houston: R. Voran, 1998. 62 pp.
771. Vorpahl, Arno. "Auswandererbriefe des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts." *Die Bauernglocke: Förderverein Landschaft Stapelholm* (1998): 20-27.
772. Vorsteher, Dieter, project director. *1848: Politik, Propaganda, Information und Unterhaltung aus der Druckerpresse*. Wissenschaftliche Bearbeitung: Heidemarie Anderlik, Marianne Mueller, and Birgit Schnabel. Munich: K. G. Saur 1998. 1 CD ROM. Project of the Deutsches Historisches Museum.

773. Vossler, Ron. "Some Archaic Tongue: How I Quit Saying 'Gel' and Other Affronts Against My Prairie Nature." *JAHSGR* 21.1 (1998): 7-10. Loss of immigrant language.
774. Vuilleumier, Francois. "In Memoriam: Helmut Sick, 1910-1991." *The Auk* 115.2 (Apr. 1998): 470-2. Neotropical ornithologist who came to Brazil in 1939.
775. Wagner, Elmer R. *Forward in Joy: A History of St. Paul Evangelical Lutheran Church of Frankenlust, Bay City, Michigan*. MI: N.p., 1998. 160 pp.
776. Wagner, Jonathan Frederick. *Troubles in Paradise: Letters to and from German Immigrants in Canada, 1925-1939*. St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae Verlag, 1998. 329 pp.
777. Wagner, Walter H. "A Key Episode in American Lutheranism: Muhlenberg's and Zinzendorf's Encounter." *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 71.2 (Summer 1998): 72-85.
778. Waite, Alicia. "Men in Black: Craft in Color." *World and I* 13.7 (July 1998): 102-9. Amish art.
779. Walker, Dan. *St. Peter's Lutheran Church, Rhineland (near Delbi, Ontario)*. Delhi, ON: NorSim Research and Pub., 1998. 119 pp. Includes church records from 1853 to 1916.
780. Walker, Gerda Stroh, and Joshua Sky Walker, eds. and trans. *Die Welt-Post*. Denver, CO: G.S. Walker, 1998-. v.1- Vol. 1 consists of summaries of articles translated from the German newspaper, *Die Welt-Post*, 1916-21.
781. Wallace, Earl W., William Kelley, and Pamela Wallace. *Witness*. Produced by Edward S. Feldman. Directed by Peter Weir. Hollywood, CA: Paramount Home Video, 1998. 1 videocassette. 112 min. VHS. Video release of the 1985 motion picture. PA Amish in fiction.
782. Waltner, Arthur, Peter Voran, and Lester E. Janzen, eds. *Twenty-Five Years of Agri-Urban, Inc. under Mennonite Men Western District Conference (W.D.M.M.) of the General Conference Mennonite Church*. Newton, KS: Western District Conference Agri-Urban, 1998. 59 pp.
783. Wandel, Johanna, and Julius A. Mage. *Stability and Change in an Old Order Mennonite Farming System in the Waterloo Region, Ontario*. Occasional Papers in Geography, 18. Guelph, ON: Dept. of Geography, Univ. of Guelph, 1998.
784. Warkentin, Jakob. *Die deutschsprachigen Siedlerschulen in Paraguay: im Spannungsfeld staatlicher Kultur- und Entwicklungspolitik*. Münster: Waxmann, 1998. 444 pp.
785. Washburn, Dan. "Farm Aid." *Home Improvement Market* 235.2 (Feb. 1998): 36-7. Key-Aid Ace Hardware caters to Amish communities.
786. Watson, Waltraud Nicole. "Afro-Germans in Germany: A Private Perspective." In: *Crosscurrents: African Americans, Africa, and Germany in the Modern World*, ed. by McBride David, Leroy Hopkins, and C. Asiha Blackshire-Belay, 233-39. Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1998.
787. Weaver, Dorothy Dunlap. "The Hains Families of Strasburg and East and



- West Lampeter Townships of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania." *MFH* 17.2 (April 1998): 78+.
788. Weaver, Martha Kauffman C., and R. Clair Umble, eds. *Celebrating God's Faithfulness: Fifty Years at Sandy Hill Mennonite Church, 1947-1997*. Coatesville, PA: Sandy Hill Mennonite Church, Masthof Press, 1998. 142 pp.
789. Weaver, Sarah M. *Wieder der Sammy*. Applecreek, OH: Green Valley Printing, 1998. 195 pp. Amish in fiction.
790. Weaverland Mennonite Church, East Earl, PA. *1723-1998, 275th Anniversary Weaverland Mennonite Church*. Morgantown, PA: Masthof Press, 1998. 120 pp.
791. Weber, Carl. "Is There a Use-value? Brecht on the American Stage at the Turn of the Century." In: *Bertolt Brecht: Centenary Essays*, ed. by Steve Giles, and Rodney Livingstone, 227-39. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998.
792. Weig, Wolfgang. "Migration und seelische Gesundheit." *IMIS-Beiträge* 8 (1998): 31-44.
793. Weiler, Tracey, et al. "A Gene for Autosomal Recessive Limb-Girdle Muscular Dystrophy in Manitoba Hutterites maps to Chromosome Region 9q31-q33: Evidence for Another Limb-Girdle Muscular Dystrophy Locus." *American Journal of Human Genetics* 63 (June 1998): 140-47.
794. Weiser, Frederick Sheely, and John P. Dern, comps. *St. Peter's Lutheran Church now Grace Lutheran Church: Near Woodsboro, Frederick County, Maryland, 1767-1854; Glade Reformed Church now Glade United Church of Christ, Walkersville, Frederick County, Maryland, 1769-1836; Mount Zion Lutheran and Reformed Church Formerly St. Paul and St. Matthias Church, near Keymar, Frederick County, Maryland, 1798-1834*. Maryland German Church Records, v. 16. Westminster, MD: Historical Society of Carroll County, 1998. 102 pp.
795. Weiser, Frederick Sheely, and Debra D. Smith. *St. Michael's Evangelical Lutheran Church, Germantown (Now Part of Philadelphia), Pennsylvania*. Rockport, ME: Picton Press, 1998. v. 1- .
796. Weiss, Gerhard. "Onkel Karl aus Milwaukee: Deutsch-amerikanische Einwandererkultur im Spiegel der Jugendliteratur vor hundert Jahren." *Unterrichtspraxis* 31.1 (Spring 1998): 26-30.
797. Weiss, Gerhard. "Poets on the Barricades: Literary Aspects of 1848." *SGASN* 19.4 (Dec. 1998): 28-30.
798. Wengerd, Elizabeth, and C. Richard Beam. *Introduction to Pennsylvania Dutch*. Millersville, PA: C. Richard Beam, 1998. 59 pp. Eight lessons suitable for classroom use as well as for self instruction.
799. Whitaker, Beverly. *Churches in Early America*. Kansas City: Genealogy Tutor, 1998. 1 v. unpagged.
800. Whitaker, Wilford Woodruff, and Gary Thomas Horlacher. *Broad Bay Pioneers: 18th Century Germanspeaking Settlers of Present-Day Waldoboro, Maine*. Rockport, ME: Picton Press, 1998. 779 pp.

801. Whitehorne, Joseph W. A. *Baptists and Yams Did Not Grow Well in the Shenandoah Valley: Regional Differences in the Baptist Movement in Colonial Virginia*. N.p.: N.p., 1998. 37 pp. "Paper presented to the Shenandoah Valley Regional Studies Seminar, 15 May, 1998." Includes references to other religious groups including Mennonites.
802. Wienke, Anna, and A. Bruce Loesch. *When the Wind Blows—*. N.p.: Taylor Pub. Co., 1998. 218 pp. Frisian-Americans in Illinois.
803. Wilhelm, Cornelia. *Bewegung oder Verein?: nationalsozialistische Volkspolitik in den USA*. Transatlantische historische Studien, Bd. 9. Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1998. 329 pp.
804. Willoughby, John. "The Sexual Behavior of American GIs During the Early Years of the Occupation of Germany." *The Journal of Military History* 62.1 (Jan. 1998): 155-74.
805. Wilson, Edmund, and Neale Reinitz. *The Higher Jazz*. Iowa City: Univ. of Iowa Press, 1998. 239 pp. G-A composers in NYC.
806. Witte, Carl W. *William/Wilhelm H.A. Witte & Ida Marie K.S.C. Schwiebert Family, First Cousins Reunion, July 23, 1998*. Harrison, MI (2810 Cherry Grove Ave.): C.W. Witte, 1998. 57 pp. Witte Family (OH, MI).
807. Wodarz, Russell L. *Russell L. Wodarz (August 11, 1886-February 12, 1972): Articles Relating to and/or Written by R.L. Wodarz, 1925-1971*. Comp. by Robert Gordon Askew. Casselton, ND: R.G. Askew, 1998. 160 leaves. GA fruit agriculturist in ND.
808. Woelfel, James. "Living and Thinking 'On the Boundary': Paul Tillich in America." *Max Kade Center for German-American Studies (Lawrence, KS)* Nov. 1998: 6-10.
809. Woessner, Andrea. "Over the Rhine: German Influence in a Cincinnati Neighborhood." Senior project, Cincinnati, 1998. 38 leaves. Includes interviews with: Don Tolzmann, German-American historian; Kevin Grace, brewery historian; Helen Gripke, Old St. Mary's historian. Photocopy available at Cincinnati Univ. Libraries.
810. Wyrwa, Ulrich. "Consumption and Consumer Society." In: *Getting and Spending: European and American Consumer Societies in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Susan Strasser, Charles McGovern, and Matthias Judt, 431-47. Publication of the German Historical Institute. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1998.
811. Yoder, Doyle. *Amish Country 1999*. Berlin, OH: Doyle Yoder Pub., 1998. 30 pp. Calendar.
812. V, Jacob H. "Proverbial Lore from Hegins Valley." *JCPGS* 5.4 (1998): 22-23. Interpretations of 9 PA German sayings.
813. Yoder, Lin, and J. Virgil Miller. "Origins of the Amish-Mennonite Chupp Family." *MFH* 17.2 (April 1998): 68+.
814. Yolen, Jane. *Raising Yoder's Barn*. Illus. by Bernie Fuchs. Boston: Little, Brown, 1998. 1 v. unpagged. Amish in fiction.
815. Yutzy, Steven, ed. *Greeting the Dawn: An Anthology of New Mennonite Writ-*



- ing. Goshen, IN: Pinchpenny Press, 1998. 77 pp.
816. Zacharasiewicz, Waldemar. *Das Deutschlandbild in der amerikanischen Literatur*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1998. 419 pp.
  817. Zercher, David L. "A Novel Conversion: The Fleeting Life of Amish Soldier." *MQR* 72.2 (Apr. 1998): 141-60.
  818. Zimmer, Matthias, and Angelika Elisabeth Sauer. *A Chorus of Different Voices: German-Canadian Identities*. American University Studies, Series IX, History, v. 189. New York: P. Lang, 1998. 244 pp.
  819. Zimmerman, Paul S., and Rosetta Zimmerman, eds. *Weaverland Conference Mennonite History of Northeast Missouri: The First 25 Years 1973-1998*. Memphis, MO: Books available from Evergreen Pub., 1998. 328 pp.
  820. Zimmermann, Eduard. "Travel into Missouri in October, 1838." *MHR* 92.4 (1998): 371-79. Trans. of travel account by a young German to MO in 1838.
  821. Zimmermann, Levi F. "Nei Yaahr Denkes." *JCPGS* 5.2 (1998): 20. Poem in PA German.
  822. Zindel, Udo, and Jürgen von Esenwein. *Yearning for America: On the Trail of German Emigrants*. Stuttgart, Germany: Südwestrundfunk SWR Public Radio + TV, 1998. 1 v. various pagings English transcript of a German radio program broadcast over German public radio on Dec. 21-26 1998 (English language broadcast) and May 15-June 19, 1998 (German language broadcast). Actual radio broadcast in both English and German plus additional background information located on Internet at: <http://www.swr2.de/wissen/amerika>. Researching lives of Charles and Fred Herzog, emigrants to the U.S. German title: *Heissersehntes Amerika: Auf den Spuren deutscher Auswanderer*. Also available in 3 tape cassettes from same publisher.
  823. Zindel, Udo, and Bert Heinrich. *Heissersehntes Amerika auf den Spuren deutscher Auswanderer*. Stuttgart: SDR, 1988. 3 sound cassettes + 1 book (1 v. various pagings). Accompanied the German printed transcript of the radio program. Eng. transcript also published separately under the title: *Yearning for America*. This German radio program broadcast over Süddeutscher Rundfunk 15 May-19 June 1998. Also found on the Internet at: <http://www.swr2.de/wissen/amerika>. Radio play of a father and son researching the lives of Charles and Fred Herzog, German immigrants to America in the 1840s.
  824. Zohorsky, Janet. "Passionate Patches: Quilting's Links of Love Outlasts the Past." *Lehigh Valley Magazine* 5.5 (1998): 38-41.
  825. Zöller, Michael. *Bringing Religion Back In: Elements of a Cultural Explanation of American Democracy*. German Historical Institute Occasional Paper, no. 21. Washington, DC: German Historical Institute, 1998. 25 pp.

### III. Topical Index

- Acculturation & Ethnicity*: 67, 70, 105, 115, 135, 191, 206, 256, 293, 299, 303, 342, 358, 388, 437, 510, 521, 530, 550-51, 620, 736, 809, 818
- Agriculture*: 9, 61, 227, 333, 340, 554, 562, 564, 572, 726, 761, 782-83, 807
- Alaska*: 659
- Alberta*: 109, 565, 742
- Alberts, Heinrich F.*: 59
- Albright Family (MN)*: 724
- Amana Colonies*: 504
- America in German Literature*: 27, 129, 177, 237, 269, 429-31, 637
- American Antiquarian Society*: 746
- American Literature in German-Speaking Lands*: 229
- American Revolution*: 55, 155, 185, 252, 333, 500, 561, 656
- American Turners (see Turners)*
- Amish*: 51, 74, 79, 86-87, 100, 102, 104, 128, 130, 143, 160-1, 166, 170-1, 173, 176, 181, 194, 211, 213, 215, 220, 227, 230, 240, 253, 259-60, 272, 274-75, 284, 302, 322-23, 331, 334, 340, 345, 353, 369, 376, 396, 404, 422-24, 441, 449-50, 457-61, 469-70, 474, 489, 497, 503, 513-14, 518-19, 621, 523, 526-27, 549, 553-54, 567-69, 571, 589, 602, 604, 624, 626-27, 642, 673, 704, 710-12, 725, 733, 735, 756-57, 760-61, 778, 781, 785, 789, 811, 813-14, 817
- Anabaptists*: 171, 211, 294, 475, 274, 574, 749
- Architecture*: 36, 37, 38, 48, 56
- Archives & Libraries (see also Bibliographic Materials)*: 71, 203, 211, 267, 278, 287, 529, 717, 746-48
- Arkansas*: 323
- Art (see also Folk Arts & Crafts)*: 2, 6, 47, 49, 289, 313-14, 346, 482, 49-99, 549, 593, 596, 600
- Athenaeum (Indianapolis, IN)*: 492
- Atzl, Gerda*: 49
- Aurand, A. Monroe*: 332
- Austrian-Americans*: 313-14, 356
- Balzer Family*: 478
- Bauer, Max*: 695
- Baumgartner, Carl*: 728
- Bender, Harold Stauffer*: 394
- Bibliographic Materials (see also Archives)*: 19, 30, 71, 85, 148, 203, 301, 306, 432, 611-14, 746-48
- Biographical Information*: 72, 82, 89-90, 109, 183, 209-10, 228, 232, 245, 247, 251, 261, 291, 308, 317, 329, 344, 355, 370, 374, 378, 386-87, 391, 395, 403, 426-27, 433, 446, 454, 482, 510, 544, 561, 573, 576, 583, 585, 599, 622, 628, 644, 654, 656, 678, 684, 703, 705, 709, 715, 741-42, 75-56, 764, 771, 774, 807, 820, 822
- Blenker, Louis*: 734
- Blitz-Weinhard Brewing Co.*: 370
- Bloch, Albert*: 172
- Bloomington Turnverein (IL)*: 78
- Bobnet Family (MI)*: 140
- Boldt, Geroge*: 48
- Book Trade, Press & Journalism*: 63, 102, 128, 183, 258, 599
- Born Family (WI, ND)*: 587
- Botschaft, Die*: 161
- Braun Family (NY, PA, ON)*: 713
- Brazil*: 142, 547, 774
- Brecht, Bertolt*: 791
- Breitmann, Hans*: 399



*Brethern, Church of the*: 18, 19, 50,  
 66, 147, 551, 799  
*British Columbia*: 541  
*Broadcasting*: 198, 449-50  
*Bruenner, Leopold*: 447  
*Buenger Family (IL)*: 636  
*Bührle, Wendelin*: 391  
*Burze, John Anthony*: 392-93  
*Business & Industry*: 13, 40, 44, 59,  
 299, 316, 322, 348, 356, 370,  
 396, 403, 417, 512, 558, 626,  
 658, 663, 785  
*Byerly Family (PA)*: 113  
*California*: 132, 576, 688  
*Canada* (see also specific Provinces):  
 43, 115, 116, 145, 147, 308, 406,  
 556, 561, 585, 649, 776, 818  
*Casterliner, Augusta Geibler*: 231  
*Catholics*: 177, 184, 204, 386, 442,  
 447, 547, 574, 664, 767  
*Celan, Paul*: 236  
*Chargaff Erwin*: 662  
*Chupp Family*: 811  
*Cincinnati Central Turners*: 175  
*Civil War*: 53, 186, 214, 391, 462,  
 500, 578, 734, 894-95  
*Claussen, Hans Riemer*: 481  
*Colm, Gerhard*: 32  
*Colonial Period*: 6, 232, 243, 286,  
 528, 620, 801  
*Comparative Literary Studies*: 60,  
 118, 236, 246, 298, 310, 487,  
 532, 668  
*Customs* (see *Social Life & Customs*)  
*Danube Swabians*: 72  
*Deines, E. Hubert*: 596  
*Delaware*: 114  
*Delbrück, Max*: 662  
*Denver, John*: 413  
*Der Bote*: 411  
*Dester Family*: 196  
*Dichter, Ernst*: 356  
*Die Deborah*: 105  
*Diplomatic & Intellectual Relations*:

21, 35, 59, 112, 121, 225, 324,  
 536, 542  
*Dreiser, Theodore*: 209  
*Dresser, Paul*: 29  
*Du Bois, W.E.B.*: 112, 121  
*Debuque Shooting Society*: 338  
*Duden, Gottfried*: 103  
*Durnbaugh, Donald F.*: 19  
*Economics*: 32, 192, 356, 464, 882  
*Education*: 68, 116, 145, 203, 264,  
 295, 341, 354, 361, 420, 442,  
 483, 511, 547, 566, 577, 598,  
 608, 623, 644, 666, 682, 689,  
 767, 784, 798  
*Elder (Elter) Family (SK)*: 222  
*Emigration, Immigration & Settle-  
 ment*: 1, 5, 8, 9, 10, 17, 24, 26,  
 28, 31, 52, 57, 58, 62, 64, 65,  
 81, 89, 103, 119-20, 125-26, 135,  
 138, 141, 153-54, 187, 190, 192,  
 206, 212, 241, 256, 262, 291,  
 299-300, 305, 319, 321, 334, 350,  
 357, 373, 383, 415-17, 443, 453,  
 463, 476-77, 483, 490, 501, 530,  
 536, 541, 564, 609, 625, 627-30,  
 635, 640, 665, 672, 675, 686,  
 694, 702, 743, 771, 776, 792, 800  
*Emigré Authors*: 4, 706  
*Epp, Diedrich*: 411  
*Ethnicity* (see *Acculturation &  
 Ethnicity*)  
*Exile Experience*: 2, 32, 89, 276, 329,  
 576  
*Exile Literature*: 706  
*Farming* (see *Agriculture*)  
*Film & Theater*: 223, 244, 269, 276,  
 303, 375, 543, 576, 660, 667,  
 765, 791  
*Fisher, Gideon*: 272  
*Florida*: 46, 198, 514  
*Folk Arts & Crafts* (see also *Art*):  
 176, 188, 274, 302, 331, 376,  
 474, 527, 529, 567-69, 704, 778,  
 824

- Folklore*: 169, 202, 414, 591  
*Follen, Charles*: 68  
*Food*: 84, 100, 123, 130, 284, 408, 473, 506, 586, 590, 594, 701, 740  
*Forty-Eighters*: 99, 122, 151, 247-48, 391, 481, 606, 609, 705, 715, 750, 753, 772, 797  
*Freethinkers*: 295  
*Freisen, Jacob Johann*: 308  
*Freisen, Justina Aaron Warketin*: 308  
*Frey, J. William*: 134  
*Frisian-Americans*: 127, 251, 270, 352, 560, 802  
*Furniture*: 12, 474  
*Gans, Joachim*: 286  
*Gardner Family (IN)*: 629  
*Gardner (Gartner) Family (SK)*: 222  
*Gaugel, Heinz*: 297  
*Genealogical Reference Materials*: 11, 14-16, 30, 45, 79, 136, 153, 168, 170, 197, 219, 233, 269, 290, 301, 309, 315, 325-26, 364-65, 379, 409, 425, 436, 452, 520, 537, 632-33, 657, 665, 670, 676, 698, 717, 731, 739, 760, 779-80, 794-95.  
*Georgia*: 44, 117, 292-93, 381  
*German Club, Fairbanks, AK*: 659  
*German Gardners Benefit Society, Indianapolis, IN*: 491  
*German Literature in America*: 118, 244, 307, 791  
*German Reformed Church*: 552  
*German Society of Pennsylvania*: 676-67,  
*German-American Bund*: 803  
*German-American Events*: 178  
*German-America Literary Relations*: 236, 405  
*German-American Literature*: 94, 98, 126, 159, 177, 201-2, 279, 303-4, 349, 358, 421, 615, 683, 692, 729, 736, 796, 821  
*German-American Organizations & Societies* (see also specific names): 267, 363, 491, 659  
*German-American Women*: 82, 90, 101-2, 105, 131, 161, 179, 206, 231, 288, 311, 316, 357, 440, 457, 459, 485, 499, 515, 538-39, 544-45, 547, 556, 564-65, 583, 703, 711, 737, 768  
*German-American Writers*: 161, 209, 272, 304, 585765, 815  
*German-Americans in Literature*: 23, 87-88, 104, 131, 143, 173, 207, 213, 234, 371-72, 382, 449-50, 457-61, 484, 515, 527, 538-39, 556, 579, 605, 710, 712, 781, 789, 814  
*German-Americans & Politics*: 43, 68, 117, 151, 186, 221, 247-48, 304, 320, 456, 532, 636, 661, 696, 728, 751-52, 755, 758, 803  
*German-English Language Contact*: 419, 773  
*Germans from Russia*: 69, 77, 85, 92, 110-11, 217-18, 222, 255, 281, 312, 360, 374, 377, 380, 395, 398, 40-8, 413-14, 425, 440, 444, 455, 471, 480, 520, 541, 565, 575, 580, 596, 646-47, 653-54, 700, 741, 766, 773, 780  
*Germany, American Influences*: 34, 108, 165, 223, 263, 324, 375, 468, 543  
*Germany in American Literature*: 816  
*Gerstäcker, Friedrich*: 637  
*Giese Family (MI)*: 180  
*Goebner Family (ND)*: 281  
*Guth, Jacob*: 428  
*Hains Family (PA)*: 787  
*Haist Family*: 478  
*Hamm Family*: 316  
*Hartman Family (ND)*: 766  
*Haymarket Square Riot, Chicago, IL*,



- 1886: 320, 636  
*Hecker, Friedrich*: 247, 249  
*Heckewälde, Johann*: 534  
*Heinrich, Bernd*: 494  
*Heinzen, Karl*: 245  
*Henkel, David*: 164  
*Herder Family*: 312  
*Hering, Constantin*: 707  
*Herrmann, Richard*: 434  
*Herzog, Charles and Fred*: 822-23  
*Hespeler, Wilhelm*: 641  
*Hessians*: 155, 561, 656  
*Heurich, Christian*: 508  
*Heym, Stefan*: 304  
*History, Methodology*: 10, 483, 740  
*Hoffman Family (WI)*: 344  
*Hornberger Family (PA)*: 723  
*Horning, Banks M.*: 355  
*Hullub, Rudolph*: 214  
*Humor*: 399-400  
*Hundling, Lubke*: 352  
*Hutterites*: 13, 40, 146, 163, 226, 294, 306, 343, 366, 432, 485, 493, 497, 524, 534, 566, 793  
*Illinois*: 38, 78, 100, 209, 230, 318, 320, 371-72, 384, 403, 503, 636, 758, 760, 802  
*Immigration (see Emigration, ...)*  
*Indiana*: 29, 162, 187, 191, 194, 204, 278, 295, 302, 378, 492, 503, 553, 629, 690-91  
*Indianapolis Männerchor*: 691  
*Industry (see Business & Industry)*  
*Intellectual History*: 193, 242, 307, 420, 483, 511, 532-33, 639, 643, 666, 796, 810  
*Intercultural Relations*: 54, 195, 232, 354, 442, 456, 468, 488, 543, 634, 643, 679, 786  
*Internment Camps*: 359, 638  
*Iowa*: 137, 167, 338, 434, 481, 504, 558, 560, 578, 609, 619, 652, 721, 735  
*Jaeger Family (ND)*: 480  
*Job Family (SD)*: 377  
*Journalism (see Book Trade, ...)*  
*Judaica*: 6, 67, 105, 187, 261, 265, 286, 291-92, 299, 329, 525, 681, 743, 764  
*Kansas*: 92, 110, 122, 179, 285, 362, 380, 390, 479, 562, 596  
*Katona, George*: 356  
*Kaufman, Harry Edward*: 317  
*Kautz, August V.*: 53  
*Kebler Family (MI)*: 389  
*Keebart Family (MO)*: 150  
*Keller Family (ND)*: 395  
*Kentucky*: 97, 513, 678, 744  
*Kessenich Family (WI)*: 401  
*Kessler, Harry Graf*: 618  
*Klassen Family (MB)*: 407  
*Knauer, Paul*: 728  
*Knittel Family*: 646  
*Konau, Britta*: 505  
*Kotz, Rose*: 446  
*Kübbirt Family (MO)*: 150  
*Kurz, Louis*: 384  
*Labor*: 241, 320, 658  
*Langer, William*: 111  
*Language & Dialects*: 83, 93-94, 98, 126, 142, 167, 169, 182, 193, 201-2, 203, 216, 298, 328, 349, 380, 390, 400, 410, 419, 437, 467, 479, 548, 559, 708, 730, 773, 798, 812, 821  
*Latin America*: 635  
*Laubach, Caroline*: 335  
*Law*: 86, 441, 602, 620, 761  
*Lehmann, Helmut*: 368  
*Leopoldinen-Stiftung im Kaisertume Österreich*: 664  
*Lieber, Francis*: 532  
*Lindau, Gisela*: 47  
*List, Friedrich*: 464  
*Literature (see more specific categories)*  
*Loeffler, Gisella*: 289  
*Louisiana*: 296-97, 445, 535, 617,

- 822-23  
*Louisville Anzeiger*: 678  
*Lutherans*: 107, 136, 139, 164, 168,  
 170, 174, 179, 205, 330, 368,  
 379, 415, 451, 472, 537, 547,  
 550, 584, 620, 632-33, 670, 676,  
 775, 777, 779, 794-95  
*Maine*: 800  
*Manitoba*: 76, 219, 315, 407, 471,  
 509, 566, 641, 686, 765, 793  
*Mann, Thomas*: 4  
*Maron, Erna*: 565  
*Martin Family* (PA): 42  
*Maryland*: 131, 537, 794  
*Massachusetts*: 462, 727  
*May, Karl*: 637, 660  
*Medicine and Health*: 157, 226, 240,  
 275, 280, 334, 345, 440, 469,  
 489, 524, 526, 555, 629, 700,  
 707, 793  
*Mennonite Collegiate Institute*:  
*Mennonites*: 8, 11, 20, 33, 45, 74,  
 77, 88, 101, 109, 110, 123, 132-  
 33, 137, 144, 147, 156-58, 161,  
 170-71, 196, 207, 210, 212, 217-  
 19, 230, 233, 255, 280, 284-85,  
 290, 308, 311-12, 317-18, 325-26,  
 337, 347, 355, 358, 360-62, 374,  
 378, 385-87, 394, 402, 406-7,  
 411-12, 423, 425-27, 438—39,  
 448, 452-53, 455, 471, 484, 486,  
 495-97, 502-3, 509, 515-16, 520,  
 539, 541, 544-46, 548, 550-51,  
 556, 562, 588, 592-93, 595, 600-  
 1, 605, 610, 627, 631, 642, 647,  
 649, 657, 671, 673, 680, 684-86,  
 690, 700-1, 703, 714, 720-22,  
 735-37, 741-42, 760, 765, 770,  
 782-84, 787-88, 790, 799, 801,  
 813, 815, 819  
*Methodists*: 367  
*Metz, Ferdinand*: 507  
*Mexico*: 156, 177, 212, 618, 763  
*Michigan*: 140, 180, 251, 369, 710,  
 767, 775, 806  
*Minnesota*: 152, 268, 316, 447, 574,  
 724  
*Missouri*: 61, 90, 103, 150, 199, 256,  
 339, 397, 433, 530, 584, 630,  
 685, 819, 820  
*Monuments*: 384  
*Moravians*: 54, 216, 232, 282, 381,  
 557, 634, 679, 693, 754, 759,  
 768, 799  
*Muhlenberg, Henry Melchior*: 139,  
 451, 777  
*Music*: 29, 80, 97, 171, 215, 283, 353,  
 360, 369, 428, 447, 454, 472,  
 496, 535, 546, 688, 727, 754, 805  
*Näbarna*, *Sidonie*: 172  
*National Socialism*: 21, 43, 59, 261,  
 351, 681, 709, 803  
*Native Americans*: 54, 269, 288, 559,  
 822-23  
*Nebraska*: 85, 119, 471, 657, 780  
*Nevada*: 822-23  
*New Jersey*: 446  
*New York*: 48, 67, 80, 120, 283, 303,  
 330, 457, 535, 658, 663, 713,  
 758, 805  
*Newspapers* (see *Book Trade*, ...)  
*Niebuhr, Reinhold*: 687  
*Nielsen, Susanne*: 198  
*Nietzsche, Friedrich*: 124  
*North Carolina*: 153, 437, 557, 679,  
 759  
*North Dakota*: 184208, 281, 395,  
 408, 440, 442, 480, 522, 575,  
 587, 655, 766, 807  
*Oates, Joyce Carol*: 487  
*Ohio*: 5, 9, 138, 175, 181, 211, 240,  
 267, 357, 379, 404, 418, 448,  
 490, 497, 512, 519, 523, 589,  
 603, 607, 628, 665, 732, 748-49,  
 756, 806, 809, 811  
*Oklahoma*: 722  
*Ontario*: 8, 157, 192, 337, 627, 631,  
 713, 779, 783



- Oregon*: 370, 743  
*Owens, Jesse*: 108  
*Pacifism*: 147, 158, 588, 817  
*Paraguay*: 531, 784  
*Parker, Horatio*: 727  
*Pastorius, Francis Daniel*: 148  
*Pauls Family* (Canada): 406  
*Pennsifaanisch Deitsch Dialect un Kultur Society*: 410  
*Pennsylvania*: 7, 14-17, 31, 33, 41-42, 45, 62, 75, 79, 91, 93-96, 113, 128, 133, 134, 136, 144, 148-49, 156, 160, 169-70, 182, 301-2, 221, 224, 227-28, 231-32, 238-39, 243, 253, 260, 272-73, 277, 290, 301, 327-28, 331, 332-33, 335-36, 340, 349, 353, 355, 364-65, 385, 388, 410, 416, 419, 424, 428, 457-61, 473, 502, 517, 528-29, 538-39, 550, 552, 555, 571, 591, 595, 604, 610, 622, 624, 625, 632-33, 640, 642, 661, 670, 676-77, 680, 696-97, 703, 707, 713, 723, 725-26, 733, 740, 762, 781, 787-88, 790, 795, 798, 812, 821, 824  
*Pennsylvania German Folklore Society*: 301  
*Pennsylvania German Society*: 301  
*Peters Family* (AB): 109  
*Pfliger Family* (SD, ND, SK): 575  
*Philanthropy*: 370, 448, 551, 720  
*Philosophy*: 106, 124, 307, 494, 533, 808  
*Press* (see *Book Trade*, ...)  
*Preuss, Arthur*: 183  
*Recreation and Sports*: 46, 78, 108, 175, 338, 363-718, 769  
*Rehfuss Family*: 563  
*Religion* (see also specific religions): 45, 57, 106, 162, 687, 808, 825  
*Roebling, John A.*: 749  
*Roth Family* (MN): 724  
*Ruebel Family* (OH): 603  
*Saskatchewan*: 210, 222, 411, 575, 583  
*Schlecht Family* (ND): 655  
*Schlecht, Friedrich*: 654  
*Schleib Family* (MI): 389  
*Scleswig-Holstein 1848-50 Veterans Society*: 99  
*Schmidt Family* (ND): 208  
*Schmucker, Samuel Simon*: 107  
*Schrödinger, Erwin*: 662  
*Schurz, Carl*: 755  
*Science*: 286, 572, 662, 774  
*Sealsfield, Charles*: 3, 25, 27, 39, 73, 129, 189, 254, 271, 296-97, 310, 429-30, 435, 465-66, 581, 582, 611-17, 621, 637, 650-51, 668-69  
*Seefeldt, Elke*: 49  
*Sensenig Family* (PA): 41  
*Seyfried Family*: 563  
*Shaddinger Family* (PA): 680  
*Shertzer Family* (PA): 7  
*Shoemaker Family*: 426  
*Shoemaker, J.S.*: 426  
*Sick, Helmut*: 774  
*Siemens Family* (Canada): 649  
*Social Life & Customs*: 17, 23, 28, 50, 78, 87, 90-91, 101, 161, 166, 190-91, 220, 231, 259, 339, 342-43, 357, 369, 397, 402, 422-24, 441, 445, 470, 473, 485, 490, 493, 521-22, 544, 545, 551, 554, 565, 591, 597, 602, 604, 605, 607, 619, 620, 624-25, 629, 652, 673, 686, 711, 723, 725, 825  
*Sonnenburg, Dieter*: 12  
*South Carolina*: 674  
*South Dakota*: 377, 387, 442, 522, 524, 575, 646  
*Sower, Christopher*: 599  
*Spangenberg, August Gottlieb*: 381  
*Steinway, William*: 283  
*Steuben, Friedrich Wilhelm von*: 252  
*Stuhr Museum*: 716

*Swiss-American Historical Society*  
*Review:* 648  
*Swiss-Americans:* 33, 208, 224, 342,  
 425, 442, 648  
*Tennessee:* 514  
*Texas:* 23, 36, 37, 56, 84, 186, 216,  
 258, 382, 644, 654-55, 770  
*Theater*(see *Film & Theater*)  
*Thiessen, Vern:* 765  
*Tillich, Paul:* 808  
*Timm Family:* 738  
*Toews, David:* 20  
*Transportation:* 22, 603, 673, 749  
*Unger, William E.:* 313-14  
*U Treyer, David A.:* 756  
*Twain, Mark*(*Samuel Clemens*):  
 400  
*Turners:* 78, 175, 492, 745  
*Union Loyal League:* 186  
*Utopia:* 57  
*Van Drevelde Family*(MO): 433  
*Virginia:* 64, 415, 452, 545, 801  
*Virginia Mennonite Retirement*  
*Community, Inc.:* 545  
*Wahl, Sonja:* 47

*Warkentin, Veralyn:* 765  
*Washington DC:* 508  
*Weaver Family*(PA): 33  
*Weber, Max:* 643  
*Weinbard, Henry:* 370  
*Weiser, Conrad:* 528  
*Welch, James:* 559  
*Wends:* 258  
*Wieler Family*(MB): 76  
*Wisconsin:* 168, 203, 257, 266, 342,  
 344, 482, 498, 501, 587, 590,  
 609, 796  
*Witbold, George:* 403,  
*Witmer Family*(PA): 75  
*Witte Family*(OH, MI): 806  
*Wohmann, Gabriele:* 487  
*World War I:* 82, 114, 199, 468, 540,  
 619  
*World War II:* 21, 43, 89, 152, 154,  
 200, 206, 235, 276, 321, 329,  
 359, 468, 525, 541, 573, 579,  
 588, 635, 638, 674, 681, 699,  
 728, 732, 752, 764, 803-4  
*Zeisberger, David:* 54  
*Zirker, Herbert:* 145



