

YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Volume 35

2000



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.



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## General Information

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

The *Yearbook* is published annually. The editor welcomes contributions in English, preferably, or German on all aspects of German-Americana from members of the Society. The manuscript should be prepared so that it can be read anonymously by the members of the Editorial Board, with the author's name appearing on a separate sheet only. For submission, four copies of the manuscript prepared in accordance with the University of Chicago Press *Manual of Style* are requested. All manuscripts and correspondence concerning the *Yearbook* should be addressed to the Editor, Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, 1445 Jayhawk Blvd., University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045-7950. 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 of the Society, William Roba, Scott Community College, 500 Belmont Road, Bettendorf, IA 52722. The Society for German-American Studies is open to membership from individuals, societies, libraries, and organizations.

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## From the Editor

In addition to our regular selection of articles treating a variety of topics in German-American Studies, we have added several items as end matter to the *Yearbook* to provide our membership with ready access to the SGAS Bylaws and two new SGAS policies which pertain to research and publication support for our membership. At its 2000 fall meeting in Frankenmuth, Michigan, the Executive Committee adopted policies for the administration of the endowed publication fund and for the newly established research fund. The SGAS Publication Fund affords members the opportunity to apply for a significant subvention of a book publication in German-American Studies. The SGAS Research Fund makes available grants for expenses related to the conduct of research in our field. Taken together, these two funds offer our members real opportunities to enhance their research activity.

A special feature of this volume is the twenty-year index which provides our readers with a complete listing of all articles, review essays, bibliographical essays, and book reviews published in the twenty volumes of the *Yearbook* from 1981 to 2000. A separate listing of co-authors of articles and authors of book reviews is followed by a topical index. We have incorporated and corrected the information included in the two published indexes of the *Yearbook* in 1985 and in 1992. At a glance, our readership and interested scholars can see what has been accomplished in our field during this twenty-year period.

Our regular articles span several centuries from the earliest known German physician in North America in seventeenth-century Jamestown, Virginia, to twentieth-century perceptions of the Pennsylvania Germans. The eighteenth century is featured in three articles, including one on the German Jesuits in the Spanish missions of the Sonoran Desert and another on letters of warning to prospective immigrants to Pennsylvania. The majority of our articles, however, treat nineteenth-century topics: impressions of America in correspondence sent back to Germany, the views of Hessian officers toward America in the pre-revolutionary period prior to 1848, German-American political activity in the pre-Civil War era in Baltimore, New England's fascination with German literature in the first half of the nineteenth century, and the visit of American Turners to the international gymnastics festival in Frankfurt in 1880.

As always, we want to especially acknowledge the contributions of the other

members of the *Yearbook* "team." Our sincere appreciation for their 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 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  
March 2001



Martin Lorenz-Meyer

## United in Difference: The German Community in Nativist Baltimore and the Presidential Elections of 1860

Contempt was what the editor of the Baltimore German-language newspaper *Der Deutsche Correspondent* had for the Know-Nothing party. "Every cruelty, every imaginable bestiality characterizes American Know-Nothingism," the paper editorialized in 1858.<sup>1</sup> The newspaper was speaking for the majority of Germans in Baltimore, a city securely in Know-Nothing hands for most of the pre-Civil War decade. When possible, Baltimore Germans cast their vote for the Democrats, as they did in the 1860 presidential elections and did not vote for Lincoln. Current research concurs that—contrary to an earlier filiopietistic legend—German-Americans did not cast the decisive vote to elect Lincoln to office. It was only the intellectual elite of the German immigrants who were truly concerned with the slavery question; for the average German voter such issues as nativism and temperance had much more salience. And studies of the ethnocultural school have made clear that religious beliefs also strongly influenced the Germans' voting behavior.<sup>2</sup>

Typically, these analyses of state-level politics in regard to the Germans' voting behavior in the 1850s have focused on states and cities in the Midwest. Little is known about the political behavior of the Germans in the border slave states of Kentucky and Maryland. Baltimore offers an especially intriguing case to explore the Germans' opinions and responses to the interaction between a nascent Republican party, a weakening nativist movement, and two Democratic factions. A number of Germans in the city published the *Baltimore Wecker*, the only newspaper in Maryland which, beginning in 1854, strongly advocated the Republican party in this slave state. The paper had been founded by the prominent forty-eighter and turner Carl Heinrich Schnauffer. It was continued by Schnauffer's widow Elise and his brother William after Carl Heinrich's sudden death from typhoid fever in 1853.<sup>3</sup> They were assisted by the well-known forty-eighters August Becker and Wilhelm Rapp. The latter joined the paper in 1856 after he had lost his position as editor of the national *Turnzeitung*. Members of the *Sozialistischer Turnerbund* had begun to complain about Rapp's journalistic style of providing mainly "a political panorama in which the political events of the day, nativism and slavery, were strongly attacked" without paying much attention to the proceedings of the society.<sup>4</sup> Their paper had to compete against a

long-established Democratic newspaper in the city—*Der Deutsche Correspondent* published by Friedrich Raine since 1841.<sup>5</sup> After working as an assistant editor for the *Westfälische Zeitung* in Germany, Raine had decided to follow his father to Baltimore in 1840. First entertaining friendly ties with the Whig party, the paper became staunchly Democratic when the Whigs dissolved at the beginning of the 1850s. Later, Raine was rewarded with a number of important partisan posts for his firm support of the Democrats throughout the decades—among others President Grover Cleveland made him ambassador to Berlin in 1884.<sup>6</sup> While the *Wecker* was in all likelihood mainly read by the large membership of the local *Turnverein*, the *Correspondent* appealed to the less political well-settled Germans in the city.

Of the German communities in the United States before the Civil War, Baltimore's was one of the largest. In both 1850 and 1860 it trailed only New York's "Little Germany" and the large German concentrations of Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and St. Louis.<sup>7</sup> In 1860, 15 percent of all Baltimore residents were born in Germany. Their share of the city's population was over twice as large as the Irish who formed the second largest foreign ethnic group in town.<sup>8</sup> And because by 1860 free blacks accounted for 92 percent of Baltimore blacks—which meant that the city had more free blacks within its limits than any other city in the nation—Baltimore was one of the very few cities in which a sizable German immigrant population was juxtaposed with a proportionally large black population.<sup>9</sup>

Only a few historians have cursorily examined the political opinions of the Baltimore Germans with varied conclusions. Andreas Dorpalen, for example, adopts a legend so effectively laid out by the *Baltimore Wecker* when he writes that "the majority of the 1,083 votes that Lincoln polled in Baltimore in 1860 were German votes."<sup>10</sup> Dieter Cunz is much more careful but not very enlightening either, when he maintains that "it is not possible to associate the Germans with one political party."<sup>11</sup> In later accounts, the behavior of the German voters in the city did not receive much clarification. William J. Evitts states in his study about Maryland in the 1850s that "the Germans in Maryland were sharply divided between the old stock, who arrived in the eighteenth century, and the new wave of political immigrants, who came in the late 1840s and early 1850s. The latter were abolitionist to a man."<sup>12</sup> While Evitts thus identifies all the participants of the immigration wave of the middle of the nineteenth century as potential Republican voters, one of the foremost scholars of Maryland's mid-nineteenth century political history, Jean H. Baker states correctly that "Lincoln did not carry the Baltimore wards with heavy German population." Unfortunately, this observation receives little further elaboration.<sup>13</sup> All this leaves us with an unclear picture of how Germans in the city viewed the political questions of the day. As it appears, these studies produce more questions than they do answers. Why, in fact, did the Germans not cast their vote for the Republicans, even though one paper strongly advocated that party? What, instead, were the issues which drew the attention of the Germans in the city, and why was it only the Democrats who successfully spoke to the concerns of German voters in Baltimore?



## Baltimore in the 1850s

From the outside, the German community in Baltimore might have appeared to be tightly-knit. In fact, however, it was a harshly divided local society. Once a minor ethnic group, partly consisting of second-generation Germans, the community had grown heavily after 1830 as a rejuvenated immigration brought unforeseen numbers of Germans into this important harbor city. Since then, various lines of divisions emerged, creating increasing diversification among the Germans in Baltimore. Different religious outlooks separated the large membership of the Catholic church from their Lutheran brethren.<sup>14</sup> Church members were set apart from those of their countrymen who preferred to socialize in their own special clubs and whose membership was divided by different occupational status. Singing societies, German chapters of English lodges, and educational and theater societies had sprung up to provide for the different needs. The variety of the diverse clubs ranged from the small ranks of the Germania Club, which catered to the German elite merchants, to the labor oriented *Arbeiter Gesangsverein*.<sup>15</sup>

The arrival of the forty-eighters added yet another dimension to this rich variety of the Germans' social life. In 1849, forty-eighters founded the *Sozial-Demokratischer Turn-Verein* of Baltimore, a liberal institution which soon rose to prominence among the Baltimore Germans.<sup>16</sup> Already counting 278 members one year later, the *Turnverein*, together with the *Bund freier Menschen* (founded in 1853 and led by Carl Heinrich Schnauffer), united the liberal and rationalistic-minded Germans in the city.<sup>17</sup> As elsewhere the Turners' rank and file were mainly composed of members of the skilled trades, complemented by the occasional professional, small merchant, or white collar worker.<sup>18</sup>

The different lines of status that ran through the Germans' social life in Baltimore mirrored their place in the city's economy. As their vocational patterns reveal, the occupational status of the Germans was marked by a distinct threefold division. The top level was reserved for the rich German merchants dealing mainly in tobacco who made use of their strong and well-established trade connections with Bremen and in general profited from the growth of Baltimore's overseas trade.<sup>19</sup> Below this German elite stood the great number of skilled German workers, with a very small number of unskilled or unemployed Germans at the bottom.<sup>20</sup> Skilled workers in particular could take advantage of the city's industrial expansion which set in during the nation's economic boom of the pre-Civil War decades. As new steam-powered manufacturing establishments appeared, which relied on the employment of cheap immigrant labor and mass, assembly-line production, the city became the most Southern of the Northern industrial towns in the 1850s.<sup>21</sup> In these years, German immigrants dominated in some of the city's manufacturing jobs, particularly the textile and shoe industry. Due to their strong standing in the skilled businesses, the majority of Germans held a position in the city's economy which set them apart from two other important ethnic groups in town—the Irish and the blacks. While the occupational position of the small Irish population in the city ranked below the Germans, the Irish were still one step ahead of the city's free blacks. As in many other towns, the blacks' great

Table 1  
Male Occupation in Baltimore by Birthplace and Race

Occupational Categories	Census Year	White		Birthplace			Black	Total n
		North America	Germany	Ireland	Great Britain			
Agriculture	1850	0%	1%	9%	8%	14%	14	
	1860	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1	
Professional and Personal Services	1850	9%	13%	19%	0%	49%	73	
	1860	11%	23%	28%	31%	71%	74	
Trade and Transportation	1850	42%	13%	39%	33%	12%	157	
	1860	48%	10%	39%	46%	10%	93	
Manufacturing, Mechanical, and Mining Industries	1850	47%	74%	25%	42%	25%	237	
	1860	40%	67%	33%	23%	17%	121	
Non-occupational Responses	1850	2%	0%	9%	17%	0%	13	
	1860	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%	1	
Total		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	784	

Data based on a regular sized extract from <http://www.ipums.umn.edu>.  
 Steven Ruggles and Matthew Sobek et. al., Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 2.0  
 (Minneapolis: Historical Census Projects, University of Minnesota, 1997).



numbers supplied the labor force for the lowest ranking and worst paid jobs in Baltimore.<sup>22</sup>

Yet, these changes which affected Baltimore's economy were only part of those confounding transformations which rendered the 1850s so dramatic to Americans. Like their countrymen, Baltimoreans felt that their community, together with state and nation, was undergoing extraordinary times of uncertainty.

In the preceeding two decades, the second American party system had brought stability to Marylanders. While the state had always voted for the Whigs' presidential candidate, Baltimore had remained firmly in the hands of the Democrats.<sup>23</sup> The Germans in the city were no exception to this voting behavior of their American countrymen as only their upper class felt attracted to the ranks of the Whig party.<sup>24</sup>

With the beginning of the 1850s, however, the old political order broke down rapidly. On the state level, the Whigs split into sectional factions when their leaders could not decide how to vote about a new constitution for the state. On the national level, the party created further embarrassment for its local followers as platform and candidate for the 1852 presidential elections drifted in different directions over the endorsement of the Compromise of 1850. The Whigs' fickle stand was a sensitive issue in this border state and Marylanders decided to cast their vote for a Democratic candidate for the first time in five elections.<sup>25</sup>

This sudden turn, however, was only one expression of the changing atmosphere that came over Baltimore in that decade. Increasingly, the great number of newcomers in the city were perceived as a serious threat by Baltimoreans. Willing to work for very low pay, immigrants were accused of undercutting the wages of native workers. Germans and Irish allegedly banded together and were identified as one main source of the rising crime rate in the city. The high share of Catholics among them was seen as a sign that a papal plot was endangering the traditional Protestant values of American society. And finally, immigrants were singled out as the ones who supposedly caused parties to no longer fulfill their intended functions but to be marred instead by increasing corruption.<sup>26</sup>

A short lived temperance movement—which the Germans strongly opposed—cast itself as a solution to these urban vices, but the real winner in this world of alleged threats to society was the Know-Nothing party.<sup>27</sup> At the core of their political program lay the demand to give only "true Americans" political power. By this, the Know-Nothings' ideology promised to confine the immigrants to a place from which they supposedly could not endanger American values. For the native voter, Know Nothings were attractive because they held up Protestant values of individualism against conspicuous Catholicism and expressed dislike of the traditional political parties and professional politicians. Thus, they seemed to offer the return to a simpler, rejuvenated government of the people.<sup>28</sup>

Emerging from secrecy in the fall of 1854, they took the polls by surprise with the winning of the mayoralty and the majority of the city council. Their success continued. By 1855, they had gained control of the state and in the 1856 presidential elections Marylanders were the only ones to vote for Know-Nothing candidate Millard Fillmore.<sup>29</sup> Especially Baltimore, formerly a democratic stronghold, shifted its allegiance



to the Know-Nothing party and remained its political bastion up to 1860.

Yet, soon after they took power, violence marred the polls in the city. The presidential contest of 1856 left seventeen dead and 250 wounded and despite attempts by the mayor and the governor of Maryland to calm down the electorate, election violence continued more or less throughout the rest of the 1850s.<sup>30</sup> American party clubs like the Plug Uglies, Rip Raps, and Screw Boats stood ready to defend the polls against the Democratic party's Double Pumps, Gumballs, and Butt Enders with a deadly array of weapons ranging from guns to cannons.<sup>31</sup> Voters who did not show their brightly-colored or "striped" ballots on the right polls were jostled and scared away.

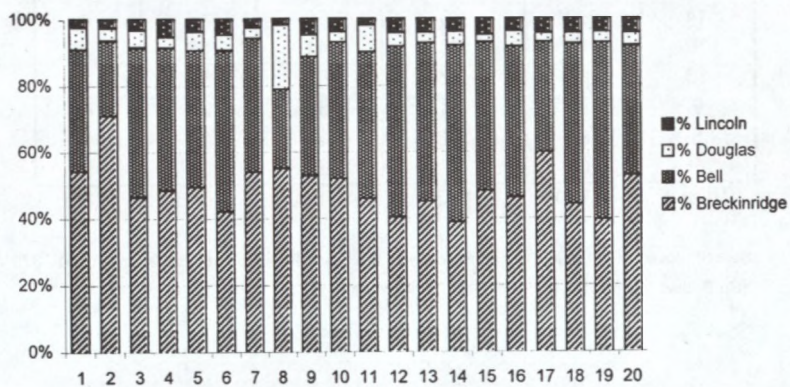
In this situation, German voters who had previously cast their tickets overwhelmingly for the Democrats decided it was better to abstain from voting than to risk their health. After 1856, the Know-Nothings' control of the polls made the densest German wards in the city an American party stronghold. Only in 1860 could German voters return to their former allegiance as violence was calmed by new police legislation the Democrats enforced after they had regained power in the state.<sup>32</sup>

The comeback of the Democrats was made possible by the Know-Nothings' own failure. The American party did not succeed in enacting its nativist program in the short sessions of the legislature in Annapolis. In 1858, Know-Nothings furthermore had to learn that their last hope to speed up and to change the legislative process—a proposal for a new constitutional convention—was rejected by the voters. And although the Know Nothings in Maryland retreated from their nativist appeals in the second half of the decade and tried to place themselves as the defender of the Union, they could not get rid of the Democrats' accusation that they were the party of Northern Puritan-minded abolitionists. After the raid at Harper's Ferry brought home the dangers of a real conflict that Know-Nothings had tried to ignore, they quickly lost their firm hold on the state. In 1860, Baltimoreans returned to their former allegiance by electing a Democratic mayor. Three weeks later, in the presidential elections, Marylanders chose the candidate of the Southern Democrats, John C. Breckinridge with only a 522 vote majority over John Bell, the candidate of the Constitutional Union party. Former Know-Nothing voters felt especially attracted by the Unionist appeals of the Bell party. In Baltimore as in Maryland as a whole, the other two parties in the presidential contest of 1860—the Republicans (Lincoln) and the Northern Democrats with Stephen A. Douglas as their candidate—ranked only as a far distant third.<sup>33</sup>

Among the wards in Baltimore which showed the most solid majority for the Breckinridge Democrats were those with the heaviest concentrations of Germans in the city. Republican votes, on the other hand, were evenly spread out in Baltimore. The Germans' unanimity on election day is a sure sign that Republicans had virtually no appeal among German voters. In order to find out why that was the case we now must turn to the two newspapers to explore the issues at stake.

Table 2  
Baltimore's Election Returns for the 1860 Presidential Elections

Ward	% Breckinridge	% Bell	% Douglas	% Lincoln
1	54.4	36.8	6.6	2.3
2	71.3	22.4	3.9	2.5
3	46.6	45.0	5.4	3.1
4	48.5	43.0	3.3	5.2
5	49.6	41.3	5.5	3.6
6	42.3	48.3	4.9	4.5
7	54.1	40.4	3.1	2.4
8	55.2	24.0	19.3	1.6
9	53.0	36.0	6.5	4.6
10	52.1	41.1	3.0	3.8
11	46.1	44.1	8.1	1.7
12	40.5	51.3	4.1	4.1
13	45.3	47.6	3.1	4.0
14	39.0	53.1	4.1	3.8
15	48.3	44.8	2.2	4.8
16	46.3	45.4	4.7	3.6
17	60.0	33.1	2.6	4.2
18	44.4	48.1	3.4	4.2
19	39.7	53.2	3.1	4.0
20	52.8	39.0	3.9	4.4
Total n	14950	12599	1502	1084



Source: Baltimore Sun, November 7, 1860



Table 3  
**Baltimore Heads of Household by Ethnic and National  
 Origins sorted by German Heads of Household, 1860**

Ward	German	German %	Native %	Irish %	British %
1	1653	68	17	13	2
2	1254	55	31	11	3
17	1145	38	51	8	2
3	914	32	53	12	3
18	722	23	54	19	5
8	717	49	38	11	2
19	713	31	54	12	3
7	661	23	59	15	3
16	471	33	56	9	3
15	468	34	47	16	3
20	448	40	26	31	3
6	443	32	55	11	2
12	416	34	48	15	3
4	400	37	50	10	3
14	282	30	53	12	4
10	270	46	41	10	3
13	233	22	62	13	3
9	197	28	39	29	4
5	163	41	45	10	4
11	160	12	60	24	3
Total n	11730	11730	15610	4633	968

Source: Joseph Garonzik, "Urbanization and the Black Population of Baltimore, 1850-1870"  
 (Ph.D. diss., State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1974), 56, table II-7.



## The Tale of Two Newspapers

### *Der Deutsche Correspondent*

An analysis of this newspaper shows why it was the southern Democrats—with the help of their German partisan paper *Der Deutsche Correspondent*—who better addressed the needs and anxieties of the majority of the German voters in the city. For *Der Deutsche Correspondent* American society in the late 1850s was dominated by extremisms. A diverse array of radical movements manifested themselves, ranging from abolitionism to Republicanism and temperance to Know-Nothingism. The latter two were especially abhorred by the *Correspondent*. When the leader of the Baltimore Know-Nothing delegation, William Alexander, brought forth one of the cornerstones of the Know-Nothing party program by presenting a bill in the Maryland legislature which would have limited the naturalization power of state courts, the *Correspondent* commented that Alexander “is totally insane and as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour.” In short, he was “a candidate for the madhouse,” as the article was titled.<sup>34</sup> The debates that followed concentrated on the constitutional legality of this bill. The *Correspondent* quoted at length the Democrat delegate Belt when he claimed that “the immigrant devotes his diligence, powers, and all his might to the land of adoption and it would be cowardly of the ‘American party’ to accuse him that his naturalization would destroy the republic.”<sup>35</sup> It was bad luck for the Know-Nothings—and good fortune for the immigrants—that they could not accomplish what they would have liked to in the legislature. Soon this bill, as well as their other nativist counterparts, was buried in committees which led the *Correspondent* to note cheerfully that the Know-Nothings were now “quiet as a mouse” about this proposal.<sup>36</sup>

When the short legislative session in Annapolis came to an end in March 1858, the *Correspondent* was acerbic about the success of the Know-Nothings in the legislature. The paper commented that although “the Know-Nothing party underscored on every occasion that ‘Americans’—meaning the people who belong to the gloomy lodge of the Know-Nothings—must be the ones to rule the republic,” the outcome of the session was a “miserable one.”<sup>37</sup> Despite the fact that the Know-Nothings had the “excellent opportunity to prove before the world that they understand how to rule,” the session demonstrated “the total incompetence of this party to govern at all.”<sup>38</sup> Thus, the paper hoped that the Know-Nothings, after having “governed us to the point that nearly nothing was left to be bungled,” would not have “any more opportunities to show us additional examples of their administrative skills.”<sup>39</sup>

The erring Know-Nothing party was an easy target to explain the troublesome conditions which prevailed in the state of Maryland and in Baltimore in particular. In the eyes of Wilhelm Raine, they stood for the evil forces which reigned over local politics and had destroyed the once existing tranquility. “Know-Nothingism,” Wilhelm Raine announced in February of 1858, “leads to bloodshed and revolution.”<sup>40</sup> Yet, in Raine’s perception of the conditions of society at large, Know-Nothings were only one expression of American radicalism. There were also the other extremist



movements, like "Black Republicans," the "fanatic abolitionists," and the "temperance humbug." Again and again he lashed out against these other extremes in American society. In the editorials and articles of the *Correspondent*, all four of these extremes were fused together as having originated from the same mindset. Every one of these "humbugs" had come from the Northern "fanatics in Massachusetts who are the creators of abolitionism in its most disgusting form, of Know-Nothingism, and of Black-Republicanism."<sup>41</sup> The Bay State was also the source of the "temperance-humbug who had made so much fuss in recent years about the Maine-Liquor-Law."<sup>42</sup>

Clearly, it was precisely in Massachusetts that extremism was at its height. The Maine Law, the "notoriously ill-famed law which even in Maine was totally impossible to carry out," Raine wrote, "is still fully enforced in Massachusetts, although the number of bars and alcoholics increases daily since the ban on the sale of intoxicating liquors."<sup>43</sup> The removal of a local judge from the bench by the Massachusetts state legislature after he had upheld the fugitive slave law gave occasion for the *Correspondent* to say that "again, the Yankees of Massachusetts have proved that they are not worthy of being citizens of the United States."<sup>44</sup> The paper asserted that the judge had only "dared, in accordance with his oath, to show obedience to the laws of the United States."<sup>45</sup>

It was hence consistent when the *Correspondent* made the connection between the Republican party and the American party as being attracted to each other by their common roots. In March 1858 the paper announced that the Know-Nothings were "flirting with the Black-Republicans in the North and West," and in April it notified its readers that in Cincinnati the Republican convention had chosen well known Know-Nothings for municipal offices.<sup>46</sup> Obviously, the *Correspondent* even perceived the Republicans as being a Know-Nothing party under a different name. This party which had first raved against foreigners tried now to attract those immigrant voters it had formerly lashed out against. This becomes evident when the *Correspondent* elatedly revealed that the editor of a local (obviously Republican) newspaper had made "a very naïve disclosure by saying that the Republican leaders 'would like to train the Germans for the servile job of kissing the rod which had beaten us.'"<sup>47</sup>

Abolitionism also had its origin in Massachusetts, and according to Raine this was another example of American extremism intermingled with the opposed Black Republicanism. Often, the paper described how badly blacks were treated in "the so-called free states."<sup>48</sup> This was compared with the positive situation in the slave states where every slave trader who behaved unjustly "would be despised by every man he encountered."<sup>49</sup>

Remarkably, these beliefs were obviously consistent through the decades. After the Civil War the *Correspondent* still found that "the black robed puritans had caused the most fuss in this republic in a half century, had caused the troubling Civil War, and are to blame for our debt, on which we will have to pay for many years."<sup>50</sup>

Against all these supposed extremisms and threats pouring down on the South by the Northern Yankees, the *Correspondent* took a position stressing the importance of adhering to the Union. On the occasion of the dismissal of Judge Loring in Massachusetts, the *Correspondent* wrote that "this fanaticism in Massachusetts increases



the animosity between North and South. At a time, when those fanatics changed tactics from only empty threats to physical assault, the calm observer will interpret the resistance against the valid laws of the United States as being felonious and as endangering the inner peace of the Union."<sup>51</sup> To rescue "the inner peace of the Union" was also the main mission for the newspaper as it informed its readers about the Kansas debates in Congress in the spring of 1858. At issue was the acceptance of Kansas as a new state under the pro-slavery Lecompton Constitution after the territorial elections of 21 December 1857.<sup>52</sup> Not only was Kansas the dominant topic in the congressional debates in this year but it "also caused the sectional tensions between North and South to break out with more and more bitterness."<sup>53</sup> In this situation "our readers will certainly hope for the settlement of the unfinished Kansas election dispute. That this is close, we hope with our whole heart."<sup>54</sup> In these debates the *Correspondent* felt that President Buchanan was fighting a patriotic battle to rescue the shattered Union which had to be preserved. "President Buchanan is not fighting for slavery; he is not defending the Lecompton Constitution because it makes concessions to the South: He appeals to patriotism in this country, in order to turn away once again the threatening danger with the help of a new compromise."<sup>55</sup> But even Raine doubted that "in our republic, which suffers from so many deficiencies, there is enough capability for patriotic sacrifice, to protect the country from anarchy. May God help us."<sup>56</sup> As the debates about Kansas drew to a close at the beginning of May 1858—which left Congress one month to decide about all other daily business—the outlook for the *Correspondent* had darkened considerably. "It is highly regrettable that in Congress, party interests and political ambitions are superior to patriotic motives. Through this, the people are more and more alienated from national interests every day."<sup>57</sup>

Altogether, the ideology which the *Correspondent* laid out for its readers mirrored very strongly the viewpoint advanced by the Democratic party in the 1850s. Democrats cast themselves as the party which would not interfere with the rights of the individual. They were, in the words of Horatio Seymour, the "let alone party," while the Republicans "were a meddling party."<sup>58</sup> Prewar Democrats were generally suspicious of legislation, and their antistatism opposed the numerous threats originating from New England Puritan values. In general, Democrats were, as Jean Baker writes "for state rather than national government, for white rather than black, and for freedom rather than control."<sup>59</sup> Democrats contrasted their ideals of a pluralistic society against the attacks of Puritan reformers, thereby posing themselves as the defenders of immigrant rights. On the state level, their ideology led them to oppose local politics which attempted to change the private habits of the people, be it drinking, church-going, or schooling.<sup>60</sup>

It was the Democrats' conservative ideology—advanced in the pages of the *Correspondent*—which attracted the German voters in the city. Compared to a party which had made its anti-foreigner policy a cornerstone of its program, the Democratic party appeared to be the only feasible choice. For the Germans in Baltimore who endured the Know-Nothing rule of the city, the Democrats presented themselves as the proven alternative. In comparison to the Know-Nothings but also to the small Republican party



in Maryland, Democrats appeared not to be part of the Puritan threat to change the private habits of the individual. They offered to leave the Germans in the city alone, thereby preserving the traditional way society had worked. Thus, Democrats were attractive for German voters in Baltimore because in contrast to the Republican or to the Know-Nothing party, they offered the safety and stability needed in these times of change.

On the national level, the ideology of the Democrats also seemed to promise security in times of disruption. Allegiance to Union and constitution, emphasized by the Democrats in the form of vague appeals to patriotism and peace was very common in the border state of Maryland. Appeals to assemble under the Union flag appeared to be a prescription against the disruptive conditions which seemed to prevail nationwide. In general, such appeals served two purposes. On the one hand, they voiced concern over the growing division between North and South. On the other hand, they increased political unity in times of disruption.<sup>61</sup> Although both leading parties in Maryland—the Know-Nothings and Democrats—expressed those appeals, the American party clearly had no attention among the Germans. It was the Democrats who seemed to quell those apprehensions the *Correspondent* had laid out. Adherence to the Union under the guidance of the Democrats would not only limit the possibility that Puritan lawmakers would dominate the Union but would also prevent the state and nation from being torn apart between North and South.

Racist undercurrents were also part of the Democrats' appeal among their German followers. The *Correspondent's* opposition to Puritan-guided abolitionism was not only another example of the paper's fears of disorder which would prevail when Yankee lawmakers would have their way. Its anti-abolitionism also reveals that racism obviously struck a deeper chord of anxieties among its readers. Like their American countrymen, Germans were not free from racial prejudices. In nineteenth century German literature, for example, blacks were depicted as being stupid and foolish and when one of Germany's foremost philosophers of this time, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, wrote about the "Negro" as being "nothing more than a savage," he seemed to express the Democrats' familiar appeal of the supremacy of the white man.<sup>62</sup> The Democrats' ideology promised to keep blacks under firm control and not to rewrite the racial legislation which confined the freedom of blacks in Maryland. This might have appealed to the Germans in Baltimore who had carved out an occupational niche for themselves that guaranteed them a position above the blacks' occupational stratum. In order to fight economic insecurities which might have resulted if blacks would roam uncontrolled, it seemed the best to keep government in white Democratic hands.

Therefore, it is understandable that the *Correspondent* faithfully supported the pro-Southern and pro-slavery candidate Breckinridge in the presidential campaign in 1860 and urged its readers to vote for the Southern Democrats.<sup>63</sup> Obviously, German voters felt attracted by the rallies of the Breckinridge Democrats who called for their "German friends [to] give a united, a patriotic shout, for *the Union and the Constitution*, against all fanatics, factionists and disunionists."<sup>64</sup> On 6 November, the vote in the three wards with the highest German concentration in the city, numbers one, two, and seventeen was overwhelmingly in favor of Breckinridge.<sup>65</sup> Clearly, the Southern Democrats'



ideology, which presented the party as the solution against the evils and disruptive forces of the extremist American society, appealed to the anxieties of the German voters in Baltimore. The choice was made easier by the fact that the Constitutional Union party of John Bell had strong connections to the former Whig and Know-Nothing parties although his party platform made no mention of nativism.<sup>66</sup> Against this dominant Democratic orientation of the Baltimore German community, the only Republican newspaper in the state of Maryland, published in German by a number of idealistic-minded forty-eighters in the city, had a difficult stand.

### *The Baltimore Wecker*

The focus of all argumentation for the *Wecker's* editors was the burning question of slavery. In denouncing slavery, however, the paper maintained a distinctively German standpoint. Rapp made clear at the beginning of the presidential election year of 1856 that the liberation of the slaves was not the focal point of controversy between the Democratic and the Republican party. "Once and for all. The whole so-called 'Race-question' is a waste of time," as he put it.<sup>67</sup> Rather, the question of the expansion of slavery stood at the center of the controversy. "The efforts of the *Republican* party are not directed towards *abolition*, but only against the *expansion* of slavery."<sup>68</sup> And this is in fact "not only a '*black* question' but a very '*white*' one."<sup>69</sup> Basically, it was the quest to secure the western territories for free—not slave—labor. "It is of greatest concern whether a land as big as a couple of European kingdoms should be left to the sole basic and medieval production of raw material or whether craft and trade should flourish there by the work of free whites."<sup>70</sup> The core of the debates was then that "the *dark* race should not have any latitude at the expense of the *white* race."<sup>71</sup> Thus, the paper argued so strongly against slavery because it endangered the interest of the whites, in particular the interests of the Germans. The *Wecker* often underscored the fact that large numbers of immigrants were expected to arrive from Germany. "We know as sure as two times two is four that twelve million Germans will come over the ocean in the next twenty years" and that "immigration from Germany will not stop because Germany is really overpopulated."<sup>72</sup> For these German immigrants the *Wecker* strongly supported the passage of the Homestead Bill which would offer settlers title to public land after a certain period of cultivation, for only a nominal fee. It was in the West where the ideal of individuals working hard as free men on free soil living from the fruits of their free labor could be realized.<sup>73</sup> Hence, settling down in states where slavery existed held no appeal for immigrants. The *Wecker* pointed out the devastating conditions slavery caused there for non-slave-holding whites. "In the South, the whites who do not own or oversee slaves are, at best, limited to low-wage work in the fields or—partly deterred from working together at this kind of work in the humiliating association with slaves—to dwell on the frontier of civilization in a state of half savagery where they sink deeper into the cesspool of barbarism with every generation."<sup>74</sup> In short, slavery had a devastating effect on a society based on free, (immigrant) labor, and it was because of these infringements on the ideals of a free society that the *Wecker* despised slavery.



Consequently, the paper detested the people who joined together with the slave aristocracy in the Southern states. The *Wecker*, however, distinguished carefully between Americans and immigrants. In an article obviously written by Rapp, he argued that the adherence of Americans who grew up in the Southern slave states to their "peculiar institution" was excusable: "One should not hate those who fall victim to an evil which their fathers inherited from older generations."<sup>75</sup> There was, however, no excuse for Germans showing any positive attitude towards the institution of slavery in the South. In a remarkable sentence, which shows Rapp's strong writing style, he exclaims: "Let us apply all our hate and all our disdain to a certain dirty, servile type of German subservient soul who, nurtured with the milk of mild thoughts and raised under the pressure of social and political mischiefs, only swam over the ocean to this new world with the intention of helping to consolidate and to perpetuate an evil which, when luxuriating, will turn the land of freedom into a damned miserable valley of bandits."<sup>76</sup> It was particularly difficult for the editors of the *Wecker* to understand how German immigrants, coming from a land where they had fought for more personal freedom and democracy, could support the principles of slavery. They suspected the Germans here and there were following their inherent blind faith in higher authority ("Unterthanentreue"), instead of thinking for themselves about the present political developments from a distinct "German-American standpoint."<sup>77</sup>

In sum, the editors' line of argumentation was very similar to the beliefs maintained by the majority of the Republican party, albeit with a twist to appeal to German immigrants. The chances and opportunities free labor had to offer to German immigrants stood against the interests of the slave owners' aristocracy which attempted to spread the peculiar institution to every corner of the nation.<sup>78</sup> The white slaveholders were presented as a growing threat to white liberties doing everything to secure and expand their peculiar institution by exercising political power in the nation.<sup>79</sup> In this situation it was in the Germans' own interest to fight the slave aristocracy of the South thereby continuing the revolutionary tradition of standing up against aristocratic oppressors.

In arguing against the slave power the *Wecker* made sure not to hurt the racial predispositions of its German readers. Quite frequently the paper tried to soften the abolitionist appeals of the Republican party. It underscored the fact that nobody had to fear that the Republicans would attempt to mix the black and white races. In addressing the apprehensions of a German female reader, the *Wecker* pointed out that "the party of Mr. Lincoln expressly wishes that your sons marry white girls and your girls marry white lads, and that you keep your white husbands."<sup>80</sup>

It was the belief that slavery would have dangerous consequences for democracy in general and the immigrants in particular which made the *Wecker* an ardent follower of the Republican party. In Maryland, this party affiliation, under the unique party system of the state in the 1850s, presented the paper with a problem. On the one hand, it could not follow the Democrats, the party of the "Southern cotton knights." On the other hand, to endorse the nativist stance of the American party was no alternative either. Yet, it was to deny the obvious, that some elements of a nativist ideology were infiltrating the ranks of the Republican party. Thus, while the squires' Democratic slave owners'



party always remained the greater evil, the *Wecker* played down the threats posed by the Know-Nothing party.

Maintaining such a standpoint was certainly aided by the fate of the national organization of the American party, which broke up in February 1856 after its Northern and Southern wings could not decide how to reach a mutual standpoint on the slavery question, let alone on a common presidential candidate.<sup>81</sup> Over the following years the Know-Nothing party continued to be "gagged by itself over the slavery question," as the *Wecker* ascertained in 1858, hence admitting "that it no longer takes any interest in the development process taking place in the life of the American parties."<sup>82</sup> Thus, the *Wecker* never again perceived the Know-Nothings as a serious threat again for German Republicans—as long as party platforms stayed clean of nativist elements. "Know-Nothingism," the *Wecker* pointed out in 1858, "was an acute but not chronic disease and ceased to be dangerous after the national convention of the Know-Nothings broke up over the slavery question."<sup>83</sup> Attempts by the remaining elements of the Know-Nothing party in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and elsewhere to get nativist-oriented elements into the party platform were deemed by the paper to be dumb and shabby tricks.<sup>84</sup> The *Wecker* hoped that after the defeat of those measures, the misguided state party organizations would return "to the honorable standpoint which they took with such splendid success in the great battle of 1856."<sup>85</sup>

The early death of the American national party organization and the diminishing influence of the remaining nativist elements inside the Republican party explains why the *Wecker* no longer perceived the Know-Nothings in Maryland as a serious threat after 1856. The *Wecker* was certainly a violent opponent of the nativist measures of the Know-Nothing party in the state as its German language counterpart was. When the leader of the Baltimore Know-Nothing delegation William Alexander proposed his naturalization bill, he was also a "candidate for the madhouse" and the *Wecker* generally referred to him likewise as the "foreigner gobbler" ("Fremdenfresser").<sup>86</sup> The *Wecker* joked about Alexander strongly supporting the allocation of funds for the building of a lunatic hospital because Alexander "instinctively anticipated his future 'residence.'"<sup>87</sup> In general, for the *Wecker*, the American party in the legislature and the political clubs which defended the polls so eagerly, were only composed of the radical elements of the party. After the fall election of 1858, it found that "a lot [of the Know-Nothings] confess in private talks openly and freely that they are ashamed of their party's being dominated by the scum of society, and the Roughians, Plugs, and Blood Tubs."<sup>88</sup> And, at the same time, the *Wecker* reminded its readers that it was the Democratic party which first "exercised the brutal violence against the Whigs," and that it was the Democrats who "are responsible for all crimes connected with election fraud."<sup>89</sup> It was clear that the Know-Nothing party, after its failure on the national level, was also on the decline locally. Hence, the real enemy was still the "servile Democratic party," which the paper lashed out against. In fighting against the slave power and its followers, the threat of the Know-Nothing party was becoming only an interlude.

United with the paper's opposition to the Democrats was the *Wecker's* anti-religious stand. The latter is not surprising considering the fact that the *Wecker*



was published by rationalistic-minded forty-eighters. Those whom they called Jesuits were their preferred target and when they spoke of them as "the poisonous and insatiable cross spider which habitually spins its threads everywhere where souls and goods are to be grabbed" these words were not altogether different from those used by the Know-Nothings.<sup>90</sup> In Baltimore, however, the "system and activities" of the Redemptorists and their missionary activities among German Catholics were a more visible target for the *Wecker*.<sup>91</sup> In the same article in which the *Wecker* assured its female reader that Lincoln did not intend to mix black and whites, it pointed out that the Redemptorist fathers were the ones who "recruit black, black-brown, yellow-brown, yellow, and yellow-white 'niggers' as nuns to stick into convents."<sup>92</sup> Jesuits and Redemptorists were closely associated with the Democratic party. As the election of 1860 approached, the *Wecker* stated that it was now time to end "the domination of the 'democratic' party in the Union, which is allied with the Jesuits and Redemptorists."<sup>93</sup>

Yet, suspicion of religious clerics was only an undercurrent in the reports of the *Wecker*. The slavery question and its implications for the interests of the Germans stood at the forefront of its argumentation. Accordingly, the *Wecker* started to support the candidacy of William Henry Seward already in 1858 by describing him "as an upright opponent of slavery."<sup>94</sup> To be sure, nativist concerns were still important. When the *Wecker* was describing possible presidential candidates before the 1860 Republican national convention in Chicago, it was praising Seward not only as the "sole true statesman of the *American* present" but also as a defender of immigrants' rights under all circumstances in the past and present.<sup>95</sup>

Hence, the paper considered it very unfortunate that the Blair family set out in the border states of Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri to support Judge Edward Bates of Missouri as their nominee for presidential candidate. While the Blairs hoped to show through the nomination of a mild anti-slavery man that the Republicans were not a purely sectional party, the *Wecker* pointed out in the same review where it spoke so favorably of Seward, that Bates "has only mediocre talents, has been removed from politics for thirty years and was favoring the Know-Nothings until not long ago."<sup>96</sup>

The Blairs did not succeed in nominating their favorite candidate, and thus the outcome of three days of party conventioning in Chicago was the nomination of Abraham Lincoln as presidential candidate. This was the same man whom the *Wecker* at the beginning of the convention had only known to describe as "the greatest dialectician in America. Brilliant and peculiar."<sup>97</sup> This lack of information, however, soon changed after Lincoln was chosen as the presidential nominee. Now the paper could not stop praising this candidate whose "nomination was received with such enthusiasm that it came close to madness."<sup>98</sup> It was he who had written in "an *open* letter to the German Doctor Cassius in Springfield" that he was "firmly against every restriction of the rights of the white men, no matter which country they were born in and which language they speak."<sup>99</sup> And finally, the *Wecker* emphasized that Lincoln was "against the mixture of the black and white race."<sup>100</sup> Thus, after the Republican party moved to court (especially German) immigrant voters by adopting an expressively anti-nativist platform and



candidate, the *Wecker* could point with relief to the stand of its favorite party. Not only were Republicans against the expansion of slavery and for a Homestead Bill, two elements which would closely worked together to secure the territories in the West for slave-free (German) settlements; but also, Republicans had now clearly demonstrated that they were against nativism.<sup>101</sup>

As the crucial months of October and November approached, the propaganda efforts of the *Wecker* towards its German readers intensified. The paper started to point to other elements in the Republican program besides those above mentioned core planks, thus mirroring the Republicans' attempt to broaden their appeal among their voters. By this time, Republicans were also the party which argued for high tariffs to protect the domestic industry, planned to build a transcontinental railroad, favored internal improvements, and attempted to bring Kansas into the Union as a free state.<sup>102</sup>

In October, the paper happily announced that now "Wide Awakes will be set up in the city stimulated by the prospects for the victory of the Republican Party."<sup>103</sup> This coincided with the establishment of the Baltimore office of the Republican party, in which five days later the first Republican meeting was held. Led by Montgomery Blair and Baltimore Judge William Marshall, the German Republicans were represented by Dr. Georg Edward Wiß, editor of the national *Turnzeitung*, and William Rapp, the editor of the *Wecker*.<sup>104</sup> Wiß stated "in front of the assembled Americans that the Germans who still support the Democrats do so because of their misguided understanding of the name 'Democracy,' which is considered a hallowed name in Europe" and pointed out that it was one of the urgent demands of the Germans that the remaining parts of the Know-Nothing should not be accepted within the ranks of the Republican organization.<sup>105</sup> As the critical November date approached, German Republicans called a meeting at the *Turnhalle*—obviously to rally their fellow Turners for the last mass assembly of Republicans before election day to be held in the Front Street Theater. Again, the familiar line-up of speakers—Marshall, Rapp, Wiß, Adolph Wiesner (coeditor of the *Turnzeitung*) among others—asserted that the Republicans in Baltimore were not the party of the Know-Nothings but that those elements were to be found in both wings of the Democratic party and in the Constitutional Union party. The next day, the Turners paraded alongside the Wide Awakes to the Front Street Theater, a location which obviously was considered to be safer than the open-air site at Monument Square, since the first outdoor Republican rally had been shouted down by opponents and ended in a hail of stones and eggs.<sup>106</sup>

## Conclusion

Despite all these propaganda efforts, the Germans in the city stayed faithfully with the Democratic party on election day. The election returns by ward did not show a greater affinity for the Republicans in the strongly German first, second and seventeenth wards than anywhere else in the city. Lincoln voters were evenly spread out around the city and every ward had its share of Republican votes,



ranging from twenty-two in the eighth ward to eighty-three in the fifteenth ward.<sup>107</sup> Although the *Wecker* tried to make the best out of this defeat—"it is a fact that the 1,084 votes for Lincoln *were almost only German votes*"—the Republicans could not and did not appeal to the Germans in Baltimore.<sup>108</sup> Instead they voted, as we have already seen, with a clear and overwhelmingly strong majority for the candidate of the Southern Democrats, John C. Breckinridge.

For the majority of voters, the appeals of the *Wecker's* forty-eight publishers must have been unfamiliar. In a time when "the state level of politics was beyond doubt the most important," as Michael Holt has pointed out, their reference to the dangers of the Democratic slave power and of slavery expansion into a distant territory was not what their fellow countrymen in Baltimore were concerned with.<sup>109</sup> The forty-eighters' nationalized appeals and their attempts to play down the threats of the Know-Nothing party did not meet the anxieties and fears of the Germans in a city which was so long dominated by the American party. In this light, the last minute attempts of the German Republicans to build up the Lincoln party in Baltimore as an anti-nativist force appeared to be half-hearted efforts. Obviously, the Democratic party appeared to be the much more convincing anti-nativist, anti-"meddling" alternative. And although the *Wecker* tried to appeal to the German voters "to further increase the total popular vote for Lincoln so that a strong Lincoln vote in the slave states will prove that the Republican party is a truly national one which did not grow in the South only because of the pressure of the ruling aristocracy and its slave, the federal government," the paper obviously did not succeed in overcoming the impression that the Republicans were only a sectional party whose election would result in the breakup of the Union.<sup>110</sup> In addition, the Republicans' belated attempts to position their party as the guardian of the German worker by the means of protective tariffs and nation-wide economic progress were apparently not enough to overcome the racial fears of those German voters who were concerned with their economic well-being. Democrats seemed much more likely than Republicans to secure economic success by limiting blacks to occupations in which they would not compete with German workers. Altogether, nativism, fears about the delicate situation of Maryland between the North and the South, the inappropriate appeals for anti-slavery, and subliminal racial anxieties were far too strong to be overcome by the propaganda efforts of the German Republicans. Thus, the forty-eighters and their followers stayed largely among themselves when it came to voting for the Republican candidate.

Other factors also played a role. Nearly half of all the Germans in the city were Catholics and voting for a party whose only supporting paper was strongly anti-clerical, was out of the question. Besides, the Republicans in Maryland never had a chance to overcome the strong party machine, on which the Breckinridge Democrats could rely in the state. In this situation, it was safer, easier, and perhaps also much more promising for the German voters in the city to remain within the ranks of the Democrats, the party which had been in power in Baltimore before the rise of the Know Nothings and which now once again had returned to dominate the politics of the city.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> "Jede Roheit, jede Entsittlichung, jede nur denkbare Bestialität charakterisiert das amerikanische Knotenthum," *Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 5 May 1858. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Social Science History Association Conference in New Orleans in 1996.

<sup>2</sup> Two early articles seemed to confirm that German immigrants were strongly in favor of the Republicans: William E. Dodd, "The Fight for the Northwest, 1860," *American Historical Review* 16 (1911): 774-88, and Donnal V. Smith, "The Influence of the Foreign-Born of the Northwest in the Election of 1860," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 19 (1932): 192-204. Most of the essays examining the voting behavior of the German immigrants in the Midwest have been conveniently assembled in Frederick C. Luebke, ed., *Ethnic Voters and the Election of Lincoln* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971); in addition see Thomas W. Kremm, "Cleveland and the First Lincoln Election: The Ethnic Response to Nativism," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 8 (1977): 69-86; Richard L. McCormick, *The Party Period and Public Policy: American Politics from the Age of Jackson to the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 34-36; also the recent discussion of the issue by Walter D. Kamphoefner, "German Americans and Civil War Politics: A Reconsideration of the Ethnocultural Thesis," *Civil War History* 37 (1991): 232-246 and Lesley Ann Kawaguchi, "Diverging Political Affiliations and Ethnic Perspectives: Philadelphia Germans and Antebellum Politics," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 13 (1994): 3-29.

<sup>3</sup> The paper had been a democratic supporter until the spring of 1854, when Schnauffer decided to leave the party's rank because he opposed the concept of popular sovereignty introduced by the Kansas-Nebraska act, see *Baltimore Wecker*, 17 May 1860: "it was exactly because of this principle [popular sovereignty], which is *vicious* and *brutal* in its innermost character, that the *Wecker* left the Democratic party forever in the spring of 1854" ("Eben dieses Prinzips halber, das in seinem innersten Wesen *unsittlich* und *gewaltsam* ist, hat ja der 'Wecker' noch unter seinem Gründer im Frühjahr 1854 die demokratische Partei für immer verlassen"). See also *Baltimore Wecker* from 8 January 1857 in which 1854 is described as "the year of shame"; for Schnauffer see Adolf E. Zucker, "Carl Heinrich Schnauffer," *Twenty-Fourth Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* (1939): 17-23.

<sup>4</sup> See Heinrich Metzner, *Geschichte des Turner-Bundes* (Indianapolis: Zukunft, 1874), 25, 32-39, 46, the quote is from page 25.

<sup>5</sup> Circulation figures for both papers are difficult to obtain. In 1850, the *Correspondent* was the fourth largest paper in the city (after the *Baltimore Sun* [30,000], the *Baltimore American* [5,500], and the *Republican and Argus* [5,000]) with 4,000 copies daily, see R. S. Fisher, *Gazetteer of the State of Maryland, Compiled from the Returns of the Seventh Census of the United States and Other Official Documents. To which is Added a General Account of the District of Columbia* (Baltimore: James S. Waters, 1852), 39-40; Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *The German Language Press of the Americas*, vol. 1, *History and Bibliography 1732-1968: United States of America* (München: Verlag Dokumentation, 1976), 197-98. Unfortunately, we do not have circulation figures for the *Wecker* for the 1850s and 1860s. Both are the longest lasting German-language papers in the state. The *Correspondent* was published until 1955, the *Wecker* until 1911.

<sup>6</sup> Deutsches Literarisches Bureau, *Baltimore, seine Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des deutschen Elements* (Baltimore: C. C. Bartgis & Brothers, 1887), 281-83; "In Memoriam Friedrich Raine," *Seventh Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* (1892-1893): 73. Both papers are partly preserved for the pre-Civil War decade. The *Correspondent's* files are intact for the period from January to June 1858 and from 1866 onwards, while records of the *Wecker* exist for the first half of both 1856 and 1859, and in full for the year 1858 and the years after 1859.

<sup>7</sup> For Baltimore's absolute numbers in 1850 see Fisher, 52. For a convenient comparison of census figures with regard to the Germans' urban concentration see Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Germans," in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, Stephan Thernstrom, ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1980), 413, table 4.

<sup>8</sup> See Joseph Garonzik "Urbanization and the Black Population of Baltimore, 1850-1870" (Ph.D. diss., State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1974), 48, table II-1.

<sup>9</sup> D. Randall Beirne, "The Impact of Black Labor on European Immigration into Baltimore's Oldtown, 1790-1910," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 83 (1988): 336.

<sup>10</sup> Luebke, *Ethnic Voters*, 72; compare to *Baltimore Wecker*, 11 November 1860: "It is a clear fact that the



1,084 votes for Lincoln in Baltimore were nearly only German votes" ("Es ist eine feststehende Tatsache, daß die 1084 Stimmen für Lincoln in Baltimore fast allein deutsche Stimmen waren").

<sup>11</sup> Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans: A History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948), 267.

<sup>12</sup> William J. Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances: Maryland from 1850 to 1861* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 142.

<sup>13</sup> Jean H. Baker, *The Politics of Continuity: Maryland Political Parties from 1858 to 1870* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 38. In the latest account of Baltimore politics in the 1850s the immigrant population—after all 24% of the city's population in 1860—does not receive much attention at all, see Frank Towers, "Violence as a Tool of Party Dominance: Election Riots and the Baltimore Know-Nothings, 1854-1860," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 93 (1998): 5-37.

<sup>14</sup> After 1840 catholic mission-aid societies in the different states of Germany began an active attempt to convince prospective Catholic immigrants to settle in the first and premier diocese established in North America. As a result the number of German Catholics rose rapidly, from 4,000 in 1840 to 16,000 in 1857. This meant that in the 1850s nearly half of all Baltimore Germans were Catholic. German Catholics were especially active in founding a variety of Catholic societies ranging from libraries to mutual aid organizations. Only the Irish dominated temperance society was never popular among the Germans. Threatened by the anti-Catholic atmosphere of the 1850s, these institutions served to encourage the sense of community among church members. (Emmet H. Rothan, "The German Catholic Immigrant in the United States, 1830-1860" [O.F.M. diss., Catholic University of America, 1946], 26 and Thomas W. Spalding, *The Premier See: A History of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 1789-1989* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989], 21, 135-36, 143-45). German Lutherans and Reformed Protestants had founded fourteen churches in Baltimore by 1860. The best known Lutheran church was the Zion Church under the pastor Heinrich Scheib who led a freethinking and rationalist congregation not connected to any synod, see Jörg Echterkamp, "Emerging Ethnicity: The German Experience in Antebellum Baltimore," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 86 (1991): 5; C.F. Huch, "Die freireligiöse Bewegung unter den Deutschamerikanern," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Pionier-Vereins von Philadelphia* 11 (1909): 4; also Albert Bernhardt Faust, *The German Element in the United States: With Special Reference to its Political, Moral, Social, and Educational Influence*, rev. and enlarged (New York: Steuben Society, 1927), 2: 410-16.

<sup>15</sup> See Dieter Cunz, *A History of the Germania Club* (Baltimore: Society for the History of Germans in Maryland, 1940), and his *Maryland Germans*, 240-48.

<sup>16</sup> The importance of the local *Turnverein* was further emphasized by the fact that in 1852 and 1859 the *Verein* was the host of the national *Turnfest*. Also, the national *Turnzeitung* was edited in Baltimore between 1859 and 1861 and printed in the same offices as the *Wecker*. The editorial office of the *Turnzeitung* was removed from Baltimore after the April anti-union riots in 1861, see Cunz, *Maryland Germans*, 305-6, and Metzner, 14, 65, and 70.

<sup>17</sup> For membership numbers Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952), 149; Horst Ueberhorst, *Turner Unterm Sternbanner: Der Kampf der deutsch-amerikanischen Turner für Einheit, Freiheit und soziale Gerechtigkeit, 1848 bis 1918* (München: Heinz Moos Verlag, 1978), 58-60; Cunz, *Maryland Germans*, 248-51. Cunz mentions the *Bund freier Menschen* in *ibid.*, 275. This Society of Free Men had about sixty members in 1860. Meetings were held on Sunday mornings, a time which stood in clear conflict to church services.

<sup>18</sup> Hugo Gollmer, *Namensliste der Pioniere des Nord-Amerikanischen Turnerbundes der Jahre 1848-1863* (St. Louis: Henry Rauth, 1885), no page numbers, and Bruce Levine, *The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 92-93.

<sup>19</sup> Franz Josef Pitsch, *Die wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen Bremens zu den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Veröffentlichungen aus dem Staatsarchiv der Freien Hansestadt Bremen, vol. 42 (Bremen: Staatsarchiv der Freien Hansestadt Bremen, 1974), 150-54.

<sup>20</sup> In addition to the great numbers of skilled jobs such as carpenter or mason the Germans held, Baltimore Germans were also successful in serving their own countrymen as butchers, bakers, or innkeepers.

<sup>21</sup> For the industrial development of Baltimore in the pre-Civil War years see Gary Lawson Browne, *Baltimore in the Nation, 1789-1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 162-76.

<sup>22</sup> For occupational patterns see table 1 and Garonzik "Urbanization," 76, table III-2 and 123-25, table III-29 to III-31. The blacks' strong representation in the Professional and Personal Services category reflects their predominant employment as domestic servants or unspecified laborers. Between 1850 and 1860 the available skilled jobs for blacks declined considerably, due to immigrant competition, see



Patrick Joseph May, "The Residential Change of the Free Black Population of Baltimore, 1850-1860," (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, College Park, 1999), 95-100.

<sup>23</sup> William J. Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances: Maryland from 1850 to 1861* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 19-23.

<sup>24</sup> Wilhelm Raine, father of Friedrich Raine, published a campaign paper *Der Demokratische Whig* for the 1840 and 1844 presidential elections. During the 1844 elections, Wilhelm Raine was a leading member of the German Whig Club which received its main financial support from one of the wealthiest German merchant in the city Gustav W. Lührmann, see Cunz, *Maryland Germans*, 254, 267.

<sup>25</sup> Evitts, 31-42, 48-53; Jean H. Baker, *Ambivalent Americans: The Know-Nothing Party in Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 12; see also William E. Gienapp, *The Origins of the Republican Party, 1852-1856* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 16-19.

<sup>26</sup> Douglas Bowers, "Ideology and Political Parties in Maryland, 1851-1856," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 64 (1969): 211; Baker, *Ambivalent Americans*, 16-21; Evitts, 42-48, 54-57.

<sup>27</sup> In the second ward—the strongest German ward in the city (61% of heads of households were German in 1850) with the lowest number of native heads of households (25%)—only 27% of the voters favored the temperance candidate in 1853. By contrast, citywide the temperance candidate received between 45% and 62% of the vote (average 52%). For the returns see Evitts, table 4, p. 63, although his numbers do not add up. For a short description of the temperance movement Baker, *Ambivalent Americans*, 19, and Evitts, 59-62.

<sup>28</sup> For the most recent study of the Know Nothings' ideology see Tyler Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery: The Northern Know Nothings and the Politics of the 1850s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 103-7, 118.

<sup>29</sup> Evitts, *Matter of Allegiances*, 62-66, 80-88, 99.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 98; for a description of these riots see also Towers, 11-18; Michael Feldberg, *The Turbulent Era: Riot and Disorder in Jacksonian America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 59-61.

<sup>31</sup> Laurence Frederick Schmeckebier, *History of the Know Nothing Party in Maryland*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science 18 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1899), 43-44.

<sup>32</sup> In 1857 party allegiances in the second ward changed abruptly and markedly. In the years 1852 to 1856, the second ward had always polled a clear majority for the Democratic candidate, but through 1859 elected Know-Nothing candidates by wide margins if American party nominees were opposed at all during this time. The situation in the first ward was similar. There is some debate among historians how much election outcomes in Baltimore during this time reflect the free choice of the voters. Evitts designates the elections as "mockery" (117), while Baker maintains that election day riots only had a minimal statistical influence (*Ambivalent Americans*, 134). Recently, Towers has argued that the riots in key wards "transformed a narrow Know-Nothing majority into a broad one" thus securing the Know-Nothings' hold on the city (quote p. 18).

<sup>33</sup> Evitts, 118-153; Baker, *Ambivalent Americans*, 97-107. For a short analysis of the returns see Baker, *The Politics of Continuity*, 43-44.

<sup>34</sup> "Ein Candidat für's Tollhaus." Bill ist rein toll und zieht umher, wie ein brüllender Löwe und sucht wen er verschlinge" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 11 February 1858); this is a biblical quote from 1 Peter 5:8 AV (I am thankful to one of the anonymous reviewers for this reference).

<sup>35</sup> "Der Einwanderer widme seinen Fleiß, seine Kräfte und seine ganze Thätigkeit dem Lande der Adoption und es sei eine Feigheit der "amerikanischen Partei", ihm vorzuwerfen, daß seine Zulassung den Bau der Republik stürzen würde" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 20 February 1858).

<sup>36</sup> "Über Bill Alexander's famose Bill zur Erschwerung der Naturalisation der Einwanderer ist's unter den Know-Nothings mäuschenstill" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 1 March 1858).

<sup>37</sup> "Die zur Herrschaft gelangte Weißnichtspartei hat wieder einmal dargethan, daß sie das Regieren nicht versteht, obgleich sie als Hauptgrundsatz das Lösungswort bei jeder Gelegenheit im Munde führt, daß 'Amerikaner,' d.h. zu dem finsternen Orden gehörende Weißnichte, unsere Republik regieren müssen . . . das Resultat [war] ein höchst erbärmliches" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 16 March 1858).

<sup>38</sup> "Wir wurden mit einer Legislatur heimgesucht [wo] die Weißnichte eine glänzende Gelegenheit [hatten], es der Welt zu beweisen, daß die das Regieren aus dem FF verständen. Wie haben sie diese Gelegenheit benutzt? Wir glauben, so gut sie konnten; das Resultat liegt nur an der totalen Unfähigkeit jener Partei überhaupt zu regieren" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 16 March 1858).



<sup>39</sup> "Sie haben uns dergestalt regiert, daß kaum etwas zu verpfuschen übrig geblieben ist und sie werden hoffentlich keine Gelegenheit mehr bekommen, uns weitere Proben ihrer Regierungskunst abzulegen" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 16 March 1858).

<sup>40</sup> *Deutscher Correspondent*, 19 February 1858.

<sup>41</sup> "Die Fanatiker in Massachusetts sind die Urheber des Abolitionismus in seiner ekelhaftesten Gestalt, des Know-Nothingismus und des Schwarzrepublikanismus" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 25 March 1858.)

<sup>42</sup> "... wie z. B. den Temperenz-Humbug, der als Maine-Liquor-Gesetz vor einigen Jahren so vieles Aufsehens machte" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 19 Mai 1858).

<sup>43</sup> "Dieses berüchtigte Gesetz [Maine Law], welches sich selbst in Maine als praktisch unausführbar erwiesen hat und deshalb annulliert wurde, ist zur Zeit in Massachusetts noch in vollster Kraft, obgleich auch dort seit dem Bestehen des Verbotes gegen den Verkauf berauschender Getränke sich mit jedem Tag die Zahl der Säuer und Trinklokale vermehrt" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 19 Mai 1858).

<sup>44</sup> Judge Edward G. Loring was forced by the Massachusetts legislature to leave the Suffolk County bench after he had decided to return a fugitive slave to the South in accordance with the federal fugitive slave law, see Allan Nevins, *Prologue to Civil War*, vol. 4 of *Ordeal of the Union* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950), 30. "Vor einigen Tagen haben die Yankees in Massachusetts wieder einmal den Beweis geliefert, daß sie es nicht verdienen, Bürger der Vereinigten Staaten zu sein" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 25 March 1858).

<sup>45</sup> "Das neuste Probchen von Yankeefanatismus ist die Amtsentsetzung des Hrn. Loring, eines Richters in Boston, und zwar deshalb, weil derselbe es wagte, seinem Amtseide gemäß, den Gesetzen der Ver. Staaten den schuldigen Gehorsam zu zollen" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 25 March 1858).

<sup>46</sup> *Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 1 and 10 March 1858; see also 31 May 1858 about fusionists' attempts to unite Know Nothings and Republicans in a joint opposition.

<sup>47</sup> "Die republikanische Convention hat nämlich meistens wohlbekannte Know-Nothings als Canidaten für die städtischen Ämter ernannt. Stephan Molitor macht in seinem Blatte ein sehr naives Geständnis, indem er sagt, die republikanischen Führer 'wollen die Deutschen zu der hündischen Aufgabe dressieren, die Ruthe zu küssen, die uns schlug.'" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 4 April 1858).

<sup>48</sup> *Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 25 March 1858.

<sup>49</sup> "In einem Sklavenstaat würde ein regelmäßiger Negerhändler, welcher sich eines solchen Verfahrens schuldig machen würde [refers to a negative incident in the slave trade], durch jeden Mann, dem er begegne, verachtet werden" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 25 March 1858).

<sup>50</sup> "Die puritanischen Schwarzröcke machten seit einem halben Jahrhundert den meisten Lärm in der Republik, veranlaßten den leidigen Bürgerkrieg und sind schuld an unsere Schulden, an denen wir noch viele Jahre hindurch zu tragen haben werden" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 1 January 1866).

<sup>51</sup> "Vielmehr ist es gewiß, daß der Fanatismus von Massachusetts die Erbitterung zwischen dem Norden und Süden steigern wird. Jetzt, wo jene Fanatiker von bloßen, leeren Drohungen zu Thätlichkeiten übergegangen sind [wird] der ruhige Beobachter [den] Widerstand gegen das in Kraft bestehende Ver. St. Gesetz für verbrecherisch und in seinen Folgen gefahrbringend für die innere Ruhe der Republik halten" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 25 March 1858).

<sup>52</sup> For a thorough description of the elections and the subsequent debates in Congress see Allan Nevins, *Douglas, Buchanan, and Party Chaos, 1857-1859*, vol. 3 of *Ordeal of the Union* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950), 229-301.

<sup>53</sup> "Die Kansasfrage gibt zur längeren Debatten im Congreß Veranlassung und die sectionellen Reibungen zwischem dem Norden und dem Süden treten mit immer größerer Erbitterung hervor" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 30 January 1858).

<sup>54</sup> "Gewiß werden unsere Leser einstimmig die Erledigung des abgebrochenen Kansas-Wahlstreites wünschen und daß dieser nahe ist, wollen wir von ganzem Herzen hoffen" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 28 January 1858).

<sup>55</sup> "Hr. Buchanan kämpft nicht für das Prinzip der Sklaverei; er verteidigt die Lecompton Constitution nicht, weil sie dem Süden Conzessionen macht: Er wendet sich an den Patriotismus des Landes, um die drohende Gefahr durch ein abermaliges Compromiß abzuwenden" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 4 February 1858).

<sup>56</sup> "Die Stunde der Entscheidung naht. Gibt es in unserer, an so vielen Gebrechen leidenden Republik genügende patriotische Aufopferungsfähigkeit, das Land vor Anarchie zu bewahren? Gott gebe es" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 4 February 1858).



<sup>57</sup> "Es ist zu bedauern, daß im Congresse Partei-Interessen und politischer Ehrgeiz der Kundgebung patriotischer Motive vorausgestellt werden. Es bringt uns diese jeden Tag näher der Entfremdung des Volkes für nationale Interessen" (*Der Deutsche Correspondent*, 3 May 1858).

<sup>58</sup> Quoted in Jean H. Baker, *Affairs of Party: The Political Culture of Northern Democrats in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 143; see also Phillip Shaw Paludan, "A People's Contest": *The Union and Civil War, 1861-1865* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 91-96.

<sup>59</sup> Baker, *Affairs of Party*, 145-46.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 146.

<sup>61</sup> Baker, *Ambivalent Americans*, 36, 40-42; Baker, *The Politics of Continuity*, 24.

<sup>62</sup> Hegel, one of the key figures of German thinking in the nineteenth century wrote that "Africa proper has no historical interest of its own, for we find its inhabitants living in barbarism and savagery in a land which has not furnished them with any integral ingredient of culture. Slavery is the basic legal relationship in Africa. The Negroes are enslaved by the Europeans and sold to America. Nevertheless, their lot in their country is almost worse than this," Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History: "Introduction: Reason in History"*, trans. H. B. Nisbet, Cambridge Studies in the History and Theory of Politics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 174-83. In Heinrich von Kleist's *Die Verlobung in St. Domingo* the white men are brave and innocent Swiss; the wrongs of slave-owners are excused and the black men are mainly bloodthirsty, treacherous and cruel. This story was later dramatized by Theodor Körner, a well known forty-eigher, under the name of the black girl in that story, as *Toni*. Africa itself was seen as an exotic, savage world, as depicted in missionary narratives which "became the most important source for the formation of the German middle-class image of Africa" (Hans Werner Debrunner, *Presence and Prestige: Africans in Europe, A History of Africans in Europe before 1918* [Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 1979], 294).

<sup>63</sup> As described by its competitor *Baltimore Wecker*, 10 October and 3 November 1860. As said, none of the issues of the *Correspondent* from this time are preserved, although Baker in *Politics of Continuity*, 35, names 15 April and 15 and 22 December 1860 as proof for the Breckinridge support of the paper. Those issues may have been lost since 1973, when her book was published.

<sup>64</sup> *Baltimore Sun*, 27 October 1860.

<sup>65</sup> See table 3.

<sup>66</sup> Evitts, 146-49.

<sup>67</sup> "Ein für allemal. Die ganze sogenannte 'Racenfrage' ist für die Katz!" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 19 January 1856).

<sup>68</sup> "Die Bestrebungen der republikanischen Partei[sind] nicht auf die Abschaffung (Abolition), sondern nur gegen die Weiterverbreitung der Sklaverei gerichtet" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 29 February 1856).

<sup>69</sup> "Das, was man der Kürze die Sklavenfrage nennt, ist nicht nur eine schwarze Frage, sondern eine sehr weiße" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 19 January 1856).

<sup>70</sup> "Das ist durchaus nicht gleichgültig, ob ein Land, so groß wie ein Paar europäischer Kaiserreiche, der allereinfachsten Arbeit, der (mittelalterlichen) Erzeugung bloßer Rohstoffe überantwortet werde, oder ob von [illegible] die freie Arbeit freier Weißer Gef[erbe?] und Handel erblühen" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 19 January 1856).

<sup>71</sup> "Gerade, daß der schwarze Race kein weiterer Spielraum auf Kosten des Interesses der weißen Race gewährt wird, ist der Kernpunkt der ganzen Streitfrage" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 19 January 1856).

<sup>72</sup> "Wir wissen es so gewiß, als zweimal zwei 4 ist, daß in den nächsten 20 Jahren 12 Millionen Deutsche über den Ocean kommen werden" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 17 June 1856); see also 21 January 1856; "Die Einwanderung aus Deutschland wird dagegen nicht aufhören, denn Deutschland ist wirklich überbevölkert, es leben 14 Millionen zu viel darin" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 29 January 1856).

<sup>73</sup> See also the commentary on 23 April 1858: "In Missouri, a great part of the slaveowners seemed to have realized what they win instead of loosing by abolishing slavery because then a striving, active, and industrious immigration increases the value of the land" ("In Missouri scheint ein großer Theil der Sklavenhalter begriffen zu haben, daß sie durch die Aufhebung der Sklaverei gewinnen müssen, anstatt zu verlieren, weil dann eine strebsame, thätige, gewerbesleißige Einwanderung den Werth des Grund-Eigenthums steigert").

<sup>74</sup> "Die Weißen im Süden, die nicht an dem Besitze oder Leitung von Sklaven theilhaftig, sind im günstigsten Falle auf die niedrigen Löhne beschränkt, welche die Feldarbeit gewährt und zum Theil sogar von diesen durch die erniedrigende Gemeinschaft mit Sklaven zurückgeschreckt, ziehen



sich nach der äußeren Grenze der Civilisation zurück, wo sie ein halbwildes Leben führen und mit jeder Generation tiefer und tiefer in den untergründlichen Pfuhl der Babarei versinken" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 15 February 1856); see also 14 March 1856 about the conditions in New Orleans: "Very often white workers can only find work when there are no Negroes anymore. And we have to make the sad experience that workers, Irish and German, in times where there is enough work cannot earn the dry bread for their families. That's it! In New Orleans the white workers are jailed as trouble-makers when they make only a remote attempt to work together against the oppression of free labor by the barons and their cattle" ("Sehr häufig [finden] die weißen Arbeiter nur dann Arbeit, wenn keine Neger mehr vorhanden sind. Und wir müssen leider die traurige Erfahrung machen, daß Arbeiter, irische und deutsche zu Zeiten, wo es genug zu thun gibt, nicht das trockene Brod für ihre Familie erwerben können. So also! In New Orleans werden die weißen Arbeiter als Anführer eingesteckt, wenn sie nur den entfernten Versuch machen, sich gegen die Unterdrückung der freien Arbeit durch die Herren Barone und ihr Viehvolk zu coalieren").

<sup>75</sup> "Aber man sollte Diejenigen nicht hassen, welche darunter leiden; sie sind einem Übel zum Opfer gefallen, das ihre Väter von Anderen übernommen, und welches sie selbst abzuschaffen nicht den Mut hatten" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 17 May 1856). At the beginning of the article Rapp referred to Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, obviously because he had recently translated parts of Jefferson's works into German, see Witke, 274.

<sup>76</sup> This sentence is not only long but also strong prose by expanding over sixteen lines: "Nicht diese [means Americans] also laßt uns verdammen, sondern laßt uns unseren ganzen Haß und unsere ganze Verachtung wälzen auf eine gewisse schmutzige, servile Sorte deutscher Hundeseelen, die aufgefüttert mit der Milch einer milden Denkungsort und aufgewachsen unter dem Druck sozialer und politischer Mißverhältnisse, nur über das Meer geschwommen kamen, in diese neue Welt, darin, um des schnöden Mammons willen und mit Bewußtsein, ein Übel befestigen und weiter verbreiten zu helfen, welches, wenn fortwuchernd, das Land der Freiheit in ein verfluchtes Räuber-Jammerthal—dem Menschengeschlecht zur ewigen Schande—nothwendig verkehren muß" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 17 May 1856).

<sup>77</sup> "Die leider so vielen Deutschen angeborene Unterthanentreue" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 23 February 1858); "Unsere Deutschen geben sich zu wenig Mühe, einen Blick über die amerikanischen Verhältnisse im Ganzen zu gewinnen, geschweige denn, dieselben von einem deutsch-amerikanischen Gesichtspunkt in 's Auge zu fassen" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 29 January 1856).

<sup>78</sup> "A gang of 373,000 privileged people and their blinded followers" ("Ein Häuflein von 373,000 Privilegierten und deren mit Blindheit geschlagenen Anhänger" [*Baltimore Wecker*, 18 Juni 1856]); see also 25 June 1856; 21 January 1856; 13 October 1860.

<sup>79</sup> For the ideology of the Republican party see Gienapp, 357-58; for a discussion of the slave power see also Michael F. Holt, *The Political Crisis of the 1850s* (New York: John Wiley & Son, 1978), 151-54, 184-85; and Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 73-102.

<sup>80</sup> "Die Partei des Herrn Lincoln will ausdrücklich, daß Eure Söhne weiße Mädchen und Eure Mädchen weiße Burschen heirathen und daß Ihr Eure weißen Männer behaltet" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 22 September 1860); the article was entitled: "Is it true that we have to marry Negroes?" ("Ist 's wahr, daß wir Negerinnen heiraten müssen?")

<sup>81</sup> Anbinder, 202-12.

<sup>82</sup> "Indem sich die Know-Nothing-Partei in der Sklavenfrage selbst für mundtot erklärt, gibt sie zu, daß sie an dem Entwicklungsprozesse, der im amerikanischen Parteileben vor sich geht, keinen Antheil mehr hat" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 15 January 1858).

<sup>83</sup> "Der Know-Nothingismus war eine acute, aber keine chronische Krankheit und er hörte auf, gefährlich zu sein, nachdem die bekannte National-Convention der Know-Nothings in Philadelphia an der Slavenfrage scheiterte" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 2 February 1858).

<sup>84</sup> "Der dumme und schlechte Streich, den die Republikaner New York 's begingen" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 9 September 1958).

<sup>85</sup> "Hoffen wir daher, daß sie [New York's Republicans] diesen Herbst eine ganz exemplarische Niederlage erleiden wird. Dann wird ihr die Luft vergehen und sie wird auf den ehrenhaften Standpunkt zurückkehren, den sie in dem großen Kampfe des Jahres 1856 mit so glänzendem Erfolge eingenommen hat" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 9 September 1858); see also 19 June 1858.

<sup>86</sup> See *Baltimore Wecker*, 10 February 1858; 28 February 1858; 3 March 1858.



<sup>87</sup> "Die Gesetzgebung machte eine Bewilligung für die Errichtung eines Irrenhospitals (besonders Hr. Alexander verwandte sich, in instinkartiger Vorahnung seiner künftigen Residenz sehr für diese Bill)" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 13 May 1858).

<sup>88</sup> "Viele bekennen in Privatgesprächen frei und offen, daß sie sich ihrer von dem Auswurfe der Menschheit, von den Roughins, Plugs, Blood Tubs, beherrschten Partei schämen" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 18 October 1858).

<sup>89</sup> "Diese brutale Gewalt [wurde] zuerst von der demokratischen Partei gegen die Whigs ausgeübt; die demokratische Partei [macht] sich für alle Verbrechen, welche mit dem Wahlbetrug verknüpft sind, verantwortlich" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 18 October 1858).

<sup>90</sup> "Eine giftige und nimmersatte Kreuzspinne, welche ihre Fäden überallhin, wo es Seelen und Güter zu erschnappen gibt, zu spinnen pflegt" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 11 March 1858).

<sup>91</sup> Part of the Catholic revivalism movement of this period, the congregation of The Most Holy Redeemer was particularly well represented in Baltimore. Beginning in 1840 they had taken over all German Catholic churches in the city, erected new churches to accommodate the rising number of German Catholic immigrants, and founded parochial schools. See Randall M. Miller, "A Church in Cultural Captivity: Some Speculations on Catholic Identity in the Old South," in *Catholics in the Old South: Essays on Church and Culture*, eds., Randall M. Miller and Jon L. Wakelyn (Macon: University of Georgia Press, 1983), 43; Michael J. Curley, *The Provincial Story: A History of the Baltimore Province of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer* (New York: Redemptorist Fathers, 1963), 53-54; Spalding, 137-38, 141-42.

<sup>92</sup> "... daß der Mister Lincoln und seine Partei keine schwarzen, schwarzbraunen, gelbraunen, gelben und gelbweißen Niggerinnen als Nonnen anwerben und in Klöster stecken, wie es die Redemptoristen-Patres in Baltimore machen" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 22 September 1860).

<sup>93</sup> "Es handelt sich jetzt vor allem darum der Herrschaft der mit den Jesuiten und Redemptoristen verbündeten demokratischen Partei in der Union ein Ende zu machen" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 30 September 1860).

<sup>94</sup> *Baltimore Wecker*, 30 Juni, 1858.

<sup>95</sup> "Wm. H. Seward von New York. Er ist unbedingt der einzig wahrhaft große Staatsmann der amerikanischen Gegenwart was die Einwanderung betrifft, so hat kein amerikanischer Staatsman der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart ihre Gleichberechtigung mit derselben unter allen Umständen sich gleichbleibender Treue und Liebe vertheidigt wie Seward" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 16 May 1860).

<sup>96</sup> "Edward Bates besitzt jedoch nur mittelmäßige Talente, steht seit 30 Jahren dem Staatsleben fast ganz fern und hat sich bis vor Kurzem zu den Know-Nothings gehalten" (*ibid.*).

<sup>97</sup> "Abraham Lincoln von Illinois. Der größte Dialektiker America's. Genial und originell" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 16 May 1860).

<sup>98</sup> "Der Leser wird den an Tollheit grenzenden Enthusiasmus begreifen können, mit dem diese Nomination allenthalben aufgenommen wird." (*Baltimore Wecker*, 21 May 1860).

<sup>99</sup> "Schon am 17. May 1859 erklärte Lincoln in einem offenen Brief an den deutschen Doktor Cassius in Springfield, daß er auf's entschiedenste gegen jede Beschränkung der Rechte weißer Männer sei, gleichviel in welchem Lande sie geboren wurden oder welche Sprache sie sprechen" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 11 November 1860).

<sup>100</sup> "Ueber das Verhältniß zwischen Weißen und Negern äußerte Lincoln in seiner am 10. Juni 1858 in Chicago gegen Douglas gehaltenen Rede: daß er gegen die Vermischung der beiden Racen sei" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 11 November 1860).

<sup>101</sup> The committee which composed the party's platform included six Germans. For a German translation of the platform, see *Baltimore Wecker*, 19 May 1860. The anti-nativist plank, which was soon labeled by nativist Republicans as the "Dutch Plank," appeared in bold letters. See also Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery*, 267-68; Kirk H. Porter and Donald Bruce Johnson, comp., *National Party Platforms, 1840-1968*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1970) 31-33.

<sup>102</sup> See *Baltimore Wecker*, 31 October 1860.

<sup>103</sup> "Wide Awakes. Ermuntert durch die Siegesaussichten der republikanischen Partei, werden sich nun auch hier Wide Awakes bilden" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 12 October 1860).

<sup>104</sup> See n. 16.

<sup>105</sup> "Dr. Wiß machte den versammelten Amerikanern bemerklich, daß diejenigen Deutschen, welche noch zur demokratischen Partei halten, dies aus falschen Verständniß des in Europa geheiligten Namens 'Demokratie' thun. Die Herren Dr. Wiß und Wm. Rapp, welche von den eingeborenen

Führern der republikanischen Partei nach dem Hauptquartier eingeladen worden waren, um sich durch den Augenschein zu überzeugen, daß der dringende Wunsch der Deutschen nach Erdrückung des Rowdy-Elements in der republ. Organisation bereits möglichst erfüllt sei, wurden stürmisch herausgerufen" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 10 October 1860).

<sup>106</sup> *Baltimore Wecker*, 10 October and 2 November 1860; as it seems, the Turners had not much other chance than to march within the parade because the *Turnverein* expected them to appear. If not, they "would be treated according to the statutes of the society" ("Gegen das Nicht-Erscheinen wird nach der Constitution verfahren") (*Baltimore Wecker*, 1 November 1860).

<sup>107</sup> See table 2.

<sup>108</sup> *Baltimore Wecker*, 11 November 1860; for the text see n. 10.

<sup>109</sup> Holt, *Political Crisis*, xi.

<sup>110</sup> "... auch wir in den Sklavenstaaten müssen uns tummeln, um das Gesamtvolksvotum der Ver. Staaten für Lincoln noch mehr anzuschwellen. Durch ein möglichst starkes Lincoln-Votum in den Sklavenstaaten muß bewiesen werden, daß die republikanische Partei eine wahrhaft nationale ist, die im Süden bis jetzt nur wegen des von der herrschenden Aristokratie und ihrer Sklavin, der Bundesgewalt, auf sie geübten Druckes nicht empor kommen konnte" (*Baltimore Wecker*, 13 October 1860).



## **“Die Turnfahrt übers Meer”: Die amerikanischen Turner beim Deutschen Turnfest 1880 in Frankfurt**

Die im neunzehnten Jahrhundert in Verbindung mit dem Turnwesen aufkommende Tradition der Turnfestkultur hat in Deutschland und den USA bis in die Gegenwart überlebt. 1999 fand in St. Louis das fünfzigste Bundesturnfest des amerikanischen Turnerbundes und 1998 in München das dreißigste Turnfest des Deutschen Turnerbundes statt. Bei den heutigen modernen Turnfesten handelt es sich in beiden Ländern vor allem um freizeit- und Breitensportliche Veranstaltungen.<sup>1</sup> Im neunzehnten Jahrhundert hatten diese Feste dagegen vor allem eine vereinheitlichende und identitätsstiftende sowie repräsentative Wirkung für die Turner und Turnbewegung in Deutschland und den USA inne.

Die Abhaltung von Turnfesten in Deutschland hat eine lange Tradition, mit der auch der Besuch von deutsch-amerikanischen Turnern, verbunden ist. Bis heute reisen sie regelmäßig zu diesen Großveranstaltungen—bei denen mittlerweile über 100.000 Besucher teilnehmen. Die größte Delegation aus den USA kam 1880 zum fünften Deutschen Turnfest nach Frankfurt.

Der folgende Beitrag beschreibt nach einem kurzem Überblick über Ziele und Inhalte der deutschen und amerikanischen Turnfeste, den Besuch der deutsch-amerikanischen Turner 1880 in Frankfurt. Dabei beziehe ich mich neben den Berichten über dieses Turnfest aus *Dem Deutschen Pionier* und der *Deutschen Turnzeitung* vor allem auf die ausführliche—dreißig Seiten umfassende—Berichterstattung von C. Hermann Boppe (1842-99) “Die Turnfahrt übers Meer,” die im *Turnerkalender* (1881) veröffentlicht wurde. Boppe, Herausgeber des *Freidenker* und der *Amerikanischen Turnzeitung* von 1878 bis zu seinem Tod, war als Anhänger des freidenkerischen Gedankenguts und sozialreformerischer Ideen bekannt. Dementsprechend kritisch fiel seine Reflektion über den Besuch der Deutsch-Amerikaner in der deutschen Heimat aus.<sup>2</sup>

### **Turnfeste als Spiegelbild der Turnbewegung**

Der als Turnvater bekannte Friedrich Ludwig Jahn befasste sich 1810 in seiner Schrift “Deutsches Volksthum” mit dem Begriff der “Festlichkeit,” den er als ein „Erheben über das gemeine Leben, Herauskommen aus der Alltäglichkeit, Entfesselung



des Geistes von leiblichen Unterdrückungen, Befreiung des Herzens von Daseinssorgen“ beschrieb.<sup>3</sup> Damit brachte er zum Ausdruck, dass Feste etwas Besonderes und Außergewöhnliches sind und sich vom Alltag abheben. Die deutschen Sportwissenschaftler Klaus Zieschang und Winfried Gebhard weisen darüber hinaus daraufhin, dass sie “spezifische, zeitlich begrenzte Formen der Vergemeinschaftlichung und Vergesellschaftung sozialen Handelns” aufweisen. Außerdem halten Feste Gruppen und Institutionen lebendig, “indem sie deren Aufgaben und Zwecke darstellen, reflektieren und neu begründen, gemeinsame Selbstverständlichkeit neu bestätigen und so Gemeinsamkeit und Verlässlichkeit für den Alltag stiften.”<sup>4</sup> Diese Aussagen treffen besonders auf die Turnfeste in Deutschland und in den USA zu.

Die Turnfeste—in der *Deutschen Turnzeitung* auch als “höchste Blüte des turnerischen Lebens”<sup>5</sup> bezeichnet—stellten im neunzehnten Jahrhundert eine besondere Form der Festkultur dar. In Deutschland waren sie Bestandteil nationaler freiheitlich-demokratischer Bewegungen und umfassten alle Bevölkerungsschichten. Als Nationalfeste leisteten sie einen Beitrag zur “kulturellen Nationsbildung” und zur Formung und Formalisierung der Körper- und Bewegungskultur in Deutschland.<sup>6</sup> Mit ihnen verbunden waren nationale Rituale und Symbole, die sich vor allem in Liedern, Gedichten und Fahnen entfalteten.<sup>7</sup> Sporthistoriker Michael Krüger stellt fest, dass in den Turnfesten in gebündelter Form, “was die Kultur der Turnvereine an Bewegung, Turnen, Spiel und Sport, an Menschen, Ideen und Idealen, an gesellschaftlicher Relevanz und politischer Brisanz zu bieten hatten,” zum Ausdruck kam, und sie “das Leben und die Wirklichkeit der Turnvereine widerspiegeln.”<sup>8</sup>

Auch für die Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts aufkommende Turnbewegung auf dem amerikanischen Kontinent hatten die Turnfeste von Anfang an eine große Bedeutung. Für die Deutsch-Amerikaner stellten sie eine Art Volksfest dar, bei denen sie ihre Kultur zum Ausdruck brachten und ihre Gruppenidentität nach außen demonstrierten. Dabei übernahmen die Turnfeste eine wichtige Funktion in der Verbreitung turnerischen Gedankenguts und deutscher Kultur. Bei diesen im ethnisch-kulturellen Rahmen stattfindenden Festen konnten die Turner durch die Präsentation ihrer spezifisch Körperkultur und Auszüge aus dem geselligen Vereinsleben zur Stärkung des Wir-Gefühls und zur Bildung eines ethnischen Bewusstseins der Deutsch-Amerikaner beitragen, das auf einer gemeinsamen Kultur basierte. Deshalb können die in den USA im neunzehnten Jahrhundert durchgeführten Turnfeste im Sinne von Kathleen Neils Conzen als “Spiegel der Ethnizität” beschrieben werden.<sup>9</sup> Nachdem sich das Turnen im ausgehenden neunzehnten Jahrhundert in einigen Regionen auch an den amerikanischen Schulen etabliert hatte und zum Bestandteil des amerikanischen Erziehungswesens geworden war, wurden diese Feste auch von Amerikaner nicht-deutscher Abstammung besucht.

Die Inhalte der Turnfeste in den USA und in Deutschland waren vergleichbar. Ein wesentlicher Bestandteil war das praktische Turnen, bestehend aus Freiübungen, Geräteübungen und Spielen. Außerdem wurden auch Wettkämpfe im Zielschießen, Fechten, Ringen und in leichtathletischen Disziplinen veranstaltet sowie im Schwimmen und Stelzenlauf. Des weiteren gab es Wettbewerbe, die dem geistigen Turnen zugeordnet waren und aus literarischen und künstlerischen Arbeiten bestanden, wie



z. B. Gesangs- und Dichtwettbewerbe, Rezitieren oder das Verfassen von Aufsätzen zu einem vorgegebenen Thema.<sup>10</sup> Die Gewinner erhielten als Anerkennung für ihre Leistungen Urkunden und nach griechischem Vorbild einen einfachen Lorbeerkranz. Die Vergabe von Pokalen, Medaillen oder anderen Preisen wurde vermieden, um die Turner durch ihre guten Leistungen nicht auf für moralisch bedenklich gehaltene Wege, wie z. B. denen der Selbstverherrlichung, zu bringen.<sup>11</sup>

## **Der Besuch der deutsch-amerikanischen Turner beim Deutschen Turnfest 1880**

Nach einer achtjährigen Pause organisierte die Deutsche Turnerschaft vom 24. bis 29. Juli 1880 wieder ein Turnfest, welches ganz in der Tradition des Kaiserreiches stand, und zu dem selbst Kaiser Wilhelm I. Grußworte schickte, wenn er es auch persönlich nicht besuchte.<sup>12</sup> Dieses Fest bildete den Anfang einer Erfolgsgeschichte der Turnfestkultur im Kaiserreich.<sup>13</sup>

Das Frankfurter Turnfest war nicht nur eine nationale Veranstaltung, sondern unter den 10.000 Festbesuchern waren auch Turner aus Belgien, England, Holland, der Schweiz, Italien, Ungarn, Österreich und den USA angereist, um ihre turnerischen Leistungen zu präsentieren. Der internationale Charakter dieses Festes war besonders beim Eröffnungszug durch Frankfurt zu spüren, bei dem sich auch die ausländischen Festteilnehmer beteiligten. An den Wettkämpfen sollen bei diesem fünften allgemeinen Deutschen Turnfest um die 3.000 Turner teilgenommen haben.<sup>14</sup> Unter den Festbesuchern fanden sich auch über 400 Deutsch-Amerikaner. Diese hohe Zahl hängt sicherlich mit der neuen politischen Ordnung in Deutschland zusammen. Mit dem 1871 gegründeten Deutschen Reich sahen viele Auswanderer ihre Hoffnung auf die nationale Einheit Deutschlands als erfüllt an; sie nutzten das Turnfest, um die alte Heimat zu besuchen.<sup>15</sup>

Die Turner aus den USA hatten sich zu dieser Reise entschlossen, obwohl sich der amerikanische Turnerbund von der Deutschen Turnerschaft abgrenzte. Das Verhältnis zwischen beiden Turnerbünden ist im neunzehnten Jahrhundert als gespannt zu bezeichnen. Besonders nach der Reichsgründung wurde das deutsche Turnwesen vor allem wegen seines unpolitischen Charakters und der Kaiserstreue von den ausgewanderten Turnern heftig kritisiert. Schon 1870 wies der Nordamerikanische Turnerbund darauf hin, dass die Turner Amerikas bis auf ihr Konzept der Leibes- und Gesundheitserziehung keine Gemeinsamkeiten mit den Turnern im alten Vaterland aufweisen würden und sie mit anderen Problemen konfrontiert seien, von denen die Deutschen keine Ahnung hätten.<sup>16</sup>

Die an den Turnwettbewerben teilnehmenden amerikanischen Turner waren durch eine Gruppe von Turnern aus Cincinnati mit ihren Familien und einer Turnerriege aus Milwaukee unter der Leitung von Turnlehrer Georg Brosius (1839-1920<sup>17</sup>) vertreten. Der in Pennsylvania geborene und in Wisconsin aufgewachsene Brosius ging als amerikanischer Turnvater in die Geschichte des deutsch-amerikanischen Turnwesens ein. Sein Ruf war bis nach Deutschland verbreitet.<sup>18</sup> Brosius gehörte von 1854 bis Ende seines Lebens dem Milwaukee Turnverein an. 1857 gewann er den



Siegesfeld der amerikanischen Turner



Festplatz

Deutsches Turnfest zu Frankfurt, 1880



ersten Zöglingspreis beim Bundesturnfest in Milwaukee. Nach seiner Rückkehr aus dem Bürgerkrieg war er als Turnlehrer in verschiedenen Turnvereinen und Schulen tätig. 1875 übernahm er dann die Leitung des Turnlehrerseminars in Milwaukee bis zu dessen Übersiedlung 1907 nach Indianapolis.<sup>19</sup> Durch Brosius' engagierte Arbeit wuchs die Bedeutung des Seminars wie auch das gesellschaftliche Ansehen der Turner in Milwaukee.

Milwaukees Turner hatten sich zu dieser Überseereise entschlossen, um festzustellen, "ob der Baum hier [USA] bereits die goldenen Früchte trägt, oder ob wir noch einer Veredlung aus dem Mutterland bedürfen," wie es in den Abschiedsworten des Vorsitzenden des "Arrangement-Komitees" 1880 formuliert worden war. Die Turner waren aufgefordert, in den "Kampf," wenn auch nicht "blutigen Kampf," zu ziehen, um den "deutschen Turngenossen zu zeigen, wie weit der Samen Turnfrüchte getragen hat im fernen Lande."<sup>20</sup> Die deutsch-amerikanischen Turner beabsichtigten mit dieser Reise allerdings nicht nur ihr turnerisches Können zu präsentieren, sondern wollten vor allem Erfahrungen in der Turnpraxis und -theorie austauschen.<sup>21</sup>

Unter der amerikanischen Flagge, dem Sternenbanner, den die deutsch-amerikanischen Turnfestbesucher auch als Glücksbringer und Symbol für Freiheit und die Republik mit sich führten, wurden sie bei ihrer Abreise in den USA in sämtlichen Städten, in denen sie Station machten, von den ansässigen Turnvereinsmitgliedern bejubelt. Die Begeisterung für die Reisenden war aber besonders in Deutschland zu spüren. Hermann Babbe berichtet in einer Beilage der *Deutschen Turnzeitung* über den Empfang der aus USA angereisten Gäste, für den die Stadt ein großes Fest organisiert hatte.<sup>22</sup> Von New York ausgehend, waren auf der *Silesia* Turner aus Cincinnati—457 Personen, davon 244 Männer und 213 Frauen und Kinder<sup>23</sup>—in Hamburg angekommen und wurden von Vertretern der Turnvereine und der Presse noch an Bord des Schiffes mit "Willkommen Ihr Freien im freien Land," empfangen.<sup>24</sup> Dem stillen Beobachter Boppe missfiel die Wortwahl der Begrüßung. Für ihn war die Freiheit in Deutschland nicht dieselbe wie in den Vereinigten Staaten.<sup>25</sup>

Bei der Ankunft der amerikanischen Turner im Hamburger Hafen ertönten Böllerschüsse, und mit aufgezo-genem Sternenbanner empfingen zwischen 30.000 und 40.000 Hamburger die Gäste aus Nordamerika. Der Vorsitzende des St. Pauli Turnvereins, Flügge, übermittelte am Ende seiner Rede ein "Gut Heil" an die Reisenden, bevor zur Begeisterung der Deutsch-Amerikaner "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles" ertönte. Im Anschluß an die spätere deutsche Nationalhymne sprach Gustav Rietzke aus San Francisco die Grüße der amerikanischen Turnvereine aus, und es gab zu Ehren der amerikanischen Gäste einen Festzug, Turndemonstrationen und eine Reihe von Feierlichkeiten, bevor diese nach Frankfurt weiterreisten.<sup>26</sup>

Auch am Frankfurter Main-Neckar-Bahnhof wurden die deutsch-amerikanischen Turner mit großem Jubel empfangen. In einer Ansprache zu diesem "deutschen Fest" wurden ihre Vaterlandsliebe, ihr Patriotismus und ihre Verdienste hervorgehoben:



Daß Ihr liebe Brüder aus Amerika zu uns gekommen seid, es mit uns zu feiern, das sagt uns mehr als alles Andere, das sagt uns, daß Ihr heut' noch Deutsch fühlt ... Ihr habt eine große Mission übernommen, deutsche Cultur, deutsche Civilisation und vor allem deutsche Turnerei nach dem Westen zu tragen. Ihr habt Eure Mission getreulich erfüllt, Ihr gereicht dem Deutschen Vaterland zur Ehre. Ich danke Euch im Namen des Vaterlands. ... Möge dieses glorreiche Sternenbanner, unter dessen mächtigem Schutz Ihr steht, Euch zu treuen Bürgern der großen Republik erziehen, mögt Ihr treu zu derselben stehen, aber ich bitte Euch, vergeßt das liebe deutsche Vaterland nicht.<sup>27</sup>

Rietzke, der Wortführer der Deutsch-Amerikaner, bekräftigte, daß die Treue und Liebe gegenüber der deutschen Heimat mit ihren Traditionen und ihrer Kultur nie nachlassen würden, obwohl sie den Sternenbanner und damit die amerikanische Republik mit ihrer demokratischen Verfassung als "das Höchste ansehen, was wir besitzen."<sup>28</sup>

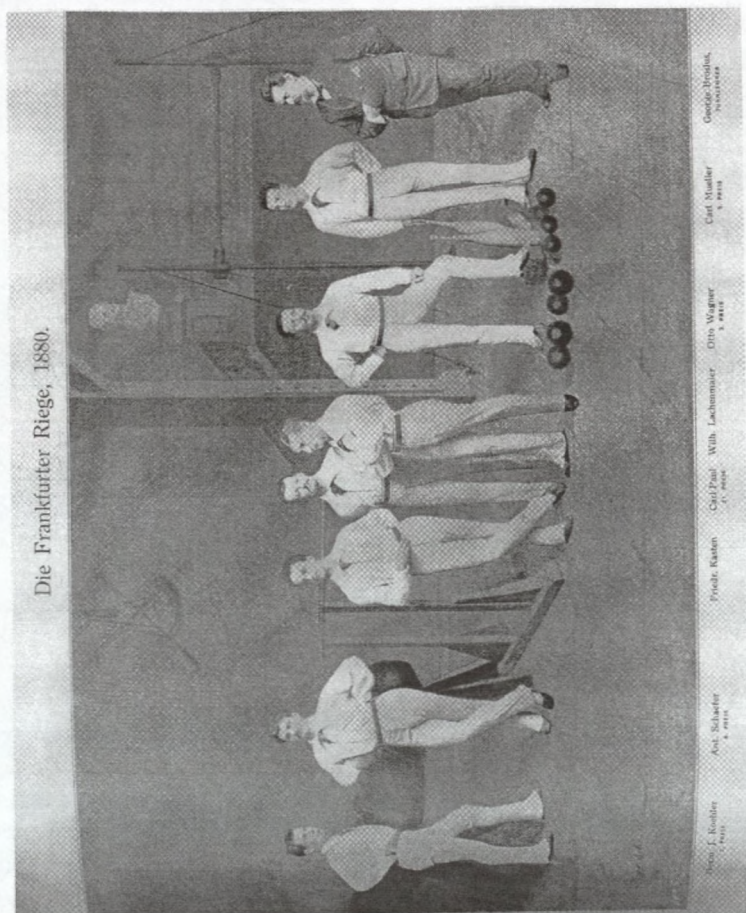
Die Erfolge der Amerikaner bei diesem Turnfest übertrafen alle Erwartungen. Die sieben Turner starke Riege aus Milwaukee konnte sechs der zweiundzwanzig allgemeinen Preise erreichen, also mehr als ein Viertel, darunter die Plätze 2, 3, 5 und 6 sowie einen ersten Platz im Ringen.<sup>29</sup> In der Vereinsauswertung nahmen sie nach dem Frankfurter Turnverein und der Frankfurter Turngesellschaft den dritten Platz ein,<sup>30</sup> dies, obwohl die amerikanischen Turner unter schlechten Voraussetzungen an den Start gegangen waren. Sie erreichten zum Beispiel die ihnen zugeteilte Turnhalle aufgrund der starken Regenfälle, die Frankfurt während des Turnfestes heimsuchten, mit großer Verspätung. Die Halle war überfüllt, und es waren keine Zuschauer zu den Wettbewerben zugelassen. Schon zuvor beim Schauturnen mußten die Amerikaner als letzte Mannschaft antreten. Der Wettkampf wurde am Reck, Barren und Pferd ausgetragen. Außerdem gab es die "Volksübungen" Weitsprung, Stabhochsprung und Steinstoß.<sup>31</sup>

Dieser Erfolg stärkte das Selbstbewußtsein der deutsch-amerikanischen Turner. *Der Deutsche Pionier* meinte, dass die Deutschen, "der schlaftrunkene Michel," durch diesen Erfolg einen kleinen "Nasenstüber," eine "derbe Aufrüttelung," bekommen hätten. Seiner Ansicht nach verbreitete die deutsche Presse ein Bild von Amerika, in dem es als ein "halbbarbarisches Land," "eine Art Strafkolonie" dargestellt werde, das nichts "Gutes" hervorbringen könne. Doch die Leistungen der amerikanischen Turner bewiesen Gegenteiliges.<sup>32</sup>

Der Erfolg der Turner aus Amerika blieb nicht ohne Neider. Der *Berliner Börsen-Courier* schrieb, dass er dagegen sei, an einem solchen Turnfest Ausländer zuzulassen. Als Grund nennt er die amerikanische Riege, die angeblich "gewerbsmäßige Gymnastiker" mitgebracht hätte, die für ihre Leistungen bezahlt würden. Er forderte, dass bei einem solchen Wettturnen nur Turner und keine Schauspieler konkurrieren dürfen.<sup>33</sup> Auch Alfred Boettcher aus Bremen nahm Stellung in der *Deutschen Turnzeitung* zu den Gerüchten, nach denen den deutsch-amerikanischen Turnfestteilnehmern unterstellt wurde, "Cirkuskünstler" mitgeführt zu haben, um "den Lorbeer ... für



Die Frankfurter Riege, 1880.



Gen. Dr. Bruns,  
Vorsitzender

Carl Müller  
a. 1880

Otto Wagner  
a. 1880

Willy Lachmann  
a. 1880

Carl Paul  
a. 1880

Friedr. Kuhn  
a. 1880

Ant. Schaffner  
a. 1880

Dr. J. Röhler  
a. 1880

Die Frankfurter Riege, 1880

Amerika zu erringen." Boettcher verteidigte in seinem Bericht die amerikanischen Gäste und lobte ihre Sicherheit an "allen Geräthen und allen Uebungsarten, die nur als ein Product der sorgsamsten turnerischen Ausbildung angesehen werden kann und die der Lehrfähigkeit des Turnlehrers ein glänzendes Zeugnis ausstellt." Die deutschen Turner könnten von den amerikanischen vor allem "die Zähigkeit und Ausdauer zum Zwecke der Erreichung einmal gesteckter Ziele" lernen.<sup>34</sup>

Boppe konzentrierte sich in seinem Bericht nicht nur auf die Wiedergabe der sportlichen Erfolge, sondern er stellte besonders die Kaisertreue der deutschen Turner in den Vordergrund seiner Ausführungen.<sup>35</sup> Seiner Ansicht nach kam diese in den offiziellen Reden und Ansprachen zum Ausdruck und spiegelte "den Geist der Unfreiheit," so besonders die Rede des ehemaligen Vorsitzenden des Schwäbischen Turnerbundes und Vorsitzenden der Deutschen Turnerschaft (1869-87), Theodor Georgii aus Esslingen, der einen "unvermeidlichen" Toast auf den deutschen Kaiser ausgesprochen hatte.<sup>36</sup> Die "Kaiserverhimmlung," die Beherrschung des deutschen Volkes durch den Kaiser und seinen Staatsapparat bezeichnet Boppe als eine "Aschenschicht," die dennoch den Freiheitsdrang, der beim deutschen Volk zu spüren sei, nicht unterdrücken könne:

... wenn der erste Windhauch hinwegfegt, um die lang zurückgedämmte Gluth wieder zu mächtigen Flammen emporlodern zu lassen. Dann werden auch die deutschen Turner wieder aus ihrem Winterschlaf erwachen und sie werden, getreu ihrer Vergangenheit, die sie in den Stunden der Gefahr und des Kampfes immer auf die Bahn der Freiheit wies, im vordersten Glied stehen, wenn es gilt, die angeborenen Menschen- und Völkerrechte zu erkämpfen.<sup>37</sup>

Boppes Festbericht zeigt auch, dass die deutsch-amerikanischen Turner zwar für die Heimat eine Art Nostalgie empfanden, sich aber nicht mehr mit dem deutschen Volk identifizierten, sondern sich als "Deutsch-Amerikaner" der amerikanischen Nation zugehörig fühlten und stolz darauf waren, in dieser demokratischen Republik zu leben, in der sie die deutsche Kultur mit ihren Traditionen weiterführen konnten. Als Fazit der "Turnfahrt übers Meer" zitiert Boppe einen Auszug aus Edmund Märklins Gedicht "Willkomm für die Frankfurter Turnerriege," (siehe Anhang) in welchem Kritik an den deutschen Verhältnissen ausgedrückt wurde. Besonders in den Versen: "Nur da, wo unverkürzt, der Fesseln ledig Körper und Geist, wo Schrift und Rede, frei von allem Zwang, ganz und harmonisch sich entfalten können—nur da kann der ächte Turner gedeihen." Hier bezieht sich Märklin auf die in den Vereinigten Staaten herrschende Meinungsfreiheit in der sich auch das deutsch-amerikanische Turnwesen ausbreiten konnte, ohne von staatlicher Seite eingeschränkt oder behindert zu werden.

## Fazit

Mit ihrer Teilnahme am Turnfest 1880 in Frankfurt bewiesen die deutsch-amerikanischen Turner ihre kulturelle Verbundenheit zur deutschen Heimat. Sie



demonstrierten dabei aber auch ihre überdurchschnittlichen turnerischen Leistungen und brachten zum Ausdruck, Bürger der amerikanischen Republik zu sein. Der Amerikanisierungsprozess der ausgewanderten Turner hatte bereits mit der Gründung der ersten Turnvereine 1848 auf dem nordamerikanischen Kontinent begonnen. Er zeigte sich in der Anerkennung und Verteidigung der amerikanischen Demokratie und auch in der Voraussetzung für eine Vereinsmitgliedschaft die amerikanische Staatsbürgerschaft bzw. die Absicht, diese zu erlangen. Besonders das Mitführen des Sternenbanners zum Turnfest in Deutschland deutet auf die Aufnahme amerikanischer Traditionen, Rituale und Symbole hin. Diese Akzeptanz amerikanischer Werte, wie sie auch in den kritischen Turnfestberichten von den deutsch-amerikanischen Berichterstellern ausgedrückt wurde, die immer wieder Anstoß an der politischen Ordnung in Deutschland und der unpolitischen Stellung der deutschen Turner nahmen, bedeutete aber keinesfalls die Preisgabe der deutsch-amerikanischen Identität und Kultur. Gerade die Beibehaltung, Integration und Demonstration von spezifisch deutschen Kulturelementen bzw. Elementen der Turn- und Turnvereinskultur in der amerikanischen Gesellschaft war eine der wesentlichen Bestrebungen der Turner und auch Aufgabe der in den USA durchgeführten Turnfeste—eine Aufgabe, die heute allerdings größtenteils verloren gegangen ist.

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### Summary

The gymnastic meets (*Turnfeste*) of the nineteenth century sponsored by the Turners in Germany were not only athletic events. They also were part of the movement toward democracy and liberty and encompassed all classes of the population. In the United States such *Turnfeste* became popular festivals in which the German heritage of the participants could be idealized and the feelings of German-American community strengthened. Both in Germany and the US, these *Turnfeste* involved competitions in gymnastics as well as in wrestling, fencing, shooting, swimming and other athletic skills. In addition, participants engaged in "intellectual gymnastics" including literary and artistic competitions.

The *Turnfest* held in Frankfurt in July 1880 represents the beginning of a long tradition of successful national gymnastic meets in imperial Germany. But it was not simply a German national event, rather it was international in character with delegations coming from a number of European countries as well as a 400-member group of German-Americans from the US. The visit of the American Turners was all the more significant given the rift that had developed between the American and German Turners over political issues since the founding of the new German empire in 1871. American Turners were quite vocal in their criticism of their German counterparts for their lack of political activity in the new empire.

The German-American delegation consisted of Turners from Cincinnati and a team of gymnasts from Milwaukee led by Georg Brosius (1839-1920), a Civil War

veteran and experienced gymnastics instructor in Milwaukee. Brosius was the head of the *Turnlehrerseminar* in Milwaukee from 1875 until it was moved to Indianapolis in 1907. The triumphant departure of the German-American Turners by rail through the American heartland to the port of New York was matched by a spectacular reception in both Hamburg and again at the rail station in Frankfurt. Both the German hosts and the American guests emphasized the persistence of German cultural traditions in the New World embodied by the American Turners as well as their keen allegiance to their adopted new homeland—a democratic republic.

The performance of the German-Americans exceeded all expectations. The Milwaukee team placed third overall after two Frankfurt teams. One-fourth of the general prizes were garnered by members of the American team. The Americans' success produced both satisfaction at home and envy in Germany. Some German accounts accused the German-Americans of being professional athletes. An account by the editor of the *Amerikanische Turnzeitung* Hermann Boppe, however, focuses on the lack of liberty in Germany and the fawning of the German Turners before their emperor. By returning to the German fatherland and demonstrating their gymnastic skills, these German-American Turners proved that they had remained true to their German cultural heritage, but had also become strong adherents of American democracy and political freedom.

## Anhang

### Zum Willkomm für die "Frankfurter Riege" am 11. September 1880

Die Flagge auf! Und wünscht uns Glück zum Siege;  
Das nie Gehoffte ist uns heut' gelungen;  
Der Preise fünf'e haben wir errungen,  
Und seid begrüßt von der "Milwaukee Riege."

So schlicht und bündig klang die erste Kunde,  
Die durch den Draht aus Frankfurt ihr gesandt,  
Und wo man Deutsch sprach, lief's von Mund zu Munde,  
Ein Jubelruf erscholl im ganzen Land.  
Das war ein Vivatrufen, Händedrücker,  
Und Arm in Arm zog man die Straße hin,  
Und Mancher las in eines Jünglings Blicken:  
Wie bin ich stolz, daß ich ein Turner bin.

Nun kehrt ihr heim; die euch gesendet hat  
Zum edlen Ringspiel auf die Turnerfahrt,  
Im bunten Festschmuck prangt heut' unsere Stadt,  
Wo manch ein Liebes eurer harrt.  
Mit Mutterstolz sieht sie die Söhne nah'n,



Die hoffnungsfreudig in den Kampf gezogen,  
Und nun von ihr den Siegespreis empfang'n.  
Die Flaggen wehen und die Herzen wogen,  
Die Trommeln wirbeln, die Trompeten blasen,  
Und fröhlich Volk auf den belebten Straßen.

Seid uns begrüßt! Zieht ein mit allen Ehren,  
Die ihr in fremden Landen euch errungen;  
So ehrt die Heimath euer Wiederkehren,  
So ehrt der Bürger seine tapferen Jungen.

Schwer war das Ringen, und die Wagnis groß;  
Das deutsche Land, die alte Turnerwiege,  
Es sandte seine längst erprobten Söhne,  
Ein stark Geschlecht, ausdauernd und gewandt,  
Voll Muskelkraft und von Gesundheit strotzend,  
Das seit zwei Menschenaltern schon  
Sich Kräfte warb und seine Sehnen stahlte  
An Reck und Barren und auf dem schlankem Mast;  
Ein Volk in Waffen, das dem kecken Erbfeind  
Erfolgreich oft die derben Fäuste wies.  
Der kühnste Springer und der stärkste Ringer  
Stand euch gegenüber. Doch ihr habt's gewagt.

Im schmucken Turngewand der Jungen siegen,  
Sie stehen ernst und schweigend in dem Ring,  
Doch hellen Aug's, wenn auch das junge Herz  
Rasch und gewaltig an die Rippen pocht,  
Und durch die Reihen geht ein Flüstern; Achtung!  
Das sind die Turner aus Amerika!

Sie treten an, und lautlos an's Gerüst  
Die Hände legend, erwarten sie's Commando.  
Ein "Fertig!" schallt, und nun begann ein Schwingen,  
Ein Recken, Schweben, Stützen, Heben,  
Ein Gliederdehnen: Seht, welch prächt'ger Schwung!

Vom Barren schnell't's empor, wie von der Feder,  
Im schön gewölbten Bogen weit hinaus,  
Und eine kühne Wendung drängt die and're.  
Harmonisch eint mit Schönheit sich die Kraft,  
Und eine Grazie schwebt am starken Arm.

Und durch die geht ein neues Flüstern:

So turnt man nicht bei uns! Schaut! Schaut!  
Sind das die Burschen der "Milwaukee Riege"?

Gewiß, ihr Herrn im lieben deutschen Reich!  
So turnt man nicht mit hoher Obrigkeit  
Bewilligung. Nur da, wo unverkürzt,  
Der Fesseln ledig, Körper sich und Geist,  
Wo Schrift und Rede, frei von allem Zwang,  
Ganz und harmonisch sich entfalten können,  
Nur das wird so geturnt; nur da  
Schwingt sich die Seele mit dem Leib empor.  
Die Fesseln ab! Dann seid ihr stark, wie wir,  
Und eure Mühen lohnet das Gelingen,  
Und auf dem Turnplatz fühlt ihr dann, wie wir:  
So übt die Freiheit ihre jungen Schwingen!<sup>18</sup>

### Anmerkungen

<sup>1</sup> Michael Krüger, *Körperkultur und Nationsbildung: Die Geschichte des Turnens in der Reichsgründungsära—eine Detailstudie über die Deutschen* (Schorndorf: Hofmann Verlag, 1996), 287.

<sup>2</sup> Boppe war gebürtiger Schweizer und wanderte nach einer Einladung eines Onkels 1861 in die USA aus. In Newark, New Jersey, war er als Buchhalter in der Brauerei seines Onkels tätig. 1872 übernahm er die Redaktion der *Newarker Post*, die drei Jahre später eingestellt wurde. 1877 zog er nach Milwaukee, um die Redaktion des *Freidenker* zu übernehmen. Dort wurde er Vorstandsmitglied der ortsansässigen Freien Gemeinde, erster Vorsitzender des Turnlehrerseminars sowie Direktor des deutsch-amerikanischen Lehrerseminars. 1885 übernahm er außerdem die Herausgabe der *Amerikanischen Turnzeitung* (siehe Bettina Goldberg, "Deutsch-amerikanische Freidenker in Milwaukee 1877-1890: Organisation und gesellschaftspolitische Orientierung," Hausarbeit der Ersten Staatsprüfung für das Lehramt am Gymnasium [Ruhr-Universität Bochum, 1982], 98, und Nordamerikanischer Turnerbund, *Jahresbericht des Vororts über die Verwaltungsperiode 1. April 1891 bis 1. April 1892* (Milwaukee, 1892), xxi). Boppe, den der deutsche Sporthistoriker Horst Ueberhorst als einen der "scharfsinnigsten Köpfe des Turnerbundes" und "profilertesten Vorkämpfer für soziale Reformen" bezeichnete (siehe Horst Ueberhorst, *Turner unterm Sternenbanner* (München: Heinz Moos Verlag: 1978), 110-13) hat in den Turner-Kalendern der 1890er Jahre viele sozial- und zeitkritische Artikel veröffentlicht. Darunter finden sich: "Der Staat und seine Widersacher" (1889), "Die Schule der Republik" (1891), "Die Erlösung vom Übel" (1895), "Das Recht auf Arbeit" (1896) und "Die Macht der Kirche in unserer Republik (1897).

<sup>3</sup> *Deutsche Turnzeitung* 32 (5. August 1880), 307.

<sup>4</sup> Klaus Zieschang und Winfried Gebhardt, "Fest," in Ommo Gruppe und Dietmar Mieth, Hrsg., *Lexikon der Ethik im Sport* (Schorndorf: Hofmann Verlag 1998), 158.

<sup>5</sup> *Deutsche Turnzeitung* 32 (5. August 1880), 308.

<sup>6</sup> Krüger, *Körperkultur und Nationsbildung*, 287.

<sup>7</sup> Zieschang und Gebhardt, "Fest," 159.

<sup>8</sup> Krüger, *Körperkultur und Nationsbildung*, 287.

<sup>9</sup> Siehe Kathleen Neils Conzens "Ethnicity as Festive Culture: Nineteenth-Century German Americans on Parade," in Werner Sollors, ed., *The Invention of Ethnicity* (New York 1989).

<sup>10</sup> Socialist Turnerbund of North America, "7th yearly report from October 1st, 1857 to September 30th, 1858 at Detroit," para. 25; and Krüger, *Körperkultur und Nationsbildung*, 289.

<sup>11</sup> Robert Knight Barney, "For such Olympic Games: German-American Turnfests as Preludes to the Modern Olympic Games," in F. Landry, M. Landry, and M. Yérès, eds., *Proceedings of the International Sport*



Symposium: Quebec City, Canada, May 21-25, 1990 (Sainte-Foy, 1991), 697-700.

<sup>12</sup> "Oberbürgermeister Miquel, Frankfurt a. M.! Ich beauftrage Sie, den Genossen des allgemeinen deutschen Turnfestes Dank für ihren Gruß und meinen Wunsch für das fröhliche Gedeihen das mit der körperlichen Bildung zugleich den nationalen Sinn belebenden Turnwesens auszudrücken. Wilhelm" (*Deutsche Turnzeitung* 23 [2. September 1880], 352).

<sup>13</sup> Hermann Neumann, *Deutsche Turnfeste: Spiegelbild der deutschen Turnbewegung* (Bad Homburg: Limpert 1985), 103; Krüger, *Körperkultur und Nationsbildung*, 345. Selbst die extra neu gestaltete Turnfestfahne zeigte in ihrer Mitte den Reichsadler, umrundet von Eichenkränzen. Das Turnsymbol war auf der Rückseite abgedruckt. Siehe *Deutsche Turnzeitung* 33 (12. August 1880), 317.

<sup>14</sup> Neumann, *Deutsche Turnfeste*, 103.

<sup>15</sup> Ralf Wagner, *Zwischen Tradition und Fortschritt: Zur gesellschaftspolitischen Entwicklung der deutschamerikanischen Turnbewegung am Beispiel Milwaukee und Chicagos, 1850-1920* (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 1988), 247. Gerade mit der Gründung des Deutschen Reichs 1871 ist eine vermehrte Jahn-Verehrung bei den deutsch-amerikanischen Turnern verbunden, während die Achtundvierziger dem Turnvater noch kritisch gegenüberstanden. Diese Verehrung des deutschen Turnvaters artete jedoch nicht in einen "Jahnkult" wie in Deutschland aus, so Ueberhorst (siehe Ueberhorst, *Turner unterm Sternenbanner*, 179-82). Allerdings wurden zu Jahns Geburtstag am 11. August 1878 in einigen amerikanischen Städten Feiern abgehalten, bei denen die neue Einheit Deutschlands in den Vordergrund gestellt wurde. Wagner sieht in diesen Feierlichkeiten ein Indiz für die Verbürgerlichung der Turnvereine (1988, 148f.). Als einer der wenigen Deutsch-Amerikaner, die diese Jahn-Verehrung nicht teilten, schrieb Hecker in der *Amerikanischen Turnzeitung* "Gott soll mich bewahren, daß ich den Geburtstag eines solchen Hallunken mit feiern helfe, der von Blut und Mordgeruch umweht ist" (zitiert in Wagner, *Zwischen Tradition und Fortschritt*, 149). Der Jahn-Kult führte auch dazu, dass Jahn-Denkmäler errichtet wurden, so zum Beispiel 1913 eine bronzene Skulptur für 14.000 Dollar, die im Forest Park in St. Louis steht. Auch in Cincinnati steht ein solches Denkmal, und eine weitere Jahn-Büste wurde für den Festumzug während des Turnfests 1905 in Indianapolis angefertigt (siehe dazu *Turner's Weekly* 1 (1927) 2, o. S.). Des weiteren war ein Jahn-Bildnis von Mitte der 1890er Jahre bis ins zweite Jahrzehnt des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts auf den Jahresberichten des Nordamerikanischen Turnerbundes abgedruckt.

<sup>16</sup> Frederic E. Leonard, *A Guide to Physical Education* (Philadelphia 1947), 321.

<sup>17</sup> Ueberhorst führt 1917 als das Todesjahr von Brosius auf, während Leonard (1947, 303) und die *Amerikanischen Turnzeitung* (28. März 1920), 1920 als sein Todesjahr angeben.

<sup>18</sup> Ueberhorst widmet dem amerikanischen Turnvater ein Kapitel, in dem er den Lebenslauf von Georg Brosius schildert (1978, 136-41). Auch im deutschen *Meyers Konversationslexikon* (1897, 9) wird Brosius als "hochverdienter Vertreter des Turnlehrerseminars" erwähnt.

<sup>19</sup> Ueberhorst, *Turner unterm Sternenbanner*, 137.

<sup>20</sup> C. Hermann Boppe, "Die Turnfahrt übers Meer," *Turner-Kalender* (1881), 82.

<sup>21</sup> *Deutsche Turnzeitung* (1880), 182.

<sup>22</sup> Interessanter Weise spricht Babbe in seinem Artikel ausschließlich von den "Amerikanern," nicht von Deutsch-Amerikanern, als solche sich die aus USA kommenden Turner wohl eher fühlten.

<sup>23</sup> *Deutsche Turnzeitung* 32 (5. August 1880), 310.

<sup>24</sup> Die Turnerriege aus Milwaukee kam nicht mit den Turnern Cincinnati in Deutschland an (*Deutsche Turnzeitung* 32 [5. August 1880], 310).

<sup>25</sup> Boppe, 1881, 86.

<sup>26</sup> Erste Beilage zur Nr. 2 der *Deutschen Turnzeitung* (Juli 1880).

<sup>27</sup> *Deutsche Turnzeitung* 32 (5. August 1880), 316.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Die Riege aus Milwaukee bestand aus den folgenden Mitgliedern: Friedrich Kasten (geb. 1855 in Milwaukee), Hermann Köhler (geb. 1859 in Milwaukee; 2. Platz), Carl Paul (geb. 1858 in Milwaukee), Otto Wagner (geb. 1850 auf der Insel Rügen; 3. Platz), Karl Friedrich Müller (geb. 1869 in Memoriam, Wisconsin; 5. Platz), Anton Schäfer (geb. 1852 in Orange, New York; 6. Platz), Wilhelm Ladenmeyer (geb. 1859 in Lauffen am Neckar). Außerdem erreichte Heinrich Rathke vom Turnverein Nordseite Milwaukee den 13. Platz (siehe *Deutsche Turnzeitung* [1880], 344).

<sup>30</sup> *Deutsche Turnzeitung* (1880), 369.

<sup>31</sup> Boppe, "Die Turnfahrt übers Meer," 96.

<sup>32</sup> *Der Deutsche Pionier* (1880), 281f.

<sup>33</sup> *Der Deutsche Pionier* (1880), 283. Außerdem stellte er fest, daß die Engländer und Amerikaner den Deutschen „nicht gewachsen“ seien, das hätte man an deren schlechtem Abschneiden in den Volkswettübungen gesehen (*Der Deutsche Pionier* [1880], 283).

<sup>34</sup> *Deutsche Turnzeitung* (1880), 402.

<sup>35</sup> Auch *Der Deutsche Pionier* ([1880], 282) gab die Meinung eines Berichtstatters wieder, der geschrieben hatte, daß in den USA bei Turnfesten ein „schöneres Turnen“ gezeigt würde und daß die Mehrzahl der in Frankfurt anwesenden Musterriegen in Amerika nicht als Musterriegen auftreten könnten.

<sup>36</sup> Dies stellt auch Ueberhorst fest. Er schreibt, dass auf dem Turnfest in Frankfurt die Führung der Deutschen Turnerschaft deutlich ihre Unterstützung für Bismarck und dessen Politik, besonders in der Bekämpfung innenpolitischer Gegner, des politischen Katholizismus und der Sozialdemokraten, betonte (Horst Ueberhorst, „Deutsche Turnfeste im Wandel der Zeit: Eine vergleichende Betrachtung,“ *Stadion* (1986-87), 124).

<sup>37</sup> Boppe, „Die Turnfahrt übers Meer,“ 82.

<sup>38</sup> Eduard Märklin, „Zum Willkomm für die 'Frankfurter Riege,‘“ *Turner-Kalender* (1881), 103f.



Achim Kopp

## **"Of the Most Ignorant Stupid Sort of Their Own Nation": Perceptions of the Pennsylvania Germans in the Eighteenth and Twentieth Centuries**

The purpose of this essay is to trace the development of the current perceptions and stereotypes associated with the Pennsylvania Germans (also known as the Pennsylvania Dutch<sup>1</sup>) and their linguistic varieties. In the first part I will present language attitudes gleaned from a variety of historical texts. In the second part the present-day attitudinal patterns found in six multi-generational families living in central Pennsylvania will be described. I will argue that while some of the early assumptions about the language varieties of the Pennsylvania Germans have changed over time, a large number of the present stereotypes were formed soon after the arrival of the first German-speaking immigrants in Pennsylvania and the adjacent areas.

The study of both the development and the current nature of cultural attitudes and stereotypes is of great importance for our understanding of recent linguistic developments among the Pennsylvania Germans. In particular, the nonsectarian Pennsylvania Germans are a case in point: Their adoption of, and widespread belief in, the stereotype of the "dumb Dutchman" (which, as the historical examination will show, originated in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania society at large) has led to a shift from Pennsylvania German to English as native language and will ultimately result in language death within this subgroup. This linguistic development in turn has given rise to a revival of Pennsylvania German culture and its role as a conveyor of identity and solidarity.

### **Early language attitudes**

The quotations presented below are taken from seven texts by as many different authors, ranging in time from 1750 to 1829:

1750-54:       Gottlieb Mittelberger, *Journey to Pennsylvania in the Year 1750 and Return to Germany in the Year 1754*, trans. Carl Theo. Eben (Philadelphia: McVey, 1898).

1753:       Benjamin Franklin, "To Richard Jackson, 5 May 1753," *The Writings*

of *Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Albert Henry Smyth (New York: MacMillan, 1907), 3:133-41.

- 1764-65: Lord Adam Gordon, "Journal of an Officer Who Travelled in America and the West Indies in 1764 and 1765," *Travels in the American Colonies*, ed. Newton D. Mereness (New York: Antiquarian, 1961), 365-453.
- 1789: Benjamin Rush, *An Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania*, ed. Theodore E. Schmauk (Lancaster, PA: Pennsylvania German Society, 1910).
- 1793-98: Médéric-Louis-Elie Moreau de Saint-Méry, *American Journey, 1793-1798*, ed. and trans. Kenneth Roberts and Anna M. Roberts (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1947).
- 1822: Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New-England and New-York*, vol. 3 (New Haven, CT: Dwight, 1822).
- 1829: Jonas Heinrich Gudehus, "Journey to America," trans. Larry M. Neff, *Ebbes fer Alle—Ebber Ebbes fer Dich/Something for Everyone—Something for You: Essays in Memoriam Albert Franklin Buffington*, Publications of The Pennsylvania German Society, vol. 14 (Breinigsville, PA: Pennsylvania German Society, 1980), 183-329.

The genres to which the seven texts belong are as varied as travel report (Mittelberger, Gordon, Saint-Méry, Dwight), personal letter (Franklin), and scholarly report (Rush). The authors' geographical origins include North America (Franklin, Rush, Dwight), Scotland (Gordon), Martinique (Saint-Méry), and Germany (more specifically, Württemberg [in Mittelberger's case] and Braunschweig [in Gudehus's case]). The purposes for which the texts were written are as contrasting as Mittelberger's appeal to his fellow countrymen to abstain from emigration to Pennsylvania and Rush's rather positive account of the German population in his home state, designed to acquaint the young American nation with its citizens of German ancestry.

The two major languages spoken in Pennsylvania during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were English and German. Many German immigrants and their descendants acquired a competence in English in addition to their native knowledge of German. The German they spoke was not Standard German in the modern sense, but a dialect known as Pennsylvania German, which represents a leveled variety based on a number of Southern German dialects, most prominently on the various forms of *Pfälzisch*, the dialect of the Palatinate. According to Mittelberger,

[t]he principal language and the law of the land [was] English.<sup>2</sup>



Gudehus reports that

these people must also constantly speak the English language, since they have doings daily with so many who either understand no word of German or do not want to speak it.<sup>3</sup>

The German authors, among them most prominently the northerner Gudehus, frequently allude to the fact that Pennsylvania German is quite distinct from their own variety of German, not only because it contains some English interference but also because of dialectal differences:

The most eye-opening and grisliest was to me the miserable so-called high German language here, mixed with many English parts, and containing coarse and heavy expressions never heard in my fatherland. . . .<sup>4</sup>

The language of these Germans, however, is generally with very few exceptions of individual persons only a miserable mixture of the pitiful Palatine and Swabian German and English without these persons' knowing it.<sup>5</sup>

The texts abound with references to the decline of Pennsylvania German:

Here too [in Oley, Pennsylvania] I made the discovery, as I had been doing in general up to now as far as I had come, that the German language is near its decline, which distressed me; here too one hears only the Word of God from the pulpit still in the German language; in colloquial use it is gone long already. . . .<sup>6</sup>

. . . at times several of the oldest citizens had mentioned that it wasn't right that they should let the German schools close and let the language of the Germans who had built this city exclusively completely decline. . . .<sup>7</sup>

Their own language they spoke with increasing imperfection, and the English they scarcely spoke at all.<sup>8</sup>

The early authors intuitively felt that this decline was linked with the speakers' negative language attitudes. The texts repeatedly mention the fact that some German-speaking immigrants were ashamed of their native language:

There were many Germans there, he said, who were ashamed of their mother tongue and wanted to speak no German word.<sup>9</sup>

Although Germans and descendants of Germans live here exclusively, nevertheless the many guests there were ashamed to speak with me when

they observed that I understood no English and they looked at me over their shoulders.<sup>10</sup>

In the cities, especially in the port cities, the transformation from German to English proceeds with rapid steps. Whoever can quack a little English there is ashamed of the German and no longer wants to speak it. The educated among the Germans, especially those who were born in Germany but found their fortune and well-being in America, are the most opposed to their mother tongue, do not want to speak it at all anymore, indeed not seldom are they ashamed of their background. Even children exhibit a very great resistance to everything that is German.<sup>11</sup>

Many times the authors emphasize a lack of education among the German-speaking immigrants:

... by far the majority live in the deepest ignorance, which must be ascribed to the want of sufficient preachers and schoolmasters, the inhabitants lacking the means for their support.<sup>12</sup>

... but with all their freedom they are still slaves of their narrowness and lack of knowledge in everything that is not local and practical.<sup>13</sup>

... for it appears scandalous to them [the Americans of non-German origin] to receive any kind of instruction from the stupid German as they call him.<sup>14</sup>

It has been said, that the Germans are deficient in learning; and that in consequence of their want of more general and extensive education, they are much addicted to superstition. . . .<sup>15</sup>

The famous quotation from Benjamin Franklin's letter is no exception in painting the picture of the "dumb Dutchman":

Those who come hither are generally of the most ignorant stupid sort of their own Nation. . . .<sup>16</sup>

Nevertheless, two of the authors acknowledge that lack of education does not necessarily imply lack of intelligence: According to Mittelberger,

[i]t is a surprising fact that young people who were born in this new land, are very clever, docile and skilful. . . .<sup>17</sup>

And Moreau de Saint-Méry explicitly attests to the German-speaking indentured servants' intelligence:



The people from the Palatinate are the most highly sought because of their faithfulness and intelligence.<sup>18</sup>

These positive remarks, however, are the exception rather than the rule. With regard to wealth, the Pennsylvania Germans are in some instances also perceived rather negatively, as can be seen from the following quotation from Rush:

They brought but little property with them.<sup>19</sup>

On the other hand, some travelers—especially those from Germany—comment on the economic success some immigrants have had in the New World, as the following example of an innkeeper in Philadelphia shows:

This tavernkeeper Schröder with his wife, a native of the Palatinate, emigrated to America only several years ago and were at the time not able to pay their passage, but rather each had to do service three years long; then they worked into the fourth year for themselves and through it got so much together that they bought this nice hotel and now live in a very happy status. There is really no land on the whole earth where most of the craftsmen and every other worker—if he is not a spendthrift and a lazybones—can get status and wealth easier than in the United States of North America, if he emigrates there in his youth when he is still able to strip off the German skin and to pull on an American. Of this I found very many examples in Philadelphia.<sup>20</sup>

The texts abound with allusions to the Pennsylvania Germans' honesty:

As merchants they are candid and punctual. The bank of North America has witnessed, from its first institution, their fidelity to all their pecuniary engagements.<sup>21</sup>

The people from the Palatinate are the most highly sought because of their faithfulness and intelligence.<sup>22</sup>

People are far more sincere and generous than in Germany.<sup>23</sup>

The last quotation leads to the next character trait frequently attributed to the German immigrants: They are perceived to be of great generosity, usually combined with open hospitality:

... if I had more often taken advantage of the open hospitality of the American farmers which is the native custom there with all travelers, especially those who travel by foot.<sup>24</sup>

In Pennsylvania one might travel about a whole year without spending a

penny; for it is customary in this country that, when one comes with his horse to a house, the traveler is asked if he wishes to have something to eat, whereupon the stranger is served with a piece of cold meat which has been left over from dinner; in addition to this he is provided with fine bread, butter and cheese, also with plenty to drink. If one wishes to stay over night, he and his horse are harbored free of charge. If any one comes to a house at meal-time, he is asked to take his seat at the table and to take pot-luck.<sup>25</sup>

... but they are not strangers to the virtue of hospitality. The hungry or benighted traveller, is always sure to find a hearty welcome under their roofs.<sup>26</sup>

At the same time, the authors unanimously characterize the Pennsylvania Germans as frugal and economical people:

The German farmers live frugally in their families, with respect to diet, furniture and apparel.<sup>27</sup>

This character trait, together with the observation that the Pennsylvania Germans were quite successful farmers, prompted Benjamin Franklin to make the following statement in favor of further admission of German-speaking immigrants, despite his general skepticism:

I say, I am not against the Admission of Germans in general, for they have their Virtues. Their Industry and Frugality are exemplary. They are excellent Husbandmen; and contribute greatly to the Improvement of a Country.<sup>28</sup>

Here, Franklin points to the reason for the Pennsylvania Germans' professional success: their industry and diligence. This quality is probably one of the most frequently mentioned in the texts:

German workers, but only tradesmen, are eminently attractive there and are sought after, because a good German can get more done than three of the best native Americans.<sup>29</sup>

German day laborers, menservants and maids are preferred if they understand cooking well or possess other skills too; they are preferred to all others on account of their work and their diligence and make their fortune most easily.<sup>30</sup>

There are several large Towns and Villages, well inhabited and very industrious, particularly Lancaster and Bristol. . . .<sup>31</sup>

Only two authors comment favorably on the religiousness and the strong morals found among the Pennsylvania Germans:



All the different sects among them are particularly attentive to the religious education of their children, and to the establishment and support of the Christian Religion.<sup>32</sup>

A small collection of these, at Germantown in the southwestern corner of Columbia, have been mentioned to me by authority which I cannot dispute as a very worthy and respectable body of plain people, distinguished for their industry, good order, sound morals, and attachment to religion.<sup>33</sup>

Others complain about a lack of devoutness, especially among the rural population:

Nevertheless, there is a great confusion on account of the many religious denominations and sects; for especially in the rural districts it is very ill kept. The holidays and apostle-days are not observed at all.<sup>34</sup>

These shortcomings in religious life presumably result in a whole array of bad manners and lax morals, among them card-playing, drunkenness, swearing, fighting, and perjury:

Since the times of unrestrained freedom, however, laxity and coarseness of morals prevail in the United States of North America, and the chief cause of it is only the lack of appropriate religious instruction in churches and schools.<sup>35</sup>

The vice of drunkenness I found nowhere as terrible and to such a degree as there, especially among the lower class of people.<sup>36</sup>

Wanton cursing and swearing I found worse nowhere as in many regions of Pennsylvania among the German country folk; they excel in it by far more than even the German sailors.<sup>37</sup>

... low vices are unhappily prevalent among them. Fathers have not very unfrequently been seen at the gambling table with their sons, endeavoring to win money from each other, swearing at each other, charging each other with cheating and lying, and both at very late hours intoxicated.<sup>38</sup>

Before such a frolic or vendue begins there is especially much talk about who wants to fight at the same, for that is their chief pleasure, when two men of equal strength physically wrestle, scuffle, push, step on, press out each other's eyes, etc.<sup>39</sup>

Deceptions and false oaths are the order of the day; and trust and faith have come almost completely into disuse.<sup>40</sup>

## Present-day language attitudes<sup>41</sup>

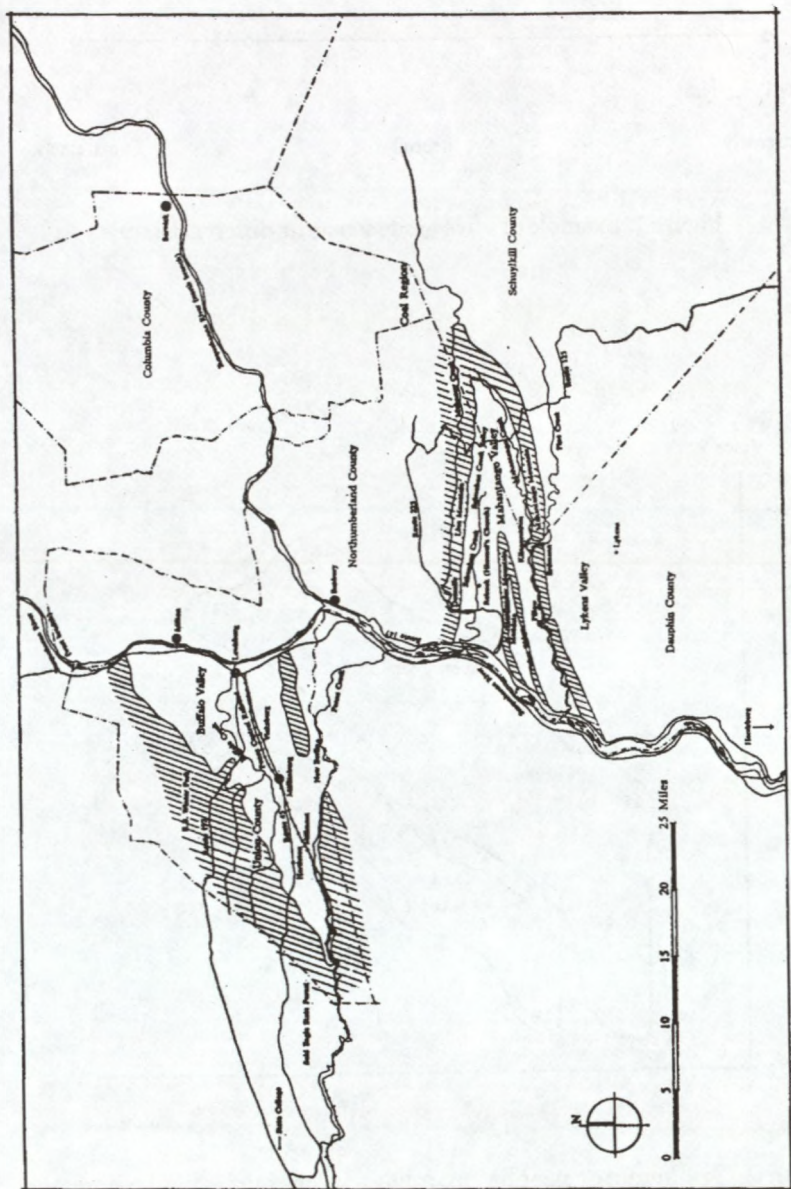
Between October 1989 and May 1990, I interviewed fifty informants living in the Mahantango and Buffalo Valleys in central Pennsylvania, at the northern edge of the Pennsylvania German area (see map). The informants were members of six multi-generational families: three nonsectarian (i.e., Lutheran and Reformed), two sectarian (Old Order Mennonite and New Order Amish) and one non-Pennsylvania German family. The informants ranged in age from five to eighty-three years and in their language competence from bilingual in Pennsylvania German and English to monolingual English. Along with the systematic gathering of phonological data and information on language use, the informants were administered a matched-guise test, the results of which enabled me to draw some conclusions about their language attitudes.

In this test the informants listened to nine language samples, each of which was approximately one minute in length. All samples were taken from pilot interviews and dealt with the topic of growing up in Pennsylvania Dutch Country. After they had listened to a sample, the informants were asked to answer twenty-one questions on a five-grade semantic differential scale (see figure 1). The questions consisted of the following polar character traits:

1. well educated—poorly educated
2. intelligent—dumb
3. professional—laborer
4. is in charge of things—has little authority
5. has a lot of money—has little money
6. honest—insincere
7. dependable—not dependable
8. generous—stingy
9. friendly and likeable—unfriendly and unlikeable
10. good sense of humor—no sense of humor
11. self-confident—unsure of self
12. hard-working—lazy
13. reserved—flashy
14. modest—boastful
15. stubborn—easy-going
16. comes from a city—comes from a rural area
17. non-religious—religious
18. progressive/open-minded—traditional/conservative
19. easy to understand—difficult to understand
20. I'd like to speak like this speaker myself—  
I wouldn't like to speak like this speaker myself
21. I meet such speakers often—I meet such speakers rarely

Thus each informant gave me a comprehensive character profile of the speakers





Areas of fieldwork in central Pennsylvania

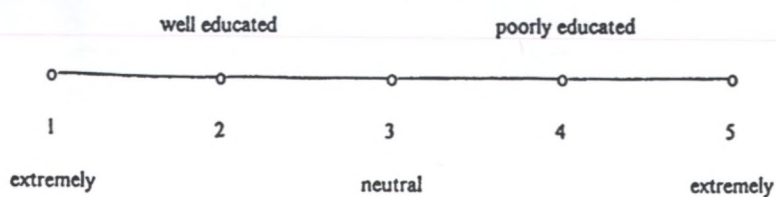


Figure 1. Example of a five-grade semantic differential scale

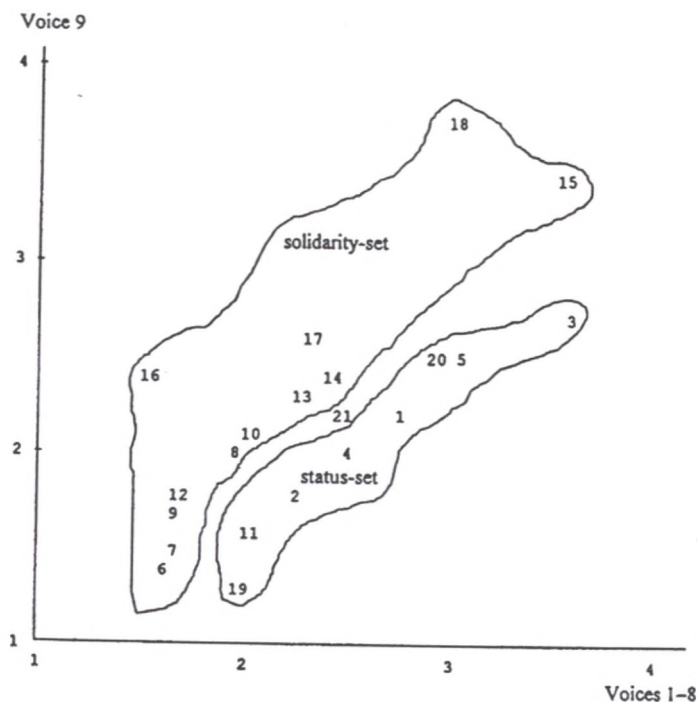


Figure 2. Continuum of questions according to their sources for the ethnically marked voices (1-8) and the regional standard of English (voice 9)



of each of the nine samples he or she heard. What the informants did not know, however, was that in reality they listened to four different speakers only. Each speaker delivered one sample in Pennsylvania German and one in English with a Pennsylvania German accent. In addition, one of them, a minister, also used regional standard English. As a result, I was able to compare the character profile the speakers received when speaking one variety with that attributed to them when they used another.

The following results are based on the comparison of the eight "dutchified" voices (Pennsylvania German and Pennsylvania German English; voices 1-8) with the regional standard (voice 9). Both a factor analysis and a somewhat less formalized method showed that the questions can be grouped into a status-stressing and a solidarity-stressing set (see figure 2). The status set comprises eight questions dealing with education (1), intellectual ability (2), professional status (3), power (4), wealth (5), self-confidence (11), intelligibility (19), and identification with the speaker (20). The guiding theme of these categories is social success. The solidarity set, on the other hand, includes character traits such as honesty (6), dependability (7), generosity (8), friendliness (9), humor (10), diligence (12), reserve (13), modesty (14), stubbornness (15), rural origin (16), religiousness (17), and conservatism (18). Only question 21 (familiarity) could not unambiguously be added to one or the other group.

In the opinion of all the informants taken together, the speaker using regional standard is associated with having high social status. His foremost character trait is professionalism, followed by intelligibility, good education, authority, wealth, intelligence, and self-confidence. The informant group as a whole stated that this is the way they would like to speak themselves.

On the other hand, the speakers of the ethnically marked varieties are most clearly associated with coming from a rural area, conservatism, and religiousness. In addition, they are perceived to be characterized by a good sense of humor, friendliness, diligence, generosity, modesty, reserve, a certain degree of stubbornness, dependability, and honesty—all character traits belonging to the solidarity—stressing set of questions.

Thus, while the results confirm the current widespread perception of Pennsylvania Germans as honest, quiet and likeable people—the kind of folks with whom one likes to be friends—the stereotype of the "dumb Dutchman" is also reflected in the data. This stereotype, however, consists of more characteristics than just being unintelligent. Speakers marked by ethnic features are first of all associated with being laborers, poorly educated, lacking authority, and having little money. Only then are they perceived to be unintelligent and self-conscious.

It is the oldest generation of the nonsectarian Pennsylvania Germans, i.e., the last generation alive to have Pennsylvania German as their first language, that proved to look down upon their own culture the most. This negative cultural attitude manifested itself in a negative language attitude and led to this generation's unanimous shift to English as a first language for their children beginning in the 1930s. The following statement by a younger member of the nonsectarian group summarizes the reasons for this shift, which has had such far-reaching consequences for the future (non)maintenance of Pennsylvania German among the nonsectarians:



Our parents didn't want us to have a Pennsylvania German accent in our English. They didn't want us to have a hard time at school as they did.

This rejection of one's own culture has been less prevalent among the sectarians, for whom the religious aspect of their culture is far more important than being Pennsylvania German. Likewise, the stereotype of the "dumb Dutchman" is less prevalent among the non-Pennsylvania German informants, and also in the younger generations of the nonsectarians.

For the latter, Pennsylvania German is associated with establishing familiarity, its role as a medium to relive childhood memories, its usefulness as a secret language within the family, and its being a vehicle of expression of ethnic pride. Numerous remarks during the interviews, as well as widespread attempts at language revival (as documented by Pennsylvania German newspaper columns, annual church services, *Versammlinge*, skits, radio and TV programs, and evening classes), show that those nonsectarian generations that do not have native competence in Pennsylvania German display a very positive attitude toward their ethnic culture and language. The younger nonsectarians express their regret of the loss of their linguistic identity by high marks for ethnically marked speakers for the solidarity-set questions, i.e., on an emotional dimension. In fact, there are certain indications that the members of the second generation with English as their native language, who have practically no competence in Pennsylvania German, express their ethnic identity by deliberately marking their English with some of the Pennsylvania German features so familiar in the speech of their grandparents and parents.

As Lois Huffines has shown, the public afterlife of Pennsylvania German is twofold.<sup>42</sup> While a number of nonsectarian supporters try to revive or at least maintain the language within their own group, Pennsylvania German English is used in a variety of commercial settings to attract attention and to achieve humor. These include "Dutch" restaurants adorned with quaint, historically and geographically completely inaccurate windmills, the use of Pennsylvania German folk art on diner place mats, and the grossly exaggerated collections of "ferhoodled English."

In all of the above instances, symbols of the sectarians and the nonsectarians are usually mixed indiscriminately. Through its use in commercialism, the stereotype of the ignorant, naive, and quaint Pennsylvania German persists. The desired effect, however, can only be achieved because mainstream society views Pennsylvania German culture and language as non-threatening to Anglo-American culture.

## Synthesis and Conclusion

Altogether, a comparison between attitudes expressed toward members of the Pennsylvania German culture and their languages over the last three and a half centuries reveals a remarkable stability. Since their formation in the years right after the arrival of the first immigrants from German-speaking areas, both positive and negative attitudes have clung to this cultural group with tremendous tenacity.

Although a decline of German was underway in Pennsylvania in the time of the



historical texts (see above: Gudehus, Dwight) and some of the authors implicitly predict the death of the immigrant varieties, Pennsylvania German is still very much alive today. Because of the high birthrate among the sectarians, it is, in fact, growing in number of speakers. However, in defense of the authors we have to acknowledge the fact that the division into sectarian and nonsectarian groups is much more clear-cut today than it was at their own time and that their predictions of the loss of Pennsylvania German among the nonsectarians eventually, even though not until the most recent decades, proved right. Today, most people think of the Amish and Mennonites as the prototype of the Pennsylvania Germans.

The old perception of Pennsylvania German being an inferior dialect of German (on account of being an unprestigious southern variety heavily intermixed with English elements) has developed into the current view of its being no "real" language, having "no grammar," and being "neither German nor English." While this attitude toward the ethnic language variety itself appears to be quite common to most ethnic subgroups involved (nonsectarians, sectarians, and non-Pennsylvania Germans), the more general perception of Pennsylvania German culture has developed in a far more diverse way. Thus, the notion of being ashamed of one's mother tongue has given way to ethnic pride and cultural revival attempts in today's nonsectarian group. This process, however, could not take place until Pennsylvania German was at the brink of being lost as a native language in the latter half of the twentieth century. This development is a good example of attitudinal patterns being reversed by language shift. In the sectarian society, on the other hand, the use of Pennsylvania German in the home domain keeps it alive and renders an emotional or nostalgic relationship to this variety unnecessary.

Despite the recent positive perceptions of Pennsylvania German ethnicity among the younger nonsectarians, the view expressed by some of the authors that the Pennsylvania Germans lack intelligence and education persists to the present day in the stereotype of the "dumb Dutchman." Strangely enough, this negative perception is now, as we have seen, exploited by commercialism by means of "Dutch humor" aimed at the surrounding mainstream society. However, just like the aforementioned phenomenon of a growing need for ethnic identity at the moment of death of the ethnic language, this apparent contradiction is in line with the historical development of the attitudinal patterns, which even among the old commentators were extremely diverse and sometimes contradictory. It is therefore fitting that the non-Pennsylvania German informants considered the Pennsylvania Germans' competence in another language apart from English as a sign of intelligence.

Likewise, the old texts differ in their assessment of wealth and economic success among the Pennsylvania Germans. While those immigrants who struggled for their livelihood as farmers were perceived as poor, others came to be regarded as successful businessmen (cf. Gudehus' example of an innkeeper in Philadelphia). Since the present-day Pennsylvania Germans are generally thought to be rural folks—typically laborers and small farmers (such as the Amish and Mennonites)—they are usually not considered to be wealthy. Those descendants of German immigrants who have moved upward on the social ladder often left the area and are therefore not perceived as Pennsylvania Germans. This process seems to be accelerating as the younger



generations of the nonsectarians flock to colleges and universities, becoming socially and geographically more mobile.

Honesty and diligence, both of which were repeatedly associated with the Germans in America by the early authors, are seen as positive character traits in today's Pennsylvania Germans. The widespread early characterization of Pennsylvania Germans being hospitable toward travelers has widened to a general perception of generosity. Together with other emotionally-oriented items, such as dependability, friendliness, humor, reserve, modesty, stubbornness, rural origin, and conservatism, they form the solidarity dimension, on which Pennsylvania Germans typically receive higher marks than outsiders. The only factor in which opinions have changed is religiousness. While several authors complained about the lack of devoutness and the decline of morals, today's informants attribute a high level of religiousness to the Pennsylvania Germans, not only to the sectarians, but also to the nonsectarians. The association of the German immigrants with lax morals has given way to a sense of religious piety and conservatism among today's Pennsylvania Germans.

The study of the development of attitudinal patterns associated with the Pennsylvania Germans harbors two important results. First, it shows how stable linguistic and cultural attitudes can be. Many of today's perceptions can be traced back to the earliest days of German-speaking immigrants in Pennsylvania. Second, it is an important tool in our assessment of the linguistic development of the various Pennsylvania German subgroups. As the case of the nonsectarians shows, there is a close interdependence between linguistic developments and language attitude. Negative perceptions spilling over from the surrounding mainstream society caused this group to shift from Pennsylvania German to English as native language, thus bringing about language death in this subgroup. This, however, is not the end of the cycle. As a direct reaction, the attitudinal patterns in the younger generations have been modified, manifesting themselves in a whole array of recent cultural revival attempts. The linguistic results of this development remain yet to be seen.

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### Acknowledgments

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the origin of the name "Pennsylvania Dutch" and its originally derogatory connotations, see Don Yoder, "Palatine, Hessian, Dutchman: Three Images of the German in America," in *Ebbes fer Alle—Ebber Ebbes fer Dich/Something for Everyone—Something for You: Essays in Memoriam Albert Franklin Buffington*, Publications of The Pennsylvania German Society, vol. 14 (Breinigsville, PA: Pennsylvania



German Society, 1980), 105-29, which also includes many historical comments on the Pennsylvania Germans.

<sup>2</sup> Mittelberger, *Journey*, 49.

<sup>3</sup> Gudehus, "Journey," 209.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 298-99.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 219.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 238.

<sup>8</sup> Dwight, *Travels*, 122.

<sup>9</sup> Gudehus, "Journey," 208.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 236.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 299.

<sup>12</sup> Mittelberger, *Journey*, 62.

<sup>13</sup> Gudehus, "Journey," 278.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 306.

<sup>15</sup> Rush, *Account*, 87-88.

<sup>16</sup> Franklin, "To Richard Jackson," 139.

<sup>17</sup> Mittelberger, *Journey*, 56.

<sup>18</sup> Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Journey*, 294.

<sup>19</sup> Rush, *Account*, 44.

<sup>20</sup> Gudehus, "Journey," 213.

<sup>21</sup> Rush, *Account*, 76-77.

<sup>22</sup> Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Journey*, 294.

<sup>23</sup> Mittelberger, *Journey*, 113.

<sup>24</sup> Gudehus, "Journey," 250.

<sup>25</sup> Mittelberger, *Journey*, 97.

<sup>26</sup> Rush, *Account*, 85-86.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 62.

<sup>28</sup> Franklin, "To Richard Jackson," 141.

<sup>29</sup> Gudehus, "Journey," 215.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 277.

<sup>31</sup> Gordon, "Journal," 411.

<sup>32</sup> Rush, *Account*, 78.

<sup>33</sup> Dwight, *Travels*, 375-76.

<sup>34</sup> Mittelberger, *Journey*, 106.

<sup>35</sup> Gudehus, "Journey," 260.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 296.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 295.

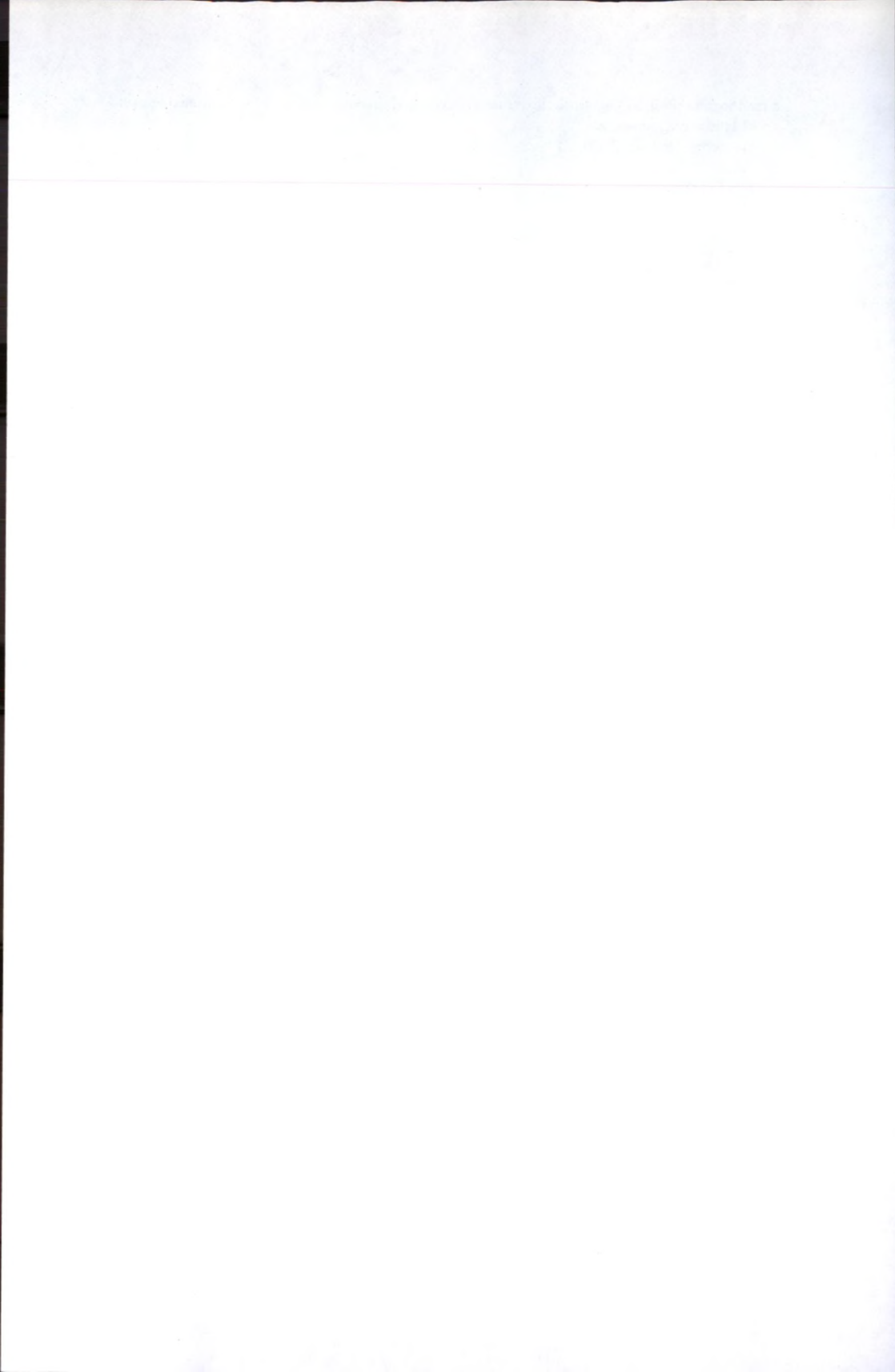
<sup>38</sup> Dwight, *Travels*, 119.

<sup>39</sup> Gudehus, "Journey," 292-93.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 294.

<sup>41</sup> A more detailed interpretation of the present-day data can be found in chapter 4 of Achim Kopp, *The Phonology of Pennsylvania German English as Evidence of Language Maintenance and Shift* (London: Associated University Presses, 1999); also see Kopp "The Matched-Guise Technique in Practice: Measuring Language Attitudes within the Pennsylvania German Speech Community," in *The German Language in America, 1683-1991*, ed. Joseph C. Salmons (Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, 1993), 264-83.

<sup>42</sup> Marion Lois Huffines, "Pennsylvania German in Public Life," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 34 (1990): 117-25.





Donald F. Durnbaugh

### Advice to Prospective Immigrants: Two Communications to Germany from Pennsylvania in the 1730s

In her superbly-documented recent book, *Trade in Strangers* (1999), Marianne S. Wokeck describes in detail the "beginnings of mass migration to North America."<sup>1</sup> Though early immigration from England extending through the seventeenth century had set the predominant cultural and political pattern for colonial America, from the inception there was ethnic diversity, especially in the Middle Colonies. The French Jesuit Isaac Jogues (1607-46) observed in 1643 about Dutch-administered New Amsterdam: "No religion is publicly exercised but the Calvinist [Dutch Reformed], and orders are to admit none but Calvinists. But this is not observed, for there are, besides Calvinists, in the colony, Catholics, English Puritans, Lutherans, [and] Anabaptists, here called Mennonites." He was told by the Dutch governor that eighteen different languages could be heard on and nearby the island of Manhattan.<sup>2</sup>

In the eighteenth century it was the mass influx from German-speaking areas—by the best reckoning some 111,000 came before 1776—that dominated the immigration scene. As is well-known, so many of them came from the troubled Electoral Palatinate during this period that "Palatine" became the generic name for all of these newcomers.<sup>3</sup>

Wokeck provides great detail in limning "The Ordeal of Relocation" (chap. 4); this began with the onerous, expensive and bureaucratic procedure of obtaining permission to leave (causing many to leave illegally and surreptitiously), the tortuous passage on the Rhine River (with its ubiquitous customs barriers), and the difficulties of securing adequate Atlantic passage in Rotterdam (from which a large majority of the emigrants left). This culminated in the often harrowing sea voyage itself, caused by overcrowding, inadequate facilities for hygiene, skimpy and polluted provisions, and often extended duration. This ordeal ended, finally, in the confusing process of disembarkation, and the cruel necessity of making a new life in a strange New World.<sup>4</sup>

Veterans and survivors of this epochal effort were understandably eager to provide guidance for family relations and others who anticipated their own departure from Europe. Many of the new settlers sent letters back home to provide helpful information; some resorted to publications.<sup>5</sup> Two, in particular, were mined effectively by Wokeck

in her descriptions. Although discovered, translated, and published in 1967 by the present author, they had hitherto been largely ignored by scholars of immigration.

The first document, a letter written in 1736 by a religious dissenter in Pennsylvania to a cousin still in Europe, gave practical information but little direct encouragement. The second document, published in Frankfurt am Main in 1739 but signed by leading German-Americans from the Philadelphia area, was a pointed and graphic warning against ill-considered emigration. The cautionary effort was motivated by the catastrophic experiences of many ocean travelers in 1738, "the year of the destroying angels" as one contemporary dubbed it.

### Andreas Bohni to His Cousin Martin Bohni

The weaver Andreas Bohni or Boni (1673-1741) was a native of Frenkendorf, a village in the Canton of Basel. During his journeyman years he resided in Heidelberg, capital of the Electoral Palatinate. He and his wife Maria Sarah took up citizenship there in 1702. It was during this period that Bohni, baptized as a matter of course as an infant into the Swiss Reformed faith, encountered and adopted the beliefs of Pietism and Anabaptism.<sup>7</sup>

Anabaptism, the central movement within the Radical Reformation of the sixteenth century, is widely held to have initiated the Believers or Free Church, breaking with the traditional scheme of church establishment by gathering adult converts into disciplined and covenanting congregations. Believers baptism and nonresistance characterized this dissenting movement, which was thought to be so dangerous that it was sharply persecuted by both Catholic and Protestant authorities. By the eighteenth century, when Bohni came into contact with Anabaptists, it was perpetuated by Mennonites. A number of Mennonite congregations in the Palatinate were tolerated by the Electoral Palatine regime, though only under severe limitation, because of their prowess as master farmers.<sup>8</sup>

Pietism, understood by some scholars as a continuation in milder form of basic Anabaptist understandings, emerged in the seventeenth century as a reform and renewal movement among both Reformed and Lutheran state churches. While holding largely to the doctrinal tenets of these forms of Magisterial Protestantism, Pietists emphasized the importance of Christian lifestyle, a heart-filled and emotional faith, and the mutual edification of like-minded persons in small conventicles (*ecclesiolae in ecclesia*). In just this period in this region, Mennonites were strongly under Pietist influence.<sup>9</sup>

After Maria Sarah Bohni died in 1704, the widower Andreas Bohni returned to the Basel area. He soon came to the attention of the local authorities when he was successful in converting relatives and other residents to his dissenting religious views. Frenkendorf officials promptly complained to their superiors in Basel that Bohni refused to perform military service, take oaths, and participate in the sacramental eucharist. Bohni left again for the Palatinate but returned in 1706. His activity was so extensive that a major research project now underway has as its focus Bohni and his circle as the center of Anabaptist and Pietist activity well into the eighteenth century in several Swiss cantons.<sup>10</sup>



Continued religious activity by Andreas Bohni led to his imprisonment in Basel, along with his younger brother Martin. Andreas Bohni, as the ringleader, was expelled, then traveled in the Bernese area for a time, but returned to the Basel canton. He was imprisoned, pilloried, and expelled once more. This time Bohni went to the Duchy of Wittgenstein, north of Frankfurt am Main where the tolerant policy of a pietist-minded count attracted large numbers of separatists and radicals.<sup>11</sup>

Bohni was thus present in the Wittgenstein area in 1708 as one of the eight founding members (along with his second wife Anna Noethiger Bohni) of the Brethren, a neo-Anabaptist movement called *Neue Täufer* or *Tunck-Täufer* by contemporaries. The terms derive from the most striking practice of the Brethren, the baptism of adult converts by a three-fold forward immersion, following, as they understood it, the mode of the early Christian church.<sup>12</sup>

Andreas Bohni traveled as a leader on behalf of the new dissenting movement. Among other efforts he was active in helping to free Brethren leader Christian Liebe (1679-1757) and two Mennonite elders from their harrowing sentence as galley slaves in the Mediterranean in 1715. This effort involved an intriguing ecumenical mix of Swiss Pietists, Dutch Mennonites, an Anglican bishop, and German Brethren.<sup>13</sup>

When the Wittgenstein Brethren relocated to Friesland in 1720, the Bohnis accompanied them. Basel Canton records document that Andreas Bohni, at that time a resident of "Serusstarnen" (actually, Surhuisterveen) transferred by letter on 8 August 1726 his inheritance to his siblings, Martin, Hans, and Maria. The Bohnis then became part of the large company of Brethren who migrated to Pennsylvania from Friesland in 1729, following the first Brethren group who left ten years earlier from Krefeld. Bohni lived at Kingessing, near Germantown, north of Philadelphia, working presumably as a weaver, until his death in 1741.<sup>14</sup>

On 16 October 1736 Andreas penned a letter to his cousin Martin Bohni, a lengthy excerpt of which has been preserved in the archives of Baden-Württemberg.<sup>15</sup> He began on a negative note, reminding the cousin that he had already warned Martin to weigh carefully the consequences of the latter's stated wish to emigrate; as Andreas Bohni phrased it, "I can hardly encourage anyone to come because of the great, long, and difficult journey." However, if Martin were determined, he was willing to provide advice that would make the journey less difficult.

Young people rather than older persons could survive the trip more readily. In the first place, because of their greater strength and energy, they could avoid great expense by going on foot to Rotterdam to take ship, instead of the usual route down the Rhine River with its numerous and expensive custom barriers. Additionally, once arrived in Pennsylvania, they could easily find well-paid jobs as day laborers in the textile pursuits of spinning and weaving, for "young and industrious people are welcome."

Whether traveling by foot to Rotterdam or by boat on the Rhine, those bound to the seaport could expect material aid and good counsel in Krefeld on the Lower Rhine from Christian Liebe, a merchant there. Once in Rotterdam, where they might have to wait a considerable length of time until a ship would be ready to depart, prospective emigrants should inquire for Pieter De Koker in the Kornmarkt, who



could arrange temporary work and otherwise sustain them; they had, however, to take care not to demand help. De Koker was a prosperous merchant affiliated with the Brethren; De Koker relatives became well-known for their connection with John Wesley (1703-91), founder of the Methodists.<sup>16</sup>

Ocean passage could be secured for six doubloons, or those with little money could indenture themselves to secure passage. The money thus advanced could be worked off in North America for a negotiated number of years. If the passage were paid, "the skipper provides the victuals, food, and drink," so that little money is needed on board ship. However, passengers would do well to provide themselves with additional provender, "a whole ham for every one or two persons and a jug of vinegar." Another argument for traveling by foot to Rotterdam instead of journeying by boat is that the money saved from the cost of the Rhine River boat could be used to stock up with supplies in Rotterdam. Bohni advised buying bedding, a pillow or a blanket, for the trip.

Bohni warned his cousin against kidnappers in Rotterdam, who frequent places where young men or journeymen gather at night. "Then they use their practice of gently luring them away to sell them." He further cautioned against taking passage for South Carolina. According to trustworthy reports, the weather there was hot, the land was sandy, water was scarce, and the diet was poor. Some relatives he knew from the Basel area were said have migrated there. On the other hand, those traveling to New York or to Philadelphia would do well. New York had the advantage that trade goods could be brought ashore there with little difficulty, whereas in Philadelphia such goods were confiscated. All in all, so Bohni, "if it please God, I would certainly wish you here." It is not known if Martin Bohni made good on his emigration plans.

### **The 1739 Warning to Prospective Emigrants**

Among the flood of pamphlets published in the German states in the first decades of the eighteenth century that portrayed the benefits of relocation in the New World, one appeared in 1739 that painted a different story. It was signed by fifteen prominent German leaders resident in Philadelphia and its environs. The motivation for their initiative was the grievous loss of life among passengers of emigrant ships during the 1738 season. Their concern was to warn their former countrymen against an ill-considered decision to emigrate. While not totally discouraging immigration, they provided horrific detail of the terrors that trans-Atlantic voyage could entail.

The expansive title of the rare pamphlet well describes both its content and intent; in English translation it reads:

Authentic Open Letter from Pennsylvania in America, wherein are contained several thorough accounts of 1) the nature of the land; 2) the migration, sea voyage, and arrivals of the European passengers in general; and 3) in particular, some conscientious and authenticated accounts of the last and numerous but also miserable and pitiful migration of the year 1738, etc. Written out of ardent love and sympathy as a warning to their European,



and especially to their German, countrymen, and attested to with their own seals by some well-meaning persons there, etc. . . . (Frankfurt/Main, 1739), [to be had] at Just[us] Heinr[ich] Wigand's, bookbinder on the market place at the Three Romans.<sup>17</sup>

The German publisher of the tract is not known; in the published version it is simply addressed to "Very esteemed Sir and Friend." The signers indicated that few of them knew the recipient in person. They urged the recipient to see that their message was published and distributed. It might have been Dr. Heinrich Ehrenfried Luther (1700-70), court councilor (*Hofrat*), lawyer, and influential businessman in Frankfurt. As the proprietor of a type-foundry, Luther was also a business associate and correspondent of Johann Christoph Sauer (1695-1768), one of the signers of the "Open Letter" and possibly its instigator. Luther had supplied the type fonts used by the Germantown printer to initiate his print-shop in 1738. The Frankfurt resident was himself later deeply involved in emigration schemes to North America, especially to New England. Another possibility was Andreas Gross (ca.1685-ca.1750), a separatist leader in Frankfurt, who was active as a bookseller and publisher. It was Gross who facilitated the sale of fonts to Sauer from the Luther type-foundry.<sup>18</sup>

Earlier letters from Sauer in Germantown, following his own emigration in 1724, to associates in Germany had stimulated many to leave for Pennsylvania. In 1755 he reported to Governor Robert Hunter Morris of Pennsylvania contrasting the burdensome obligations of subjects who had to labor six days a week for their lords with the freedom in America: "[W]hen I came to this province and found everything to the Contrary from where I came from, I wrote Largely to all my friends and acquaintances of the Civil and religious Libertys, [and] Privileges and of all the goodness I have hear' d and Seen." The result was "that my letters was printed and re and reprinted, and provoked many a tousand People to Come to this Province, and manny thancked the Lord for it, and desired their friends also again to Come here." In part because of this, the printer took responsibility for the welfare of immigrants, often reporting problems in his newspapers.

He repeatedly intervened with authorities in Pennsylvania on behalf of the newcomers, openly attacking unfair business practices and urging the colony officials to ensure that justice was done to them. The occasion for writing two letters to the governor in 1755 was to urge him to support a bill introduced into the assembly entitled "An Act for Preventing the Importation of Germans or Other Passengers or Servants in Too Great Numbers in Any Ship or Vessel, and for Preventing the Spreading of Contagious Distempers within the Province." For his long-standing efforts on behalf of the suffering German immigrants, he was called the "Good Samaritan of Germantown."<sup>19</sup>

The "Open Letter" pamphlet begins with earnest questions directed to those "filled with such a strong desire to migrate to this land." These persons are urged to consider very carefully "such an indescribably difficult move with your families." Are they primarily motivated by fear of difficulties in their home lands, by "an imagined hope for an earthly paradise which might be attained?" The authors suspected that



the machinations of others are at work, in particular the so-called "Newlanders" who exaggerate the supposed pleasures of the New World to induce emigration for their own financial benefit.

An early section laid out briefly the story of the creation of the colony by William Penn (1644-1718) to provide "foreigners and refugees persecuted here and there in Europe and in Old England" a place where they could "support themselves by their hands and diligence under divine protection and blessing." The first settlers—Swedes, Englishmen, Germans, and Dutch—after initial difficulties "lived a long time in considerable fear of God, righteousness, and genuine neighborly love as well as untiring industry" which presented an "exemplary pattern of their first love and unpartisan mutual friendship toward all nationalities," still in the remembrance of older settlers.<sup>20</sup>

However, as word spread of the advantages of the colony, others came with little regard to the objectives of the founder. These latecomers "sought to gain much property and land and at the same time accumulate great wealth." Among this later contingent were Germans who sought to emigrate for unworthy economic purposes. "However, already several times . . . the stars in their courses have crossed them through divine judgment, and hundreds, yes, even thousands, of them have been buried at sea without seeing the imagined promised land."

It is indeed true that the land has had "its generous blessing for hearts and stomachs," with its "timber and water, bread and meat, flax and wool" sufficient to provide for inhabitants. Nevertheless, the great influx of many ethnic groups, including the English, Irish, Scots, Germans, to say nothing of the slaves, has created crowding. This overpopulation has resulted in a shortage of money, causing extensive borrowing and "frequent failure to repay." Even worse, the large numbers of immigrants has caused good land to become rare. "It is considered good fortune when someone finds a good piece of land with all of the necessities provided, for which, accordingly, he must pay a high enough price even if it is far from Philadelphia, the only large city in the land." Property that several decades ago went for sixty to ninety guilders now cost between four hundred to two thousand guilders, even for uncultivated land. Locations near the city are of course even more expensive, for purchase or renting. It is true that good land can be obtained in Maryland and Virginia, but the distance from the city means that a settler has to "travel two, three, or four weeks by horse and wagon in order to sell his crops and buy other necessities."<sup>21</sup>

These developments are the reason that "those who are not longtime, wealthy, debt-free residents or very rich newcomers, must work strenuously" and "are hard put to make a living." Needed craftsmen, physicians, and schools are seldom found locally. Therefore, "even wealthy people who are immigrating these days have regretted their move and wish themselves back over there once again." Many would not hesitate to return to the old country if the journey were not so difficult. Even so, "some have already done this and are content with poorer circumstances than they once had."

The Pennsylvanians then turned their attention to the process of emigration itself. The first problem was the inaccuracy of many of the letters received in Europe from those who have resettled in Pennsylvania. They "send letters with exaggerated praises of their supposedly good positions to their relatives and acquaintances over



there." They knew of cases of falsification of letters entrusted to Newlanders returning to Germany. It often happened that these recruiting agents "open the letters that were sent along with them, and which had been properly and dearly paid for;" when they find "that everything is not described in grand enough terms, they make large numbers out of small, and add that they are to be paid so much more per letter over there."<sup>22</sup>

Many of the Newlanders have contracts with shippers on the Neckar and Rhine Rivers, so that for their own profit they "stir the people up out of selfish and greedy motives and fan more and more excitement." They further gain from per head commissions from the sea captains and from free passage for their own goods. What is worse, they mislead their recruits about what provisions they should take along, so that when food and drink run short during the voyage, the Newlanders and the captains can further profit by selling victuals on board to the hapless emigrants. This causes them "to run up greater debts than they already have, all to increase their greedy profits the more."

Typically, because of misinformation and expecting to occupy a "Canaan all prepared for them," the emigrants do not conduct themselves wisely as they travel on the Rhine towards Rotterdam. "They dance themselves silly, fiddle, scuffle, guzzle, and fight. In other words, they prepare a sure foundation . . . for the inevitable illnesses at sea by their intemperance and irregular life." Their lack of cleanliness at this stage is an "ill preparation for the almost unavoidable uncleanness at sea."

When the emigrants arrive at the Dutch border they are met by agents and sea captains who persuade them (often with forged recommendations) to sign contracts. Because of earlier difficulties when hordes of aspirants to emigration burdened Dutch seaports, with many destitute and orphans left behind, the Estates General mandated in 1722 and again in 1734 that no Rhine passengers could proceed past their border unless bonded merchants or factors guaranteed their speedy departure from land. The Hope and Stedman merchant families of Rotterdam achieved a virtual monopoly on Palatine emigration by the late 1730s.<sup>23</sup>

Often a lengthy stay at the seaport in inadequate housing was necessary before the ships were ready for departure. Once on board they find that "they are packed in like herring, so that many a man whose family numbers eight or more has hardly a space six feet long and wide and three feet high." In this space, "he and his family with their bedding, linens, cooking utensils, and victuals are imprisoned for six weeks;" in fact the voyage can extend to fifteen or twenty weeks or more. There is no room for crates or furniture, which must either be abandoned or, if left for a later ship, be subject to looting and destruction. Because the sea captains and the Newlanders wish to have room for their own goods, they leave less for the passengers.

Many of the emigrants try to bring along merchandise, to sell upon arrival and thus pay for their passage. However, this often does not work well. If the goods actually arrive, which is most uncertain, they do not meet expectations: "There is already a surplus of merchandise which is imported frequently. Often they hardly get their money out of it."<sup>24</sup>

The major evil with the crowding [comes] when the slightest illness spreads. With such numbers and their continual and unchanged air and exhalations (inasmuch as they have to lie two or three levels high), such illnesses can easily change into a contagious epidemic, which sweeps away the poor people in large numbers, especially the small children. Very few of them have survived the trip this year; they are always taken first.

From Holland, then, the voyage goes toward England, where the misery begins. Then the excessive meals that had been eaten are violently vomited. It is soon quiet on the ship, especially when a small gale arises. Then those people who had previously quarreled a bit with the captain and the sailors are even worse off, for they are in their hands. They can make their lives miserable for them in many ways, as many, even good-natured, men have already experienced.

In England the passengers must pass customs, where those seeking to transport merchandise often pay dearly. After the ships eventually leave the English ports, hopes arise for a speedy passage, but these are quickly dashed.

After sailing for two months (for out of twenty ships hardly one arrives after two months . . .) then [the sailors] begin to speak of only the first half of the distance or somewhat more. By that time the provisions of the people are usually gone because they had eaten and wasted them as if there would be no end to them. Also, the captain must reduce a bit the ration of water and all other victuals, which the people up to that time had often contemptuously and disdainfully thrown overboard instead of saving them carefully. When people are still quite healthy, their stomachs get hungry.<sup>25</sup>

If in a gale the ship is blown off the course, the rations are reduced even more. Then comes a miserable crying, lamenting, regret, and hunger, and especially thirst, but to no avail. Then envy and enmity arise openly if perhaps one still has provisions and his neighbor has nothing. The best of friends and neighbors become the bitterest enemies. The wind, as earlier the belly, is their god, to which alone they look. Finally, after ten, twelve, even up to sixteen weeks, land and bottom are found. After much sailing about, healthy or (usually) ill, they sail into the river and up toward land. Then there is jubilation and joy and plenty until they arrive at Philadelphia.

Disembarkation is a stressful time. Children, the elderly, and the ill are hard put to find placements. "It takes a long time for feeble people to find a place and often they are not taken at all. Then they have to sell themselves as the captain is able and willing." Especially difficult were cases where erstwhile emigrants died during the course of the passage. Survivors had to pay for their passages as well, if they had not paid in advance. Even those who have means become unhappy. First, they "boast and swagger about the land . . . acting as if everything ought to fall at their feet and welcome them. This does not last long. There begins cursing and damning of the



land and of those who advised to the move . . . , if they do not find it to their taste (no vineyards or German ways in the cities and the villages, etc.).” It is worse for those with no money for the passage, for they “are torn from each other— parents from children, man from wife, one here, the other there—and sold for several years [as indentured servants]. Often much is promised in words but not put into writing or kept.”

“Those coming from the ships smell and stink, are full of lice, filth, and dirt (especially those who were ill or still are) so that no one will touch their clothing out of disgust except for good friends or relatives who take care of some. Then all, stranger and native, bewail the money and the deceased parents, children, and friends.”

After this tale of woe, the writers of the pamphlet deliver one of their punch lines. “Here, then, is the truth about the migration and arrival of the Europeans, briefly described, *when all goes well*” [emphasis added].

A direct admonition followed:

From this you, our countrymen, whose thoughts are full of travel ideas, can decide and judge for yourselves whether the rich and prosperous are doing right—even if all goes well—to spend such a large sum as this journey requires during a half-year with great privations and difficulty, and then to come to a strange land where, after considerable time and paying dearly for their lessons, they finally find out things. And whether it is profitable for the poor, elderly, those burdened with small children . . . to bind themselves and their children into years of servitude after such a difficult journey (for it is seldom, if all goes well, that a family arrives without loss, either at sea or here).

Would it not be better, the authors proposed, if those with wealth would remain at home in peace and those without wealth would also stay home and earn their livelihood in the sweat of their brow, which, in any case, they would have to do in North America as well?

### The Horror of Migration in 1738

The remaining pages of the pamphlet are devoted to the grim account of the mishaps of the “miserable migrations of this year and its consequences.” Certainly, the writers admit, there had been catastrophic sea voyages before—four years previously two-thirds of the Palatines on the ship *Love and Unity* starved to death on a passage which lasted a shocking nine months; during the latter part of the trip a lively trade in rats and mice developed. During the previous year a shipload of wealthy Englishmen was wrecked off the coast of New England, with the loss of more than one hundred drowned. Yet, the fate of emigrants in 1738 surpassed anything heretofore experienced. “By moderate reckoning, of fourteen ships which have so far arrived, and two are still missing [with one underway for more than twenty-four weeks], more than eighteen hundred [persons] have died at sea and here in Philadelphia.”<sup>26</sup>



Problems began already in Holland. Prospective emigrants were housed in tents at Kralingen, near Rotterdam, awaiting passage. Because of unwise diet, and cold rains followed by great heat, many suffered dysentery and high fevers. Some eighty infants died during that period. Then the emigrants were parceled out to the ships, from two hundred in some to four hundred in others. "Then they were packed in so tightly and so crowded into each other that throughout at least one-third too many were lodged on the ships. Everywhere the bedsteads were double-deckers, in some indeed they were triple-decked above each other. The crates of many were either smashed, and the people had to store their goods as best they could (because the captains and the Newlanders had themselves so many crates and goods) or were left behind and sent along on other ships."

The convoy sailed to the English port of Cowes to pass customs, generally taking between three to five weeks to arrive. "Some harbingers of suffering" were seen already during this brief passage, so that there were burials at sea and at Cowes. After tarrying there for seven weeks, the convoy entered upon the Atlantic crossing "where illness, suffering, and misery soon became general." On one ship, after three weeks the captain and the first mate died, followed by the sailors "along with a large number of Germans, so that during the fourteen-week-long sea voyage almost two-thirds of them died." It was the ship's carpenter who brought the survivors up the Delaware River to Philadelphia.

Rations were in short supply: "The stinking water had to be the refreshment of the ill, for most of the captains were very merciless. Butter was soon gone, so that whoever had not provided enough victuals for himself and used his food sparingly had to suffer need and want enough in sick conditions." Even John and Charles Stedman, two captains with excellent reputations for their care and good management, experienced great loss. Some 120 passengers were lost on the *St. Andrew* captained by John Stedman, even though he had selected the healthiest party of emigrants at the Dutch border. His journey lasted twelve weeks. At Philadelphia the local health official reported that a careful examination of the ship revealed a "great number laboring under a malignant, eruptive fever;" they were barred from immediate landing for fear of contagion.<sup>27</sup> On the other ship, ironically named the *Charming Nancy*, captained by Charles Stedman, 250 souls died at sea, during a trip hampered by heavy storms. Only sixty-four men fifteen years of age or older (of more than three hundred original passengers) were able to appear at the required oath-taking ceremony. Captain Stedman himself was gravely ill when the ship arrived at port.

Only two ships of the convoy arrived "fairly safe and sound," but even on these two, the fatality among small children was heavy. "On a ship with sickness it is a rarity to see a small child of two or three years, regardless of the number who were aboard originally."

Houses outside the city were rented to accommodate the sick, by order of the authorities who feared that the contagion (generally called the "Palatine Fever," likely a form of typhoid) would spread among the citizens. In some households where new arrivals were taken in, the residents "caught the same illness and already several have died very suddenly."



The signers of the "Open Letter" concluded the account with these words:

You see, dear countrymen, the misery and suffering this year was so great among us and your fellows who had immigrated from over there that it can hardly be described or related. Thus God's judgments are visited on those [who traveled carelessly on the Rhine] in pursuit of their hoped-for earthly paradise. Oh, how many rich and poor alike, with few exceptions, regret it, what tears one sees of widows and orphans, lengthy chest illnesses and quinsy, swollen bodies, scorbutic boils, swollen lame legs—these are the least relics which accompany the ill and those who had otherwise been well.

The signers took care to reassure their readers that they had no wish to discourage others to come, so that they, the earlier arrivals, could enjoy the benefits of the New World without competition. Rather, they felt duty-bound to give a faithful account of the dangers of ill-considered emigration. "Despite this, so that those among you, who still have some fear of the Lord and who are either for conscience' sake or actual outward necessity forced to migrate, may not remain entirely without advice, we therefore remind you in a well meaning way to make sure that your cause is right and divinely intended," so that they could, like Abraham, leave home with God's blessing. If their migration is clearly in God's will, then God will protect them from the hazards of the voyage. Otherwise, "if you have secondary motives such as escaping pressure and suffering or accumulating wealth or wanting an easier life, then you will certainly not succeed."

Finally, we report that the above-related things and events are of such a nature that we have sufficient cause and reason to set our names, places of residence, and seals as a witness to the truth of this letter, for many as told us to do, as follows:

- (seal) Henrich Graff in Amwell<sup>28</sup>
- (seal) Christoph Sauer in Germantown<sup>29</sup>
- (seal) Johannes Bechtel in Germantown<sup>30</sup>
- (seal) Johann Adam Gruber in Germantown<sup>31</sup>
- (seal) Lorentz Schweitzer in Germantown<sup>32</sup>
- (seal) Johannes Eckstein in Germantown<sup>33</sup>
- (seal) Jacob Baumann in Germantown<sup>34</sup>
- (seal) David Deschler in Philadelphia<sup>35</sup>
- (seal) Johannes Wüster in Philadelphia<sup>36</sup>
- (seal) Christoph Meng in Germantown<sup>37</sup>
- (seal) Johann Henrich Kalcklößer in Germantown<sup>38</sup>
- (seal) Georg Bentzel in Germantown<sup>39</sup>
- (seal) Blasius Daniel Mackineth in Germantown<sup>40</sup>
- (seal) Anthonius Benezet in Philadelphia<sup>41</sup>
- (seal) Johann Benedictus Müntz in Falkner's Swamp<sup>42</sup>

These signers were all prominent within the German element in Philadelphia and Germantown. Amwell, in New Jersey, was the most distant residence among those listed. Many were merchants. Of the fifteen, Sauer, Wüster, and Anthony Benezet became the best known, Sauer for his printing operation, Wüster for his mercantile achievements, and Benezet for efforts as a Quaker humanitarian and reformer. Many of the signatories served as executors of the estates of those immigrants who died en route or shortly after arrival. They, therefore, had intimate knowledge of the problems accruing from the emigration/immigration process.

## Conclusion

The Bohni document had only a limited impact on emigration, so far as is known. The "Open Letter," however, along with other dire reports, might well have influenced German emigration in major ways. Of course, conditions (such as military conflict) in the homelands always affected the rate of migrations. The possible influence of the news of tragic events of 1738 is suggested by the statistics of ship arrivals. After an early peak of sixteen ships in 1738, the number sank to eight in 1739, six in 1740, and hovered under ten per year in succeeding years, until an upsurge to twenty-two in 1749. According to one tabulation, 4,230 immigrants survived the 1738 migration, while 2,260 did not. An unknown number turned back at some point before embarkation. Thus the death toll of that terrible season was almost 35 percent.

Taken together, the Bohni letter to his cousin Martin and the 1739 "Open Letter" provide useful insights into the motivations, procedures, practical problems, and, especially, hazards of emigration from German-speaking areas to North America in the mid-eighteenth century.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Marianne S. Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers: The Beginnings of Mass Migration to North America* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999).

<sup>2</sup>J. Franklin Jameson, ed., *Narratives of New Netherlands, 1609-1664* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), 122ff.; Randall H. Balmer, *A Perfect Babel of Confusion: Dutch Religion and English Culture in the Middle Colonies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), vii; William Warren Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America*, rev. ed. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950), 87; Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1972), 200.

<sup>3</sup>See Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers* (1999), 1-58, for the latest overview, with extensive citation of sources. See also Aaron S. Fogelman, *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717-1775* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press and Pennsylvania German Society, 1996) and A. Gregg Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty, and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993) for detailed and documented analyses, differing in some ways from Wokeck's conclusions.

<sup>4</sup>Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers* (1999), 113-66.

<sup>5</sup>An early and helpful listing is found in Emil Meynen, ed., *Bibliography on the Colonial Germans of North America* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1982), 23-28, reprinted from the original edition, *Bibliography*



on German Settlements in Colonial North America (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1936).

<sup>6</sup>The two documents are: 1), a letter by Andreas Bohni to his cousin Martin (1736); and 2), *Glaubhafftes Send-Schreiben aus Pensylvania in America . . .* (Frankfurt am Mayn: 1739), signed by fifteen prominent leaders of the Pennsylvania Germans in the Philadelphia area. They were published in English translation in D. F. Durnbaugh, ed., *The Brethren in Colonial America: A Source Book on the Transplantation and Development of the Church of the Brethren in the Eighteenth Century* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1967), 39-53. See Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers* (1999), 34ff. The 1739 *Send-Schreiben* was used by one other scholar, Klaus Wust, in his article, "The Emigration Season of 1738—Year of the Destroying Angel," *The Report: A Journal of German-American History* 40 (1986): 21-56, part of an ongoing study of emigration from Central Europe to all of the North American colonies.

<sup>7</sup>For biographical information on Andreas Bohni, consult the following publications, all written or edited by D. F. Durnbaugh: *European Origins of the Brethren: A Source Book on the Beginnings of the Church of the Brethren in the Early Eighteenth Century* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1958), esp. 87-105; *Brethren in Colonial America* (1967), 39ff.; "Boni (Bohni, Boney), Andreas," in *The Brethren Encyclopedia* (Philadelphia and Oak Brook, IL: Brethren Encyclopedia, Inc., 1983-84), 159; *Brethren Beginnings: The Origin of the Church of the Brethren in Early Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia: Brethren Encyclopedia, Inc., 1992), 15-18ff. References to Bohni in European literature are found in Eduard Thurneysen, "Die Basler Separatisten im ersten Viertel des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts," [*Basler*] *Jahrbuch* (1895): 30-78, (1896): 54-106; Paul Burckhardt, *Die Basler Täufer: Ein Beitrag zur schweizerischen Reformationsgeschichte* (Basel: A. Reich, 1898), 61; Rudolf Ernst Grob, *Die separatistischen Strömungen im XVIII. Jahrhundert* (Zürich: Christlicher Verein, 1907), 18-21; Paul Wernle, *Der schweizerische Protestantismus im XVIII. Jahrhundert*, vol. 1 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1923), 114, 196; Thomas Hanimann, *Züricher Nonkonformisten im 18. Jahrhundert* (Zürich: TVZ, 1990), 247; and Hanspeter Jecker, *Ketzer—Rebellen—Heilige: Das Basler Täuferium von 1580-1700* (Basel: Verlag des Kantons Basel-Landschaft, 1998), 518, 532, 576.

<sup>8</sup>Recent summaries of the voluminous literature on Anabaptism and the Mennonites are: Cornelius J. Dyck, *An Introduction to Mennonite History: A Popular History of the Anabaptists and the Mennonites*, 3d ed. (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1996); William R. Estep, *The Anabaptist Story: An Introduction to Sixteenth-Century Anabaptism*, 3d rev. ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: William R. Eerdmans, 1996); C. Arnold Snyder, *Anabaptist History and Theology* (Kitchener, ON: Pandora Press, 1996).

<sup>9</sup>The definitive multi-volume history of Pietism is now underway in Germany; thus far two volumes have been published: Martin Brecht, ed., *Geschichte des Pietismus, Band 1: Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993) and Martin Brecht and Klaus Deppermann, eds., *Geschichte des Pietismus, Band 2: Der Pietismus im achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995). Dependable surveys of Pietism in English are Dale W. Brown, *Understanding Pietism*, rev. ed. (Nappanee, IN: Evangel Publishing House, 1996); Ted A. Campbell, *The Religion of the Heart: A Study of European Religious Life in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991); F. Ernst Stoeffler, *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965) and *German Pietism During the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973); W. R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). The latest analysis of Anabaptist and Pietist interaction among German Mennonites is John Roth, "Pietism and the Anabaptist Soul," *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 25 (1999): 182-202.

<sup>10</sup>Hanspeter Jecker, "Religiöser Non-Konformismus in Basel im frühen 18. Jahrhundert: Der Fall des Andreas Bohni von Frenkendorf," funded for 1999-2001 by the Schweizerischer Nationalfonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung, Abteilung I: Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften.

<sup>11</sup>The documents on these transactions are found in English translation in Durnbaugh, *European Origins* (1958), 87-105. Information on the conditions in Wittgenstein is given in the same volume, 107-9. See also Heinz Renkewitz, *Hochmann von Hochenau (1670-1721): Quellenstudien zur Geschichte des Pietismus*, 2d ed. (Witten: Luther-Verlag, 1969), 88-91.

<sup>12</sup>The latest treatment of these events is D. F. Durnbaugh, *Fruit of the Vine: A History of the Brethren, 1708-1995* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1997).

<sup>13</sup>The imprisonment, diplomatic efforts, and eventual liberation are described in Durnbaugh, *European Origins* (1958), 217-40 (documents), and Durnbaugh, *Brethren Beginnings* (1992), 43-46.

<sup>14</sup>Durnbaugh, *European Origins* (1958), 291-92, 297-98; from Ralph B. Strassburger, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers*, ed. William J. Hinke (Norristown, PA: Pennsylvania German Society, 1934), 1: 27-28—"Andreas Ponne" and "Joanna Margaret Ponne." There is a curious, undocumented reference to an Andreas Bonij



(Boney) resident in Germantown before 1710 in William I. Hull, *William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania* Swarthmore College Monographs on Quaker History, 2 (Swarthmore, PA: Swarthmore College, 1935), 412. Although Hull was a careful scholar, this reference is probably mistaken.

<sup>15</sup> The document is found in Fasz. 9897, fol. 18, Abt. 74, Baden Generalia, Badisches Generallandesarchiv, Karlsruhe. Because the document is an extract from the original letter, the residence of Martin Bohni is not given. The existence of the extract in the Karlsruhe archive could indicate that the cousin was resident in one of the German states, but it is also possible that he was still in his native Basel Canton.

<sup>16</sup> Christian Liebe was the former galley-slave whom Bohni helped to liberate. He was a controversial figure in early Brethren history; his activities led to a serious schism in the Brethren congregation in Krefeld, one of the precipitants for the first company of Brethren to emigrate to Pennsylvania in 1719. See Durnbaugh, *European Origins* (1958), 282-83; Durnbaugh, *Brethren Beginnings* (1992), 51-54. On the De Kokers, see Durnbaugh, *European Origins* (1958), 262-64; Durnbaugh, *Brethren Beginnings* (1992), 56-58.

<sup>17</sup> The original title is: *Glaubhaftes/Send-Schreiben/Aus/Pennsylvania in America/Worinnen/ Einige gründliche Nachrichten/(1) Von de Beschaffenheit des Landes/(2) Von dem Zug, Seefahrt und Ueberkunft/der Europaeischen Passagire insgemein/ und/(3) Insonderheit einige gewissenhafte und/erweisliche Nachricht von dem letzten/ zuwar häufigen/ / aber auch elenden und/ Jammer-vollen Zug des Jahres 1738./ enthalten ist etc./ Aus dringender Liebe und Mitleyden zur/Warnung heraus geschrieben, und mit eigenen/Insiegeln bekräftiget von einigen Gutesinnigen/ all da, an ihre Europaeische und insonderheit/ Hochteutsche Lands-Leute etc.../ Frankfurth am Mayn, 1739./ Bey Just. Heinr. Wigand Buchbinder auff dem/ Markt in den drey Römern. For many years there was only one known copy of the pamphlet, that in the private collection of Dr. Martha Haeblerlin, Bad Nauheim, a descendant of Dr. Heinrich Ehrenfried Luther. A recent Internet search of German libraries revealed one other copy in the Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek in Weimar.*

<sup>18</sup> On the connection between Dr. Luther and Sauer, see D. F. Durnbaugh, "Christopher Sauer: Pennsylvania-German Printer: His Youth in Germany and Later Relationships with Europe," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 82 (July 1958): 316-40; see also Edward W. Hocker, "The Founding of the Sauer Press," *Germantown History* 2 (1938): 6: 137-54. For Dr. Luther's interest in emigration matters, consult Harry Gerber, "Der Hofrat Dr. Heinrich Ehrenfried Luther und die deutsche Auswanderung nach Nordamerika," *Alt-Frankfurt: Geschichtliche Zeitschrift für Frankfurt am Main und seine Umgebung* 2 (June 1929): 61-66, and Heinrich A. Rattermann, "Geschichte des deutschen Elements im Staat Maine," *Der Deutsche Pionier: Erinnerungen aus dem Pionier-Leben der Deutschen in Amerika* 14-16 (1882-84). The latest information on Andreas Gross is found in Hans Schneider, "Der radikale Pietismus im 18. Jahrhundert," in Brecht and Deppermann, *Geschichte des Pietismus: Band 2* (1995), 159-60, with extensive bibliographical citation, 191-92.

<sup>19</sup> Durnbaugh, *Brethren in Colonial America* (1967), 32; Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers* (1999), 27ff. The letters were published in Gerhard Friedrich, "The Good Samaritan of Germantown: Two Christoph Saur Letters," *The German-American Review* 7 (February 1941): 15-19, 33. An early recounting of Sauer's efforts on behalf of immigrants is found in Oswald Seidensticker, "Die deutsch-amerikanische Druckerfamilie Saur," in his *Bilder aus der Deutsch-Pennsylvanischen Geschichte* (New York: Ernst Steiger, 1885), in the section titled "Christoph Saur sen. über die Mißbräuche des Passagier-Transports."

<sup>20</sup> See on this point Jean R. Sunderland, ed., *William Penn and the Founding of Pennsylvania, 1680-1684: A Documentary History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press/Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1983).

<sup>21</sup> See on these issues James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country: A Geographical Study of Early Southeastern Pennsylvania* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1972).

<sup>22</sup> Details on the activities of the Newlanders are found in Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers* (1999), esp. 30-34.

<sup>23</sup> Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers* (1999), 59-112 (chap. 3, "Trade in Migrants") provides extensive information on this development. See also Farley Grubb, "The Market Structure of Shipping German Immigrants to Colonial America," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 111 (January 1987): 27-48. A good general overview is presented in Sally Schwartz, "A Mixed Multitude": *The Struggle for Toleration in Colonial Pennsylvania* (New York: New York University Press, 1987), chap. 4 "Immigration," 81-119.

<sup>24</sup> Sauer had earlier given advice on profitable goods that might be imported: D. F. Durnbaugh, ed., "Two Early Letters from Germantown," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 84 (1960): 220-33, reprinted in Durnbaugh, *Brethren in Colonial America* (1967), 24-39.

<sup>25</sup> For details on these problems, see Klaus Wust, "Feeding the Palatines: Shipboard Diet in the



Eighteenth Century," *The Report: A Journal of German-American History* 39 (1984): 32-42.

<sup>26</sup> Compare throughout this section the detailed study by Wust, "Emigration Season of 1738," 21-56.

<sup>27</sup> Quoted from Wust, "Emigration Season of 1738," 34.

<sup>28</sup> Graff has not been identified.

<sup>29</sup> Sauer is discussed above.

<sup>30</sup> Best known as a Reformed pastor in Germantown, Bechtel (1690-1777) was active in the Reformed-Moravian controversies involving Count Zinzendorf in 1741-42; he later joined the Moravian Church. See Charles H. Glatfelter, *Pastors and People: German Lutheran and Reformed Churches in the Pennsylvania Field, 1717-1793* (Breinigsville, PA: Pennsylvania German Society, 1980), 18; William J. Hinke, *Ministers of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania and Other Colonies in the Eighteenth Century* (Lancaster, PA: Historical Commission of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, 1951), 296-99.

<sup>31</sup> Gruber (1693-1763) was a leader of the Community of True Inspiration in Germany before emigrating to Pennsylvania in 1726. He remained in close contact with co-religionists in Europe through correspondence. Many of his writings opposing the activities of Count Zinzendorf were reprinted or first published in Germany. See D. F. Durnbaugh, "Johann Adam Gruber: Pennsylvania-German Prophet and Poet," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 83 (1989): 382-408.

<sup>32</sup> Schweitzer (whose dates are unknown) was a church leader among the Germantown Brethren (Dunkers). See Durnbaugh, *Brethren in Colonial America* (1967), 53, 201, 599.

<sup>33</sup> Eckstein figures in the journals of Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg as receiving correspondence via Sauer. See Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein, eds., *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1942), 1:646, 651.

<sup>34</sup> Baumann, a Lutheran layman, died before 1783. See Tappert and Doberstein, *Journals* (1942), 1:615.

<sup>35</sup> Deschler (also Däschler) was a prominent merchant in Philadelphia; he figured in contacts between Germany and North America. See Durnbaugh, *Brethren in Colonial America* (1967), 53, 55.

<sup>36</sup> Wüster (also Wister, Wistar) came to Pennsylvania in 1727 and became a well-to-do wine merchant and dealer in real estate in Philadelphia; he was the brother of the famous glass manufacturer Caspar Wistar. In 1771 he took as his third wife the former celibate sister Anastasia from Ephrata (Anna Margaretha Thoma from Switzerland). See Anna Lane Lingelbach, "Wister, Sallie," *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), 20:434; E. G. Alderfer, *The Ephrata Commune: An Early American Counterculture* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985), 74; Leo Schelbert, "People of Choice: Decision Making in an Eighteenth Century Swiss-German Peasant Family," *The Report: A Journal of German-American History* 40 (1986): 77-93.

<sup>37</sup> Meng was an active Lutheran churchman in Germantown; he was one of the sponsors of a public school in Germantown, decided at a meeting in Mackinet's inn. See Tappert and Doberstein, *Journals* (1942), 1:596, 614-15; Edward W. Hocker, *Germantown, 1683-1933* (Philadelphia: privately printed, 1933), 81-82.

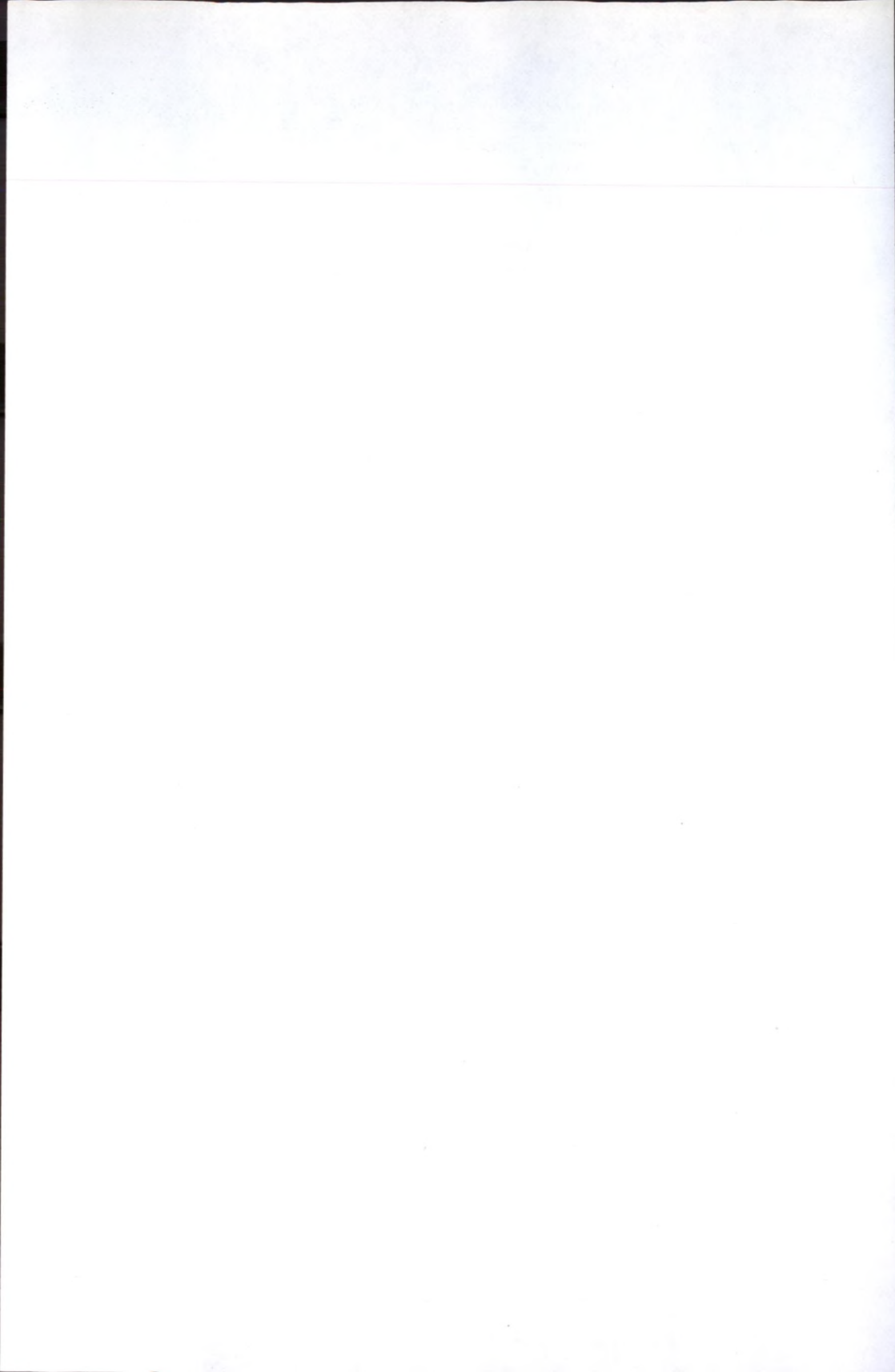
<sup>38</sup> Kalckglöser also Kalckgläser (1678-1748) was a leader among the Brethren in Germany and North America, before joining the Ephrata Society in 1739. See Durnbaugh, *Brethren in Colonial America* (1967), esp. 94-95.

<sup>39</sup> Bentzel has not been identified. A Charles Bensil was one of the sponsors of a school in Germantown in 1759. See Hocker, *Germantown, 1683-1933*, 81-82.

<sup>40</sup> Mackineth, or usually, Mackinet (d. 1761) was active in the Inspired movement in Germany, for a short time as a prophet and then as a scribe. He often accompanied Johann Adam Gruber on his extensive journeys. After emigrating to Pennsylvania, he was a merchant and innkeeper (the Saddler's Arms, later renamed the Green Tree Inn which still exists). In 1755 Sauer proposed him as a competent supervisor of immigration for Philadelphia, describing him as a "shopkeeper in philad. who Speaks dutch and english." See Durnbaugh, "Johann Adam Gruber," 382-408; Ulf-Michael Schneider, *Propheten der Goethezeit: Sprache, Literatur und Wirkung der Inspirierten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 29, 42, 129ff.; Thomas A. Ebaugh, *Ancestors of George McNett and Susan Armentrout and Their Known Descendants and Some Related Families* (New Orleans: privately printed, 1961), 14-15, 21-23; Friedrich, "Good Samaritan," 16.

<sup>41</sup> Benezet (1713-84), a native of France, came to North America in 1731. By vocation a teacher, he was active in many philanthropic endeavors, in particular his anti-slavery agitation, helping to found the first abolitionist society in America. See George S. Brookes, *Friend Anthony Benezet* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937); Margaret Hope Bacon, *The Quiet Rebels: The Story of the Quakers in America* (Philadelphia: New Society Publishers, 1985), 76, 96, 100-2.

<sup>42</sup> Müntz has not been identified.





Siegmar Muehl

## New England's Early Nineteenth-Century "German Craze": An Era Revisited

Henry Pochmann, in his encyclopedic *German Culture in America*, characterized the early nineteenth-century New England vogue for German literature as "the German craze." He wrote: "The educated and well-read no longer cared or dared confess themselves ignorant of the latest literary intelligence from Germany, the country which it had become the fashion to acknowledge the most advanced intellectually on the surface of the earth."<sup>1</sup>

One manifestation of this enthusiasm for things German was the publication of a fourteen-volume series titled *Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature*. The series contained translations of contemporary European literature aimed at American audiences. Ten of the volumes included selections from German literature; four from French. This series was the first major German translation endeavor undertaken on this side of the Atlantic.<sup>2</sup> Although the *Specimens* series is frequently cited in the abundant literature about this period, the reference is usually no more than a noting of volume titles and their respective translators. The present study takes a more detailed look at this publication in order to answer three sets of questions.

First, what had impelled the translators to learn a language little known in New England at the time, and given this situation, how did they come by their knowledge of German? Of the major translators involved in the series, all were several-generation descendants of American-born English stock. None had ever traveled or studied in Germany. Few, if any, would have had opportunities to hear German spoken locally.<sup>3</sup>

Second, what moved the editor of the series, George Ripley, to launch the project? What attitudes toward German literature did the several translators bring to the task? Since all the latter individuals shared in New England's idealistic, Transcendental ideology, and all but one were liberal Unitarian ministers, to what degree did this background influence their viewpoints?

Third, how was the series received by the public? A brief review of influences that awakened widespread interest in German culture in these early nineteenth-century decades is germane in answering the first set of questions.

Although German cultural awareness in New England existed during earlier periods,<sup>4</sup> this limited knowledge increased due to several influences beginning in the nineteenth-century's second decade. These were both literary and personal in nature.

Madame de Staël's *De l'Allemagne* with its praise of German character and culture

was one of the first of these influences. Although some educated New Englanders could have read the French original, English translations were published in London and New York, 1813 and 1814, respectively.<sup>5</sup> Samuel Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria*, published 1817, and his *Aids to Reflection*, published in an American edition, 1824, added to this German cognizance. Coleridge's interpretation of the idealist philosophy of Immanuel Kant and his school especially influenced the Transcendentalists who found in Coleridge's writing support for their own views.<sup>6</sup>

In the 1820s, Thomas Carlyle's translations of German literature and articles on German writers gave further impetus to German interest. James Clarke, one of the Transcendental circle writing in 1838, noted that Carlyle had done much to acquaint Americans with German literature.

When he began to write eight or ten years ago, what did we know of German writers? Wieland's *Oberon*, Klopstock's *Messiah*, Kotzebue's plays, Schiller's *Robbers*, Goethe's *Werther*, a dim notion of his *Faust*, and what we could learn from Madame de Stael's *L'Allemagne*,—this was about the substance of what well educated Englishmen understood as constituting the modern masterpieces of German genius. Of the massive and splendid structure of philosophy, which Kant had founded, and men of like talent built up, we had only to say, "mystical," "transcendental"—and having pronounced these two pregnant words, we judged ourselves excused from all further examination.<sup>7</sup>

At a personal level, when Bostonians George Ticknor and Edward Everett returned from their studies at Göttingen in 1819, their enthusiastic account of German education inspired many young Boston-area contemporaries to find out more about German culture and to learn the language.<sup>8</sup> When Ticknor became Professor of French and Spanish at Harvard, he encouraged the college to incorporate German into its modern language program. As a result, in 1825 the college appointed Charles Follen, recent German immigrant, as the college's and the region's first German-language instructor.<sup>9</sup> Follen was later appointed Harvard's first professor of German literature. His 1831 inaugural address, subsequent public lectures and meetings with small discussion groups, brought local audiences into contact with a native German whose informed, forceful personality gave first-hand witness to the excellence of German education and culture.<sup>10</sup>

At the time of Follen's instructorship there was little knowledge of the German tongue in New England. A student in Follen's first language class wrote:

German had never been taught in the college before; and it was with no little difficulty that a volunteer class of eight was found desirous . . . We were looked upon with very much amazement with which a class in some obscure tribal dialect of the remotest orient would now be regarded. We knew of but two or three persons in New England who could read German, though there were probably many more of whom we did not know. There were no



German books in the book stores. . . . There was no attainable class book that could be used as reader. . . . The German Reader for Beginners, compiled by our teacher, was furnished to the class in single sheets as it was needed, and was printed in Roman type, there being no German type within reach.<sup>11</sup>

James Clarke, mentioned above, wrote in a similar vein: "In 1833, it would have been difficult to buy any German book in Boston excepting Goethe and Schiller." Even ten years later in a city and area with a large German immigrant population, he noted: "I rummaged in the Philadelphia book stores for German books . . . [and] all the Philadelphia shops offered were Goethe, Schiller, the Bible and the Psalm-book." In the 1830s Philadelphia did have a retail book store well stocked with imported German literature. However, in 1843 owner Johann Wesselhoeft went bankrupt which, according to one source, "left Philadelphia without a decent German bookstore."<sup>12</sup>

Given this paucity of German-language resources, how had the eight *Specimens*' translators learn their German? George Ripley (1802-80) attended Harvard before Follen's time. Inspired by Ticknor and Everett's glowing reports, Ripley taught himself German in college and began to build a considerable library of German books. Some he imported, but most he acquired from the estate of a young American who had gone to Germany to study anatomy but who died in Boston shortly after he returned from abroad.<sup>13</sup>

Like Ripley, Margaret Fuller (1810-50), was self-taught: "Italian as well as German, I learned by myself, unassisted, as in the pronunciation."<sup>14</sup> James Clarke reported:

Margaret began her study of German early 1832. Both she and I were attracted towards this literature, at the same time by the wild bugle call of Thomas Carlyle in his romantic articles on Richter, Schiller and Goethe, which appeared in the Foreign Review, the Edinburgh Review, and afterwards in the Foreign Quarterly. I believe that in about three months from the time that Margaret commenced German, she was reading with ease the masterpieces of its literature.<sup>15</sup>

Four years later in Boston, Fuller had become proficient enough to teach classes in German at a private school for young women. Of her beginning class she wrote: ". . . at the end of three months, they could read twenty pages of German at a lesson, and very well." With her advanced pupils she read works by Schiller, Goethe and other German writers.<sup>16</sup>

Charles Brooks (1813-83), John Dwight (1813-93), and Samuel Osgood (1812-89), fellow students at Harvard, had Follen as their German teacher. Madame De Stael had originally inspired Brooks to study German. In a journal entry, he remarked on Follen's class: "Follen...says that our class is the best section he has had for some time." Follen himself praised Brook's command of German. He was "thoroughly acquainted with the principles of the German language and able to read with precision."<sup>17</sup> Brooks, Dwight and Osgood continued their German study in Divinity School, tutored by Follen and Harvard Latin professor Carl Beck, another German

immigrant.<sup>18</sup> Later, Osgood dedicated his *Specimens*' translation to Follen's memory: "by a grateful pupil." Beyond his Harvard instruction Dwight used Ripley's extensive library of German books to gain further fluency in the language.<sup>19</sup> In a letter written November 1837, five years after Dwight's graduation from Harvard, Ripley characterized Dwight as having "a gift at translating Germany poetry, little short of miraculous."<sup>20</sup>

James Clarke (1810-88), William H. Channing (1810-84), Cornelius Felton (1807-62) may also have taken Follen's German classes since all three attended Harvard during Follen's tenure. Clarke reported his awareness of German literature came during his student years, a time when "the great German authors swayed the minds of our young students with all their power . . . the study of German being wholly new. [For] students who did not read German, Coleridge was opening up the larger philosophy."<sup>21</sup> Channing encountered German learning during his student years, especially the writings of German rationalists.<sup>22</sup> It is not known how Felton first learned German. Talented in languages, he became professor of Greek at Harvard. In his *Specimens*' preface, Felton acknowledged his obligation to Harvard colleagues, Carl Beck mentioned above, and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, who had traveled in Germany, for help with his German translation that involved "hundreds of expressions . . . so idiomatic, local and peculiar, that one who has learned the German language only from books finds it hardly possible to catch their precise impact."<sup>23</sup>

What prompted the publication of the *Specimens*' series, and what were the translators' views of German literature? Ripley conceived the publication idea as a group project of the Transcendental Club, a select group of Boston-area intellectuals that began meeting in 1836. All translators described above except Brooks attended the club's meetings at one time or another during its four-year existence.<sup>24</sup> Shortly after graduating from Divinity School, Brooks had accepted a pastorate in Rhode Island.

Ripley's correspondence provides information about the project's genesis. December 1836, Ripley wrote to Carlyle then living in London. Ripley observed: "American literature had been subjected too long to English letters with its servility to aristocracy and condescension to common persons and things. German literature provided one means of destroying the slavish imitation of English culture."<sup>25</sup>

A month later, January 1837, in a letter to fellow Transcendentalist Convers Francis, Ripley wrote:

I have been brooding over a literary plan, for sometime past . . . I have long wished to see some judicious attempt made to naturalize a portion of its [continental literature] treasures among ourselves . . . It is proposed to issue a series of volumes . . . at the rate of 2 or 3 vols. per annum, & at the price of \$1.25 per vol. The work has a special view to philosophy, theology, & history, but will be seasoned with a sufficient portion of elegant literature to make it palatable to general readers.<sup>26</sup>

Ripley emphasized that "every writer [translator] to whom I apply will make the



choice of his own author . . . The Editor will merely take care that no second-rate work, and no poor translation finds its way into the collection."

November 1837, writing to historian George Bancroft, Ripley asked Bancroft's permission to use some of the latter's translations of Schiller and Goethe for the planned volume on German poetry. Bancroft was one of the few individuals involved in the *Specimens*' project—as a minor contributor—who had studied or traveled in Germany.<sup>27</sup> Ripley had also hoped to recruit Longfellow, professor of modern languages at Harvard, to do both German and French translations. That notable subsequently withdrew from a major role in the project. He eventually translated one poem.<sup>28</sup>

The first two volumes of *Specimens* appeared in 1838. Ten of the remaining twelve volumes were published from 1839 to 1842.<sup>29</sup> Translators in the series each wrote a preface to his or her selection. Their remarks reveal their attitudes toward their chosen author(s). Examined below, these introductory essays provide basis for answering the related question to what extent their perceptions involved Transcendental ideology.

For convenient reference, the *Specimens*' volume titles and major translators are listed here:

Vols. 1 and 2: *Philosophical Miscellanies, from the French of Cousin, Jouffrey, and Benjamin Constant*, trans. George Ripley (1838).

Vol. 3: *Selected Minor Poems, from the German of Goethe and Schiller*, trans. John S. Dwight (1839).<sup>30</sup>

Vol. 4: *Conversations with Goethe from the German of Eckermann*, trans. S. M. Fuller (1839).

Vols. 5 and 6: *Introduction to Ethics, Translated from the French of Jouffrey*, trans. William H. Channing (1841).

Vols. 7, 8 and 9: *German Literature, Translated from the German of Wolfgang Menzel*, trans. C. C. Felton (1840-41).

Vols. 10 and 11: *Theodore, or, The Skeptics Conversion: History of the Culture of a Protestant Clergyman, Translated from the German of De Wette*, trans. James F. Clarke (1841, 1856).

Vols. 12 and 13: *Human Life, or Practical Ethics, Translated from the German of De Wette*, trans. Samuel Osgood (1842).

Vol. 14: *Songs and Ballads, Translated from Uhland, Koerner, Buerger and Other German Lyric Poets*, trans. Charles T. Brooks (1842).<sup>31</sup>

SPECIMENS  
OF  
FOREIGN STANDARD LITERATURE.

EDITED  
BY GEORGE RIPLEY.

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VOL. IV.  
CONTAINING  
CONVERSATIONS WITH GOETHE,  
FROM THE GERMAN  
OF  
ECKERMANN.

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BOSTON:  
HILLIARD, GRAY, AND COMPANY.  
M.DCCC.XXXIX.

*Specimens*



For discussion purposes, the volumes are grouped by subject matter. The eight volumes devoted to philosophical-religious writings are considered first, followed by the six containing what Ripley characterized as "elegant literature . . . palatable to general readers."

In the first group, prefaces to the French volumes show how German thinking had influenced French philosophy, and how this thinking related to the views of the *Specimens*' translators. Ripley credited the French philosophers, especially Victor Cousin, with bringing about the transition "from the skeptical and sensual theories of the eighteenth century, to the more elevated and spiritual views of the nature of man." In his prefaces to volumes one and two, Ripley noted how German Idealism stood in opposition to the Lockean tradition that all ideas can be traced to sensation. Such a view, according to Ripley, "attacked the foundation of religious hopes and the moral convictions . . . [and] produced a harsh dissonance with the whispers of that voice which is uttered, clearly but faintly, in the heart of every living man." The idealistic philosophy favored by Ripley reversed the Lockean scheme: mind was supreme over matter. Mind ordered sense experience by providing "truths which transcend the sphere of external sense."

William Channing expressed similar views in discussing Theodore Jouffroy's ethical writings, volumes five and six. Although Channing admired the psychological basis of Jouffroy's ethical system, he felt it failed to recognize the higher "spiritual" realms of human experience. Properly used, psychology could show that popular moral beliefs "grow out of some primary laws of the mind." Locke, according to Channing made "the most monstrous oversight of excluding the most vital of all ideas—the first truths, communicated spontaneously by reason." Crediting Kant with acknowledging this intuitive source of primary ideas, Channing claimed: "Kant has conferred a lasting benefit upon the human race, and substituted spiritualism in place of sensationalism forever."

James Clarke's preface to Wilhelm De Wette's *Theodore*, volumes ten and eleven, ranked De Wette as "highly distinguished among living German theologians." He stated that *Theodore* provided "the best general view of De Wette's opinions upon philosophy, theology, and morals."<sup>32</sup> De Wette had written Clarke in the early stages of Clarke's translation: "It was my object in 'Theodore' to represent the various theological tendencies of the time, and to indicate the mode of attaining juster religious views . . . to present the view of Christianity which I considered truest."

Clarke defended German theology from the frequent charge that it was "the latest form of infidelity." For Clarke, German theology was admirable for its "systematic tendency, its comprehensiveness . . . [and was] remarkable for its freedom from that party and sectarian spirit which is the disgrace of English and American theology."

In his preface to De Wette's ethical writings, volumes twelve and thirteen, Samuel Osgood described the pre-Kantian struggle in Germany between a morality based on the traditional faith versus a morality which "denied the authority of Scripture to dictate over reason and conscience,"<sup>33</sup> The latter view unfortunately favored materialism and a utilitarian morality. This materialistic and utilitarian ethic, according to Osgood, was countered by "two noble spirits"—Kant and De Wette. Kant based morality on



reason, the "majesty of the moral law" which freed ethics from theology. Osgood felt, however, that Kant's system was too intellectual. It left "the heart empty and cold." De Wette's morality was more practically based. His system included not only duty commanded by reason, but also "the various sentiments of the human heart." For Osgood, De Wette's "faith is so broad and catholic as to comprehend every human interest."

Of the remaining six *Specimens* volumes devoted to literature for the general reader, four contained prose, two, poetry. Margaret Fuller's preface to Johann Eckermann's *Conversations with Goethe*, volume four, addressed criticisms of Goethe prevalent at the time.<sup>34</sup> Although she agreed that some of Goethe's views "are often still less suited to our public than that of Germany," at the same time, she defended him from "ignorant" accusations of some of his critics who asserted, among other things, that he was "not a Christian; . . . not a Democrat." Fuller granted that if being a Christian meant subordinating the intellect to the spiritual, Goethe's strength lay in his combining the two, but more often favoring the former. Goethe relied on "the great Idea of Duty which alone can hold us upright."

That Goethe was "not a 'Democrat,'" Fuller fully agreed, but with a caveat. Speaking of her own times with its democratic tendencies to "choose their own rulers," she wrote: "A minority is needed to keep liberals in check, and make them pause upon their measures long enough to know what they are doing . . . the cauldron of liberty has shown a constant disposition to overboil."

Fuller characterized herself as not among those "who are so fanatical for German literature [who] always say, if you object to any of their idols, that you are not capable of appreciating them." She advised readers: "The great movement of German literature is too recent to be duly estimated."

Despite these reservations, Fuller judged that in this literature "there lie the life and learning of the century. . . . He who does not go to these sources can have no just notion of the workings of the spirit in the European world these last fifty years or more." She judged Goethe as "the best writer in the German language."

Cornelius Felton's preface to Wolfgang Menzel's collection of thirty-two essays, volumes seven to nine, was in large part a critique of Menzel's essay on Goethe. Felton spoke of Menzel's "unrelenting attack on the literary character of Goethe." Felton agreed with Menzel's view regarding the immoral tendencies in Goethe's writing. According to Felton, "some of Goethe's heroes are simply contemptible and feeble voluptuaries . . . Some of Goethe's works are worthless and impure." Speaking of Goethe's *Goethe's Elective Affinities* (*Wahlverwandtschaften*), a story of passion and thwarted love in a family setting, Felton wrote: "... the beauty of delineation, which adorns the story . . . does not afford the least excuse for its licentiousness. It cannot be denied that many passages of his other writings are of exceedingly loose morality . . . They are disgusting, infamous." Felton's advice: "Let them alone." Felton, however, admitted to some balancing merits in Goethe's literary contributions. The German author's "devotion to all the interests of civilization . . . in the regions of art, poetry and science, ought to be received as some compensation."

John Dwight's preface to Goethe and Schiller's poetry, volume three, praised



their work as offering a "literature of life and Nature," a poetry that did away with "artificial tastes . . . rules and over refinements." Schiller taught the reader "lofty aspirations"; Goethe "how to realize them." Schiller spoke "amid the hackneyed forms of life of a better ideal world"; Goethe showed "the ripper wisdom . . . in whose inspiring draughts all narrow competition is forgotten."

The last of the six popular volumes, fourteen, was Charles Brook's translations of German songs and ballads. Brook's preface is the briefest among all the translators, and without philosophical garnishing. As noted earlier, Brooks was only tenuously involved with the Transcendental circle. A poet in his own right,<sup>35</sup> in his preface, Brooks discussed problems in translating poetry, and apologized for omitting "many old favorites of his fellow-students of German."

In what ways did the translators' remarks reflect their Transcendental-liberal Unitarian ideology, what Emerson called the "new views in New England?"<sup>36</sup> Except for Felton and Brooks, all prefaces referred in various ways to these views. Indeed, their comments provide a short course in Transcendental and liberal Unitarian thinking with its affinity for German philosophy and theology. Their remarks affirmed the Kantian tradition of German idealism with its claim for supremacy of mind over matter, the mind's intuitive capacity for organizing and conceptualizing sensory data. In the same tradition, they asserted a rational basis for religion and morality in opposition to one based on Christian beliefs. They saw in Nature a spiritual source of inspiration, not an object for crass commercial exploitation. They believed in the "immanence of Divinity" in both Nature and man and viewed "human reason as correlative with Supreme Wisdom."<sup>37</sup>

How was the *Specimens* series received by the public? Several reviews, many unsigned, appeared at the time the volumes were published with all but one in Boston-based journals.<sup>38</sup> The exception was in *The Western Messenger*, edited at the time in Cincinnati by William Clarke, one of the *Specimens*' translators. The latter periodical represented Transcendentalism in the "far west." Some reviewers comments are cited below.

Reviews of Ripley's French volumes elaborated on his reservations about English literature. One noted: "Noble as are the products of the English mind, they are not sufficient to supply all the nutriments necessary to the growth of a native literature. In philosophy, Germany and France are far before England." The reviewer claimed that French philosophy translated the "gigantic deductions of the Transcendental philosophy of modern Germany . . . to satisfy the minds of republicans who wish to have everything popularized." He judged the appropriate audience for the two volumes was "teachers of intellectual and moral philosophy in our colleges, and . . . all young men whose minds are dissatisfied with the prevailing system of metaphysics."<sup>39</sup>

Another review of the same volumes expressed a similar opinion. England's literature was too "aristocratic." It had a corrupting tendency that caused "Patriotism to die out, love for democracy to become extinct." The reviewer judged that "the writings of French and even German scholars breathe altogether more of a democratic spirit."<sup>40</sup>

Felton's three volumes containing Menzel's essays received one reviewer's



somewhat ambivalent praise for "the able and satisfactory manner in which he has given our craving public . . . the means of judging of the merits of that immense pretension, which was set up for the profoundness of German thought about 20 years ago, and has lately arrived at its height."<sup>41</sup> Another reviewer, identified as "P," wrote with tongue-in-cheek:

There is, somewhere in New England, a faction of discontented men and maidens, who have conspired to love everything Teutonic, from Dutch skates to German infidelity . . . above all the immoral and irreligious writings, which it is supposed the Germans are chiefly engaged in writing with the generous intention of corrupting the youth of the world, restoring the worship of Priapus, or Pan, or the Pope . . . gradually preparing for the Kingdom of Misrule . . . This German epidemic, we are told, extends very wide. It has entered the boarding-schools of young misses . . . and committed the most frightful ravages therein . . . It has seized upon Colleges, nay, on Universities, and both the faculty and the Corporation have exhibited symptoms of the fatal disease.<sup>42</sup>

Despite reservations about Menzel's essays, which the reviewer hoped would "be read with caution . . . [since] we think it will not give a true idea of the German mind and its workings," the reviewer concluded in a serious vein: "German literature is the fairest, the richest, the most original, fresh, and religious literature of modern times."

A review of Dwight's translations of Goethe and Schiller's poems judged the volume "superior to any English volume of translations from the German."<sup>43</sup> The reviewer, however, digressed to criticize Goethe. "Everywhere pages of Goethe are stamped with evidence, that he has no faith in reason, or in affections, in God, in man, or woman." Referring again to *Elective Affinities*: "Goethe not only had no morals, but scarcely a knowledge of what morality is."

Another reviewer of Dwight's poetry volume, identified as G. S. Hillard, spoke of the "peculiarities of the German mind and of the German language" that make for difficulties in English translation.<sup>44</sup> These "peculiarities," according to the reviewer, limited the admirers of German poetry "to a select few."

Aside from reviews, what evidence exists as to how the series was received by the general reading public? At the project's inception, Ripley stipulated that "500 subscribers must be obtained, & \$200 a volume will be paid to the writers, on condition of 1000 copies being sold." An advertisement for the series had appeared in the *North American Review*, April 1837.<sup>45</sup> Since the first volumes appeared 1838, the subscriber requirement must have been met. One source quoted Ripley's comment that the *Specimens* were meeting "encouragement to a degree beyond the expectations of the proprietors."<sup>46</sup> His nineteenth-century biographer and near contemporary, Octavius Brooks Frothingham, wrote: "These volumes had a marked influence on the educated men of that day, especially in New England."<sup>47</sup>

The series' publication history, so far as known, suggests it gained some recognition among the general public. While thirteen of the fourteen volumes were published



only in Boston, Osgood's translation of De Wette's *Ethics* was jointly published in Boston and London. The Boston publisher (Hillard, Gray) reprinted Clarke's translation of De Wette's *Theodore* in 1856. According to Frothingham, the complete *Specimens'* series was republished in Edinburgh, 1857.<sup>48</sup> Carlyle may have been instrumental in promoting the latter edition. As mentioned earlier, Ripley had corresponded with Carlyle at the inception of the *Specimens'* project. Later, Dwight dedicated his volume of poems to Carlyle and sent him a copy. Carlyle praised the volume: "No Englishman, to my knowledge, has uttered as much sense about Goethe and German things."<sup>49</sup> Carlyle referred to Dwight's extensive notes in the volume.

For a balanced historical perspective, it is important to note that the so-called "German craze" in New England was not without dissenters, a view held mainly by individuals outside the Transcendental circle. Three examples follow.

A year before the first *Specimens* volumes appeared, Francis Bowen, who later became professor of religion and moral philosophy at Harvard, criticized German philosophic and religious views. Kant, according to Bowen, "created a nation of metaphysicians by constructing a system in which the peculiarities of the German mind are strongly marked." Aside from problems of translating Kant's "abstract and subtle thought" into understandable English, Kant's philosophy itself "must induce an unhealthy state of mind." Bowen cited Kantian followers, Fichte and Schelling, accusing the first of "sublimated atheism," the latter of "downright pantheism." By contrast, Bowen stated that Locke's writings "breathe more uniformly the spirit of Christian purity, love and truth." Referring directly to the Transcendentalists with their German affinities, Bowen maintained "they have deepened the gulf between speculative and practical men." He labeled this tendency as "insufferable arrogance." He pointed an accusing finger at Coleridge and Carlyle who promoted German ways of thinking.<sup>50</sup>

Another contemporary dissenter was Andrews Norton, professor of sacred literature at Harvard. He wrote: "There is a strange state of things existing about us in the literary and religious world. . . . [It] owes its origin in part to ill understood notions, obtained by blundering through the crabbed and disgusting obscurity of some of the worst German speculatists."

Norton identified the Frenchman Cousin, "the hasher up of German metaphysics" and "that hyper-Germanized Englishman, Carlyle" as patriarchs promoting this strange way of thinking.<sup>51</sup> Elsewhere, Norton referred to "the latest form of [German] infidelity which was at war with Christian beliefs." He blamed the founders of this modern school—Ripley among them—for their "denial of the truth of Gospel history," among other things, their view of miracles as "only prodigies, adapted to arouse the attention of a crude people, like the Jews, but not required for men of more enlightened minds."<sup>52</sup>

An article attributed to George Bancroft attacked Goethe. Characterizing Goethe's views as "offensive from indifference to moral effect," Bancroft wrote: "A reason why many of his works cannot be popular in America is found in the nature of his subjects. Instead of describing sentiments of tenderness and true humanity . . . he has more frequently sketched the sorrows, which spring from the imagination, and the evils to which men have become exposed by the vices of refinement."<sup>53</sup>

L. M. Wilson

# PROSE WRITERS

OF

## GERMANY

BY

FREDERIC H. HEDGE

ILLUSTRATED WITH PORTRAITS

~~~~~  
Die deutsche Nation ist nicht die ausgebildetste, nicht die reichste an Geistes-  
und Kunstprodukten, aber sie ist die aufgeklärteste, weil sie die gründlichste ist,  
sie ist eine philosophische Nation — FR. H. JACOBI.  
~~~~~

PHILADELPHIA

PUBLISHED BY CAREY AND HART

1848

*Prose Writers of Germany*



Bancroft cited Goethe's frequently disparaged *Elective Affinities* to illustrate this tendency. "In Germany the characters . . . are acknowledged to be drawn with agonizing truth; but in the United States, thanks to the venerated sanctity of domestic attachment, the book would be thrown aside with incredulity as a false and dangerous libel on human nature."

Despite opposition to German thinking and even reservations expressed by some of the *Specimens*' translators, the series was followed by another volume of German translations. In 1848, Frederic Hedge, one of the Transcendental circle, published *Prose Writers of Germany*. In his preface, Hedge acknowledged Ripley and Brooks among several other individuals who had assisted in the translations. This one-volume anthology—"illustrated with portraits"—featured twenty-eight German writers. The closely-printed text included a biography for each writer, and in most cases several brief selections from their works. The eclectic contents covered philosophic, religious and popular writings.

*Prose Writers* went through five editions, the last in 1870, "revised and enlarged."<sup>54</sup> Undoubtedly, the handiness of its one-volume format, its variety of writers and subjects, and brevity of the excerpts contributed to the book's continuing popularity. That the volume was published in Philadelphia may have also helped secure its recognition. Unlike the Boston area, Philadelphia had a large, several-generation German-immigrant community. American-born literate members of this community may have found their cultural heritage more easily absorbed in English translation than in the original German.<sup>55</sup> From the above evidence, interest if not a continued "craze" for things Germans persisted and spread well beyond its first New England flowering in the early decades of the nineteenth-century.

Iowa City, Iowa

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Henry A. Pochmann, *German Culture in America, 1600-1900* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957), 63.

<sup>2</sup> Pochmann documents several earlier one-volume translations of German material published in America: Herder's *Letters Concerning the Study of Theology* (1820-21); James Marsh's tr. of Herder's *Spirit of Hebrew Poetry* (1833); George Calvert's tr. of Goethe's *Don Carlos* (1834). See Pochmann, *German Culture*, 110, 132, 334.

<sup>3</sup> Albert B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, vol. 1 (New York: The Steuben Society of America, 1927), 260-61.

<sup>4</sup> Harold Jantz, "German Thought and Literature in New England, 1620-1820," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 41 (January 1942): 1-45.

<sup>5</sup> Anna Louise Germaine Staël-Holstein, *Germany* (London: Murry, 1813; New York: Eastburn, Kirk, 1814); referenced in *The National Union Catalog* 563:531. See also Emma Gertrude Jaeck, *Madame De Staël and the Spread of German Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1915), 14 ff.; Stanley M. Vogel, *German Literary Influences on the American Transcendentalists* (New Haven: Yale University, 1935), 21; Siegfried B. Puknat, "Channing and German Thought," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 101 (April 1947): 195-203, 195.

<sup>6</sup> S. T. Coleridge, *Aids to Reflection, with Preliminary Essay and Additional Notes by James Marsh* (Burlington: Chauncey Goodrich, 1829). *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, vol. 2 (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, 1852),

12-13. See also, Rene Wellek, "The Minor Transcendentalists and German Philosophy," *The New England Quarterly* 15 (1942): 652-80, 654.

<sup>7</sup>"Thomas Carlyle, The German Scholar," *The Western Messenger*, 4 (February, 1838), 417-423, 422. Unsigned; probably written by James Clarke, the editor. For brief Clarke biography, see Miller, *Transcendentalists*, (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1950), 43-44.

<sup>8</sup>Pochmann, *German Culture*, 66-68.

<sup>9</sup>Jaeck cited the Public Academy of the City of Philadelphia as "the first American school to have German in its curriculum." *Madame De Staël*, 20.

<sup>10</sup>George W. Spindler, "Karl Follen," (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1916), 144.

<sup>11</sup>Jaeck, *Madame De Staël*, 22.

<sup>12</sup>James Freeman Clarke, *Autobiography, Diary and Correspondence*, Edward Hale ed. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin. 1892), 87, n. 1. For German book trade in Philadelphia in the 1840s see Robert E. Cazden, *A Social History of the German Book Trade in America to the Civil War* (Columbia, SC, 1984), 80-91.

<sup>13</sup>Octavius Brooks Frothingham, *George Ripley* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1882), 46-47.

<sup>14</sup>*Memoirs of Margaret Fuller*, vol. 1 (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, 1852), 241.

<sup>15</sup>J. F. Clarke, chap. 2, "Cambridge," in *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller*, 1:114.

<sup>16</sup>*Memoirs of Margaret Fuller*, 1:174.

<sup>17</sup>Camillo von Klenze, *Charles Timothy Brooks, Translator from the German and the Genteel Tradition* (Boston: D.C. Heath, 1937), 2, 78, n. 3; 83, n. 27.

<sup>18</sup>*Poems, Original and Translated by Charles T. Brooks with a Memoir by Charles W. Wendte*, W. P. Andrews, ed. (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1885), 22.

<sup>19</sup>Charles Crowe, *George Ripley, Transcendentalist and Utopian Socialist* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1967), 44.

<sup>20</sup>Mathew D. Fisher, "A Selected, Annotated Edition of the Letters of George Ripley, 1828-1841" (Ph.D. diss., Ball State University 1992), 128.

<sup>21</sup>James Freeman Clarke, *Autobiography*, 87.

<sup>22</sup>Octavius Brooks Frothingham, *Memoir of William Henry Channing* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1886), 62-63.

<sup>23</sup>*Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature*, ed. George Ripley, vol. 7: *German Literature*, trans. C. C. Felton (Boston: Hillard, Gray, 1840), xvii.

<sup>24</sup>Miller, *Transcendentalism*, 294; Joel Myerson, "A Calendar of Transcendental Club Meetings," *American Literature* 44 (May 1972): 197-207.

<sup>25</sup>Crowe, *George Ripley*, 129, n. 12.

<sup>26</sup>Fisher, *Letters*, 98ff.

<sup>27</sup>Frederic Hedge and H. W. Longfellow also had German experience and contributed translations to the two poetry volumes. See n. 30, 31.

<sup>28</sup>Fisher, *Letters*, 102 n. 5. See n. 31.

<sup>29</sup>The writer is indebted to the Wesleyan University Library, Middletown, Connecticut, for making the *Specimens'* volumes available for this study.

<sup>30</sup>Besides Dwight as major translator, nine other individuals contributed translations: George Bancroft, Charles Brooks, William H. Channing, James Clarke, Christopher Cranch, Nathaniel Frothingham, Margaret Fuller, Frederick Hedge, and G. W. Haven.

<sup>31</sup>Besides Brooks as major translator, five other individuals contributed translations: Christopher Cranch, John Dwight, Nathaniel Frothingham, Henry W. Longfellow, and Sarah Whitman.

<sup>32</sup>As editor of the *The Western Messenger* in Louisville, Clarke began translating *Theodore* in 1836. The still incomplete translation was terminated 1837. Clarke reported: "We have been requested by an Eastern publisher to translate the whole work to be printed in one or two volumes. In view of this we shall cease with the present number publication of this work" (*The Western Messenger* 6 [July 1837], 827). Clarke's translation was the first, and only English translation of *Theodore*. See Henry F. Pochmann and Arthur R. Schultz, *Bibliography of German Culture in America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1953), 80, no. 2355. The *Specimens'* translation was reprinted, 1856. See n. 48.

<sup>33</sup>Osgood's translation of De Wette's *Ethics* was the first and only English translation of this work. See Pochmann and Schultz, *Bibliography*, 80, no. 2354.

<sup>34</sup>Fuller's translation of *Conversations* was the first English translation. See Bayard C. Morgan, *A Critical Bibliography of German Literature in English Translation, 1481-1927* (1933), 174, no. 3039.



<sup>35</sup> *Poems, Original and Translated*, Andrews ed.

<sup>36</sup> "The Transcendentalist," *Selections from Ralph Waldo Emerson*, Stephen E. Whicher ed. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1960), 192.

<sup>37</sup> For brief delinations of Transcendental-liberal Unitarian ideology see Frothingham, *Transcendentalism in New England* (New York: Harper, 1959; first published 1876), 198-99; Miller, *Transcendentalism*, "Theodore Parker: A Discourse of the Transient and Permanent in Christianity," 259-83; *Ibid.*, "Samuel Osgood: 'Emerson's Nature,'" 163-167; Margaret Fuller, *Memoirs*, 2:12-13. Fuller listed German sources the New England Transcendentalists "grafted" onto their Unitarian beliefs. These included Kant, Fichte, Novalis, Schelling, Hegel, Schleiermacher, De Wette, Madame de Staël, Cousin, Coleridge, and Carlyle.

<sup>38</sup> The Boston reviews appeared in *The Boston Quarterly Review* 1 (1838): 360-78; *The Christian Examiner* (November 1837), 170-94; (March 1839), 252-57; (September, 1840), 117-18; (November 1842), 252-57; (May 1843), 232-39; *The North American Review* 48 (April 1839), 305-14; *The Dial* 1 (January, 1841), 315-39.

<sup>39</sup> *The Western Messenger* 5 (April 1838): 197-202, article unsigned; probably written by editor Clarke.

<sup>40</sup> *Boston Quarterly Review* 1 (1838): 433-44, unsigned.

<sup>41</sup> *The Christian Examiner* (September 1840), 117-18, unsigned.

<sup>42</sup> *The Dial* 1 (January 1841): 315-39, signed "P," probably Elizabeth Peabody, publisher of *The Dial*.

<sup>43</sup> *The Christian Examiner* (March 1839), 360-78, unsigned.

<sup>44</sup> *The North American Review* 43 (April 1839): 305-14, article unsigned; attributed to G. S. Hillard, a Boston solicitor, lecturer and on editorial staff of the *Christian Register and Jurist*. See *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: James White, 1861; reprint U. Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 1967), 3:244.

<sup>45</sup> *The North American Review*, 568, cited in Fisher, *Letters*, 10.

<sup>46</sup> Pochmann, *German Culture*, 105; no source given.

<sup>47</sup> Frothingham, *Ripley*, 98.

<sup>48</sup> The Wesleyan University set used by this writer was the 1856 printing; Frothingham, *Ripley*, 98.

<sup>49</sup> George W. Cooke, *John Sullivan Dwight* (New York: De Capo Press, 1969), 30. Carlyle Letter to Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1839.

<sup>50</sup> Francis Bowen, "Locke and the Transcendentalists," *Christian Examiner* (November 1837), 170-94.

<sup>51</sup> Miller, *Transcendentalists*, "Andrew Norton, The New School in Literature and Religion," 193-96.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, "A Discourse on the Latest Form of Infidelity," 210-13.

<sup>53</sup> "Life and Genius of Goethe," *The North American Review* 19 (October 1824): 303-25, 314, article unsigned; attributed to George Bancroft.

<sup>54</sup> Pochmann and Schultz, *Bibliography*, 153, no. 4529.

<sup>56</sup> Faust, *The German Element*, 1:111.





Hugh Powell

## Disdain and Delight: A German Visitor Reports from America in 1839

The period of colonial migration in the eighteenth century was followed by waves of disappointed and desperate people escaping from Europe to America. Unfulfilled promises of reform from the ruling princes before the final defeat of Napoleon, the devastation caused by a generation of conflict, and the crushing defeat of the Polish uprising—all directed hopes of a better life towards the United States, which was regarded as a country where a degree of freedom existed, that Europeans had never known. By the middle of the nineteenth century Irish and Germans were forming a large proportion of the immigrants, the former escaping from tyranny and famine stayed mostly in the north east, the latter settling in Pennsylvania west of the Appalachians. The German newcomers were renowned for their diligence, conscientiousness and public spirit, but by the 1830s offsprings of eighteenth-century immigrants were not so familiar with standards, traditions, and conventions of the Old World, their values being molded more by their environment, where physical stamina and resourcefulness were of prime importance, land was cheap, and where material gains tended to displace spiritual, ethical, and intellectual concerns.

The pessimistic mood afflicting many in the Europe of Metternich was given literary form in a number of novels, including E. A. Willkomm's *Die Europamüden* [Those Weary of Europe] (1838). The author belonged to a generation of Germans frustrated by their inability to do away with social and political injustice. Irksome too, was the abrogation by the German rulers of reforms Napoleon had introduced in their territories, when his troops were in occupation there. Not only intellectuals but peasants also were desperate for a chance to improve their lot. As one contemporary observer put it: "The history of the peasants fills one of the most shocking pages in the great book of human misery."<sup>1</sup> So immigrants to the United States included intellectuals, aristocrats (Friedrich von Steuben was one of them), but also farmers and other manual workers.

Not everybody in Germany approved of the emigration of fellow citizens. Willibald Alexis (1798-1871), author of novels about the contemporary scene, believed that those planning to emigrate were mistaken about the prospects of better living conditions in the New World. Apart from that, he did not approve of their abandoning the Fatherland.<sup>2</sup> Nor did another novelist, Louise von Gall (1815-55), wife of Levin

Schücking and daughter-in-law of Modestus Schücking, who presented the New World in an unfavorable light. A young physician in one of her novels did not like America because of the "raw materialism" over there. Despite his readiness to accept the political principles of the New World, he imagined America to be like a newly laid-out park, without trees and shade—a stark contrast to the Germany of forests and ancient fortresses.<sup>3</sup> Such a negative view of America was confirmed by the return to Germany of a number of disillusioned expatriates, who were commemorated in a novel by Ferdinand Kürnberger entitled *Der Amerika-Müde* [The Man Disenchanted with America], 1855, which is a counterpart to Willkomm's novel mentioned above.

A literary figure who recorded his own deep disappointment in 1832 was the Austrian poet Lenau. Seven years later the feeling of disillusion, even of betrayal, was echoed by a visitor from north Germany, who took up residence in Steubenville, Ohio, i.e., in the same region, the Appalachian plateau, as Lenau had.

Paul Nicolaus Bernhard Joseph Schücking (1787-1867), known as Modestus Schücking, was born in Münster, Westphalia, son of a highly placed judge.<sup>4</sup> He received his education in the turbulent period of the Napoleonic Wars, and after three years' study of law at the University of Münster entered the legal profession, making steady progress as judge and public servant in the territory of the local duke of Arenberg. In this capacity he was very active and succeeded in carrying out his plans for improving the roads and postal service in a rather remote area of Westphalia. In addition he appears to have had a social conscience, inasmuch as he showed concern for poverty-stricken inhabitants of the marshland, visiting them in their huts, and obtaining funds from the ducal treasury for relief of their distress. In other respects, too, he worked to improve living conditions for people under his jurisdiction, including increased medical facilities.

This and other areas of Westphalia were strongly, not to say rigidly Catholic in their beliefs and thinking. Modestus Schücking was schooled in the philosophy of Kant and Hegel, and in sympathy with the teachings of a fellow Westphalian—the Roman Catholic theologian Georg Hermes, who endeavored to combine Catholic doctrine with the teaching of Kant. Hermes's influence was considerable on the western borders of Germany, but in 1835 his writings were put on the *Index* by the Vatican. Not surprisingly Schücking's interest in the Hermesian teaching made him *persona non grata* with the Catholic establishment in his district, as did his campaign for tolerance between the Catholic and Lutheran faiths. After submitting to pressure and relinquishing his post, he embarked for the United States with his third eldest son Alfred in July 1838, and remained here for about two years before returning to Germany. In three hitherto unpublished letters to a colleague and friend Justizrat D. in Münster, Schücking supplied information he had acquired about American life and institutions, adding his own impressions of them.<sup>5</sup>



## Letter 1

Steubenville, Ohio, 15 March 1839

In these letters to Münster my intention to contribute to a correction of current ideas of American affairs makes it imperative I do not omit education and instruction, since nothing sheds more light on the nature of a government than its concern (or lack of it) for the intellectual and moral fiber of the citizens. In addition, this is important for those pupils in German schools who, when observing the stream of emigrants, will wish to know what to expect, if they were to join this exodus with a view to finding a post as teacher in America.

I don't know what reception my words will have, when I say with North American bluntness that the sole justification of a government by the people is that the people are sensible, thoughtful, and supportive. Only then could one consider them competent and worthy to govern; and only then would they be capable of voting into office enlightened and loyal representatives and officials. How is the Republic to survive and prosper, if the people cannot see the dangers that beset it, the obstacles that arise and the necessary reforms; or if they don't show restraint, dedication, and genuine patriotism? And yet, although the Founding Fathers, Washington, Penn, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, etc. recommended serious interest for a system of education embracing all classes of citizen, from the wealthiest to the poorest, the country still lacks the means of creating an informed public opinion, which lends so much strength to the constitution, whereas an unschooled opinion leads to prejudice. Education is so essential for the detection and thwarting of sly and dangerous encroachments on the people's liberty, for combating the inordinate greed for money, and to sow the seed of virtue throughout the land. "Build and support public schools in every part of the Union" said President Monroe.

Since then much has been written on the subject of education, and much has been said in Congress and the legislative bodies of the individual states. But it is as if, surrounded by a hundred steam-driven, whirring and clanking wheels in a wool factory, they were delivering a lecture on the ultimate aim of human existence! No doubt many a good law has been passed and large sums spent; and yet in the city of New York alone there are nearly 10,000 children who do not attend school. How many future thieves, arsonists, murderers, and streetwalkers are growing up among these? But should citizens of a republic not have the liberty to let their children grow up without education? What a vicious circle! The authorities proclaim the great need of education, and in doing so concede that the parents are uneducated, and at the same time assume that these parents will recognize the importance of education and their own great responsibility for neglecting this, and that they will then send their children to school: the result being that in the metropolis 10,000 children still don't attend school! No reasonable system of education can be expected to operate without vigorous intervention of the legislature and extended powers of the administration. Very recently in the Pennsylvania legislature a member proposed requiring parents to send their children to a public school for at least a few hours on a few weekdays,



and the proposal was opposed!

It was only in the states of New England (Massachusetts, Vermont, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Maine) that the first settlers showed foresight and lively interest in this matter, and already in 1628 a law was passed introducing compulsory education. In 1647 an elementary school was established for every fifty families, and a high school for every hundred families. Education in New England today is much sounder than in other states, and there is no difference between the young people who have studied in the academies and colleges of New England, and their counterparts in Germany, except for the Americans' superior public speaking. This is so general in this country, that in all the numerous churches I have visited, I have never known any preacher who became confused or hesitant in his delivery, or who could have improved his diction—and this despite their rapid speech.

The intelligence of the Americans is on the whole good (which is not to call into question that so many of them are astonishingly ill-informed about anything outside their daily routine). On the other hand, dull-looking individuals are rare in this country, that is to say among the native Anglo-Americans. Yet, notwithstanding their custom of doing all that is necessary in grand style, it is to be regretted that with all the discussions and decisions, so little is achieved on a national scale for the good of the whole community. A commission for education in Washington as supreme central authority, and a chief inspector in each of the twenty-six states would produce the most salutary results. But since education is at present in the hands of local authorities under the supervision of the individual states, the realization of a national standard is seriously hampered by the Constitution. Meanwhile Congress has gone beyond urgent recommendations and introduced the excellent measure of reserving a piece of Congressional land for a public school in every township. (Unoccupied territory within the United States and not belonging to any of the states, Indian tribes, or private individuals, is known as Congressional land).

[Here follow details of the surveying and quantifying of the land.]

In the states where the public school system has been introduced, it is under the authority of a superintendent. Ten to fifteen schools constitute a school district, which has an inspector, each school having its own trustees. Reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography are taught, but with the exception of New England, Easton in Pennsylvania, and Cincinnati in Ohio, there are no schools for training teachers. The salaries are between \$20-\$30 per month; in some other areas \$400-\$500 per annum. In the summer months they have time to improve their knowledge, while the children stay at home for more important things.

In March 1831 the legislature of the new state of Ohio passed a law requiring a fund to be raised in every county for the education of white children in the public schools, and that every township be divided into school districts. In Ohio the importance of the public schools lies in their potential rather than in their achievements so far. In this context the news from most states is heartening. According to the latest report of the superintendent of public instruction in the state of Michigan, it has 245



townships, 3,500 school districts, and \$19,716 have been raised for school buildings. Since the intelligent Americans are able to learn a subject without much trouble, there is no shortage of capable teachers, but rather of parents who appreciate the merit of skillful teachers.

In Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri where most of the German immigrants settled, education is lamentable beyond description. (Many are now going to Florida and Texas, where they can get a few hundred acres of land free, and be scalped by the Indians, or sunburnt free of charge.) When they arrive, generally their first step is to acquire all the bad habits of their new country, while divesting themselves of all the good moral precepts of their native land. Liberty makes them insolent, and equality uncouth. They soon recognize the goal of the North American to make money, and they fail to reconcile political liberty with moral responsibility. To avoid hard work, they build bars and taverns, and sell toxic drink like the best of Americans.

Throughout their first years they all have a dreadful time. If later things have improved, these people have become so awful in the meantime, that they could no longer make a success of their lives. Since they are neither German nor American, the educated German avoids them, finding their mish-mash of a language, their physical and moral depravity insufferable. They are held in contempt by Americans, who have to be persuaded not to judge the German people by this crowd. (If at times I don't feel disposed to undertake the persuasion, I claim France as my native land, and am then assured of a good reception much sooner.) There is nothing to equal the coarseness and ignorance of the so called Pennsylvanian Germans, that is the descendants of German immigrants of a century or more earlier. Their only teachers are Methodist preachers on horseback—"the blind leading the blind." They are so mean that a weary traveler asking for refreshment or a bed for the night, must chop wood in payment, no matter how tired he may be. On the other hand, they allow a lodger meeting with their approval to sleep with their daughters. In western Pennsylvania there are whole counties, where the inhabitants (called black Germans by the Americans) will not hear of education, in order, as Mr. Wolz in Pittsburgh put it, that their children might become bigger donkeys than themselves.

My esteemed friend, for the sake of those Germans who have not yet emigrated, let me note that in the vast western states, where schools are virtually inaccessible, and parents brutish, the children inevitably grow up coarse and ignorant. Whatever the relations between the English-speaking and German-speaking population, reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography are, in accordance with the law, taught in English in the elementary schools. Although, with the permission of the principal and district inspector, instruction may be given in German, in most areas it is impossible to find a teacher who could teach in both languages. Consequently elementary schools are not adequately equipped for German children, who are thus denied benefits from school funds to which their parents must contribute like other citizens. Would it not be sensible and appropriate to allow each district to decide whether instruction be given in the German or English language, or in both, as the German population increases and makes a growing contribution to agriculture and industry? In this way German children would learn more about American laws and institutions, and merge



with the American people.

Beside these public schools there are denominational schools, in which children are indoctrinated with the faith and thinking of the particular sect. They are mostly to be found in cities and especially in the numerous wealthy communities, just as tree nurseries exist only on the estates of rich people. The Sunday schools are noteworthy, too. On a few consecutive Sundays at about 1:00 p.m. I saw six young girls ride past, and in answer to my enquiry whether they were farmers' daughters, heard that they were children of the wealthiest residents in Steubenville on their way to a Sunday school four, five, six, or seven miles upriver in Virginia. Mrs. Scott had been an enthusiastic teacher of religion. She told me that her success in reforming unruly children and evil older people had brought her into contact with Mr. Scott. The job was not without its hazards: on one occasion it was only her skill as a horsewoman that enabled her to escape from an attack by marauders, and since then she had always been escorted by an armed black servant of her father. The Presbyterians are determined to maintain and increase the number of Sunday schools. In sermons and tracts their appeal to conscience includes the question "Am I a Sunday school teacher?" In 1834 it was estimated that 80,000 Sunday school teachers (male and female) taught 600,000 children. When one considers the ever increasing number of settlements without religious instruction; that the preachers are also missionaries, who serve between four and six communities in a circuit of ten to thirty miles, one has to commend highly the dedication of young people who guide the errant children of rough parents to God. If we also take into account that these young adults are coolheaded and (apart from the Methodists) free of fanaticism, we can be confident that they do a lot of good.

And now, my esteemed friend, I am going to take you to the academies, colleges, and universities; that is to say from the democratic to the aristocratic sphere; or perhaps I should not reckon them to belong to the latter, although entrance to these establishments is confined to the people with money, their products being candidates for the elite in scholarship, the civil service, clergy, and so on. The academies and colleges are usually private institutions, with and without state support. When the boys can read and write and have received instruction in the fundamentals of arithmetic, they are sent to the academies, which in some cases accept only day-pupils, in others day-pupils and boarders. The fees of boarders average \$150, day-boys' fees \$50 for ten months, April and October being vacation periods. Lessons in modern languages, music, and drawing entail extra fees. Subjects offered include English, Latin (and sometimes French, German, Italian, and Spanish), Geography, Rhetoric, Mathematics, Algebra as far as quadratic equations, logarithms, arithmetic and geometric progression, solid geometry and area-measurement; i.e. everything with an eye on skill in surveying and the basic essentials of the natural sciences.

These courses in the academies lasting three to five years are intended to prepare students for direct entry to the business world and for more successful activity therein, as well as for admission to the colleges. Academies and colleges are generally organized as legal business corporations, i.e. the state accords them the *jus universitatis* in the Roman legal tradition, or if you like, a legal identity. They have a board of trustees to



protect and further their interests. When first established, the academies are frequently subsidized by the state, in order to keep the fees moderate and to increase the number of students. The Pennsylvanian legislature, for example, allocated an annual grant of \$500 for a period of ten years to those incorporated academies with forty students and \$250 to those with at least twenty-five students.

The insolence and uncivilized behavior of the boys make the teachers' task arduous. They are children of men who have become wealthy in this country, and are yet so driven by the need to make more money that they have no time even to eat their midday meal in a decent manner. How then can one expect them to give time to their children? In any case, what could they say to them, when they themselves know nothing except how to make money and the amazing improvements in our country? Politeness, urbanity, yes humanity itself seem to be unknown to the middle and lower classes in North America. Liberty, which is not the hallmark of a particular form of government, is doubtless favorable to the development of a lofty moral sense; but liberty in this North America has produced instead of humans, boors and blockheads, inasmuch as uninformed public opinion holds complete sway over them, and everyone must vote as his party demands. Many a boy takes so readily to this false notion of liberty and equality, that the father (the twelve-year-old addresses him with "sir") is soon unable to tame the young brat, and has to send him to a reformatory.

Mr. Scott is reputedly a strict disciplinarian, so the most unruly boys are sent here. Punishment in the academies takes the form of exclusion from games, retention after school hours, double assignments, banning boarders from the meal table, and so on. However, Mr. Scott occasionally feels compelled to have recourse to the cane, but even so cannot stop objectionable habits such as constant spitting (learned from their tobacco-chewing fathers), lolling and lounging about, even during prayers.

In the colleges moral philosophy, natural philosophy (natural sciences), and mathematics are taught at an advanced level, where the learning process involves papers read in colloquia. At present there are said to be eighty-eight colleges in the Union, and in addition twelve law schools, twenty-six medical schools, and thirty-five theological schools. They are also generally incorporated by the state in which they are situated, assigned a board of trustees, and subsidized by donations. For instance, the state legislature of Pennsylvania has granted the incorporated colleges a subsidy of \$1,000 for a period of ten years, if the number of students reaches one hundred, \$500 to those with at least forty, and \$250 when the total reaches twenty-five students. The legislature in Indiana also gives very generous support to the university in Bloomington, whose president Dr. Wylie recently gave great offense by leaving the Presbyterian Church [Schücking wrote "catholic presbyterian Church"] to join the Unitarians.<sup>6</sup> Many states such as Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Virginia have allocated substantial funds for schools, the last named earmarking the sum of \$1,233, 523, of which \$45,000 is spent annually on the education of poor children. The Federal Government reserves large areas of Congressional land for academies and colleges: according to a report of 2 April 1832 a total of 10,713,317 acres had been allocated to colleges, academies and public schools. The University of Alabama is sited entirely on such land.



Colleges generally have four classes: freshmen, sophomores, juniors, and seniors. Students from academies can skip the freshman year; indeed, those who are especially well prepared can skip the sophomore year too. However, there are colleges that were formerly academies and have not attained more than a mediocre standard in their new status. In some western colleges scholarship is rather superficial, notwithstanding the removal of original obstacles to more profound instruction. Colleges in the eastern states have sounder standards in this respect, receiving encouragement and aid from cities nearby. To be sure, in Harvard, Brown, Yale, Amherst, Union College in New York State and in Princeton the academic standard bears comparison with that in the best European universities. The number of professors varies from one institution to the next, Union College (with 286 students) having nine in addition to the president, but Columbia four. German academics would often find unacceptable the combination of subjects taught by one person; in Columbia, for example, the professor of philosophy and ethics also teaches rhetoric, belles lettres, and political economy! As for the professors' salaries (generally speaking, they are five to ten in number), these are in the range of \$500 to \$1200. I think you would like to read in the enclosure to this letter about the number of the faculty, courses of study and the terms (calendars) of one of the most prestigious universities, i.e. Union College with its 286 students.<sup>7</sup> The universities are colleges where students specialize in particular subjects. You become Doctor of Laws or Doctor of Medicine (as understood in this country), whereas in the colleges a broader range of subjects must be covered. Dr. Pappen told me he had attended medical courses for about three winter semesters at the university in Philadelphia and, after completion of a dissertation and a rigorous oral examination, graduated Dr. med. The whole catastrophe cost \$300, including fees. I shall probably come back to this pretty state of affairs, but just in case I forget, let me mention that Aesculapius, god of the medical art, can see his priests here multiply daily, for in twenty medical schools there are 2489 students, compared with 1058 in thirty theological institutions. The latter must be a source of interest to the former, since in the lunatic asylum of Massachusetts the number of religious fanatics has grown to seventy in the last six years. As for the academic libraries, in 1834 it was calculated that they held 190,056 books, and the libraries of literary societies 87,000. Textbooks in the English language are written entirely by Americans.

As I have already stated, an important difference exists between the academies themselves, as also between the colleges. This is a natural consequence of the fact that they are mostly private institutions and not under the control of a public authority (and that many are richly endowed, e.g. Girard College in Philadelphia and Columbia College in New York). The American is only too ready to curtail the salary of teachers and the food of the boarding students, and the principals often have to haggle like their grandfathers before them, finally giving up and being succeeded by a better or worse one. As a consequence, partly in order to eliminate the disparity in standards between these institutions, and partly to ensure that all are imbued with the same sound and high-minded purpose, it is most important that the President of the Union create a supreme council for education for the whole country, and that similarly in every state a council for education be created with the governor as chairman, under



the supervision of the supreme (federal) council for education. This salutary and virtually essential arrangement would encounter few obstacles, in the absence that is, of resistance by a powerful political faction to any development that would allow the federal administration to intrude in the affairs of the individual states.

[Here follows a reference to a newspaper report in Charleston (now in West Virginia) of an account of the Prussian school system given by one Benjamin M. Smith, which the governor of Virginia suggested might be adopted in his state. Smith, a Virginian had traveled in Prussia among other European countries, and had studied the organization and administration of education there.]

On the whole, educated Americans have the greatest respect for the Prussian government, which they associate with progressive and enlightened views; especially do they respect the Prussian monarch himself.<sup>8</sup> The American aristocracy, both the materially wealthiest on the one hand, and the most highly educated on the other, is in favor of universities because, detesting the prospect of mob rule, it sees in higher education the means to nourish superior ideas and increase the number of its own ranks. However, it should be recognized that in this democracy education is very handicapped, because only the non-denominational schools can be regarded as the seed of future elementary schools in the Republic. As far as education goes, America on the whole seems to resemble its richest soil where the vegetable and animal thrive, but children develop their basest urges, without anyone trying to inculcate higher aspirations. Consequently the fertile soil is covered with poppies, wild grass and tares, and very little wheat.

In a democracy the aim and system of education must justify that form of government, showing it to be the right and only true one, thus giving it a firmer, more secure foundation. Democracy in America must gradually acquire a different basis; it must become more than just a negation of despotism, if it is not to collapse like their frailty built houses. It must change from one of material gain and prosperity to a bedrock of human dignity and spiritual values. This would be a difficult task for the schools to perform, faced as they are with the ignorance and meanness of parents, for whom the world is no more than a vast market place, and life itself a process of buying and selling. Nevertheless, it has to be a prime function of the schools to inform future citizens of their moral responsibility to each other, and to the community. This would also be the most appropriate way to pay homage to the Founders of the Republic, viz: Washington, Penn, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, etc. The conviction that the schools here are not only most deficient in qualities befitting a republic, but that in addition the whole organization of the university system is in every respect antirepublican, was recently expressed by a member of the House of Representatives of our state (albeit not from the most important point of view) in the following words.

[Here follows a lengthy extract in German translation from this speech.]



You see that in this speech instruction and education are considered mainly from the economic and political viewpoint. Yet the importance, the necessity of a better school system becomes even more evident, when we think of the thousands of neglected children in the seaports, of the frequent murders, of the universally practiced deceit provoking laughter rather than anger; then again, when we recall that travelers must keep an eye on their personal effects, and that so many divorces are being sought, generally by wives of drunkards who ill-treat their children (at present forty-seven cases are on file in Ohio and even more in Connecticut); and when we take into account the number of girls who go astray every evening in New York, New Orleans and other cities, in greater numbers than the women and girls of Münster choose the right way on Good Friday—all these facts providing grounds for improvement in education are ignored, and the idea that government should intervene to ensure such improvement is denounced as infringement of the individual's liberty. (How could liberty hinder the struggle for liberty?)

Recalling one of the reasons for my report, I should mention that those who have acquired the knowledge and qualities necessary for entrance to a school, especially if they were educated in a Prussian school, would be admitted readily to a public school in the United States, but they would have to submit reports on their moral character. University-trained persons would do well to make contact with a reputable Anglo-American family, and obtain a recommendation from them. In this way they should find a position as teacher in an academy. A letter of introduction is essential for access to genteel Americans. Once accepted, you are welcome in their home, among their relatives, and to their church. It was quite by chance that I became acquainted with the preacher Kämmerer in Pittsburgh, won his approval, and then was introduced by him to Mr. Lorenz, an immensely wealthy Presbyterian. In this way my association with the Presbyterians began, and it was through this channel that I arranged for my son Alfred to be given a position as teacher of mathematics and languages in the academy and in the seminary for young women here, with free board and a salary of \$350, or 470 Thaler.<sup>9</sup> Once employed by the upper class, it depends solely on his work and demeanor how soon he obtains a lucrative appointment or even a chair in a college with a salary of \$800-\$1200. Alfred's fellow student in Osnabrück, Bernhard Rölker, is now a professor in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Those who wish to make a living solely by teaching languages fare badly; but if they can offer music in addition, their prospects are brighter. Good and dedicated teachers of music are in demand and well remunerated, not because people are particularly musical, but because music is in fashion.

In this present report on immigrants, knowledge of the English language is assumed. The excellent instruction Professor van Dillen gives in this subject in Osnabrück, has proved of the greatest value to Alfred, making him acceptable to the German-Americans and enabling him to teach mathematics in an academy and, moreover, in the American-English dialect—this being better than the "old English." And how is my English? Well, whenever I can, I speak French, but I can manage a little more than just "Good evening, sir!"



[The first letter ends here.]

When reading the second and third letters, it should be borne in mind that the writer, Modestus Schücking, came from a country where women were allotted a role as subservient as in any other in western Europe. Prominent German publicists such as W. H. Riehl (probably the first academic sociologist in that country), Hermann Marggraff, Karl Gutzkow, and Robert Prutz were unanimous in proclaiming that a woman's place was in the home, and that she should not aspire to appear in public life. Those women who published (e.g. Ida von Hahn-Hahn, Fanny Lewald, Louise von Gall, and Therese von Bacharach) were often ridiculed by the arbiters of taste and dismissed as bluestockings. When girls received any formal education at all, it ceased at the age of fifteen. Thereafter and depending on family circumstances, the daughters were given some tuition in needlework, painting, music, and dancing. The fortunate exceptions had enlightened fathers, who gave them the opportunities for further study, at the same time encouraging a positive attitude to progressive ideas. As mentioned above, Modestus Schücking was an unusually broad-minded public figure in Westphalian society, permeated as it was with intolerance and bigotry.

## Letter 2

Steubenville, 25 March 1839

Let me give you my view of the available education for females in the United States. The prerequisites (and the need) for the improvement of the male sex by the female are perhaps more vital here than in any other land of the civilized world. Nowhere can women be more devoted to the home, and nowhere invite more respect than here. Consequently, their influence for moderation of the commercial drive of their men, and for the liberation of suppressed ideals, together with their role in the development of their children's mind and disposition, would be all the more significant if they themselves had the training for a profession that requires empathy, judgment, tact, and adroitness.

On the whole, it can be said that so far the government has done little or nothing to promote this beneficial influence of women, which can be observed not only in the home, but in all sections of society; and this despite the urgent need for regeneration of the male sex, including infusion of the spiritual element.

Yet in this respect the authorities of this young nation are not to be blamed, when one considers how inadequate education of females in Europe is. The fact that in this country there is almost as large a number of academies for girls as for boys is in itself evidence that females are seen to be as eligible by nature for education as males. The ladies' academies or seminaries are mostly managed by ministers of religion and their wives, and in Catholic institutions by nuns. The curriculum comprises reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, secular and ecclesiastical history, dates and sequences of historical events, mythology, practice in written style and in public speaking, prosody, science, philosophy, ethics, music, painting in watercolor and on silk, needlework, etc.



Boarders' fees amount to \$150-200 per annum; for day girls \$50. Extra fees are charged for music (piano and harp): \$40-50; drawing and painting on silk: \$20-30; French or German \$20-30. You see, dear friend, that money, a lot of money is required to become a well-informed, highly educated lady, and many a gentleman will not take kindly to handing over so many of the banknotes that are so dear to his heart. But there are much more powerful reasons to look sour, when contemplating a world in which the key to the sanctuary of the mind and soul, to the realm of the most sophisticated delights has to be made of gold. Under such circumstances is it not absurd to speak of liberty and equality on this earth? The seminary in this town, headed by the Rev. Beatty, has 80 girl boarders up to the age of twenty-two, and 120 day girls. They are taught by recently appointed female teachers and include children of five, seven, and nine years, so delightful and charming that one wonders how their mothers can bear to be without them, often thousands of miles away in Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas.

If they had a belltower, the buildings of these seminaries would resemble a Catholic convent. Mr. Beatty's is 165 feet long with two stories and a semi-basement, each story having twenty-three windows. The front of the building facing the river Ohio has four Ionic columns supporting the architrave, and between these is a balcony from which one can watch the 1600-foot-wide, limpid, silvery waters flowing past, leading one's gaze to the wooded foothills that come down to the river bank, but stopping short of the site of Steubenville. The view includes the additional attraction of a playground, fenced off from the river by a stack of cast iron, with a charming scene of groups of children in perpetual motion. Every hour colorful steamboats hurry past on their way to Cincinnati, or upstream to Pittsburgh, and the young girls (as distinct from the young ladies) wave their white handkerchiefs, as they exchange greetings with the passengers.

The success of the process of instruction and education depends largely on the quality of the female teachers, and since there are no training establishments for them, the female academies vary a great deal. But as a rule American women, with their keen commonsense, easily master the field of knowledge germane to their interests or requirements as teachers.

Acquaintance with the teachers of the academy in this town, ladies between twenty and twenty-eight years of age, and with the most highly respected lady principal, would soon change any biased opinion that women are less able to study the world around us, and less entitled to the enjoyment inherent in such study. After getting to know these ladies, one would also have to revise any ideas that, because by nature they are closer to children and more lenient, they are less endowed by the Almighty with the talents and qualities that make a successful teacher.

As for the material taught, I have read essays by female pupils here on history and as exercises in style, which were very praiseworthy. Moreover, perusal of their calculations in astronomy convinced me that in this subject they teach more than just names and constellations. Mrs. Beatty told me that in astronomy just enough is taught to enable the pupils to see the glory of God.

The lady teachers do not have to cope with the naughtiness and bad habits that



make the job of the male American teacher so difficult. Mrs. Beatty maintained that the principal method of discipline she used was moral conviction. She believed that in this way discontent and bitterness could be avoided and a rational self-control inculcated. Moral conviction would later be the sole means of these future wives and mothers to exert influence on their husbands and children. A most favorable factor is the very profitable three-year stay in the seminary, compared with the one-year residence in German boarding schools, where the pupils leave at just the time their interests and abilities are being awakened and their personalities revealing themselves. Some American girls continue their courses even for four, five, and more years.

Although in these establishments they do not always go deeply into the subjects taught, and not all the girls are equipped with basic and comprehensive knowledge when they leave, yet especial talents are given incentive and opportunity to develop, and on the whole the curriculum retains its value as training of the intellect and critical faculty, important as these are in later life.

In many European professional families the marriage soon becomes boring, because the wife does not understand her husband. In America the contrary is more often true, for here, it seems to me, women are more cultivated than the men. I was once asked by Mrs. Mary Lyman, one of the teachers at the seminary here, "Are not the ladies well-behaved, very genteel?" "So far," I replied, "I found the last to whom I spoke better behaved and more obliging than the one before. And yet I could also add that they are not well-behaved, when in the matter of courtesy they leave the gentlemen so far behind." Flattered as a lady, but stung as an American, she countered "It is true, I cannot speak from experience, but I believe there are many educated and cultivated men in America." This, of course, I did not doubt. The joking remark I occasionally made, i.e. Nature created only swans for the Delaware, Hudson, and Ohio rivers she dismissed as an inept European compliment, at the same time taking me gleefully to the window, and pointing to a gaggle of geese on the river Ohio nearby.

If the historical sense is very strong in America and in individual cases the specialized work excellent, yet in most institutions, it seems to me, there is not enough attention given to the philosophy of education and of the accompanying instruction. Formal intellectual training in the "classical" subjects should be interspaced with hours for free discussion, lectures, and essays which help to mold the temperament and promote sympathetic understanding. In addition to acquiring insight, the girls would in this way learn to identify with the sensibility and conscience of others, and in later life exert a moderating, civilizing influence as wife and mother for the benefit of their country.

[The writer ends this second letter with a translated extract from a speech by a Florida judge praising the role of women in society.]



### Letter 3

Steubenville, 29 March 1839

Yesterday morning the public examination in the ladies seminary was concluded. (These Presbyterians celebrate the Sabbath more than any other day; they don't observe even Good Friday.) What I experienced on this occasion not only confirms my opinion of female instruction here, which I conveyed to you in my last letter, but also fills me with admiration. The most senior of the examinees were seven young women between eighteen and twenty years old, whose bearing betrayed neither overconfidence nor nervousness. You should have heard how questions were answered about the Constitution, from the local judge to the Supreme Court, from the town mayor to the President in Washington; then about Congress, the states and state legislatures, the function of governors, and so on. Other questions were about court procedure during a trial by jury, from the prosecutor's address up to the sentence after the verdict; on geography taking us to the 5,300 ft. high Mount Katahdin in Maine, then to Niagara Falls with its spectacular beauty; later from Lake Erie via the new canal down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to New Orleans; then up to New York via Florida, the Carolinas, Baltimore, and Philadelphia. The answers to such questions demonstrated a knowledge of this enormous continent, exceeding that which many a German girl has of the county in which she was born. Such questions, especially about ethics and metaphysics often made me anxious for the youngsters, even though their looks of confidence in the one being questioned showed that they would not be all that nervous when their turn came. Their explanations of the difference between the concepts of virtue and genius, audacity and fortitude, the noble and the sublime, good and evil, were most satisfactory—yes, I can say admirable and surprising. There could be no possibility here of such a performance through mere cramming, since the questions of the external examiners could not be foreseen and, moreover, called for elucidation, substantiation, and application. The adjudicator from Columbus asked Miss Patricia Livingstone from Augusta Springs in Virginia to offer a comparison of Washington the liberator, and Napoleon Bonaparte. You should have heard how the pretty girl displayed her knowledge of the country's history, and have seen the halo she gave the high-minded generator of her nation's independence—in contrast to the egoistic man whom, she said, she would call godless, if he had not proclaimed himself a god to his people and the whole world. After a number of girls had graduated and received their diplomas, their three-year course having concluded, the elderly adjudicator from the capital made a speech praising the seminary and assuring his audience that in the future he would recommend the seminary in Steubenville as a model school.

Of course, my dear friend, one realizes that the education of females is not as good everywhere as in this school, and one rarely finds such a wise, educated and angelic woman as Mrs. Beatty. (I shall always remember with gratitude how she declared herself ready to show my son Alfred the same goodwill and kindness as she had to me.) In New England the schools often have 300-400 girls and a good reputation, as do several schools in Kentucky, Missouri, and Maryland. Some say the girls from



these schools are too clever and conceited; that you can identify them by their posture and gait, especially the mincing steps of the Philadelphians. According to this view, their conviction that they are well educated makes these young women vain, bold, and arrogant, thus destroying that feminine charm deriving from demureness and modesty. But these observations are not to be interpreted as opposition to the education of females, but only to the deficiencies and mistakes that occur here, as indeed in all human activity. If feminine charm or benevolence is based on naturalness, simplicity, and modesty, then this naturalness must be refined, not crude, and simplicity should emerge from unity in diversity, from harmony of heart and mind, coming from modesty and other virtues.

On close examination these qualities appear no less essential for male as for female courtesy, and the lack of them equally evidence of a poor education. That the deficiency is more often associated with women than men, is to be attributed partly to the male's claim to be more competent to judge, than vice versa, and also to the scarcity of educational establishments for females, a state of affairs which under different circumstances would not exist. Her young girls, Mrs. Beatty told me, grew up cultured, though not erudite. She mentioned one of her young graduates, Miss Margery Wilson, who was neither conceited nor prim, nor arrogant. When on first acquaintance with this young lady at a party, she heard that I had a son in Pittsburgh, she ran to sit on a stool at my feet, declaring that she had always wished to get (*kiegen*) a German gentleman. She asked me to describe Alfred's appearance and personality, and finally asked if she could get him. When I replied that I had no doubt she could, since Alfred had my tastes and that she would certainly have got me, she signed the announcement of the engagement I prepared there and then, on the understanding that the marriage would take place by Whitsun. —Thus it went on to the amusement of those present.

These women are sensible, competent, and agreeable, inviting trust and goodwill, Providence having endowed them with a gentle upbringing. For example, although to undertake a walk of four or more miles to visit a friend, as German and English girls do, or to take part in a picnic in the countryside would be one of the most extraordinary experiences of their lives, they do have, on the other hand, an engaging disposition which even a north American faultfinder could not fail to respect. However, if in general the women of this hemisphere have too much freedom as children, inasmuch as they have to fend for themselves when still too young, it is the task of the educator to modify this sense of independence and teach the girls the importance of *reason*, alongside their impulses. Those women who have had the advantage of such guidance in school grow into capable, respected, and influential wives and mothers. At the same time one must concede that there are women here, whose charm is tarnished by a display of exaggerated self-confidence; but even these are respected citizens, influential wives, and certainly good enough for these North Americans, of whom it can hardly be said that it was God's purpose to give *them* loving wives!

My positive assessment of American women may be ascribed in part to those I met by chance, enhanced as their image is by the nature of their menfolk. In any case, there is no question of preferring them to German women, who are superior in

beauty, charm, and warmheartedness, and whose qualities I extol in conversation with American ladies. You will receive my next letter from New York. Farewell!

Schücking's style of writing (the *Kanzleistil*) was that of the German lawyer and administrator. It has some long sentences with encapsulated clauses which, in translation, occasionally call for resecting, but without a change of the meaning of the original.

The letters were from a man belonging to a society in which discipline in the home and elsewhere was traditionally strict. The value of his observations and impressions rests on his intelligence, education, experience, and liberal cast of mind. As a former judge he had practical knowledge of human nature and caprice. The sharp tone in his criticism of the habits of descendants of middle-class German immigrants was induced, at least in part, by embarrassment when faced with the decline in standards since the arrival of their forefathers, distinguished as they had been by their orderliness and capacity for hard work.<sup>10</sup> However, here and there we do find hints of humor. His attention to education in the report is an indication of the interests of the man, his account of the teaching personnel, students and their performance being especially illuminating—not least of all the emphasis on the education of girls. In the first letter the proposed establishment in Washington of a federal authority for education touches a topic still controversial today, as indeed is the sensitivity of individual states to federal control, of which Schücking was well aware. He returned to his homeland after two years in this country, but his legacy proved to be the role of his two sons in the public life of the United States.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Levin Schücking (1814-83), *Der Bauernfürst* (1851), 1:42. The author was a son of Modestus Schücking, writer of the letters translated here. For information about the potato rot of the 1840s as impetus for the emigration of German peasants, cf. Mack Walker, *Germany and the Emigration 1816-1885* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964).

<sup>2</sup> *Schattenrisse aus Süddeutschland* (1834), 78f.

<sup>3</sup> *Gegen den Strom* (1851), 1:188.

<sup>4</sup> Sources of the following details of his career in Westphalia are housed in the Schücking Museum, Sögel, Westphalia.

<sup>5</sup> I wish to record my indebtedness to the living descendants of Modestus Schücking, especially to his great-great-granddaughter, Frau Annette Schücking-Homeyer, for providing me with the transcripts of these letters, and permission to publish them in translation. The translation is mine.

<sup>6</sup> By legislative fiat the college in Bloomington became a university on 15 February 1838. At that time it did not receive generous financial support from the state. Cf. Thomas D. Clark, *Indiana University*, vol. 1 (Bloomington & London: Indiana University Press, 1970), chap. 4. Schücking's reference to Indiana University President Wylie's joining the Unitarians, thereby offending the Presbyterians, is possibly connected with Wylie's involvement in interdenominational disputes among the Presbyterians, while he was president of Washington College, Pennsylvania, and ten or more years earlier than the date of this letter. Cf. Clark, op. cit., 37.



<sup>7</sup> The enclosure appears not to have survived.

<sup>8</sup> This is a political statement. Modestus Schücking, the writer of these letters and a man of liberal views, was a bureaucrat normally resident in Westphalia and, since the repartitioning of Germany after the Napoleonic Wars, a subject of the King of Prussia. This King Frederick William III had failed to fulfill the promise to his people of a constitution, once Napoleon was defeated. Furthermore, he soon confirmed his standing as a reactionary monarch by reversing the liberal reforms of Stein, Hardenberg, and Humboldt. It seems that Schücking's statement that the King was at that time enlightened and progressive, was made to present an image acceptable to the Prussian authorities. The fact that Frederick William III honored him for his book *Krone und Tiara* (1838) is also pertinent here. It is, moreover, highly improbable that well-informed Americans would have entertained "the greatest respect" for that autocratic monarch.

<sup>9</sup> Alfred Schücking (1818-98), the third son of the writer of the letters, was born in Dülmen, Westphalia. He remained in the USA after his father returned to Germany, became an American citizen and made a career as teacher (in Jefferson College, Pennsylvania), journalist, vice-consul for the Netherlands, and advocate of the interests in the USA of Prussia and various smaller German states. He received several honors from German luminaries, including Otto von Bismarck. He also played an important part as a lobbyist in persuading Congress to institute a regular postal service between this country and Germany in 1847. Another son, Prosper Ludwig Schücking (1829-87) became an American citizen and eventually, in 1867, undersecretary in the State Department.

<sup>10</sup> Seven years earlier the Englishwoman Frances Trollope (1780-1863; mother of Anthony Trollope) had published her book *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, which in some respects anticipated Schücking's impressions of the personal habits of people in Pennsylvania and Ohio.





Manfred Zimmermann

## Amerikasymphathien kurhessischer Offiziere zwischen Restauration und Revolution, 1816-49

Das nach den Freiheitskriegen gegen Napoleon wiederhergestellte Kurfürstentum Hessen (Hessen-Kassel) wurde alsbald unter dem greisen Kurfürsten Wilhelm I. (gest. 1821) ganz im Geiste der Reaktion organisiert, alle sozialen und politischen Veränderungen ignorierend. Bezeichnend ist die Wiedereinführung des Zopfes für Offiziere als eine der ersten Maßnahmen des Fürsten nach der Wiederaufnahme der Regierungsgeschäfte. Auch unter seinen Nachfolgern, in die das Land zunächst große Hoffnungen gesetzt hatte, besserte sich die Situation nicht wesentlich—Inkompetenz in der Verwaltung, Günstlings- und Mätressenwirtschaft untergruben die Stellung des Herrscherhauses, bis das Land 1866 unter beinahe allgemeinem Aufatmen von Preußen annektiert wurde.

Ein Phänomen dieses Staatwesens war die tendenziell permanente Renitenz des Offizierskorps,<sup>1</sup> die ihren Kulminationspunkt in den Verfassungsauseinandersetzungen des Jahres 1850 fand, als die weitaus überwiegende Mehrzahl der Offiziere—nach Abzug von "Sozialfällen" wie einigen kurz vor der Pensionierung Stehenden oder der Angehörigen des Invalidenbataillons waren es an die 90 Prozent der aktiven Offiziere—aus Protest gegen die Suspendierung der Verfassung ihren Abschied einreichten, ein einzigartiger Vorgang, der noch eine besonders pikante Note dadurch erhält, dass das Generalauditoriat, das höchste Militärgericht des Landes, die Anordnungen der Zivilregierung als verfassungswidrig für nichtig erklärte.<sup>2</sup> Die Situation musste durch bayrische Truppen, die sogenannten "Strafbayern," bereinigt werden. Diese Renitenz der kurhessischen Offiziere gegen ihren Landes- und obersten Kriegsherrn wurde nachweislich begleitet von einer ausgeprägten, doch nicht immer informierten Schwärmerei für die politischen Verhältnisse in Amerika.

Dies ist nicht der Ort einer ausführlichen Darstellung der Geschichte Hessens oder Hessen-Kassels oder auch nur seiner Verfassungskämpfe der ersten Hälfte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts. Angemerkt sei nur, dass der hessische Kurstaat eine junge Entität war, die schon im Zeitpunkt ihres Entstehens einen Anachronismus darstellte. Als 1803 die alte Landgrafschaft Hessen mit dem Regierungssitz in Kassel Kurfürstentum wurde und Landgraf Wilhelm IX. als Wilhelm I. den Kurfürstentitel annahm, gab es nach dem Untergang des alten Reiches schon nichts mehr zu küren. Die kurfürstliche Herrlichkeit sollte auch nicht lange währen: Schon 1806 wurde

Wilhelm in die Emigration gezwungen, sein Land Kern des Königreichs Westfalen, einem französischen Satellitenstaat unter Napoleons jüngstem Bruder Jérôme. Spontane Volkserhebungen wurden blutig niedergeschlagen. Das Jahr 1813 brachte wiederum das Ende der Franzosenzeit und nach siebenjähriger Pause gab es wieder ein Kurhessen, dessen Regent nunmehr seinen Ehrgeiz in den Versuch zu setzen schien, das Land vorwärts ins achtzehnte Jahrhundert zurückzuführen.

In die Phase des Wiederaufbaus von Militär und Verwaltung nach der westfälischen Unterbrechung fällt unser erstes Beispiel für die Widersetzlichkeit hessischer Offiziere und ihrer Sympathien für Amerika. In einer Art Vorwegnahme der Situation von 1850 richteten im Jahre 1816 jüngere Offiziere in einer ebenfalls die Grenzen der Meuterei zumindest tangierenden Weise eine Petition zur Verbesserung ihrer sozialen Lage und ihrer Versorgung an die gerade einberufenen Landstände. Hierzu muss man wissen, dass die kurhessischen Offiziere, sowohl der relativ hohe Anteil der bürgerlichen wie die adligen, in der Regel nicht gut betucht, sondern auf ihre Dienstbezüge angewiesen waren. Dazu war die Besoldung der unteren Dienstgrade niedrig, die Versorgung bei Dienstunfähigkeit völlig unregelt; selbst bei im Einsatz erlittener Invalidität war man auf die Gnade des Monarchen angewiesen.

In dieser Lage wandten sich die Subalternoffiziere (Secondelieutenants, Premierlieutenants, Stabshauptleute/Stabskapitäne/Stabsrittmeister)<sup>3</sup> an die parlamentarische Institution der Landstände unter Umgehung des Dienstwegs und unter Durchbrechung des traditionellen militärischen Verhältnisses zu ihrem obersten Kriegsherrn. Die Landstände nahmen sich der Sache des Militärs an, sicher auch im eigenen Interesse als willkommene Gelegenheit zur Kompetenzerweiterung. Dieser Verstoß gegen die gültigen Kriegsartikel und allgemeine, nebenbei bemerkt auch noch heute geltende Regeln militärischer Disziplin und die implizite Misstrauenserklärung gegen den Regenten lösten große Aufregung und großes Aufsehen aus. Der Fürst und ihm nahestehende Traditionalisten waren völlig konsterniert, viele Stabsoffiziere jedoch zeigten eine gewisse klammheimliche Sympathie für die Petenten, mit deren Gravamina sie nur zu vertraut waren, und waren zu strengem Durchgreifen wenig geneigt.

Wilhelm stand nun vor einem Dilemma: Die Disziplinierung der Antragsteller und ihre Entfernung aus dem Dienst hätte seine gerade im Wiederaufbau begriffenen Streitkräfte der Basis des Offizierskorps beraubt, dazu war die Reaktion der Stabsoffiziere völlig unabsehbar. Überdies genossen sie breite Sympathien in der Öffentlichkeit. Der Regent entschied sich für einen Kompromiss: Nur zwei Rädelsführer, der Stabskapitän Huth und der Leutnant von Rotsmann, die beim Verteilen der Petition ertappt worden waren, sollten bestraft werden und wurden auf die Festung Spangenberg verbracht. Die übrigen Unterschreiber sollten "mit dem Ausdruck des allerhöchsten Unwillens" davonkommen. Der Kurfürst hatte jedoch nicht mit der Solidarität seiner Offiziere gerechnet, die zweifelsohne durch die Erfahrungen der Freiheitskriege und der antinapoleonischen Volkserhebung geprägt waren. Sie beriefen sich auf ein gegebenes Ehrenwort und verlangten am 1. Juli die Freilassung ihrer Kameraden, anderenfalls sähen sie die Abschiedsforderung als "einzigen Ausweg an, ohne weiter die daraus für sie entspringenden Nachteile zu



erwägen." So meldete der preußische Gesandte von Hänlein nach Berlin, der weiter berichtete, dass in diesem Falle die Offiziere, wie in geheimen Zusammenkünften beschlossen, entweder in andere Dienste treten oder nach Amerika auswandern wollten.<sup>4</sup>

Diese Drohung seiner Offiziere musste den Kurfürsten umso mehr schmerzen und erbittern, als in Kurhessen die Auswanderung, jedenfalls im Prinzip, bis zur Verfassungsverkündung im Januar 1831 untersagt war. Mit der geschilderten Situation konfrontiert, riskierte der Fürst nicht, die Entschlossenheit seiner unbotmäßigen Krieger auf die Probe zu stellen. Zwei Tage später wurden die beiden Inhaftierten begnadigt. Die Offiziere hatten in ihrer beispiellosen Konfrontation mit dem Landesherrn auf der ganzen Linie den Sieg davongetragen. Viel gewonnen war dadurch allerdings nicht: Die materielle Situation besserte sich lange nicht wesentlich, Wilhelm und auch sein Sohn und späterer Nachfolger Wilhelm II. wurden in ihrer Abneigung gegen eine wie auch immer geartete Volksvertretung bestärkt, die Landstände, auch aus anderen Gründen, nach Hause geschickt und bis 1830 nicht wieder einberufen.

Mit dem nächsten Beispiel springen wir vom Anfang des umrissenen Zeitraums gleich an sein Ende und begeben uns in die Periode der revolutionären Bestrebungen zur Jahrhundertmitte. Regent ist nun Friedrich Wilhelm I., Enkel des ersten Kurfürsten. Im Jahre 1849 wurden im Rahmen der Bundesarmee auch kurhessische Truppen gegen die Aufständischen in Baden eingesetzt. Zum Kommandeur wurde Oberst Theodor Weiß<sup>5</sup> bestimmt. Weiß war eigentlich ein ungewöhnlicher Mann auf diesem Posten, aber vielleicht gerade dadurch eine gute Wahl. Er war ein vielseitig interessierter Liberaler, den Extremisten der Reaktion und Restauration wie den der Revolution gleichermaßen abhold. Als im Frühjahr 1848 nach den Unruhen das liberale, sogenannte "Märzministerium" gebildet wurde, hatte Weiß, obwohl nur im Range eines Oberstleutnants stehend, das Kriegsministerium übernommen, aus Pflichtgefühl, ganz und gar nicht aus Neigung. Die ständigen unerquicklichen persönlichen Konfrontationen mit dem Kurfürsten entnervten ihn und griffen seine Gesundheit an (wahrscheinlich handelte es sich um psychosomatische Beschwerden), so dass er sich um baldige Entbindung von diesem Amt bemühte und schon am 31. Juli wieder zur Truppe zurückversetzt wurde. In Baden entzog sich Weiß seiner schwierigen Aufgabe mit geringem Blutvergießen und bemerkenswertem Erfolg, namentlich wenn man bedenkt, dass das von den Kurhessen angegriffene Schloss von Hirschhorn am Neckar u. a. von Turnern aus Hanau verteidigt wurde und dem Vernehmen nach Mitglieder derselben Familien auf beiden Seiten zu finden waren.

Für seinen erfolgreichen Einsatz in den Gefechten bei Gernstadt und Hirschhorn wurde Weiß belobigt und ausgezeichnet, doch ihm selbst war es kein Ruhmesblatt. "Wenn ich daran denke," schreibt er an seine Familie, "wie oft ich noch die Namen Gernstadt und Hirschhorn und sonstiger Schauplätze unserer Taten (wofür ich keinen Kreuzer gäbe) werde hören und davonlaufen müssen, so könnte das allein schon dazu bestimmen, nach Nord- oder Südamerika auszuwandern."<sup>6</sup> Dies war sicher keine bloße Hyperbolik, Weiß scheint sich zumindest zeitweise ernsthaft mit dem Gedanken an eine Auswanderung getragen zu haben, denn Berichten zufolge kommt er in gegenwärtig unauffindbaren, möglicherweise verlorenen Briefen an seine Familie



wiederholt auf das Thema zu sprechen. Überliefert ist der folgende Gedanke: "Hier ist der Aufstand fürs erste gedämpft, aber wir sind damit nicht viel weiter gekommen. Der Grund des Übels liegt in der allgemeinen Verdorbenheit und die europäische Menschheit muß erst unsern Herrgott erkennen lernen, dazu gehört, daß es ihr recht schlecht gehe, und das wird kommen, so gewiß, als Ursach und Wirkung besteht."<sup>7</sup> Hier treffen wir auf eine tiefgreifende Unzufriedenheit mit den Verhältnissen in Europa, wie sie weit verbreitet war.

Die jungen Offiziere des Jahres 1816 hatten vermutlich nur recht vage Vorstellungen vom Leben in Amerika. Weiß war da wenigstens etwas besser informiert. In den Jahren 1829 bis 1836 führte er einen umfänglichen Briefwechsel mit einem nach Mexiko ausgewanderten Jugendfreund, dem Dr. med. Wilhelm Schiede, der dort als Arzt und Naturforscher lebte.<sup>8</sup> Es scheint, als ob sich Weiß in dieser Zeit—and das ist die Zeit der Auseinandersetzungen um die Einführung einer Verfassung in Kurhessen—auch im Druck zur Auswanderungsproblematik geäußert habe. In der Kasseler Zeitschrift *Wöchentliche Unterhaltungen: Ein Begleiter des "Verfassungsfreundes"* (der Name ist natürlich Programm und seine Wahl als Publikationsorgan offensichtlich bedeutsam) erschienen 1832 und 1833 einige Essays und Feuilletons, die namentlich nicht gezeichnet sind, aber nach der Familientradition von Weiß, damals Hauptmann bei der Leibgarde, stammen. Eines davon ist betitelt: "Das Himmelfahrtsfest und die Auswanderer." Auf einem Spaziergang begegnet das Autor-Ich einem Auswandererzug und vernimmt ihre Klagen:

Ich ging zum leipziger Thore hinaus, bog links auf die hannöversche Straße und schritt rüstig drauf los, um die Höhe zu gewinnen; in einiger Entfernung von mir gewahrte ich viele Wagen mit weißen Tüchern überspannt, und ich hielt unsern Zoll- und Handelsverträgen eine stille Lobrede, die den Handel so aufblühen ließen, und die Straße belebte, als ich, die Caravanen einholend, mich bald zu anderen Betrachtungen bewogen fand. Die Wagen gehörten nach Amerika Auswandernden, und die weißen Tücher waren Leichentücher, ausgespannt über die dem Vaterland abgestorbenen Menschen, ihnen selbst aber Segel, ins Land ihrer Hoffnungen zu gelangen; armselige Pferde zogen die Wagen den Berg hinauf, neben ärmlichem Hausrath lagen Greise, alte Frauen und zarte Kinder hingekauert, die rüstigen Männer und Frauen gingen nebenher, und sprachen von der bevorstehenden Einschiffung. Als ich nun einige dieser Leute anredete, war bald die verlassene Heimath und was sie bewog, diese zu verlassen, Gegenstand unserer Unterhaltung—wir sind Bauern und Handwerker, sagte einer der Männer, wir haben Kraft, Willen und Gewohnheit zu arbeiten, in unserem Vaterlande konnten wir aber nicht durchkommen, und als wir von einem Lande hörten, wo es keine Klöster, keine Mediatisirte, keine Frohnen, keine Zollinien, keine Abgaben, wenig Soldaten, wenig Schreiber und viel unbebautes Land gäbe, so war unser Entschluss bald gefasst.

Er schließt: "Wie ich nun die Auswanderer um eine Waldecke biegen sah, die sie



meinen Blicken entzog, da hatte ich den Gedanken: wärest du ein Großer der Erde, du ließest die Kinder des Landes nicht ausziehen und machtest ihnen die Heimath wert durch Liebe, selbst wenn sie dir wehe gethan hätten. Hoffend sah ich auf die gegenüber liegende Höhe [aufgrund der vorausgegangenen Ortsangaben identifizierbar als die Wilhelmshöhe, Residenz des Kurfürsten] und rief des Vaterlandes Genius an."<sup>9</sup>

Später wurden die Beziehungen von Weiß zu Amerika noch enger. Zwar sind die von früheren Autoren für die Darstellung seiner politischen Ansichten benutzten Familienbriefe möglicherweise in den Bombennächten des Zweiten Weltkrieges verbrannt, doch besitzt das Stadtarchiv Kassel neben anderen Dokumenten aus dem Besitz von Weiß, der nach 1851 als Kommandant der hessischen Exklave Rinteln an der Weser kaltgestellt wurde, auch ein umfängliches Konvolut von Briefen an seinen ältesten Sohn Emil, der als Eisenbahn-Ingenieurassistent in Holzminden tätig war. Durch diese werden wir informiert, dass in den sechziger Jahren sein zweiter Sohn Adolph sich als Kaufmann in New York aufhielt und dass Oberst Weiß sogar einen Teil seines Vermögens in Amerika angelegt hatte, nämlich 1100 Thaler in Baltimore. Der Bürgerkrieg machte ihn jedoch nervös, und er holte sein Kapital nach Deutschland zurück [Brief vom 25. März 1862]. Er kommentiert die Verhältnisse sowohl in der Alten wie in der Neuen Welt. Unter dem 25. Februar 1862 schreibt er: "... so hört der Hader und das Provisorium in unserem armen Lande doch nicht auf, die nicht eher enden werden, als bis große Ereignisse hereinbrechen und den ganzen Quark wegfegen." Er hofft [22. Juli 1862], "daß Adolph nur gar nicht in die Armee tritt," und macht sich am 27. November 1862 Gedanken über die Folgen für die Kriegführung, die aufgrund der Absetzung McClellans und der Berufung Burnssides zu erwarten sind; aber "bei allen militärischen Dingen läuft in Amerika zuviel Politik mit unter."

Mit dem dritten Beispiel verbleiben wir in dieser Zeit der Verfassungskämpfe um 1830, als Kurfürst Wilhelm II. sich aus der Regierung zurückzog und die Geschäfte seinem Sohn Friedrich Wilhelm I. überließ, weil ihn die demokratischen Bestrebungen anekelten und die Öffentlichkeit die Geduld mit seiner einflussreichen Mätresse, der von ihm zur Gräfin Reichenbach erhobenen Emilie Ortlepp, verloren hatte. Überaus deutlich werden die Abneigung gegen die restaurativen und absolutistischen Bestrebungen in den Staaten des Deutschen Bundes und die Sympathien für die amerikanischen Verhältnisse in verständlicherweise unveröffentlicht gebliebenen Aufzeichnungen des Generalmajors, später Generalleutnants Christian Friedrich von Cochenhausen (1769-1839), also eines Spitzenmilitärs, der zunächst als Chef des Generalkriegsdepartements, d. h., als Personalchef des Heeres, dann als Chef des Generalstabs über intime Einblicke in die Situation Kurhessens und der anderen deutschen Mittelstaaten verfügte. In diesen Schriften, entstanden 1829 und in den frühen dreißiger Jahren, setzt er sich eingehend mit den politischen Zuständen in Deutschland und Europa auseinander und kontrastiert sie mit einem, wie wir unschwer erkennen, idealisierten Amerikabild.<sup>10</sup>

In dem im Winter 1829-30 entstandenen elf seitigen Essay "Der Geist der Zeit" verfolgt er das Wirken des jeweiligen Zeitgeistes in der Geschichte, der durch keine



Fürstenmacht aufzuhalten ist. War es im sechzehnten Jahrhundert Luther, der den Geist der Zeit im Grundsatz der Religionsfreiheit verkörperte und den Gedanken der Druckfreiheit im Bewusstsein der Allgemeinheit verankerte, so ist das Konzept der Bürgerlichen Freiheit der nunmehr herrschende Geist der Zeit, der es den Regierungen unmöglich macht, "die alte Ordnung aufrecht zu erhalten und den Geist der Zeit zu unterdrücken." "Nicht ein mächtiger Adel, nicht eine anmaßende Geistlichkeit, nicht ein ungeheures stehendes Heer, bilden die Kraft eines Landes, sondern der Wohlstand des Volkes und die Liebe, die es zu seiner Regierung hat."

Hören wir weitere Aussagen mit spezifisch amerikanischem Bezug, die allesamt positiv gefärbt sind: "Nordamerika gab der Welt das Beispiel und machte sich unabhängig—der Geist der Zeit hieß bürgerliche Freiheit und er wird es bleiben, bis sie errungen ist." "Die letzten Weltereignisse haben den Völkern gezeigt, welcher Kraft sie fähig sind, und Amerika hat ihnen ein Beispiel gegeben, dass die allgemeinen Wünsche realisiert werden können. Griechenland trotz nun schon 9 Jahre lang allen Anstrengungen des Despotismus und den Kunstgriffen der europäischen Politik." Die europäischen Verhältnisse sind verrottet, ähnlich wie Oberst Weiß dies 1849 zum Ausdruck bringen sollte. Ein weiteres Zitat aus den Aufzeichnungen bestätigt diese Ansicht:

Wenden wir von diesem traurigen Beispiele, das Europa bietet, unsere Blicke auf Nordamerika, wo die entgegengesetzten Grundsätze befolgt werden. Eine sich unglaublich vermehrende Bevölkerung, die sich in der Zeit von 40 Jahren vervierfachte, überall Wohlstand unter den Landbauern, immerzunehmende Fabriken, die alle Bedürfnisse des Landes im Überfluß liefern, ein immer steigender Handel, der sogar im Verhältniß der Einwohnerzahl den Englands übersteigt. Freiheit der Presse, Freiheit der Religionsmeinungen, die Priester ohne Einfluss, kein bevorrechteter Stand, kein stehendes Heer [Marginalnotiz: "ungefähr 6000 Mann"]. Welche herrlichen Aussichten! Zu welchen Hoffnungen berechtigen sie nicht! Könnte wirklich der Geist der Zeit in Europa unterdrückt werden, so würde ihn doch der Hinblick auf Nordamerika aufrecht erhalten.

Es gibt weitere für amerikanische Ohren zweifellos höchst schmeichelhafte Notizen. Zitieren wir eine längere Passage aus der undatierten, dreizehnseitigen Schrift "Einleitung in die Zeitereignisse 1830-31," die sich mit der Vorgeschichte dieser Manifestation des Geistes der Zeit befasst:

Da trug sich eine Begebenheit zu, die so unbedeutend sein schien, dennoch den Grund zur Entwicklung einer herrschenden Idee, des Geistes der Zeit, hatte. Die englischen Colonien in Nordamerika, größtentheils von Menschen bewohnt, die entweder selbst oder deren Vorfahren Europa verlassen hatten, weil ihre Begriffe sich mit den dort herrschenden nicht vertrugen, waren es müde, sich von ihrem Mutterlande bevormundschaften und mißhandeln zu lassen. Die Einwohner dieser Länder, im Schoß der Natur wohnend, noch



nicht durch die europäischen, egoistischen Gesellschaftsbande verdorben, in ihrer Ausbildung größtentheils sich selbst überlassen, mußten bei dem Emporblühen ihres neuen Vaterlandes freiere Ansichten entwickeln, als es der großen Masse der Einwohner Europas möglich war. England wollte diese Colonien bei ihrem zunehmenden Reichthum und Bevölkerung wie ein europäisches Land behandeln und begriffen nicht, daß dort jeder Einwohner beinahe andere Ansichten vom Leben als ein Europäer hatte. Da England endlich gar die Absicht zeigte, das ihm gefährlich scheinende Emporblühen dieser Colonien zu hindern, so sträubten sich diese gegen Einrichtungen, die ihrem Begriffe zuwider waren und die England dennoch einführen wollte, und da ihr Widerstreben guten Erfolg hatte, so empörten sie sich, versuchten das alte Joch abzuschütteln und sich selbst nach Gesetzen zu regieren, die ihrem unverdorbenen Verstande als zweckmäßig erschienen. Aber was noch wichtiger war, man sah an dem Beispiele Amerikas, daß in jedem Zeitalter für Freiheit und Recht gestritten werden und dieser Kampf auch einen glücklichen Ausgang nehmen kann. Vielerlei Umstände wirkten zusammen, um in Frankreich diese Ansicht allgemein zu verbreiten und dieses Land zur Wiege des von nun an herrschenden Zeitgeistes zu machen.

In der Schrift "Was thut den Offizieren Noth?" aus dem Winter 1830-31 finden sich Reflexionen über die sich ändernde Rolle des Offiziersstandes. "Bis daher war er [der Offizier] geraume Zeit unmittelbares Werkzeug in der Hand des Fürsten, der zur Aufrechterhaltung seiner Prärogative, zur Durchsetzung seiner Interessen . . . sich des Soldatenstandes bediente." Nunmehr ändert sich das Berufsbild des Offiziers, seine Loyalität geht über vom Fürsten auf Staat und Vaterland. Dies anzuerkennen sei auch für den Regenten nötig und nützlich, "weil bei einer constitutionellen Verfassung Interesse des Fürsten und des Volkes dasselbe sein müssen." An dieser Stelle noch ein für die Stimmung jener Tage bezeichnendes Zitat aus der Schrift "Die Jesuiten" aus dem Winter 1828-29, die sich mit Geistes- und Gewissensfreiheit auseinandersetzt: "Frei ist der Geist! Kein Despot hat Macht über ihn, so lange der Mensch seiner Würde eingedenk ist."

Es besteht kein Zweifel: Manche Ansichten des Generals von Cochenhausen muten uns naiv an; leicht erkennen wir romantische Vorstellungen von der Unverdorbenheit der im Einklang mit der Natur lebenden und von zivilisatorischer Blässe nicht angekränkelten Bewohner der neuen Lande. Das Bild der amerikanischen Verhältnisse ist, wenn auch amerikanischem Selbstverständnis schmeichelnd, in hohem Grade idealisiert. Das Elend, in dem sich viele Einwanderer wiederfanden, schlägt sich in diesen Überlegungen nicht nieder. Kein Wunder auch, denn nach unseren Kenntnissen hatte der General kein direktes Wissen von dem, was er pries. Vielmehr zeigt sich hier der Einfluss des seinerzeit populären, liberalen und idealistischen Historikers und Geschichtsphilosophen Karl von Rotteck (1775-1840), der in seiner 1812 bis 1827 erschienenen neunbändigen *Allgemeinen Geschichte* die idealen Kräfte des Volkslebens und die freiheitliche Entwicklung des Volksgeistes verherrlichte und diese Vorstellungen in dem 1830 bis 1834 (also in dem Zeitraum, in dem Cochenhausen



seine Gedanken zu Papier brachte) veröffentlichten vierbändigen *Auszug* zum Gemeingut der gebildeten Bevölkerungskreise machte.<sup>11</sup>

Amerika erscheint hier als "das Andere" schlechthin, als Gegenbild der als unbefriedigend empfundenen Verhältnisse in der eigenen Gegenwart und Sphäre, als Folie, auf die Sehnsüchte und Wünsche projiziert werden. Amerika ist ein Abstraktum, ein Mythos, dessen Exotik und räumliche Distanz die Attraktivität steigern, fast eine Idee im platonischen Sinne. Über die tatsächlichen Verhältnisse in der Neuen Welt herrschten nicht nur im ausgehenden achtzehnten Jahrhundert, wie u. a. Horst Dippel<sup>12</sup> gezeigt hat, sondern bis weit ins folgende Jahrhundert hinein, in allen Schichten der Bevölkerung, idealisierte Vorstellungen, die allzu oft nur auf einer äußerst schmalen Faktenbasis beruhten. Die neue politische Entität der Vereinigten Staaten "still remained an Eldorado and a shining example to the bourgeoisie [aber nicht nur für diese] who were looking for escape fantasies from a confined and unsatisfactory situation. The United States was the image of hope for a better future, or, as Robert R. Palmer has put it, the success of the American Revolution 'made a good many Europeans feel sorry for themselves, and induced a kind of spiritual flight from the Old Régime.'"<sup>13</sup>

Die Notizbücher des Generals von Cochenhausen eröffnen einen überraschenden Einblick in die politische Gedankenwelt eines Spitzenmilitärs des Vormärz. In einer Schicht, die wir uns gemeinhin als "staatstragend" denken, und bei einem Mann, in dem wir eine Stütze des herrschenden Systems vermuten, erwarten wir nicht ohne weiteres derartige Vorstellungen. Trotz seiner herausgehobenen Position in Staat und Militär hat Cochenhausen den Blick für das Unzulängliche der Gegenwart nicht verloren und sucht das Ideal an anderer Stelle. Zwar sind die hier zitierten Aufzeichnungen, soweit wir wissen, folgenlos, da unveröffentlicht geblieben, aber sein politisches und öffentliches Handeln blieb sicher nicht unbeeinflusst von seinen Überzeugungen, z. B. in seinen Verhandlungen mit den Vertretern anderer Staaten des Deutschen Bundes. Dokumentiert ist dies für seine feste Haltung gegenüber dem Landesherrn. Einem Bericht des preußischen Gesandten von Hänlein zufolge widersprach Cochenhausen bei einer Unterredung im September 1830 dem Kurfürsten, der behauptet hatte, die Verfassungsunruhen seien von außen organisiert, und beharrte, "daß die Unruhe hierselbst anderer Art, als die Ungezogenheiten einiger böser Buben zu Berlin, gewesen seyn dürften."<sup>14</sup> Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass private Archive weitere Aufzeichnungen dieser Art enthalten, die unsere Kenntnisse über das Denken führender Einzelpersonlichkeiten vermehren und allgemein herrschende Vorstellungen relativieren könnten, auch, und in diesem Rahmen besonders von Interesse, bezüglich ihrer Einstellung zu der jungen Republik in Amerika.

In drei Jahrzehnten der ersten Hälfte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts fanden wir unter kurhessischen Offizieren drei Fälle von Sympathiebekundungen für Amerika, jeweils in schwierigen und politisch kritischen Zeiten: Von den jungen Offizieren kurz nach den Kriegen gegen Napoleon, die die Idee "Amerika" zur Durchsetzung ihrer sozialen Forderungen benutzten und gleichzeitig wohl auch ihrer allgemeinen Unzufriedenheit mit dem status quo Ausdruck gaben, zu den mehr oder weniger subversiven Gedankengängen eines Spitzenmilitärs in der explosiven Situation der



Verfassungskämpfe um und kurz nach 1830, bis zu Äußerungen eines militärischen Führers in herausgehobener Position in der Zeit der Revolution von 1848-49. Die positiven Einstellungen zu Amerika und den politischen Ideen, für die es stand, sind einigermaßen überraschend in dieser sozialen Schicht. Was wir fanden, macht einmal mehr deutlich, dass die Einschätzung Amerikas in Deutschland in der Geschichte außerordentlich komplex ist und von Fall zu Fall neu untersucht und bestimmt werden muss—und Reflexionen über amerikanische Zustände findet man an unerwartetem Ort.

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### Summary

The Electorate of Hessen (Kurfürstentum Hessen-Kassel), which was reconstituted in 1813 after the Napoleonic Wars, was soon reorganized under the aged Elector Wilhelm I (died 1821) with an extremely reactionary agenda that ignored all social and political changes. Significantly, one of the first decrees of the prince was the reintroduction of wigs for officers. Neither did the situation improve much under his successors. Administrative incompetence and widespread unrest about the influence of favorites and mistresses undermined the position of the ruling dynasty until the country was annexed by Prussia in 1866, to the almost general relief of the public.

A phenomenon of this political entity was the nearly permanent discontent and refractoriness of the officer corps which found their culmination during the constitutional struggle in the year 1850 when about 90 percent of the officers on active duty resigned in protest at the suspension of the constitution, and order had to be restored through the deployment of Bavarian troops. This refractoriness on the part of the Hessen-Kassel officers against their ruler and commander-in-chief was accompanied by a pronounced enthusiasm for the political situation in America. Three cases are discussed.

A predecessor of the situation of 1850 was the petition submitted in 1816 by 249 subaltern officers to the *Landstände*, the representative body of the estates, to obtain an improvement in their pay and conditions, and which was tantamount to mutiny. The petitioners forced the prince to rescind his punishment of two of the instigators by threatening to collectively resign and emigrate to America.

In June 1849, troops from Hessen-Kassel were deployed, among others, against the insurgents in Baden. Their commanding officer, Colonel Theodor Weiß (1796-1875), later general and for a brief time during 1848 minister of war, was commended for the successful mission, but privately expressed his dissatisfaction and played with the idea of emigration to America.

The sympathies for the new American democracy are most clearly expressed in essays, unpublished for obvious reasons, by Major General (later Lieutenant General) Christian Friedrich von Cochenhausen (1769-1839). As head of army personnel, later chief of the general staff, he had intimate knowledge of the situation prevailing in

Hessen-Kassel and the other German states. In these essays, written in 1829 and the early 1830s, he discusses in depth the existing political order in Germany and Europe and contrasts it with an idealized image of America.

## Anmerkungen

<sup>1</sup> Eine eingehende Darstellung des problematischen Verhältnisses zwischen Regent und Regierung einerseits und Armee andererseits findet sich bei Marco Arndt, *Militär und Staat in Kurhessen 1813-1866: Das Offizierskorps im Spannungsfeld zwischen Monarchischem Prinzip und liberaler Bürgerwelt*. (Darmstadt und Marburg, 1996). Vgl. auch Günter Hollenberg, "Landstände und Militär in Hessen-Kassel," *Hessisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 34 (1984): 101-27.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. zu diesem Komplex Arndt, 221-93.

<sup>3</sup> Die Dienstgrade Stabshauptmann/Stabskapitän/Stabsrittmeister lagen zwischen dem Premierlieutenant (Oberleutnant) und dem "richtigen" Hauptmann bzw. Kapitän und Rittmeister.

<sup>4</sup> Meldung vom 22. Juni 1816. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Merseburg, jetzt Berlin, Best. 2.4.1., I, Nr. 3281, fol. 195.

<sup>5</sup> 1796-1875. Eine Kurzbiographie findet sich bei Adolf Keysser, "Oberst Weiß: Ein Bild aus der kurhessischen Heeresgeschichte," *Hessenland* 24 (1910): 1-3, 14-17, 31-33, 47-49 (Keysser war der Sohn eines früheren Militärkameraden des Obersten Weiß); dazu auch K. Siebert, "Theodor Weiß: Ein vorbildlicher kurhessischer Offizier," *Hanauisches Magazin* 9 (1930): 45-47. Biographische Daten auch bei Arndt, 495, sowie bei Bernd Philipp Schröder, *Die Generalität der deutschen Mittelstaaten 1815-1870, Teil 2* (Osnabrück, 1984).

<sup>6</sup> Keysser, "Oberst Weiß," 32.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Anonym, "Aus den Briefen eines Offiziers über Kurhessen in den Jahren 1829-1836," *Hessenland* 18 (1904): 142-44, 158-61, 176-78, 191-94, 221-23, 237-39, 252-54.

<sup>9</sup> *Wöchentliche Unterhaltungen: Ein Begleiter des Verfassungsfreundes*, Nr. 24 (16. Juni 1832), 101-3. Keysser, "Oberst Weiß", 3, bringt einen gekürzten Auszug. Die Beschreibung der Szene mit den weißbespannten Wagen usw. scheint auf dem oft reproduzierten, 1824 entstandenen Ölgemälde von Carl Rhode, "Hessische Auswanderer auf dem Weg nach Bremen an der Stadt Kassel vorbeiziehend" (heute Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Kassel) zu beruhen, vgl. z. B. die Umschlagbilder von Inge Auerbach, *Auswanderer aus Kurhessen* (Marburg, 1993), und *Auswanderung aus Hessen: Ausstellung der Hessischen Staatsarchive zum Hessentag 1984 in Lampertheim* (Marburg, Hess. Staatsarchiv, 1984).

<sup>10</sup> Der Nachlass von Cochenhausens befindet sich unter der Signatur 'Best. 340 v. Cochenhausen' im Hessischen Staatsarchiv Marburg. Er enthält neben militärischen und zivilen Dokumenten Aufzeichnungen geographischer und literarischer Natur sowie ein unpaginierter Notizbuch mit politischen Gedankengängen, aus denen im folgenden zitiert wird. Es sind im einzelnen: "Der Geist der Zeit (Im Winter 1829-30)," 11 Seiten; "Die Jesuiten (Im Winter 1828-29)," 11 Seiten; "Was thut den Offizieren Noth? (Im Winter 1830-31)," 19 Seiten; "Einleitung in die Zeitereignisse von 1830-31," undatiert, 13 Seiten; "Der verhängnisvolle July 1830 und seine unmittelbaren Folgen," undatiert, 23 Seiten. Biographische Daten zu Christian Friedrich von Cochenhausen bei Arndt, 406, sowie bei Schröder.

<sup>11</sup> Karl von Rotteck, Professor zunächst der Geschichte, dann für Staatswissenschaften und Naturrecht an der Universität Freiburg, rastlos im Sinne idealistisch-liberaler Naturrechtsvorstellungen politisch und parlamentarisch tätig, zeitweise deshalb amtsenthoben, ist heute der breiten Öffentlichkeit weitgehend unbekannt, erfreute sich aber seinerzeit einer oftmals geradezu schwärmerischen Verehrung bei Liberalen aller Gesellschaftsschichten.

<sup>12</sup> Horst Dippel, *Germany and the American Revolution 1770-1800* (Williamsburg and Chapel Hill, 1977).

<sup>13</sup> Dippel, 363; das Zitat bei Robert R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1959, 1964), 1:282.

<sup>14</sup> Bericht v. Hänleins an den preußischen König vom 25. Sep. 1830, Staatsarchiv Merseburg, jetzt Berlin, AA.I, Rep. I Nr. 1679; zitiert nach Manfred Bullik, *Staat und Gesellschaft im hessischen Vormärz: Wahlrecht, Wahlen und öffentliche Meinung in Kurhessen 1830-1848* (Wien, 1972).



Kristina R. Sazaki

### Between Two Worlds: August Auerbach's American Correspondence to His Father, Berthold Auerbach

Berthold Auerbach (1812-82), the popular German-Jewish author of the *Schwarzwälder Dorfgeschichten*, spent much of his literary and editorial career advocating the causes of German unification and civil rights for Jews.<sup>1</sup> He believed that Jews were German and dedicated himself to fulfilling this utopian vision. He could only imagine a united nation state that gave Jews equal rights without demanding conversion. With the founding of the Second Reich, Berthold's dreams were crushed. In the summer of 1873, two years after German unification, Berthold wrote to his cousin Jakob from his hometown of Nordstetten in the Black Forest:

Gestorben! Ausgewandert! hört man hier ständig, wenn man nach dem und jenem fragt. Zu der Amerikasucht ist nun die Freizügigkeit im Lande gekommen, und es ist wie in einer Gesellschaft: wenn Einer zum Fortgehen aufsteht, stehen die Anderen auch auf und haben keine Ruhe mehr. Drüben in Schwandorf steht die Synagoge verödet und der jüdische Kirchhof verlassen, es sind keine Juden mehr da. Ich sehe es kommen, vielleicht schon in einem Jahrzehnt, daß es auch in Nordstetten so ist.<sup>2</sup>

Berthold's account illustrates the tension between the notions of German nationalism and Jewish culture that unification failed to resolve. The deserted Jewish synagogue and cemetery are potent images of the abandonment of Jewish culture in Germany. The fact that all of Berthold's siblings who resided in Nordstetten were now dead—"gestorben"—simply magnified for him the loss of Jewish population. If death was an unavoidable contributing factor to this loss, emigration—"ausgewandert"—was an avoidable calamity that had also lured many of Berthold's relatives away from Germany and was threatening to do so once again.<sup>3</sup> Instead of celebrating the birth of Jewish equality, Berthold mourned its death.

When Berthold wrote this prophetic letter, his twenty-five-year-old son August was just setting out on his first and only trip to the United States. August sailed for the United States on 16 August 1873 and returned to Germany at the end of the following September. He spent the majority of his time traveling among the large eastern cities

of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, DC. The last month was spent traveling in the Midwest (including the cities of Chicago, Cincinnati, and Quincy, IL). In some respects, August's year-long stay was like those of many other visitors. He visited relatives, toured various cities, and explored employment possibilities. In other respects, however, his trip was unique. As the son of a famous author, he gained entrée into social circles closed to common travelers and also represented his father in a translation deal. The letters August wrote home not only chronicle his trip but also provide an exceptional opportunity to examine the subject of generational conflict.<sup>4</sup> The United States became the nexus of his search for identity as both the son of a famous author and a Jew. This article analyzes August's letters, which illustrate this specific father-son conflict as a matter of textual authority. Moreover, they play out August's struggle for identity as a German Jew and expose his ambivalence as a critical component of his relationship with his father. Read as a single narrative, August's letters show his difficulty in creating a self-image that was in some way independent of his father and his father's reputation as author, literary authority on America, and Jew.

Berthold based his reputation on his *Schwarzwälder Dorfgeschichten*. The village tales were well received when they were first published collectively in 1843,<sup>5</sup> and Berthold periodically satisfied the public's desire for new tales for the remainder of his career, including four collections in the next thirty years.<sup>6</sup> One constant aspect of many of these tales—and of his works in general—is his preoccupation with the United States. Because the stories are set in the Black Forest, specifically in Berthold's hometown of Nordstetten, the theme of America is usually dealt with in terms of emigration, with villagers leaving or wanting to leave for various reasons: in some cases they are shunned by fellow villagers (*Florian und Crescenz*, 1843; *Luzifer* 1847), or have financial problems (*Erdmute*, 1853; *Ein eigen Haus*, 1853); in others the emigrants return to Germany (*Ein eigen Haus*, 1853; *Barfüßle*, 1856). These stories reflect the reality of Berthold's own experiences; his younger brother, Julius, and several other family members emigrated throughout the years. Avraham Barkai has shown that the Auerbach family was no exception. He estimates the Jewish proportion of German immigrants to the United States in the nineteenth century to be three to four times its percentage of the German population at large.<sup>7</sup> If one considers that German immigration to the United States alone ran yearly totals over 100,000 in the late 1860s and early 1870s, with 149,671 immigrants in 1873, the numbers are remarkable.<sup>8</sup>

It is no wonder, then, that the topic of emigration permeated Berthold's fiction. Rarely, though, does the action in his fiction physically move to the United States. Rather, portrayals of America are related through newspaper articles, learned texts, personal accounts, and letters.<sup>9</sup> There is good reason for this restricted narrative perspective: Berthold never once set foot in the United States. Although Berthold's knowledge of the United States was varied and well-informed, August's trip provided him a rare opportunity to experience the United States on the most intimate level outside of being there himself. Unfortunately, the question of Berthold's opinions on August's trip and various undertakings can no longer be answered directly. The standard sources for Berthold's biography do not refer to August's trip other than to record his



departure.<sup>10</sup> Thus, the letters August wrote to Berthold become key to understanding the significance of the trip for both father and son.

The main topics of August's letters are the simultaneous German and North American publications of Berthold's latest novel, *Waldfried*,<sup>11</sup> his apprenticeship as a bookseller, his encounter with his American relatives, and the possibility of his settling permanently in the United States. These issues are all inexorably linked to August's relationship with his father, which had deteriorated in the summer of 1873. In two of his letters home, he mentions their last meeting before the trip in Tarasp, Switzerland, before his departure. In the first, August tells of the travails (*Qualen*) of that meeting:

[W]enn ich oft an die Zukunft denke, nach meiner Rückkehr, erfüllt mich bange Sorge, dass trotz des klaren Erkennens u. des aufrichtigen Strebens von beiden Seiten unser Verhältniss doch wieder getrübt werden könne, und dass die Gespenster der Tarasp-Qualen wie sie mir über's Meer gefolgt sind u. mich in meinen Träumen plagen, nochmals Fleisch u. Blut annehmen u. unter neuen Gestalten neu aufleben möchten. . . . [M]it der einzig wahren Liebe, dem amor intellektualis—u. wenn mein Verstand scharf genug ist, mich zur Liebe zu zwingen, so muss er mir gar manchmal auch den allerdings unwillkommenen Dienst erweisen, mich glauben zu machen, dass Du nicht unfehlbar bist. (3-16 April 1874)

In the second letter, he divulges the source the source of his anguish:

Du sagtest mir einmal in Tarasp, daß mein Urtheil über die Dinge nur ein oberflächliches sei. Nun denn – wenn ich Dir nach meinen Begriffen eingehend über meinen Eindruck berichtete, fürchte ich, daß ich nur das Dilemma vor mir habe – Dir entweder zu beweisen, daß Du kein richtiges Urtheil über mich hast, oder was sowohl schlimmer als vielleicht wahrscheinlicher ist, daß Du leider! Recht hast. (12 June 1874)

Berthold's low opinion of August's judgement, as August laments, forced him to view his trip as a means to prove his father wrong.

August's first letter home exposes his tendency throughout to assert himself as an authority on America. He writes it from the home of Berthold's younger brother, Julius, who emigrated to the United States over thirty years earlier. Uncle Julius's home on Long Island quickly turns into a refuge for August, while Uncle Julius himself becomes the intermediary between father and son. Here August settles in to perfect his English (14 September 1873). In the meantime, he becomes better acquainted with Julius, the quintessential self-made man. Julius left Germany in despair, with his hopes of a medical career hanging in the balance. He later established himself on Long Island as a physician, married, raised a family (two surviving children), and ran a thriving medical practice and the farm on which he lived (14 September 1873). August closes this letter with an odd postscript: "Ocean Point liegt auf Long Island d.h. der langen Insel, die Du auf der Karte bei New York sich vor dem

Continente hin erstreckend finden kannst" (14 September 1873). It seems unlikely, since Berthold had remained in some contact with Julius and had spent the better part of his career integrating the topic of the United States into his fiction and non-fiction, that he would not have known the approximate location of Long Island if not the exact location of his brother's residence. August perceives his personal experience as a means to propose himself as an authority on the subject, someone whose opinions and advice are indispensable, even to his father.

With Julius's help, August takes steps in the course of the correspondence to establish this authority. In essence, he appropriates the world Berthold had created in his texts. Soon after the first letter, August writes from New York:

Ich kann Dich versichern[,] lieber Vater[,] Deine Anschauungen von Amerika sind einestheils nicht grossartig genug, auf der andern Seite aber auch nicht richtig; Onkel Julius sagt dasselbe. ich bitte Dich recht dringend—Du weisst, dass ich das nur ungern u. in Deinem eigensten Interesse sage—nimm dich recht in Acht mit der Schilderung von amerikanischen Verhältnissen in Deinen Büchern u. mit den amerikanischen Bücher-Verhältnissen. Auch Onkel Julius sagt, im "Landhaus a[m] R[hein]" [1869] verlörest du den Boden unter den Füßen, sowie Du den amerikanischen Boden betriffst. (4 October 1873)

Twice August invokes his uncle's name to lend credence to his assertions that Berthold's depictions are "nicht richtig." Nothing, as August intimates here—not even Berthold's years of research and personal correspondence with friends in the United States—can replace actual experience. Less than two weeks later August repeats this plea almost verbatim: "Ich bitte Dich recht dringend, sei recht vorsichtig mit Deinen amerikanischen Schilderungen" (23 October 1873).

Although August validates his experience in the United States over that of Berthold's fiction, he nonetheless relies on Berthold's fiction for his own accounts in his letters. In the New Year's letter, for instance, August describes one of the men he just met:

Sylvester war ich bei Frl. Koch. Ausser mir waren nur noch zwei Herren da: ein jüngerer, hannoverscher Baron, jetzt Musiklehrer hier, u. ein älterer, von altem braunschweigischem Adel, früher deutscher Major. Ich ging noch von 1-2 mit ihm auf seine Stube u. er erzählte mir seine Schicksale. Er war ein reicher Plantagen- u. Sklavenbesitzer im Süden, verlor im Kriege die letzteren, was ihn die ersten auch bald verlieren machte. Alles was er dagegen eintauschte war der Generalstitel; ist deutscher Aristokrat geblieben u. amerikanischer geworden, wie ja alle früheren Sklavenbesitzer Aristokraten sind (cfr. Landh. a. R.), schreibt jetzt geographische Bücher, augenblicklich eins das in 150,000 Exemplaren gedruckt u. dann durchs ganze Land colportirt wird. (1 January 1874)



August has actually met a man who corresponds to Berthold's fictional Sonnenkamp in *Das Landhaus am Rhein*. Like his real-life counterpart, Sonnenkamp made his fortune as a slaveholder in the South and during the course of the novel is attempting to buy his own aristocratic title. Unlike the man August meets, Sonnenkamp dies during the Civil War, brought down by one of his former slaves.<sup>13</sup> One can view this episode in different ways. Perhaps August was attempting to link his own experiences to his father's fiction in order to authenticate Berthold's image of the United States or to find common areas of discussion. In his personal review of *Waldfried*, which Berthold expressly requested, August praises his father's "correct" depiction of America: "die großartig richtige Anschauung von Amerika (wie charakteristisch für deine Entwicklung der Weg von der Rolle Amerika's im [Viereckig oder die amerikanische Kiste, 1853] bis zur Auffassung Ludwig's [in *Waldfried*]) u.s.w." (12 June 74). In any case, August insinuates himself as the authority on America against whom Berthold's opinions and works must now be measured.

Indeed, August becomes a storyteller himself. He begins to write early on about his experiences as well as the differences in lifestyle he encounters between the United States and Germany. One example is when August describes his fear of the elevated railway in New York City:

[I]n der neunten Avenue geht von der 34. Strasse bis ganz an's Ende der untern City eine ungefähr halb-haushohe "Elevated Railroad" frei auf eisernen Pfeilern über das geschäftige Strassentreiben; im Anfang sah es mir zu gefährlich aus, nach 8 Tagen entschloss ich mich endlich einmal u. nun bin ich's schon ganz gewohnt u. fahre also täglich in ungefähr 12 Minuten mit der Eisenbahn herauf u. herunter. Die Station oben ist gleich an der Ecke, hier unten habe ich noch 5 Minuten zu gehen.

Other letters portray the cityscape of New York City (23 October 1873), the beautiful New Jersey countryside and autumnal weather (30 October 1873), the odd American jury system (30 October 1873), election day (4 November 1873), and the types of housing in Philadelphia (4 January 1874). If readers of the correspondence are disappointed in the relative lack of travelogue August provides, there are ample reasons why. For one, he keeps a diary during his travels.<sup>14</sup> Also, he plans soon after his arrival to "record" his impressions (*fixieren*), to "process" them (*verarbeiten*), in order to share them with his father after his return to Germany:

Ich glaube, lieber Vater, ich werde, solange ich hier bin, dir wenig über meine Eindrücke hier berichten; ich muss dieselben gehörig verarbeiten, fixire mir sie aber hier u. verspreche mir einen grossen Genuss für Tage nach meiner Rückkehr, wenn ich Dir dieselben mittheile. (23 October 1873)

Five months later, August is still hopeful his trip will provide him and his father points of connection, with August regaling Berthold with stories of America:

Ach lieber Vater! Wie viel werde ich Dir zu erzählen haben, wenn ich zurückkomme. Die erste Zeit wollen wir täglich regelmässig für eine Stunde in Begleitung einer ausgezeichneten Cigarre nach Amerika auswandern—ohne Seekrankheit, ein nicht zu verachtender Vortheil; vor Allem aber wollen wir uns recht gut vertragen. (29 March 1874)

Another significant reason for August's limited narratives is his father's reproach of the idea. When August learns that the centennial of the United States is to be mentioned in Berthold's upcoming novel *Waldfried*, he comments:

Ich würde Dir meine Ansicht über die Gründe, weswegen das [Centennial] so gekommen ist [es wird nicht international, sondern nur national]—u. diese Gründe sind sehr charakteristisch—auseinandersetzen, wenn du nicht einmal vor mehreren Monaten einen allerdings ebenso schwachen als schüchternen Versuch, zu Dir über sog. Allgemein-Interessantes zu reden, zurückgewiesen hättest.<sup>15</sup>

August's narratives are experiential in nature and differ in that way from his father's fiction. Consequently, the one observable commonality between father and son—the writing about America—serves not to bring them together but instead to alienate them from one another.

This clash between August's and Berthold's perceptions of authority is evident not only in the textual arena but also in the publishing one. The first signs of August's ambition to become Berthold's American representative appear soon after his arrival.<sup>16</sup> While August makes the rounds of the New York booksellers, he encounters competition in this regard:

Eben habe ich mich bei Steiger eingeführt u. erfahre zu meinem Entsetzen dort, dass ein Herr Jacobi, Kleiderjude aus Californien, mit oder ohne Dein Wissen eine höllische Geschichte angefangen hat. Du wirst durch Kapp Steigers Brief erhalten u. wahrscheinlich schon beantwortet haben. Ich beschwöre Dich dringend u. herzlich: glaube mir oder bilde Dir wenigstens ein, dass Du die amerikanischen Verhältnisse überhaupt u. die buchhändlerischen ganz speziell höchst unvollkommen kennst; lass Dich nicht durch vermeintlichen Familienpflichten dazu verführen, . . . Mache Dir auch gefl. klar, dass es, seitdem ich Buchhändler bin[,] Deine Pflicht wäre—wenigstens nach meiner Ansicht—derartige Sachen nicht mit Umgehung meiner Persönlichkeit, wodurch ich vor Steiger u. den Andern wie ein Schuljunge dastehe, sondern nur durch mich zu arrangieren. (25 September 73)

August is less concerned with Jacobi's exact proposal for Berthold's works than he is embarrassed that Berthold has apparently entered negotiations without him, thereby



frustrating his own wish to become involved in his father's dealings.<sup>17</sup> This incident introduces the question that consumes August's letters for the coming months: who will supervise the American translation of *Waldfried*.<sup>18</sup> When August suggests to his father that he should be careful with his depictions of the United States, he also brings up the notion of his editing his father's work:

Ich bitte Dich recht dringend, sei recht vorsichtig mit Deinen amerikanischen Schilderungen, vielleicht: sende mir dieselben zur Nachsicht, bevor du drucken lässt. Wenn Du Dir im Allgemeinen so Viel von Deinem neuen Buche [*Waldfried*] versprichst, so ist es doppelt wichtig, auch in dieser Beziehung diesmal recht correct zu sein. (23 October 1873)

Once again, August links Berthold's depictions of the United States to his authority on the matter, thereby appropriating his father's fiction. He reminds Berthold that he has the requisite experience to determine whether or not his portrayals of the United States are accurate and asks his permission to edit pertinent sections of *Waldfried*. During the course of having the manuscript of *Waldfried* translated, August asks Berthold if he has corrected "Bunker Hill" to "Bull Run" (2 February 1874). When he receives the part of the manuscript in question, he expresses his disappointment that the mistake went uncorrected: "es durchfährt mich wie ein kalter Blitzstrahl" (29 March 1874). August imposes his editorial expertise, annoyed that Berthold has allowed this mistake to stand ("Aber ärgern thut's mich doch!").

August's letters are replete with requests to represent Berthold in the *Waldfried* translation and not—under any circumstances—to allow anyone else to do so. A typical letter reads: "Lieber Vater. Schicke mir ungesäumt das Manuscript u. laß keinen andern Menschen auf Gottes Erdboden in dieser Angelegenheit handeln ausser mir!"<sup>19</sup> In one letter, August comments on Berthold's unwillingness to have his son assume the responsibility:

Trotz Deines zwar nicht ausdrücklich, jedoch indirekt deutlich genug ausgesprochenen Verlangens: "dass ich mich nicht um Sachen bekümmere, die mich nichts angehen," halte ich es doch für eine höhere Pflicht, noch einmal—allerdings, wenn ohne Erfolg, zum letztenmale—auf die Uebersetzungsfrage Deines neuen Romans zurückzukommen. (17 November 1873)

Eventually August is able to convince Berthold to allow him to oversee the translation and publication of *Waldfried*, but the episode has angered August, as he vividly lays out in one letter as the "große Sache." After August lists the financial and literary advantages Berthold would have enjoyed through his representation, he lists the positive and negative effects the entire affair has had for him professionally:

a.) positiver Nutzen: ich hätte dadurch für diese Specialität mir einen guten Namen gemacht, die besten Verbindungen hier anknüpfen können u. für

mein eigenes zu gründendes Geschäft bereits das wohlverdiente Vertrauen in mein Geschick als Kapital einzuwerfen gehabt; so werde ich nun . . . ich kann das Dir wie mir wohl verhehlen—

b.) direkten Schaden haben: man weiss ich bin Dein Sohn; man weiss ich bin Buchhändler; man wundert sich allgemein, dass Du mir die Sache nicht in die Hand gibst, man wird sich noch mehr wundern, wenn man erst sieht, wie erbärmlich die ganze Geschichte in's Leben treten wird, denn man wird mir natürlich nicht glauben können, dass ich dabei gar nicht mit gespielt habe; während ich sonst wenigstens tabula rasa gehabt hätte, werde ich nun bei meinen geschäftlichen Transactionen gegen ein unverdientes übles Vorurtheil zu kämpfen haben u.s.w. (28 December 1873)

Even Uncle Julius writes to Berthold in support of August's accomplishments and to admonish his brother for not having given August freer reign in handling the arrangement: "Es ist wirklich wunderbar, wie schnell er die ganze Sache richtig gefasst u. hättest du seinem Rathe unbedingt gefolgt, u. ihm die ganze Geschichte freier übergeben, wäre es pecuniär gut abgelaufen" (7 February 1874). Finally, Berthold himself sends complimentary words:

Gestern habe ich Deinen liebenswürdigen Brief . . . bekommen. Die Zufriedenheit mit mir, die Du darin ausdrückst, berührt mich eigentlich wehmüthig, denn ich empfinde etwas wie Reue über meine letzten Briefe. So Recht ich auch materiell habe, so wäre es doch wohl meine Pflicht gewesen, dies nicht so gerade heraus zu sagen. (10 February 1874)

The *Waldfried* translation symbolizes August's quest to become a reputable bookseller, and his letters tell the story of an apprentice bookseller actively seeking out the best masters in his field and obtaining excellent work experience. Surely the Auerbach name (and letters of introduction) provided August better access to booksellers and publishing houses, but he demonstrates with the *Waldfried* translation that he used his connections well to learn about the American book trade. The notable publishers (Frederick Leypoldt of *Publishers' Weekly*, Henry Holt of Boston, Henry C. Lea of Philadelphia, James Russell Lowell of *The Atlantic Monthly*) August meets and/or works for are surpassed in reputation only by the politicians and men of letters with whom he became acquainted: President Ulysses S. Grant, Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.<sup>20</sup> In the end, however, August's achievements do not convince Berthold that he is capable of managing his father's affairs in the United States, and August's castigation of his father's actions bear witness to their continuing discord:

Hast Du nicht die Verpflichtung, wenigstens solange ich in diesem Lande bin, alles Derartige nur durch mich zu machen? Habe ich Dich etwa nicht gut vertreten? Frage 'mal sowohl Lexow als Holt—ob sie nicht allen Re-



spekt vor meiner Geschäftsgewandtheit haben u. ob ich nicht mehr erlangt habe, als irgend ein Anderer hätte erreichen können. . . . Ich weiss nicht, soll ich sagen: Ich fürchte oder ich hoffe, dass ich da nach meiner Rückkehr gar mächtig zu kämpfen haben werde. (30 June 1874)

As late as July, August is still admonishing his father to seek his counsel before entering in any new arrangement concerning the United States: "Ich bitte Dich, wiederholt, aber zum letztenmal, nichts mehr für Amerika ohne mich anzufangen" (10 July 1874).

August's and Berthold's complex relationship as well as August's efforts to build a career were heavily influenced by his conflicted self-image which finds expression in his letters. After ten months in the United States, August sent his father a copy of a notice from the *American Booksellers Guide*.<sup>21</sup>

Auerbach's son is described by Mrs. Ames as tall, graceful and handsome, a pure Saxon, with a wealth of blonde hair and a depth of blue eyes sufficient to turn any American maiden's head. He is described by Mr. Holt, in whose office he has spent many hours, as of medium height, rather stout, well knit, a pure Hebrew, with black eyes and short black hair. (15 June 1874)

The disparity between the two descriptions, culminating in the Saxon/Hebrew dichotomy, accurately captures August's dilemma. He could have, if he had wanted to, negotiated the fluid nature of identity while in America. To a certain degree, August could more easily maintain he was a German and a Jew while in the United States. In his study, "Jewish Race and German Soul in Nineteenth-century America," Stanley Nadel outlines the extent to which German-American Jews participated in the German-American community as a whole and writes: "In nineteenth-century America, the German-American and German-Jewish communities were overlapping and inextricable entities."<sup>22</sup> "Beyond *Kultur* and the German language," Nadel emphasizes, "the German Jews were also tied to their German heritage as participants in and vociferous defenders of the German immigrants' popular culture" (310). This description calls to mind one of the central issues of Berthold's own self-image, his desire to be viewed as both Jew and German. Shortly after the publication of the first *Schwarzwälder Dorfgeschichten*, Berthold wrote to his friend, Ferdinand Freiligrath:

Ich muß Dir auch noch sagen, daß es mir besondere Freude macht, daß es mir, einem Juden, gelungen ist, etwas aus dem Innersten des deutschen Volksgeistes zu offenbaren. Du weißt, lieber Freund, was ich vom Judentum halte, aber jede innere und äußere Gehässigkeit gegen die Juden tut mir in tiefster Seele weh. Es ist mir daher besonders lieb, Dir sag' ich es frei, daß die Gehässigkeit die Juden nicht mehr so leicht Fremde heißen kann. Ich glaube, ich bin ein Deutscher, ich glaube es bewiesen zu haben, wer mich einen Fremden heißt, mordert mich zehnfach. Ich komme oft auf dieses Thema, aber Du weißt nicht, I. Freiligrath, was ein Judenkind auf der Welt zu dulden hat; auch ich habe viel, viel geduldet. . . . (qtd. in Bettelheim, 161)

Berthold felt that with his collection of stories he had proven that a Jew could also be a German. The difference between Berthold's letter to Freiligrath and the descriptions of August is that the dual identity is placed upon August. That he could be perceived as both "Saxon" and "Hebrew" suggests perhaps that he could assume different identities in the United States. Now August stood on the brink of realizing his father's dream—but in a different country.

If August experienced such a reciprocative relationship, he did not express it in his letters home. Instead, his letters lay bare an unsettling aspect of his character: his contempt for Jews in general and his family members in particular. The first observable example is when he speaks about the "Kleiderjude" Jacobi in regard to his father's American publishing interests.<sup>23</sup> Perhaps Jacobi had initially made his money in the clothing industry or was still active in it, but his focus had now shifted to publishing. August despises this rag man because of the social class stigma attached to his previous "dirty" profession and is clearly skeptical of Jacobi's intentions, warning Berthold not to be seduced by "vermeintliche Familienpflichten" (25 September 1873). (Apparently Berthold had felt obligated to explore business opportunities with Jacobi based on a recommendation by a family member.) August eventually learns that Jacobi is not from California but Germany and tries to make certain that Berthold severs ties to him.<sup>24</sup>

As much as August's disparaging remarks about Jacobi might be attributed to his desire to represent his father and to discount Jacobi's qualifications, they nonetheless illustrate how August separates "Jewishness" into acceptable and unacceptable categories, and his condescension betrays his own racial prejudices. To this end, his descriptions of Berthold's relatives (the Auerbach family sent several nephews and nieces to America) further this interpretation. To be sure, August loved Uncle Julius, who had married a Methodist and whose son was a freethinker (18 November 1873). He also delighted in visiting relatives in the Midwest, one of whom he called "ein treues Specimen der Auerbach'schen Art" (4 August 74). For the most part, however, the Auerbach relatives fared much worse. August would often visit Emanuel, an editor, and Simeon while he was in New York. His description of Emanuel differs starkly from his glorious accounts of Julius: "Emanuel ist seit vorigem Monat Redacteur einer hiesigen untergeordneten deutschen Zeitung, der New Yorker Demokrat, geworden; er ist ein sehr intelligenter Mensch wie mir scheint, aber seine Häuslichkeit ist mir zu schmutzig u. zu jüdisch" (18 November 1873). August had little regard for Emanuel, Simeon, or their brother Seligmann:

Ich glaube[,] ich habe es Dir noch nicht gesagt: ich halte diese Brüder Simeon, Emmanuel[sic] wie Seligmann für höchst gemeine Naturen, schmutzig, vor Allem *geizig*, falsch u. hinterlistig, Alles unter der Maske der grössten Biederkeit. Ich habe keine Lust u. keinen Beruf, ihnen das zu verstehen zu geben, aber Dir muss ich es sagen, wenn Du an diesen lumpigen Juden mit dem hübschen Gesicht u. der prächtigen Stimme, Simeon Auerbach, so herzliche



Briefe schreibst, wie Du es gethan hast.<sup>25</sup>

A principal problem for August is the brothers' identity as "shabby Jews" ("lumpig[e] Juden"). Earlier he complained to Berthold that Seligman was neither German enough when he lived in Germany nor American enough after his time spent in the United States:

Endlich lebt, wie Du ja weisst, Seligmann Auerbach hier [Philadelphia]; ich kann mir nicht helfen, ich kann die Leute—bis jetzt wenigstens—nicht leiden. Er ist da so der richtige Typus der Leute, die nicht genug in Deutschland gelernt haben, um Deutsche geblieben zu sein, u. vom Amerikaner wiederum nur die üblen Sitten angenommen haben; so ist denn Sprache, Fühlen u. Denken ein Gemisch der verschiedenartigsten Elemente u. mir, nachdem ich bereits diverse Specimina der Art gesehen u. so bereits das individuell—u. völker-psychologische Interesse daran verloren, einfach unangenehm. (28-30 December 1873)

On some level, August understands how negative stereotypes are perpetuated by the majority, as stated in the letter below, but he nonetheless characterizes the Auerbach cousins in that same negative light:

Simeon Auerbach schränkt sein Geschäft ein, er giebt die Cigarren-Fabrikation auf, entlässt seine Arbeiter, bezieht ein kleineres Lokal u. verkauft Blätter-Tabak; ich will hoffen, dass er nicht bankerott wird wie Seligmann vor 2 Jahren. . . . Ich habe übrigens keine Lust, Simeon zu zeigen wie ich von ihm denke, schon aus Rücksicht für seine vortreffliche Frau. Sehr nahe war ich ihm nie u. ich kann mich nicht erinnern, Dir je anders berichtet zu haben. Ich werde es aber nicht mit ihm berichtet haben. Er hat n[icht] z[uletzt] davon seine Schuld, alle die unangenehmen Eigenschaften, die die Juden im Allgemeinen durch die Schuld der Nichtjuden haben. (3-16 April 1874)

Even when these relatives are successful, August remains contemptuous. At one point, Emanuel wants to be a correspondent for the German publication *Deutsche Blätter* and seeks Berthold's recommendation, causing August to write:

Ich glaube, du kannst ihn—mit aller Reserve für den Fall, dass er doch einmal dummes Zeug macht—empfehlen, denn so wenig wie er es verstanden hat sich selber individuell ein ordentlich[es] Leben zu schaffen in Familie, Haus u.s.w, so sehr versteht er es auf der andern Seite allgemeine Fragen in seinem Redaktionsbureau mit der Feder ebenso fein wie glänzend zu behandeln, ja oft zu lösen. Aber Reserve, lieber Vater. Denn so gut seine einzelnen Artikel oft sind, so schlecht ist oft seine Taktik im Allgemeinen. Auf keinen Fall kannst Du mehr thun als ihm die Thüre aufmachen—ja nicht[s] garantiren, auch nicht das Kleinste! (30 June 1874)

August rarely likens himself to these relatives and draws definite distinctions between them and himself. In disparaging his "shabby" Jewish relatives, August disassociates himself from them and moves into the secular world of his apparently assimilated uncle. One letter in particular illustrates how August views himself in this new environment:

[I]ch kenne wenig angenehmere Stunden, als die vor einer Soiree, wenn ich in Frack, weisser Halsbinde u. engen Stiefeln, den Ueberrock mit den neuen Handschuhen parat gelegt, der Dinge warte die da kommen sollen. So jetzt. Ich rauche meine Cigarre[,] . . . strecke die Beine vor's Feuer, lese den N.Y. Herald u. reisse mich nur auf ein paar Minuten aus dieser bequemen Situation, um Dir diese Expectoration mitzuthemen. Ich gehe nämlich heute zu meinem ersten amerikanischen Ball. (4 January 1874)

The man sitting before the fire is impeccably dressed, reading one of the leading newspapers in the country, anticipating the upcoming social event. August fashions an identity that is not akin to the "cheap" ("geizig") and "dirty" ("schmutzig") Auerbach cousins, Emanuel, Simeon, and Seligmann. This man seeks to belong to a culture he does not associate with his relatives nor to the dirty rag man Jacobi. He also passes himself off as someone who comfortably associates with the likes of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and President Grant. August never explicitly states that he longed to be a "pure Saxon,"<sup>26</sup> but his letters reveal that the image of the "pure Saxon" was closer to his own ideal identity of the man sitting before the fire than that of the "pure Hebrew." He explicitly seeks to shed the particular cloak of Jewishness he linked to the "Kleiderjuden" and "lumpigen Juden." Mixed into this recipe is the classic American dream of wealth and status.

The last major theme of August's letters is the prospect of his permanently settling in the United States. Several times throughout his stay, August mentions how seductive life in America is for him, remarking in March how he could easily settle down and establish a family there:

Man macht mir hier von mehreren Seiten sehr stark die Cour u. ich kann z.B., wenn ich will, ein sehr nettes gescheutes Mädchen mit 18,000\$ jährlich jetzt u. ebensoviel nach dem Tod ihrer Mutter, binnen jetzt u. 48 Stunden haben, u. manches andere Mädchen auch—aber ich will nicht. Ich muss auf meiner Hut sein, wenn bei meinem beständigen Heimweh (Verlangen nach einem Heim, wie ich Dir 'mal erklärt habe) könnte ich mich leicht von meinen gegenwärtigen Gefühlen über meine zukünftigen Bedürfnisse täuschen lassen. (29 March 1874)

Soon thereafter, he vows to return to Germany despite the temptation to remain:

[I]ch muss eine Frau u. ein Geschäft haben (chronologisch vielmehr umge-



kehrt) u. das ebensowohl je schneller desto besser als auch nicht übereilt. Es haben sich mir hier nach beiden Seiten hin manche verlockende[n] Aussichten eröffnet, ich habe soweit man überhaupt vorherbestimmen kann—vor, mit dem Einen wie mit dem Andern zu warten, bis ich nach Deutschland zurückgekehrt bin. (3-16 April 1874)

He even begs Berthold not to ask him about the girl from Philadelphia anymore, for their relationship is over (20 May 1874). Indeed, he reminds his father that he intends to establish a house “im buchhändlerischen . . . Sinne” and only afterward to establish a house “im bürgerlichen Sinne” (24 May/3 June 1874). Despite August’s intention to return to Germany, he toys with the idea of staying as late as June: “Ich weiß recht wohl, daß ich für die Zukunft ausschauen muß, da ich *vielleicht* nie ein sehr Viel verdienender Mensch werde—aber wenn ich ein Weib finde, die mir sonst paßt, so hoffe ich, daß das doch keine *Bedingung* ist!” (12 June 1874). Three days later, August reports about yet another woman who has caught his fancy: “Aber, wenn ich mich im Betreff meiner nicht irre, so komme ich ohne Frau zurück—ich darf nicht anders handeln. Der Mensch lebt um zu arbeiten d.h. die latenten Kräfte sich zu entwickeln u. nach auswärts wirken zu lassen” (15 June 1874). Ultimately, August cannot loosen his father’s hold on him:

Zwischen den Zeilen lese ich, daß du es zwar vielleicht nicht wünschst, aber doch billigen würdest, daß ich in Amerika bliebe. Dem zur Entgegnung annectire ich mir mutatis mutandis das Wort des herben, harten, in Amerika herumgeworfenen Sohnes: Ich habe Alles überlegt. Was ein Mensch in der Welt auch thue, u. sei es noch so groß u. weit wirkend—hat er nicht seine volle Pflicht gegen seine Eltern erfüllt, so ist alles Andern hinfällig. Ich bleibe bei Dir, u. dem öffentlichen Leben gehört nur so viel von meinem Dasein als Du davon entbehren kannst. D.h. in meine Lage übersetzt: Wir beide haben, zu neun Zehnteln durch meine Schuld bis jetzt noch nicht von einander gehabt was wir hätten haben können; ich speciell bin von Dir weder voll erkannt worden noch auch im Stande gewesen Dir zu zeigen wie sehr ich Dich verehere u. liebe. (24 May/3 June 1874)

August Auerbach’s correspondence with his father captures a moment in time when August literally stood between two worlds. In America, he was free to contemplate starting a “new” life, even reinventing himself in a way. Yet, the letters demonstrate that August could not escape his identity as Berthold Auerbach’s son. Even in the United States, as the *American Booksellers Guide* was quick to point out, he was “Auerbach’s son” (15 June 1874). After his return to Germany, August carried out plans to open his own bookstore in Stuttgart in 1875 (Scheuffelen, 90). In the tradition of his father, who had edited two literary calendars,<sup>27</sup> he established *Auerbach’s Deutscher Kinder-Kalender*. However, August did not go on to manage his father’s literary legacy. When Berthold was near death in February 1882, he named his friend, the writer Friedrich Spielhagen, as the editor of his “opera omnia”; Spielhagen was to

work in concert with Berthold's cousin Jakob Auerbach, Anton Bettelheim, and Berthold's younger son, Eugen, a lawyer (quoted in Bettelheim, 382).

Upon his death, Berthold was buried in his hometown of Nordstetten. His biographer, Anton Bettelheim, describes his tombstone:

Noch ehe das Jahr um war, deckte ein grauer Granitwürfel die letzte Ruhestätte des Dichters. Sie trägt—in bezeichnendem Unterschied zu den sonst durchaus mit rein hebräischen oder zweisprachigen, hebräischen und deutschen Inschriften versehenen Grabsteinen seiner Nordstetter Angehörigen—nur den deutschen Namen BERTHOLD AUERBACH: Er wollte neben seinen Eltern und Geschwistern begraben sein, in schwäbischer Erde, im Heimatdorf, als Deutscher. Seine Enkel sind, wie die Nachkommen Moses Mendelssohn[s], Christen geworden. (Bettelheim, 386)

Finally in death, Berthold came as close to being recognized as both “a German” (“ein Deutscher”) and a Jew: “Um ein Uhr mittags setzte sich der Zug nach dem jüdischen Friedhof in Bewegung” (Bettelheim, 383). The German name carved in stone marks a permanent authority that is ultimately just a chimera; Berthold remains a Jew. August failed to shape an identity independent of his father, an identity that called for an erasure of Jewishness. Torn between two worlds, he emulated his father by publishing a calendar but could not realize the independence he had sought on his American journey. However dissatisfied, August remained a Jew in Germany. The next generation, however, buried its Jewish history in German soil. Bearing a German name in a Jewish cemetery, Berthold's tombstone comes to represent the transition he began, the transformation his son August struggled with, and the assimilation his converted grandchildren completed.

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Leading up to unification in 1871, civil rights for Jews were established in 1861 in Württemberg and Bavaria, 1862 in Baden, and 1869 in the North German Confederation. See Thomas Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866: Bürgerwelt und starker Staat* (München: C.H. Beck, 1983), 251. Recent studies on Berthold Auerbach's contribution to German-Jewish literary history include Helen Ferstenberg, “German-Jewish Creative Identity in the Age of Lessing and Beyond: Berthold Auerbach's *Dichter und Kaufmann*,” *Focus on Literatur* 5.1 (1998): 1-11; Jonathan Skolnik, “Writing Jewish History between Gutzkow and Goethe: Auerbach's *Spinoza* and the Birth of Modern Jewish Historical Fiction,” *Prooftexts: A Journal of Jewish Literary History* 19.2 (1999): 101-25.



<sup>2</sup> Berthold Auerbach, *Briefe an seinen Freund, Jakob Auerbach: Ein literarisches Denkmal*, ed. Jakob Auerbach, 2 vols. (Frankfurt a.M.: Rütten und Loening, 1884), 5 August 1873. All subsequent references will be cited by date.

<sup>3</sup> One reason to emigrate was the renewed attacks against Jews throughout Europe. In a letter to his cousin Jakob, Berthold expressed his contempt of recent events: Was sagst du zu dem Krawall in Stuttgart? Es sind Eruptionen der gereizten und mit Revolutionsstoff gefütterten Arbeiter und vielleicht auch Frühlingsausschläge. Aber dieses Losgehen gegen jüdische Kleiderhändler! Da arbeiten wir jahraus, jahrein an Humanisierung, und dann kommen solche Pöbeleien zu Tag (27 March 1873). Less than a month later, Berthold writes again to Jakob: In russischen Zeitungen sind Judenverfolgungen zu Ostern angesagt, und nach der Allgemeinen Zeitung schiebt jetzt der Papst den Juden alle Schuld an den kirchlichen Conflicten zu, und die klerikalen Zeitungen sagen, die Juden müssen wieder in das Ghetto. Alles Blut könnte einem zu Gift und Galle werden, wenn man denkt, was das treibt, das sich Religion der Liebe nennt (11 April 1873).

<sup>4</sup> Fifty-four letters from August to Berthold written between September 1873 and September 1874 are located in the Deutsches Literaturarchiv in Marbach, Germany. All future citations refer to this collection and are cited by date. Some letters were written over the course of several days but are cited by the first date of the particular letter as they are catalogued in Marbach. Because of their frank content, August asked his father never to show the letters to anyone and even to lock them away if he were going to keep them (31 October 1873), but fortunately Berthold kept them.

<sup>5</sup> See J.E. Braun, "Ein Phänomen in der neuesten Literatur," *Europa: Chronik der gebildeten Welt* 1 (1843): 127-34.

<sup>6</sup> The original collection from 1843 as well as the sequels which appeared in 1849, 1852, and 1854 were published by Bassermann in Mannheim. The collection from 1876, titled *Nach dreißig Jahren: Neue Dorfgeschichten*, was published by Cotta in Stuttgart.

<sup>7</sup> Avraham Barkai, "German-Jewish Migrations in the Nineteenth Century, 1830-1910," *Central European Jews in America, 1840/1880: Migration and Advancement*, ed. Jeffrey S. Gurock, *American Jewish History* 2 (1985; reprint New York: Routledge, 1998), 43.

<sup>8</sup> In 1873 Germans comprised 33 percent of all immigrants and 38 percent of all Europeans to the United States. *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970*, 2 vols. (Washington, DC: US Bureau of the Census, 1975), 1: 106. For further information on the reasons for German emigration, see Christine Hansen, "Die deutsche Auswanderung im 19. Jahrhundert—ein Mittel zur Lösung sozialer und sozialpolitischer Probleme?," *Deutsche Amerikaauswanderung im 19. Jahrhundert: Sozialgeschichtliche Beiträge*, ed. Günter Moltmann, *Amerikastudien* 44 (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1976), 9-61, esp. 11. For German population statistics see Peter Marschall, "The Age of Demographic Transition: Mortality and Fertility," *Population, Labour and Migration in 19th- and 20th-Century Germany*, ed. Klaus J. Bade, *German Historical Perspectives* 1 (Leamington Spa: Berg, 1987), 15-33.

<sup>9</sup> For an analysis of Berthold Auerbach's image of the United States, see Kristina R. Sasaki, "Berthold Auerbach's Image of America: Reality versus Realism" (Ph.D. diss., UCLA, 1988).

<sup>10</sup> Besides Berthold's published correspondence to his cousin, Jakob Auerbach, see Anton Bettelheim, *Berthold Auerbach: Der Mann, sein Werk, sein Nachlaß* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1907) and Thomas Scheuffelen, *Berthold Auerbach 1812-1882, Marbacher Magazin, Sonderheft* 36 (1985).

<sup>11</sup> *Waldfried* was published in 1874 by the Cotta Publishing in Germany and by Henry Holt & Co. in the United States.

<sup>12</sup> Julius emigrated sometime after September 1841. See Bettelheim, 142, and Berthold's letter to Jakob from 5 September 1841.

<sup>13</sup> Berthold Auerbach, *Das Landhaus am Rhein, Schriften, Serie 2: Romane*, vol. 9-12 (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1871), 12:221-22.

<sup>14</sup> See letter of 8 June 1874. Efforts thus far to locate this diary have been unsuccessful.

<sup>15</sup> 9 March 1874. August does mention the commotion surrounding the centennial in a letter from 29 March 1874: Unberechenbares Amerika! Nun [Charles] Sumner todt ist, der ein Hauptgegner der Internationalität des Centennial war, ist die Agitation dafür neu aufgeflammt; letzte Woche grosses mass-meeting hier [Philadelphia], die Stadt bewilligt eine zweite Million Dollars, der Congress thut vielleicht doch noch auch etwas, u. wenn nicht allzuviel Diebe in das Finanz-Committee gewählt werden, so kann's doch noch etwas Grossartiges werden. Diese Woche wird's entscheiden; ich habe den ganzen Gang beobachtet. War interessant.

<sup>16</sup> Since the United States had no laws concerning copyright with foreign countries, it would have been incumbent upon Berthold to protect himself from unauthorized translations. The first United States copyright law establishing copyright relations with foreign countries was not enacted until 1891. See "Circular 1a: The United States Copyright Office: A Brief History and Overview," 4 April 1996, Library of Congress, Washington, DC (<http://www.loc.gov/copyright>).

<sup>17</sup> A subsequent letter alludes to Jacobi's plan to exploit the market in the United States for Berthold's works in German: „Lass Dich bitte ja nicht mit dem Kleiderjuden Jacobi ein; übrigens ist der deutsche Markt für Deine Romane hier nicht so gross, wie der englische“ (31 October 1873). See also the letter from 4 January 1874, in which August warns Berthold again about Jacobi: Ich hoffe, der Mann ist für Dich ein- für allemal abgethan, nicht nur in der Weise dass er Dich nicht mehr zu vertreten berechtigt ist sondern dass Du auch eben seinen früheren oder etwa noch kommenden Rathschläge völlige Nichtachtung zu Theil werden lässt, am Besten wohl ihm gar nicht mehr erlaubst, Dich mit dergleichen zu behelligen.

<sup>18</sup> Covering the years 1817-71, *Waldfried* is a family chronicle that coincides with Germany's path to unification. Like his earlier works, Berthold weaves in the theme of America, having Waldfried's son flee to America after the failed 1848 Revolution and return years later.

<sup>19</sup> 21 November 1873. See also the letters from 25 September, 4 October, 31 October, 4 November, 6 November, 17 November, and 22 November 1873.

<sup>20</sup> See the letters from 23 October, 18 November, 28 December 1873 and 4 January, 10 February, 20 May, 24 May, 29 May, 10 July 1874.

<sup>21</sup> August gives the citation "No 6 1 Juni 74. p. 196." See the Letter from 15 June 1874.

<sup>22</sup> Stanley Nadel, "Jewish Race and German Soul in Nineteenth-century America," *Central European Jews in America, 1840/1880: Migration and Advancement*, ed. Jeffrey S. Gurock, American Jewish History 2 (New York: Routledge, 1998), 325.

<sup>23</sup> See above and the letters from 25 September and 31 October 1873. "Kleiderjude" is defined as "Trödeljude, der mit alten Kleidern handelt." See „Kleiderjude," *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, ed. Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm (1873; reprint 1984). Peddling was one of the primary occupations for Jews when they first immigrated to the United States, and as a consequence they were instrumental in the development of the mass production of clothing in the United States. See Allan Tarshish, "The Economic Life of the American Jew," *Central European Jews in America, 1840-1880: Migration and Advancement*, American Jewish History 2 (New York: Routledge, 1998), 87-117.

<sup>24</sup> 4 January 1874, 2 February 1874. August, jokingly perhaps, is even willing to bear the costs of having Jacobi beaten up: "Sei doch gefl. so gut, Herrn Jacoby [sic] auf meine Kosten von ein paar handfesten Kerlen durchprügeln zu lassen. Lass Dich doch um Himmelswillen nie wieder mit solchen Leuten ein!" (2 February 1874).

<sup>25</sup> 29-31 March 1874. Later in the same letter, August complains about Simeon being so cheap as to hold Berthold's letters to August until he has something else to send along with them in order to save postage.

<sup>26</sup> In fact, August once criticizes the "Christian" United States: "Das Amerika ist doch ein gar wunderliches Land: Extreme beieinander überall. Wir haben heute das wärmste Frühlingswetter u. wenn es nicht Sonntag wäre würden die guten Philadelphier so hübsch spazieren gehen können. Aber christianity über Alles!" (4 January 1874).

<sup>27</sup> Berthold Auerbach, *Der Gevattersmann: Neuer Kalender für den Stadt- und Landbürger auf 1845* (Karlsruhe: Gutsch und Rupp, 1844). Published for the years 1845-47, different editions of *Der Gevattersmann* have various subtitles; Berthold Auerbach, *Berthold Auerbachs Deutscher Volkes-Kalender* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1858, 1859 and Leipzig: Keil, 1860). Also with title variations, the *Deutscher Volkes-Kalender* was published for the years 1858-69.



Gary C. Grassl

## Johannes Fleischer, Jr., M.D.: The First Scientist at Jamestown, Virginia

European scientists took an early interest in the natural resources of English America. Two scientists had taken part in the first, unsuccessful English settlement in 1585-86 of what is today the United States. Thomas Hariot, an English mathematician and astronomer, had described the flora and fauna along the coast of North Carolina and the Chesapeake Bay in his *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia*. Joachim Gans, a German Jew from Prague, had been the scientist at what *National Geographic Magazine* called "Colonial America's First Science Center" at their settlement on Roanoke Island, North Carolina.<sup>1</sup> But until now, few have known that a scientist was also present at Jamestown, Virginia—what the United States government calls "the birthplace of the United States of America."<sup>2</sup> That a German botanist with a medical degree from a university had arrived within the first twelve months of the dawning of this settlement had been unknown to the historians of England's first permanent colony. It was Manfred P. Fleischer, professor emeritus of history at the University of California at Davis, who revealed this startling news.

In the spring of 1997, the German-American Heritage Society of Greater Washington, DC, had commemorated the arrival in October 1608 of the first Germans at Jamestown. In August 1997, I received a letter from Manfred Fleischer. He told me that a German had been at Jamestown even before the glassmakers, house builders, mineral specialists and sawmill-wrights we had memorialized with a highway marker near Jamestown and a commemorative program at Christopher Newport University.

The pioneer scientist at Jamestown was Johannes Fleischer, Jr., born 11 October 1582, in Breslau, Silesia, where his like-named father was a teacher at a Lutheran Latin school [*Gymnasium*]; his father later went on to receive a doctorate from the University of Wittenberg and to become inspector of the Protestant, i.e., Lutheran, churches and schools of Breslau.<sup>3</sup> This city on the Oder was the capital of the Duchy of Silesia, which was then under the Austrian Habsburgs and part of the German Empire. After World War II, it was placed under the administration of Poland by the Allied Powers.

His mother was Anna, daughter of the deceased Breslau councilor Joachim Jörg or Georg. Twenty-four scholars composed poems in Latin and Greek wishing the pair happiness at their wedding in 1577. Johannes, Jr., became an early orphan, however,

his mother dying in 1587 when he was about five and his father in 1593 when he was about eleven. But he had the good fortune of growing up in a scholarly environment in Silesia, which enjoyed an intellectual flowering during the period of Late Humanism. His interest in botany was no doubt stimulated by the famous botanical garden designed by the physician Laurentius Scholz in Breslau in 1588. Scholz, the herbal doctor, raised native and exotic seeds, herbs, flowers and various medicinal plants in his garden, which served as a sort of town apothecary as well as a pleasure garden. Since Scholz lived until 1599, when Johannes Fleischer, Jr., was about sixteen, the youth would have been able to visit this botanical garden while it was still under the doctor's care. He would have had the opportunity to personally learn from Scholz and be encouraged by his example. This garden, with its healing and ornamental plants, was cultivated into the nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

Fleischer, Jr., began his studies at the Protestant University of Frankfurt on the Oder, which was founded in 1506. Then he studied "philosophy and medicine" at the University of Basel, Switzerland. "Philosophy" in this case referred to what would later be called natural science. Fleischer, Jr., was a student of Caspar Bauhin, who taught botany and anatomy at the Swiss university founded in 1459. Fleischer shared his research on plants growing in Germany with Bauhin, who acknowledged his student's contributions in his book *INA THEATRIBOTANICI* published in Basel in 1623.<sup>5</sup>

Bauhin, born 1560 in Basel, laid the foundation for modern anatomic nomenclature with his book *Theatrum Anatomicum* (1605). He led the way to the practice of naming each plant according to its species and genus; in 1596 he published his *Phytopinax*, a listing of 2,460 plants.<sup>6</sup> But "Bauhin did not merely anticipate the genus-and-species-scheme of 18th century Linnaeus," explains Manfred Fleischer. "Bauhin primarily discovered the big difference of the flora north of the Alps from the Mediterranean plants which the Roman military physician Discorides had described in the first century A.D. Up to Bauhin's time, herbalists had not made this distinction."<sup>7</sup>

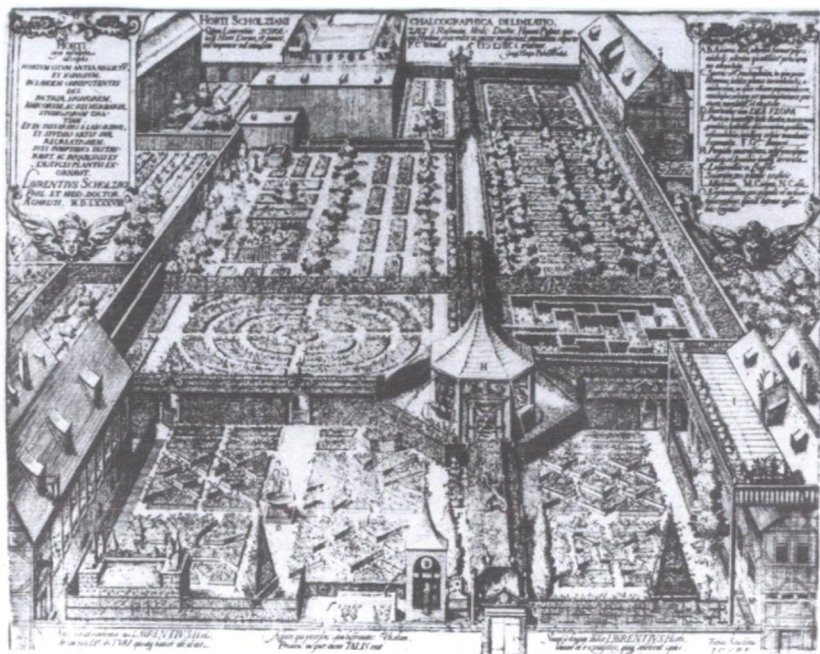
Johannes Fleischer, Jr., received his doctorate in philosophy and medicine from the University of Basel in 1606. After receiving his medical degree and after studying plants in Germany, Fleischer decided to study the plants of the New World. Since he was a physician we can assume that he was especially interested in medicinal plants. Fleischer was probably inspired by the description of the flora of North America rendered by the Englishman Thomas Hariot in his *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia, etc.*<sup>8</sup> Published in 1590 in Frankfurt am Main in English, French, Latin and German, this book identifies plants Hariot had discovered in 1585 and 1586 along the coast and rivers of today's North Carolina and along the Chesapeake Bay. Although a mathematician and astronomer by training, Hariot catalogued many local plants; he did so principally according to their potential commercial use. Hariot reported that he had found, among other things,

Sassafras, called by the inhabitants *Winauk*, a kind of wood of most pleasant and sweet smell, and of most rare virtue in physic for the cure of many diseases. . . . Sweet gums of divers kinds and many other apothecary drugs of which we will make special mention when we shall receive it from such men





Portrait of Johannes Fleischer, Sr., father of Johannes Fleischer, Jr.



A copper plate of the herbal and ornamental garden created by the physician Laurentius Scholz in 1588 in Breslau.



of skill in that kind that in taking reasonable pains shall discover them more particularly than we have done.<sup>9</sup>

Fleischer apparently took up Hariot's call to study the healing plants of the New World. The doctor decided to travel to London no doubt to ask Sir Walter Raleigh's advice on how he might reach the English colony. Hariot's publisher, Theodor de Bry, had addressed laudatory words to Raleigh to whom he had dedicated *A briefe and true report, etc.*:

To the Right Worthy and Honorable Sir Walter Raleigh. . . . Sir, seeing that the part of the world which is between the Florida and the Cape Breton now named Virginia to the honor of your most sovereign Lady and Queen Elizabeth has been discovered by your means and great charges, and that your colony has been there established to your great honor and praise. . . . Therefore, for my part, I have been always desirous for to make you know the good will that I have to remain still your most humble servant. . . . And so I commit you unto the Almighty, from Frankfurt the first of April 1590.<sup>10</sup>

But there was probably another factor that inspired Fleischer to undertake a botanical exploration of America. These were the drawings of the flora of Florida made by Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues (1533–88). He had sketched these during an unsuccessful attempt by French Huguenots to establish a colony there between 1564 and 1566. These were also engraved by Theodor de Bry and published by him in Frankfurt. They appeared one year after Hariot's book in part two of *Brevis Naratio Eorum Quae in Florida Americae Provincia Gallis Acciderunt*.<sup>11</sup>

The journey from Basel to London would have taken Fleischer down the Rhine. When he reached London in 1607, he was probably surprised to learn that Raleigh's colony in what is today North Carolina was lost and that the knight was a prisoner in the Tower of London. Placed there by James I on flimsy charges, he was kept under liberal conditions and could receive visitors. Moreover, he still exercised considerable influence over the English colonizing ventures from his prison cell. Fleischer may have also visited Thomas Hariot, who lived at that time at Syon House, Isleworth on the Thames (today in the western part of London).

### Fleischer Sails for Virginia in Search of Healing Plants

If Fleischer wanted to discover the medicinal plants of North America, he would have to go to the new English settlement of Jamestown, Virginia. And Fleischer did indeed take the first available ship. He sailed to Virginia in a two-ship convoy under the overall command of Captain Christopher Newport; he was bringing the first supply to the English settlers after their initial landing in May 1607. Newport personally captained the *John and Francis*, which, in addition to provisions, carried 73 new settlers; an accompanying pinnace, the *Phoenix*, under Master Francis Nelson, brought 30 or 40 more persons plus supplies. Both vessels left Gravesend at the mouth of the Thames

on 8 October 1607, and kept closely together. But they became separated on Christmas Eve when the little *Phoenix* disappeared in a fog 30 or 40 miles from the entrance to Chesapeake Bay.

The first settlers had built a wooden fort on an island in the James River about thirty miles from its convergence with Chesapeake Bay. They called it Jamestown after the reigning monarch of Great Britain.<sup>12</sup> The location of the island proved very unhealthy, however. "The colonists encountered many hardships in their new environment. To the disadvantages of an unhealthy location were added the rigors of a new climate and deficient food supply."<sup>13</sup>

"Arable land on the Island was limited by inlets and 'guts.' The marshes bred in abundance, even the deadly mosquitoes whose forebears had been brought from the West Indies, in the colonists' own vessels; and, with contamination so easy, drinking water was a problem."<sup>14</sup> The James River flowing through Tidewater Virginia into the Chesapeake Bay is brackish. The colonists lacked even a well but took their drinking water from the James. This river "was at a flood [high tide] very salt, at a low tide full of slime and filth, which was the destruction of many of our men," reported George Percy, one of their leaders.<sup>15</sup>

The settlers had initially numbered 104 or 105; by the time Christopher Newport arrived on 2 January 1608, with the *John and Francis*, their numbers had shrunk to less than forty. Their settlement consisted of a palisade of tree trunks sunk into the ground enclosing unsubstantial cottages and buildings. This was Jamestown.

Newport "brought food, equipment, instructions, and news from home. His cargo was not sufficient, but for the moment this was overlooked."<sup>16</sup> Five days after Newport's arrival, disaster struck Jamestown: "This new supply [of settlers] being lodged with the rest, accidentally fired the quarters, and so the town, which being but thatched with reeds, the fire was so fierce as it burnt their pallisades, though ten or twelve yards distant, with their arms, bedding, apparel, and much private provision."<sup>17</sup> "This was a serious blow in the face of winter weather. With the help of Newport and his sailors, the church, storehouse, palisades, and cabins were partially rebuilt before he sailed again for England early in April."<sup>18</sup>

### Fleischer is Driven off Course

Meanwhile Fleischer, who was on board the *Phoenix*, the smaller of the two vessels under Newport's general command,<sup>19</sup> found himself being driven off course. When his little vessel and the larger *John and Francis* had run into that heavy fog while approaching the entrance to Chesapeake Bay on 24 December, they had become separated. While Captain Newport had been able to find his way into the bay and up the James the master of the *Phoenix* had gotten lost. Then "contrary winds forced the *Phoenix* out to sea again, and she had to go as far out of her way as the West Indies."<sup>20</sup> Having almost reached the threshold of Jamestown, Fleischer was being driven back the way he had come.

The *Phoenix* on which Fleischer sailed was a type of craft known as a pinnace; this was the smallest sort of vessel to risk an Atlantic voyage and one that had a difficult



time surviving a major storm. (Sir Humphrey Gilbert's pinnacle had been swallowed up by the waves when he had tried to return from Newfoundland in 1583.) We do not know the exact size of Fleischer's vessel, but a pinnacle was normally a two-master that had room for about twenty tons in its hold.<sup>21</sup> "Tons" referred to large casks or barrels. An average ship of the period could carry about 100 tons; the *Mayflower* of Pilgrim fame held 180. It is certain that Fleischer's vessel was no larger than many a modern yacht and less seaworthy.

After undergoing many perils because of storms, the *Phoenix* stopped in the islands to barter with the inhabitants for supplies. This gave Fleischer the opportunity to collect samples of plants so different from those he had discovered in Germany.

"The twentieth of April, being at work in hewing down trees, and setting corn, an alarm caused us with all speed to take [to] our arms, each expecting a new assault of the savages," wrote Captain John Smith. "But, understanding it a boat under sail, our doubts were presently satisfied with the happy sight of Master Nelson, his many perils of extreme storms and tempests. His ship well, as his company could testify."<sup>22</sup> The *Phoenix* had risen, if not from its ashes, at least from its presumed watery grave. "Master Nelson arrived with his lost *Phoenix*, (lost I say for that all men deemed him lost) landing safely his men," wrote Rev. Samuel Purchas. "So well he had managed his ill hap [fortune], causing the [West] Indian Isles to feed his company, that his victual, [added] to that was left us before, was sufficient for half a year. He had nothing but he freely imparted it; which honest dealing, in a mariner, caused us to admire him."<sup>23</sup>

"This happy arrival of Master Nelson in the *Phoenix*, having been then about three months missing, after Captain Newport's arrival, being to all our expectations lost; albeit that now at the last, having been long crossed with tempestuous weather and contrary winds, his so unexpected coming did so ravish us with exceeding joy that now we thought ourselves as well fitted as our hearts could wish, both with a competent number of men, as also for all other needful provisions, till a further supply should come unto us."<sup>24</sup>

## Fleischer Reaches Virginia

After having been at sea for six and a half months aboard the *Phoenix*, Fleischer finally reached his much sought for field of activity. Fleischer, the first Continental European to land at Jamestown—the first successful English settlement—arrived there more than thirteen years before the Pilgrims landed in Plymouth, Massachusetts. But what he saw must have been discouraging indeed. The small settlement existed on the margin of survival, and the struggle for existence would leave him little leisure to collect and study plants. He could not wander far outside the palisades of Jamestown without having to fear the thud of an Indian arrow.

Fleischer also faced language difficulties. He could communicate in Latin with the Anglican Rev. Robert Hunt, who held a master's degree from Oxford. The pastor of Jamestown, who had lost his library in the recent fire, was no doubt pleased to be able to converse with an educated man who like himself was the son of a Protestant minister. Fleischer, the first Lutheran in English America, would have found lots in

common with the low-church Hunt. Perhaps Captain John Smith still remembered some German—besides swear words—from his days of fighting with the Austrians against the Moslems in Hungary. As for English, Fleischer was limited to what he had been able to pick up in his six-and-a-half-month immersion course aboard the *Phoenix*. Fellow Germans would not reach Jamestown until about 1 October 1608.

When the *Phoenix* left for England on 2 June, Fleischer found himself far from his hometown of Breslau and the lone foreigner in a colony of Englishmen. His love of botany had drawn him to a strange continent more than 3,500 miles from home. He had traveled farther than anyone else to reach Virginia. But unlike most of his companions, he was not motivated to find riches but plants to heal the illnesses of mankind. His dedication to healing would soon be put to the test.

With the summer of 1608, the heat returned and with it sickness:

They say that during the months of June, July, and August, it is very unhealthy; that their people who have lately arrived from England, die during these months, like cats and dogs, whence they call it the sickly season. When they have this sickness they want to sleep all the time, but they must be prevented sleeping by force, as they die if they get asleep.

David Pietersen de Vries would write these words in 1633, but they were equally true in 1608. In the first seventeen years of the colony "six died for every one that lived. A cemetery with unmarked graves would be their only memorial."<sup>25</sup>

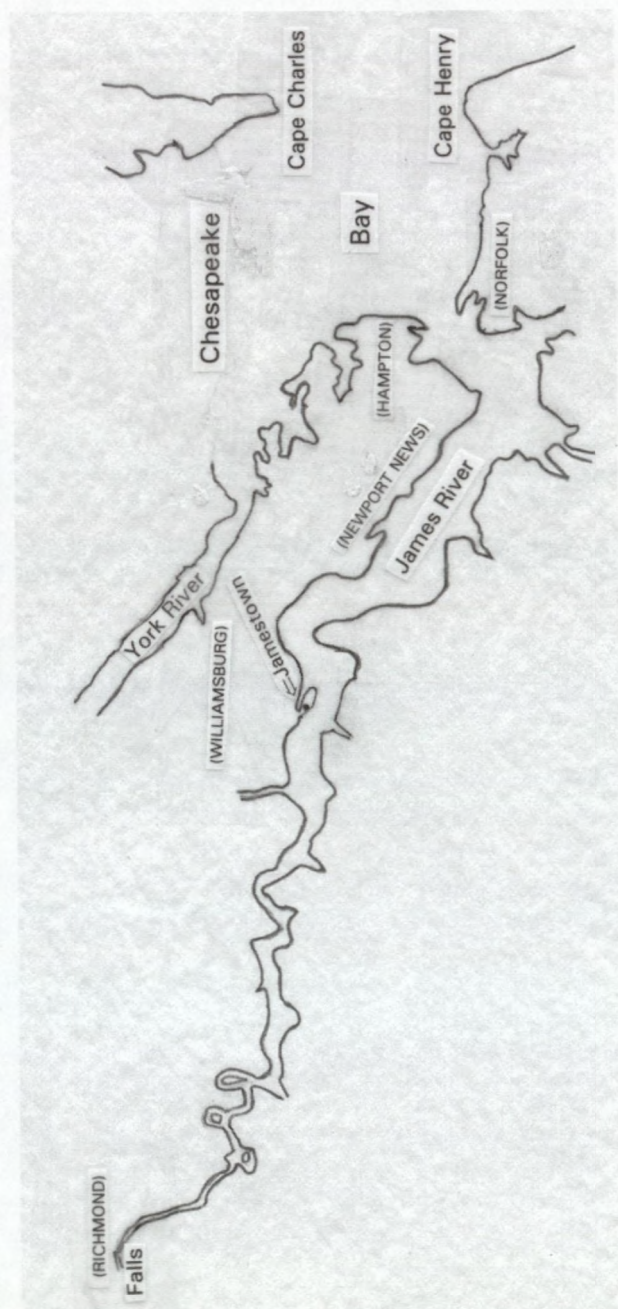
"Dysentery, along with typhoid and salt poisoning, are believed to have been the primary causes of death in the first few years of the colony."<sup>26</sup> The settlers had not yet dug a well and were still relying on the salty water from the James River. In July, "all the hitherto healthy new arrivals from the *Phoenix* were now sick, and so were many who had been there longer."<sup>27</sup> The gentlemen like Fleischer "must have felt the sting of failure as the reality of Virginia sank in and yet could never know that eventually all American political, judicial, and largely cultural identity springs from their own first efforts in Virginia."<sup>28</sup>

### The Fate of Dr. Fleischer

With the many sicknesses at the settlement, the medical services of Fleischer were no doubt in great demand. He was the only physician at Jamestown now, Captain Smith having taken the English doctor, Walter R. Russell, away with him on his explorations from 2 June to 20 July. When Smith returned, he made himself president; then he left again on 24 July for a second journey until 7 September. When he returned, "Many of the settlers were reported dead, and others sick, and supplies housed in the store had been spoiled by rain."<sup>29</sup> Alas, Fleischer himself had become ill.

John Smith, who held the position of counselor of the Jamestown colony before he made himself president in July, would have done better looking after affairs at home during this critical time than going exploring. For one thing, the fourteen men he took with him could have dug a well to provide uncontaminated water.





Entrance to Chesapeake Bay, James River and Jamestown, Virginia.



Aerial photo of Jamestown Island, Virginia.



A German manuscript of obituaries kept in Breslau from 1599 to 1676 states:

Nota Bene. In the year 1608, approximately in the middle of summer time, in North America, in a town of the country Virginia, English territory, in the presence of Christian persons, after suffering bodily sickness, died and was buried Johannes Fleischer, Doctor of Medicine, eldest son of Johannes Fleischer, Doctor of Theology and Pastor of Elisabeth [church] in Vrat. [Breslau], at the age of 26.<sup>30</sup>

We also read in *Silesia Togata*, a collection of epitaphs of 1,567 Silesian worthies published in 1706 in Liegnitz, Silesia:

JOHANNES, Johannis Fil. FLEISSERUS, Phil. & Med. D. Teutone quæ tellus profert generamina vidit; India quæ profert vidit &, & periit. (N. Wratisl. 11. Octob. An. 1582. &. in oppido Jaines-Tovvne in Virginia, media æstate An. 1608, æt. an. 26. Polius.)

[Johannes, son of Johannes Fleischer, doctor of philosophy and medicine; he surveyed what plants the German soil brings forth; what India brings forth he viewed too, and he died. (Born in Breslau, 11 October 1582 and died in Jamestown, Virginia, in midsummer of 1608 at the age of 26. Polius).]

Similar information appears in Johann Heinrich Zedler's *Großteses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste* (Halle, 1735), 9: col. 1211:

Fleischer (Johann) ein Lutherischer Theologus . . . war zu Breslau 1539. den 29. Mertz gebohren, studirte zu Wittenberg, wurde daselbst Magister. . . Sein Sohn Joannes, der 1582. zu Breslau gebohren, und 1606. zu Basel Doctor Medicinæ worden, gieng aus Liebe zur Botanic nach Virginien, und starb daselbst an. 1608 (see Appendix B for complete text.)

Christian Gottlieb Jöcher's *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon* (1750, repr. G. Olms in Hildesheim, 1960), cites similar information about Fleischer in part 2, column 636.<sup>31</sup>

Manfred Fleischer describes Johannes Fleischer, Jr., M.D., as follows:

Bezeichnend für ein Nebenmerkmal der lutherisch-späthumanistischen Gelehrtenrepublik ist die Laufbahn von Fleischers ältestem Sohn. Im Reformationsjahrhundert zeigten lutherische Pfarrerssöhne eine aussergewöhnliche Vorliebe für Medizin und Botanik. Diese begann schon bei Luthers Sohn Paul (1533–1593), dessen pflanzenheilkundliches Hauptwerk, *Oratio de arte medica et cura tuenda valetudinis*, 1598 in Breslau veröffentlicht wurde. . . . Da bildete Johannes Fleischer der Jüngere (1582–1608) keine Ausnahme. Er studierte in Frankfurt an der Oder, erwarb sich

(18. Anno 1608. Angestellte miten in 3 Tausend, in Anse.  
 rica Septentriionali, in einer Stadt und Tausend Vignallen, Angestellte  
 gebildet, in einigen Epistelen Profors, auf außersich. Lichte. hancschid,  
 gesunden v. Angestellte, Joh. Fleischer, Act. d. d. Johannes Fleischer, H. d.  
 et Elisabeth. Papstus Kard. nachfol. auf. Elefanten Toge, anno d. d. 26.)

Manuscript record of Dr. Johannes Fleischer's death  
*Vratislaviense*  
 Diarium mortuorum of Breslau (1613)



1606 seinen medizinischen Doktorgrad in Basel und starb auf einer pflanzenkundlichen Forschungsreise in Jamestown, Virginien, ehe er ein wissenschaftliches Werk vollenden konnte. Mit den schlesischen Ärzten Friedrich Monau und Laurentius Scholz sowie dem Scholzschen Gartendichter und Botaniker James Cargill aus Schottland erschien aber 'Joan. Fleisserus Uratisl. Medicus' unter den *Nomina erorum qui plantas vel semina communicarunt* in Caspar Bauhins ΔΕΙΛΩ Theatri Botanici (Basel, 1623).<sup>32</sup>

### When Did Dr. Fleischer Die and How Did the News Travel to Silesia?

With the summer in North America lasting from around 21 June to 22 September, Fleischer must have died somewhere around 7 August 1608, after having spent about three and a half months at Jamestown. The "Christian persons" attending him at his death may have included Master Hunt, the pastor of Jamestown, who no doubt officiated at Fleischer's burial if he was physically able. Hunt is believed to have died in the winter of 1608.<sup>33</sup>

We know that the news of Fleischer's death reached Breslau in April 1613, because the scribe interrupted his chronological obituary record on 18 April 1613. He then inserted the news of Fleischer's death. Although this piece of news was five years old, he considering it important enough to disrupt his chronology. He continued with his regular calendar on 4 May 1613.

How did this information reach distant Silesia from fever-wracked and strife-torn Jamestown? Who was the scribe? Polius or Pol, who is given as the source of the information on Dr. Johannes Fleischer, Jr., in *Silesia Togata*, was a Lutheran clergyman in Breslau; he was a colleague of Rev. Joachim Fleischer (1587-1645), the younger brother of Dr. Fleischer.<sup>34</sup> Joachim must have told Polius the news of his brother's early death in far-away America.

The first ship to leave the English colony after Fleischer's death in midsummer 1608 was that of Captain Newport after he had brought the second supply and new settlers around 1 October, including two German glassmakers and three housewrights. Newport left between 27 November and 3 December and reached London on 23 January 1609. How was the news conveyed from London to Breslau in the days before mail service? Perhaps Raleigh and Hariot had a hand. We know that Hariot communicated with the astronomer Johannes Kepler in Prague about optical problems in 1606. In 1609 Kepler was still in Prague at the Royal Observatory. Breslau is about 135 miles northeast of Prague.

Where is the grave of Dr. Fleischer, the first botanist to reach Jamestown? Strange as it may seem to us, in the early years of the colony the dead, particularly the gentlemen, are believed to have been commonly buried within the confines of the James Fort palisades. In 1996 archeologists at Jamestown discovered the skeleton "of a young man in the remnants of the newly discovered 1607 James Fort"<sup>35</sup> and in the following year the skull and coffin remains of a woman.<sup>36</sup> Both are from the earliest years of settlement. It would have been safer to bury the dead within James Fort where

the burial party could not be ambushed by the natives. The settlers may have also wanted to hide their many dead from them. Although some effort was made to bury gentlemen, like Fleischer, in wooden coffins, by midsummer of 1608 so many were ill that probably no one had the energy for such formalities. Stones that might have been shaped into grave markers were hard to find in clayey Tidewater Virginia; grave markers were later imported from England as ship ballast. The first German to mingle his ashes with the soil of English America lies in an unknown grave. He lives on in our memory, however, as the first scientist at "the Birthplace of America" and as the man who risked his life to find healing herbs so that others might live.

*The German-American Heritage Society of Greater Washington, DC*  
Washington, DC

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I wish to thank Manfred P. Fleischer, professor emeritus of Renaissance history at the University of California at Davis. This article would not have been possible without his help; it is really a joint creation. It was he who alerted me to the Jamestown pioneer Johannes Fleischer, Jr., M.D. He also supplied much information about this explorer, about his father and about their Silesian background. He also provided the portrait of Rev. Johannes Fleischer, Sr., the illustration of Scholz's garden, the epitaph in *Silesia Togata* and the wording of the manuscript recording Dr. Fleischer's death. He also informed me of the whereabouts of a copy of this obituary manuscript in Germany.

I wish to thank Gerhard E. Sollbach, executive director of the Department of History, University of Dortmund, for providing the computer-enhanced photocopies and slide copies of the manuscript containing the obituary of Johannes Fleischer, Jr., M.D. In addition, he helped to decipher this manuscript. He also provided a photo copy of Zedler's 1735 lexicon article on Fleischer, M.D.

I am also grateful to David W. Luz, administrator of the Schwenkfelder Library, for lending me microfilms of the *Zeitbücher der Schlesier, herausgegeben von J. G. Büsching*. Thanks also to James Michael Weiss, professor of history at Boston College, to Peter Erb, professor of religion and culture at Wilfred Laurier University in Waterloo, Canada, and to Jennie Rathbun of the Houghton Library, Harvard University, for helping with the research.

### Appendix A

The Ecclesiastical Career of Rev. Johannes Fleischer, Sr.

XXV. Decembris. 1572. Hat. M. Johannes Fleischer / so dem alten Herren M. Johanni Scholtzio succediret / zu S. Elizabeth in der Christnacht / die erste Predigt gethan.

IV. Septembris. 1583. Ist Herr M. Johanes Fleischer / Prediger zu S. Elizabeth / vnd



Professor bey derselbe Schulen / zum Pfarrherrn zu S. Maria Magdalena introduciret vnd angenommen worden.

VIII. Septembris. 1583. Den funffzehenden Sontag nach Trinitatis / thet Herr M. Johannes Fleischer / Pfarrherr / seine erste Predigt zu Sanct Maria Magdalena zur Hohemesse.

IV. Augusti. 1589. Ist Herr D. Iohannes Fleisserus, nach erlangetem Doctorat zu Wittemberg zum Pfarrherr zu S. Elisabeth...introduciret worden / den folgenden zehenden Sontag nach Trinitatis hat [er] angefangen zu predigen.

IV. Maij. 1593. Ist Herr Doctor Johannes Fleiserus / trewer Pfarrherr vnd Seelsorger zu S. Elizabeth / nach einem vbel gerahtenen Aderlassen / seliglich von dieser Welt abgeschieden. Seines Alters im 54. Schul vnd Kirchen Ampts ein vnd zwantzigten Jahr.

*Hemerologion Silesia cum Vratislaviense* [Chronicles of Silesia and Breslau]. *Tagebuch Allerleyfürnehmer / namhafftiger / gedenckwürdiger Historien / so fürnemlich in Breßlaw der Hauptstadt / auch sonst etlichen andern Orten im Fürstenthumb Schlesien / sich begeben: Auff gewisse Tage / Monat vnd Jahr / Aus vielen alten vnd newen geschriebenen vnd gedruckten Chronicken / Monumenten / Brieffen / Vrkunden / gutem Bericht vnd gemeiner Erfahrung / ordentlich gestellet... mit fleis zusammen gebracht / vnd in Druck verfertigt / Durch Nicolaum Polium Vratislaviensem, Dienern des Göttlichen Worts daselbst / bey Sanct Maria Magdalena. Cum Gratia et Privilegio Serenissimi Elect. Saxoniae. Gedruckt zu Leiptzig / durch Abraham Lamberg / In Verlegung Johan Eyerings vnd Johan Perferts / beyder Buchhändler in Breßlaw / Anno M. D. C. XII. [1612; reference courtesy of Manfred P. Fleischer; copy in the Houghton Library, Harvard University.]*

## Appendix B

The following is the complete text of the biography of Johannes Fleischer Sr., in Zedler's *Grosses Vollständiges Universal Lexicon* (1735). The reference to his son, Johannes Fleischer, Jr., M.D., has been emphasized by the author.

Fleischer (Johann) ein Lutherischer Theologus und Vater des vorherstehenden [Joachim Fleischer], war zu Breslau 1539. den 29. Mertz gebohren, studirte zu Wittenberg, wurde daselbst Magister, hielt viel Collegia, that eine Reise durch Ober-Teutschland, wurde 1567. Professor an dem Goldbergischen Gymnasio, gieng aber, als die Pest allda entstanden, wieder nach Wittenberg. An. 1572. wurde er zu Breslau Mittags-Prediger zu St. Elisabeth und Professor des dabeyliegenden Gymnasii, 1583. Pfarrer der Kirche zu St. Maria Magdalena, und 1589. Inspector der Kirchen und Schulen zu Breslau, nachdem er in eben diesem Jahre den Gradum eines Doctoris Theologiae zu Wittenberg angenommen. Drey Jahr vor seinem Tode that er einen schweren Fall, und gerieth darüber in eine tödliche Kranckheit, davon er nicht wieder



zu Kräfte kommen konnte. Als er an. 1593. ein Recidiv vermuthete, gedachte er durch einen Aderlaß dem Uebel vorzubauen, war aber dabey so unglücklich, daß wegen übler Wartung der unrecht geschlagenen Ader der kalte Brand den Arm einnahm, worauf er den 4. Mertz gedachten Jahres gestorben, nachdem er einen Tractat vom Regenbogen geschrieben. Sein Sohn Joannes, der 1582. zu Breslau gebohren, und 1606. zu Basel Doctor Medicinæ worden, gieng aus Liebe zur Botanic nach Virginien, und starb daselbst an. 1608. [Pantke. *Henelii Annal. Siles. Ad. An. 1593. Apud de Sommersberg Script. Rer. Siles. Tom. II*, 458 (9: col. 1211)].

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> *National Geographic* (January 1994); Thomas Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (The Complete 1590 Theodor de Bry Edition) (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1972); Ivor Noël Hume, *The Virginia Adventure: Roanoketo James Towne, An Archaeological and Historical Odyssey* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994); Gary C. Grassl, "Joachim Gans of Prague: The First Jew in English America," *American Jewish History* 86, 2 (June 1998): 195–217.

<sup>2</sup> These giant letters are chiseled into an 103-foot shaft of New Hampshire granite on the grounds of the Colonial National Historical Park (Jamestown) administered by the National Park Service of the U.S. Department of the Interior. This shaft is part of the Tercentenary Monument dedicated by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1907 to commemorate the 300th anniversary of the Jamestown settlement. According to the National Park Service, "Jamestown is the site of the first permanent English settlement in America (1607), the point at which the first representative legislative assembly convened (1619) to set a pattern for self-government in America . . . and the capital of the Colony of Virginia for 92 years (1607–99)." Charles E. Hatch, Jr., *Jamestown, Virginia: The Townsite and Its Story*, National Park Service Historical Handbook Series, 2 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949, rev. 1957), 1.

<sup>3</sup> Johannes Fleischer, Sr., Latinized to Fleischerus or Fleisserus, was born in 1539 or 40 in Breslau, Silesia, German Empire. Wratistawia or Wratistawia was the original name of the city on the Oder that became the capital of Silesia. It was named after Wratistaw, Duke of Bohemia, who died in 921 (Personal correspondence from Prof. Wolf Prow of Yorktown, VA, September 26, 1997). Breslau is the Germanized form of the name. In 1945 it was taken from Germany and given to Poland and called Wrocław. According to Manfred P. Fleischer, Johannes Fleischer, Sr., studied at the University of Wittenberg, where he attended lectures by Philip Melancthon, the associate of Martin Luther. In 1559 he received his master's degree, and in 1562 he began to teach arithmetic, astronomy and Roman history at secondary schools. In 1569 he returned to Wittenberg in Saxony to study theology, Hebrew and astronomy; at the same time he taught Greek and Latin, German grammar, dialectic, rhetoric, physics, ethic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and other disciplines. He made himself very popular at the university through his preaching, lectures and debates. He published his main work, a treatise on the rainbow, in 1571 in Wittenberg. In 1572 he became second-pastor of St. Elisabeth's Lutheran Church in Breslau. In 1587 his second son, Joachim, was born in Breslau, but his wife died the same year, perhaps in child birth. In 1589 he received the doctor of theology from Wittenberg and became pastor of St. Elisabeth's and simultaneously inspector of the Protestant churches and schools of Breslau. Rev. Fleischer, Sr., died on 4 May 1593, after a botched blood-letting following a bad fall. His younger son Joachim received his master's degree from the University of Leipzig at the age of 19. He followed in his father's footsteps and became inspector of the Protestant churches and schools of Breslau in 1637 until his death in 1645 (Manfred P. Fleischer, "Die Regenbogenlehre Johannes Fleischers und Ihr Gelehrten geschichtlicher Hintergrund" *Späthumanismus in Schlesien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Munich: Delp'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1984), 176–89. The account of the ecclesiastical career of Rev. Johannes Fleischer, Sr., contained in *Hemerologion Silesia*, 1612, has been reproduced in Appendix A.

<sup>4</sup> "Den 21. April [1599] starb Herr Laurentius Scholz, der Arznei Doctor, 47 Jahr alt. Hat sich sonderlich beflissen, fremde Samen, Kräuter, Blumen und Gewächse in seinem Garten auf der Weidengasse zu pflanzen und aufzubringen; welches ihn auch glücklich gerathen, aber nach seinem Tode sehr eingegangen ist" (*Die Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau von Nikolaus Pol. Zum erstenmale aus dessen eigener Handschrift*



herausgegeben. *Zeitbücher der Schlesier*. Published by Dr. Johann Gustav Büsching, Breslau, vol. iv, p. 195, copy in Schwenckfelder Library, Pennsburg, PA). "Die Tätigkeiten in Scholzens Garten sowie die Werke seines Berufsgenossen Caspar Schwenckfeld aus Greiffenberg (1563–1609) geben uns Aufschluss, welche gesellschaftlichen und wirtschaftlichen Verbesserungen diese Bürgerhumanisten im Sinne führten. Laurentius Scholz hatte sich seinen ersten beruflichen Ruhm und wohl auch den Grundstock seines Vermögens durch die öffentlichen Vorbeugungsmassnahmen erworben, die er zur Bekämpfung der Pest, des damaligen Volksfeindes Nummer eins, empfahl. Um 1588 hatte Scholz in Breslau einen Botanischen Garten eröffnet, dessen Heilkräuter als 'Stadtapotheke' dienten. Die Anlage erfüllte aber auch die Aufgabe einer Platonischen Akademie oder des Garten Epikurs, weil darin nicht nur Naturwissenschaft, sondern auch ein späthumanistischer Schönheits- und Freundschaftskult betrieben wurde. Durch den Garten des Scholz schleuste man sogar überseeische Pflanzen in Schlesien ein, die bald überall auf dem Lande erblühten. Es war letzten Ende das Hochziel dieser Pflanzstätte, auf Erden ein kleines Paradies wiederzugewinnen, in dem Heilmittel für die mannigfachen Krankheiten der Menschheit entdeckt, das Leben verschönt und der Tod überwunden werden konnte (Manfred P. Fleischer, *Späthumanismus in Schlesien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze* [Munich: Delp'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1984], 216). "Laurentius Scholz (1552–1599), der Sohn eines Breslauer Arztes und Apothekers, studierte 1572–76 Medizin in Wittenberg, dann bis 1579 in Padua und Bologna. Seinen Doktorgrad erwarb er sich 1579 in Montpellier und heiratete 1580 die Tochter Sara des Breslauer Kirchen- und Schulinspektors Johannes Aurifaber, eine Enkelin von Johann Heß. Von 1580–85, praktizierte Scholz in Schwiebus und Freystadt. Aber nach der Pest von 1585, bei deren Bekämpfung er sich einen Namen machte, kehrte er nach Breslau zurück. Anno 1588 eröffnete er dort seinen Botanischen Garten und hielt darin den Musen und Grazien geweihte Blumenfeste ab. Außerdem wurde er als Herausgeber medizinischer Handbücher bekannt und 1596 mit dem Beinamen 'von Rosenau' geadelt. Vorzeitig starb er an der Schwindsucht. Kein anderer Musensitz wurde von so vielen Dichtern gefeiert wie der Garten des Scholz. 'So schön hat die Literatur mit Gaben ihn geschmückt, daß jeder staunend nur auf solche Fülle blickt.' Siebzig *literati* priesen ihn, deren Lieder in den 1590er Jahren in drei Ausgaben erschienen. . . . Salomon Frenzel . . . stellt den Scholzchen Garten mit Recht als Wallfahrtsort des europäischen Späthumanismus hin. In den 1590er Jahren zählte nämlich der Scholzische Garten zu den Attraktionen einer Musenstadt, die insgesamt als Magnetberg innerhalb der späthumanistischen Kulturlandschaft wirkte. . . . Wenn aber Frenzel von Friedenthal nach der Übersetzung von Ferdinand Cohn (1890) die akademischen Pilger aufforderte, Wer von der Ferne besucht die Mauern des herrlichen Breslau, Gehe zum Garten des Scholz, schaue die blühende Pracht; Hat er dann Herz und Augen an Allem geweidet, so spricht er: 'Scholz, in die Vaterstadt hast Du Italien verpflanzt!' dann muß man die Verpflanzung Italiens nach Schlesien nicht nur botanisch, sondern vor allem kultur- und geistesgeschichtlich verstehen. Schlesien und Breslau waren damals ein geistiger Mittelpunkt Europas geworden" (Manfred P. Fleischer, "Der Scholzische Garten: Zwei Bilder aus dem Nachlaß Edmund Glaesers," *Schlesien: Kunst, Wissenschaft, Volkskunde* [April 1991]: 193–95).

<sup>5</sup>"Nomina Eorum Qui Plantas Vel Semina Communicarunt: Joan. Fleisserus, Uratisl. Medicus." (The names of those who shared information about plants: Joan. [Johannes] Fleisserus [Fleischer], Uratisl. [Vratislavia/Breslau], Medicus [Physician]). In Caspar Bauhin's, *Viri Clariß. INA THEATRIBOTANICI sive INDEX IN THEOPHRASTI DI OSCORIDIS PLINII ET BOTANICORVM qui à seculo scripserunt OPERA PLANTARVM CIRCITER SEX MILLIVM AB IPSIS EXHIBITARVM NOMINA cum earundem Synonymijs & differentijs methodice secundum genera & species proponens. OPVSXL. ANNORUM summopere expetitum ad Auctoris autographum recensitum. Basileæ Impensis Joannis Regis. c/?lpc LXXI, p. EXPLI.*

<sup>6</sup>Glaesers," *Schlesien: Kunst, Wissenschaft, Volkskunde* (April 1991): 193–95.

<sup>7</sup>*Brockhaus Encyclopädie*. Wiesbaden: F. A. Brockhaus, 1967, vol. 2, p. 384. Personal correspondence from Prof. Dr. Fleischer, November 4, 1998: "Bauhin brach mit der Gewohnheit, nordeuropäischen Pflanzen dieselben Namen und medizinischen Eigenschaften zuzuschreiben, wie sie im ersten Jahrhundert nach Christus der römische Militärarzt Discorides unter ihren scheinbaren Spiegelbildern im Mittelmeerraum entdeckt hatte. Indem Bauhin ein neues Namensverzeichnis für die Flora nördlich der Alpen einführt, förderte er in Mitteleuropa eine Neubesinnung auf die Heilkräfte einheimischer und zeitgenössischer Pflanzen" (Manfred P. Fleischer, *Späthumanismus in Schlesien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze*. Munich: Delp'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1984, p. 217).

<sup>8</sup>*A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia. of the commodities and of the nature and manners of the*



*naturall inhabitants. Discovered by the English Colony there seated by Sir Richard Greinuile Knight In the yeere 1585. Which Remained Vnder the gouernement of twelue monethes, At the speciall charge and direction of the Honorable SIR WALTER RALEIGH Knight lord Warden of the stanneries Who therein hath beene fauoured and authorised by her MAIESTIE :and her letters patents: This fore booke Is made in English BY Thomas Hariot seruauitt to the abouenamed Sir WALTER, a member of the Colony, and there employed in discovering...* was published by Theodor (Dieterich) de Bry April 1, 1590, in "FRANCOFORTI AD MOENVM," printed by Johann Wechel and sold in the Frankfurt bookstore of Sigismund Feierabend (Reprinted in New York by Dover Publications, 1972). The German title: *Wunderbarliche / doch Warhafftige Erklärung / Von der Gelegenheit vnd Sitten der Wilden in Virginia / welche newlich von den Engelländers so im Jar 1585. vom Herrn Reichard Greinuile / einem von der Ritterschafft / in gemeldete Landschafft die zu bewohnen geführt waren / ist erfunden worden / In verlegung H. Walter Raleigh / Ritter vnd Obersten deß Zinbergwercksaß vergünstigung der Durchleuchtigsten vnd Vrruberwindlichsten / Elisabeth / Königin in Engelland / etc. Erstlich in Engelländischer Sprach beschrieben durch Thomam Hariot / vnd newlich durch Christ. P. in Teutsch gebracht. Mit Römischer Keys. Maiest. Freyheit auff vier Jar nicht nachzudrucken. Gedruckt zu Franckfort am Mayn / bey Johann Wechel / in verlegung Dietrich Bry. Anno 1590. Werden verkaufft in H. Sigmund Feyerabends Laden.*

<sup>9</sup> Quotes from Hariot's Report have been rendered in modern spelling, capitalization and punctuation.

<sup>10</sup> Born in 1528 in Liège/Lüttich, Belgium, and trained as a goldsmith and copper engraver, Theodor de Bry was active in Straßburg. In 1590 he acquired Frankfurt citizenship. The engravings in *A briefe and true report* were cut in copper by de Bry and his sons after drawings by the Englishman John White.

<sup>11</sup> Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., *From Botany to Bouquets: Flowers in Northern Art* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1999), n. 37.

<sup>12</sup> At the convergence of the James with Chesapeake Bay are today the cities of Hampton on the north and Norfolk on the south. Jamestown, the first capital of Virginia, was about sixty miles downstream from the falls of the James; this became the future site of Richmond, the present capital. Jamestown was 155 miles south of the future site of Washington, DC.

<sup>13</sup> Edward M. Riley and Charles E. Hatch, Jr. *Jamestown in the Words of Contemporaries* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1944), 3.

<sup>14</sup> Charles E. Hatch, Jr., *The First Seventeen Years: Virginia, 1607-1624* (Charlottesville, VA: The University Press of Virginia, 1957), 3.

<sup>15</sup> George Percy, *A Discourse of the Plantation of the Southern Colony in Virginia by the English, 1606*, quoted by David B. Quinn in *New American World, a Documentary History of North America to 1612* (New York: Arno Press and Hector Bye, Inc., 1979), 5:273.

<sup>16</sup> Charles E. Hatch, Jr., *Jamestown, Virginia: The Townsite and Its Story*, National Park Service Historical Handbook Series, 2 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949, rev. 1957), 9.

<sup>17</sup> Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes, containing a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Land-Travells by Englishmen and others... etc.* (London: W. Stansby for Henry Fetherstone, 1625), 4:1710.

<sup>18</sup> Hatch, *Jamestown, Virginia*, 9.

<sup>19</sup> The presence of Dr. Fleischer, Jr., on the *Phoenix* has been deduced by the author as follows: We know from German documents that the doctor was in Jamestown in the summer of 1608. Since he graduated from the University of Basel in 1606, there was probably not enough time for him to have arranged to join the first Jamestown settlers, who left England in December 1606. As a gentleman and physician, Dr. Fleischer would almost certainly have been included in the published list of these settlers, but we look in vain. The next group to leave for Jamestown was the so-called "first supply" under Captain Christopher Newport. He is not listed among the 73 passengers aboard Newport's *John and Francis*, who arrived 2 January 1608; therefore, we have to look for him on the sister ship, the *Phoenix*, which arrived 20 April. Although this passenger list has been lost (or, more accurately, probably discarded by Rev. Purchas), Dr. Fleischer arrived in Jamestown no doubt on Master Nelson's pinnacle. We can lay the blame for the lack of information about Dr. Fleischer in English documents on the doorstep of Rev. Samuel Purchas, "whose major contributions to Virginia history were marred by sloppy resource management. . . . Among the losses attributable to his carelessness is the whole of Percy's *Discourse*, which, in the published text, ends on or about 19 September 1607, with Purchas's note that 'The rest is omitted, being more fully set downe in Cap. Smiths Relations.' The rest—which was never seen again—may well have contained a detailed chronology of the middling months of 1608. This was a crucial period for which we have no firsthand accounts, Smith's *A True Relation* having ended sometime before June 2, when he set out on an expedition up the Chesapeake



in search of the South Sea, an adventure from which he did not return until July 20" (Ivor Noël Hume, *The Virginia Adventure* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994], 200). Smith undertook another journey a few days later and did not return from that until 7 September 7. Therefore we have no documents on what happened at Jamestown from June to 7 September, the bulk of the three and a half months or so (20 April 20 to ca. 7 August) that Dr. Fleischer spent in the colony.

<sup>20</sup> Conway W. Sams, *The Conquest of Virginia, the Second Attempt* (Norfolk, VA: Keyser-Doherty Printing Corp., 1929).

<sup>21</sup> John L. Humber, *Background and Preparations for the Roanoke Voyages, 1584–1590* (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1986), 105.

<sup>22</sup> John Smith, "A True Relation of such occurrences and accidents of noate as hath hapned in Virginia since the first planting of that Collony, which is now in the South part thereof, till the last returne from thence," letter of June 1608 to the Virginia Company of London.

<sup>23</sup> Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes, contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Land-Travells by Englishmen and others...etc.* (London: W. Stansby for Henry Fetherstone, 1625), vol. 4.

<sup>24</sup> John Smith, "A True Relation."

<sup>25</sup> Carl Bridenbaugh, *Jamestown, 1544–1699* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 45.

<sup>26</sup> William M. Kelso, Nicholas M. Lucchetti and Beverly A. Straube, *Jamestown Rediscovery III* (Richmond: The Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, 1997), 47.

<sup>27</sup> Ivor Noël Hume, *The Virginia Adventure* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), 207.

<sup>28</sup> Kelso, *Jamestown Rediscovery III*, 4.

<sup>29</sup> Noël Hume, *The Virginia Adventure*, 209.

<sup>30</sup> The manuscript is entitled *Vratislaviense Diarium mortuorum Silesiorum et intra Silesiam exterorum Ab A. 1599. ad A. 1676*. A photocopy is located in the Martin-Opitz Library, Herne, Germany (reference courtesy of Manfred Fleischer; copy of the manuscript courtesy of Gerhard E. Sollbach, executive director, Department of History, University of Dortmund). The pertinent paragraph from this obituary of Silesian personalities reads in the original: "NB. Anno 1608. Ohngefahr mitten in d Somerszeit, in America Septentrionali, in einer Stadt des Landes Virgineæ, Engellandt. gebittes, in Beysein christlicher Personen, nach außgest. Leibes Kranckheit, gestorben u. begraben, Joh. Fleischer, Med. D., Johannis Fleischer, Th. D. et Elisab. Pastor Vrat. nachgel. Eltester Sohn, annô aet. 26."

<sup>31</sup> "Fleischer (Joh.), ein lutherischer Theologus, geboren zu Breslau 1539 den 29

Martii, studierte zu Wittenberg. . . . Sein älterer Sohn Johannes, der 1582 zu Breslau gebohren, und 1606 zu Basel Doctor Medicina worden, gieng aus Liebe zur Botanic nach Virginien, und starb daselbst 1608. Pa." "Pa." refers to Adam Pantke, *Pastores der Kirche zu St. Elisabeth zu Breßlau: Pastores zu St. Maria Magdalena, ingleichen Praepositi und Ecclesiastæ*.

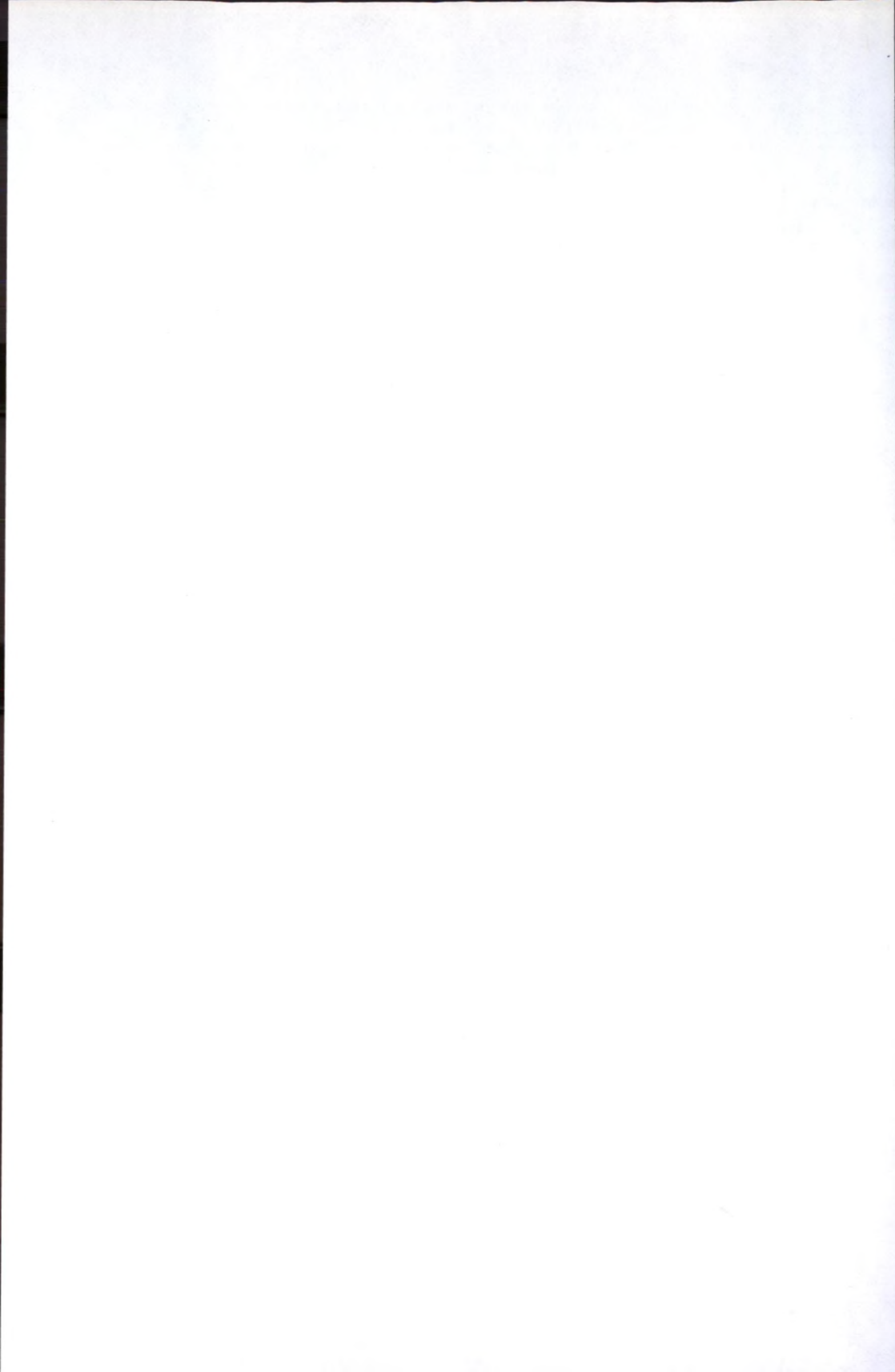
<sup>32</sup> Manfred Fleischer, *Späthumanismus in Schlesien, Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Munich: Delp'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1984), 181–82.

<sup>33</sup> Conway W. Sams, *The Conquest of Virginia, the Second Attempt* (Norfolk, VA: Keyser-Doherty Printing Corp., 1929), 854.

<sup>34</sup> Nicolaus Polius or Pol was born 1 December 1564 in Breslau and received his master's degree from the University of Wittenberg. He served as archdeacon of St. Maria Magdalena's Church in Breslau when he died in that city 16 February 1632. Joachim Fleischer and Nikolaus Polius stood side by side near the triumphal arch erected for King Frederick I of Bohemia (Friedrich von der Pfalz) when he was received in Breslau on 23 February 1620 (*Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau von Nikolaus Pol: Zum erstenmals aus dessen eigener Handschrift herausgegeben* [Breslau, 1813–24], 5:195). The wife of King Frederick was Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of King James I of England after whom Jamestown was named.

<sup>35</sup> William M. Kelso, Nicholas M. Lucchetti and Beverly A. Straube, *Jamestown Rediscovery III* (Richmond: Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, 1997), 1.

<sup>36</sup> William M. Kelso, Nicholas M. Lucchetti and Beverly A. Straube, *Jamestown Rediscovery IV* (Richmond: Association for the Preservation of the Virginia Antiquities, 1998), 24–26.





**Joseph Ochs—ein Jesuit des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts  
im Südwesten von Nordamerika:  
literarhistorische, imagologische und  
mentalitätsgeschichtliche Studien**

Obwohl der 1540 von Ignatius von Loyola gegründete Jesuitenorden (die Gesellschaft Jesu) 1773 von Papst Clemens XIV. in Europa, dann 1767 weltweit verboten und viele seiner Mitglieder in Klostergefängnishaft landeten, ohne dass man den meisten Jesuiten je etwas konkret hätte vorwerfen können, vermochte sich der Orden doch zu halten und hat sich, 1814 von Papst Pius VII. neu ins Leben gerufen, wieder international etabliert.<sup>1</sup> Wer wenig mit den Jesuiten vertraut ist, verfällt aber selbst heute noch leicht dem generellen Vorurteil, das man von diesen strengen Nachfolgern Ignaz Loyolas besitzt. Dabei vermag man aber, wenn man sich die Mühe gibt, eine große Zahl von höchst eindrucksvollen jesuitischen Missionaren zu identifizieren, die sich seit der Gründung des Ordens im sechzehnten Jahrhundert auf der ganzen Welt um die Verbreitung des Christentums gekümmert und zugleich vielfache Anstrengungen unternommen haben, europäische Kultur, Technik und Wissenschaft zu vermitteln.<sup>2</sup> Zum einen haben sich die Jesuiten immer wieder dadurch ausgezeichnet, dass ihre Vertreter meistens eine außerordentlich gute Ausbildung genossen hatten und zu den gelehrtesten Menschen ihrer Zeit gehörten (z. B. Matteo Ricci [1552-1610]), zum anderen findet man sie immer wieder genau in jenen Regionen auf allen fünf Kontinenten, wohin andere Missionare, Pilger, Forscher oder Reisende sich nicht hingetrauten oder dies nicht der Mühe für wert erachteten. Im Nahen und Fernen Orient ergaben sich allerdings für christliche Missionare immer schon große Schwierigkeiten, weil sie dort auf hochstehende Kulturen stießen, die selbst eine sehr abstrakte Religion praktizierten und sich deswegen nur sehr schwer bekehren ließen. Die Situation in Nord- und Südamerika war dagegen eine ganz andere, weswegen die Jesuiten gerade dort sehr beachtenswerte Erfolge erringen konnten.<sup>3</sup> Dennoch lässt sich die Beobachtung machen, dass in menschenabweisenden Gegenden auf allen fünf Kontinenten nicht jeder Jesuit einsatzbereit war und der Orden seine Vertreter sorgfältig auswählen musste, um nicht persönliche Tragödien zu verursachen und ganz in seinem missionarischen Impetus zu scheitern.<sup>4</sup>

Wie in den letzten Jahren mittlerweile deutlich geworden ist, gehörten deutschsprachige Jesuiten zu den wichtigsten Missionaren—wenn sie nicht fast die



einzig überhaupt waren—, die sich während des siebzehnten und achtzehnten Jahrhunderts um die Seelenarbeit bzw. pastorale Betreuung der indianischen Einwohner im nördlichen Mexiko und im heutigen Arizona bemühten.<sup>5</sup> Unter ihnen befanden sich viele, die sich jedoch nicht nur den geistlichen Aufgaben widmeten, sondern die entweder noch während ihres Aufenthalts in Sonora—so der Name jener Wüstenregion—oder nach ihrer Rückkehr ausführliche Berichte über ihre Erfahrungen lieferten und sich z. T. sogar zu beachtlichen schriftstellerischen Leistungen aufschwangen, was hier anhand eines speziellen Falles nachgewiesen werden soll. Obwohl die meisten Missionare darüber klagten, nicht genügend Zeit für ihre pastoralen Aufgaben zu besitzen, scheinen sich doch viele dem intensiven Studium von Land und Leuten, der lokalen Sprachen, der Kartographie und Viehzucht gewidmet zu haben, womit sie die Grundlagen für umfangreiche Abhandlungen wissenschaftlicher Art legten. Über diese Werke liegt bisher nur sehr wenig Forschung vor, und diese ist weitgehend von historischen und anthropologischen Fragestellungen bestimmt, obwohl es sich doch genauso gut um wertvolle literarische Produkte handelt, vor allem wenn man bedenkt, dass die Padres meistens ein breites Publikum ansprachen und viele Leser finden wollten.<sup>6</sup>

Aufgrund dieser Überlegung habe ich mich deswegen in früheren Studien solchen Figuren wie dem wichtigen Begründer der Sonora-Mission, Padre Eusebio Kino, und Ignaz Pfefferkorn zugewandt, doch mussten viele Beiträge zur Missionsliteratur, wenn nicht fast die weitaus größte Mehrheit von ihnen, immer noch unbeachtet bleiben.<sup>7</sup> Die Begegnung mit dieser völlig fremden Welt im Südwesten der heutigen USA bzw. im Norden Mexikos, die Auseinandersetzungen mit den verschiedenen indianischen Völkern und das individuelle Interesse an ihrer Bekehrung dominieren alle apodemischen Dokumente, und genau darin bestand sozusagen das Geheimrezept, um diese Berichte für die literarische Öffentlichkeit in Deutschland attraktiv zu machen, obwohl sie von Jesuiten für ein jesuitisch beeinflusstes Publikum geschaffen waren.<sup>8</sup> Von den Jesuiten-Padres hielten sich zwar nur relativ wenige so lange wie Eusebio Kino (1645-1711) in Sonora auf (1686-1711), aber die meisten verbrachten doch lange Jahre in dieser semi-ariden Wüstenlandschaft und bemühten sich mit allen Kräften darum, sich während ihres Aufenthalts dort halbwegs der fremden Umgebung anzupassen, mit der indianischen Kultur vertraut zu werden und ihre missionarischen Aufgaben zu erfüllen, ohne sich von den schweren klimatischen Bedingungen, von der Isolation und Einsamkeit sowie den äußerst schwierigen Arbeitsbedingungen zur Verzweiflung treiben zu lassen. Insoweit beweisen sich alle ihre Schriften, seien es ihre Briefe, ihre Traktate, wissenschaftlichen Abhandlungen und enzyklopädischen Reiseberichte, als ungewöhnliche, faszinierende und manchmal geradezu spannend zu lesende Texte, die man durchaus bei großzügiger Betrachtungsweise der deutschen Literaturgeschichte zurechnen darf. Allerdings hat sich bis heute die Germanistik nicht um diese Beiträge gekümmert, während die nordamerikanischen und mexikanischen Historiker und Anthropologen ausschließlich ihre speziellen (lokalen) Forschungsinteressen verfolgten.<sup>9</sup> Ähnlich wie in meinen früheren Untersuchungen soll es hier also darum gehen, den literaturwissenschaftlichen Blick auf ein höchst aufregendes literarisches Korpus zu werfen und damit zugleich die Perspektive auf



die deutsch-amerikanische Literatur auf der Grundlage dieser Schriften aus dem bzw. über den Südwesten ins Rampenlicht zu rücken.

Die Aufmerksamkeit ruht speziell auf der Reisebeschreibung von Joseph Och, die er schon während seiner Rückkehr 1768 nach Europa und im Anschluss daran verfasste und die zuerst 1809 in den *Nachrichten von verschiedenen Ländern*, herausgegeben von dem Nürnberger Universalgelehrten Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, veröffentlicht wurden.<sup>10</sup> Och wurde am 21. Februar 1725 in Würzburg als Sohn von Georg Och und seiner Frau Silvia Stern geboren. Er trat am 26. September 1743 in das Jesuitenkolleg in Aschaffenburg ein und studierte später in Mainz, Speyer und Heidelberg. 1754 machte er sich auf den Weg in die Neue Welt, um dort als Missionar tätig zu sein, obwohl er, wie die Quellen verschiedentlich berichten, nur von schwacher körperlicher Verfassung war. Och hatte, wie seine späteren Mitstreiter, ursprünglich Paraguay anzielen sollen, aber wegen politischer Schwierigkeiten, verursacht durch falsche Gerüchte wegen eines vermeintlichen Jesuiten-Königs deutscher Herkunft in Paraguay,<sup>11</sup> wurden er und die anderen deutschen Jesuiten nach Mexiko umgelenkt, wo sie am 19. März 1756 landeten. Zunächst sah es so aus, als ob Och zusammen mit Ignaz Pfefferkorn und Michael Gerstner dem Bischof von Kuba zugewiesen werden sollte, doch ließ man nach drei Monaten den Plan fallen, ohne dass sich die Gründe dafür in den Quellen erkennen lassen. Die drei Jesuiten zogen darauf Richtung Mexiko-Stadt und am 14. Juli von dort weiter in den Norden des heutigen Mexikos. Och wurde dem Pater Kaspar Stiger in San Ignacio und Magdalena zugeordnet, der dem Neuankömmling half, sich rasch an die fremde Welt zu gewöhnen und sich Sprachkenntnisse zu erwerben. Am 27. September 1757 legte er seine „*professio quatuor votorum*“ ab und übernahm anschließend die Mission von Cumuripa, wo er zumindest ab März 1761 tätig war. Wegen gesundheitlicher Schwächen wechselte er am 16. Juni 1761 nach Baseraca und Bavispe, wo er seit September 1761 tätig war. Aber schon 1764 übergab er die Mission von Baseraca einem Nachfolger und reiste im Juni dieses Jahres zu Johann Nentwig in Guásavas, wo sich sein Zustand jedoch nur verschlimmerte, denn seine Arme und Beine wurden gelähmt bzw. durch Arthritis unbeweglich. Indianer trugen ihn im April 1765 nach Chihuahua, von wo er nach Mexiko-Stadt transportiert wurde. Zusammen mit allen anderen Jesuiten musste Och zwangsweise 1768 die neue Welt verlassen und gelangte über Korsika zurück in die Heimat.<sup>12</sup> Obwohl Och körperlich kaum in der Lage war, seiner Aufgabe als Missionar gerecht zu werden, scheint er doch ungeheure Anstrengungen unternommen zu haben, trotz seiner Schwäche zu predigen und das Christentum zu lehren. Och erwarb sich hohe Anerkennung dafür bei seinen Mitbrüdern und vielen anderen Zeitgenossen, bewunderte man ihn ja allseits für seine heroischen Bemühungen und Erfolge. Pater José Garrucho schrieb in einem Brief vom 13. Juli 1763 an den Padre Provincial Pedro Reales, dass die deutschen Missionare am besten für die Arbeit in Sonora geeignet seien und sich selbst von schwerer Krankheit nicht niederdrücken ließen, wobei er speziell den Fall von Och zitierte.<sup>13</sup> Nentwig bestätigte in einem Brief an Zevallos vom 18. Juli 1764, dass es Och jedesmal, wenn er seinen Dienst bei einer neuen Mission begonnen hatte, schlagartig gelungen sei, den dortigen Zustand erheblich zu verbessern, wobei er sich explizit auf die ökonomische Lage bezog. Die Mission in



Baseraca war z. B. tief verschuldet, als Och dort ankam, doch schon nach drei Jahren hatte er die Verhältnisse so geändert, daß der wirtschaftliche Betrieb Profit abwarf. Außerdem betonte Nentwig, dass Och die Sprache der Opata erstaunlich schnell soweit gemeistert habe, dass er mehr oder weniger zu ihnen predigen konnte.<sup>14</sup> Die jesuitischen Autoritäten in Mexiko-Stadt waren sich selbst im klaren darüber, dass Och zwar körperlich, d. h. gesundheitlich sehr behindert war, dass er sich aber schnell als idealer Verwaltungsmensch beweisen würde.<sup>15</sup> All diese Hoffnungen scheiterten freilich, und zwar nicht nur wegen Ochs Gebrechen, sondern weil auch der Jesuitenorden Schritt für Schritt unterminiert und dann 1767 seitens der katholischen Kirche und des spanischen Königshauses ganz zerstört wurde. Bereits 1759 war er in Portugal, 1762 in Frankreich verboten worden, bis dann das endgültige Verbot weltweit ausgesprochen wurde.<sup>16</sup>

Ganz unabhängig von der historischen Rolle, die die Jesuiten spielten, soll nun der Bericht Joseph Ochs untersucht werden, denn es handelt sich bei den von ihm verfassten *Nachrichten von seinen Reisen nach dem spanischen Amerika* um einen bemerkenswerten Beitrag zur frühneuzeitlichen Apodemik, ohne dass die einschlägige literarhistorische Forschung bisher auf diesen aufmerksam geworden wäre.<sup>17</sup> Dabei stellt sich schon auf erstem Blick heraus, dass Och eine außerordentliche Begabung dafür besaß seine Erfahrungen und Erlebnisse in höchst lebendiger und anschaulicher Weise darzulegen und seinem Leser einen guten Überblick zu bieten von dem, was sich alles in seinem abwechslungsreichen Leben ereignet hatte. Zwar bediente sich der Autor offenkundig vieler anderer Quellen, um seinen Text möglichst abzurunden und alle wesentlichen Informationen zusammenzutragen, aber es bleibt doch immer noch seine persönliche Sichtweise, die diese *Nachrichten* zu einem beachtlichen Stück Jesuiten-, d. h. aber in diesem Fall zugleich und primär Reiseliteratur macht.<sup>18</sup> Der erste Teil seines Berichts umfasst die Reise von Würzburg nach Genua, von dort nach Cadix, und weiter über den Atlantik nach Mexiko und schließlich zu seiner Mission in Sonora. Der zweite Teil konzentriert sich auf die Vertreibung der Jesuiten und die Rückkehr Ochs nach Deutschland. Im dritten Teil bietet der Autor eine wissenschaftliche Abhandlung über die Fauna und Flora Sonoras, geht auf die Bodenschätze und landwirtschaftlichen Bedingungen ein, bespricht die Religion und Kultur der Indianer sowie medizinische, politische und alltägliche Aspekte des Lebens in jener Region. Damit hatte Och geschickt vorgesorgt, denn sein Bericht sprach aufgrund dieser verschiedenen thematischen Gewichtungen die unterschiedlichsten Lesergruppen an, seien es die wissenschaftlich Interessierten, die Abenteuerlustigen, diejenigen, die aus religiöser Sicht etwas über die Missionsgeschichte erfahren wollten und nicht zuletzt diejenigen, die Einzelheiten über das Schicksal der Jesuiten in Amerika lernen wollten.

Während Historiker und Anthropologen mehrfach schon den Text Ochs für ihre Betrachtungen ausgenutzt haben, fehlt weiterhin eine genaue literaturwissenschaftliche Untersuchung, die nachfolgend durchgeführt werden soll. Die wesentliche Frage lautet, wie es Och bewerkstelligte, seine Darstellung so zu gestalten, dass sie zwar auf viele Einzelheiten einging, dennoch den wenig beschlagenen Leser anzusprechen vermochte. Wie gelang es dem Autor, zwar aus einer jesuitischen



Sicht heraus seine Lebensgeschichte als Missionar darzustellen, zugleich aber einen höchst spannenden Bericht abzulegen, der sich streckenweise wie ein Wild-West-Roman liest oder zumindest als außerordentlich gelungene Reisebeschreibung anzusehen ist? Obwohl Och primär eine informative, fast schon wissenschaftliche Abhandlung vorzulegen scheint, enthüllt sie sich trotzdem rasch zugleich als ein literarischer Text und lädt zur persönlichen Reaktion, d. h. zum Mitempfinden und -erleben ein. Worin besteht also der individuelle Reiz dieser *Nachrichten*, die bisher weder im Kontext der deutschen Literatur des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts noch als individueller Beitrag zur deutsch-amerikanischen Literatur beachtet wurden?<sup>19</sup>

Anhand von konkreten Analysen spezieller Passagen werden wir genau darauf zu sprechen kommen und nachweisen, dass es sich bei seinen *Nachrichten* um mehr als ein trockenes Dokument jesuitischer Provenienz handelt, das vielmehr einen wichtigen Beitrag zur deutsch-amerikanischen Literaturgeschichte darstellt. In seinem Vorbericht macht der Herausgeber Murr ganz nüchtern die folgende biographische Angabe zu Och: "Der Verfasser . . . ist der im Jahr 1773 zu Würzburg, wenige Wochen vor Aufhebung seines Ordens, an einem Schlagflusse verstorbene P. Joseph Och. Er bekleidete die Stelle eines amerikanischen Glaubenspredigers der Gesellschaft Jesu vom Jahre 1750 bis 1767." Aber Ochs Abhandlung beweist sich sofort nicht nur als eine wertvolle historische Quelle, sondern zugleich als ein bedeutsames Werk von beachtlicher ästhetischer Qualität. Gleich eingangs hebt Och hervor, dass die Nachricht von seiner Auswahl als Missionar, die ihn am 9. Mai 1754 erreichte, ihn in eine große Euphorie versetzte, denn sie habe ihm den glücklichsten Tag seines Lebens verschafft: "Einer der angenehmsten Tage meines Lebens war der 9te May im Jahr 1754, an welchem ich endlich nach vielfältigen Bitten, aus Rom von unserm General, P. Ignaz Disconti, die Erlaubniß erhielt, in die indianischen Missionen reisen zu dürfen" (3). Der persönliche Tonfall ergänzt die nüchterne Feststellung, dass man ihn für die Mission ausgewählt hatte, was aber erst nach seinem langen Drängen genehmigt worden war.

Von diesem Moment an führt uns der Autor rasch von seiner Ordination als Priester zu seinen Reisevorbereitungen und dem eigentlichen Reisebeginn in Begleitung der Padres Michael Gerstner von Würzburg, Ignaz Pfefferkorn aus Mannheim und Bernhard Middendorff aus Münster. Er überspringt verständlicherweise die einzelnen Punkte der Reise durch Deutschland und nimmt uns gleich mit nach Alacant (Alicante) und von dort nach Cádiz, von wo aus der Atlantik überquert werden sollte, denn nur die exotische Welt besitzt einen ausschlaggebenden Reiz. Zu dem Hafen von Cartagena bemerkt Och: "Dieser Hafen ist einer von den schönsten und sichersten, den die Natur selbst gemacht hat: man sieht keinen Eingang, indem hohe und steile Gebirge eines das andre bedecken, und zwischen beyden nur eine Oeffnung ist, durch welche man gleichsam als durch einen Hals einfahren kann. Was von der Natur nicht vollkommen ausgearbeitet war, mußte die Kunst durch 400 Sklaven fertigen, um den Schlamm und die Erde an einigen Orten auszuheben und anderswohin zur Ausfüllung zu schaffen" (8). Die Präzision seiner Beschreibungen wird ergänzt durch sein Geschick, sinnfällige Vergleiche anzufügen, durch die der Leser einen klaren Eindruck von der Landschaft erhält. Zugleich gelingen Och immer wieder außerordentlich gute



Beschreibungen der Landschaft, von Palästen, Schiffen oder Festen, ohne dass er darüber seine eigentliche Bestimmung vergessen würde, die ihn nach Amerika bringen sollte: "So angenehm dieses Haus, wie auch die ganze Stadt Puerto de Santa Maria, ist, so hätten wir doch gern darauf Verzicht gethan, wenn wir nur bald hätten absegeln können" (12).

Der Leerlauf der langen Wartezeit brachte es mit sich, dass die Missionare auch die Seeküste erforschten, wovon der Autor einen knappen aber eindrucksvollen Bericht ablegt. Seine Erfahrung am Meer begeisterte ihn stets von neuem: "Der unaussprechliche Unterschied vieler tausend wohlgezeichneten Muscheln, und von der Natur künstlich gewundenen Schnecken, eine Menge Seegewächse und Corallen sowohl auf dem Grunde als an den Felsen, zeigten uns die große Mannigfaltigkeit der Geschöpfe Gottes, und reizten unsere Aufmerksamkeit" (13f.). Der Biologe wird also unmittelbar vom Theologen in Och sekundiert, und beide sehen sich mit der persönlichen Perspektive des Betrachters konfrontiert.

Ebenso faszinierend fand der deutsche Autor die weit ausgedehnten und für ihn völlig neuartigen Orangenplantagen, die er sowohl aus der Sicht des unbeteiligten aber begeisterten Spaziergängers schildert als auch aus der Sicht des Agronomen, der rasch kalkuliert, wieviel Geld von dem Blütenöl gewonnen werden könnte und zugleich sein Wissen über den Nutzen der Orangen vor allem auf dem englischen Markt ausbreitet. Unverhohlen drückt er seine Missbilligung dafür aus, dass die Spanier angesichts dieser Fülle wenig Wert auf die Orangen legten, obwohl man mit ihnen doch so viel Geld verdienen könnte. Anschließend wendet sich Och den Städten Cádiz und Sevilla zu, die er realistisch vor unseren Augen auferstehen lässt, ohne sich übermäßig um die Details zu kümmern. Seine Darstellung der Reise dorthin wirkt aber bedrückend, denn das Elend auf dem Land drängte sich den Jesuiten unmittelbar auf, die kaum etwas kaufen konnten und nur jämmerliche Unterkünfte fanden, die letztlich doch zum Schlafen draußen in freier Natur auf dem harten Erdboden zwangen. Speziell sein Blick auf Sevilla beweist, dass Och ein gutes Verständnis für städtische Architektur besitzt und leicht die wichtigsten Einzelheiten erfassen kann: "Sevilla ist schön, hat herrliche Gebäude und Kirchen; allein die meisten Gassen sind enge, und nichts ist nach der Schnur gebaut; die Stadtmauer ist von purem Thon aufgeführt, auf alte Morische und Spanische Art" (16).

Ochs Text liest sich so außerordentlich gut, weil er in beeindruckender Weise die objektive Abbildung mit einer präzisen, trotzdem sehr literarischen Ausdrucksweise verbindet. Einerseits kommen Unbilden der Natur zur Sprache, andererseits erwähnt er kurz Essensgewohnheiten der Spanier, die sich morgens zunächst mit einer Melonenmahlzeit erfrischten. Die besondere Situation der Jesuiten findet deutliche Berücksichtigung, als die ganze Gruppe auf besseres Wetter warten muss, denn nun kann er auch angeben, wohin die einzelnen Missionare bestimmt waren. Einige von ihnen waren für Equador, andere für Paraguay, andere wieder für Peru, Chile und die Philippinen, und sie selbst natürlich für Mexiko vorgesehen. Unmittelbar darauf streifen die Blicke des Erzählers aus dem Haus ihrer Unterkunft über die ganze Landschaft hinweg und malen ein eindrucksvolles Bild von Bergen und Höhen, einem Fluss und den Orangenplantagen, um dann im Innenhof des Hauses zur Ruhe zu kommen. Um



die leere Wartezeit anzufüllen, bemühten sich die deutschen Jesuiten darum, sich das Spanische anzueignen, denn die Spanier besaßen kaum Lateinkenntnisse, ganz zu schweigen von Deutsch, das sie bloß als die verhasste Sprache der reformatorischen Ketzer ansahen: "deshalb sagten sie uns immer: reden sie doch christlich" (13). Andererseits gibt Och zu, dass ihm genau der gleiche linguistische *faux-pas* unterlief, als er den böhmischen Brüdern das deutsche Wort "Böemien" nannte, das aber im Deutschen nur als ein Ausdruck für Zigeuner oder Landstreicher benutzt wurde. Trotzdem preist Och aus pragmatischer Überlegung heraus das Spanische für seine linguistische Schönheit, denn es sei wegen seiner engen Verwandtschaft zum Latein leicht zu lernen und in vier Monaten relativ mühelos zu meistern.

Ochs Schilderung des großen Erdbebens im November 1755 demonstriert eindringlich, dass er eine literarische Begabung besaß, denn das schreckliche Ereignis steht unmittelbar vor unseren Augen auf und hinterlässt auch heute noch einen unheimlichen Eindruck, der vor allem dadurch verstärkt wird, dass Och erstaunlich ruhig und kalkulierend auf das Geschehen reagierte und sich in die Mitte eines offenen Platzes stellte, wo ihn keines der umgebenden Gebäude im Falle eines Einsturzes treffen konnten: "und gestehe: daß ich bey diesem allgemeinen Schrecken, wo das Schreyen und Heulen von vielen tausend Leuten, die auf den Straßen liefen und Gott um Barmherzigkeit anflehten, bis zu den Wolken erschalle, nicht nur resolut, sondern auch fürwitzig war, dieses Erdbeben abzuwarten" (21). "Ich hatte mich mitten auf den Platz postirt, und auf vier Seiten genaue Divisirlinie genommen, wo ich bey mir calculirte: daß wenn auf allen Seiten die Gebäude einstürzten, so können sie dich nicht treffen" (22). Eindringlich beschreibt Och die Katastrophe, die sich aus der später aufgetretenen Sturmwelle (Tsunami) ergab, denn die ganze Stadt wurde überschwemmt, wobei mehrere tausende Menschen den Tod fanden. Selbst diejenigen mit den meisten Fluchtmöglichkeiten vermochten sich nicht zu retten: "Die reichsten Kaufleute, die in Kutschen davon geeilet waren, wurden ebenfalls von den Wellen fortgerissen" (25).

Och beweist außerdem, dass er die Gepflogenheiten der Seeleute aufmerksam beobachtet hatte und genau spezielle Operationen beschreiben und erklären konnte. Andererseits holte Och sorgfältige Erkundigungen darüber ein, wieviel die nach Amerika zu transportierenden Waren kosteten und konstatiert voller Erstaunen die enorme Inflationsrate: "Man sieht Sachen verkaufen, zu 30, 60, 100 pro Cent" (27). Zugleich beweist er einen guten Sinn für Humor, denn vor der Einschiffung wurden alle Personen gründlichst überprüft und wie Schlachtvieh beurteilt, damit auch nur ja niemand ohne offizielle Genehmigung in die Neue Welt gelangte: "Kein Metzger beguckt ein Kalb so, als wie wir von diesen Herren besehen und beschauet wurden" (29).

Immer wieder traten Schwierigkeiten auf, die die Abreise der Jesuiten zu verhindern drohten, die aber am Ende glücklich überwunden wurden. Och liefert stets sehr eindringliche Schilderungen, die er humorvoll und kritisch gestaltet, womit ein höchst detaillierter Eindruck entsteht, der diesen Bericht sowohl aus literarhistorischer als auch aus rein historischer Sicht äußerst wertvoll macht. Noch bevor Och überhaupt Europa verlassen hatte, gelangte er zu der Beobachtung, dass viele der spanischen



Beamten, die nach Mexiko geschickt wurden, oftmals völlig mittellos hinüber gingen und schon nach vier bis fünf Jahren steinreich zurückkehrten. Das generelle Urteil, das Och hier wiedergibt, lautete 'Diebstahl': "je nachdem nemlich ein jeder von ihnen die Praxis versteht, greift er zu, und die armen Indianer werden jämmerlich dabey gerupft" (35).

Ochs literarische Begabung macht sich ebenfalls dann bemerkbar, als er seine Aufmerksamkeit den Verhältnissen in Amerika zuwendet, wo die verschiedensten neuartigen Erfahrungen auf ihn eindringen. Teilweise liest sich sein Bericht wie ein spannender Abenteuerroman, teilweise aber machen sich auch sehr kritische Töne über die Ausbeutung und Misshandlung der Einwohner bemerkbar. Die persönliche Situation der Jesuiten kommt ebenfalls explizit zur Sprache, wobei Och unbedenklich ihre mangelnde Erfahrung und Hilflosigkeit zum Ausdruck bringt. Einerseits bereitete ihnen das Reiten große Schwierigkeiten, hatte ja außer Pater Pfefferkorn noch keiner auf einem Pferderücken gesessen, andererseits wurden sie alle fürchterlich von Insekten zerstoßen: "wir sahen uns mit Verwunderung an, und konnten einander kaum selbst kennen, so aufgeschwollen und entstellt waren die Gesichter" (46). Trotz der vielen Schwierigkeiten drängten die Jesuiten aber immer weiter nach Norden und wurden von den indianischen Einwohnern "mit Freudensbezeugungen, mit Schallmeyen, Pfeiffen, Trommeln und Tänzen ... bewillkommt" (47). Ironisch kommentiert freilich Och anlässlich einer späteren Begebenheit: "wobey die Indianer den ganzen Tag über uns mit ihrer Indianischen Musik beehrten, und manchmal betäubten" (49).

Mit Verwunderung konstatiert der Autor den großen Reichtum, der überall in den Kirchen zu finden war, und beschreibt ausführlich, wieviel Silber verarbeitet und welcher Schmuck verschwenderisch angebracht war. Fast mit Bedauern kommentiert er, dass die ursprüngliche Indianerkultur fast völlig vernicht war, "ja kaum weiß man, wo der berühmte von puren gehauenen Steinen aufgeführte, jederzeit von Menschenblut rauchende Tempel des Kriegs-Götzens Huizilopochtli, oder der Palast des Kaysers Montezuma gestanden habe" (52). Um die Stadt Mexico zu beschreiben, bedient sich aber Och des Vergleichs mit Würzburg: "Sie ist wenigstens größer als Wirzburg" (53), und hinsichtlich der in Mexico zu findenden Waren stellt er fest, dass "[w]as nur rares, künstliches und kostbares in ganz Frankreich, England, Welsch = und Deutschland von geschickten Händen verfertigt wird, ist in Mexico anzutreffen, weil es alldort viel theurer und eher angebracht wird" (58). Dem schließen sich ausführliche Bemerkungen zu den dortigen Lebensmitteln, der Landwirtschaft, der Zubereitung von verschiedenen Produkten und den Gebräuchen der Menschen an. Mit Interesse vernimmt man, dass Och auf die große Beliebtheit des Tabaks hinweist, der in Form von Zigarren verkauft wird und tausenden von Jungfrauen und jungen Männern ein Einkommen sichert: "Die Papierchen sind einen Querfinger breit, in diese wird zerriebener Rauch = Tabak gestreuet, zusammengerollt, und Paquet weise verkauft. Der Gebrauch dieses Rauch Tabaks ist bey allen und jeden, auch Kindern, besonders Weibspersonen, so unmäßig, daß manche 50 bis 100 solcher Pfeifchen des Tags verrauchen" (65).

Als sich Och mit seinen Kameraden nach Pimería Alta aufmachte, bot sich ihm erneut Gelegenheit, seinen unverkennbaren Humor zur Geltung kommen zu lassen.



Als er ihre Kleidung und Ausstattung beschreibt, die zum Schutz gegen die heiße Sonne bestimmt waren, urteilt er: "Wir machten einen vollkommenen Zigeunerzug aus" (66). Trotzdem verändert sich zunehmend der Tonfall, denn Och gelangte dann in das ihm zugewiesene Missionsgebiet und sah sich seiner eigentlichen Aufgabe gegenüber: "ja jeder wünschte, man möchte ihn in die 50 Stunden weit rings um von allen Missionen abgesonderte, gegen das Californische Meer liegende Mission S. Miguel in Sonoytac verweisen" (73). Dort aber war 1751, also nur fünf Jahre vor seiner Ankunft, der Pater Heinrich Ruhen aus Borsum bei Hildesheim von aufständischen Indianern erschlagen worden. Zugleich verweist Och auf die Gefahr seitens der gefährlichen Seri (72), berücksichtigt die schweren klimatischen Verhältnisse, die einem Menschen leicht den Tod bringen konnten (74), und erwähnt die große sprachliche Vielfalt: "Von Mexico aus bis hieher sind 32 verschiedene, theils Sprachen, theils Dialekte im Lande" (75). Die Jesuiten hatten aber laut der Aussage Ochs alle diese Sprachen linguistisch erfasst und Grammatiken geschrieben, von denen viele auch gedruckt wurden. Och musste sich freilich, weil bei einem Überfall das Werk von P. Jakob Sedelmeyer vernichtet worden war, ohne diese Hilfsmittel behelfen, schaffte es aber, innerhalb eines halben Jahres das Pima genügend zu meistern, "bis ich etwa durch Predigen mich konnte zu verstehen geben" (75).

Je weiter Och in seinem Bericht voranschreitet, umso ernster und bedrückender werden sein Tonfall und erzählerische Darstellungsweise, denn im zweiten Teil beschreibt er die gewaltsame Vertreibung der Jesuiten, die einem Verbrechen gleichkam und die Och herzbewegend in ihrer ganzen Drastik zu schildern versteht. Kaum war das königliche Dekret verlesen, bahnten sich starke Gefühle freien Lauf: "Etliche stunden ganz außer sich und unbeweglich da; andern liefen die Thränen aus den Augen; andere erhoben ganz still Augen und Hände gegen den Himmel; einige seufzten; einer wurde auf der Stelle verrückt und ein anderer bekam einen Schlagfluß" (84). Für Och wie alle anderen Jesuiten kam die Behandlung einem "Hochverrath" (85) gleich, doch konnten sie sich nicht wehren und mussten das Schicksal hilflos über sich ergehen lassen. Man misstraute den Jesuiten so sehr, dass sie sich noch nicht einmal allein zur Toilette begeben durften und stets von zwei Soldaten begleitet werden mussten (86). Absurderweise vermuteten die Soldaten sogar, dass Gold in der Latrine verborgen sein könnte, weswegen man Männer in die Abgrube hinabließ, doch natürlich ohne jeglichen Erfolg zu haben. Och spottet daher, als die Giftgase gefährlich wurden und die "neuen Bergknappen" (88) wieder nach oben gezogen werden wollten, dass ihnen "die noch nicht zeitige Nässe ihnen die Füße vergoldet hatte" (89). Verächtlich nennt er die "Commissarien" "Schatzschnuffler" (90) und erwähnt noch, dass die Soldaten sogar nicht einmal vor einer Kiste mit den Knochen und der Asche des vor langer Zeit gestorbenen Bischofs von Mora Halt machten, in der Annahme, dass sich dort das verborgene Gold befände: "Man glaubte nichts, bis man die Kiste aufhob und schüttelte, wo dann die Knochen darin klapperten" (91).

Die eigentliche Vertreibung der Jesuiten findet ausführliche Berücksichtigung, denn auch hierbei beweist sich Och als ein aufmerksamer Beobachter, kritischer Denker und vor allem guter Schreiber, der lebendig, detailfreudig und doch konzentriert die Ereignisse darzulegen vermag, so dass wir uns fast wie Augenzeugen fühlen. Als die



Jesuiten abgeführt werden, ereigneten sich fast Tragödien, denn die Bevölkerung wehrte sich verzweifelt gegen den Verlust der Missionare: "Als die 4 ersten Jesuiten in die Wagen stiegen, erhob sich ein allgemeines Weinen, Schreyen und Klagen. Die Wehmuth, die das Frauenvolk bezeugte, war ganz außerordentlich. Gräfinnen und Marquisinnen, theils kennbar, theils in schlechten Kleidern verummmt, fielen Haufenweise in die Zügel und Riemen der 6 Maulthiere und hielten die Räder und Kutschen, um nur etliche Worte zum Abschied zu sprechen" (102f.). Och betont sogar, dass es fast zum Aufstand gekommen wäre, wenn nicht die Jesuiten selbst zur Ruhe aufgerufen und die Menschen gemahnt hätten, "sich des Königs Befehlen nicht zu widersetzen" (103). Natürlich beschreibt er die Ereignisse nur aus seiner jesuitisch orientierten Sicht, die keineswegs mit den tatsächlichen Verhältnissen übereinzustimmen braucht, aber seine Darstellungsweise belegt überall, dass er seinen Bericht außerordentlich eindrucksvoll verfasste und ihn sowohl faktenreich als auch dramatisch geschickt gestaltete, was uns insgesamt rechtfertigt, diese *Nachrichten* genauso gut als literarische Quelle wie auch als ein historisch-anthropologisch und religionsgeschichtlich relevantes Dokument anzusehen.

Als Och im Anschluss an diese Vertreibung endlich wieder in Würzburg anlangte, drückte er seine große Dankbarkeit für die sichere Rückkehr aus, denn obwohl er nur noch als ein völlig unbeweglicher Krüppel nach Hause kam, hatte er doch zumindest die lange Reise gesund überstanden und dankte Gott dafür, unter diesen Umständen überhaupt überlebt zu haben (185).

Anschließend wendet sich der Autor im dritten Teil der wissenschaftlichen Beschreibung Amerikas zu und entwickelt auch auf diesem Gebiet erstaunliche Talente, denn stets verbindet er sehr eindrucksvoll seine persönliche Perspektive mit faktischen Angaben und entwirft damit ein Bild von der Neuen Welt, das individuell gestaltet und doch objektiven Ansprüchen genügen konnte. Einerseits beklagt Och bitterlich die furchtbare Misshandlung der Indianer durch die Spanier, die im Grunde einen Genozid verbrochen hatten,<sup>20</sup> andererseits hält der Autor keineswegs mit seiner Verachtung der einfachen Bevölkerung zurück, die er alle über den gleichen Kamm schert. Ein Indianer sei so wie jeder andere, kaum über das Tierische erhaben, nur beschränkt zu rationalem Denken fähig und leicht geneigt zum Diebstahl und zur Lüge: "Indus est animal in actu primo rationale, in actu secundo modica ratione non nisi ad fraudes et mendacia impudenter utens."<sup>21</sup> Zugleich gibt Och zu, dass Indianer bei entsprechender Erziehung und Ausbildung durchaus fähig wären, sich zu gebildeten und kultivierten Menschen zu entwickeln, obwohl er bezweifelt, dass sie sich jemals Metaphysik und spekulative Theologie aneignen könnten. Bewusst beruft sich Och auf viele persönliche Erfahrungen z.B. mit den Pimas, denen er durchaus seine Anerkennung ausspricht, wenn es sich um ihre handwerkliche Geschicklichkeit handelt, aber zugleich tadelt er sie oftmals wegen ihrer heidnischen Gebräuche, kulturellen Gepflogenheiten und ihres Lebensstils, wovon der Missionar offensichtlich gar nichts verstand und auch nichts wissen wollte. Was er bei den ihm anvertrauten Indianern für kritikwürdig hielt, versuchte er rücksichtslos und unbarmherzig auszurotten, während er anderen Aspekten verständnislos und sogar hilflos gegenüberstand, so die Gewohnheit der meisten Einwohner, praktisch unbekleidet umherzugehen (157),



oder ihre fatalistische Einstellung dem Tod gegenüber, ohne jegliche Furcht zu zeigen oder sich Sorgen wegen des ewigen Lebens zu machen (173).

Och gibt sich oftmals als ein typischer Europäer zu erkennen, der die Indianer nur dann akzeptieren kann, wenn sie sich seinen kulturellen und religiösen Normen unterwerfen. Als Missionar bemühte er sich deswegen, sie ganz nach seinen Vorstellungen zu unterrichten und ihren Lebensstil zu ändern, empfand aber letztlich eine große Frustration, weil er seine Ziele nur sehr beschränkt erreichen konnte und die Indianer nach seiner Meinung in einem kindischen, fast primitiven Zustand verharrten (181). Selbst aus anthropologischer Sicht besitzen also Ochs *Nachrichten* einen recht hohen Wert, weil trotz der persönlichen Vorurteile, die der Missionar natürlich mit allen seinen jesuitischen Brüdern teilte und die sich überall schnell bemerkbar machen, viel wertvolle Information über die Kultur, Moral, Ethik und Lebensweise der Indianer vermittelt wird. Aus literarischer Sicht jedoch demonstriert selbst der dritte Teil von Ochs großartiger Abhandlung, dass es sich um ein bemerkenswertes literarisches Werk handelt, das von einem tiefgreifenden religiösen Eifer getragen wird und die persönliche Perspektive mit einer sachlichen Darstellung der Welt von Sonora (Pimería Alta) verbindet. Die Lebendigkeit der Schilderung, die humorvolle oder tragisch bestimmte Einstellung des Erzählers je nach Situation, die Offenheit des Beobachters, der selbst Kleinigkeiten im Umgang mit Menschen, Bauweisen, Tieren, Pflanzen, Verhaltensweisen und Essensgewohnheiten gründlich beschreibt, die geschickt gestaltete Kombination von sachlichen Abhandlungen mit persönlichen Beobachtungen, insbesondere aber die Fähigkeit Ochs, seinen Bericht schnell auf das Wesentliche hinzuführen und dieses in sehr konkreter Weise vor Augen zu führen, rechtfertigen das abschließende Urteil, dass diese *Nachrichten* ohne weiteres in den Kanon der deutschen Literatur des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts einzufügen sind, speziell aber einen wichtigen Beitrag zur deutsch-amerikanischen Literatur abgeben. Dies gilt insbesondere deswegen zu berücksichtigen, weil dieses Feld überwiegend von der Geschichte und Literatur bestimmt ist, die sich auf die Ostküste und den Mittleren Westen der heutigen USA beziehen, während die jesuitische Literatur die Welt des Südwestens reflektiert und aus einer völlig anderen Tradition entstanden ist, mit der sich normalerweise German-American Studies beschäftigen.<sup>22</sup> Obwohl Sonora einen Teil des spanischen Kolonialreiches bildete, bestimmten doch auf lange Zeit die deutschen Jesuiten-Missionare die gesamte Pimería Alta, wie Och eindeutig gegen Ende des zweiten Teils konstatiert: Insoweit als er repräsentativ für viele von ihnen über diesen entlegenen und damals noch sehr wenig bekannten Landstrich berichtete und seinen deutschen Landsleuten davon in ihrer eigenen Sprache Mitteilung gab, darf diese jesuitische Literatur ohne weiteres auch zur deutsch-amerikanischen Literatur gerechnet werden.<sup>23</sup>

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## Summary

German Jesuit missionaries represented the vanguard in the efforts by the Catholic Church during the eighteenth century to bring Christianity also to northern Mexico and beyond into a region called the Sonoran Desert. Many of these missionaries composed a variety of texts, some of which can be regarded as masterpieces both in scholarly and in literary terms. Whereas in previous papers I have dealt with the missionaries and writers Eusebio Kino and Ignaz Pfefferkorn, here the travelogue by Joseph Och (1725-73), first published in 1809, is introduced and analyzed. The emphasis rests on Och's skill in providing highly detailed, vivid, and also entertaining descriptions not only of his actual travel experiences from Würzburg to Cadiz and from there to Veracruz, Mexico City, and finally to Sonora, but also on his attempts to inject his personal impressions and reactions into his report.

Heretofore entirely disregarded by literary scholarship, Och's account proves to be an important contribution to eighteenth-century travel literature, but it must also be appreciated as a significant document of German-American literature because of its focus on the Southwest and the Jesuit experience there. Och's account is remarkable in various respects. Not only did he describe his travel experiences in great and highly vivid detail, but he also freely commented on them from a personal perspective, and at times even achieved a poetic level in his account of natural phenomena, his encounter with the Indians, and his personal reflections upon his missionary ideals.

This travelogue proves to be both highly informative with regard to Mexico and especially Sonora, and a fascinating literary report about the white man's life among the Indians. Och bitterly accused the Spanish for having committed genocide against the Indians since the earliest time of the colonization of the New World, but strangely Och does not express great respect for the Indians either. In other words, the European perspective is unmistakably at work here, but still, Och's account proves to be a highly valuable contribution to German-American literature and the genre of early-modern apodemic literature.

## Anmerkungen

<sup>1</sup> Andreas Falkner, "Jesuiten," *Kulturgeschichte der christlichen Orden in Einzeldarstellungen*, hg. von Peter Dinzelsbacher und James Lester Hogg, Kröners Taschenausgabe, 450 (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1997), 204-41.

<sup>2</sup> John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).

<sup>3</sup> Joseph A. Gagliano und Charles E. Ronan, *Jesuit Encounters in the New World: Jesuit Chroniclers, Geographers, Educators and Missionaries in the Americas, 1549-1767*, Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.I., 50 (Rom: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1997).

<sup>4</sup> Padre Eusebio Kino, ursprünglich von einer italienischen Familie Chini in einem Südtiroler Tal abstammend, wuchs in Österreich bzw. Deutschland auf und entwickelte sich schnell zum führenden Pionier der jesuitischen Mission in Sonora, siehe Charles W. Polzer, *A Kino Guide: A Life of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Arizona's First Pioneer and a Guide to His Missions and Monuments* (Tucson: Southwestern Mission Research Center, 1968); Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Rim of Christendom: A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer* (1936; Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1984).

<sup>5</sup> Bernd Hausberger, *Jesuiten aus Mitteleuropa im kolonialen Mexiko: Eine Bio-Bibliographie*, Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur der iberischen und iberoamerikanischen Länder, 2 (Wien-München: Verlag für



Geschichte und Politik, R. Oldenburg, 1995).

<sup>6</sup> P. Francisco Zambrana, S.J., *Diccionario Bio-Bibliográfico de la Compañía de Jesús en México*, Bd. 16 (Mexico: Editorial Tradiccion, 1977), 220f.; erstaunlicherweise ist die Arbeit von David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1992), völlig unergiebig; vgl. dafür Alberto Francisco Pradeau, con la cooperación del R. P. Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., *Los Jesuitas en Sonora: Datos biográficos compilados* (Los Angeles: o. D., 1963), o.S. (siehe unter Och).

<sup>7</sup> Albrecht Classen, "Baroque Jesuit Literature: The German-American Connection—With Special Emphasis on German Jesuits as Observers and Commentators of Southwest Indian Culture in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Attempts of Intercultural Communication," *Studien zur Literatur des 17. Jahrhunderts: Gedenkschrift für Gerhard Spellerberg (1937-1996)*, Hg. Hans Feger, Chloe, 27 (Amsterdam-Atlanta: Editions Rodopi, 1997), 345-76; siehe dazu auch die ältere, aber immer noch wertvolle Arbeit von Francis Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century*, 2 Bde. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1909); vgl. weiterhin Albrecht Classen, "Ignaz Pfefferkörn, ein jesuitischer Missionar in der Neuen Welt: Ein Beitrag zur deutschamerikanischen Reiseliteratur der Frühneuzeit," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 32 (1997): 21-45; und "German Jesuits in Sonora as Contributors to the History of German Literature," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 33 (1998): 41-54.

<sup>8</sup> Hausberger, *Jesuiten aus Mitteleuropa*, 17, vermutet zu Recht, daß die Berichte über Sonora eigentlich nur noch in Deutschland oder anderen Ländern Nordeuropas ein größeres Interesse wecken konnten als in Spanien, wo ihre exotische Wirkung mittlerweile viel geringer geworden war.

<sup>9</sup> Siehe jetzt auch "... usque ad ultimum terrae": *Die Jesuiten und die transkontinentale Ausbreitung des Christentums 1540-1773*. Hg. Johannes Meier, *Studien zur Außereuropäischen Christentumsgeschichte*, 3 (Göttingen, 1999).

<sup>10</sup> Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, Hg., *Nachrichten von verschiedenen Ländern des spanischen Amerikas: Aus eigenhändigen Aufsätzen einiger Missionare der Gesellschaft Jesu*, 2 Bde. (Halle: J. C. Hendel, 1808-11), 1:1-292; eine englische Übersetzung wurde von Theodore E. Treutlein erstellt, *Missionary in Sonora: The Travel Reports of Joseph Och, S.J. 1755-1767* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1965). Das Original lag mir nur teilweise vor, weshalb die Analyse sich für den zweiten Teil von Ochs Bericht auf die englische Fassung stützen wird.

<sup>11</sup> Bernhard Duhr, *Jesuiten-Fabeln*. Ein Beitrag zur Culturgeschichte. 2. Aufl. (Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1892), 75-76.

<sup>12</sup> Hausberger, *Jesuiten aus Mitteleuropa*, 261-64; die biographischen Angaben bei Treutlein, ix-xi, sind sehr dürftig, aber er verweist auf weitere Quellen.

<sup>13</sup> Zitiert nach Treutlein, xiv.

<sup>14</sup> Zitiert nach Treutlein, xv, siehe auch 186, Anm. 29.

<sup>15</sup> So Aguirre, zitiert nach Treutlein, xv: "He is a particularly estimable person, especially for a stewardship, where he would not be required to travel on horseback, ... an exercise hurtful to his infirmity."

<sup>16</sup> Sehr jesuitenfeindlich liest sich die Arbeit von S. Sugenheim, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in Deutschland bis zur Aufhebung des Ordens durch Pabst Klemens XIV. (1540-1773)*, 2 Bde. (Frankfurt a.M.: Literarische Anstalt, 1847), 2:317ff.; von ganz anderer Perspektive Charles Gibson, *The Black Legend: Anti-Spanish Attitudes in the Old World and the New*, Borzoni Books on Latin America (New York: Knopf, 1971).

<sup>17</sup> Wolfgang Neuber, *Fremde Welt im europäischen Horizont: Zur Topik der deutschen Amerika-Reiseberichte der Frühen Neuzeit*, *Philologische Studien und Quellen*, 121 (Berlin: Schmidt, 1991).

<sup>18</sup> Siehe z. B. Ochs Hinweise auf die Erfahrungen anderer Jesuiten auf der Heimreise nach Europa, bei Treutlein S. 111f.

<sup>19</sup> Margrit B. Krewson, *German-American Relations: A Selective Bibliography* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1995).

<sup>20</sup> Och wäre hierbei gut mit dem berühmten Bischof Bartolomé de las Casas zu vergleichen, der als einziger wahrhaft die Indianer gegen ihre brutale Ausnutzung und Dezimierung durch die Spanier verteidigte. Siehe seine berühmte *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* von 1552; dazu José Rabasa, *Inventing America: Spanish Historiography and the Formation of Eurocentrism*, Oklahoma Project for Discourse and Theory (Norman-London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 164-79.

<sup>21</sup> Der dritte Teil von Ochs Bericht stand mir leider nicht im Original zur Verfügung, daher wird hier aus der englischen Übersetzung von Treutlein zitiert. Der Satz bedeutet: Der Indianer ist in einer Hinsicht rationales Tier, in anderer Hinsicht benutzt er seine Rationalität für den Diebstahl und das Lügen.

<sup>22</sup> Siehe dazu Valters Nollendorfs, "The Field, the Boundaries, and the Cultivators of German-American

Studies: Editorial Introduction," *Monatshefte* 86, 3 (1994): 319-30.

<sup>23</sup> Zu dem ganzen hier angesprochenen Komplex, speziell aber auch zu Joseph Och, siehe nun meine Webseite: <http://www.gened.arizona.edu/aclassen/sonora.htm>.



Jerry Glenn

**Slim Pickings:  
Recent German-American Literature**

**Ingeborg Carsten-Miller at The US Postal Service's Celebration of the Month of the Woman.**

*By Ingeborg Carsten-Miller. Silver Spring: Carmill, 1997. 32 pages. \$7.50.*

**Poetry Reading by Ingeborg Carsten-Miller at the Beltsville Library on September 22, 1997.**

*By Ingeborg Carsten-Miller. Silver Spring: Carmill, 1997. 37 pages. \$7.50.*

**Poetry Reading. St. Elmo's Coffee Pub, Alexandria, Virginia, September 7, 1999.**

*By Ingeborg Carsten-Miller. Silver Spring: Carmill, 1999. 31 pages. \$7.50*

**Bittersweet Along the Expressway: Poems of Long Island.**

*By Norbert Krapf. Hardwick: Waterline, 2000. 135 pages. \$15.00*

**Goethe's Gardener and Other Poems.**

*By Christiane Seiler. Translated by Suzanne Shipley. Max Kade Occasional Papers in German-American Studies, 2. Cincinnati: University of Cincinnati German-American Studies Program, 1999. 22 pages.*

**Too-Late, Too-Early: Selected Poems.**

*By Alfred Gong. Translated by Jerry Glenn and Jennifer Kelley-Thierman. Max Kade Occasional Papers in German-American Studies, 3. Cincinnati: University of Cincinnati German-American Studies Program, 2000. 22 pages.*

**The Calf Who Fell in Love With a Wolf and Other Calf Stories from Round Top, Texas.**

*By Lisa Kahn. Translated by Helga von Schweinitz. Illustrations by Brian Alexander. Austin: Eakin, 1999. 65 pages. \$14.95.*

My subtitle does not refer to the quality of the books under review, but to other

factors. As the page totals given above reveal, five of them are indeed slim booklets. Two are somewhat older; they only recently came to my attention. Three are translations from the German. One (the longest book) has only a tangential relationship to German-Americana. And all are written in English.

Many readers of the *Yearbook* will be familiar with the poetry of Carsten-Miller and Krapf; both have read from their work at several of the society's annual symposia. The first two of the books by **Ingeborg Carsten-Miller** are quite similar to her previous work. The poems are almost without exception short and are written in a colloquial free verse. She centers each line, thereby giving her poems a distinctive appearance. Many of them are literary vignettes, a scene from nature, such as "Blueberries," which begins: "Dark blue pearls / hiding / among green leaves / in late summer" (*Beltsville*, 19); others address basic aspects of the human condition, such as "Love Me Now," the conclusion of which reads: "Tears / guilt / pain / never / change / what / once / was, // Love / does" (*Beltsville*, 32). With few exceptions the poems are optimistic, a distinct rarity today, although the themes of aging and death are becoming increasingly important in her work. The German or German-American element does appear occasionally, most prominently toward the beginning of the *Postal Service* volume.

*St. Elmo's Coffee Pub* seems to me to represent a subtle new direction. In several of these poems a depth is present that was not found in the earlier verse. Surely the outstanding poem in the collection, and the best example to illustrate my statement, is "Hillhaven on July 14, 1999" (18-21), an account of a poetry reading written in two-line stanzas. The setting is established by a photograph of the author standing in front of a sign that reads "Hillhaven Nursing Center" (18). The first two lines effectively establish the tone: "They sit on straight chairs / with faces closed." Some of the audience are German-American: "Ich lese Ihnen ein Gedicht / auf Deutsch— // I'll give you the translation right away—." Stanzas in German alternate with stanzas in English, and the topics flit hither and yon, as the thoughts of a senile person ("die alte, senile Patentante") might wander. This vignette is not a pretty one. The people are old, physically and mentally weak, and neglected by their loved ones. But it is a very effective poem.

Three poems are in German, accompanied (at least partially) by an English version. "Hillhaven" consists of an equal mixture of English and German. In my opinion the German poems are among the strongest. I would welcome more from Carsten-Miller in her native language.

**Norbert Krapf** is an important poet, with a strong and distinctive voice, who writes exclusively in English. As the text on the back cover points out, following "*Somewhere in Southern Indiana* and *Blue-Eyed Grass: Poems of Germany, Bittersweet Along the Expressway* completes a trilogy about places that have moved Norbert Krapf to write poetry." The title of his most recent collection suggests no German connection—a very important element in the two earlier collections—but his heritage is often in the background and occasionally in the foreground in these poems. It is fascinating to see how this heritage merges with those of his wife (Cajun) and two adopted children (Colombian). In "Snow Breakfast," preparations for Christmas (trimming the tree,



listening as "a German choir's *Stille Nacht* flows from / walnut speakers") take place along side of normal activities, like the one suggested in the title. "After we finish our snow breakfast, / we gather before the tall Tannenbaum. / Reflected light falls on our faces" (124-25).

Turning to translations, I must begin by pointing out that for obvious reasons it would not be appropriate for me to review books in a series of which I serve as co-editor, one of which I co-translated. Accordingly I asked a colleague to write the reviews of the Seiler and Gong translations. His text follows.

These two poetry booklets, numbers two and three in the series Max Kade Occasional Papers in German-American Studies issued by the University of Cincinnati, provide English translations of selected works by two significant poets in the field of German-American literature.

Given the brevity of these booklets, the forewords play an important role, especially to readers unfamiliar with the poetry of Gong and Seiler. Lisa Kahn's forward to *Goethe's Gardener* by **Christiane Seiler**, ably translated by Michael Shaughnessy, is written in the voice of a friend, colleague, and fellow German-American poet. The personal nature of Kahn's introductory remarks complements the personal side to the poems collected here. Moreover, Kahn's foreword provides meaningful context, informing the reader that the death of Seiler's only sister is at the heart of the poems "Refuting Reality," "Liberated," "Thank You," and "Your Voice." For Kahn, Seiler's "The Ohio River" is the most important poem in the collection. An ambitious poem, the traditional lyric persona becomes a collective we, "my mirror image and I" (9), contemplating a chronicle of both the river and self. Moreover, this poem—as noted parenthetically following the title—was written during the Gulf War, and thus follows in the tradition of contemporary German poetry written against the political backdrop of American military action in a foreign land.

Jerry Glenn's foreword to the poems by **Alfred Gong** is both biographical and bibliographical, and the sixteen selections included in *Too-Late, Too Early* provide a "biographical chronology" of Gong's life and career. Following the prelude-like "These Songs," the poems "Nativity," "Bukowina," "Topography," and "My Father" take the reader back to Gong's early years in Czernowitz, while "Bucharest, July '44," "Vienna, New Year's Eve, '46," and "New York 1970" trace the path of his emigration. Not without accident, the selections here highlight, indeed bracket, Gong's ties to the literary world of Czernowitz, in particular to Paul Celan. Just as "Topography" gives the reader a picture of the young Celan "with Trakl under his arm" (4), "New York 1970," a continent removed and decades later, sardonically notes "The fact that Celan's corpse was fished out of a polluted river / is of course not worth reporting" (13).

In conclusion, the translations in both booklets are first rate. The English is smooth, images clear, and idiomatic expressions authentic. Even the occasional rhyme, as in Gong's "Sounds of the City, On Tape" or his parody of Schiller's "The Glove," rings true.

The German original of the book by **Lisa Kahn**, an utterly charming piece of children's literature, was reviewed in volume 33 of the *Yearbook*. The translation is scarcely less satisfying than the original. A few names do not work well, e.g., "Der Drache Krache" turns into "Der Drache Lache" in the original, certainly more appealing than the "Dragon Wild West Wagon" who becomes "Dragon Smiley" (43-55) in translation, and—the only true lapse I noticed—"Dummkopf" first appears as "Dummhead" (16), only to turn up later much more effectively as "Duncehead" (35). As the first line of the front cover says, these are "Tales to Read Aloud," and I can hear a talented reader with the line "When he [the big bad wolf] finds you alone, my dear little Ball, he'll make ragout of you, moo, moo!" (44). The illustrations, interestingly enough, have been entirely redone for the translation, by Brian Alexander. The combination of photographs and rather abstract drawings of the original has been replaced by consistently whimsical drawings, characterized by a mixture of realism and good-natured caricature.

*University of Cincinnati*  
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## Book Reviews

Edited by Timothy J. Holian  
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### **Melodrama and Meaning: History, Culture, and the Films of Douglas Sirk.**

*By Barbara Klinger. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1994. 200 pages. \$14.95.*

Few things are as quintessentially American as Hollywood. The classic Hollywood cinema of the 1940s and 1950s not only established the dominant form of cinema but also helped both create and critique the myth of American society. But it is important to remember that some of the most "American" of Hollywood films—from *Casablanca* to *Oklahoma!* to *Some Like it Hot*—were created by European immigrants. And quite a large number of directors—Fred Zinnemann, Billy Wilder, Fritz Lang, Ernst Lubitsch, Curt and Robert Siodmak—were German or Austrian and had begun their work in the German film industry.

The important role that Germans and German-Americans have thus played in the development of Hollywood and the American cinema is undeniable. Among these pioneers in American cinema was Douglas Sirk (born Detlef Sierck in Hamburg, 1900) who along with his star Rock Hudson helped create the family melodrama genre in films like *Written on the Wind*, *All that Heaven Allows* and *Imitation of Life*. Sirk's status as a canonical director (as is well-documented in this fine study of his work and the genre) began in the 1970s with a reevaluation by British and French critics through a series of articles and studies which analyzed Sirk's films and the melodrama as a form of societal commentary. Once deemed trashy soap operas, the Hollywood melodramas of the 1950s have since come to be appreciated for their critique of the postwar Eisenhower era, and especially the "contradictions inherent in bourgeois and patriarchal ideologies" (21).

Unlike most of her predecessors, Klinger's aim in this book is not a textual analysis of Sirk's films, but rather, as her subtitle indicates, an analysis of how history and culture have effected the development of the melodrama and in fact "produced" meaning. To this end, Klinger's theoretical stance draws heavily on cultural theory and the notion that meaning is not situated in the work of art but produced by external

societal factors, in this case, advertising, marketing and popular reception. Methodologically she begins by providing an overview of the changing face of Sirk scholarship and in doing so establishes the basis for her approach. She then moves to a number of case studies: first, an analysis of the packaging of Sirk's 1957 film *Written on the Wind*, then on to how popular taste was shaped through the mass media. From there, she presents a case study of Rock Hudson and the classic Hollywood notion of star making. She concludes with a re-evaluation of melodrama through the lens of "camp," a so-called low-brow form of popular entertainment that was given new respectability through an influential essay by Susan Sontag in the 1960s.

For Germanists and German-Americanists, though, this book proves disappointing. Not that the work is in any way flawed scholarly or theoretically, but because of what it lacks: first, any discussion of German Sirk scholarship (in her twelve-page bibliography, I failed to find one German article on her subject, despite many British and French references) and second, the role German melodramas of the Weimar Republic may have had on Sirk, his style and his choice of subject material. To be sure, Klinger does, however, make it clear that her focus is on Sirk's Hollywood period and not biographical or textual analysis (previous studies had taken this approach, she notes). But given the recent interest in German melodrama of the Weimar cinema (Patrice Petro's *Joyless Streets*, for instance) and given the repeated assertion by Klinger and other reviewers that Sirk was a "serious, self-reflexive Brechtian filmmaker" (132), it would have been interesting and useful to have compared Sirk's melodramas and the production of meaning within both Hollywood and 1930s Germany (Sirk made several important films in Germany—mostly melodramas themselves—before leaving for Hollywood, including *Schlussakkord* (1936), *Zu neuen Ufern* (1937) and *La Habenera* (1937), the latter two with his European star Zarah Leander). The similarities and differences between the construction of meaning under early Nazi film censorship and those under the Hayes production code, for instance, would be enlightening.

Despite these objections, Klinger's study is an excellent introduction to Sirk scholarship, his films and the culture of Hollywood. Moreover, it continues the important discussion and analysis of the cinematic melodrama and will no doubt contribute to current studies of exile filmmakers as well as the role of Germans and German-Americans in the American film industry.

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David N. Coury

### **Auslander: A Novel.**

By Mary Powell. Ft Worth Texas: Texas Christian University Press, 2000. 295 pages. \$24.50.

This novel concerns a German-American family in the Texas Hill Country from 1967 to 1987. The story is told from the points of view of four quite different women. Queenie is a traditional German-American rural woman born early in the twentieth century. Her niece, Vera, whom Queenie raised as her daughter, is a very self-controlled,



independent woman with a Ph.D. and an academic career. The beautiful, mercurial Carol Anne, apparently not of German descent, is the young wife of Queenie's son Fritz. Sheila, Carol Anne's mother, is a night-club singer from Houston.

Carol Anne and Fritz met when both were in college, although he was seven years older. Soon she was pregnant. Bringing a pregnant twenty-year-old of Carol Anne's background into a traditional rural German-American family with its male dominance and heritage of *Sparsamkeit* and *Fleißigkeit* is an obvious recipe for disaster. The surprise is that the disaster came only after more than a decade of marriage. In the early years, Carol Anne soaked up the mothering that Queenie so generously provided.

The story is well-plotted. It is convincingly integrated with national events of the years covered. The end is satisfying because it does not insult the reader's intelligence. Dichotomies fill this book: female vs. male, German vs. Anglo, urban vs. small-town, family-centeredness vs. self-centeredness, black vs. white, pleasure vs. responsibility, respect for the past vs. concern for the future. There is interracial sex, something that borders on incest, and mild drug use. Traditional and parochial values confront the social and economic behavior of late twentieth-century Americans. The author, like her character Queenie, has a remarkable ability to pack a great many implications into a few simple words. The book contains much philosophy of life, but little overt religion. Queenie's German heritage is *Freidenker*, and Sheila believes that Sunday mornings are for recovering from Saturday night. The book is accurate and respectful concerning both the strengths and weaknesses of the German heritage and German-American subculture. Yet, one does have to note that the book's few German words and phrases, beginning with the title, are not rendered with standard spelling and capitalization.

All four protagonists are drawn with such skill and such insight that we understand and even admire them. My Teutonic heart was, naturally, more at ease with Queenie and Vera, but Carol Anne and Sheila also seemed to be fully drawn, believable characters. While the author is clearly more interested in, and knowledgeable about, her female characters, descriptions of men and their business matters ring true. If the men are somewhat less empathetically drawn, the author manages to treat them with essential fairness.

This is a very well-written book full of wisdom about the human heart. What a shame that a novel with so much to offer could not have been published by a commercial publisher rather than by a small university press with limited promotional opportunities. Women should read the book because they will enjoy it. Men should read it because they will learn from it.

## **The German-American Experience.**

*By Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Amherst, NY: Humanity Books, 2000. 466 pages. \$35.00.*

*The German-American Experience* is aimed at a broad audience interested in the German-Americans, of which there are very many indeed. The earliest German-speaking people arrived in Jamestown and, while the migration is considerably smaller than in the 1880s, it does continue into the present. It is always interesting to see how historians and other scholars approach the German-speaking group because they are so disparate. Tolzmann takes an appropriately broad view of what constitutes a German-American, and includes German speakers from elsewhere in the German diaspora who ended up in the present United States. The Swiss, Alsatians, Luxemburgers and Austrians are, of course, considered.

The standard review of German-Americans has been La Vern Rippley's 1976 work *The German-Americans*. Tolzmann has the benefit of twenty-five years of research on the German-American experience and adds more information, statistics and insights, although Rippley's study will continue to be valuable. Tolzmann's work is stylistically less compact and economically written. In spite of several flaws, missing items and some annoying aspects it will, however, become the general reference work on the German-Americans. One hastens to add that the exhaustive, in-depth study of the very complex German immigration will be a multi-volume work and still needs to be written.

Tolzmann does give due to the intricate nature of the German immigration. Each German-speaking group coming from Europe and elsewhere was essentially different, reflecting widely varying backgrounds and provinces with different religious views and even mutually incomprehensible dialects. Older generations of German-Americans had really little understanding of the new situations in Europe from which the newer immigrants were coming at any given time. The view of Germans and by extension German-Americans has been much clouded in the last century by the cataclysmic events of two world wars in which Germany and Austria played a central and awful role. Tolzmann faces this and incorporates it in the overall history of German-Americans. He treats the much undeserved and unfortunate anti-German hysteria during and immediately after World War I and its effect on German-Americans and their culture. It is necessary when looking at German-Americans to understand their plight during that period, especially the war's effect on the intellectual and social leaders who saw their language, culture and frequently their livelihood damaged and their civil rights severely abrogated. The rise of National Socialism and the horrifying events in Central Europe before and during World War II awoke again the suspicion that German-Americans were different from other Americans, at least in the eyes of some.

Tolzmann may not go far enough in explaining through comparison with other groups how German-Americans are like other Americans, perhaps even more so. Certainly the many accomplishments of German-Americans are discussed from the Mennonite signers of one of America's first documents against slavery to the genius of Einstein that ushered in the Atomic Age. But there is also much that is left out,



including the religious communities such as the Harmonists and the Amana Colonies, religious history in general with the complex formation of synods and congregations, all of which contributed greatly to the American religious scene. Also missing is a discussion of the considerable contribution of German-Americans to technology, including even such obvious contributions as the Pennsylvania rifle and Conestoga wagon. A discussion of German-American contribution to higher education institutions would also be in order.

This is not to discount the fact that this is a highly useful book with some very important discussions, e.g., the treatment of the War of 1812 where the German and the Anglo perspectives are contrasted. Tolzmann's treatment of nativism and its social and political ramifications is very solid. Of particular interest is the way German-American intellectuals continually tried to come to grips with anti-German sentiment on the part of the American intellectual establishment, even before World War I. After World War I, the shock was deep and caused an underlying rupture in American intellectual life.

It is, of course, difficult to provide an intellectually satisfying guide through the complexities of German-American experience. This book does not completely satisfy in that regard. As a scholarly study, there are some problems besides the lacunae listed earlier. Annoying is the constant referencing of citations listed in earlier books by the author rather than the original sources. A deeper critical engagement with the broader literature of German-Americana is not undertaken, but that would indeed require the multi-volume treatise mentioned above. The book does succeed in providing a more detailed overview of the German element in America than currently exists in one volume. It is unfortunate that the index is very limited, and it is thus difficult to find references. This will be decidedly problematic for the general reader. Of considerable help, however, are the tables of statistics, the chronology and the brief bibliographical listings.

After reading *The German-American Experience* one can in any event agree with Tolzmann when he notes "to understand American history, it is necessary to understand German-American history."

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*Giles R. Hoyt*

**Culture at Twilight: The National German-American Alliance, 1901-1918.**

*By Charles Thomas Johnson. New German-American Studies/Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien, vol. 20. New York: Peter Lang, 1999. 193 pages. \$49.95.*

The old saying "where two Germans come together they form a club" seems to be particularly true for nineteenth-century German immigrants to the United States. Singing societies, Turner societies, lodges, ladies auxiliaries, and many more formed the centers of German-American activities throughout the country. Although their significance within the ethnic community has been recognized, their stories have not been told.

Charles Thomas Johnson has finally given us the history of the National German-American Alliance, an organization that functioned as an umbrella organization for many German-American clubs between 1901 and 1918. It reached its peak membership of 2.5 million members with chapters in forty-five states and the District of Columbia between 1901 and 1916. Although the Alliance functioned as a loose confederation of German-American organizations around the country, national representatives soon followed a political agenda. With its firm stand against immigration restrictions and prohibition the organization participated actively in the national debate on these issues.

Besides a brief introduction and a concluding chapter, Johnson's study spans over five chapters in which he explores the rise and fall of the National German-American Alliance (NGAA) from 1901 to 1918. His first chapter examines the foundation and beginning years of the National German-American Alliance by members of the "Deutsch-Amerikanischer Zentralbund von Pennsylvania" between 1899 and 1904. Main goals of the society were the efforts to preserve and promote German culture, to protect any restrictions on immigration and personal liberties, and to foster the good relations between the United States and Germany. In the following pages Johnson illustrates skillfully how these goals, which at first received great applause from German-Americans and Americans alike, were turned on the NGAA during the war years and ironically lead to its disbandment in 1918.

In the second chapter Johnson investigates the period between 1906 and 1910 when the organization grew larger and increased its involvement in national politics. After the alliance received its charter in 1907 it focused many activities on the fight against prohibition. Members of the alliance saw the temperance legislation as a restriction of liberty and especially a blow to German culture. Therefore, leading members of the organization testified before Congress and lobbied for a moderate use of alcohol. During the national debate the NGAA became closer connected to the brewing industry and its primary organization, the United States Brewers' Association (USBA), which viewed the NGAA as a powerful ally in the fight to prevent prohibition.

In the third chapter the author looks into the years from 1910 to 1914 when the NGAA continued to campaign against prohibition with the financial backing of the brewing and liquor companies. This financial security allowed the organization again to turn to the promotion of German culture and the preservation of memory of past contributions of Germans in America. Examples of these activities were the funding of the German-American National Monument in Germantown, Pennsylvania, and a statue of Baron von Steuben in Washington, D.C.

With the outbreak of World War I in Europe the activities of the NGAA began to focus on national politics again. In chapter four Johnson takes us along the fruitless efforts of the organization to lobby for absolute neutrality of the United States in the conflict and to keep America out of war. During the rising anti-German-hysteria of the war years traditional family ties were quickly misinterpreted as pro-German activities.

Chapter five superbly illustrates how the original goals of promoting German culture in the United States were turned against the NGAA. Attacked as a pan-German



organization, accused and prosecuted as German spies, and branded as an agent of the Kaiser, the National German-American Alliance gave in to political pressures and disbanded in 1918.

This excellent study is based on a wide range of government documents, contemporary newspaper articles, archival material of the National German-American Alliance, papers of leading members, as well as extended secondary sources. Johnson has artfully pieced together hundreds of historical facts to create a fascinating story. A list of German-American societies and clubs connected to the National German-American Alliance would have added to the book's value. Nevertheless, with his well written and concise work Johnson has contributed greatly to the research on German-American organizations and the pressures that led to their disbandment during World War I. This book not only fills a gap about one of the largest and most visible German-American organizations at the beginning of the twentieth century, but it also illustrates how political and cultural values changed over a few years. From 1914 to 1918 the highly esteemed German-American culture lost its acceptance in America.

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*Katja Rampelmann*

### **The Phonology of Pennsylvania German English as Evidence of Language Maintenance and Shift.**

*By Achim Kopp. Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press. 345 pp. \$45.00.*

This study, a revised version of Kopp's dissertation, focuses on phonological change in the English of fifty informants in six extended families. Three of the families (twenty-eight informants) are, in Kopp's words, "nonsectarian Pennsylvania Germans," or descendants of German-speaking immigrants who were members of the Lutheran and Reformed churches. Kopp describes two of the families (twelve informants) as "sectarian" or descendants of German-speaking Anabaptists. The last family (ten informants) has no Pennsylvania German ancestry. According to Kopp, the nonsectarian Pennsylvania Germans have nearly accomplished the shift from Pennsylvania German (PG) to English; although the oldest generation is bilingual, the youngest has little or no competence in PG. In contrast, the members of the sectarian group are all bilingual PG-English speakers, and the non-Pennsylvania German informants are all monolingual English speakers. Kopp reports that the English of the oldest generation of the nonsectarian Pennsylvania German group displays the most "contact phenomena," while that of the sectarian bilinguals closely approximates the regional standard. Attempting to account for these results with research of language usage and language attitudes, Kopp uses a matched guise test to evaluate attitudes towards PG, Pennsylvania German English, and Standard English. On the basis of his results, he concludes that the phonological change across these groups correlates with patterns of language acquisition and views of PG and PG speakers, and he makes predictions about the future of PG and its influence on the



English of the region.

Kopp's research is interesting, and the questions he asks are important. Unfortunately, Kopp falls far short of his goal of showing "how the different social patterns of the three subgroups correlate with linguistic differences" (17) and fails in his attempt to "lay out the strategies applied by the two major groups of Pennsylvania Germans in dealing with their cultural and linguistic heritage, that is, language maintenance and shift" (17). Indeed, the weaknesses of this work are evident on all levels. There are, for example, small inaccuracies. Menno Simons was extremely influential in shaping the movement that bears his name, but he was not "the founder of the Mennonites" (26). The Reformed Church was not "renamed the United Church of Christ" (25); rather, Evangelical and Reformed congregations merged with the Congregational Christian Churches in 1957 to form the UCC. Not all Old Order Amish allow radios in barns, and many Amish do smoke (30).

More importantly, trivial inaccuracies foreshadow methodological and conceptual weaknesses that limit the usefulness of this work. Kopp fails to standardize either the criteria he uses to select his individual subjects or the terminology he uses to describe them. For example, he includes informant 19, a non-Pennsylvania German of Slovak and Italian ancestry, in the group of nonsectarian Pennsylvania Germans, apparently because she is married to informant 18. Moreover, a number of Kopp's informants are young children, several under the age of eleven. The use of such young informants is questionable given the tests Kopp employs to evaluate language attitudes. For example, in discussing the matched guise test he uses to explore language attitudes, Kopp notes that the "attitude patterns" of nine-year-old informant 28 "are not as set as the adults" (255), thus accounting for informant 28's inconsistent responses (which are, nevertheless, averaged in with the others). Age is even more problematic in evaluating Kopp's phonological data, in which acquisition and attitude are key variables. In discussing five-year-old informant 24, Kopp himself acknowledges that, "the mother reported that after every visit of her daughter with her [the child's] grandparents . . . [the mother] could temporarily observe certain PG features in her child's English" (115).

Kopp describes the English of informant 24 as "unaccented," an awkward description given the mother's comment. It is even more problematic since Kopp does not define his terms. How, one wonders, is the "slightly accented" English of informant 23 different from the "hardly accented" English of informant 25, especially since both informants are college-educated "native speaker[s] of English" with "slight command of Pennsylvania German" and "some knowledge of Standard German through high school" (52). Not only does Kopp fail to define his terms, but he uses them inconsistently across informant groups. A nonsectarian speaks "unaccented English," but the non-Pennsylvania German speaks "monolingual English (regional standard)." Further, on the matched guise test, speech samples are characterized as "more or less strongly accented Pennsylvania German English," "practically unaccented American English," "sectarian Pennsylvania German English," "nonsectarian Pennsylvania German English," "unaccented American English," and "regional standard English" (chap. 4). At the very least, one wonders whether the regional



standard is also American.

There are methodological shortcomings as well. For example, Kopp asserts that the three groups of informants "are clearly distinguished by the ethnic markedness of their English" (132), and he argues that the presence of non-standard forms in the speech of the non-Pennsylvania German group is evidence of contact phenomena (133). Unfortunately, in asserting the need to judge on a "case to case" basis whether "phonological differences can be attributed to the speakers' contact with Pennsylvania German" (63), Kopp begs a primary question of the study and removes any means of ensuring test validity.

A far more serious problem for this work is the way in which Kopp has defined his informant groups, particularly those he labels "sectarian." Since Kopp's goal is to show the correlation of different social patterns with linguistic differences (17), understanding the social situation of the informant families is of paramount importance. Nevertheless, Kopp's discussion of the sectarian group, which includes Old Order Mennonites, New Order Amish, and Beachy Amish, suggests that he has little appreciation of how influential the different beliefs of these plain churches are in shaping the way language is used in these church-communities. Indeed, his discussion of differences between these groups focuses entirely on "lifestyle" as characterized by the rejection or adoption of cars, electricity, telephones, and modern dress, with no acknowledgment of the way in which particular religious beliefs motivate cultural change. Focusing on "lifestyle," Kopp asserts that the Old Order Mennonite family (members of the Groffdale conference) and the New Order Amish family differ only minimally in "religious and social conservatism" (101), a meaningless statement that, given his description of these groups, appears to ignore all but the presence or absence of certain material goods.

Put bluntly, the Wenger Mennonites, the Horning Mennonites (both discussed as Old Order Mennonite), the Old Order Amish, the New Order Amish, and the Beachy Amish all define themselves differently with regard to the dominant English-speaking society, and this effects the roles of both Pennsylvania German and English within their respective communities (see Karen Johnson-Weiner, "Community Identity and Language Change in North American Anabaptist Communities," *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 2 (3) [1998]: 375-94). Kopp fails to take this into account, and so, despite his assertion that "the sectarians' outlook on society is reflected by their language use patterns" (186), he is unable to appreciate the conflicting reports of language use among the sectarians in his own data. On the one hand, he notes that, "all the sectarian informants report the exclusive use of Pennsylvania German among each other. Thus the family domain can readily be claimed to be occupied by Pennsylvania German" (198). On the other hand, he reports that "the two Beachy Amish . . . address each other in either language" and their children "are raised in English" (176-77). Clearly, despite his assertion that the sectarians "are of relatively lesser interest in sociolinguistic terms . . . their stable diglossia prevent[ing] extraordinary linguistic changes" (13), at least one set of sectarian informants is engaged in language shift. At the very least, that the Beachy Amish informants speak English rather than PG to their children suggests that the sectarians are hardly the linguistically stable or homogeneous group

required in this study. (Interestingly, Kopp did not use the Beachy children—the children of informants 38 and 39—in this study.)

Kopp's failure to note even that a plain group's insistence on separating itself from the world means that the values of the plain group are likely not the same as those of their non-plain neighbors calls into question the results of a key portion of this research, the use of the matched guise test to evaluate speakers' attitudes towards PG, Pennsylvania German English and standard English. Is a matched guise test, the parameters of which are "generally based on the set of values held by mainstream American society" (224), appropriate for evaluating the attitudes of groups who may not hold those values? Kopp does acknowledge that "each group of informants has a different group of people in mind when speaking about the 'typical Pennsylvania German'" (271), and, in a footnote, suggests that the question set had different question subsets to account for this. However, these do not appear to be taken into account in the analysis.

Clearly, in a sociolinguistic study, Old Order Mennonites should not be grouped with Beachy Amish and New Order Amish, for their respective attitudes towards language and the dominant society differ. Whereas the Old Order Mennonite Groffdale churches maintain German for church services (although not as strictly as Old Order Stauffer groups), the Beachy Amish are evangelistic, dedicated to spreading the gospel actively, a religious stand that motivates the use of English in church and paves the way for the loss of PG. Similarly, the New Order believe that church members can know they are saved, a position that alters the relationship between the individual, the church, and society. Had Kopp explored the religious beliefs structuring group lifestyle, he might not have found the greater percentage of ethnic marking in the speech of the Mennonite family so surprising (101). To lump the various plain groups together as "sectarian" and to treat them as a unified group is methodologically unsound under any circumstances, but most particularly in a study that purports to explore the effects of social variables.

While I found the data presented in this work interesting, its usefulness is compromised by factual, methodological and conceptual shortcomings. This is unfortunate. Exploring the shift from PG to English as it is occurring among non-plain speakers, as it begins among some plain groups, and as it is resisted by other plain groups will shed light on language maintenance and shift in general and on linguistic and cultural change in minority language communities. Kopp's work suggests how much remains to be done.

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### **Tearing the Silence: On Being German in America.**

*By Ursula Hegi. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997. 302 pp. \$ 24.00.*

With her first non-fiction book, Ursula Hegi presents a powerful and fascinating journey into Germany's postwar past and present. In sixteen personal accounts,



including her own, Hegi explores the lives of postwar German immigrants who find themselves caught between the pride and shame of their national heritage. These people, born and raised in or shortly after World War II, draw a stunning picture on how the war and its legacy have influenced their lives as Germans in the United States.

The book grew out of Hegi's anger, rage, and frustration about the eerie silence that covered the war years while she was growing up in Germany during the first eighteen years of her life. Unable to break this silence of her parents' generation, Hegi sets out on her own quest to uncover that past. She finds people of her generation who share their memories of growing up in Germany during the 1940s and 1950s, and who are now living in the United States. The book illustrates in many details how they are still baffled by their national heritage and how they see their German past as an obstacle as well as a doorway in their lives. Torn between guilt and pride, hate and love, rejection and admiration, the reader watches how they embark on a journey to face the dark history of their homeland.

In her own narrative, the first one in the book, Hegi gives an account of her personal battle with the German past. Having grown up in Germany, she detests her parents' refusal to talk about their experience during the Third Reich. Hegi depicts her childhood during which her parents rebuffed her questions about the war and history teachers skipped the period after 1933. The reader observes her struggle to cope with her German background. She writes: "since I cannot separate from Germany, I have to understand it, have to come to terms with it, though—many times—I still wish I'd been born in another country." Moreover, she explores how that silence of her parents' generation has reached into her own life. She is convinced that her heritage and upbringing in postwar Germany has influenced her perception of community, society, and authority. As a German-American she feels that she is confronted with a German past more directly than people in Germany. Being marked as different and measured against German stereotypes has led her to her uncompromising search for identity.

Part two includes the life stories of seven men and eight women from different social, educational, and personal backgrounds. There is Ulrich, who fled from East Prussia and came to the United States at the age of eight; Anneliese who nobody paid attention to; Karl, the minister; Joachim, the homosexual; Kurt, who was adopted by an American family from a German orphanage, and others. All born in Germany between 1939 and 1949, they confirm Hegi's accounts of silent parents and teachers. Their parents' general discomfort in talking about the recent past, their yearning to forget war crimes, hunger, and bombed-out cities excluded the children from their lives. The stories illustrate the unbridgeable gap between two generations—of postwar children and their parents—a gap that seems to be much greater than between other generations because valuable knowledge was not passed on from old to young. Feeling betrayed, the children's mourning turns into anger and rage. The lack of communication leads to the alienation of both generations. Furthermore, the book makes the underlying statement that the denial of information left the postwar generation with a broken identity. Vulnerable to any outside attacks, these children feel unprotected



against unjust and false accusations. They find themselves excluded not only from their national identity but also from their family history because they were denied access to their country's recent history. This creates immense problems in family relationships and a lasting sense of loss, rejection, and displacement.

The narrators reveal different strategies to cope with the burden of their German birth, ranging from acknowledging Germany's dark history to avoiding any contact or exposure to it. The interviews demonstrate how postwar German-Americans have either faced or hidden from Germany's past, such as Ulrich, the pacifist; Sigrid, the lawyer and political activist, as well as Anneliese who does not want to know.

By telling their complex life stories the interviewees illustrate that the fabric of their lives has been woven out of many different threads; only one of them is their national heritage, others are their family background, schooling and personal experiences. Although Hegi wants to explore how German-Americans come to grips with the burden of an immensely difficult past, she stresses that many different characteristics make up one's life.

This book is not a historical account—Hegi states so herself—but instead it profits from her enormous talent as a fiction writer. It is a continuation of her exploration into Germany's twentieth-century past. Whereas her fiction works *Floating in My Mother's Palm* and *Stones from the River* present life during the war years and shortly after in a small Rhineland town, *Tearing the Silence* is a gripping nonfiction work concerned with German-American life in the 1990s. It is her own personal journey made public.

This work only calls for a few minor comments. Although Hegi claims this to be a collection of interviews, the reader never sees the questions asked. Instead, we are confronted with a complex account of people's lives. The reader has to keep in mind that the people chosen in this book left Germany in the 1950s and 1960s when events had not been over long enough to talk about them with the required distance. The silence which Hegi attacks so much has long been broken in German schools and, hopefully, in most German families. With second-generation postwar Germans growing up in the 1970s and 1980s new questions have been asked. This new discussion has also involved the generation born between 1939 and 1949 which gave them a second chance to face the Holocaust. Unfortunately, in her conclusion she only summarizes what has been said in the interviews. She refuses to give an interpretation which tie the narrations into a larger framework.

Apart from being a fascinating work for any personal reading, this book is a valuable addition to any class on German-American studies, postwar German history, Holocaust history, migration, or ethnic history. The personal life stories present a vivid picture no historical work can offer. Furthermore, the introduction includes an engaging account of her research methods and the difficulties arising while conducting the project. Therefore, it can also be used in oral-history or research-method classes. This is a superbly done book revealing one of the most difficult struggles in contemporary German life.



## **The Prison Called Hohenasperg: An American Boy Betrayed by His Government During World War II.**

*By Arthur D. Jacobs. N.p.: Universal Publishers/uPUBLISH.com, 1999. 162 pages. \$19.95.*

It is startling to consider that the American government interned German-Americans to hold as possible hostages to exchange for people being held by the Nazis. Indeed, the American reputation for justice does make people who hear of unconstitutional internment think there must have been a good reason—those people must have done something, or else they would not be there. Americans have recognized that Japanese-Americans were interned. Even reparations have been paid. Recently PBS ran a program on the Italian-American internment, but still the fact that indeed German-Americans were also interned is shrugged off. Perhaps because Hitler was so bad and Germany so culpable that anyone remotely connected with that place is tarnished and the interning of them is not worthy of concern.

German-Americans abandoned each other in their government-induced fear of retribution. In this case a pastor failed to help. A child lost all his toys. He was separated from his parents, placed in a cattle car and transported to a prison where he was locked in a cell. "Never again would we be like we were before the FBI arrested my father at his place of work." He, his brother, and his parents lost their sense of family, their ability to be safe together. He lost his friends and his schooling.

In the course of telling his story, Jacobs gives the reader an interesting view of Germany in the immediate postwar period and the difficulty of life in ruined cities under military occupation. One can only imagine the shock for an American boy who spent his childhood and the war years in Brooklyn being whisked off to ruined Ludwigsburg. He then goes to the north, near Bremen. Using his native courage and intelligence, he soon gets a job with the American forces and is befriended by them. After he loses that job, he is faced with a long period of trying to establish connections with the American military personnel. He tries vainly to obtain attention to his situation, desperately seeking entrance to the various installations. Over and over he tells his story, explaining why he speaks accent-free English. His disappointment is great and becomes more intense because of his failure to develop any positive contact with the Germans. The one exception is his grandfather who from the beginning has a good rapport with the boy and involves him in his garden work.

Finally, after more than a year, an agent of the Army's Counter Intelligence Corps befriends him. Both the agent and his wife work to get the two Jacobs boys back to the U.S. In a poignant scene with his new friends, "the Angels from Kansas," and his parents, the latter agree to allow the boys to leave them and return to the U.S. The German-American Dreyer family, owners of a large ranch in Kansas, provide a loving home for the boys. "Arch," as he became known, settles in quickly and remains deeply and sentimentally attached to the memory of his "American parents." The selfless kindness of this family seems to have made up for some of the hurt that Jacobs's beloved America had done to him, even though it would be eleven years before he would see his real parents again. Jacobs certainly became a resolute individual as a result of his remarkable experiences.

The Jacobs story is one more piece, and an extreme one to be sure, in the growing collection of evidence that considerable injustice was done to German-Americans as a result of their heritage and the vagaries of a justice system affected by wartime exigency. Jacobs's story is a deeply personal one, and is told from that perspective. Nonetheless, it is the story of a dedicated American citizen who like others is still seeking exoneration through official recognition of the injustice of his family's plight. It is part of the story of German-Americans that cannot be ignored.

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**A German Regiment Among the French Auxiliary Troops of the American Revolutionary War: H. A. Rattermann's History.**

*Edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing, for Clearfield Company, 1999. xii + 60 pages. \$12.00.*

Every proverbial American schoolchild knows (or used to know) that during the Revolutionary War German troops from Hesse and several other principalities fought on the side of the British, though American public opinion is still divided on whether to despise them as mercenary tools of a foreign oppressor or pity them as poor wretches sold by tyrannical princes. Less well known is the fact that American independence was not won solely by American valor, but also had the support of a sizeable French expeditionary force. Even less well known is that, by conservative estimates, at least one-third of these French troops were ethnic Germans.

Don Heinrich Tolzmann has now made accessible, with a useful commentary, a previously unpublished manuscript by Heinrich Armin Rattermann (1832-1923), nestor of German-American historiography, outlining the involvement of one regiment consisting entirely of German-speaking soldiers, the "Deutsches Königlich-Französisches Infanterie-Regiment Zweibrücken," or "Royal-Deux-Ponts." During the latter part of the eighteenth century, the Duchy of Pfalz-Zweibrücken under Duke Christian IV was a French satellite state and provided troops for the French crown through the use of *Subsidienverträge*, much like the treaties that brought units from Hessen-Kassel, Hessen-Hanau, Waldeck, Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Ansbach-Bayreuth, and Anhalt-Zerbst to the colonies. When this regiment left Europe with Rochambeau's forces, it was under the command of two sons of the ruling duke from amorganatic marriage, Colonel Christian von Zweibrücken and his younger brother Lieutenant Colonel Wilhelm von Zweibrücken, who left an account of his experiences in America, as did several other officers and enlisted men. The Royal-Deux-Ponts later played a decisive role during the siege and battle of Yorktown, when they stormed the key British fortification known as "Redoubt 9" under the personal leadership of Count Wilhelm.

Rattermann's manuscript is undated, but internal evidence suggests that it hails from the late 1870s or the 1880s and was intended as the basis of a lecture before an



English-speaking audience. He relies heavily on the 1868 English-language edition of Count Wilhelm's diary by Samuel Abbott Green (*My Campaigns in America: A Journal Kept by Count William de Deux-Ponts, 1780-1781* [Boston: Wiggin & Lunt, 1868]), though he did some original research in the Pennsylvania state archives in Harrisburg. Because his essay is reprinted verbatim, it is obvious that Rattermann was thinking in his native language when he wrote it: Vocabulary, phraseology, and punctuation are clearly German. This makes for a certain period charm, but present-day American readers might find it somewhat irritating. Since at the time of writing this review (November 2000) the first edition has already sold out and a second edition is being contemplated, this would be a good opportunity for some editing. Reference could also be made to the substantial article by Albert R. Schmitt, "The Hessians and Who?: A Look at the Other Germans in the American War of Independence," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 18 (1983), 41-61, which is based on the diaries of Captain Ludwig von Closen, aide-de-camp to Rochambeau, and published in an English translation by Evelyn M. Acomb (*The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig von Closen 1780-1783* [Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1958]).

It is gratifying to know that the Zweibrücken Regiment is not totally forgotten. While the exhibits at the Yorktown Battlefield Historic Site mention it only in passing, a sister-city relationship was entered into between York County, Virginia, and the city of Zweibrücken a number of years ago. It was formalized in 1978 with the dedication of a Yorktown-Straße in Zweibrücken in the presence of a Yorktown delegation. The American side reciprocated on October 16, 1981, when, with great pomp and circumstance, a Zweybrucken Road (for some reason the American partners preferred the eighteenth century spelling) was unveiled. German and American military color parties carried the flags, speeches were made by local dignitaries, the *Oberbürgermeister* of Zweibrücken responded, and the Tactical Air Command Band played the national anthems as well as the "Royal-Deux-Pont-Marsch" by Zweibrücken composer Rudolf K. Tröss. A student exchange program was initiated and is still going strong.

In sum, this is a very useful publication on an extremely interesting episode in the history of Germans in America and deserving of a wider audience.

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*Manfred Zimmermann*

### **Justina Tubbe: Der weite Weg einer Brandenburgerin vom Oderbruch nach Texas.**

*By Gisela Laudi. Berlin/Bonn, Bad Münstereifel: Westkreuz-Verlag, 2000. 248 pages. DM 39.00.*

How often does a little treasure cross one's desk? Here is one—the life story of a hard-working, diligent, loving Christian woman from Brandenburg who, with God in her heart, lived through many difficulties in her Prussian homeland and emigrated to Texas in her mature years. There she was to become, as it were, a matriarch of



Texas-Germans.

This single volume is presented as two books. The first traces Justina Tubbe's life in Oderberg, Prussia from her birth in 1795 to her departure for America in 1855. The second details her journey to Texas and her life there together with her family and also many other German immigrants until her death sometime after the American Civil War and probably before 1870. The author is related to Justina Tubbe and narrates her great-great-grand-aunt's life in the Old World as well as in the new one.

Many studies exist which detail the negative social, political and economic conditions in the German territories during the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, circumstances which may well have led to emigration. Such investigations are extensively documented with statistics, names, ships, shipping agents, government bureaucrats, etc. and are invaluable to the scholar in the field of social history, the history of emigration and immigration, and that of acculturation and assimilation. The author has not set as her task the inclusion of statistical data, although they too are found as needed, but rather she relates a human story as if one were reading the diary of a perhaps simple but at the same time grand lady.

Book one introduces this technique which is maintained throughout. The "diary" begins: "Ich, Justina Tubbe, will euch berichten: Anno 1861 in Texas: [interjection from her granddaughter] 'Grand-Ma Justina, wenn August und ich später mal Kinder und Kindeskindern haben, dann möchten sie bestimmt gerne wissen, wie dein Leben so abgelaufen ist. Was musst du alles erlebt haben—ist das nicht fast wie ein Roman?'" (9). The author has set the tone in these first sentences. She relates through Justina's "own words" her life in retrospect on both sides of the Atlantic.

Justina's childhood and adult life well into her fifth decade were spent in Oderberg, a smaller town east of Eberswalde on the Old Oder, i.e., in the region known as the Oderbruch in Brandenburg. Her birthplace was Freywalde, today Bad Freywalde, slightly south of Oderberg. She was born into a hard-working lower middle-class family and grew up learning respect for church and state in the tradition of nineteenth-century Prussia.

The life of the "average" citizen during these decades flashes before our eyes. The Oderbruch region is one in constant danger of a natural catastrophe: flood. These conditions caused great difficulties for the Tubbe family many decades ago; they are in our time still a hazard. We read of the impact on daily life of the French Revolution and its policies of aggressive eastward expansionism. The years of Restoration (Biedermeier) are portrayed as are those of the Revolution of 1848. Such personal details are related in such a manner that the reader is convinced to be seeing Justina's own narrative before him. One learns about the schooling and the influence of the church and the respect of the "average" citizen for the king and the laws of the state even when they seemed too harsh given the daily difficulties those in rural Brandenburg encountered. What was the place of the woman in society? She was to care for the home, the children and be active in the church. That should have been clear in those days; yet, it was not merely accepted by this strong-willed woman as she "wrote": "Diese dumme Politik der Männer, kann sie uns Frauen nicht endlich mal in Ruhe lassen?" (37). Neither did she really accept her step-father's adage: "Du bist



ein Mädchen! Was interessierst du dich für Männerangelegenheiten? Frauen gehören hinter den Herd!" (39). Justina had the opportunity to attend school and became formally educated to the extent it was possible for a female in Prussia of the early nineteenth century.

Rather than relating statistics on social conditions, the reader experiences them in the daily life of the Tubbe family: from food, or the scarcity thereof, on the daily table; the toils of the artisan; interpersonal relationships; marriages, rituals, births and deaths and how a family copes with these events; economic difficulties as a weaver with a home workshop; the relationship with the few Jewish businessmen and their families in the town; and many more insights into the life of "average" citizens in Brandenburg.

The Revolution of 1848 did play a major role in Justina's life. It brought forth a critical examination and extensive discussion of democratic ideas such as freedom of the press, freedom of movement, the question of absolute government and more. The structural order of the Prussian state was beginning to be questioned and not only in intellectual circles. The Revolution of 1848 did, though, fail. Was this failure enough to lead many to consider most seriously an emigration to America? Perhaps it was for some intellectuals, but was it for the "average" hard-working, diligent citizen, who lived by the sweat of his brow and accepted this and viewed the body politic as having been fostered essentially by an acknowledged respect for the king and the Prussian style of life? Perhaps not and no attempt is made here to maintain that political ideas led to Justina's emigration, although they were constantly—if ever so quietly—in the background. Of immediate concern was one's daily existence. The Tubbe family in Oderberg had become small in number through death, emigration to the city (e.g., Berlin) for greater social mobility, and the emigration of part of the younger generation to Texas, more for personal and economic reasons than for political ones. This stratum of Prussian society was not in an enviable economic state and the glowing reports of boundless opportunities in America were widespread. Justina heard them also from her own sons already there. She, for that time considered an older woman and also widowed twice, had little to hold her now in her homeland except her love for it which she would also never abandon. The magnetism of her own sons already in Texas and the knowledge that she would be cared for there in old age were the essential factors for her emigration.

Book two, "... in die Neue Welt," commences with descriptions of the extensive bureaucratic red-tape involved in legal emigration from Prussia which Justina and her now few family members still in Oderberg experienced. Next the railroad journey through Berlin and on to Bremen is detailed and also offers a glimpse of German political particularism. The trip across the Atlantic was no joy and the detailed accounts of personal experiences and conditions on board offer perhaps greater lasting insights than do statistics of diseases, hunger and deaths. After six weeks at sea, this gallant sturdy woman and her small entourage set foot on American soil in New Orleans. Justina was astonished, perhaps dismayed, by that which she encountered. Was it a new culture? Yes, one which was initially French-Spanish and multiracial. How different this was from Brandenburg! This pious independent Lutheran was shocked when



actually encountering slavery in practice. Her disdain for this institution flows throughout her "diary" for she knew it to be against the will of God. The value in New Orleans of the German Agent for Immigrants is noted impressively; one feels a great indebtedness.

With the arrival of her son Willi from Texas—he had settled there several years earlier—the journey by paddle steamer and covered wagon to Eastern Texas commenced. Since a number of Germans had already settled in the area, Justina would not be too isolated socially. Was this, though, the paradise in the New World which had so long been propagated in the old? "Nein, nicht ganz," she noted (189). Texas was still an untamed land and there were the Indians, perhaps dangerous, the Mexicans, often unfriendly, and the Anglo-Americans and now, too, the ever increasing number of German settlers. Life as a pioneer was, to say the least, arduous. Practical necessities did not exist; everything had to be created from virgin territory in order to establish a habitable environment. Interaction with Native Americans was limited, in that they usually were farther west or north. Strongly and critically noted, though, is the renegeing of the United States government of the treaties it had negotiated with them and this is contrasted with the steadfastness with which the Germans held to their concords with the Native Americans.

Social interaction with other Germans, quite limited initially but more common later, made daily life palatable for Justina. Of course she experienced great loneliness at first; she had left a more than fifty-year existence in a well-organized social environment. As such, it is not surprising that she felt it to have perhaps been a mistake to leave Oderberg. Justina was now in her sixties and knew that a return to Prussia could not even be considered. She did criticize the lack of church life and social decorum on the frontier and experienced difficulties resulting from the hot humid Texas summers. She was strong and self-sufficient, as always, and she prevailed. The experiment of Prince Carl Solms von Braunfels on the Texas frontier receives, if only marginally, criticism as naive folly. The last decade of Justina's life witnessed still another dreadful conflagration. She had experienced so much loss of life already in Europe as a result of war and now the American Civil War. This was an emotionally difficult time for her, with her sons serving the Confederacy, since war supposedly had been left behind in the Old World.

A number of texts in the "diary" attempt to show how the German language was already being influenced in syntax and in vocabulary by English but this, of course, can remain only speculation. The language-leveling process suggested here, though, is of merit and may hold some validity. Such forms are not uncommon among newer German-American immigrants. Celebrations—especially weddings—among these Germans are extensively illustrated, since inter-marriage with Anglo-Americans occurred already from the early days on in Texas. Her sons made rapid economic progress initially with agriculture and cattle but later also in real estate. She, even in her modesty, was proud of her now American family.

Justina came to feel herself as an American or better as a German-American. Her sturdy Prussian background ingrained her with the qualities that made her the strong-willed but also lovable individual she must have been. She would always look



upon her Prussia with a little *Heimweh* but also felt that Texas too was her homeland. She loved its openness and personal freedom even at the time of its early development with its daily travail. In this new homeland America she wanted for nothing material, and her spiritual life, if not institutionally fulfilled, was sustained and continued in her Bible reading and exemplary Christian life.

The entries of this "diary" are interspersed with questions by the grand-children which lends an even stronger human character to the narrative. Photos and sketches of life past and present in Oderberg, in other areas of Prussia and in Texas offer additionally an illustrated insight into the life of this extraordinary lady.

Justina Tubbe's legacy to Texas is witnessed here. It is an irony that her son August at the age of seventy-seven, after sixty-three years in the United States, was jailed during World War I as an enemy alien. He had never taken out United States citizenship although he had renounced his Prussian allegiance at emigration when fourteen years of age. Today there are at least 150 descendants of Justina Tubbe. They are the gifts she has bestowed upon her beloved new homeland.

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*Alexander Waldenrath*

### **Von Heuerleuten und Farmern: Die Auswanderung aus dem Osnabrücker Land nach Nordamerika im 19. Jahrhundert/Emigration from the Osnabrück Region to North America in the 19th Century.**

*By Walter D. Kamphoefner, Peter Marschalck and Birgit Nolte-Schuster. Bramsche: Rasch, Druckerei und Verlag, 1999. 120 pages.*

Three major topics pertaining to emigration from the Osnabrück region of northwestern Germany to the settlement of these people in the Midwest of the United States in the nineteenth century are examined in this volume. The monograph is printed in parallel columns, German and English, which allows accessibility to a wide audience of scholars as well as to others interested in the history of emigration/immigration and colonization.

Each of the authors details a major aspect of the migration and the settlement in the New World. This is pursued chronologically: first, why the emigration occurred; next, an examination of the manifold phases preceding and during the crossing of the Atlantic; and finally, the third chapter examines the development of the new settlements in America.

Chapter one critically reviews the social structure within the population of the Osnabrück region in the years of approximately 1835 to 1880, considering the impact of political, social, economic and demographic developments as well as reviewing the historical reasons for these developments. It was an agricultural region which consisted of a population constrained within a stringent social structure. To merely record that these emigrants were farmers would not clarify the strata of this rubric. Within the agricultural population a strict hierarchy prevailed: from landed farmers—who



were usually well off—to tenant farmers and still further down this social stratum to day workers. Both of these latter groups found themselves in general in dire financial difficulties. Those in the lower social strata were often not in an economic position to maintain an acceptable human existence from their labors on the land. Consequently, they often would be forced to supplement their meager incomes through additional work within the home, e.g. weaving, or also to take on another additional menial job in neighboring Holland. Daily life among those of the lower strata of society was indeed unpleasant. When no other alternative to such dismal social conditions seemed to present itself, emigration to America became a viable alternative.

To maintain that the voyage across the Atlantic was difficult would be a cliché. Chapter two examines the many hardships encountered when organizing the trans-Atlantic migration and those faced during the voyage itself. Given the often intolerable conditions these land workers in the Osnabrück region encountered (as seen in chapter one), it is not surprising that the area became fertile ground for emigration in the nineteenth century. The goal of this exodus to the Midwest became essentially Missouri, and to a lesser degree also Ohio and Kentucky. There was a minute movement to California as a result of the discovery of gold there, but this is not of major significance for this study. The port of entrance to the New World could be either New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, or even New Orleans. The use of this southern port by immigrants to Missouri should not be a major surprise, since from there the journey proceeded rather easily up the Mississippi to Missouri aboard riverboats. Ship travel on the major rivers of the United States by the mid-nineteenth century had already developed extensively, and since the railroad was still in its infancy, the crossing of the continent from an East Coast port of entry could well be a much more arduous journey. The wave of immigrants consisted, in general, of either individuals or of complete families. Yet, to a lesser extent, at times whole groups from a single town or village undertook this adventure and finally settled as a community together in their respective enclaves in Missouri.

Shipping agents came to play a major role in this exodus. Their contributions, even unsavory ones, are documented in detail because of their importance. The perspective emigrant had to be in possession of official written documents in order to depart; often, because of military obligations, skirmishes with the law or domestic financial obligations, even minor ones, this could be a major hindrance. Then there was a multiplicity of regional governance which further encumbered the departure. Often shipping agents would circumvent bureaucracies, legally or illegally, to attain their fees.

Chapter three examines the evolution of the new settlements founded by these Osnabrück newcomers socially, economically, and culturally in America, essentially in Missouri, during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The majority of these settlers were drawn by the prospect of cheap and rich agricultural land, as is to be expected, since most were impoverished farm laborers. Therefore, larger German regions in the Midwest, such as Chicago or St. Louis, were not as attractive as was rural Missouri to these land-oriented immigrants. In addition, often letters from



earlier emigrants from Osnabrück to Missouri sang the praises of the unlimited possibilities offered in this rural area. The examination of census lists reveals that whole villages simply left Osnabrück and settled together, continuing their shared community life in the new homeland. Often such groups transplanted their German village names to their new home. Numerous difficulties were, of course, also encountered such as epidemics or financial hardships. These are extensively documented in this chapter and further illustrated by detailed descriptions of specific families. The author furnishes, as it were, not only "dry" statistics but also enlivens his text through narratives of human interest. By 1850 more than 80 percent of these once virtually destitute immigrant farmers had achieved the status of landowner. How impossible this would have been in Osnabrück when one recalls the stagnant social structure described in chapter one. In fact, the German farmers seem to have prospered considerably more extensively than even their Anglo-American counterparts in the same Missouri region.

The author casts a discerning eye upon the cultural developments within these emerging German-American communities. What could be a better way to hold a fledgling society together than a common bond, namely language? Of course, as with all immigrant groups in the United States, these new Germans were living within an Anglo-American society. How long would or could they continue to maintain their "Germanness?" The detailed information offered in this study may be surprising. Usually original immigrants maintain their own mother tongue and from then on the Americanization process begins to engulf already the first born-in-America generation and definitely infiltrates strongly the second generation. If common language bonds together, how is it maintained? Two major institutions, the church and the school, are examined. The evolution among these German-Americans seems to run counter to commonly held views of acculturation. It is shown that into the third generation German was still the dominant spoken language, but also by this time the third generation was essentially bi-lingual, German and English, although the command of German was more often than not greater than that of English.

Churches usually conducted services in German and into the 1920s confirmation was still in German. At the beginning of the twentieth century, when a number of the children attended state schools, English was the language of instruction, but among themselves these youngsters—already the third generation in the New World—still employed German for daily communication. The majority of the young people at this time, though, still attended parochial schools, Old Lutheran, Union (Lutheran and Reformed), or Roman Catholic ones, where German was the medium of instruction and English was taught as a foreign language. When considering the use of German in these rural enclaves, it must be pointed out that it was usually the *Osnabrück Plattdeutsch* rather than Standard High German. However, by 1919—that is, after World War I—a transition seems to have occurred. That year a school dedication was conducted in both German and English. From then on in the 1920s and 1930s, the churches often began to employ English in services, i.e., weekly or monthly English language services were also held. In the ensuing years English gained a more prominent position, so that by approximately 1939 English achieved equal status with

German in most churches. What is amazing in German Missouri, and in contrast to many other German-American areas, especially urban enclaves, is that the First World War did not eliminate the use of the German language, but rather it was replaced well after the war by the expected evolutionary acculturation and not by political and social pressures.

The last segment of this study, "From Gehrde to New York—and Back," relates the personal experiences of one immigrant family from the Osnabrück region, their difficulties in the New World, and their ultimate return to Osnabrück. Also emphasized is that such a return to Germany was an extremely isolated case. Yet the insight into this family illustrates, in general, the immigrant experience.

This book is handsomely embellished with many family portraits, photos of dwellings, shipping lists, advertisements for emigration, and extensive original personal and official documents of emigration. One not familiar with the Osnabrück region or with the geography of Missouri might have wished also for several detailed maps showing the exact locations in Northwest Germany, especially with respect to the Protestant and Roman Catholic areas, as well as the work sites in Holland and the detailed areas settled in Missouri with exact population figures and dates of settlement. This, though, should not detract from a valuable and easily readable study in emigration from northwestern Germany to the American Midwest in the nineteenth century.

*Lehigh University*

*Alexander Waldenrath*

### **Hollandgänger, Sträflinge und Migranten. Bremen und Bremerhaven als Wanderungsraum.**

*By Horst Rössler. Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000. 279 pages. DM 39.90.*

"Heimat: das Land . . . in dem man geboren ist oder bleibenden Aufenthalt hat." Home is the place where one was born or has permanent residence; thus was the concept explained in the famous *Deutsches Wörterbuch* of Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm in 1877 when the fascicle with the entry for "heimath" appeared. When this was published, millions of emigrants left Europe for a better life in America. Their journey as well as the many pages in Grimms' dictionary dealing with "heimat" made it very obvious that mobility and migration were among the most important issues in nineteenth-century history.

In four extensively and excellently footnoted studies, Horst Rössler deals with migration from the Bremen-Bremerhaven region between about 1750 and 1914. In German-American history the importance of Bremen-Bremerhaven as a major German and European place of departure for millions of emigrants to the New World—above all to the United States—is well known. Rössler, however, looks at both cities and the surrounding region from a different perspective. He places the move overseas into a broader historical context and shows that, in the social



history of the area, various migration movements played an important role. Thus Rössler analyses at greater length the traditional seasonal movements of (non-inheriting) sons of small peasants, cottagers, and laborers from northwestern German territories (including the rural areas surrounding Bremen) to the Netherlands in search of work. As late as the turn from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century about 30,000 people were involved in these yearly migrations (*Hollandgängerei*). Among them were quite a number of lower rural class members from villages near the Hanseatic City of Bremen, who already from about 1770 onwards preferred to go to England to work mostly in London sugar refineries.

However, as the author demonstrates, from 1830 onward these migrations were increasingly replaced by two others. On the one hand more and more people began moving to the cities. Bremen and Bremerhaven (the latter only established in 1827) became magnets for tens of thousands, men and women who in search of permanent work and better living conditions made their way into these expanding urban centers. Rössler shows that near-distance migrants came from the very areas in which seasonal labor migration had been important for many generations. But in contrast to the *Hollandgängerei*—an exclusively male movement—women played a particularly prominent role among those leaving the surrounding rural areas for the city. While throughout the nineteenth century near-distance migrants dominated those coming into Bremen and Bremerhaven, a considerable number of urban craftsmen coming from far away places were also among the in-migrants. Thus in one study the author deals with skilled British workmen whose know-how was needed in the process of early industrialization. Until the 1890s, however, urban labor markets could not offer enough job opportunities for all those who could no longer make a living at home and were forced to leave rural districts. Therefore, on the other hand, for many men and women going across the Atlantic, America (that is, the United States) was a most attractive alternative to moving into the cities. Again, it was those places in northwestern Germany which used to be centers of seasonal migrations to the Netherlands which became in turn centers of emigration to America.

As far as German emigration to the United States is concerned, Rössler focuses on a hitherto much neglected aspect of German-American history: the illegal "transportation" of convicts (*Sträflinge*) from various German states (e.g., Hannover, Braunschweig) via Bremen and Bremerhaven to America. Though comparatively small numbers were involved, the landing of former prison and workhouse inmates in New York or Baltimore was time and again used by nativists during the mid-nineteenth century to denounce all German and European immigrants as criminals (and paupers) and demand restrictions on free immigration.

The book is richly illustrated and includes a number of highly interesting documents which have been transcribed from old German handwriting. Documents give voice to the seasonal labor migrant (*Hollandgänger*) who asks the authorities for a passport to work in the Netherlands; to the pioneer emigrant to Texas, who in a letter describes this state as a kind of poor man's paradise; to the widely traveled artisan who in his résumé mentions that he worked for a couple of months in the

"establishment of Steinway & Sons, 15 Street, New York;" or, to the servant maid being imprisoned for some weeks for petty theft who asks the Senate of Bremen to set her free because she wants to leave home for good and start a new life in the United States.

With these documents Rössler not only publishes interesting examples of archival holdings from the Bremen and Bremerhaven area, but he also adds supplements to many biographical portraits and sources in his book. The author's studies thus contain a wealth of historic information along with a description of general migration patterns. Through this double approach Rössler's historic examples lead to issues that are widely discussed in all countries of emigration and immigration today. His studies on the *Zuckersieder* in England tell about economy and transfer of technology; the life of the Polish textile workers in Bremen's neighboring town of Delmenhorst tells about cultural pluralism and xenophobia; the journey of the farmhand to America tells about the process of acculturation; and every migrant's life in foreign parts tells about the pursuit of happiness.

*Bremerhaven, Germany*

*Wolfgang Grams*

**The German Element in St. Louis. A Translation from German of Ernst D. Kargau's *St. Louis in Former Years: A Commemorative History of the German Element*.**

*Edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Translated by William G. Bek. Baltimore: Clearfield, 2000. 374 pages.*

This translation of Kargau's *St. Louis in früheren Jahren: Ein Gedenkbuch für das deutsche Element* (1893) is based on an unpublished 1943 manuscript by William G. Bek, noted historian of the German element in Missouri. Tolzmann has now published Bek's translation with the permission of the Western Historical Manuscript Collection of the University of Missouri at Columbia, making this valuable resource for the history of the German element in St. Louis accessible to the larger English-reading audience. While the publication appears at first glance to benefit primarily those with an interest in German family history in second-half of the nineteenth century in St. Louis, it also makes abundantly clear just how ubiquitous those of German ancestry were in that city at the time of its zenith and just a decade prior to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904. Whether Kargau is cataloguing the commercial and professional offices, the manufacturing facilities, the cultural and recreational activities, or merely the histories of private individuals, the reader is overwhelmed by the impact of the German element in the city. Urban historians will also find a treasure trove of information on the city's early history as well.

Tolzmann's edition presents Kargau's descriptive narrative in three larger divisions, each in turn divided into a number of short chapters. First, a guide to St. Louis



takes the reader street by street through the main part of the city detailing the historical development, business establishments and prominent homes of twenty distinct neighborhoods. The second division depicts the rich variety of German-American life in the city. We are introduced to the beautiful city parks with beer gardens and band concerts as well as the many halls for the opera, orchestral, and theatrical performances frequented by the Germans. The many churches with German congregations are presented followed by the organizations of Free Thinkers. Social organizations such as the German Immigrant Society and the many gymnastic clubs organized by the Turners are described in some detail. A final division outlines the German contribution to business and industry in St. Louis with special attention to rail and river traffic.

In addition to providing the narrative with an overall organizational structure, Tolzmann contributes a brief introduction providing the reader with biographical information on Kargau—he worked for various St. Louis German newspapers, including the *Anzeiger des Westens* and the *Westliche Post* and also wrote some essays and short literary works. Tolzmann also links the German element in St. Louis with that of Milwaukee and Cincinnati to form the “Triangle” of German-American culture in the Midwest, again emphasizing the importance of the development of these three centers in our understanding of German-American history. Tolzmann completes this volume with a selective list of works focusing on the history of the German element in Missouri and St. Louis together with a number of bibliographical resources followed by an index of some 2,500 individuals mentioned in Kargau’s text. All in all, Tolzmann’s edition of this translation is a solid and detailed reference work about the German-American character of the fifth largest city in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century.

*University of Kansas*

*William Keel*

### **America’s Invisible Gulag: A Biography of German American Internment and Exclusion in World War II.**

*By Stephen Fox. New German-American Studies/Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien, vol. 23. New York: Peter Lang, 2000. xxiv + 379 pages. \$34.95.*

For all that has been written and reported regarding the presence of ethnic Germans in the United States during the World War I era, history has been remarkably quiet on the experience of this same group a quarter-century later, when World War II again brought to the fore the role of legal residents aliens and others who, despite no direct involvement in the political or military issues of the day, were obliged to defend themselves against charges of disloyalty and potentially subversive actions, often despite a lack of clear evidence of wrongdoing and at great personal cost for years to come. Recent history has scarcely been more kind. In the last twelve



years, Congress has passed various legislative acts which provide formal recognition of governmental misconduct—especially with regard to selective internment of enemy aliens and wholesale exclusion and evacuation—toward members of the Japanese-American and Italian-American communities; in the case of Japanese-Americans not only was a formal apology offered, but also financial compensation. As of this writing, disenfranchised German legal resident aliens and Americans of German extraction have been consistently excluded from such measures, based in part on incomplete (such as *Personal Justice Denied*, the report which served as the basis of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 recognizing the Japanese-American situation) and also inaccurate information, perpetuated by well-meaning but underinformed scholars and news reporters.

Compounding the problem has been a reluctance on the part of former internees to discuss their wartime experiences. Thousands of effected ethnic Germans have gone quietly to their graves, while others have steadfastly refused to comment after the fact, in both cases for fear of ridicule or even persecution by federal authorities. This silence has long hampered the efforts of researchers to set the historical record straight. But it also has provided scholars with additional motivation to document the cases of those ethnic Germans who, half a century later, are now willing to share their stories before it is too late for them to be heard. Offering proof to this end, Stephen Fox has assembled *America's Invisible Gulag*, labeled as a "Biography" of German Americans—he purposely does not hyphenate, "because it less obviously qualifies their Americanness" (xxiii)—negatively impacted by the events surrounding American involvement in World War II. True, Fox does tie together the various elements involved in the complex issues of ethnic internment and exclusion, skillfully putting a human face on processes which by their nature were inherently dehumanizing. But in many ways the text can just as easily be labeled an "Autobiography;" in the prologue, Fox readily acknowledges that his work is fundamentally an oral history project. In line with this view, Fox wisely makes the centerpiece of his study the personal stories of over thirty former internees, excludées, and their relatives, allowing them to share remembrances and otherwise make points that would be rendered less effective in a third-person format. Thus what sets *America's Invisible Gulag* apart from other studies of ethnic German wartime internment and exclusion is the degree to which those directly impacted relate the story. It is left to Fox to tie their narrative threads together into a readable, informative, even entertaining account—which he does quite well.

*America's Invisible Gulag* is divided into nine separate parts, all of which faithfully bring together scholarly documentation and analysis of German internment and exclusion with personal remembrances of their many effects on those involved, both positive and negative. While each segment has enough first-hand material to keep readers eagerly engaged, several of the chapters are of particular interest. The second part, "Arrest," discusses the formal background behind the apprehension of individuals deemed a threat to national security and the initial experiences of those who were taken away as a result. One consistent thread running through the narratives



provided is the total surprise that was felt at being arrested and detained, often under suspicion of pro-Nazi activities and club memberships; as one individual recounts, his father had come to America precisely "to get away from all that garbage [in Germany] . . . 'I came over here and thought I'd have a peaceful life'" (47). Parts four and five, "Army Camps" and "Immigration and Naturalization Camps," provide an illuminating glimpse into life in an internment facility, most notably the Fort Lincoln (North Dakota) and Crystal City (Texas) camps. Stories regarding the latter establishment admirably emphasize that, while internees did not choose to live in such an environment, they were treated by authorities in an altogether humane manner and even managed to enjoy certain aspects of their stay: "To tell the truth, I had a good time because there were many young people my age and many boy-girl relationships. . . . We surely had much freedom, probably a lot more than I would have had in Albany" (160). Part nine, "Repatriation," makes eminently clear that the conclusion of internment did not necessarily mean the end of wartime persecution for selected German legal resident aliens and their families. In fact things would become much worse in some cases: the terms of a December 1941 repatriation and exchange plan with Germany allowed the United States to send several thousand individuals back to Germany, both during the war and in its immediate aftermath, with much of the area in ruins. The inevitable result was a climate in which the former internees were welcome neither here nor there, left to fend for themselves in a culture of distrust and a nation which had ceased to exist: "The Germans didn't trust us; they thought we were American spies. Anybody who returned to Germany then and could speak English, well, there had to be something wrong. When the Americans came in they didn't trust us either because they thought the same thing. Anybody who speaks English and knows German, well, they have to be spies" (243).

It is stories such as these which set *America's Invisible Gulag* apart from previous scholarly works in the area. It succeeds admirably in relating the misfortunes of over 10,000 ethnic Germans at a time when one's place of birth and ancestry assumed much greater importance than otherwise would be the case. Through their own simple, occasionally passionate words, these German Americans offer a compelling tale of the human cost of internment and exclusion—a vital point all too often lost in ongoing scholarly debate over the internment issue and how it is reported. Half a century after the fact, we can be thankful for their willingness finally to speak for the record, and for Fox's diligence in piecing together their stories. They are decidedly worth hearing.

Missouri Western State College

Timothy J. Holian

### **Freedom, Education and Well-Being for All!: North Germans in the USA 1847-1860.**

*By Joachim Reppmann. Verlag für Amerikanistik/Hesperian Press, 1999. 283 pages.*

The thesis of this study—that emigration from Schleswig-Holstein to the



Middle West of the United States after the failed revolution against Denmark in 1848 resulted not so much from dire economic conditions in the homeland, although such did exist, but essentially rather from the political powder keg during and after the conflagration of 1848—is documented in detail. This underlying proposition is to be supported by examination of the emigration from Schleswig-Holstein within the context of its social history. Further in this investigation, the process of acculturation in all its manifold ramifications is viewed as part of the social history of the new country. The examination thereof is delineated into four distinct main chapters in which each has the task of clarifying one facet of the proposal.

Chapter one consists of a relatively detailed introduction to the general proposition and defines and limits the scope of this undertaking. The reader is made aware of the smaller number of pre-1848 immigrants from Schleswig-Holstein already residing in the American Midwest. These were the seventy well-educated individuals who settled in Wisconsin as “Latin farmers,” i.e., men who would be engaged partly in agriculture but also who would be dedicated to continued political work in one form or another in their new homeland. These early emigrants formed a nucleus and acted as a conduit for those who would follow, the so-called forty-eighters, in the years from 1848 to 1856. The term forty-eighters is defined as those intellectuals who left Schleswig-Holstein for political reasons during these years. One question remains relatively open, namely, how many forty-eighters were there? A determination is difficult and would rest essentially upon the definition of a “revolutionary” in Schleswig-Holstein at the time. The number has been estimated to be as low as 500 and as high as 10,000. More research remains to be conducted on this aspect of the study. The author, essentially concerned with the political motivation for emigration, does allow that the catastrophic economic conditions of the time also fostered the emigration of large numbers of farmers, day laborers and their respective dependents. He feels justified to consider them also as part of the forty-eighters since most had fought as volunteers in the conflagration against Denmark. The reader, for purposes of orientation, is reminded of the novel political position in which Schleswig-Holstein found itself, one which, perhaps, is often not fully considered in other studies which concern themselves with mass emigration. Schleswig-Holstein was ruled from Copenhagen and the king was lord over Schleswig but a vassal of the German Kaiser with respect to Holstein. In addition, both duchies were under Danish administration by reason of a personal union with the Danish crown. The emigrant Schleswig-Holsteiners to be studied here settled, as was often the case with other emigrant/immigrant groups, essentially in a few rural areas in the American Midwest so that the process of their acculturation can be documented with relative alacrity.

The subsequent four chapters present the scholarly research undertaken. Chapter two, “Schleswig-Holstein Prior to the Revolution of 1848,” reviews the particular status politically of this southern area of the Danish kingdom. King Christian VIII attempted to establish his singular and complete control over the duchies. This



finally led to the political rupture between Schleswig-Holstein and the Copenhagen government and also would lead to contact with the growing pan-German nationalism. Strict censorship of the press in the duchies, singularly imposed by the Copenhagen government, infuriated many intellectuals and led to their actively trying to burst the bonds of Danish authority and also to seeking a closer association with the German Federation. Men whose names today are still well known in Schleswig-Holstein—such as Theodor Olshausen and Hans Reimar Claussen, to mention only two—were active in the homeland in this anti-Danish movement and later after emigration would continue to be highly influential in the developments occurring in their new homeland in America.

Agricultural production formed the economic base of the two duchies; industrial development, emerging in the cities, was still in its infancy. Economic conditions for at least 30 percent of the population, day laborers on the farms, had deteriorated successively since the earlier part of the century so that an agricultural proletariat had become a reality. These dire economic conditions did play a role in the revolution and in emigration. The author maintains, however, that the majority of the emigrants departed not only because of such economic factors, as may well have been the case in other German territories, but rather as a type of substitute revolution. This resulted from the realization that no political solution would be forthcoming at home in the foreseeable future.

"Forty-Eighters in Schleswig-Holstein, 1848-1851," chapter three, examines the broad political spectrum among the revolutionaries. By no means did these men form a homogeneous political group, but rather fanned across the political landscape from the left, those with communist leanings, to the right, those of strong conservative views. The common bond among them, though, which held them together even if loosely, was the desire of terminating the "oppressive" rule exercised by Denmark.

The newspapers of those years in Schleswig-Holstein are drawn upon extensively to illustrate the major political events and political sentiment in the duchies. Not only is the press also in other German territories researched but that too of the United States with a discerning scholarly eye especially upon the German-American press. Thereby, the measure of political temperament and concern with respect to the Schleswig-Holstein question can be measured on both sides of the Atlantic.

The final two chapters, and especially chapter five, form another major impetus of this study: "Expectations About and Mass Emigration to the Midwest" and "Citizenship and Acculturation in the Midwest." The aim here is to investigate "... the problems of acculturation in the land of reception" (13). Further, "it is precisely the decade before the American Civil War that offers us, in the case of a homogeneous emigrant group like the Schleswig-Holsteiners, the opportunity to evaluate critically the very superficial and general theses of the time concerning the socio-economic and political behavior of the German-speaking immigrants" (13).

Economic necessity, given the dreadful conditions many experienced, especially those at the lower strata of society, contributed to no small extent to the wave of emigration. This the author does accept. Extensive literature glorifying life in



America—especially in the Midwest, which enjoyed wide circulation in Schleswig-Holstein—induced many to emigrate. In addition, personal accounts, either in the form of glowing letters from Schleswig-Holsteiners in the New World or as personally presented reports by returned travelers, are shown to have exercised major impact upon the actual decision to depart for the American Midwest. Following his principle thesis, the author documents extensively that the major underlying reasons, though, were not economic but rather of a political nature—the defeat of the revolution and a yearning to establish democratic rule in the new homeland. Initially this “exile” to America was viewed by many of the emigrating intellectuals as only a temporary respite; the hope remained that a return to Schleswig-Holstein would be possible, in order to establish a democratic republican state between the North Sea and the Baltic.

This emigration can readily be viewed as a chain migration in these years, i.e., from one region to another region, from Schleswig-Holstein to Iowa and Wisconsin. It is, therefore, justified to speak of Schleswig-Holstein colonies in the Midwest of the United States. A detailed account of the acculturation and assimilation of these immigrants in their new homeland forms a most interesting chapter of this work. It was no easy evolution but it did occur over a relatively short time span. The newcomers had become Americans, who were and whose successors today are still proud of their heritage. Social institutions, schools, churches, social clubs, lodges, sports organizations, etc., although initially German in their character, found their way into the fabric of domestic American life. The process of acculturation, given the ever-so-strong bonds to the homeland, could not and cannot be halted. The concerns for developments within Germany slowly but definitely began to take a back seat. Economically these immigrants were usually quite successful. Even if it appears that the process of acculturation may have been initially slow, the American Civil War, as is here demonstrated, gave the final thrust towards Americanization.

In addition to the text of the study, annotations for each chapter—a total of seventy-four pages—are provided in great detail. Of interest are also the pages of photographs of the major figures referred to as forty-eighters; a biography of Theodor Olshausen from the Davenport Democrat of 22 March 1879; an appendix of military officers; an extensive list of sources and bibliography; and finally an index of names. One may have wished for a more extensive index to include also subject matter. The inclusion of maps of Schleswig-Holstein and of the Midwest of the United States would perhaps have been helpful as well.

This volume presents a major undertaking in the field of emigration/immigration history. The reader should be careful not to lose sight of the main thesis, political concerns above economic ones, within the wealth of presented material. It may be an aid to consult the conclusions of each chapter before reviewing the detailed material in the respective chapter, in order to incorporate intellectually the contribution made by each chapter sub-section to the final conclusion. The author is to be praised for his diligence and extensive research.



**Over The Barrel: The Brewing History and Beer Culture of Cincinnati.  
Volume One: 1800-Prohibition.**

*By Timothy J. Holian. St. Joseph, MO: Sudhaus Press, 2000. 356 pages. \$24.95*

This work is a rare treat, a perfect combination of history and brewing bottled together into a solidly researched, easy- and fun-to-read book that appeals to history buffs, German-American scholars and beer lovers alike. The author's skillful narrative coupled with the hundreds of illustrations, charts and notes will simultaneously entertain and educate the average reader even as it satisfies historians, sociologists and zymurgists. What is truly amazing is how Holian takes a subject that is indeed literally *ein Fass ohne Boden* and gets his hands around 120 years of Cincinnati history so deftly. The author not only knows his subject, but he loves it. This book is a labor of love.

Cincinnati's tradition as a brewing center is indeed as colorful, important and interesting as that of St. Louis or Milwaukee. The city's strategic location on the Ohio River helped it become a major gateway to the West. Its rising population of immigrants assured the growth of the brewing industry during a time of rapid expansion and industrialization. Its good water, and ready access to hops and barley of the Midwest, made it a natural brewing center. As America grew, so did Cincinnati—and so did its breweries: The John Hauck Brewing Company, Windisch-Muhlhauser (Lion Brewery), The Christian Moerlein Brewing Company, Foss-Schneider Brewing Company and Wiedemann, to name but a few.

Cincinnati's formal brewing history began roughly at the turn of the nineteenth century with the establishment of several commercial ale breweries. Porter, stout and ale (top-fermented beers) were forging brews, cheap and easy to make, with a brewing to consumption time measured in mere days and weeks. These were beers brewed locally to satisfy local thirsts.

When the Germans arrived in the late 1840s, they brought with them the latest in brewing breakthroughs: lager yeast. The resulting bottom-fermented lager brews were bright, clear and lighter in color than their ale cousins. They revolutionized brewing worldwide and turned Cincinnati's brewing tradition on its ear. Suddenly, Cincinnati was a lager beer town. This change of allegiance from top- to bottom-fermentation took place nationwide, not just in Cincinnati. Indeed, only New England with its strong English tradition and relatively small numbers of Central European immigrants continued to brew ale as a primary product line. As went the nation, so went Cincinnati. There was not enough of that clear golden, smooth-tasting elixir to go around. Lager breweries sprang up like mushrooms after a rain.

The author does a masterful job of explaining how an ever-growing number of Cincinnati brewers were able to satisfy their own local market at the expense of export-minded brewers in St. Louis and Milwaukee. The Cincinnati lager brewers had a remarkable lock on their own market that easily survived the impact of the Civil War on brewers and suppliers. In fact, by the end of the Civil War, Cincinnati had one of the largest per capita beer consumption rates in the entire

United States. In 1867, there were 28 breweries in the city of Cincinnati and another six in nearby suburbs. The city was awash in suds.

The post-war boom with its technological advances ensured that the next generation of German-American lager brewers had more than a local market clamoring for their beers. Refrigeration, the railroad and modern technical advances (i.e., bottling machines, steam-powered brewing operations) made possible the mass production and shipping of lager beer state- and nationwide. Fortunes were made in the handling and processing of malt, hops, yeast and water during the 1880s. This was the golden age of Cincinnati brewing.

But such expansion and growth was ultimately unsustainable and led to inevitable consolidation within the brewing industry. Again, Holian explains this nationwide trend within the context of Cincinnati's own particular social, labor and industrial framework of the time: national expansion westward, anti-immigration sentiment, the depression of the early 1890s, growing labor unrest, disputes between breweries and saloonkeepers, Cincinnati politics—and the Temperance and Prohibitionist movements.

Growing Prohibitionist sentiment coupled with early twentieth-century legislation sharply limiting distilled and malt liquors chilled the brewing climate further and quickened the pace of brewery consolidation. Brewers across the United States, not just in Cincinnati, grossly underestimated the power of the Anti-Saloon League that blurred the distinction between beer and hard liquor while associating beer almost exclusively with the German element.

With the outbreak of World War I and American sentiment squarely on the side of the British, German-American brewing interests were completely undermined. Many German-American brewers were astonished to find themselves accused of providing financial and emotional support to the enemy. In many cities, including Cincinnati, wartime Prohibition measures brought beer brewing to a halt. Formal nationwide Prohibition brought legal brewing to an end. Breweries tried to make near-beer, soda and ice to stay afloat, but many never weathered the four-year drought. But that is the subject of another book. *Over the Barrel* is a two-volume work. Holian plans a second book to complete the Cincinnati brewing saga from Prohibition to the present. Holian brings history to life, with illustrations, pictures, advertisements and newspaper accounts, and with a warmth and sense of humor that make the book truly enjoyable for a wide audience.

*Dublin, Ireland*

*Paula Weber*



## 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. Hoyt and Dolores J., Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI).

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The Bibliography includes references to books, articles, dissertations and selected media relating to the experience of German-speaking people in North America and their descendants. The Bibliographic Committee wishes to thank the IUPUI University Library for its generous cooperation.

### Abbreviations:

<i>AA</i>	=	<i>Annals of Iowa</i>
<i>AHR</i>	=	<i>American Historical Review</i>
<i>AJH</i>	=	<i>American Jewish History</i>
<i>ASHHSN</i>	=	<i>American/Schleswig-Holstein Heritage Society Newsletter</i>
<i>BLT</i>	=	<i>Brethren Life and Thought</i>
<i>DR</i>	=	<i>Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society</i>
<i>GCY</i>	=	<i>German-Canadian Yearbook</i>
<i>GQ</i>	=	<i>German Quarterly</i>
<i>GSR</i>	=	<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:

Brinkmann/Wolff. Brinkmann, Reinhold, and Christoph Wolff, eds. *Driven Into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*. Berkeley, CA: Univ. of California Press, 1999. 373 pp.



## I. Supplements for 1998

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2. Avery, Donald H. "Canadian Workers and American Immigration Restrictions: A Case of the Windsor Commuters, 1924-1931." *Mid-America: An Historical Review* 80.3 (Fall 1998): 235-64. German-Canadians were a major component of these workers.
3. Bauer, Ingrid. "'Austria's Prestige Dragged into the Dirt?': The 'GI-Brides' and Postwar Austrian Society (1945-1955)." In: *Women in Austria*, ed. by Günter Bischof, Anton Pelinka, and Erika Thurner, 41-55. Contemporary Austrian Studies, v. 6. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1998.
4. Bickel, Cornielius. *Tönnies in Toronto*. Soziologische Arbeitsberichte der Christian Albrecht Universität. Kiel: Institut für Soziologie, 1998. 36 pp.
5. Birchford, Maynard. "Avery Brundage: Chicago Businessman." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 91.4 (Winter 1998): 218-32.
6. Brotman, Charles. "The Winner Loses: Ernst Bloch and His America." *American Music* 16.4 (Winter 1998): 417-47.
7. Depkat, Volker. *Amerikabilder in politischen Diskursen: Deutsche Zeitschriften 1789-1830*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1998. 588 pp.
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13. Holzapfel, Otto. *Religiöse Identität und Gesangbuch: zur Ideologieggeschichte deutschsprachiger Einwanderer in den USA und die Auseinandersetzung um das 'richtige' Gesangbuch*. Deutsche Volkslieder mit ihren Melodien, Bd. 12. Bern, New York: P. Lang, 1998. 294 pp. Lutherans.
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- Wißner, 1998. 341 pp. Based on Ph.D. diss., Bonn, 1997.
30. Pfanner, Helmut. "Weinheber oder Waldinger: Österreichische Lyrik im Licht und Schatten des Nationalsozialismus." In: *Deutschsprachige Exillyrik von 1933 bis zur Nachkriegszeit*, ed. by Jörg Thunecke, 67-82. Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1998.
  31. Piersig, Erhard. "Quellenlage zur Auswanderung in den Archiven der Evangelisch Lutherischen Landeskirche Mecklenburgs." *Vorträge zur mecklenburgischen Familienforschung* 6/7 (1998): 43-53.
  32. Piskiewicz, Dennis. *Wernher von Braun: The Man Who Sold the Moon*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998. 240 pp.
  33. Pula, James S. *The Sigel Regiment: A History of the Twenty-Sixth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, 1862-1865*. Campbell, CA: Savas, 1998. 483 pp.
  34. Reimers, David M. *Unwelcome Strangers: American Identity and the Turn Against Immigration*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1998. 199 pp.
  35. Reiter, Andrea. "'Gast in fremden Kulturen': Die Lyrik Hans Sahls." In: *Deutschsprachige Exillyrik von 1933 bis zur Nachkriegszeit*, ed. by Jörg Thunecke, 307-23. Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1998.
  36. Ricento, Thomas. "National Language Policy in the United States." In: *Language and Politics in the United States and Canada: Myths and Realities*, ed. by Thomas Ricento, and Barbara Burnaby, 85-112. Mahwah, NJ: L. Erlbaum, 1998. Emphasis on modern policies but includes some historical background.
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  39. Schnurmann, Claudia. *Europa trifft Amerika: Atlantische Wirtschaft in der frühen Neuzeit: 1492-1783*. Frankfurt/M.: Fischer Verlag, 1998. 264 pp.
  40. Schoonover, Thomas. *Germany in Central America: Competitive Imperialism, 1821-1929*. Tuscaloosa: Univ. of Alabama Press, 1998. 317 pp.
  41. Shetler, John C. "The Restoration of the Muhlenberg House." *Der Reggeboge* 32.2 (1998): 3-21.
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  45. Weltzien, Wolf Luedecke von. "Mecklenburger in aller Welt: eine Nachlese." *Zeitschrift für niederdeutsche Familienkunde* 73.2 (1998): 81-83.
  46. Wendt, Victor. *Back to the Banat*. St. Louis, MO: V. Wendt, 1998. 313 pp. G-As in

- fiction; young American drafted into intelligence services due to his Banat-German ethnicity.
47. Wiley, Terrence G. "The Imposition of World War I Era English-Only Policies and the Fate of German in North America." In: *Language and Politics in the United States and Canada: Myths and Realities*, ed. by Thomas Ricento, and Barbara Burnaby, 211-41. Mahwah, NJ: L. Erlbaum, 1998.
  48. Williams, Colin H. "Introduction: Respecting the Citizens: Reflections on Language Policy in Canada and the United States." In: *Language and Politics in the United States and Canada: Myths and Realities*, ed. by Thomas Ricento, and Barbara Burnaby, 1-32. Mahwah, NJ: L. Erlbaum 1998. General piece on multi-lingual societies and government policies.
  49. Zaniewski, Kazimierz J., and Carol J. Rosen. *The Atlas of Ethnic Diversity in Wisconsin*. Madison, WI: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1998. 235 pp.

## II. Works Published in 1999

50. Aberle, Pius. *From Germany to Russia to the Dakotas: The Peter Aberle Family*. United States: P. Aberle, 1999. 96 pp.
51. Adams, Marcia. *New Recipes from Quilt Country: Notecards with Recipes on the Back*. New York: Galison, 1999. 1 portfolio. Quilts from the Museum of American Folk Art, NY.
52. Adams, Willi Paul. "German Translations of the American Declaration of Independence." *Journal of American History* 85.4 (1999): 1325-49. Translations and reception of the Declaration of Independence in Germany.
53. Adler, Jeffrey S. "'If We Can't Live in Peace, We Might as Well Die': Homicide-Suicide in Chicago, 1875-1910." *Journal of Urban History* 26.1 (1999): 3-21. G-A immigrant workers facing economic instability and cultural change.
54. Aengenvoort, Anne. *Migration, Siedlungsbildung, Akkulturation: die Auswanderung Nordwestdeutscher nach Ohio, 1830-1914*. Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beihefte, Nr. 150. Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1999. 371 pp. Originally presented as author's Ph.D. diss., Bonn, 1997.
55. Agria, Mary. "The Lutherans Time (Almost) Forgot." *Journal of the German-Texan Heritage Society* 21.3 (1999): 180-84. TX Wendish Lutherans; Concordia Univ., Austin, TX.
56. Agstner, Rudolf. "Das k.u.k. Konsulat in Milwaukee 1867-1907 (2)." *Rot Weiss Rot* (Jan. 1999): 18.
57. Allendorf, Otmar, Bernd Broer, and Rolf-Dietrich Müller, eds. *Auf nach Amerika! Beiträge zur Amerika-Auswanderung des 19. Jahrhunderts aus dem Paderborner Land und zur Wiederbelebung der historischen Beziehungen im 20. Jahrhundert*. Bd. 2: *Auswanderer des 19. Jahrhunderts aus den Kreisen Büren und Paderborn*. Paderborn: Bonifatius, 1999. 499 pp. Sponsored by: Deutsch-Amerikanischer Freundeskreis Paderborn-Belleville, IL.
58. American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, Northern Illinois Chapter. *Unser Leute: Settlers in Northern Illinois*. Ed. by Carolyn Swenson. 3rd printing. Palatine,



- IL: The Chapter, 1999. 1 v.
59. *American History in Ballad and Song*. Vol. 2. Custom Compact Disc Series, FH 5802. Washington, DC: Smithsonian/Folkways Recordings, 1999, c1962. 3 CDs Includes song: German-American Loyalty.
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  61. Amstutz, Levi E. *Historical Sketches of Kidron, Ohio*. Comp. and ed. by Harvey Gardner. Kidron, OH: Reprinted by the Kidron Community Historical Society, 1999, c1936. 63 pp. Compilation of articles written by author for the *Kidron News* in the mid 1930s; Mennonites.
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  70. \_\_\_\_\_. "'Mien Gott! Wo Schriffman Platt? / My God! How does one Write Platt?" *American/Schleswig-Holstein Heritage Society Newsletter* 11.2 (Mar./April 1999): 13.
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  73. Asper, Helmut G., and Jan-Christopher Horak. "Three Smart Guys: How a Few Penniless German Emigres Saved Universal Studios." *Film History [Australia]* 11.2 (1999): 134-53. Berlin emigre directors, writers, and producers, Joe Pasternak, Henry Koster, and Felix Jackson.
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75. Aumend, Rex D., and Norman R. Peters. "The Am Endt Family of Weisenheim am Berg, Pfalz, Germany, and of Pennsylvania." *Menmonite Family History* 18.4 (1999): 170+.
76. Axtman, Mary Lynn. *Das Buch of Michael Buchler and Margaretha Reiter: Ancestors and Descendants, 1700-1999, Baden, Germany; Russia; North Dakota, USA*. Fargo, ND: M. Axtman, 1999. 103 leaves.
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81. Bahra, Peter J. "Collections Corner: Another Round, Saloons and Beer Gardens in Cincinnati." *Queen City Heritage* 57.1 (Spring 1999): 41-49. Chiefly illustrations.
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83. Bandhalt, Siegfried. "US-Brigadier-General Bandholtz, ein ungarischer Nationalheld und seine Vorfahren aus Holstein." *Familienkundliches Jahrbuch Schleswig-Holstein* 35 (1999): 4-7.
84. Barber, Fred. "A German Partisan Ranger: Wenzel Ernst." *Civil War Times Illustrated* 38.1 (Mar. 1999): 80. Civil War; Texas Partisan Rangers.
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86. Bartolosch, Thomas A., Cornelius Neutsch, and Karl Jürgen Roth, eds. *Siegerländer und Wittgensteiner in der Neuen Welt: Auswanderung im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*. Siegen: Universität Siegen, 1999. 128 pp.
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89. Baxter, Angus. *In Search of Your German Roots: A Complete Guide to Tracing Your Ancestors in the Germanic Areas of Europe*. 3rd ed. Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Pub. Co., 1999. 114 pp.



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91. Bazin, Jean. "Generalized Ethnology." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 98 (Winter 1999): 23-34.
92. Becker, Claudia Anita. "German American." *Monatshefte* 91.2 (1999): 169.
93. Beckert, Kai-Sven. "Readability and Phrasal Verbs in Texts Written by German and American Writers." M.A. thesis, St. Cloud State Univ., 1999. 72 leaves.
94. Behring, Rainer. *Demokratische Aussenpolitik für Deutschland: die aussenpolitischen Vorstellungen deutscher Sozialdemokraten im Exil 1933-1945*. Düsseldorf: Droste, 1999. 674 pp.
95. Beiler, David. *Eine Vermahnung oder Andenken*. Sugar Grove, PA (RD #4 Box 241, Sugar Grove, PA 16350): Joe A. Byler, 1999. 34 pp. Geschrieben von Bischof David Beiler ungefähr im Jahr 1860; Reprint of 1929 ed.; Amish-Mennonites in PA and OH.
96. Bell, Michael Everette. "Regional Identity in the Antebellum South: How German Immigrants Became 'Good' Charlestonians." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 100.1 (1999): 9-28.
97. Belser Wissenschaftlicher Dienst. *1848/49 Revolution*. Quelleneditionen zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Amerika, Projekt 1. Wildberg: Belser Wissenschaftlicher Dienst, 1999. 53 titles on 151 microfiche + short title catalogue (9 leaves). Titles in English and German; German 1848/1849 revolutionaries: their impact on 19th century America.
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99. Benner, Henry G., et al. *One Hundred Years of the Welsh Mountain Experience*. New Holland, PA: Welsh Mountain Home, Masthof Press, 1999. 52 pp. Mennonites in Lancaster County, PA.
100. Bentz, Edna M. *If I Can, You Can Decipher Germanic Records*. San Diego, CA: E. Bentz, 1999, c1982. 87 leaves.
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*Yearbook of German-American Studies*  
**Twenty-Year Index: Volumes 16-35 (1981-2000)**  
**Articles, Review Essays, and Book Reviews**

William D. Keel, Editor

The twenty-year index combines the two earlier indexes for the *Yearbook* of 1985 and 1992 with those items published from 1993 to 2000. Its format follows that of the 1992 index beginning with an alphabetical listing by author of articles. This is followed by a separate listing for bibliographical and review essays. A third listing contains books reviewed, alphabetized by authors of books. An alphabetical index of authors of book reviews together with co-authors of articles follows. The topical index covers both articles and book reviews and utilizes the topical index of the two earlier published indexes as its basis.

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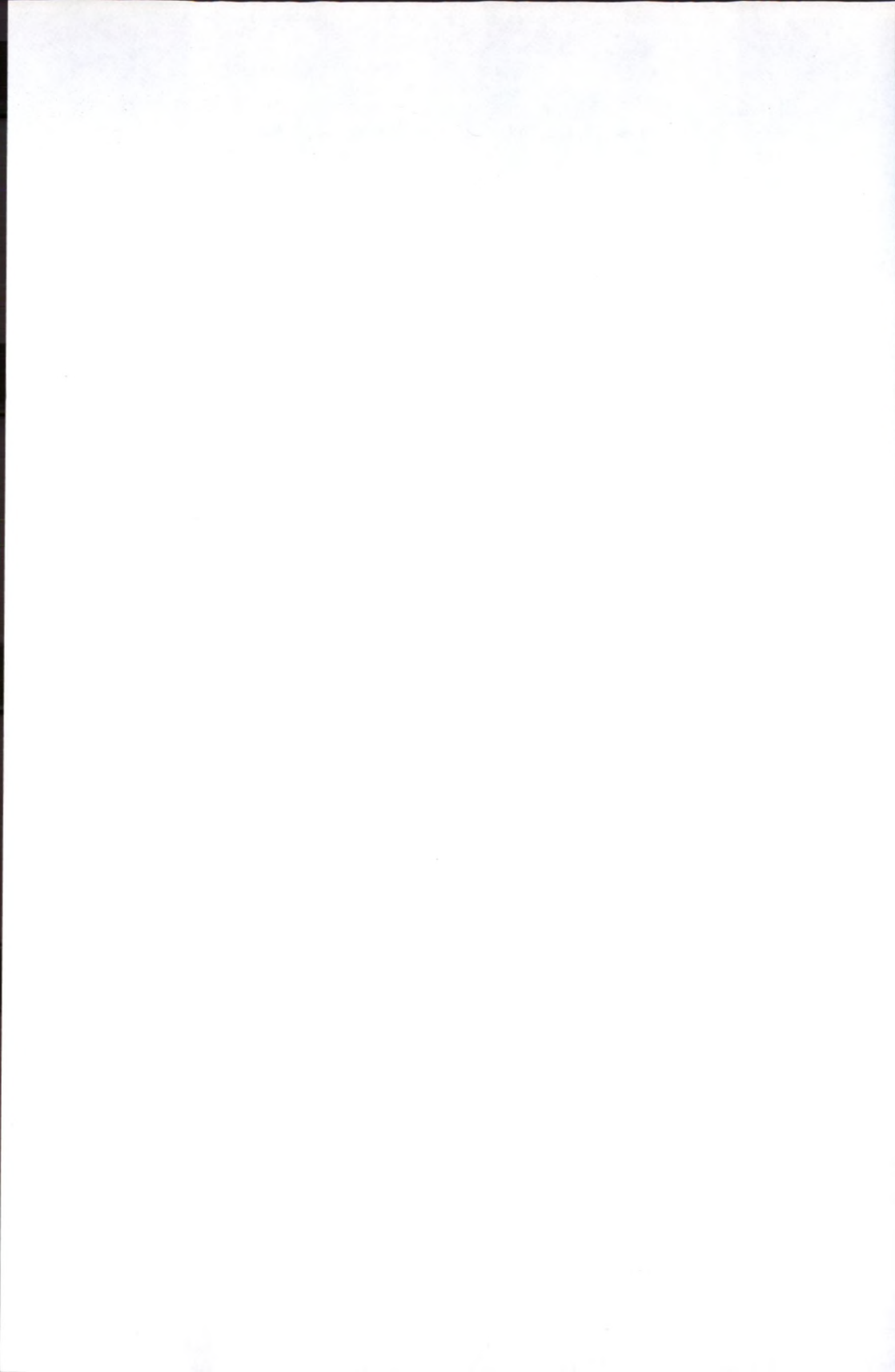
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# **SOCIETY FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES**

## **Bylaws**

### **Article I. Name and Purpose**

1. The name of Society shall be the Society for German-American Studies.
2. The purpose of this Society shall be:
  - 2.1. To engage in and promote interest in the study of the history, literature, linguistics, folklore, genealogy, theater, music and other creative art forms of the German element in the Americas.
  - 2.2. To publish, produce, and present research findings and educational materials of the same as a public service.
  - 2.3. To assist researchers, teachers and students.
  - 2.4. To improve cross-cultural relations between the German-speaking countries and the Americas.

### **Article II. Membership**

1. Membership in the Society shall be open to all persons and organizations interested in German-American Studies.
2. Application for membership shall be made in the manner prescribed by the Membership Committee.
3. If any person being a member of the Society shall at any time be guilty of an act which is prejudicial to the Society, or to the purpose for which it was formed, such person shall be notified of his/her right to submit a written explanation of such acts within thirty days after formal notification. If the clarification is not acceptable to the Executive Committee, then at its discretion the individual's membership can be terminated.

### **Article III. Officers**

1. Except as otherwise required by law or provided by these Bylaws, the entire control of the Society and its affairs and property shall be vested in its Executive Committee as trustees.

2. The Executive Committee consists of the elected officers of the Society and the editors of its publications.
3. The term of office in the Society shall be for two years.
4. Officers are elected at the annual meeting.
5. The officers of the Society shall be president, first vice president, second vice president, secretary, and treasurer, all of whom are members of the Society, and are elected at the annual meeting of the members, and shall hold office for two years.
6. The duties of the officers are as follows:
  - 6.1. The president shall perform the function as the official spokesman of the Society, serve as chair of the Executive Committee, and preside over the annual meeting.
  - 6.2. The first vice president shall maintain the procedures for the annual meetings, and coordinate the annual meeting schedule.
  - 6.3. The second vice president shall coordinate the annual awards for outstanding achievement in the field of German-American Studies.
  - 6.4. The secretary shall function as the secretary of the annual meetings, and will also be the coordinator of all membership drives of the Society.
  - 6.5. The treasurer shall keep the financial records of the Society, and shall present an annual report at the annual meeting to the membership.
7. The resignation of any officer shall be tendered to the Executive Committee.
8. If any vacancy should occur the Executive Committee shall elect a member of the Society to fill such vacancy for the unexpired term of the person whom he or she replaces.
9. No organization shall serve as a member of the Executive Committee.
10. No officer shall receive directly or indirectly any salary, compensation, or emolument from the Society. The Society may, however, pay compensation to employees or agents who are not members of the Society.



## **Article IV. Meetings**

1. The Society shall hold an annual meeting and symposium.
2. The Executive Committee shall meet at the annual meeting.
3. A quorum of any meeting of this Society shall constitute a majority of the members present.

## **Article V. Order of Business and Parliamentary Procedures**

1. Robert's Rules of Order shall be the authority followed for parliamentary procedures at all meetings of the Society.
2. The order of business at any meeting of the members of the Society shall be as follows:
  - 2.1. Call to order
  - 2.2. Reading of minutes of the last meeting
  - 2.3. Reports of officers
  - 2.4. Reports of committees
  - 2.5. Unfinished business
  - 2.6. Communications
  - 2.7. Election and installation of officers
  - 2.8. General business
  - 2.9. Adjournment
3. The order of business at any meeting may be changed by a vote of the majority of the members present. A motion to change the order of business shall not be debatable.

## **Article VI. Dues and Finances**

1. The annual dues of all members are on a calendar-year basis payable in advance by 31 January. Non-payment of dues will result in a cancellation of membership.
2. The funds of the Society shall be deposited or kept with a bank or trust company. Such funds shall be disbursed upon order of such officers as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee.
3. The fiscal year shall be from January through December.
4. The amount of dues and assessments shall be set by a vote of the membership at the annual meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose.

## **Article VIII. Nominations and Elections**

1. The Executive Committee shall appoint an Election Committee. It is this Committee's duty to conduct the election of the officers.
2. The Election Committee shall not consist of persons who have been nominated for an office.
3. Election of officers will be at the annual meeting during the general business meeting of the membership.
4. All officers shall take office on 1 June of the year in which they were elected.

## **Article IX. Affiliates**

1. The Executive Committee shall determine regulations pertaining to affiliate membership in the Society.
2. The Executive Committee shall have sole discretion, subject to these Bylaws, in authorizing the approval of affiliates of the Society.

## **Article X. Committees**

1. The Executive Committee consists of the elected officers and editors of the Society.
2. The Executive Committee shall supervise the affairs of the Society and regulate its internal economy, approve expenditures and commitments, act for and carry out the established policies of the Society, and report to the membership through the president at its annual meeting. Four members of the Committee shall constitute a quorum.
3. Except as otherwise provided by these Bylaws, the president shall annually designate committees other than the Executive Committee and the Election Committee, and at the time of the appointment shall designate their chairpersons.

## **Article XI. Publications**

1. The official publications of the Society are its quarterly *Newsletter* and its annual *Yearbook of German-American Studies*.
2. The editors of SGAS publications shall be appointed by the Executive Committee.



3. Copyright in all publications of the Society is held by the Society for German-American Studies.

## **Article XII. Amendments**

Alterations or amendments to these Bylaws shall be considered at any meeting of the members of the Society and become effective if a majority of the members present at such meeting, either present in person, or by mail ballot, vote in favor of such change in the Bylaws, provided that notice of the proposed amendment has been mailed by the secretary to the members of the Society with provision for voting by secret mail ballot.

## **Article XIII. Dissolution**

Upon the dissolution of the Society, the Executive Committee shall, after paying or making provision for the payment of all of the liabilities of the Society, dispose of all of the assets of the Society exclusively for the purposes of the Society in such manner, or to such organization or organizations organized and operated exclusively for charitable, educational, religious or scientific purposes as shall at the time qualify as an exempt organization or organizations under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (or the corresponding provision of any future United States Revenue Law), as the Executive Committee shall determine.

## **Publication Fund Policy**

### **Publication Fund**

Thanks to the foresight of the Executive Committee and the generosity of numerous individual contributors, the Publication Fund, begun in the tricentennial year 1983, has now reached its goal of a principal balance of a minimum of \$100,000. The annual interest yield from this principal shall be allocated during the following calendar year for publication subsidies upon recommendation of the Publication Committee and with the approval of the Executive Committee. At the beginning of each calendar year, the Treasurer shall report to the Executive Committee and the Publication Committee the total amount of interest income earned by the Publication Fund during the preceding twelve-month period. This amount shall be available for publication subsidies, unless needed to support publication of the Society's *Yearbook*. Unallocated interest will be added to the principal at the end of a given calendar year.

### **Application**

Individual members of the Society for German-American Studies in good

standing may apply for a publication subsidy to be awarded during a given calendar year by submitting a letter of application to the chair of the Publication Committee by January 31 of that year. A complete application shall consist of:

- a letter requesting a publication subsidy;
- curriculum vitae of the author;
- table of contents and abstract of the book;
- documentation of the publication costs to be borne by the author; and
- three (3) letters of support from colleagues.

Publication subsidies will be considered for book-length manuscripts which adhere to the scholarly purposes of the Society for German-American Studies as described in the front matter of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies*:

... 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.

### **Amount of Award and Conditions of Repayment**

Awards will be announced at the Annual Symposium. The amount of an individual award shall not exceed \$2,000 or 50% of the publication cost to be borne by the author, whichever is less. In the event that the author's book realizes a profit, the subsidy shall be repaid proportionate to its percentage of the publication cost borne by the author until repaid in full. Appropriate acknowledgment of the support must appear in the front matter of the publication.

### **Publication Committee**

The three-member Publication Committee will normally be chaired by the editor of the Society's *Yearbook*. The president of the Society will annually appoint the two additional members of the committee, including at least one member not holding a position on the Executive Committee for that year.

Adopted: 21 October 2000, Frankenmuth, Michigan

Effective Date: 1 January 2001

Publication Committee for 2001

Chair: William Keel, University of Kansas  
Helmut J. Schmeller, Fort Hays State University  
Jerry Glenn, University of Cincinnati



## Research Fund Policy

Thanks to the generosity of an anonymous donor, the Society for German-American Studies has established the **Albert Bernard Faust Research Fund**. The Research Fund provides financial support for scholars conducting research in the field of German-American Studies as defined by the Society.

The Research Fund is managed by the Treasurer of the Society. The amount available for recipients in any given year depends on the annual earnings of the fund. The maximum amount to be awarded in a calendar year will be \$500, with one award made annually and announced at the Society's Annual Symposium.

A three-person committee administers the Research Fund, reviews applications, and makes recommendations to the Society's Executive Committee for final action. The Research Committee consists of the chair (normally the editor of the Society's *Newsletter*), and two additional members; one selected from the Society's Executive Committee, and one selected from the membership at large.

Members of the Society for German-American Studies, especially younger scholars establishing their research programs, are encouraged to apply for financial support for the following research-related activities in the field of German-American Studies:

- travel expenses necessary for scholarly research, including domestic and international travel;
- expenses connected to xeroxing, storing and organization of data, and other office expenses connected to scholarly research;
- expenses related to the preparation of a book manuscript for publication or another means of disseminating the results of one's research (e.g., CD-ROM);
- expenses related to the preparation of a scholarly exhibit.

Applicants should submit the following to chair of the committee by the end of January in a given calendar year for consideration of support during that year:

- a current curriculum vitae;
- a description of the project indicating its importance to German-American Studies;
- two letters of support.

The first award from the Research Fund will be made in 2002.

Adopted: 21 October 2000, Frankenmuth, Michigan

Effective Date: 1 January 2001

SGAS Research Committee for 2001

Chair: La Vern Rippley, St. Olaf College  
Gerhard Weiss, University of Minnesota-Twin Cities  
Adolf Schroeder, University of Missouri





