

YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Volume 36

2001



The Society for

German-American Studies

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

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

YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Volume 36

2001

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

with the support of
THE MAX KADE CENTER
FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES
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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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ISSN 0741-2827

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

YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

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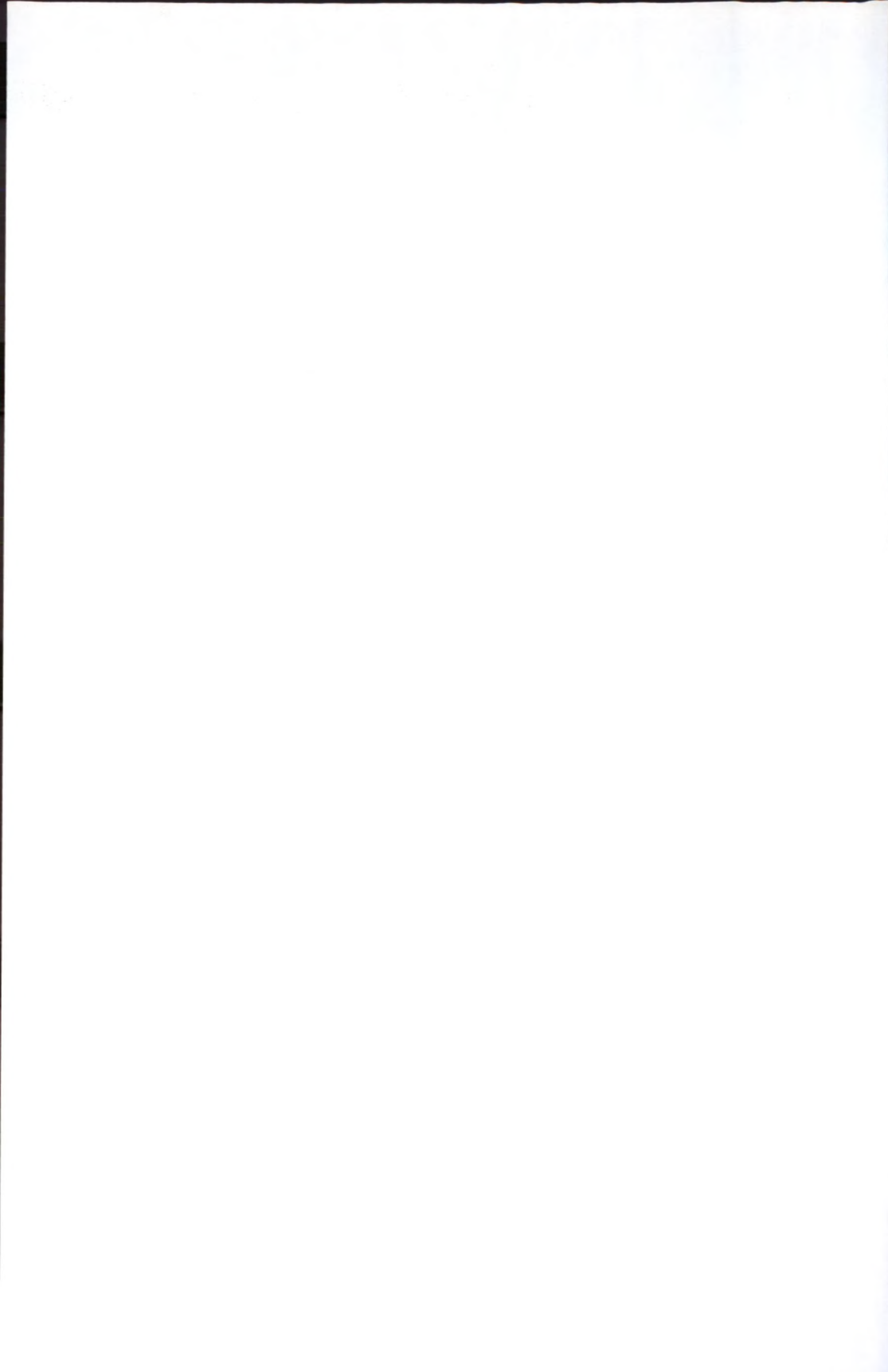


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From the Editor

As we approach the one-hundred-fiftieth anniversary of the American Civil War, the editor would like to again encourage submissions that treat aspects of the German-American involvement in that conflict. One of the essays in this volume deals with ethnic tensions that resulted from the interaction between soldiers from a native-born New York regiment and those in essentially all-German units. Based on the very large number of German-born soldiers as well as the equally large number from German communities in the United States who served in the Union Army, it behooves us as scholars to investigate all aspects of that era from our unique perspective. The general public and many in the scholarly world have very little understanding of the contributions of German-Americans in the history of the United States. The approaching sesquicentennial of the Civil War provides us with a unique and welcome opportunity to explore these issues.

However, we continue to welcome contributions on the vast array of other topics germane to our field of study. Whether cultural or political relations between the New World and German-speaking Europe, or topics relating to the immigration experience, or the contributions of German speaking immigrants in their new homeland, all of these areas require our further exploration. It is this breadth of coverage which leads to comments such as the following by the new ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to the United States, Wolfgang Ischinger: "I commend the society for dedicating itself to researching the history of German immigration to the United States and its influence on American culture."

The selection of essays in this volume treat literary authors, immigration and settlement patterns, and folk medicine among other topics. Of special interest is the keynote address by Dirk Schroeder at the 2001 SGAS Annual Symposium in Grand Rapids, Michigan, about the ongoing discussion of *Leitkultur* in Germany. His words have a very different impact in the light of the events on and since September 11, 2001.

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, 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.

Our special thanks go to Jerry Glenn for his timely review essay of German American literature. He has now decided that it is time to pass the baton on to another colleague, Elfe Vallaster. Jerry has been a dependable and essential member of our team for nearly two decades. He was responsible for initiating two of our now standard *Yearbook* sections, the book reviews with the 1988 issue and the literary review essay with the 1997 issue. He continues to serve on the SGAS Editorial Board. We wish Jerry the very best for his retirement.

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

Lawrence, Kansas

March 2002

Dirk Schroeder

Leitkultur: Reflections of a Critical Observer

Introduction

The purpose of this essay is to cover some aspects of a recent trend in contemporary Germany: The discussion of "*Leitkultur*" and of German "pride" within the framework of the emerging multi-ethnic German society.

In an editorial about "Repairing Bilingual Education" in the *New York Times* of 22 December 2000, the "educational mainstream" was described as the goal of language training for foreign-born children. The aim was "to move them as quickly as possible into the mainstream"; the means was the so-called immersion method, or at least chances to choose other options than bilingual classes. It is easy to imagine that Germany might have spared itself of most of the "*Leitkultur*" discussion, had there only been an equivalent for the term "mainstream" in the German language. But there is no widely accepted concept of "mainstream" culture in Germany, and consequently there is no word for it.

Since 1990, when the reunification process of Germany East and Germany West started, there is a completely new overall situation in German society and in German political and societal life. LaVern Rippley and Eberhard Reichmann described it as early as 1993:

Accelerated by the Fall of the Wall and the end of communism, a continuous flow of refugees, asylum seekers and destitute from former communist and less-developed countries, have been entering Germany, testing the newly unified country's economic and emotional ability to deal with the foreigners in their midst. Like America, modern Germany has become a prime destination for immigrants. But unlike the United States whose population, despite repeated policy efforts at rapid Americanization, has been developing along multi-ethnic/multi-cultural lines, Germany has a long history of being home to a largely homogeneous people. That makes it much harder to accept groups of various and markedly different backgrounds, languages, and cultures.¹

Homogeneity in Germany has been a myth in the last decades, for many Germans simply deny that their country has become a haven for immigrants and how difficult it will be for them to accept the given reality.

How the Debate Started

In October 2000, Friedrich Merz, chairperson of the Christian Democratic and the Christian Social Unions in the German Federal Parliament, born 1955 in Brilon, Sauerland (which is a region of North Rhine-Westphalia), a member of the Bundestag since 1994, and a practicing Catholic, published this sentence:

Basically, it is essential, that the foreign citizens, who live here (in Germany), are ready to join the German "*Leitkultur*."²

This sentence triggered off a widespread public discussion that was highly controversial even within the Christian Democratic Union. With the search engine Altavista, 1,850 hits of *Leitkultur* were found by 17 April 2001, and with the search engine Fireball, 5779 hits were found on 5 January 2001. The *New York Times* search as of 10 April 2001, provided 7 hits, which puts this national German debate into a worldwide perspective.

On 18 October 2000, Merz said in an interview with the *Rheinische Post* that he wanted to legally fix a maximum number of 200,000 foreign citizens relocating into Germany per year, and that foreigners would have to actively integrate into the German culture and learn the German language. The standards of German *Leitkultur* would not allow Islamic schools outside the German school system. They would not permit girls to be circumcised or forced to marry, or boys and girls as teens during puberty to be sent back to their parents' home countries for some years.³

On the homepage of Friedrich Merz, there was a more detailed text that put these messages into a broader perspective. He used as a headline "Germany is a country open to the world and friendly towards foreigners." His opinion can be summarized as:

- The Germans want to live together with millions of "foreigners" in peaceful and tolerant ways.
- Basically there are no problems, and Germany is an open country, open to the world and to foreigners.
- Problems can arise, where Germans are finding themselves a minority in their community or region.
- Germany urgently needs more skilled foreigners, and a different blend of them. It will have to compete for these foreigners with other nations around the world.
- We need (new) regulations for the immigration of people from other countries, and likewise for their integration.
- Both sides—the Germans and the immigrants, who temporarily or

permanently want to live in Germany—have to be tolerant and ready for “mutual” integration. The immigrants must respect the rules and regulations by which life in Germany is organized.⁴

Merz concludes:

I have called these rules the “liberal German *Leitkultur*.” Its concept should be based on a value system, which is generally accepted throughout society. This value system has been permanently set in the German constitution and its basic elements and human rights. It is equally rooted in the idea of European integration and is based on peace, liberty, democracy, and socially oriented market economy. A vital part of this is the contemporary status that was achieved by and for the women.⁵

When Merz further says that this set of rules and its equivalents in the culture system is binding for all groups and individuals in Germany, he implicitly refers to what can be called the “constitutional approach to culture.” For him, this includes a fair command of the German language.

This concept will hardly be controversial in Germany, if one looks at its core elements. It reflects most of the elements that can be found in any democratic constitution within the western, transatlantic parts of the world. According to a recent poll:

- 44% of the Germans favor immigration of those persons, whom are needed (limited access of persons according to economic needs);
- 44% favor the immigration of those person, who need to do so (political asylum);
- 74% of all Germans would accept immigration legislation with quotas describing the numbers and origins of immigrants.⁶

Another recent poll by the European Union showed that throughout the European Union:

- 48% think that immigrants will enrich the cultural diversity of their country (49% of the Germans who were asked said so).

On the other side:

- 25% of the Germans,
- 28% of the citizens of Luxembourg, and
- 32% of the Greeks

who were asked in another poll said they favored that all foreigners should leave their countries. Those who want this conceded that they feared the European social and

economic systems would be crushed by immigrants.⁷

It appears somewhat difficult to blend the term *Leitkultur* into this model. This is true even more so for the second controversial term Merz introduces when he says:

We can and we should not tolerate "Parallelgesellschaften" [ethnic groups separated from the mainstream culture], especially with respect to religious education and many more subjects.⁸

It too is difficult to clarify the meaning of *Leitkultur* or the meaning of "Parallelgesellschaften" from what one can read from Merz within this constitutional framework. The vagueness of how he uses the terms seems to be part of the concept.

On 12 December 2000, Merz in a discussion with Renate Künast (at that time chairperson of the Green Party in the Bundestag, presently Federal Minister of Consumer Protection, Food and Agriculture in Chancellor Schroeder's cabinet), provided more details to underline his opinion: Foreigners not only should learn the German language, but must accept "our" mores, ("Sitten"), customs ("Gebräuche"), and traditions ("Gewohnheiten"). This includes that religious education exclusively has to be carried out under the control of the state and not under the Islamic Koran schools. To wear a headscarf for religious reasons and to kill animals ritually cannot be accepted.⁹

***Leitkultur* – Just a Word or a Concept?**

Some facets of contemporary Germany can highlight the given socio-economic situation and some related future trends—this is the framework of the debate:

- Without any further transfer of people into Germany, Germany's population by 2050 would be reduced by 23 million persons. 40% out of the remaining population would be retirees. Even if annually 300,000 persons would be added (which would be a net plus of 15 million immigrants within the next half century), the percentage of retirees would only go down to one third of the total population.¹⁰
- According to numbers released by the German Federal Labor Institute (Bundesanstalt für Arbeit), the number of working persons will go down from now 41 million to 27 million by 2040. The present ratio of working and retired persons would only be preserved (and some experts say this would not be enough anyway), if half a million immigrants would enter Germany annually.¹¹
- Germany's baby boomers are aging. By 2050, workers in Germany and many other parts of Europe will have to support twice the number of retirees than today.¹²
- In 72 elementary schools out of 485 elementary schools in Berlin, German is the first language only for a minority of students. 12 schools have to cope with the fact, that 80% of the students are foreign-born or living in a family

not speaking German. German parents have long started to leave these neighborhoods—a picture, only too familiar for Americans.¹³

- A number of trials in Hamburg had to be canceled because it turned out that jurors (who may be picked by a ballot system without any prior consultations), who have to be German citizens, were not able to speak German. When the lawmakers decided on the laws regulating trials, they were not aware that there would be German citizens without any command of the German language.¹⁴

- There are 3.5 million Muslims living in Germany. Most of them actively practice their religion. From 1997 until early 2000, the numbers increased by 420,000. During that same period, the largest German religious organizations, the Lutheran and the Catholic churches (which are so-called “state churches” in Germany), lost 670,000 (Lutherans) and 520,000 (Catholics) members.¹⁵

- 79% of the members of the Social Democratic Party (which now runs the German national government), and 73% of the members of the Christian Democratic Union (which now is the largest opposition party in the German parliament and ran the German government under Chancellor Helmut Kohl) favor immigration legislation, which Germany has not had so far. This implies that there would be legal and governed immigration. 78% of all Germans still want to maintain the constitutional right of any person worldwide to seek asylum in Germany.¹⁶

These facts and impressions, even if they are estimates and somewhat controversial,¹⁷ indicate drastic changes in the German and European societies. They constitute the background, against which we can envisage the ongoing debate about *Leitkultur*. Its further stages show a broad range of activities and opinions: The leading national newspapers and magazines ran special sections on *Leitkultur*: *Die Welt*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Der Spiegel*, *Die Zeit* etc. Politicians and writers, academic teachers and television celebrities engaged in the debate. Sometimes, as in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, it split the staff between supporters and opponents of the term *Leitkultur* and whatever connotations were related to it.¹⁸

November 9, the memorial day for the pogroms against German Jews in 1938 (and the day, the first German Republic was declared in 1918), and since 1999 the memorial day for German Unification, a vast demonstration against *Fremdenhass* (hate against foreigners) with more than 200,000 participants was staged in Berlin. More demonstrations were organized in other German Cities. 30,000 gathered in Bremerhaven, which has a population of a little over 100,000.

The slogan of the demonstrations was “Rising for Humanity and Tolerance.” The political elites of Germany, high representatives of the federal government, of the parliaments and political parties, of citizens groups, of the labor unions, of the religious organizations, and other institutions joined the rallies. Among the list of prominent speakers were Federal President Rau and Paul Spiegel, President of the Central Council of the Jews in Germany, who through his speech would become the most prominent of them all. Among other things Spiegel said:

What do you want with the gibberish about *Leitkultur*? Is it German *Leitkultur* to chase foreigners, to set fire to synagogues, to kill homeless people? Are you caring for culture or about the value system of western and democratic civilization, which is deeply rooted within our constitution? . . . If *Leitkultur* is equivalent with this principle, then I completely agree with the concept. But then I want to urge all politicians to better control their populist speaking and to push for the enforcement of Article One of the constitution. . . . Politicians, ladies and gentlemen alike: Consider, what you say, and stop to smolder with words.¹⁹

Some of the attending politicians, mainly those known for their conservative record, were taken aghast and completely stunned by these words. After Friedrich Merz had first introduced the word *Leitkultur* and after Paul Spiegel had made his first contribution to the debate, the public discussion went on:

- Early in November 2000, Walter Jens, a prominent liberal author and scholar, who is Honorary President of the German Academy of Arts, wanted to propose the term *Leitkultur* as the outstanding “non-word” (“Unwort”) of the year 2000. He said it awakened memories of the Nazi times, and that immigrants should not have to give up their cultural traditions.²⁰ The jury of the University of Frankfurt later picked the phrase “nationally liberated zone,” which has been used by neo-Nazi groups, as the year 2000 non-word.²¹
- Said, president of the writers’ organization PEN, who lives in Munich, sharply criticized the term and said the concept would detach Germany from Europe.²²
- Most Social Democrats and politicians further to the left fiercely have criticized the term and have opposed the consequences that they connected with it. The same is true for most newspapers in Germany. This resulted in a wave of public criticism of Merz’s statements.
- Consequently, all this was taken to the three large commissions on immigration, which had been established: A Federal Commission, chaired by Rita Süßmuth, former Chairperson of the German Federal Parliament; a CDU commission, and a CSU commission.
- Within the higher ranks of the Christian Democratic Union, a controversial discussion started whether or not to use the term. It resulted in a paper, which was issued in late November and now represents the official position of the CDU. *Leitkultur* was put into the broader perspective of Christian-occidental traditions, consisting of Christianity, Judaism, classical philosophy, humanism, the Roman legal system, and enlightenment.

The paragraph about *Leitkultur* in that paper reads:

Integration neither means one-sided assimilation nor incoherently living side by side. Multi-cultural societies and "parallel societies" are no valid model for the future. Our goal must be a culture of tolerance and togetherness, based on the values of our constitution and on the knowledge of our own identity. This is what we mean, when we call it "*Leitkultur* in Germany" to accept and recognize these values.²³

The position of the Bavarian CSU was highlighted in a series of interviews. One was given by Günther Beckstein, Bavarian Secretary of the Interior and chairperson of the CSU commission on immigration legislation. He said:

With the term *Leitkultur* we want to express that a person, who relocates to Germany and wants to live here for a longer time, has to integrate into this country. That includes an (adequate) command of the German language and recognition of the (German) constitution. They will have to integrate into the German structures and must not try to change this country . . . People living in Bavarian villages for example do not want a minaret next to the church, and that the muezzin with the same degree of loudness as the church bells calls for service into the village. . . . Each country rightly has its own profile. It would be a mistake if after ten more years you could no longer distinguish between Munich and Chicago.²⁴

Alois Glück, chairperson of the CSU in the Bavarian Parliament and chairperson of the CSU-Grundsatzkommission added one more aspect and some confusion to the debate, when he said:

Leitkultur does not include the field of cultural habits or living styles. Within the framework of *Leitkultur* everybody can reach saintliness in his or her own style.²⁵

In an interview for *Die Welt* Angela Merkel, chairwoman of the CDU, added a component of national orientation to the debate, when she said: "The question of *Leitkultur* for me leads to a debate about our understanding of [the term] nation. We can only be tolerant with others, if we are self-assured. . . . What is wrong, when you declare your loyalty for your homeland?"²⁶

Theo Sommer from *Die Zeit*, one of the most respected journalists in Germany, in a long article pointed out, that all players in the debate had one thing in common: All of them now favor some sort of organized immigration and immigration legislation. As early as 1986 he had written: "Let us create a legal system for citizenship of foreigners. Let us establish *jus soli* . . ." which means the system which was established in the United States: You are a citizen, if you are born in the country, no matter who your parents are. He wanted to combine this with a quota system as in the U. S. or Canada.²⁷

Yavuz Özoguz, webmaster of a Muslim Internet portal, put a number of questions into the homepage, asking whether what Merz had said about religious head scarves

in schools would be applied to Catholic nun teachers. Another question asked whether what he said about ritually killing animals would be valid for the Jewish community as well.²⁸

Shortly after the *Leitkultur* debate was opened, the discussion took a new turn: The issue of "pride" in Germany was added. This was again done by leaders of the Christian Democratic Union and Friedrich Merz. Summing up earlier statements, and when he urged the Secretary of the Environment, Jürgen Trittin, to resign, he said in the Bundestag, 30 March 2001:

Yes, we may be proud of our country. . . . To be proud of what we have in common leads [us] to more responsibility towards maintaining the common good. The vast majority of the Germans identify with their town, their region, and above all with their country and increasingly with Europe, *Heimat*, homeland, nation—these are not terms from the extremist right side, these terms describe a normal self-understanding, which in Germany is living reality.²⁹

Not many new arguments have recently been added to the debate, it more or less repeated itself. Throughout the first month of the year 2001, the leaders of the CDU and CSU were discussing mandatory language and integration courses for immigrants. The leaders of the SPD joined them in this.³⁰

Why Did Paul Spiegel Criticize the Word *Leitkultur*?

The controversial discussion, which was initiated and led by Spiegel, and the somewhat complicated matter can be reduced to mainly two sets of arguments. The first is the "historic dimension," the sufferings of the Jews in Germany during the Nazi time and the emotions involved, and the second is the "potential of defamation," which Spiegel sees connected with how the term *Leitkultur* has been used. The governor of the Saarland, Peter Müller, a Christian Democrat, conceded this and did not want the term to be included in resolutions of the CDU.³¹ Others within the CDU ranks joined him.³²

In his speech of 9 November 2000, Paul Spiegel drew the historic line back to the pogrom night in 1938, which the Nazis called the *Kristallnacht*, and he connected this with aggressions and violence against foreigners in contemporary Germany. Because he feared that the term *Leitkultur* may be misinterpreted and used against ethnic and other minorities living in Germany, and because it arouses memories which take the Jews in Germany back into the horrible past, Paul Spiegel urgently demanded not to use the term any longer. For him, there is no feasible distinction between so-called "useful" and "useless" immigrants, and to any political organization he denies the right to make this an element of campaign strategies.

Referring to the recent violent attacks on synagogues in various German cities like Lübeck, Erfurt, Düsseldorf, and Berlin, and in the streets against foreigners and

other persons, he said:

Can you imagine, which memories are aroused, have to be aroused among us Jews by these crimes? And I do not only include my generation, which had to go through the hell of the Holocaust. I as well think of our children and grandchildren. Can you imagine, what we feel, when we have to experience, how again German people set our synagogues on fire and send us threats to kill and bomb us? Can you envision, what occurs within ourselves, when we see how a black African is chased through German streets and killed? . . . We are right in the middle of the fight against the (Political) Right.³³

On 9 September 2000, Spiegel had suggested to introduce *jus soli* in Germany (every person born within the state borders of Germany automatically should be granted German citizenship) and to introduce immigration legislation, which should include demographic, economic as well as humanitarian necessities. Later he suggested to use the term "German culture" rather than *Leitkultur*.³⁵ So did Michael Friedmann, Vice President of the Central Council of the Jews in Germany and an active member of the CDU.³⁶

Andreas Nachama, who is chairman of the Berlin Jewish Community, later explained how important the emotional attitude of the Jews in Germany towards the concept of *Leitkultur* is. He said the Jewish community in Germany feared that debating the issue of immigration in a polarizing way, and this would be true for both the everyday discussions and campaign strategies, would only increase sentiments against foreigners in Germany.³⁷ On 11 April 2001, the search machine of *msn.de* had 467 hits on "Paul Spiegel" and "*Leitkultur*," which is an indication of the lively discussion Spiegel stimulated.

Prominent support for Spiegel came from many public figures and celebrities like Rudolf Augstein, founder and publisher of *Der Spiegel*, who wrote an essay about what he called "a contemptible (*unwürdige*) debate." The headline of that essay read "My *Leitkultur* was Jewish." He told how much of the popular culture of the Golden Twenties and even the Thirties and Forties in Germany was created by Jews.³⁸

The German Liberals (FDP) rejected the term *Leitkultur* as a populist formula, which may suggest German "supremacy" over other cultures.³⁹ The great old man of the German Liberals, former Foreign Secretary Hans-Dietrich Genscher supported this in an essay for the leading French newspaper *Le Figaro* and *Die Welt*.⁴⁰ In this, observers see a fundamental split between the Liberals and the Conservatives, the former coalition partners during the reunification process, and they sense first signals towards the Social Democrats.⁴¹

It may well be that most of those who supported Spiegel, when he criticized the term *Leitkultur*, were taken back with him into those twelve years of German history and their aftermath, when the German people following their leaders tried

to reformulate the story of salvation, when they not only created a monstrous

cataclysm of their society, but a breakdown of their language and a mental disaster, bewitched by political prophesy without limitations,

as the German philosopher and writer Peter Sloterdijk said, when he tried to cope with the unification of Germany in his famous "Speech about (my) own country."⁴²

All this can be seen in the broader realm of a debate that was opened much earlier. Guy Stern, who had been invited for a speech in the German Parliament in Bonn, where the German Government was present, too, as early as in 1998 suggested to bring past, present and future together to find a better way for mutual understanding. His words, spoken long before the debate about *Leitkultur* started, aptly emphasize the scope of these discussions, when he said:

I am dreaming, how during my childhood and my adolescence, we were completely unreserved when we were together; we had no awareness of any difference which could have affected us. . . . I have learned during four semesters as a guest professor at the German universities of Freiburg, Frankfurt, Leipzig, and Potsdam, that my dream is no delusion. . . . It has to be the joint task of all who may be affected—and this all of us are—to preserve our knowledge and because of this knowledge to rise against monstrosities of any kind. Only thus will we find our way back and the way ahead of us towards frankness.⁴³

"German Culture" versus "Cultures in Germany"

All of the players without any exception refer to the German constitution and its provisions for regulating life in Germany. Therefore, it is a little complicated to ask for patterns which may constitute the core elements of the concept of *Leitkultur*. In general, it may be called the "General Constitutional Approach," although there are experts like Dieter Oberndörfer of the University of Freiburg, who say that the concept itself is unconstitutional, and the term is without any precise meaning.⁴⁴

Given the manifold aspects of culture in the history of German politics, education, literature, and philosophy, it is somewhat surprising that almost none of the participants went back into the historic field of German culture. Only parliamentary leader Thierse briefly mentioned Goethe as a person, who eagerly integrated multi-cultural influences into his writings. It seems, as if the contestants pretend that there is no history of any debate over the role of culture within Germany before the 1920s.

Is this so, because Germans now strictly remain within the democratic and constitutional borders of their postwar history, of their democratic country and of the European Union? Or is it so, because those cultural traditions will hardly provide anything else than a universally humanistic and multi-ethnic model of tolerance?

When the Dutch writer, translator and journalist Nico Rost gave his Dachau diary the title "Goethe in Dachau" and when he had asked for Goethe, Lichtenberg and Lessing books from the hospital library, he did this because he knew that these authors were part of universal culture, of *Weltliteratur*, and could never be claimed

for inhumane, anti-democratic or prejudiced purposes. It might well be that those players who belong to the older generations (born before 1930) simply avoid a very touchy field when they exclude the historic dimension, and that those belonging to the younger generations (born after the war) simply are neither interested in the shadows of the past nor in a historic approach.

Richard Kurin has provided an explanation for this, when he named three worlds, in which "culture" resides: The worlds of entertainment (anything from high art to popular culture), scholarship, and politics.⁴⁵ With the *Leitkultur* debate, we are dealing with the world of social politics, where

culture is associated with the identities of people, nations, factions, institutions, professions, and segments of the electorate. Culture is the symbolic means through which people express their views, values, and interests - and impose them upon others. Culture, expressed as language, dress, behavioral code, music, and specific beliefs, defines who "we" are. Global communities, nations, ethnic groups, tribes, corporations, occupations, regions, local neighborhoods, organizations, even families and clubs, each may have its own culture.⁴⁶

"Homogenous Society" versus "Patchwork Society"

Taking a closer look at the debate, some main characteristics of the *Leitkultur* concepts can be found. Conservatives, who seem to favor a predominantly homogenous society where through *Leitkultur* a hierarchy can be constituted (within which they still claim "tolerance" and constitutional rights for any citizen) appear not to be aware of what they are up to.

Hall and Hall have pointed out that culture is a "program of behavior," a "shared system" of open and hidden codes, 90 percent of which are communicated as nonverbal messages and all of which vary from culture to culture. It can easily be understood how complex the task would be to change such a system.⁴⁷ Cultures seen as "unified entities in which everything interrelates"⁴⁸ obviously are objects of very high complexity. It seems to be almost impossible to enforce a hierarchy of different cultures, because each particular culture, to which its members are programmed, will exactly reach its specific goals, i.e., to organize society and the communication systems which makes it function.⁴⁹

As much as culture has its roots in the "shared experiences of the ordinary people" and their ancestors, it is eminently practical and likewise complex, and we can easily understand how difficult it will be to make people not only understand but even to completely adopt the culture of another group or another region or even another continent. What we adequately easily can understand is, how reluctant each member belonging to such a cultural entity will be to give his or her entire culture up and to assimilate into the other culture. Cultures do have their inner forces to remain coherent, and whoever wants an ethnic group to assimilate to another culture, should be aware of this.

Beckstein, Minister for the Interior of the State of Bavaria and responsible for law-enforcement, which includes the surveillance of totalitarian and unconstitutional activities, is a credible representative of the conservative approach. He concedes that the term *Leitkultur* is not very precise. He refuses a concept of, as he says, "parallel societies" within Germany, and he distances himself from the United States with its diversity of ethnic groups.

With the term "parallel societies" he obviously signifies a collection of self-designated minorities, who live in segregated neighborhoods and do not want to assimilate to the German mainstream culture. Therefore, he fears that Germany will lose its unique German "profile." Consequently, he denounces any concept of "multiculturalism."⁵⁰

What Daniel Boorstin had called "most remarkable about the American immigrant experience," namely "that so many different peoples somehow retained their separate identities,"⁵¹ for German conservatives of this category unfortunately becomes a threat.

It may be helpful to introduce what Richard Kurin, who is Director of the Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage of the Smithsonian Institution, has said about cultural homogeneity:

Cultural homogenization leads to cultural sameness. . . . Cultural sameness isn't all that bad. People can understand each other's languages, interests, and motives. Sameness can provide a sense of shared value and identity. . . . Cultural homogeneity does, however, guarantee boredom and diminished creativity within the species. Cultural heterogeneity entails an extant pool of diverse ways of living, any one of which might have evolutionary advantages in the long run. . . . And culturally heterogeneous units, differing in occupational specialization, national loyalty, and ethnicity, can join together in complementary way to form broader alliances.⁵²

Nevertheless Beckstein has touched a very sensitive issue for many Germans: The Muslim groups in Germany are seen by most Germans as aggressively denying any demand for assimilation. The culture clash is accompanied by lots of everyday clashes, especially in the large cities where there is a large number of Turkish people like in Kreuzberg, Berlin. Germans simply fear, that aggressive Muslim culture might threaten the multiversity of cultures and strive for a homogenous society, which can be seen in radical Muslim theocracies.

Bassam Tibi, an ethnic Arab from Syria, who teaches sociology at Göttingen and Harvard Universities, made Germans aware of this, when he first introduced the term *Leitkultur* in a 1998 publication. He distinguishes between "Islamic" and "Islamistic" organizations and affirms that Islamistic thinking is a totalitarian ideology, that Germans should be aware of and should fight against it with their own culture concept.⁵³

On the other side, moderates and liberals often link the term *Leitkultur* to the tradition of German nationalism, which relies on ethnic and national identity and at their extreme ends ethnic supremacy. It favors concepts like *Gemeinschaft* rather than

to base society on democratic structures and performance, co-operation, and international understanding. Hilmar Hoffmann, President of the Goethe Institute, did so, when he denounced *Leitkultur* as a "phantom," as a static idea that would lead back to a "canonized concept of culture."⁵⁴

Liberals and moderates do accept the given situation in Germany as a multi-ethnic patchwork and, as many sociologists, political scientists and intellectuals, say that a multiversity of ethnic groups in Germany is all we can expect in modern society. If each person abides the laws, pays for her or his expenses, votes, and strives for education—he or she will have the highest level of "integration" you can expect. "Culture" in this sense would mean to accept diversity in society, which has always been there and will be so even more in the future.

Otto Schily, Federal German Domestic Secretary, explained what legal changes the federal government has been considering: Obviously, nothing else than the constitutional approach. But within this constitutional pluralism has to be linked to the multi-cultural (and multi-ethnic) society: "Ethnic, cultural, and religious distinctions only in a democratic society can be combined to a rational order."⁵⁵ Schily, as any other player, demands that immigrants should command the German language and be able "to fit into life in Germany."

The "European" Dimension of Culture

Past Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and Bavarian Prime Minister Edmund Stoiber in a discussion about *Leitkultur* agreed almost completely.⁵⁶ They fiercely criticized plans to further enlarge the European Union: The European Union should be defined within geographical plus cultural plus political boundaries. National entities like Russia, Byelorussia, Ukraine, and Turkey which never had gone through a revolutionary phase like the French Revolution and which never had lived through "Enlightenment" ("geistige und politische Aufklärung"), should not receive membership status within the European Union.

Schmidt and Stoiber referred to the historical concepts of Western European culture and politics, and inasmuch as they have been incorporated into the German constitution (and the future constitution of the United States of Europe), they should be used to draw the line between those which are allowed to get in and those like Turkey who should not.

As Schmidt and Stoiber want to limit the European Union to members, who accept and live Western European culture, they seem to basically envision Europe and European culture as a primarily static society based on the values of Western European history; they do less see it as an open society where contributions from other cultures would enrich its further development.

In contrast, former Foreign Secretary Hans Dietrich Genscher links the European Union with global developments and puts it into a universal pattern. Europe should offer its neighbors in the East the possibility to join within the transatlantic partnership and should do this without any claim of cultural supremacy. But Genscher, too, asserts that this partnership should be based on the value system of Western Democracies.

If we acknowledge each participating culture, a new "European Culture" will emerge. "There is not too much of 'America,' there is just too little of Europe."⁵⁷

"Angst" versus "Self-Confidence"

Besides of the political discussion and besides of the debate in the media and among experts, there must be innumerable private discussions going on in Germany. Earlier I mentioned some polling results about attitudes of the ordinary German. To get closer to it, I recently asked a retired, mildly conservative Bavarian teacher, what he thought about *Leitkultur*. He immediately connected the topic of *Leitkultur* with the matter of "illegal immigration," which he would refer to as vast numbers of foreign citizens who try to illegally relocate into Germany. When I mentioned that Germany has had de facto immigration at least for some decades he insisted that Germany never was a real "immigrant" nation and never should be. He regarded the subject of refugees seeking political asylum in Germany to be a matter of almost exclusively illegal resettlement, with the exception of a small group of persons legitimately seeking political asylum. He demanded that the German government should effectively reduce the numbers of foreigners who are entering Germany illegally. He was ready to talk about setting quotas for controlled admission of experts needed by companies, but he was not willing to talk about *Leitkultur*.

When I realized this, I started to understand that talking about *Leitkultur* implicitly would mean to accept that many Germans may have a real problem with about 7.3 million foreigners living within its borders. This retired teacher was more affected by his worries about the impact, which large quantities of persons seeking admission to Germany would have on other aspects of German society. He feared that the tide of immigrants floating into Germany would basically challenge life in Germany, not only culturally. He was very emotional, and he did not look at the issue rationally from a demographic or an economic point of view and only vaguely admitted that the constant decline of the German population would be a real threat for the future of the German social security system within a few decades. *Jus sanguinis*, which still is the legal basis for immigration into Germany rather than *jus loci* as in the U. S. was the basis of his way to approach the topic. My impression was that for him to enter an in-depth discussion of *Leitkultur* would almost force him to accept the basics of de facto immigration into Germany.

A recent poll by an institution of the European Union shows the amount of angst with respect to ethnic minorities in Germany: 60% of the German population in East Germany think that foreigners misuse the social security system (West Germany: 56%). 65% in the East think foreigners are the main reason for unemployment (West Germany: 75%). 67% of the polled persons in the East and 51% in the West say that foreigners are over represented in criminal activities.⁵⁸

Many people in those states which have started to form the United States of Europe fear that this process may become a threat for their ethnic, regional, and cultural uniqueness and economic and social security. Today, there is a much higher awareness for regional identity and cultural distinctiveness in Germany and elsewhere

in Europe than ever before. Austria and Switzerland can be taken as examples for this. Awareness of one's own cultural "self" and angst to be absorbed by predominant ethnic groups are strong forces underlying and feeding the current debate. To many Germans, this may mean both a threat and a chance, because for the first time since the 68ers started their campaign to revise the German political and value systems there is a nationwide debate about this. So angst may be not all that bad, if only it opens up chances for better information and understanding than previously.

Roman Herzog, at that time Federal President of Germany, in his famous speech "Departure into the 21st Century" (which he held in the traditional Hotel Adlon, Berlin, in 1997) directly linked angst, insecurity, and fear to what he called "an unbelievable mental depression" and the "ossification of (the German) society." After he even linked this to a "dramatic lack of leadership" in Germany (Helmut Kohl still was Chancellor), he almost was ostracized by the conservative rank and file. President Herzog demanded an "open society, a society to pursue tolerance, which enables members of different cultures to live together." Dynamism, openness, multiversity, patchwork concepts for him are inter-related.⁵⁹

What most experts and the liberals say, that immigrants will energize the economy, flatten the demographic pyramid, that they will enrich German culture by widening its scope and transforming it, is questioned, doubted and opposed by those, which can be seen as angst-ridden *Kleinbürger*. They draw from their personal experiences, and they fear a limiting, negative impact on their own cultural identities.

Vagueness

Leitkultur is a vague term. This is conceded even by those who use it. Even more so by those who oppose it, and who are arguing that this indistinctness is dangerous and links the term to historic national concepts like *Gemeinschaft* and other terms which have been misused for nationalistic and racist purposes throughout German history. Of course, this implies a dynamic attitude, which will hardly be found where a static conservative model of society relates *Leitkultur* to supremacy. Vagueness is increased by constantly mixing the "worlds" of cultures.

Functional Pragmatism: A Twofold Approach

Friedrich Merz openly admitted that he wanted to introduce the *Leitkultur* debate into the upcoming election campaigns in Germany to reach out for the conservative voters and for the angst-driven potential amidst the Germans.⁶⁰ This is a plain functional and pragmatic attitude if one looks at it from a political point of view—and if one forgets or pushes back the historical connotations which this debate has for other players.

The Liberals like Guido Westerwelle, party chairperson of the FDP, reach out for the younger generations of voters by formulating the opposite.⁶¹ The Social Democrats because they, too, want to connect to their voters do the same. And because they are now controlling the federal government, they are more obliged than the opposition

towards the trends of the European Union.

This attitude can be called "functional pragmatism." It is part of the political brawl, and it will even more increase during the next election campaign. According to where they stand and which constituencies they want to reach, it is more or less populist.

Functional pragmatism, on the other side, can be claimed from a sociological point of view by those who want to take a close analytical look at how the ethnic landscape in Germany has evolved over the last fifty or so years. Klaus Bade, who is a prominent scholar on migration at Osnabrück University, stands for this approach:

Immigration is a two-sided process of assimilation. Therefore, I would like not only to talk about "integrating the immigrants," but as well about "integration between accepting and immigrating societies." Nevertheless, the assimilation effort of the immigrants always has to be incomparably higher.⁶²

EXPO 2000: "Culture" in the German Pavilion

Germany had an unprecedented chance to present itself as a nation and display its concept of culture to visitors from all over the world, when the World Exhibition EXPO 2000 was organized at Hannover from June to October, last year. Five million visitors who called at the German Pavilion could see, how Germany presented its culture concept to the world. The federal government, representatives of the sixteen federal states, an organization of the German business community, and the company which was established to develop and run the German Pavilion were responsible for developing, building and running it. The goal was to present the new Germany as opposed to the different images which people in Europe and all over the world have acquired during the last century. So the German Pavilion should present an "image of a modern, open-minded country that is mindful of its responsibility to history and to today's world," as Michael Naumann, at that time Federal Government Commissioner for Cultural Affairs and the Media, wrote in the foreword for the pavilion catalogue.⁶³

A now historic tour through the building displayed this. Through the entrance in the steel framed, huge glass facade, the visitors entered a workshop, where they walked through a workshop with 46 sculptures in all stages of their formation. Christoph Stölzl, who became principal adviser for the German Pavilion, after he had been Secretary for Cultural Affairs in the State Government of Berlin, described the building and its exhibits:

The *First Hall* (was) a sculpture workshop, not a temple to the muse but a dusty place of work with the tools of the trade, tubs of plaster, drawing tables and scaffolding distributed around the room, the walls covered with working sketches and photos. The heads and statuary at different stages of completion (gave) the impression that the sculptor (had) just stopped work for a few minutes. What is Germany? *Germany—a Workshop of Ideas.*⁶⁴

The collection of persons brought together were "incontestably positive figures" from Germany and its history; the list included Konrad Adenauer (first Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany), Hans Beck (inventor of "Playmobil" figures), Ludwig van Beethoven, Robert Bosch (industrialist), Marlene Dietrich, Otto Brenner (trade union leader), Johann G. Elser (unsuccessful assassin of Hitler), Stefanie Graf (tennis player), Albert Einstein (Nobel Prize winner and German-American), Sigmund Jähn (first German astronaut from East Germany), Berthold Leibinger (laser equipment manufacturer), Claus Schenk von Stauffenberg (unsuccessful Hitler assassin), Margarete Steiff (handicapped entrepreneur and producer of stuffed toy animals), Rupert Neudeck (founder of CAP ANAMUR/German Emergency Doctors), Jürgen Sparwasser (soccer player from East Germany), and the Mouse from the most popular German television series for children.⁶⁵

The *Second Hall* invited the visitor into the show *Bridges to the Future*, which was a huge hall with 720 degree film projections showing scenes from a Berlin kaleidoscope of vistas and glimpses into how people live in the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural Kreuzberg area of the German capital. The visitors looked into scenes of historic importance like the fall of the Berlin Wall and the people rejoicing over it, and into other scenes of dense intimacy like people of many cultures living in the same apartment building, dressing and undressing, studying and dancing—all this observed from the outside through open windows. The multi-media show lasted for eight minutes and released the visitors into the largest of the halls.

The *Third Hall* was called "Patchwork Germany." It represented "a German kaleidoscope" and the contributions of all sixteen federal German states to the nation. The Official Catalogue describes it:

A tree stands firmly rooted in the ground. Its branches, leaves and fruit move gently as though brushed by breeze. It is surrounded by 16 islands with 16 unique exhibits from the German states. From here a film kaleidoscope of Germany is set in motion, an installation composed of the states' exhibits, light effects, images, sounds and movement to symbolize the cross-fertilization of ideas. . . . In *A German Kaleidoscope* attention focuses on the assembled state showpieces.⁶⁶

The visitors could see the original Benz Patent-Motor Car of 1886 (Baden-Württemberg), a piece of rock of the highest German mountain, the Zugspitze (Bavaria), a slice of the Berlin Wall of the period from 1961 to 1989 (Berlin), the first German film projector of 1895 (Brandenburg), the original medieval document with the signature of the Kaiser Barbarossa of 1189 bestowing the privilege of exemption from duty upon the city of Hamburg (Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg), The Fairytale Workshop of Brothers Grimm with their writing cabinet of 1830 (Hessen), parts of the hull of a medieval merchant ship from the Baltic Sea (Mecklenburg-Vorpommern), the "Capri-Battery," a piece of art with a lemon and a bulb by Joseph Beuys of 1985 (Nordrhein-Westfalen), one of the first original post WWII Volkswagen beetles of 1948 (Niedersachsen), the original document of the French-German Treaty

of 1956 (The Saarland), an original of one of the first Gutenberg Bibles and the Printing Press of 1452 to 1455 (Rheinland-Pfalz), the artificial person, made from synthetic glass for the German Hygiene Museum of 1930 (Sachsen), the original pulpit which Martin Luther used to preach on in Wittenberg of the early sixteenth century (Sachsen-Anhalt), the replica of the bow of a Viking Ship of 885, built on the coast of the Baltic Sea near present Schleswig (Schleswig-Holstein), Johann Sebastian Bach, "Kunst der Fuge," first print of 1750, and spinet of around 1760 (Thüringen).

The Free Hanseatic City of Bremen was represented by the core model of the Spacelab, which between 1976 and 1983 was built in Bremen for NASA. After twenty-two missions, in 1999 it was transferred back to Bremen and put on display in the airport exhibit hall. It was meant to be an adequate symbol for combining Hanseatic traditions of reaching out over the oceans, bringing back goods, people, ideas, with the challenges to blend them into national and international markets and cultures.

The film panorama of thirty-six minutes which completed the show on sixteen huge screens and nineteen more large screens above the exhibits took the spectators on a tour of Germany, each sequence starting with one exhibit: "a flow of images . . . , sometimes contrapuntally drifting apart, sometimes flowing together on a grand whole, following no narrative rhythm, obeying only its won logic, associative, meditative, unique. The vision of a nation is born."⁶⁷

The show was accompanied by specially composed music. It had been divided into two 18-minute segments to make it shorter for the audience. As it turned out, most of the 5 million plus visitors who saw it stayed through the whole show.

Besides the three exhibit areas, the German Pavilion ran a daily performance program. The evening program more or less followed the concept of high-end culture, with about eighty performances especially written, composed and produced for the culture program of the German Pavilion.

For the daily performance program, each federal state contributed one week of a specific *Länder* program. They showed the diversity of regional cultural traditions, of German folk life, of its music, popular and country music, theaters and orchestras, and of the rich cultural activities from all over Germany. It reached from activities you would find in any Smithsonian Folklife Festival to performances to be found during International Music and Theatre Festivals.

The State of Bremen brought in the Bremen Musical Company, maritime folk music, cabaret from Bremerhaven, the German Chamber Philharmonic with Schubert, Seventh Symphony, "Barber Shop Music" and "Cheerleaders," the Bremen "Junior Singers." All these are authentic German-English names, "Wiener Kaffeehausmusik" by the Bremen "Kaffeehaus-Orchester" (Bremen has been, since the seventeenth century, one of the major European ports for importing coffee), Jazz, Salsa and Rap groups from Bremen, a Shakespeare theater performance by the Bremen "Shakespeare Company," and a new production of the Bremen Dance Theater.

The culture of ethnic minorities living in Germany was not incorporated in the culture program of the German Pavilion. Nevertheless, with the German Pavilion its makers achieved a little of what Richard Kurin and Diana Parker had written for the

In this world, where memory, tradition, and history are often devalued, we sorely need moments of pause, recognition, and embrace. Large-scale public events can become important symbolic occasions through which meanings are construed, negotiated, and disseminated and wherein values are asserted, re-enforced, or even discovered.⁶⁸

Is There Anything Germans May Learn from German-Americans and Their Experience?

On 23 March 2001, the German national newspaper had an article by Hans Zippert with the title "Wie ich einmal verblüfft war" ("How I once was stunned"). He had attended a conference about "The Politics of Pop—Popular Culture in Germany," organized by the Department of German, Scandinavian, and Dutch of the University of Minnesota. Zippert was frank enough to admit that he had known nothing about German-Americans and German-Americana before, that he had known nothing about German-American research in America before, and that he had known nothing about popular culture in Germany before. He closed his article with the words:

I had had no understanding that for 40 years I had lived in a country so interesting and manifold. . . . For a fraction of a second I really felt something like pride. For the rest of my stay I simply was stunned, how unbelievably fascinating it can be to be a German.⁶⁹

Likewise he was stunned to have met American scholars who spoke German, studied the German culture, and "even had lived in Leipzig for four years"—"Das muss man sich einmal vorstellen," is what he wrote.

To mirror German culture through German-American research in America and to ask how much Germans may be able to learn for their *Leitkultur* debate seems to be surprising but, as it turns out to be, will not be without its rewards.

If one tries to apply the approach of *Leitkultur* in its general mainstream meaning to the German cultural and educational system, it would be necessary to define who a German person is. Obviously, it makes no sense to pretend that every person living within the boundaries of the German nation or even holding a German passport already is a "German" in the sense of the *Leitkultur* debate. Presently, there are about 7.3 million *Ausländer* ("foreigners," non-citizens, and their offspring) permanently living in Germany, who see themselves as non-Germans or are perceived so.

Germany does not yet have a system of immigration and naturalization legislation and procedures. The German authorities are still handling these millions of persons with a set of provisional regulations. The result of this is that the public is confronted with a constant flow of inefficiencies, both under legal and humanitarian aspects. One may well doubt that there would be a more effective way to increase insecurity and "angst" on all sides involved.

To compare this situation with the German-American experience in the U. S., it is worthwhile to take a glance at how "German-Americans" define themselves. It can be done by using two excellent sources: The online teaching unit *German-Americans and Their Contributions to the American Mainstream Culture*, which was produced by the Max Kade German-American Center of IUPUI, Indianapolis, and the recent book by Don Tolzmann, *The German American Experience* (1999).

German-Americans as the major ethnic group in America in both sources are defined within a broad ethno-linguistic and cultural setting: "Immigrants from German-speaking areas and their descendants" constitute the group of German-Americans in the United States. Their "sense of affinity" to their ethnic group is created by a diversity of shared cultural traditions and values. They are characterized by ethnic and cultural "markers," which distinguish them from other ethnic groups within the multi-cultural and multi-ethnic American society. Still, they are Americans in that popular sense which is described in the CD-ROM *Smithsonian's America*:

What makes an American an American? It's not a place of birth or family origin. Rather, it's a belief in a common set of ideals. Ideals of democracy and liberty, freedom and equality, enterprise, and community. These ideals do not always reflect the underlying realities. They are a goal at which we always aim.⁷⁰

If this concept would have to be taken back to Germany, it would soon become clear, that such a transfer would require a lot of patience for a long period of time. With respect to the ethnic minority groups living in Germany, the following which is true not only for German-Americans, but for all ethnic groups in America, would be even more true in a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural German society: As much as becoming an American means that immigrants have to learn through language and ideals "what it is to be an American" they are still connecting with their own ethnic group through heritage, religion, celebrations, language, music, and cuisine.⁷¹

This could be the formula which could be applied to the ongoing discussion in Germany. German-Americans have shown, that it is possible to be Americans *and* German-Americans. They have as well shown that it might even be necessary to preserve individual identity by belonging to a traditional ethnic and cultural group which has its authentic uniqueness within the larger framework of an open, democratic, multi-cultural, and multi-ethnic society.

All players in the German debate on *Leitkultur* through references to the German constitution link the present-day German society to universal ethics, to democracy and to the humanitarian value system which Kant had in mind when he formulated his categorical imperative. There is a tradition of culture within German history, which is part of universal culture, and which we should not stop seeing as the basis of German mainstream culture:

As Tolzmann has reminded us again, German-Americans as early as 1688 issued the first protest against slavery. In spite of the slave state which was established in Germany between 1933 and 1945, it is worth noticing that today we can look back at

such an early formulation of a humanitarian concept as part of the German tradition. We can see ourselves as partners of this German-American and German cultural tradition, if we put it into perspective with the German Enlightenment and its views. It would be totally adequate to make all immigrants coming into Germany aware of this and to invite them to a learning experience for becoming a German in this sense. If there was anything like the "Guidelines for the Introduction of German-American Studies" at various educational levels in the German educational system, this would probably be a little easier. But still, under the present conditions it would be quite a challenge for all sides and all groups involved, not just for the ethnic and cultural minorities.

Summary

A moderate set of suggestions may be derived from these observations: First, German politicians, educators, intellectuals and academicians should accept the fact that the German people, especially those who have never been confronted with the challenges of a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic society, may be angst-ridden. Therefore, they should start to educate them for a positive, self-assured attitude. Second, it should be admitted that there are and will be problems with an ever-increasing stream of immigrants, and that these problems will have not only to be addressed, but to be solved, too. Third, through a broad range of activities, cultural awareness in Germany should be created and encouraged, for the mainstream culture and other minority and ethnic cultures alike ("mainstream culture" here is referred to as the culture of the majority group in Germany within the patchwork of culture, based on constitution and tradition inasmuch as they are part of the humanitarian, democratic universe). Fourth, the ethnic minority groups should be encouraged to strive for "active assimilation" and they should be supported to formulate and show their ethnic pride through positive images.

An example for this is, how the German-Americans since the 1950s revived their ethnic heritage.⁷³ "Active involvement" is more than "passive assimilation," as Giles Hoyt has pointed out in the *Theodor Stempfel Festschrift*.⁷⁴ The Germans should learn from America that ethnic education (ethnic-heritage and ethnic-culture schools) can give the ethnic minorities the pride which makes them ready to contribute to German culture through active assimilation, and which makes concepts of *Leitkultur* obsolete, at least inasmuch as they contain elements of "guidance."⁷⁵

Fifth, a concept of "Mainstream Culture" should be developed, which encourages clarity, vigor, controversy, accuracy, honesty, sensitivity, understanding and openness towards minority groups. This will lead to more uninhibited and everyday discussions of its meaning. Germany's central interest will lie in assimilating new immigrants as much as this has been so in America. Immigrants then will think of themselves primarily as Germans, which is more than "having them join the economic mainstream," as Robert J. Samuelson says about immigrants to America.⁷⁶

The core elements within the German debate on *Leitkultur* are:

1. There is a general understanding that Germany is an immigrant nation.
2. There will be immigration and naturalization legislation with the *jus soli* definition within the next few years.
3. Language and culture courses will be offered.
4. All players involved already accept the *constitutional* concept of "culture" in Germany.
5. Initially, the debate was launched by the younger generation within the CDU mainly for campaign reasons. Meanwhile, the debate has become a general issue on the national level.

Germany is presently undergoing a process of reinventing itself within the framework of the emerging United States of Europe and global challenges. Further down on this road there will be a widely accepted concept of what can be called the "constitutional approach" of German culture. It will be a mainstream and patchwork concept of "Cultures in Germany."

This concept will be adopted by ethnic minorities to the extent which they themselves deem necessary to pursue happiness in Germany and reach their own goals as German citizens.

The process towards modernization and change, which former German President Roman Herzog in his famous Hotel Adlon speech of 1997 intensely demanded when he referred to the dynamics of other European nations (like France and the Netherlands) and to that of the American society,⁷⁷ has started. The ongoing *Leitkultur* debate will be a central aspect of this modernization process, and it will show Germany as a vital member of the international community.

Wrap-up: The End of the Debate?

Between April 2001 and the end of the year 2001, there has been a series of substantial changes of the debate: By 11 September 2001 it was completely amalgamated with the German debate on immigration and naturalization legislation, and after the terrorist attacks on America it was almost wiped out by the debate on the "Security Packages" and on immigration legislation in Germany.

Otto Schily, German Minister for the Interior, as early as in November 2000 had declared the *Leitkultur* debate "unnecessary," and said it was only relevant for the internal fights within the conservative parties. A search in the Internet for the term *Leitkultur* at the end of the year 2001 revealed that since April 2001 there are hardly any more relevant articles on *Leitkultur*. Even the CDU "Commission on Immigration and Integration" in May 2001 eliminated the term from its report.⁷⁹

By the end of August 2001, a series of proposals, comments and legislative initiatives on the issues of immigration and naturalization had been published. They seem to indicate, that the period of the *Leitkultur* debate was transformed into the phase of legislative and decision making processes with an ever growing and intense debate on the immigration and naturalization issues. Its steps were:

1. March (2001): The ecological party (The Greens) Concept on Immigration,
2. April: Christian Social Union (CSU) Concept on Immigration,
3. May: Christian Democratic Union (CDU) Guidelines on Immigration,
4. June: PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism) Concept on Immigration,
5. June: Social Democratic Party (SPD) Concept on Immigration,
6. July: Independent Commission on Immigration, Final Report,
7. July: Guidelines of the Social Democratic Party in the German General Assembly (Bundestag),
8. July: Guidelines of the Free Democratic Party on Immigration,
9. August 2001: First Draft of the Legislation on Immigration and Naturalization, by the German Ministry of the Interior.⁸⁰

The main forces which fed these developments were the determination of the German Federal Government to introduce the immigration legislation well before the upcoming election campaign for the year 2002, the increasing demands of the German business community for more foreign skilled workers,⁸¹ the search for a unanimous standpoint within the CDU and CSU and their stance against the "Open Gates" policy of the German government,⁸² the guidelines of the *Report of the Independent Commission on Immigration*,⁸³ the search for a bipartisan legislative compromise in the Bundesrat, and the forewarnings of the federal election campaign 2002.

All this was overshadowed by the terrorist attacks on America and their impact on the debate on immigration in Germany. On 14 September 2001, some newspapers reported that Schily had stopped the first draft of the immigration legislation, which was reported to pursue a more liberal approach. The conservative opposition in the German parliament immediately demanded to introduce more restrictive measures.⁸⁴ This matched the results of opinion polls after 11 September; 12 October 2001: 76% of the Germans involved said that immigration legislation should go on, but 79% demanded that it should be more restrictive to assure that the danger for terrorist activities from immigrants would be reduced.⁸⁵

The German Ministry of the Interior developed a set of anti-terror and security measures, and the federal government sent two "Security Packages" to the German Bundestag.⁸⁶ More than 100 laws were modified, and the federal government and its agencies were almost unanimously given extensive powers to fight terrorism. These measures will be terminated after five years, though.⁸⁷ Even other political activities were affected by these developments: Actions and propaganda against "globalization" almost died out. They were washed away by the tide of considerations how to react after the terrorist attacks.⁸⁸

Indirectly, though, during this process the formerly controversial debate on *Leitkultur* was replaced by a more comprehensive debate on immigration and its manifold implications. It can also be viewed as a passageway to a somewhat concealed consensus on the basics of what should be expected from immigrants. As soon as German language skills and a sound understanding of the German constitution and the essentials of democratic society in Germany (as part of the international community of democratic nations) were introduced into the debate and into legislative initiatives

as preliminary requirements for citizenship, the core elements of a consensual concept of *Leitkultur* became apparent.

This again took place during the aftermath of the terrorist attacks on America. As much as the government, the political parties, the media, organizations and groups from all sectors of the German society struggled to formulate their stance on what had happened and what was yet to come, it became clear that the most important results of this elucidatory process were the support for America and the common cause in the fight against terrorism, and a refreshed emphasis on the fundamental values which unite the European and the transatlantic worlds.

Chancellor Gerhard Schröder articulated this, when in his policy statement, which he made to the German Bundestag 19 September 2001, he said:

What we have here is not a "clash of civilizations" but a struggle to protect civilization in this one world. We are aware of the diversity of the world's civilizations, and we respect them all. But we must insist that the principles of the American Declaration of Independence apply universally. . . . These principles, even if they are the legacy of the Christian West and did not develop without a number of disastrous aberrations, do not conflict with an interpretation of Islam free of fundamentalist frenzy. Such faceless, barbaric terrorism is directed against the very fabric that binds our world together: respect for human life and human dignity, the values of liberty, tolerance, democracy and the peaceful balancing of interests. In the face of this unprecedented attack Germany will give its unreserved support to the United States of America. . . . we must make it clear that while gratitude (to the U. S.) is an important and weighty factor, it does not suffice to legitimize fundamental decisions of principle. In such decisions we are led by one goal only, that of ensuring the future of our country as part of a free world. . . . Our battle against terrorism is a defense of our open society, our liberties, our way of life.⁸⁹

On 13 December 2001, the Bundestag passed the German immigration legislation with a slim majority. The full title of the law reflects the complicated political, legal, historical and societal environment surrounding it: "Law for the Management and Limitation of Immigration and for the Regulation of the Residence and Integration of Citizens of the (European) Union and of Aliens (Immigration Law)."⁹⁰

It is scheduled to take effect in January 2003. Until then, more compromising with the German states (*Länder*) will be necessary, because the Bundesrat will have to make its final decision in spring 2002 and a majority is not yet secured.⁹¹ Because both conservative parties in Germany continue to fiercely oppose some of the provisions of the immigration law, it seems to be inevitable that the immigration issue will be made a central part of the 2002 federal election campaign.

Nevertheless, the debate on *Leitkultur*, although it seems to have been a short-lived flare-up in the media, in politics and in the contributions of German thought-leaders, has played a vital role in what Bade called Germany's "path from the informal

to the formal status as an immigration nation."⁹²

As is often the case with debates on culture and its meaning, the *Leitkultur* debate may well have achieved what it at best could have accomplished: It presented essential contributions to the quest for a better understanding of the scope and the challenges of migration, and it heightened the German's awareness of what has to be achieved before the ongoing process of integrating millions of immigrants into the German society will be handled successfully and in accordance with human dignity and human rights.

Bremen, Germany

Notes

¹ Willi Paul Adams, *The German-Americans: An ethnic Experience*. American Edition. Translated and Adapted by LaVern J. Rippley, and Eberhard Reichmann (Max Kade German-American Center, Indiana University Purdue University at Indianapolis, 1993), 1.

² Transl. D.S. - A first round of *Leitkultur* discussion had started in 1998, triggered off by former General Schönbohm, Secretary for Domestic Affairs in the State of Berlin. It soon trickled down, so that I do not go back to this first phase. Cf. *BerlinOnline*, 17 July 1998, www.berlinonline.de/wissen/berliner_zeitung/archiv/1998/0717/lokales/012.

³ *RPOnline*, 18 October 2000, www.rp-online.de/news/politik/2000-1018merz_rhtml.

⁴ www.webpolitik.de/europa/merz.htm.

⁵ Transl. D.S., www.webpolitik.de/europa/merz.htm.

⁶ Klaus-Peter Schöppner (EMNID) in *Die Welt*, 18 April 2001.

⁷ EU Beobachtungsstelle für Rassismus und Fremdenfeindlichkeit in Wien, cited by Andreas Middel: "Jeder fünfte EU-Bürger will Ausländer sofort ausweisen," *Die Welt*, 22 March 2001.

⁸ www.webpolitik.de/europa/merz.htm.

⁹ *Bild am Sonntag*, 3 December 2000.

¹⁰ Rainer Münz in *Die Welt*, 9 March 2001.

¹¹ msnbc.de/news/65109.asp: Internet; accessed 04-17-01.

¹² *Newsweek*, 16 April 2000.

¹³ Alan Posener in *Die Welt*, 3 January 2001.

¹⁴ Ira von Mellenthin in *Die Welt*, Hamburg, 29 March 2001.

¹⁵ Gernot Facius in *Die Welt*, 17 April 2001.

¹⁶ Klaus-Peter Schöppner in *Die Welt*, 18 April 2001.

¹⁷ Some sources say, the number of Germans until 2050 would only decrease by 11 millions: see Michael Mönninger in *Die Welt*, 18 April 2001.

¹⁸ Reinhard Mohr, "Operation Sauerbraten," *Der Spiegel* 45/2000; www.spiegel.de/druckversion/0,1588,101362,00.html.

¹⁹ www.juden.de - transl. D.S.

²⁰ *Spiegel Online*, 4 November 2000, spiegel.de/kultur/gesellschaft/0,1518,101365,00.html.

²¹ *Spiegel Online*, 3 January 2001.

²² *Spiegel Online*, www.webpolitik.de/europa/merz.htm 30, 2000.

²³ Quoted in zdf.msnbs.de/news/65038.asp, 28 November 2000; transl. D.S.

²⁴ *Spiegel Online*, 17 November 2000, transl. D.S.

²⁵ *Bayernkurier Online*, 27 October 2000, transl. D.S.

²⁶ www.webpolitik.de/europa/merz.htm.

²⁷ www.die-zeit.de/2000/47/Politik/200047_Leitkultur.html.

²⁸ www.muslim-markt.de/Aktion/Leitkultur/maillsanctu.htm. In 2002, the German Supreme Court also allowed Muslim-style ritual slaughtering.

²⁹ www2.friedrich-merz.de/www/aktuell_print.asp?AktuellID=150, transl. D.S.

³⁰ *Die Welt*, 17 April 2001.

³¹ Harald Lüders and Gottlob Schober in *zdf.msnbc Online*; zdf.msnbc.de/news/65109.asp.

³² zdf.msnbd.de/news/65001.asp?cp1=1: Volker Rühle, Christian Wulff, Hans-Jochen Vogel, Hildegard Müller, Hermann-Josef Arentz.

³³ Transl. D.S.

³⁴ Conference on "The Future of Remembrance," 9 September 2000, Memorial Buchenwald.

³⁵ www.juden.de/newsarchiv/november_2000/15_11:03.htm.

³⁶ *Spiegel Online*, 11 November 2000.

³⁷ *Die Welt*, 11 November 2000, transl. D.S.

³⁸ *Der Spiegel* 47/2000.

³⁹ *BerlinOnline*, 31 October 2000.

⁴⁰ 7 March 2001.

⁴¹ *Berliner Zeitung*, 31 October 2000.

⁴² Peter Sloterdijk, *Versprechen auf Deutsch: Rede über das eigene Land* (Suhrkamp: Frankfurt 1990), 36.

⁴³ Transl. D. S. "Ich träume von der, damals von keinerlei Bewußtsein des Anderseins getrübbten Unbefangenheit des Umgangs miteinander in meiner Kindheit und Jugend. . . . In vier Semestern als Gastprofessor an den deutschen Universitäten Freiburg, Frankfurt, Leipzig und Potsdam habe ich erfahren, daß mein Traum kein leerer Traum ist. . . . Es ist die gemeinsame Aufgabe aller Betroffenen - und das sind wir - das Wissen zu bewahren und um dieses Wissens willen sich aufzulehnen gegen Ungeheuerlichkeit jeder Provenienz. Nur so finden wir den Weg zurück und den Weg vorwärts in die Unbefangenheit." (Guy Stern, *Manuscript*, 15-16).

⁴⁴ *Berliner Morgenpost online*, 24 October 2000; Marie-Luise Beck, Federal Government Commissioner for Foreign Resident Affairs (Ausländerbeauftragte der Bundesregierung), said the same in a radio interview (www.ndr4.de/inerviews/archiv/200010193.html).

⁴⁵ Richard Kurin, *Reflections of a Cultural Broker: A View from the Smithsonian* (Smithsonian Institution Press: Washington and London 1997), 15.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁴⁷ Edward T. Hall and Mildred Reed Hall, *Understanding Cultural Differences; Keys to Success in West Germany, France, and the United States* (Intercultural Press: Yarmouth 1989), xiii - xiv.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, xix.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Beckstein, *Spiegel Online*, 17 November 2000.

⁵¹ Daniel Boorstin, *The Americans. The Democratic Experience* (New York: Random House, 1973), 248.

⁵² Richard Kurin, *Reflections of a Cultural Broker*, 17.

⁵³ Tibi's contributions are often cited when, especially by leaders of the CSU, Muslim groups are identified as ethnic groups who will not fit into the constitutional value systems of German and Europe; compare for this Alois Glück, Chairperson of the CSU Commission on Political Basics - Grundsatzkommission, as cited in *Bayernkurier online*, 27 October 2000.

⁵⁴ Hilmar Hoffmann, "Deutsche Leitkultur ist nichts für Stammtische," *Rheinischer Merkur*, 6 January 2001.

⁵⁵ Otto Schily, "Vom christlichen Abendland zum multikulturellen Einwanderungsland?" www.h-quandt-stiftung.de/deutsch/kooq/12_dr_os.htm, transl. D.S.

⁵⁶ *Die Welt*, 8 February 2001.

⁵⁷ *Die Welt*, 7 March 2001.

⁵⁸ Stephan Haselberger, "Deutsche haben nur wenig Verständnis für Zuwanderung," *Die Welt*, 20 April 2001.

⁵⁹ Roman Herzog, "Aufbruch ins 21. Jahrhundert," www.bundespraesident.de/n/nph/b/reden/de/berlin/htm?reden/deutsch1997.ma

⁶⁰ Interview with the weekly newspaper *Bild am Sonntag*, 3 December 2000.

⁶¹ Editorial by Torsten Krauel in *Die Welt*, 20 March 2001.

⁶² Klaus Bade, "Einwanderung ist kein Allheilmittel für gesellschaftliche Probleme," *Die Welt*, 29 March 2001, 4, transl. D.S.

⁶³ *English Supplement, German Pavilion Catalogue* (Hannover: Trägergesellschaft Deutscher Pavillon, 2000), 3.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁶⁵The complete list includes: Konrad Adenauer (1876-1967), first chancellor, FRG; Hans Beck (1929), designer and producer of Playmobil toys; Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827), composer; Gerhard Behrendt (1929-), creator of Little Sandman, East German Television; Joseph Beuys (1921-1986), action artist, academic teacher; Heinrich Böll (1917-1985), writer, Nobel Prize winner 1972; Hedwig Bollhagen (1907-), ceramic artist and entrepreneur; Robert Bosch (1861-1942), technical pioneer, industrialist, philanthropist; Willy Brandt (1913-1992), first Social Democratic chancellor of Germany, Nobel Peace Prize winner 1971, left Nazi Germany for exile in Norway; Bertolt Brecht (1898-1956), writer, left Nazi Germany for exile; Otto Brenner (1907-1972), labor union leader; Marlene Dietrich (1901-1992), actress and film star, left Germany in 1930 for U. S.; Dr. Motte (1960), founder of Love Parade in Berlin; Albert Einstein (1879-1955), physicist, left Germany for exile in U. S.; Johann Georg Elser (1903-1945), unsuccessful assassin of Hitler, murdered at Dachau; Ludwig Erhar (1897-1977), first federal economics minister after WWII, introduced social market economy; Hartmut Esslinger (1944), designer of consumer goods; Rainer Werner Fassbinder (1945-1982), movie director and producer; Artur Fischer (1919), inventor with more than 5,000 patents; Stefanie Graf (1969-), tennis player; Jacob Grimm (1785-1863) and Wilhelm Grimm (1786-1859), collectors and publishers of German fairytales and *Deutsches Wörterbuch*; Sigmund Jähn (1937), first German in outer space, from East Germany; Janosch (1931), painter, illustrator and writer of children's books; Erich Kästner (1899-1974), writer, prominent in the twenties and thirties; Petra Kelly (1947-1992), co-founder of the Green Party in Germany; Heinrich Maria Ledig-Rowohlt (1908-1992), publisher; Berthold Leibinger (1930), laser equipment manufacturer; Thomas Mann (1875-1955), writer, Nobel Prize winner in 1926, left Germany for exile in U. S.; Lise Meitner (1878-1968), physicist, left Germany for exile in Sweden; Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (1886-1969), architect, left Germany for exile in U. S.; Reinhard Mohn (1921), publisher, principal owner of Bertelsmann Group; Monday Demonstrators (1989), anonymous in East Germany, cried "we are the people" and started German unification; The Mouse (1971), idol of the most popular television series for children in Germany; Mousse T. (1966), disc jockey of Turkish descent; Ruper Neudeck (1939), medical doctor, founder of CAP ANAMUR/German Emergency Doctors; Gerhard Polt (1942), Bavarian revue artist and writer; Georg Salvamoser (1950), owner of Europe's first zero-emission facility for the production of solar energy modules; Mildred Scheel (1932-1985), founder of the German Cancer League, wife of former German Federal President Walter Scheel; Claus Schenk Count von Stauffenberg (1907-1944), unsuccessful assassin of Hitler, shot 20 July 1944; Romy Schneider (1938-1982), actress and movie star; Sophie Scholl (1921-1943), Munich student opposing the Nazis, was murdered by the Nazis; Irmela Schramm (1945), teacher and activist, erases racist and offending graffiti all over socker Germany; Jürgen Sparwasser (1947), East German football player, shot the only goal in the first German-German game in 1974; Margarete Steiff (1847-1909), wheel-chaired entrepreneur and producer of stuffed toy animals; Martin Teucher (1981), philosopher, inventor of "Homepage Upper" software; Konrad Zuse (1910-1995), inventor of the world's first programmable computer "Z3."

⁶⁶*English Supplement, German Pavilion Catalogue*, 14.

⁶⁷*English Supplement, German Pavilion Catalogue*, 27.

⁶⁸Richard Kurin and Diana Parker, "The Festival in the Electronic Age" (Smithsonian Institution, Festival of American Folklife, Washington, DC: 1996), 5.

⁶⁹*Die Welt*, 23 March 2001, transl. D.S.

⁷⁰CD ROM Smithsonian's America.

⁷¹*Ibid.*

⁷²Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *The German-American Experience* (Amherst, New York: Humanity Books, 1999), 19.

⁷³Don Heinrich Tolzmann, "The German-American Legacy," *The Journal of the German-Texan Heritage Society*, 16, 2, (1994) 49.

⁷⁴Giles R. Hoyt, "Foreword," *Theodor Stempfel's Festschrift Fifty Years of Unrelenting German Aspirations in Indianapolis, 1848 - 1898* (Indianapolis: German-American Center and Indiana-German Heritage Society, Inc.: Indianapolis 1991), vii.

⁷⁵Anna Kuchment, "Ethnic Education," *Newsweek*, 2 April 2001, 74.

⁷⁶Robert J. Samuelson, "Can America Assimilate?," *Newsweek*, 9 April 2001, 47.

⁷⁷Roman Herzog, "Aufbruch ins 21. Jahrhundert," www.bundespraesident.de/n/nph/b/reden/de/berlin/htm?reden/deutsch1997.ma.

⁷⁸Interview in *Die Zeit*; 10 November 2000, www.zeit.de/2000/45/Politik/200045_schily.html.

⁷⁹Deutsche Presse Agentur (dpa), cited in www.juden.de/newsarchiv/mai_2001/02_05_01_01.htm.

⁸⁰ cf. www.sueddeutsche.de/deutschland/politik/1566/.

⁸¹ cf. *efms Migration Report*, März 2001, www.uni-bamberg.de/~ba64f3/dmar01_d.htm; FAZ, 28 September 2001; *Die Welt*, 6 November 2001; *Die Welt*, 5 December 2001; *Die Welt*, 21 December 2001.

⁸² Edmund Stoiber, Prime Minister of Bavaria, explains this in an interview with *Die Welt*, 29 November 2001, 3. cf. the coverage in *Die Welt*, 30 November 2001, 3.

⁸³ www.bmi.bund.de.

⁸⁴ www.sueddeutsche.de/deutschland/politik/24321/?url=deutschland%2Fpolitik%2F.

⁸⁵ EMNID and ntv, www.emnid.tnsfres.com/presse/ntv-2001_10_12.html; cf. the poll from 22-29 October 2001, with almost the same figures, which show a dramatic change towards backing the tight security measures imposed by the government: www.emnid.tnsfres.com/presse/ntv/ntv-2001_10_29.html.

⁸⁶ *efms Migration Report*, September 2001, www.uni-bamberg.de/~ba6ef3/dsep01_d.htm and October, 2001, www.uni-bamberg.de/~ba6ef3/dokt01_d.htm.

⁸⁷ www.nrz.de/free/nrz.artikel-000.html?news_id=2097270

⁸⁸ Christian Tenbrock und Wolfgang Uchatius, "In der Nationalisierungsfalle: Nach dem Terror drohen neue Grenzen für Migranten in aller Welt," *Die Zeit* 39/2000 v. 27.09.2001, www.zeit.de/2001/39/Wirtschaft/200139_globalisierung.html.

⁸⁹ http://eng.bundesregierung.de/dokumente/Rede/ix_56718_5459.htm

⁹⁰ Gesetz zur Steuerung und Begrenzung der Zuwanderung und zur Regelung des Aufenthalts und der Integratoin von Unionsbürgern und Ausländern (Zuwanderungsgesetz); trans. D.S.

⁹¹ *Die Welt*, 21 December, 2.

⁹² Klaus J. Bade, "Wir sind ein Einwanderungsland," *Die Welt*, 14 December, 31.

Ernest A. Menze

Benjamin Franklin Seen with German Eyes: Selective Co-optations by German Authors

This essay examines German perceptions of Benjamin Franklin's life and work. The approach is that of an overview, letting a few representative writers come to word. Any retrospective of American influences on Germany over time will always be subject to a measure of bias, caused by the consequences of the Second World War. Notwithstanding the "many faces" of Franklin that will be alluded to in the following, he is seen here in the main as anticipating an American pragmatism that differs markedly from the idealist preoccupations of German thought. The thesis of Franklin, endorsed here, as a teacher of democracy not heeded at a critical point in German history is informed by a decided partisanship on the author's part for the American way as pioneered and lived by the Philadelphian sage. The flaws in Franklin's character and conduct, so very much present in the critical eyes of his countrymen, tend to be overlooked by his European admirers in the light of his virtues and accomplishments.

The impressive range of American Franklin scholarship, was expanded recently with the publication of Larry E. Tisch's volume, presenting the papers given at a symposium on "Franklin and Women" and H. W. Brands's biography of "The First American."¹ The views of American critics, conveniently assembled by Brian M. Barbour, of Franklin's many-sided face—or "multiple selves"—help the newcomer to the field find his bearing.² The flaws found by modern critics in Franklin's character and conduct make the reader of the idealized early German views pause. More telling yet is the criticism of Thoreau, Emerson, Hawthorne, Cooper, Poe, and Melville, summarized by Barbour: "so fundamental is the criticism of Franklinian assumptions carved out by the greatest American writers of the nineteenth century that in the twentieth novelists like Fitzgerald [*Gatsby*] and Faulkner found it obviously *there* to exploit."³ Though Barbour may be correct in finding the famous D. H. Lawrence essay "neither gratuitous nor unprecedented" and in seeing it as a response within an established tradition,⁴ Lawrence's contemptuous depiction of "Old Daddy Franklin" as a "cunning little Benjamin" who "drew up for himself a creed that should 'satisfy the professors of every religion, but shock none,'" continues to shock modern sensibilities.⁵ Franklin's German admirers certainly would have been offended had such slanderous accusations reached their ears. How many—and which—of Franklin's many selves, self-made or induced by the circumstances of his life, did German eyes

get to see?⁶

Germans certainly had a representative selection of Franklin's writings in translation available at an early date, followed by an unbroken stream of further translations amounting, all of them by the year 1906 to eighty-three entries diligently assembled in a 1915 University of Pennsylvania dissertation.⁷ The vast majority of these entries feature the *Autobiography* and *The Way to Wealth*, with due attention also paid during the early years to the electrical experiments and to the Franklin stove. A cursory survey of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century German writers reveals a striking tone of matter-of-fact familiarity with Franklin's accomplishments. This familiarity may be said to speak out of Lessing's casual allusion to the electrical spark of faith in the paralytic to whom it did not matter whether Franklin's or Nollet's views were correct, and Goethe's eulogy in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* celebrating the "incomparable" Justus Möser, comparable to no one but Franklin.⁸ Carl van Doren singles out Kant's tribute to Franklin that "here was another hero of the human race . . . a new Prometheus who had stolen fire from heaven,"⁹ and Georg Friedrich Lichtenberg, struck by the profound balance of Franklin's creative imagination and scientific rigor, called him "a man of Keplerian nobility."¹⁰ Franklin was looked up to as the "intellectual father" of the problems setting Lichtenberg and Wilson apart in 1779 in regard to the most desirable shape of the lightning conductor.¹¹

But the most perceptive appreciation of Franklin during this particular period of his reception in Germany is found in the writings and correspondence of Johann Gottfried Herder. Going beyond the casual allusions of his contemporaries to the world-famous inventor and statesman, Herder co-opted Franklin in the round as the epitome of his own ideal of humanity, and he erected for him, in his *Briefe zu Beförderung der Humanität*, a lasting memorial.¹² One of the earliest references to Franklin in Herder's works is found in the first volume of his magnum opus, his widely known *Ideen* of 1784, where Franklin is listed among a group of the outstanding natural scientists of the century whose works promise to throw light on the evolution of human diversity in nature.¹³ Franklin's "electrical spark," here and elsewhere in Herder's writings, constitutes a major factor in his speculations on the mysteries of life. But it is in Franklin's *Autobiography* and his *Miscellaneous Writings* that Herder finds a kindred soul, a model for his ideal of *Humanität*.¹⁴ Herder's *Humanitätsbriefe*, published during the years from 1793 to 1797, continue the major theme that runs through his *Ideen*, humanity's ascent to *Humanität*. And they open with Herder's memorial to Franklin.¹⁵

Herder concentrates on Franklin's *Autobiography* and the "Rules for a Club Established for Mutual Improvement," both of which tie in closely with his objective in the *Humanitätsbriefe*, the ever closer advancement toward perfection by means of autonomous growth in terms of individuation as well as social cohesion.¹⁶ Herder preeminently values the "sense of *Humanität*" in Franklin, which characterizes even "the least of his writings," and he calls him "the most noble popular author of the century," whose principles, if adhered to by only one people in all of Europe, would have an unimaginable impact.¹⁷ Herder sees Franklin's *Autobiography* as the opposite of Rousseau's *Confessions*, with the latter almost always led astray by his phantasy,

whereas the former never was "bereft of his sound reason, his untiring diligence, his politeness, his practical ingenuity, and, I am inclined to say, his many-sided cleverness and calm fortitude."¹⁸ Herder knows no other recent book so well suited to serve as a guide for young people "to diligence, prudence and morality"; thus, "it is not the creator of the theory of electricity and of the harmonica" who is his hero, but the man open to all "that is useful and true, the most accessible and pragmatic thinker, He, the teacher of humankind, the guide of a grand human community" who is to be our model.¹⁹ Herder's paean to Franklin's *Autobiography* is then followed by a detailed discussion of the "Rules for a Club Established for Mutual Improvement" drawn up by the young Franklin and his like-minded companions in 1728.²⁰ (For a discussion of Herder's acquaintance with Franklin's *Political, Miscellaneous, and Philosophical Pieces*, the appendix of which contained the "Rules," and for a discussion of the possibility that Herder presented an earlier version of this paper to the *Freitagsgesellschaft*, chaired by Goethe at the Weimar court, see the relevant passages in Haym and Suphan, cited in note 14.) Aside from the intriguing possibility of a connection between artisan efforts at individual and collective self improvement in Philadelphia and their much later counterpart in the refinement of a German ducal court, Herder's reformulation in the *Humanitätsbriefe* of his prior version of Franklin's "Rules" serves also as an effective call to arms in the quest for the advancement of *Humanität* initiated by the publication of the first *Collection* of the *Letters*. Herder's reading of the young Franklin's "Club" strikingly captures the needs of an unfolding colonial society; at the same time, it challenges the ever more distorted priorities of a European order threatened by impending Jacobin terror. He admires Franklin's vision of the social order as the very basis of *Humanität*. An association of human souls, a mutual fund of achieved insights and intellectual capital, multiplies infinitively the yield of human cognition and practical competencies.²¹ It remains to be seen whether Herder's claim, in introducing Franklin's "Rules," that Franklin's "Philadelphia . . . may be anywhere" is sustainable. The perception gained by some of the "German eyes" presented in the following seem to suggest strongly that this is so, whereas others take exception.²² The frequent allusions to Franklin in Herder's writings, appearing in the context of a broad variety of topics reflecting the astounding diversity and modernity of the Herderian world view, suggest that he saw Franklin's Philadelphia extending in time as well as space.

A significant contribution to the appreciation of Franklin's impact on German letters was made by Ursula Wertheim, who published her 1956 essay in East Germany and related his rise from obscurity to prominence and affluence to the ideological presuppositions of her day.²³ Wertheim sees the German intelligentsia's concern with the events in North America determined by three "closely related" and yet "clearly distinct" factors, "... firstly, there are the general political and military developments; secondly, there is the outstanding personality of Franklin; and thirdly, the immediate involvement of German princes with England in terms of the sale of soldiers."²⁴ Wertheim views the enthusiastic reception of Franklin by the German intelligentsia during the revolutionary age as the celebration of a "demythologized Prometheus," of a "popular tribune" and citizen of lowly origins who became a symbol of the "New

World" and of a new age.²⁵

Wertheim richly documents the interaction of these three factors which were arousing interest in Germany by reference to a broad range of writers, with particularly telling citations from Schiller, Schubart, and Georg Forster. The obituaries produced by the latter two German radicals at the time of Franklin's passing in 1790 are notable still because of the mixture of sober realism and effusive devotion that marks them. So, Forster pointed out that the Americans would have gained their independence also without the participation of Franklin, but that his exemplary teachings on moral freedom and the sacred respect for reason in the makeup of each human being have created an "eternal bulwark against the tyranny of arbitrary power." And Schubart took note, after sincere expressions of sympathy and reverence, that the lifelong Christian Franklin was also possessed by a "greed for gold" which enabled him to leave to his only daughter, Madame Bache, an enormous fortune, "little of which he enjoyed himself because of his almost miserly moderation."²⁶ Wertheim's contribution makes clear how widely Franklin was known and appreciated in German learned circles during the revolutionary age.

German awareness of Franklin may indeed be said to have ranged from grateful and admiring popular acclaim, reaching in van Doren's words "... far beyond those who did or could read his books ..." to the perceptive appreciation of the innermost working of his mind by the luminaries of the age. The exalted vision of Franklin as the supreme representative of *Humanität*, exemplified by Herder and his contemporaries, was bound to undergo during the nineteenth century the kind of leveling that befell much of the German classical heritage. Some of the subtitles of the German editions of Franklin's works reflect this transformation. Announcing the centennial of "Franklin's Diary," two publications of the year 1830 advertised it as "a trustworthy way to become industrious, judicious, popular, virtuous, and happy by way of moral perfection. Conceived in the year 1730 and placed into the limelight a hundred years later as a monument for posterity."²⁷ During the 1830s and 1840s there were several editions of Franklin's "Golden Little Treasure Chest, or guidance how one might become industrious, virtuous, religious, and happy."²⁸ "The Way to Wealth," "the art of becoming rich," and the usefulness of the *Autobiography* for the young are the themes reiterated in the German titles of Franklin's works published during the Biedermeier period. He appears to be the ideal guide for the German middle class of the industrial revolution, though he also gave food for thought to Karl Marx in his definition of man and in the formulation of his theory of surplus value.²⁹

If, then, a sampling of German Franklinia up to this point reveals a considerable range of perceptions, a more thorough examination of a few particularly remarkable co-operations reflecting the transformation of German society during the later nineteenth and the twentieth century appears to be called for. To this end, five individuals are examined who referred to Franklin prominently in their writings in order to reenforce their own agendas and to educate their countrymen. Two of these, Friedrich Kapp and Eduard Baumgarten, owe their familiarity with Franklin to extended residence in the United States, while the others, Berthold Auerbach, Lujo Brentano, and Max Weber, based their views primarily on the literature available to them in Germany. In

the process, mention will also be made of other writers whose comments throw light on the issues raised.

Ernest K. Bramsted has perceptively analyzed the social structure within which Berthold Auerbach, a German Jew and popular novelist now most highly regarded for his Black Forest village tales, produced his works.³⁰ Sketching the years of "Middle-Class Superiority: 1850-1870," Bramsted finds that an emphasis on middle-class self-reliance and the glorification of labor permeated the works of Freytag, Spielhagen, Auerbach, and Keller, who in turn were indebted to Alberti, Defoe, and Franklin. "The virtues that Franklin preached are the specific virtues of the European middle-class . . . It is significant that the later development of capitalism in Germany is accompanied also by a later reception of Franklin's doctrines of labor and virtue. In the liberal moral catechism in Auerbach's novel *Das Landhaus am Rhein* (1869)," Bramsted observes, "a direct reference to Franklin's model is to be found, whilst the description of modern large-scale commerce in Freytag's *Soll und Haben*, although not mentioning his name, testifies at least to the spirit of Franklin's doctrines."³¹

Bramsted's appreciation of Auerbach's pedagogical intentions is to the point as far as he goes. But his capsule depiction of Auerbach's treatment cannot possibly convey the magnitude of Franklin's presence in this colossal-sentimental tale of a thousand pages. Wading through endless idealizations of Rhineland scenery and people, startled by improbable co-incidences and bored by stereotypical characterizations, the modern reader nevertheless is rewarded by some truly moving and revealing snippets of social history. And these, time and again, are related to Franklin's appearance in the text. In the tutorial relationship of Erich von Dournay and his charge, Roland Franklin Sonnenkamp, the first year of which extends over the bulk of the novel, Franklin is present in spirit and in person from beginning to end.³² Set in Germany, but overshadowed by the misdeeds of Roland's father as a slaver in America, the novel's plodding narrative is given substance now and then by the introduction of American issues, which are usually resolved by reference to Franklinian wisdom and the recitation of abolitionist principles.

Setting up the tutorial relationship, Auerbach lets Erich find in his father's library "the first volume of the beautiful Sparks edition of Franklin's works containing the *Autobiography* and its continuation. Attached to it were a few leaves written in his father's hand."³³ In the following pages Auerbach presents his own educational creed, formulated by his reading of Franklin. To become truly human and a good citizen, the student should be advised to emulate Franklin, who shaped himself. Not to Washington, but to Franklin leads the string of the great lights of humankind—Moses, Jesus, Muhamed . . . Spinoza.³⁴ There would not be much beauty in the world if all were like Franklin, who "lacks any hint of romantic airs, but the world would dwell in uprightness, truthfulness, industriousness, and helpfulness." Franklin is Socrates, he radiates benevolent humor, he "is good prose," he is the first "self-made man," he was "filled with knowledge though no one taught him," he was "filled with religion though he had no church," he "represents simple and wholesome common sense," he "is the first modern self-made human being." There is nothing special, exciting, intoxicating, mysterious, colorful, shining or dazzling in and about him, but he is the spring of life

essential to all created being. In Auerbach's ongoing paean the son of the eighteenth century—its people without a sense of "*Volkssthum*," hostile and alien to the historical and gradually grown, in the end revolutionary—becomes the epitome of nineteenth-century organicism.³⁵ Time and again, Franklin is appealed to for guidance; he appears in the student's dreams, where he is joined by Theodore Parker, whose noble cause also brings to the fore the first and ever-so-slight element of doubt in the universality of Franklin's wisdom, linked to the Founding Fathers' compromise with slavery.³⁶ It is in this context that Auerbach introduces Friedrich Kapp, the second in the line of German Franklinians presented here.

Kapp is introduced in the context of Roland's first reading of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and his disappointment in the consolation of the oppressed by the promise of justice in the hereafter. Auerbach praises Kapp's sober treatment of the slavery issue in his carefully researched *History of Slavery in America*, "the publication of which just now coincided marvelously with the events of the day."³⁷ A radical socialist during the years before the Revolutions of 1848, Kapp spent twenty years in exile in America, and entered, upon his return to Germany in 1870 into a successful career as a politician and author, representing national-liberal causes until his untimely death in 1884.³⁸ It stands to reason that the Franklin chapter of Kapp's American memoirs also informed his historical introduction to the editions of the *Autobiography* which also contained Auerbach's preface.

Kapp is representative of the intellectual emigrant whose views and actions must be seen in the context of his experiences and movement in time and place. His remarkable professional career and political transformation from revolutionary beginnings to national-liberal principles reveals a man who left his mark on both sides of the Atlantic. He was vitriolic in his criticism of flaws wherever he perceived them, and his writings on the evils of slavery in the United States and of the sale of German soldiers by German princes to serve the British in the American Revolutionary War remain exemplary to this day. Given the range and depth of his reading and his life experience, it is significant that he chose Benjamin Franklin as the model to be emulated. His sanguine depiction of Franklin's life and character must be seen in the light of his passion to show what America was losing by neglect, and what Germany stood to gain by Franklinian virtues.

Kapp begins his account of Franklin's life by invoking the "inner kinship" of his own Westphalian ancestors with the descendants of English yeomen in New England, bridging the gap of fourteen hundred years since the departure of the Angles and Saxons from Germany. The name Franklin, he insists, means "Freisasse" and is still used in this sense by Chaucer and Spenser. "In Benjamin Franklin there is revealed, internally and externally, and in its greatest purity, the ancient Germanic character, even though more than fifty generations separate the time of his birth from the migration of the Angles and Saxons."³⁹

Owing to this kinship, it was the German historian Friedrich Christoph Schlosser who was best among the German (and much better than English and American) historians in giving an account of Franklin.⁴⁰ And like Goethe before him, Kapp finds in the character of Justus Möser a parallel to Franklin's virtues, "the same firm

historical sense," "public spirit," "deft sense of humor," and "the same heart for his people."⁴¹ Kapp had gained a good understanding of the significance of Franklin's Puritan roots in the shaping of his economic thought, a topic that will be explored further below. For now, however, we should note Kapp's admonition to his countrymen not to view Franklin's diligence and conscientiousness as the contemptible chase after the almighty dollar, but rather to learn from his example. He finds his countrymen far behind the materially more developed nations, especially the Americans, in the proper understanding of the role of money in the attainment of intellectual and moral ends, and he criticizes their reliance on idealistic notions and selfless enthusiasm and their mistaken contempt for labor spent in the pursuit of money (which might have been spent for good causes). He holds up the Americans as the people who, "though expending all their energies in the pursuit of money, become indifferent to the metal as such, as soon as they have it, and spend it with open hands to public ends, making it serve the common weal." He cites the great sum given to philanthropy in one year—1873—in the United States "not by 'the luminaries of society,' but by mostly little people grown rich by their own labor," and he concludes that "no American has promoted this great national virtue more than Franklin, and none has contributed to the same degree as he in raising it to become a significant part of the national identity. He ennobled by his example for all generations to come what his countrymen, in part consciously, had already felt and done before him."⁴² The Franklin essay was evidently written after Kapp's return to Germany in 1870. It reflects the high esteem in which Kapp held the Founding Fathers, but it differs markedly in tone and substance from his assessment of American society during the two decades of his stay within it. Many of the letters edited by Wehler express contempt for America. Kapp insists, in a letter of the year 1856 to his friend Ludwig Feuerbach, "that a German of culture never will be able to take root here. The conceited, hypocritical character of the American, arising from a Christian *Weltanschauung*, conflicts directly with any kind of sane humanity." And, in an earlier letter to Feuerbach, written in 1851, he sharply criticized the flaws inherited from England: "... the religious superstition, which descends to complete idiocy, the lack of sensibility for art and of science, and the blockheaded national pride." And in a letter to Eduard Cohen in 1856, he praised the leadership of the Founding Fathers who "saved the day" during the Revolutionary War in the face of the "worthlessness" of the people, as opposed to the high quality of the people during the Civil War as they endured poor leadership that drove the entire country into misery.⁴³ Kapp writes as the well-off emigre who returned to Germany to help his people in the transformation to a functioning democracy. For him, Franklin was the ideal teacher. It was Franklin's *Poor Richard* upon which were modeled "all of the significant and famous almanacs," such as Johann Peter Hebel's *Schatzkästlein* and Berthold Auerbach's *Gevattersmann*.⁴⁴ Franklin's life-long contributions as a journalist and essayist, including his effective use of the literary feud, humor, ridicule and satire, to thoroughly enlighten his readers, are demonstrated by appropriate examples, as is his "well-conceived, pleasing, pure, and universally comprehensible style."⁴⁵

Kapp's brief summary of Franklin's life—amounting to hardly fifty pages—gives a remarkably accurate account of his public service. However, with reference to Kapp's

"German eyes," his comparison of Rousseau and Franklin should be noted. Prompted by his reading of French critics, who attributed to Franklin's autobiographical project the sole purpose of counteracting the increasing and pernicious impact of Rousseau's confessions on developing youth, an attribution he finds grossly mistaken, Kapp examines the two men in depth.⁴⁶

Kapp begins his comparison of Franklin and Rousseau by pointing to "the only likeness between them, . . . their profound and enduring impact on their century as writers and human beings." The rest of the comparison is framed in terms of an "irreconcilable contrast" between "sense of duty" on the one hand and "arbitrary subjectivism" on the other, between "Germanic and Latin *Weltanschauung*."⁴⁷ Rousseau escapes into "the state of nature," Franklin seeks to "ennoble" it; the one casts away *Bildung* as an evil, the other seeks it as the highest good. The European wants to become the backwoods American, the American, conversely, European. Rousseau, "despicably" sentimental, knows only rights, not duties; he erects altars to self-seeking sensibility and subordinates justice and morality to the judgment of the greater number, the accidental majority. "Franklin, on the other hand, treats private and public matters with the seriousness of the businessman; never the dilettante, he humbly puts his whole self . . . into even the most minute of tasks," enriching humanity with his deeds to the last day of his life. "Thus his life becomes the apotheosis of duty." "The more deeply we penetrate Rousseau," Kapp goes on, "the more we are repelled by his often despicable sensibility, his inner dishonesty, yes, the deliberate lying of this great mind." "The longer we remain with Franklin," Kapp finds, "the more we are attracted by him, the better we like him because of his energy, his inexhaustible benevolence and his refreshing pleasantries." Looking at Rousseau's disciples and followers, who lack their master's talents, we are left with "literary or social gypsies, vain moralists, or political terrorists, radical *Biedermeier* or untruthful scoundrels," whereas those who emulate Franklin, even those who are lacking in intellectual distinction, must yet be valued as "honorable citizens," "quietly industrious," "the neighbor eager to help," "the benevolent friend," and the "patriot who will not shy away from any sacrifice." In a fit of pertinent "self-revelation," Kapp concludes, Rousseau once called himself "half ne'er-do-well, half hero. Franklin did not need to tell the world what and who he was."⁴⁸ But Kapp does not fail to cite Franklin's own "self revelation," expressed in the context of his successful work as a diplomat on the international stage, reporting him as saying: "My honesty was my only finesse."⁴⁹ Much as Kapp did justice to the greatness of Franklin, he apparently was not sufficiently immunized by his twenty years of exile in America to resist the nationalist temptations of the German *Gründerjahre*, and he thus gave to his countrymen, in tandem with Auerbach's idealization, a Germanic Franklin, captive to a droning sense of duty but without the liberating rascality, a significant omission indeed.

A somewhat different Franklin emerges from another pair of Franklinians, for whom he became the subject of academic controversy. One of them, Lujo Brentano (1844-1931), scion of the literary clan and prominent economist of the New Historical School, has finally come to be noted in the United States as well.⁵⁰ The other, Max Weber (1864-1920), for most of his life a respectful junior to Brentano's eminence,

has by now himself become a *bona fide* eminence in the field of sociology in Germany and in the United States. Their dispute over Franklin arose in the context of the still ongoing controversy over Weber's groundbreaking essays of the years 1904-5 on "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism."⁵¹

Seen in the context of Wilhelminian Germany—united and yet marked by the fissures of historical and religious divisions, riding prosperity, driven by nationalist and imperialist ambition, beset by social tension, and edging closer and closer to international conflict—these two men are exemplary representatives of the German professoriate at its best, though they, too, in the end were drawn into the ugly disputes over war-guilt recriminations. Their disagreement over the place of Franklin in the origins of modern capitalism throws light on many facets of that scholarly controversy, as well as on the gradual transformation of Franklin's reception in Germany. Both Brentano and Weber refer frequently to Franklin in building their respective cases, though it must be remembered that the 1920 edition of Weber's essays cited below was revised to take account of the criticism that had arisen since their original publication, and that the extensive notes added in 1920 contain a point-by-point refutation of Brentano's criticism. What then, in brief, was Weber's view of Franklin? What was Brentano's response, and how did Weber deal with this response and those of others?

Franklin appears in the beginning of the second chapter of Weber's essay, where he is cited at length in the initial definition of "the spirit of capitalism." In order to give a "provisional description" of the "object" to be analyzed and historically explained, Weber turns "to a document of that spirit which contains in almost classical purity what we are looking for, and at the same time has the advantage of being free from all direct relationship to religion, being thus, for our purpose, free of preconceptions."⁵² Weber's extensive citation is actually taken from two sources, the "Necessary Hints to Those That Would Be Rich" of 1736 and the "Advice to a Young Tradesman" of 1748.⁵³ Weber points out that Franklin's utilitarian "virtues" were satirized in Ferdinand Kürnberger's "clever and malicious *Portrait of American Culture*," published in 1855, "well known" as "an imaginative paraphrase of Lenau's impressions of America," and constituting an "incomparable . . . document of the (now long-since blurred-over) difference between the German and the American outlook," i.e., the lingering German medieval mysticism vs. the "Puritan capitalistic valuation of action."⁵⁴ Impatient with the German distortion as "pure hypocrisy" of "the virtues professed by Americanism"—a view epitomized by Kürnberger's shocking phrase "out of cattle one makes tallow, out of humans, money"⁵⁵—Weber stresses "virtue and proficiency in a calling" in the legal pursuit of money as "the real Alpha and Omega of Franklin's ethic, as expressed in the passages quoted, as well as in all his works without exception."⁵⁶ For Weber, the entire issue boils down to "rational conduct based on the idea of the calling," which "was born . . . from the spirit of Christian asceticism."⁵⁷ In his extensive and explicit refutation of Weber's views, Lujo Brentano insists that Franklin's life and teaching are for him evidence of the correctness of his own apprehension. Weber allowed himself to be misled by Kürnberger's characterization of American culture, "a characterization spraying venom," in Weber's own words, into a gross distortion of Franklin.⁵⁸ Accusing

both Sombart and Weber of depicting the urge for profit as basically irrational and unnatural in view of the human need for happiness and general utility, Brentano rejects Weber's portrait of the Calvinistic disciplining—i.e., “rationalization”—of life into an “irrational conduct of life” as the key to capitalist development. He finds that Weber actually contradicts himself when, after attributing such irrationality to Franklin, he later establishes the “overcoming of the *status naturae* and of the irrational drives” as the precondition for the education of humankind “to strive for money and ever more money.”⁵⁹ By insisting upon ethically colored maxims of life as the *sine qua non* of the spirit of capitalism, Weber, in Brentano's reading, denies its very existence before as well as after Calvin.⁶⁰ Speaking shortly after Weber's death, and acknowledging fully his contribution to the study of the relations between religion and social theory, R. H. Tawney nevertheless found Brentano's criticism of Weber's excesses for the most part sound.⁶¹

The sophistication and depth of the discussion carried on by Weber and Brentano in their disagreement over Franklin's role in the rise of capitalism gains significance in the light of the progressive deterioration of Werner Sombart's scholarship in addressing the issues. Sombart's effort, in his *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben*, to redirect Weber's thesis by deriving Puritanism from Judaism was doomed to fail because of his compulsive hostility to capitalism. Writing at a time that witnessed an increasingly virulent form of anti-Semitism in Germany, Sombart found his work praised for his courage in publishing it as well as criticized for his lack of discretion in doing so. Viewed in the context of his intellectual biography, with its end station in the fascist camp, Sombart's rigorous scholarship, his insistence upon abstaining from “value judgments” in his examination of “The contribution of the Jews to Modern Economic Life,” “The aptitude of the Jews for Modern Capitalism,” and “the Origin of the Jewish Genius,” entailing “the race problem” and “the vicissitudes of the Jewish people,” is open to question. Sombart's scholarly study, together with subsequent publications, was to lend itself to the worst possible abuses by the propagandists of a later day.⁶² Whereas Sombart's treatment of the issues raised by Weber demeans Franklin's capitalist virtues, Brentano's disagreement with Weber over their roots in the long run enhanced the Philadelphian's stature.

Introducing the publications resulting from the 1993 Washington symposium on the Weber thesis, Guenther Roth regrets that “Weber's reading of Benjamin Franklin as representing the spirit of capitalism” was not part of the meeting's agenda.⁶³ The Lehmann-Roth volume provides most valuable insights; it confirms some of the findings presented in this paper, it helped tie some of the strands together, and it opened new vistas. Roth confirms and sharpens Brentano's critique of Weber, in particular Weber's reading of Franklin as a “secularized Puritan” who “would subscribe to an ultimately irrational ethic.”⁶⁴ Roth establishes a connection between Weber and Friedrich Kapp's “exuberant apologia” of Franklin, observing that “Weber visited Kapp's estate at age 16”—that is, 1880—and that he “must have known Kapp's Franklin interpretation.”⁶⁵ And, most valuable of all, Roth introduced Eduard Baumgarten, who rounds out this survey of German eyes beholding Benjamin Franklin. Baumgarten was a nephew of Max Weber who lived in the United States from 1924 until 1929 and lectured and

wrote about Franklin after his return to Germany. His keen analysis of Weber's misreading of Franklin, of Weber's "not getting the jokes," provides food for thought about the tragic transformation of Germany that was taking place during the very year that Baumgarten's Franklin lecture was delivered: 1933.⁶⁶ Baumgarten demonstrates considerable familiarity with the nuances of American life and a profound grasp of Benjamin Franklin's significance. The stated objective of Baumgarten's lecture is to answer the question, what is "the American concept of community"?⁶⁷ The person who epitomizes colonial community life is Benjamin Franklin, who provides the key to answering the question and reveals himself in the process as a precursor of American philosophical Pragmatism.⁶⁸ Baumgarten refuses to deal with the caricature of the American pragmatic style that is commonplace in Germany. Rather, he seeks to establish an inner relationship with its "positive content" by way of its "original" representative, Benjamin Franklin, "the first American self-made man."⁶⁹ Baumgarten bemoans the "barbaric-dark instructions" drawn in Germany from Franklin's "merry arsenal," which miss the "literally Mark Twainian jest behind them" and present Franklin "instead as the arch representative of the ascetic economic ethos" and thus, "in short (with Max Weber) . . . as the intellectual father of modern 'rational' enterprise capitalism." In reality, there was not even the slightest hint of such an attitude in Franklin, who did not raise the rational pursuit of money to an "inhuman end in itself," but, exactly to the contrary, considered it a means to the independent and happy life of a "specifically uncaptalist" consumer.⁷⁰

It is remarkable that Baumgarten, in 1933, turned to Herder's initial *Humanitätsbrief* as confirmation of his Franklin interpretation. Herder, according to Baumgarten, loved Franklin because of his rootedness in reality as opposed to the aesthetic soaring of classical *Bildung* represented by Schiller. But Baumgarten takes issue with Herder's proclamation that "Philadelphia can be anywhere," holding that the colonial world of Franklin cannot be transplanted to Weimar, and that, from the vantage point of 1933, Schiller was the realist and Herder the one who "nourished a utopian hope in his love for Franklin." Herder, Baumgarten continues, "would have been taken aback by Franklin's *Humanität* as it unfolded from his principle of community." The remainder of Baumgarten's lecture to his countrymen boils down to a patient civics lesson on the vital importance of tolerance in political discourse, with Franklin as the teacher.⁷¹

On the basis of Franklin's career, Baumgarten demonstrates the importance and effectiveness of "Socratic uncertainty" as method, of the communal experiencing of truth as preferable to its manifest possession, and of the utility of compromise based on toleration, the acceptance of flaws, and the appearance of unanimity. Baumgarten doubts whether Herder would have been comfortable in this Franklinian atmosphere of appearance and compromise, of pragmatic "truth-in-becoming," and of such truth not as a "lesser evil," but as "elastic" wisdom.⁷² Denouncing the "deification of objectivity" prevalent in Germany and criticizing as "superficial" the German understanding of the "American game of civility" as a form of dishonesty, Baumgarten arrives at the equation that, in America, "to be truthful means to be of good will." And here we are led by Baumgarten back to the young Franklin's rules for the Junto, and to

the old Franklin's *Remarks Concerning the Savages of North America*, stressing the importance of "talking with one another" and of accepting one another's truth.⁷³

All of the major figures sketched in this essay with respect mainly to their reception of Franklin's virtues had departed by the time the "German Catastrophe" of the twentieth century unfolded, except for one, Eduard Baumgarten. Lessing, Kant, Herder and Goethe, Schubart and Forster, Auerbach and Kapp, Brentano and Weber, all of them were taken by the uncomplicated clarity and the "can do" cleverness of the most famous of all the American ambassadors to a Europe in the throes of the Enlightenment. Baumgarten, overcome by the sober power of American Pragmatism, which he saw anticipated by Franklin's world view, upon his return to Europe, was compelled to face a Germany that was abandoning the noble idealism of its past, embracing a brutal totalitarian pragmatism varnished by an empty ideology.

Retrospect cannot fully reveal the difficulties faced by an adherent of John Dewey seeking a professorial appointment in Nazi Germany. In the introduction to his *Learning by Dewey?: John Dewey und die Deutsche Pädagogie 1900-2000*, Stefan Bittner suggests that the very title of his book evokes an image of fire and water, of the collision of disparate elements, and he concludes that, on the face of it, American pragmatism and German idealism are mutually exclusive and incompatible.⁷⁴ In a subchapter entitled "Eduard Baumgarten: Zwischen Demokratie und Diktatur," Bittner presents a man whose record is clouded by ambiguity, who after World War II was suspected of National Socialist ties as well as celebrated as one of the few scholars competent to deal with American philosophy and ways of thought.⁷⁵ Bittner suggests that Baumgarten, who in 1933 had presented Franklin to his countrymen as a teacher of democracy, and who, in the same year, had been denounced to the newly established regime by Heidegger because of his *Amerikanismus* and his association with a Jewish professor, during the years of the National Socialist dictatorship manipulated Dewey's writings to align them with the needs of the brutal pragmatism that had taken control.⁷⁶ Notwithstanding his hateful allusion to Professor Fränkel's Jewishness, Safranski does not consider Heidegger anti-Semitic in terms of the "ideological madness" of the National Socialists. It seems here that it was Baumgarten's *Amerikanismus*, his attribution of democratic virtues to a power which for Heidegger stood, with Russia, "in the avant garde of the deplorable race for technological superiority," which made him persona non grata in the Heideggerian philosophical universe.⁷⁷ Men of brilliance and method, with world-wide reputations and connections, such as Sombart and Heidegger, who genuinely abhorred American style capitalism and democracy, and who did not have use for a man such as Benjamin Franklin and his German advocates, shored up the Hitler regime immensely, even if their support was brief, intermittent, and wavering. But the fact that Baumgarten's 1933 Franklin lecture could be republished in Germany in 1937 under the title *Benjamin Franklin—Der Lehrmeister der amerikanischen Revolution*, suggests that, though distorted, the continuity of Franklin's impact on Germany could not even be broken during those dark years.

To the "German eyes" of this observer, the many faces of Franklin co-opted selectively over time by German authors to satisfy German needs were not so much masks misapprehended. Rather, they were representative of a creed lived out by a truly

many-sided man, appealing to moments in German history. It is saddening to realize that the very best of Franklin was revealed to Germany by Baumgarten at a time when Germans were most blind to it. It is troubling to conclude that Baumgarten himself, like so many others, was compelled to make his peace with the regime while it lasted. But his sustained championing of Dewey and American Pragmatism in the decades following the war, in line with his conviction of Franklin's anticipation of the movement, is currently yielding rich fruit in the Dewey renaissance in Germany that, by extension, may also be looked at as yet another chapter of the German Franklin reception.⁷⁸

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Notes

¹ Larry E. Tise, ed., *Franklin and Women* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania University Press, 2000); H. W. Brands, *The First American: The Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin* (New York: Doubleday, 2000).

² Brian M. Barbour, ed., *Benjamin Franklin: A Collection of Critical Essays* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall Inc., 1979).

³ Ibid., 2-5.

⁴ Ibid., 6.

⁵ D. H. Lawrence, "Benjamin Franklin," in Barbour, 63-74, 63-64.

⁶ Understanding the *Autobiography* as a conscious "portrayal" rather than "an outpouring of those multiple selves that Lawrence celebrates," David Levin concludes that "the technique of humor, and the disarming candor about techniques of influence and persuasion—these occasionally make us wonder which of several selves Benjamin Franklin is;" David Levin, "The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin," in Barbour, 75-92, 78. Observing that "the sheer variety of his character has made possible to praise him and damn him with equal vigor," John William Ward asserts "that he was . . . in other words, so many different characters . . . is the single most important thing about Franklin." John William Franklin, "Benjamin Franklin: The Making of an American Character," in Barbour, 50-62, 50-51. For Carl L. Becker, "Franklin was indeed many-sided! From the varied facets of his powerful mind he threw a brilliant light on all aspects of human life; it is only in his character of natural philosopher that he emits a light quite unclouded." Carl L. Becker, "Franklin's Character," in Barbour, pp. 9-13, 12-13. One of Franklin's biographers cites John William Ward's uneasiness "with the man who wears so many masks that we are never sure who is there behind them" and he confirms that "there emerges in the later 1740's and the 1750's the multi-faceted Franklin who is able to play a diversity of parts not only in Pennsylvania but on that wider stage where the fate of Europe and of North America was to be decided." Ronald W. Clark, *Benjamin Franklin: A Biography* (New York: Random House, 1983), 35, 93. In a chapter entitled "*Franklin's Autobiography: A Persona for the Abused*," Melvin H. Buxbaum chronicles the abuses Franklin suffered over a lifetime and his efforts to refute them by "inventing himself" in stages in the *Autobiography* as an ideal American. Melvin H. Buxbaum, *Benjamin Franklin and the Zealous Presbyterians* (University Park and London: The Pennsylvania University Press, 1975), 7-46. And Ormond Seavey, comparing the self-doubt expressed by Augustine and John Stuart Mill in their "confessions" with Franklin's *Autobiography*, points to the latter's "capacity to adjust to his surroundings and to resolve the apparent dilemmas of his experience." Ormond Seavey, *Becoming Benjamin Franklin: The Autobiography and the Life* (University Park and London: The Pennsylvania University Press, 1989), 7. Seavey's book leaves the reader with the impression that Franklin manipulated the facts of his own life, that he "co-opted" his own times and exploited them. Seavey asserts that there were late marginal insertions in the *Autobiography* representing an elaborate construct of temperance, frugality, industry, and virtue. Seavey, 93-96. No wonder, then, that Clark, adding to the array the charge of nepotism in the Postal Service, quotes approvingly "the conclusion that was expressed by some wicked wag who said that Franklin

so loved the truth that he was rather sparing in the use of it." Clark, 101.

⁷ Beatrice Marguerite Victory, *Benjamin Franklin and Germany: Americana Germanica* Nr. 21, Publications of the University of Pennsylvania (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1915), 160-66. A recent German dissertation that came to my attention as I was preparing this essay for publication, focuses on ten German biographies of Franklin published between 1806 and 1893. Organized thematically, the detailed examination of the various authors' approaches and biases undergirds my own findings. See Karl Heinz Denecke, *Der Bürger im Spannungsfeld von Sittlichkeit und Selbstbestimmung: Studien zur Franklin-Rezeption im Deutschland des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Mainzer Studien zur Germanistik, 33 (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1996).

⁸ In 1778, in the "Gegensätze" to the Reimarus *Fragmente*, Lessing observes: "Wenn der Paralytikus die wohlthätigen Schläge des elektrischen Funkens erfährt, was kümmert es ihn, ob Nollet oder Franklin oder keiner von beiden recht hat." *Lessings Werke. Vollständige Ausgabe in fünfundzwanzig Teilen*, Julius Petersen und Waldemar von Olshausen, eds. (Berlin: Deutsches Verlagshaus Bong & Co., n.d.), part 22, 186. Goethe celebrates Justus Möser in Book 13 of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*: "den herrlichen Justus Möser, dieses unvergleichlichen Mannes, . . . vollkommener Geschäftsmann, . . . poetisch . . . in dem besten Sinn . . . rhetorisch . . . bald hinter dieser, bald hinter jener Maske halb versteckt, bald in eigener Person sprechend, immer vollständig und erschöpfend, dabei immer froh, mehr oder weniger ironisch, durchaus tüchtig, rechtschaffen, wohlmeinend, ja manchmal derb und heftig, und dieses alles so abgemessen, daß man zugleich den Geist, den Verstand die Leichtigkeit, Gewandtheit, den Geschmack und Charakter des Schriftstellers bewundern muß. In Absicht auf Wahl gemeinnütziger Gegenstände, auf tiefe Einsicht, freie Übersicht, glückliche Behandlung, so gründlichen als freien Humor, wüßte ich ihm niemand als Franklin zu vergleichen." *Goethes Werke in Vier Bänden* (Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, n.d.), 658, 660.

⁹ Carl van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin* (reprint, New York: Penguin Books, 1991), 171.

¹⁰ Franz H. Mautner, *Lichtenberg: Geschichte seines Geistes* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1968). Lichtenberg was referring to "Franklin's Geological Phantasies," his speculations on the origin of the earth in the "Two other Papers written by Dr. Franklin," *European Magazine* (August 1793): 84-87.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 246.

¹² Johann Gottfried Herder, *Briefe zu Beförderung der Humanität*, in *Johann Gottfried Herder Werke in zehn Bänden* (henceforth "FA"), ed. Hans Dietrich Irmischer (Frankfurt: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1991), 7: 14-26. The editor considers "the presentation of Franklin's thoughts an example of Herder's frequently practiced productive interpretation of received texts" (846).

¹³ *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, FA (1989), ed. Martin Bollacher, 6:38-40, 953-54.

¹⁴ The dates and circumstances of Herder's acquaintance with Franklin's writings were the subject of some friendly scholarly disagreement between his biographer and the editor of the 33-volume standard edition of his works. See Rudolf Haym, *Herder nach seinem Leben und seinen Werken*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1877-85, reprint, Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1978), 2:485ff., and Bernhard Suphan, "Schlußbericht zu Band XVII. XVIII" in *Johann Gottfried Herder Sämtliche Werke*, 33 vols. (Berlin: Weidmann Verlag Anstalt, 1877-1913, reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, n.d.), 518-607, 538-42. Suphan provides rich detail, including evidence that Franklin was read "in the circle of Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi and Schlosser"; references in Herder's correspondence with Jacobi confirm the familiarity of both with Franklin's writings. For guidance to this correspondence see Günter Arnold's very helpful "Register" volume of Herder's letters. *Johann Gottfried Herder Briefe Gesamtausgabe 1763-1803*, 10 vols., eds. Wilhelm Dobbek and Günter Arnold (Weimar: Verlag Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1977-96), 10:6, 166.

¹⁵ FA 7:14-26. For a lucid account of their composition, form, and structure, and Herder's understanding of *Humanität*, see Irmischer's "Kommentar," 809-40.

¹⁶ FA 7:826-30; in Irmischer's words, "Die Aufgabe des Menschen, Humanität zu verwirklichen, ist also nicht nur seine Selbstbestimmung als Individualität, sondern in gleicher Weise deren Aufhebung und Rückkehr zur Einheit" (829).

¹⁷ FA 7:15. "Sie wissen was ich von *Franklin* immer gehalten habe, wie hoch ich seinen gesunden Verstand, seinen hellen und schönen Geist, seine sokratische Methode, vorzüglich aber den *Sinn der Humanität* in ihm geschätzt habe, der seine kleinsten Aufsätze bezeichnet . . . daß ich ihn den *edelsten Volksschriftsteller* unseres Jahrhunderts nennen möchte . . . Wollte Gott wir hätten in ganz Europa ein Volk, das ihn läse; wo wären wir sodann!"

¹⁸ FA 7:16. "Hören Sie nun den guten Alten, und Sie finden in seiner Lebensbeschreibung durchaus ein Gegenbild zu Rousseaus Konfessionen. Wie diesen die Phantasie fast immer irre führte; so verläßt jenen nie sein guter Verstand, sein unermüdlicher Fleiß, seine Gefälligkeit, seine erfindende Tätigkeit, ich

möchte sagen, seine Vielschichtigkeit und ruhige Beherrschung."

¹⁹ FA 7:16-17. "Für junge Leute kenne ich fast kein neueres Buch, das ihnen so ganz eine Schule des Fleißes, der Klugheit und Sittlichkeit sein könnte, als dieses ... Nicht der Erfinder der Theorie elektrischer Materie und der Harmonika ist mein Held, ... der zu allem Nützlichen und Wahren aufgelegte, und auf die bequemste Weise werktätige Geist, Er, der Menschheit Lehrer, einer großen Menschengesellschaft Ordner sei unser Vorbild."

²⁰ FA 7:18-23. See van Doren, *op.cit.*, 75-76.

²¹ FA 7:18. "Geselligkeit ist der Grund der Humanität, und eine Gesellung menschlicher Seelen, ein wechselseitiger Darlehn erworbener Gedanken und Verstandeskkräfte vermehrt die Masse menschlicher Erkenntnisse und Fertigkeiten unendlich."

²² FA 7:17-18. "Nächstens sende ich Ihnen Franklins Plan zu einer seiner früheren Gesellschaften; lassen Sie unsere Freunde daraus oder dabei bemerken, was für uns dienet: denn das Philadelphia, für welches diese Gesellschaft gestiftet ist, kann überall liegen."

²³ Ursula Wertheim, "Der amerikanische Unabhängigkeitskampf im Spiegel der zeitgenössischen deutschen Literatur," *Weimarer Beiträge, Zeitschrift für Literaturgeschichte*, 3 (1957): 429-70.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 431. "einmal sind es die allgemeinen politischen und militärischen Ereignisse, zum anderen ist es die hervorragende Persönlichkeit Franklins, zum dritten die unmittelbare Beteiligung durch den Soldatenhandel deutscher Fürsten mit England."

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 467-68. "Er hinterließ ein ungeheures Vermögen, und genoß bei seiner fast kargen Mäßigkeit nur wenig—Madame Bache, seine einzige Tochter, ererbt seinen Goldhügel."

²⁷ Victory, *op.cit.*, 162, entries XXXIII and XXXIV. *Franklin's Tagebuch, ein sicheres Mittel durch moral. Vollkommenheit, thätig, verständig, beliebt, tugendhaft u. glücklich zu werden*. Entworfen im Jahre 1730 u. nach 100 Jahren als ein Denkmal für die Nachwelt an das Licht gestellt (Eschwege: 1830 [Hoffmann]); wolfeilen Ausgabe Cassel, Kriegerbuchhandlung. Beginning to write his Autobiography in 1771 during his visit to Twyford, Franklin brought his account to the year 1730. See van Doren, *op.cit.*, 414-15.

²⁸ Victory, 162-63, entries XXXV-XXXVII. *Goldenes Schatzkästlein, oder Anweisung wie man thätig, tugendhaft, religiös und glücklich werden kann*.

²⁹ In volume one of *Capital*, Marx refers to Franklin's definition of "man as a tool-making animal" and in his address at the sessions of the General Council of the First International in June of 1865, he cited Franklin's 1729 essay "A Modest Enquiry into the Nature and Necessity of a paper Currency," singling him out as "one of the first [to] hit upon the true nature of value." See David Caute, ed., *Essential Writings of Karl Marx* (New York: Collier Books, 1967), 96, and Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Selected Works in One Volume* (New York: International Publishers, 1960), 186-229, 204. Wertheim presented the following citation from Karl Marx: "Die erste bewußte, beinahe trivial klare Analyse des Tauschwerths auf Arbeitszeit findet sich bei einem Mann der Neuen Welt, wo die bürgerlichen Produktionsverhältnisse gleichzeitig mit ihren Trägern importiert, rasch aufschossen in einem Boden, der seinen Mangel an historischer Tradition durch einen Überfluß von Humus aufwog. Der Mann ist Benjamin Franklin ... der, ... das Grundgesetz der modernen politischen Ökonomie formulierte. Er erklärte es für nötig, ein anderes Maß der Werte als die edlen Metalle zu suchen. Dies sei die Arbeit." Wertheim, 468.

³⁰ Ernest K. Bramsted, *Aristocracy and the Middle-Classes in German Literature 1830-1900*, rev. ed. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 107-49, 109. Denecke's work, cited in note 7, includes detailed discussions of Friedrich Kapp's introduction to the 1876 German edition of Franklin's *Autobiography* and brief references to Auerbach's editorial preface. However, Denecke does not take account of Franklin's significant and pervading presence throughout the three volumes of Auerbach's novel *Das Landhaus am Rhein*, to be discussed below.

³¹ Bramsted, 110-11; Berthold Auerbach, *Das Landhaus am Rhein*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: Verlag der Cotta'schen Buchhandlung, 1869). Freytag's relationship with Auerbach would make an interesting study in itself. Deeply appreciative of the lasting merits of Auerbach's *Schwarzwälder Dorfgeschichten*, Freytag speaks of a life long friendship, even though he had to hurt Auerbach's feelings with some of his reviews. Freytag's memoirs do not conceal an element of condescension towards the man at whose wedding he served as best man, slightly puzzled by the unfamiliar surroundings. On the whole, he considered Auerbach "a good comrade" ["ein guter Kamerad"]. See Gustav Freytag, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben* (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1899), 190-92.

³² Auerbach, *Landhaus*, 1: 68, Roland Franklin Sonnenkamp is introduced; 3: 274-75, Roland at the

end of the novel, justifies his planned marriage at an early age by reference to Franklin's betrothal to Miss Read at age 18, and, intending to pay tribute at Franklin's grave at the Acropolis of the New World, he first encounters Lincoln, one of Franklin's greatest successors, "in whose eyes he beheld the spirit of Socrates, Aristides, Moses, Washington, and Franklin."

³³ Ibid., 1: 262-63. "es war der erste Band der schönen Sparks'schen Ausgabe von Benjamin Franklins Werken. Dieser Band enthielt die Selbstbiographie und deren Fortsetzung. Einige Blätter waren eingeklebt, von der Hand des Vaters beschrieben."

³⁴ Ibid., 263-64.

³⁵ Ibid., 264-66.

³⁶ Ibid., 2: 29-32, 121-23, 129-33, 136-37, 154, 178, 186; 3: 25-26, 122-23, 247-49.

³⁷ Ibid., 3: 247.

³⁸ Hans-Ulrich Wehler, ed., *Friedrich Kapp: Vom radikalen Frühsozialisten des Vormärz zum liberalen Parteipolitiker des Bismarckreichs. Briefe 1843-1884* (Frankfurt: Insel Verlag, 1969). Wehler's introduction provides a good survey of Kapp's transformation from his adherence to radical socialism to his embrace of national-liberal principles. But he shortchanges the reader with reference to Kapp's two decades in America, and his relationship with Auerbach. Of Kapp's many writings, his *Aus und über America: Thatsachen und Erlebnisse*, (Berlin: Verlag von Julius Springer, 1876), was the most important for this study. It contains a chapter entitled "Benjamin Franklin" (37-89) which served also as the introduction to the 1876, 1877, and 1882 German editions of Franklin's *Autobiography* prefaced by Auerbach. See Victory, op.cit., 165, entry LXV. It seems that Auerbach and Kapp collaborated with regard to Franklin more closely than appears to be suggested by the Wehler volume, which provides only one short letter by Kapp to Auerbach and alludes to Franklin only very briefly. In addition to Kapp's indictment of slavery in America, praised by Auerbach, his *Der Soldatenhandel deutscher Fürsten nach Amerika (1776-1783)* (Berlin, 1864) is noteworthy.

³⁹ Kapp, "Benjamin Franklin," 39. "In Benjamin Franklin zeigt sich die altgermanische Eigenart, trotzdem mehr als fünfzig Geschlechter zwischen seiner Geburt und der Auswanderung der Angelsachsen liegen, innerlich und äußerlich in ihrer vollsten Reinheit."

⁴⁰ Ibid., 40.

⁴¹ Ibid. "... denselben festen historischen Sinn, denselben aus dem Boden seiner nächsten Umgebungen hervordachsenden Gemeingeist, denselben kernigen Humor und dasselbe Herz für sein Volk."

⁴² Ibid., 46-47. "Kein Amerikaner hat mehr als Franklin diese große nationale Tugend fördern, keiner sie in demselben Grade, wie er, zu einem wesentlichen Bestandtheil des Volksbewußtseins erheben helfen. Er hat, was seine Landsleute theilweise bewußt und unbewußt schon vor ihm fühlten und thaten, durch sein Beispiel für alle späteren Geschlechter geadelt."

⁴³ Wehler, 67, 73, 82. "... daß ein gebildeter Deutscher hier nie Wurzel fassen kann. Das selbstgefällige, heuchlerische, aus einer christlichen Weltanschauung hervorgehende Wesen des Amerikaners steht in direktem Gegensatz zu jedem gesunden Menschen. ... den religiösen Aberglauben, der zum vollständigen Blödsinn ausartet, den Mangel an Kunstsinn und Wissenschaft, den bornierten Nationalstolz."

⁴⁴ Kapp, "Franklin," 48. Johann Peter Hebel (1760-1826), *Schatzkästlein des rheinischen Hausfreundes* (1811); Auerbach, *Der Gevattersmann* (1845-48), and *Schatzkästlein des Gevattersmanns* (1856).

⁴⁵ Ibid., 50-51.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 56. Kapp's reflections on Rousseau must be read in the context of his "war psychosis," expressed in letters of 12 August 1870, to Ludwig Bamberger, and of 8 August and 24 August, to his uncle Ernst Kapp. See Wehler, op.cit., 93-95.

⁴⁷ Kapp, "Franklin," 56. "... unveröhnlicher Gegensatz ... zwischen dem Gefühl der Pflicht und subjektivem Belieben, wie zwischen germanischer und romanischer Weltanschauung."

⁴⁸ Ibid., 57-58. "So wird sein ganzes Leben zur Apotheose der Pflicht. ... Rousseau nennt sich selbst einmal in richtiger Selbsterkenntnis halb Taugenichts, halb Held; Franklin braucht der Welt nicht erst zu sagen, was und wer er war."

⁴⁹ Ibid., 66. "Meine Aufrichtigkeit war meine einzige Verschmitztheit."

⁵⁰ See James J. Sheehan, *The Career of Lujo Brentano* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966); Ernest A. Menze, "Historicism, Economic Theory and Social Harmony: Lujo Brentano and the Methodenstreit in Historical Perspective," *Canadian Journal of History* 1, 6 and 3 (Dec. 1971): 258, 283; idem, "War Aims and the Liberal Conscience: Lujo Brentano and Annexationism During the First World War," *Central European History*, 17, 2-3 (September 1984): 140-58.

⁵¹ Max Weber, "Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus," *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft*

und Sozialpolitik, 20 and 21 (1904-5). The essays were republished in revised form in 1920 and translated into English in 1930 by Talcott Parsons under the title *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958). I cite from this edition. The literature on the Weber thesis is extensive. See in particular, Hartmut Lehmann and Guenther Roth, eds., *Weber's Protestant Ethic: Origins, Evidence, Contexts* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1993). For the longevity of the controversy, see Malcolm H. Mackinson, "The Longevity of the Thesis: A Critique of the Critics," in Lehmann-Roth, 210-43.

⁵² Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, 48.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 48-50; Weber's note refers to the Sparks edition, 2:80, 87 ff.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 50-52, 192, n. 3. Ferdinand Kürnberger, *Der Amerikamüde: Amerikanisches Kulturbild* (Frankfurt: 1855), I cite from the Reclam edition (Leipzig: 1889), 22-24. For Lenau, see Norbert Oellers, "Der zerstörte Traum," in Karl Menges, *Literatur und Geschichte: Festschrift für Wulf Koepke zum 70. Geburtstag*, (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi B.V., 1998), 139-53. Hugo Schmidt, *Nikolaus Lenau* (New York: Twayne Publishers Inc., 1971), 71-8. Eduard Castle, "Amerikamüde: Lenau und Kürnberger," *Jahrbuch der Grillparzergesellschaft*, 12 (1906): 15-42. George A. Mulfinger, "Lenau in America," *Americana Germanica*, 1, 2 (1897): 7-61, 3: 1-16, considered by Schmidt "the most authoritative discussion of Lenau's journey to America," Schmidt, 166.

⁵⁵ Kürnberger, 24. Kürnberger's ingenuous reconstruction of an American classroom session on Franklin—composed without the benefit of personal experience in America—a session attended by a visitor from Germany, dichotomizes the German and the American interpretations of Franklin. The German visitor departs with these words: "Der Mann hat jedenfalls in der Wissenschaft noch mehr als in der Bank hinterlassen, und durch sein eigenes Leben ein höheres Ideal aufgestellt, als welches in jener Schrift dem menschlichen Trachten zugemutet wird. Diese Ausmünzung der menschlichen Existenz in Schillinge und Pfunde gewinnt erst durch die Erfindung des Blitzableiters den Anspruch auf unsere Verzeihung. Ohne sie würden wir die Doktrin eines Mannes vor uns haben, der sich so weit vergessen hätte, unsere Bestimmung dahin zu definieren: Aus dem Rinde macht man Talg, aus dem Menschen Geld. Mag sein, daß ein unfertiges Volk eine Zeitlang auf diesen Standpunkt sich herablassen muß, ein fertiges aber sagt: Geist macht man aus dem Menschen nicht Geld! . . . Unter der Tür ergriff er verstoßen die Hand desselben und flüsterte mit bewegter Stimme: Ich danke Ihnen für dieses deutsche Wort!" (24). For a sympathetic sketch of Kürnberger see Ernst Alker, *Die deutsche Literatur im 19. Jahrhundert, 1832-1914*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner, 1962), 618-21.

⁵⁶ Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, 53-54.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 180.

⁵⁸ Lujo Brentano, *Die Anfänge des modernen Kapitalismus: Feste gehalten in der öffentlichen Sitzung der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften am 15. März 1913* (München: Verlag der K.B. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1916), 148. Brentano's 1913 *Feste*, to which he added when it was published upon his retirement from teaching in 1916 three "excurses" addressing principal issues of his life work, was republished after Weber's death in *Der wirtschaftende Mensch in der Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1923). The section of the third "excursus," subtitled "Puritanism and Capitalism," comes to the heart of the matter. It follows upon the reiteration of his lifelong conviction that trade was the mainspring of modern capitalism, focusing upon Werner Sombart's erroneous interpretation of that topic in *Der moderne Kapitalismus* (1902), and it is followed by his critique of Sombart's gross distortion of Judaism as the "ideational basis of capitalism" in the third "excursus" (170). And Franklin is at the center of Brentano's argument with Weber. Brentano shows his class in the refutation of Sombart's distortion of Judaism by his poignant reference to Herder's *The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry* (171). Notwithstanding his sometimes severe disagreements with Weber, he paid tribute to his genius after his untimely death as a "great human being, of astonishing versatility of knowledge and richness of ideas" ["einen großen Menschen, von erstaunlicher Vielseitigkeit des Wissens und reich an Ideen"]. See Lujo Brentano, *Mein Leben im Kampf um die soziale Entwicklung Deutschlands* (Jena: Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1931), 330-31.

⁵⁹ Lujo Brentano, *Die Anfänge*, 127.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 131-32.

⁶¹ R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism: A Historical Study*, Holland Memorial Lectures, 1922 (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co. Inc, 1926, 1961), 261-63.

⁶² Werner Sombart, *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben* (Duncker und Humblot: Leipzig, 1911), tr. by M. Epstein with an introduction to the American edition by Bert F. Hoselitz under the title *The Jews and Modern*

Capitalism (The Free Press: Glencoe, Illinois: 1951), v-xiii. For a thorough discussion of Sombart's work see Paul R. Mendes-Flohr, "Werner Sombart's: *The Jews and Modern Capitalism*. An Analysis of its Ideological Premises," in *Year Book XXI, 1976, Publications of the Leo Baeck Institute*, ed., Robert Weltsch (London: Secker & Warburg, 1976), 87-107, esp. 87-88, n. 6 and 7.

⁶³ Guenther Roth, "Introduction," in Lehmann-Roth, op.cit., 1-24, 17.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 18.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 17. Since Kapp had passed away by the time Weber was twenty in 1884, the depth of the relationship is open to question. Nevertheless, an account of it from Weber's point of view should be of interest.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 16-20. Roth refers to Baumgarten's Göttingen lecture "Benjamin Franklin und die Psychologie des amerikanischen Alltags" (1933), published in Eduard Baumgarten, *Gewissen und Macht*, ed. Michael Sukale (Meisenheim: Hain, 1971), 62-82, and to his *Benjamin Franklin, Der Lehrmeister der amerikanischen Revolution* (Frankfurt: Klostermann, 1936). On Weber, see *Gewissen und Macht*, 68, and *Lehrmeister*, 138-40.

⁶⁷ *Gewissen und Macht*, 65.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 67.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 68.

⁷¹ Ibid., 71-72. See Baumgarten, *Lehrmeister*, 23-24. In 1936, Baumgarten planned a series of essays on the Franklin-Herder relationship.

⁷² Ibid., 72-75.

⁷³ Ibid., 78-82. "Wahrsein der Person heißt: guten Willens sein," (80). Baumgarten claims that there is no equivalent to the German word *Sachlichkeit* in the American vocabulary because the feudal relationship signified by it does not exist in the United States. Alluding to Emerson and Dewey, he insists that there is not in American terminology the slightest notion expressed of the "feudal metaphysics" entailed by the German *Sachlichkeit* which "deifies the being of matter," (78). For Franklins reference to the Indians, see also Baumgarten, *Lehrmeister*, 132-34. For the *Junto*, see 136.

⁷⁴ (Bad Heilbrunn, Obb.: Julius Klinkhardt, 2001), 9.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 111-16, 111.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 112-14. For the details of Heidegger's denunciation of Baumgarten see Rüdiger Safranski, *Ein Meister aus Deutschland: Heidegger und seine Zeit* (Frankfurt: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1997), 305-10. Safranski points out that Baumgarten was willing to accommodate himself politically and that he applied for admission to the SA and the NS Dozentenbund. Heidegger's letter of 16 Dec. 1933 to the NS Dozentenbund was written as Baumgarten's applications were pending: "Dr. Baumgarten kommt verwandtschaftlich und seiner geistigen Haltung nach aus dem liberal-demokratischen Heidelberger Intellektuellenkreis um Max Weber. Während seines hiesigen Aufenthalts war er alles andere als Nationalsozialist . . . Nachdem Baumgarten bei mir gescheitert war, verkehrte er sehr lebhaft mit dem früher in Göttingen tätig gewesen und nunmehr entlassenen Juden Fränkel. Ich vermute, daß Baumgarten sich auf diesem Wege in Göttingen untergebracht hat . . . Ich halte zur Zeit seine Aufnahme in die SA für ebenso unmöglich wie die in die Dozentenschaft. Baumgarten ist rednerisch außergewöhnlich geschickt. Auf dem Gebiet der Philosophie jedenfalls halte ich ihn für einen Blender." The head of the Göttingen *Dozentenbund* found Heidegger's letter so "charged with hatred" that it was "useless" and thus he filed it without taking any action (307). Baumgarten's career was not impeded.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 287-292, 324, 332, 365. "trostlosen Raserei der entfesselten Technik." For Heidegger's characterization of Baumgarten as a man "very Americanized," with "a solid understanding of that country and its inhabitants" but questionable political instincts and judgments, see Thomas Sheehan, "Heidegger and the Nazis," *The New York Review of Books*, 35, 10 (June 16, 1988): 38-47, 39.

⁷⁸ I am deeply indebted to Glen Pate of Hamburg University for bibliographical information on Dewey research in Germany, including Stefan Bittner's important study.

**“... ließ sich in den Bürgerverein dieser Republic aufnehmen”:
Der Migrantenfall Carl Postl / Charles Sealsfield:
Individualkrise als Krisensymptom der Vormärzzeit**

I

Die Beerdigung für den amerikanischen Staatsbürger findet am Sonntag, dem 29. Mai 1864, um 14.00 Uhr in der Schweiz statt. In Gegenwart einer kleinen Trauergemeinde wird der Sarg auf der Nordseite des Dorffriedhofs von Sankt Niklaus in die Erde gelassen. Die Öffentlichkeit des nahen kantonalen Verwaltungszentrums Solothurn ignoriert den Vorgang. Kurze Zeit danach führt der Steinmetz Joseph Adler aus Langendorf das aus, was der Verstorbene zu Lebzeiten in Schrift und Skizze angeordnet hat. Er installiert ein Plattendenkmal mit bemerkenswerten Informationen. In die Grabplatte graviert er ein: “CHARLES SEALSFIELD / BÜRGER VON / NORD AMERIKA.” Das Denkmal dahinter erhält die Informationen: “C. P. / CHARLES SEALSFIELD / geboren den 3. März 1793 / gestorben den 26. Mai 1864 / Psalm 143. And enter not into judgement with thy servant, for in thy sight shall no man living justified. / Psalm 31. Have mercy upon me, my God, according to thy loving kindness, according to thy tender mercies blot out my transgressions.”

Im Vergleich zu den Gepflogenheiten üblicher Toteninformationen fallen die Ungewöhnlichkeiten einer so kontrollierten Selbstdarstellung des verbliebenen Schriftstellers auf. Dazu gehört zum einen die sozusagen “amerikanische,” transatlantische Seite seiner Persönlichkeit: die Beerdigung eines Amerikaners in der Schweizer Provinz, eine zweimalige Mitteilung des anglo-amerikanisch klingenden Namens, zusätzlich durch Initialen und den markanten Hinweis auf die US-Staatsbürgerschaft hervorgehoben. Und dann gibt es die “private,” europäische Seite: keine Angaben zum Geburtsort, zu Hinterbliebenen, zur Herkunft, keine Worte der Dankbarkeit, statt dessen Mea-culpa-Psalmenverse über Schuld, Sühne und Gerechtigkeit. Das unkonventionelle Herausstellen und Unterschlagen von Informationen verweist auf das besonders strukturierte Identitätsproblem des entflohenen österreichischen Ordensbruders Carl Postl aus Prag und späteren amerikanischen Staatsbürgers, des Literaten Charles Sealsfield, und seine ursprüngliche Identität, kryptisch verkleusult in den Initialen “C. P.” (= Carl Postl) am Kopf des Grabdenkmals, die er als seine “Signatur,”¹ d.h. “autorisierende Unterschrift” unter sein Leben bezeichnet.

Die Grabdokumentation ist der ultimative Fluchtpunkt einer krisenhaften Biographie und existentiellen Mimikry. Der von den staatlichen Behörden, dem Metternichschen Polizeiapparat, und dem kirchlichen, der Ordensverwaltung, steckbrieflich gesuchte Kloster- und Staatsflüchtige gewinnt während seines ersten USA-Aufenthaltes 1823-26, also innerhalb kürzester Zeit, die neue amtliche Identität des Zugewanderten "Charles Sealsfield." Das aber scheint seine traumatische Angst vor Entlarvung und Verfolgung selbst über den Tod hinaus nicht aufzuheben, wie es die zu Stein gewordene Belehrung jedem Grabbesucher zeigt. Sein obsessives Klammern an die über Jahre vorgebliche amerikanische Staatsbürgerschaft, zutiefst verunsichert deren referentielle Schutzfunktion unentwegt aufrufend, durchzieht als Basso continuo sein lebenslang verkrampftes Demonstrieren amerikanischer Identität. Das gilt grundsätzlich für seine Auftritte in der Öffentlichkeit, für die wichtigsten Lebensstationen und daran gebundenen Dokumente, die überliefert sind.

Im Testament bezeugt er sicherheitshalber doppelt. Es beginnt mit dem Hinweis: "Ich Unterzeichneter Bürger der V. S. von America, zugleich seß und wohnhaft im Stadtbezirke von Solothurn im Hause 'Unter den Tannen,'" und schließt mit der Unterschrift: "7 März 1864. / Charles Sealsfield, Bürger der VS von America."² In der einzigen autobiographischen Skizze, 1854 erstellt für den Verleger Brockhaus, klärt er zu Beginn mit auffällig vagen, verfälschenden Angaben seine Identität: "In Deutschland [Österreich] gebohren wanderte er nach genossener Universitätsbildung [Theologie / Prag] vor einigen 30 Jahren [Emigration 1823] nach den V. St. [Südstaaten / Louisiana] aus, verlebte da mehrere Jahre, ließ sich in den Bürgerverein dieser Republic [Staatsbürgerschaft 1858] aufnehmen. . . ."³

Diese gezielt betriebene Inszenierung seiner selbst als amerikanischer Bürger ist an die früh begonnene Etablierung als amerikanischer Schriftsteller gekoppelt. Sämtliche Verhandlungen mit den beiden großen europäischen Verlegern J. G. Cotta und John Murray während seines ersten Europaaufenthaltes 1824-26 führt er als angeblicher amerikanischer Staatsbürger und publiziert den politischen Reisebericht *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika nach ihrem politischen religiösen und gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse betrachtet* . . . (1827) unter seinem ersten, nur kurzfristig gewählten zweiten Pseudonym "C. Sidons" mit dem Zusatz "Bürger der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika,"⁴ noch einmal bestätigt im Vorwort seines Textes. Die ausdauernde Pflege der amerikanischen Identität beginnt jedoch unmittelbar nach der ersten Ankunft des Migranten in den USA, markiert durch den Namenwechsel und ein amtliches Papier. Von der Geschichte dieser Dokumente,⁵ die erst kürzlich ausfindig gemacht werden konnten, handeln die folgenden Ausführungen.⁶ Und diese Geschichte ist eine des Identitätsbluffs, den der ehemalige Priester hemmungslos und umsichtig betreibt.

II

Postls Migrantenexistenz als Sealsfield ist Teil der transatlantischen Migrationsgeschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, darin aber nicht symptomatisch für diese.⁷ Er gehört mit seiner Auswanderung 1823 in die Vorphase des massenhaften

Exodus, die in den dreißiger Jahren beginnt. Weil er auf die Anonymität seiner Existenz Wert legt, agiert er als Einzelgänger, nicht als Teil einer Kettenwanderung. Seine Amerikafahrt ist individueller, zugleich paradigmatischer Fall der vormärzlichen kontinentalen Krisensituation. Spätaufklärerisch josephinische Ideen, nationalliberales Gedankengut und auch freimaurerische Weltsicht des Bolzano-Schülers geraten in einen unlösbaren Konflikt mit orthodox klerikalem Denken, hermetischer Klosterordnung und innenpolitischer Repression des restaurativen Metternich-Systems.⁸

Das Besondere seiner illegalen Amerikaflucht besteht darin, daß er das Recht zweifach verletzt, als österreichischer Staatsbürger und als Mitglied des Ordens der "Kreuzherren mit dem Roten Sterne," dem er als Sekretär verpflichtet ist. Postls daraus erwachsener Bruch mit seinem Leben am 10. Mai 1823 ist somit von existentieller Dramatik bestimmt, wenn man die aufgekündigten staatsbürgerlichen und kirchenrechtlichen Verbindlichkeiten kalkuliert. Der Prager Intellektuelle gehört damit nicht in die Gruppe derer, die vor allem als Handwerker, Gewerbetreibende und Landwirte die Neue Welt zum endgültigen Zielland für vorrangig ökonomisches Wohlergehen machen,⁹ wie sie die *Briefe aus Amerika* von deutschen Auswanderern dokumentieren¹⁰ oder in den epischen Literarisierungen von Ernst Willkomm *Die Europamüden* (1838), Otto Ruppius *Ein Deutscher* (2. Aufl. 1882) und Herta Lenz de Brüggen *Von der Heimat losgerissen: Ein auslandsdeutscher Roman* (1932) zum sentimental patriotischen Sujet werden.¹¹

Die Metamorphose des Immigranten von Postl zu Sealsfield ist somit, wie erwähnt, wanderungsgeschichtlich ein Sonderfall. Dieser wird vom privaten, darin aber grundsätzlichen Konflikt mit den krisenhaften gesellschaftspolitischen Umständen seiner Zeit bestimmt. Er erweist sich frei von ökonomisch-ethnischer Problematik, wird durch eine pragmatische Lebensführung als "plantation owner" im Süden und Aktienbesitzer im Norden sowie von der Existenz als reisender Autor gesteuert, pendelnd zwischen der Alten und der Neuen Welt, um seiner privaten Identität willen und seiner politischen Missionierungsabsicht für Europa schreibend.

Und darum zeigt sich die Geschichte seiner offiziellen Ausweispapiere als lebenslange Geschichte einer Identitätssicherung und Existenzverschleierung. Postls Verwandlung zu Sealsfield spiegeln sechs Dokumente: (1) ein "safety pass,"¹² ausgestellt in New Orleans am 8. Juni 1826; (2) eine Passagierliste, New York 1827; (3) ein zweiter "safety pass," vom 28. September, ausgehändigt vom Department of State, Washington D. C.; (4) eine zweite Passagierliste, New York 1853; (5) die Einbürgerungsurkunde, datiert New York, am 23. August 1858; (6) ein dritter "safety pass," überreicht vom Department of State am 26. August 1858, Washington D. C.¹³

Postl muß mit der Verschleierung seiner Identität unmittelbar nach seiner ersten Einreise in die USA begonnen haben. Er geht im Sommer 1823 in New Orleans an Land und kehrt 1826 von dort über Le Havre nach Europa zurück. Nach seinem Brief aus Pittsburgh an den Verleger Cotta in Stuttgart vom 20. September 1824, unterzeichnet mit "Sidons," ist dieses staatliche Dokument die zweitälteste Meldung, die seinen Amerikaaufenthalt belegt und die früheste, die den Namenwechsel zu "Sealsfield" und den scheinbaren Identitätswechsel zum "Amerikaner" nachweist.¹⁴

So jedenfalls interpretiert es Sealsfield seinen Gesprächspartnern gegenüber, obwohl im vorgedruckten Text gerade diese Verbindlichkeit durch den indirekten Bezug *subject or citizen of a foreign State* offen bleibt, auch wenn *citizen* Staatsbürger meint (Dokument 1).

Ausschlaggebende juristische Grundlage des US-Staatsangehörigkeitsrechts für seine Zeit ist der *Act of Congress of the United States of America: An Act to establish an uniform rule of Naturalization, and to repeal the acts heretofore passed on that subject* vom 14. April 1802 (Zusätze: 1813, 1816, 1824, 1828). Drei Rechtsbegriffe müssen für das Verständnis des Dokuments berücksichtigt werden: *allegiance*: territorial gemeinte Treuepflicht des Einzelnen gegenüber dem amerikanischen Staatswesen (*declaration of intention*); *national protection*: Schutzleistung des Teilstaates oder des Gesamtstaates gegenüber dem Einzelnen; *dualistic character of American citizenship*: *allegiance*-Bindung zwischen Einzelstaat und Gesamtstaat bis in die 1850er Jahre rechtlich ungeklärt, d.h. der Bürger eines Einzelstaates muß kein Bürger der Union sein (Louisiana Gerichtsurteil, 1812).

Das Dokument ist ein sog. "safety pass" (Schutzbrief), der in großen Stückzahlen (vorgedrucktes Formular) an Reisende aus den USA von der jeweiligen teilstaatlichen Administration an jede Person ausgegeben wurde, die einen seriösen Leumund, einen Wohnsitz und die erwähnte "allegiance" nachweisen konnte. Dieser "Paß" spricht also lediglich eine "national protection" aus, die die USA dort garantieren, wo sie Schutz leisten können, z. B. auf amerikanischen Schiffen und in ihren Botschaften. Konsequenterweise benutzt Sealsfield darum vorrangig in den Staaten registrierte Schiffe. Entscheidend aber ist für ihn die Qualität des Dokumentenkopfes, der die Staatsautorität aus Text, Staatssymbol und Regierung (Henry Johnson, 1783-1864; Gouverneur Louisianas 1824-28) bündelt. Damit wird durch eine Behörde in Vertretung der Vereinigten Staaten sein am 8. Juni 1826 in der Verwaltung des Staates Louisiana (New Orleans) angegebener Name "Charles Sealsfield" amtlich beglaubigt. Daß er sich nicht für den Namen "Sidons" entscheidet, hängt mit der Verschlüsselungsabsicht zusammen, denn "Sidons" ist ein verbreiteter Name, während "Sealsfield" für die angloamerikanische Namensgeschichte nicht belegt ist. Die Absicherung seiner *allegiance* im Büro der Staatsverwaltung von Louisiana kann durch eigenes Loyalitätsbekenntnis, bürgende Freunde aus Pennsylvania und einen Wohnortnachweis als "Charles Sealsfield Clergyman domicilié en Pensylvanie" glaubwürdig vorgetragen worden sein. Letztere Information notiert Metternichs Gesandter Philipp von Neumann 1827 zusätzlich zu dem hier erläuterten "passeport de la Louisiane" auf Grund von Postls Unterredungsanfrage.

Der mit diesem Dokument offiziell vollzogene Namens- und Identitätswechsel von "Postl" zu "Sealsfield" ist für den Inhaber ein seine Existenz sichernder behördlicher Akt, aber auch eine psychologisch belastende Veränderung.¹⁵ Die Verbindung der beiden Initialen "CM," die für die Taufnamen "Carolus Magnus" stehen, mit dem neuen Namen Sealsfield in der Unterschrift signalisiert Postls Zögern bei der Aufgabe seiner Namensidentität. Neben diesem Pseudonym verschleiert er seine eigentliche Identität weiterhin durch die unzutreffende Altersangabe "twenty [?] years of age" (geb. 1793). Hinsichtlich seines Status innerhalb der USA teilt die

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

State of [Staatswappen] Louisiana.

By Henry Johnson,

GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF LOUISIANA AND
COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE MILITIA THEREOF.

These are to request all persons in authority and all others whom it may concern, to [le?]t *Charles Sealsfield*, *twenty* [?] *years of age*, a [. . .] *settle*[. . .] *State* [. . .] *lie months* [and (?) gestrichen] an inha[...] [...] *Havre* about *his* own private affairs, to pass safely and freely without giving *him* any hindrance, but on the contrary, affording to *him* all manner of protection, as we would do in like case for the subjects or citizen of a foreign State, who might be recommended to us.

Given under my hand and the seal of the State of New=Orleans, on the *eighth* day of *June* in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and *twenty six* and in the year of the Independence of the United States of America the fiftieth.

H. Johnson

SIGNATURE OF THE BEARER.

CMSealsfield

Dokument 1. Safety Pass (Sichtvermerke: 1826-27)

Formulierung "a [...] settle [...] State [...] lie months [and gestrichen] an inha [...]" die extrapolierbare Information mit, er sei "settler" und "inhabitant" ("native" im Sinne von Zuwanderer, Gastbürger, also nicht "native born") ohne beurkundete amerikanische Staatsbürgerschaft.

Die Gültigkeit des Dokuments ist somit nicht von grundsätzlicher Art eines Passes, sondern bezieht sich mit temporärer Gültigkeit auf einen bestimmten Reiseanlaß, in diesem Fall auf Sealsfields beabsichtigte Fahrt nach Europa mit dem Zielhafen Le Havre. Das Ausstellungsdatum verweist auf zwei Umstände. Zum einen wird bestätigt, daß Postl sich Anfang Juni und darum wahrscheinlich auch bis zur Rückreise nach Europa in New Orleans aufhält, die—im Hinblick auf das jetzt bestätigte Ankunftsdatum in Le Havre am 19. Juli 1826—bei einer durchschnittlichen Reisedauer von rund drei Wochen unmittelbar nach dem 4. Juli 1826 anzunehmen ist. Die Begründung dafür ergibt sich aus seiner wahrscheinlichen Teilnahme an den "50th jubilee"-Feiern am "4th of July," wie er sie in der mit dem Autornamen Sidons unterzeichneten "Vorrede" seines Reiseberichts *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika* . . . (1827) in euphorischen Worten schildert, die geschichtsphilosophische wie gesellschaftspolitische Bedeutung der USA für die Welt und letztlich für sich selbst als Autor und Privatperson hervorhebend: "Es sind nun fünfzig Jahre, seit die Vereinigten Staaten ihre Unabhängigkeit erklärt haben. Der 4. Juli 1826 sah das große Schauspiel, wo mehr als elf Millionen freier Bürger von Boston bis Pensacola, von Detroit bis New=Orleans, von Washington bis St. Louis die große Feier begingen, die Feier des Sieges der Menschheit über Tyrannei, Aberglaube und Vorurtheil."¹⁶ Weil Postl in dem bedeutsamen Jahr 1826, kurz vor den Jubiläumsfeiern, seinen Namensund Identitätswechsel von amerikanischen Behörden anerkannt bekommt, gehen historischer Anlaß der Staatsfeiern und privater Anlaß der neuen Identität ineinander über.

Das Louisiana-Dokument hat Sealsfield beständig bei sich getragen. Für ihn ist es der zentrale Beleg für seine amerikanische Identität als "Bürger von Louisiana." Die Ursachen sind offensichtlich: (1) Der erste Aufenthalt ist zugleich Initiierungsauftritt für eine neue Identität (New Orleans 1823) und deren symbolische Affirmation durch die Teilnahme an den Feiern des "50th jubilee" der Unionsgründung 1823, am "4th of July." (2) In der Klassengesellschaft der südstaatlichen "plantation society," ihrer "aristokratisch demokratischen" Ordnung mit monoethnischem Anspruch, weißer "leadership" und republikanischer Gesellschaft, prosperierend ("era of good feeling") und patriotisch gesonnen (Monroe Doktrin, 1823), ideologisch geprägt von der "Jacksonian democracy," sieht Sealsfield sein konservativ-auf-geklärtes Demokratieverständnis bestätigt, adaptiert von seinem Lehrer, dem Staatsphilosophen Bernhard Bolzano. In der ihm, Sealsfield, modellhaft erstarrten Gesellschaftsverfassung erfüllt sich ihm die ontologische Perspektive von der geschichtlichen Realität des irdischen Paradieses als "gelobtem Land," gefaßt in der Metapher von der Neuen Welt. (3) Geringe Besiedlung, enger Zusammenhalt der reichen weißen Oberschicht, eine Atmosphäre der freundlichen Behaglichkeit und großbürgerlichen Aufgeschlossenheit erleichtern die Integration des gebildeten Neuankömmlings.

Sämtliche weiteren Unterlagen dokumentieren, wie Sealsfield sich zum Teil der

amerikanischen "machinery of national identification and integration" macht und seine Identität absichert. Nach den erfolgreichen Verhandlungen mit den Verlegern Cotta in Stuttgart und Murray in London bricht er 1827 zu seiner zweiten Amerikareise auf, die bis 1830 dauert. Die bei Schiffsankunft in New York 1827 vom Kapitän an die Zollbehörde abgegebene Passagierliste bestätigt des Herrn Seafeld [*sic*] Reise, die er als österreichischer [*sic*] Staatsbürger angetreten hat (Dokument 2).

Mit dem Klarierungsdokument informiert der Kapitän die New Yorker Zollbehörde über Schiff und Passagiere. Auf dem Schiff reisen 14 Passagiere (1 Franzose, 1 Schweizer, 1 Österreicher, 2 Engländer, 9 Deutsche), vier davon in der besseren Klasse, darunter auch Sealsfield, dessen Name falsch geschrieben wird. Auffällig sind wiederum: seine erneut inkorrekte Altersangabe "31" (geb. 1793); der Hinweis, als österreichischer Staatsbürger unterwegs zu sein; die offene Berufsangabe (evtl. Diskretionsgeste); der bei ihm als einzigem fehlende Hinweis auf "Einwanderungsabsicht und Wechsel der Staatsbürgerschaft." Faßt man diese Umstände zusammen, unter denen sich Sealsfield mit amerikanischem Schutzbrief, auf einem amerikanischen Schiff für die amerikanischen Behörden als Österreicher ausgibt, dann wird deutlich, daß er sich sowohl der provisorischen Ausweisqualität des Louisiana-Papiers als auch seiner immer noch gültigen österreichischen Staatsbürgerschaft bewußt ist.

Zwischen diesem Amerikaaufenthalt, der 1830 endet, und dem folgenden dritten 1837 liegen Jahre des ruhelosen Reisens der politischen, literarischen und finanziellen Aktivitäten in den Staaten, in Frankreich, England und der Schweiz. Der erneute Amerikabesuch ist von auffallend kurzer Dauer gekennzeichnet. Was Sealsfield 1837 im einzelnen während des Aufenthaltes unternommen hat, das wissen wir nicht. Aber auf Grund der Recherchen von Karl J. R. Arndt sind die Reisedaten bekannt.¹⁷ In der *Augsburger Allgemeinen Zeitung* vom 26. Mai 1837 meldet Johann Kaspar Bluntschli die Abreise des "großen Unbekannten" nach Nordamerika. Sealsfield fährt—wie gewohnt—mit der Eisenbahn nach Le Havre. Dort besteigt er ein britisches Schiff mit dem Zielhafen New York. Am 27. Juli 1837 registriert die *New York Evening Post*: "Passengers. In the ship 'Great Britain,' from Havre W. P. De Arusmont and daughter of Paris; C. Sarsfield, V. Penard, C. Leclerc, F. Chevaleer, S. N. Helie, A. F. Gryand, Mrs. C. Herbert, Mr. C. Herbert, Mrs. S. Bliss, and 278 in the steerage." Das *Journal of Commerce* von selben Tag bestätigt die Mitteilung: "Passengers. In the ship Great Britain, from Havre—W. P. De Arusmont and daughter, of Paris; Mr. C. Sarsfield, V. Pinard, C. Leclerc, F. Chevalier, S. N. Helie, A. F. Gegand, Mrs. C. Herbert, Mr. C. Herbert, Mrs. T. Bliss, and 278 in the steerage. Mostly Bavarian Farmers. Several Babies born at sea." Die Rückreise von New York nach Europa kündigt er in seinem Brief an Joel R. Poinsett vom 8. Oktober 1837 mit den Worten an, "it being the day of my embarkation for Havre in the Charlemagne packet." Die tatsächliche Abfahrt erfolgt am 10. Oktober 1837 mit dem luxuriösen amerikanischen, "packet ship" *Charlemagne*. Die Zeitungen bestätigen dies. In der *New York Evening Post* vom 10. Oktober 1837 heißt es: "In the ship Charlemagne, sailed for Havre—Mr. and Mrs. Pfeifer, Dr. De Witt, Mr. Louis Bayer, Mr. Chas. Searlsfield, H. Powers, lady and two children; P. Basteda, S. Basteda, E. Learat." Und im *New York Journal of Commerce* vom

District of New York — Port of New York

Jn^o B Pell do solemnly, sincerely and truly Swear that the following List or Manifest of Passengers subscribed with my name, and now delivered by me to the Collector of the Customs for the District of New York, contains, to the best of my knowledge and belief, a just and true account of all the Passengers received on board the *Ship Stephania* whereof I am Master from *Havre*.

Sworn to, the 16th [18th?] Augt—1827—

Jn^o B. Pell

So help me God.

Before me [handschriftlicher Name unleserlich]

LIST OR MANIFEST of all Passengers taken on Board the *Ship Stephania*—whereof *Jn^o B. Pell*—is Master, from *Havre*—*Burthen* 315 18/195—

NAMES.	Age. Years. / Months.	SEX.	OCCUPATION.	The Country to which they severally belong.	The Country to which they intend to become inhabitants.	Died on the Voyage.
<i>Gen^r</i>						
<i>Jonah Forster</i>	34	Male	<i>do</i>	England	<i>S^c Croix</i>	
<i>Ch^r Seafield</i>	31	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	Austria		
<i>Rodolphe de Huguer</i>	22	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	Switzerland	United States	
<i>M^{rs} Margaret Nam Brucke</i>	14	Female	Lady	England	<i>S^c Croix</i>	
<i>George Mo[?]</i>	45	Male	Farmer	France	United States	
<i>Francis Cuivre</i>	49	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	Germany	~	
<i>Anthony Smith</i>	42	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	~	~	
<i>Jn^o Poster</i>	36	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	~	~	
<i>Maren Levi</i>	27	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	~	~	
<i>Jn^o Louie</i>	28	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	~	~	
<i>Gabriel Mearhaut</i>	30	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	~	~	
<i>Jn^o Lamberrats</i>	38	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	~	~	
<i>Michael Castill</i>	47	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	~	~	
<i>Mary Mearhauts</i>	46	Female	<i>do</i>	~	~	

John B. Pell

Dokument 2. Passagierliste (New York 1827)

selben Tage steht: "In the packet ship *Charlemagne*, fo Havre, sailed Oct. 9th—Mr. Pfeifer, Mrs. Pfiefer, Dr. Dewett, Mrs. Louis Bayer, Mr. Chas. Searlsfield, Mr. H. Powers, Mrs. Powers and two children, Mr[s?]. Pio Basteda, Mr. Simon Basteda, Mr. Iwan de Dios Moreno, Mr. Chas Re, and Mr. E. Dearat."

Die dazugehörige Dokumentengruppe informiert über den ab dieser Transatlantikfahrt 1837 benutzten Ausweis und Sealsfields Aktivitäten bis 1844. Sie umfaßt einen "safety pass" und eine Reihe daran gebundener Sichtvermerke, die seine Fahrten und Aufenthalte in der Schweiz und den süddeutschen Ländern belegen. Das, was sein Biograph Eduard Castle zurecht als "auffallend," als "nichts Alltägliches" einschätzt und was die Meldung vom 21. Mai 1837 in der "Außerordentlichen Beilage" zur *Allgemeinen Zeitung* aus Zürich bestätigt, nämlich seine plötzliche Abreise in die USA (Abmeldung am 17. Mai 1837) und den höchstens fünfmonatigen transatlantischen Aufenthalt (neue Wohnung in Zürich am 18. November 1837), begründet Sealsfield selbst wenig aussagekräftig 1854 in seiner autobiographischen Skizze für Brockhaus: "Im Anfange des Jahres 1837 in Privat-Angelegenheiten nach den V. St. zurückgekehrt kam er 1838 wieder nach der Schweiz zurück."¹⁸ Sieht man einmal davon ab, daß 1838 als Jahr der Rückreise nicht stimmt, dann läßt sich dieser Kurzaufenthalt mit Sealsfields sorgfältigem Überwachen der Gültigkeit seiner Ausweispapiere erklären.

Vor dem Hintergrund seines Wissens um die unsicher dokumentierte Identität als Amerikaner liegt es nahe anzunehmen, daß er festgestellt hat, der zehn Jahre alte "safety pass" (New Orleans, 1827) bedürfe eines aktuellen Ersatzes. Wenn es so gewesen ist, dann kann man seine Hektik und den Aufwand verstehen, mit dem er in den Staaten einen neuen "Paß" beantragt und beim Department of State in Washington abholt. Da er sein Louisiana-Papier von 1827 vorzeigt, auf seinen bislang nicht verifizierten Plantagenbesitz am Red River als Wohnsitz verweisen kann, ist er in der Lage, die geforderte "allegiance" und damit seine grundsätzlich legitimierte Anwartschaft auf ein neuen Ausweis problemlos zu leisten (Dokument 3).

Im Unterschied zu dem ersten "safety pass" handelt es sich hier um ein eindeutig legitimierendes Personaldokument. Es enthält eine identifizierende Personenbeschreibung, auch wenn Sealsfield mit "39 years" erneut ein falsches Alter nennt. Entscheidend aber ist, daß zum erstenmal definitiv bestätigt wird, der so Benannte und Beschriebene sei "citizen of the United States." Die Verbindlichkeit dieser staats-bürgerschaftlichen Qualifizierung garantieren das amerikanische Außenministerium in Washington D. C. und die Unterschrift des amerikanischen Außenministers "John Forsyth."

Mit welcher Eile Sealsfield diese Angelegenheit betreibt, ist daran erkennbar, daß er sich seinen Paß umgehend aushändigen läßt und die Rückreise plant. Bereits am 6. Oktober 1837 zeichnet der Kanzler des französischen Generalkonsulats in New York de la Flechelle im Auftrag des Generalkonsuls Laforest das Visum für die Transatlantikreise von New York nach Le Havre auf dem amerikanischen Segler *Charlemagne* ab, nachdem der amerikanische Paß für gültig befunden worden ist. Sealsfield ist unmittelbar darauf von New York abgesegelt, denn am 4. November 1837 notiert die Polizei von Le Havre in seine Unterlagen, daß er sich gemeldet und

UNITED [Staatswappen] STATES
[NUNC SIDERA DUCIT]
OF AMERICA

To all to whom these Presents shall come Greeting

DESCRIPTION

Age 39 Years—

Stature 5 Feet 9 1/2 In-

ches Eng.^b

Forehead *high*

Eyes *Haze*

Nose *roman*

Mouth *medium*

Chin *round*

Hair *chesnut*

Complexion *dark*

Face *rather round*

N.^o 168

The Undersigned Secretary of State of
the United States of America

hereby request all whom

it may concern to permit safely and freely
to pass *Charles Sealsfield*

A Citizen of the United States, and in case
of need to give him all lawful Aid and
Protection. Given under my hand and the
impression of the Seal of the
DEPARTMENT OF STATE, at the City
of Washington the 28th day of
September 1837 in the 62nd Year of the
Independence of these United States.

[Siegel]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Signature of the Bearer

Charles Sealsfield

John Forsyth

GRATIS

58 37 / 21 39 / 60

Dokument 3. Safety Pass (Sichtvermerke: 1837-44)

dabei einen "passe provisoire [*sic*]" vorgewiesen habe. Auch wenn das Staatsarchiv des Kantons Zürich und das Stadtarchiv Zürich mitteilen (19.3.1998 / 22.1.1999), weder in den Akten der Polizei noch in den Protokollen des Statthalteramtes gebe es Hinweise auf Sealsfields Aufenthalt in Zürich für diese Zeit, so bestätigt der folgende Vermerk seine Anwesenheit:

No. 10,682 Vorweiser dies hat sich seit dem 18. Nov. 1837 in hier aufgehalten und ist jetzt Willens nach verschiedenen Cantonen der Schweiz zu reisen.

Zürich d. 9. Juni 1839 Statthalteramt.

[Stempel:] STATTHALTER DES BEZIRKS ZÜRICH Nr. 509.

Diese Eintragung signalisiert einen Einschnitt in seinem Lebenslauf. Der Schriftsteller beginnt von nun an bis zu seiner letzten Reise in die USA 1853 ein unstetes Leben. Innerhalb der folgenden vierzehn Jahre bewegt er sich ruhelos in den deutschsprachigen Kantonen Aargau, Zürich, Thurgau und Schaffhausen, die Nähe zum süddeutschen Raum (Baden und Württemberg) suchend. Es ist die Zeit des literarischen und ökonomischen Erfolges, mit dem er die seinem Leben immanente Krise verdeckt.

Was mit dem inneren und äußeren Konflikt Postls im Verhältnis zu Kirche und Staat begonnen hat, der Heimat-, Berufs- und Identitätswechsel auslöst, das scheinen die Jahrzehnte der Opposition nicht lösen zu können, während derer Sealsfield als aufklärerender Literat gegen die Krise der Zeit und der seines Lebens anschreibt. Es sind zeitgeschichtliche und private Ursachen, die in der vor- wie nachmärzlichen Zeit Sealsfield irritieren und sein mißtrauisches Beobachten auslösen. Dazu zählen die zunehmend antiliberalen revolutionären Ereignisse in der Schweiz und dem süddeutschen Raum, seine obsolet werdende spätaufklärerisch konservative Weltsicht aus dem Geiste Bolzanos sowie eines südstaatlichen Amerikanismus und des darauf abgestimmten Schreibkonzeptes, der nachlassende publizistische Erfolg, die belastende Verschleierung seiner eigentlichen Identität, fehlende familiäre Bindungen und Orientierung sowie gesundheitliche Beeinträchtigungen.

Die politisch ihm unsicher erscheinenden Zeitläufte sowohl in Europa nach der 1848er Revolution als auch in den USA und natürlich sein Interesse daran, wie sich die Verhältnisse in den Staaten innerhalb der sechzehn Jahre seiner Abwesenheit verändert haben, sind Umstände, die ihn 1853 zu einer letzten Reise nach Amerika aufbrechen lassen. Aber darüber hinaus ist ein weiterer Anlaß anzunehmen, der mit seiner immer noch völkerrechtlich ungesicherten staatsbürgerlichen Identität als Amerikaner zusammenhängt.

Es ist Sealsfields vierter Amerikaaufenthalt, und er dauert vom Ankunftstag um Mitternacht des 14. / 15. Oktober 1853 fünf Jahre. Seine Reise mit dem Dampfschiff *Humboldt* bestätigt das Klarierungspapier für den New Yorker Zoll vom 16. Oktober 1853 (Dokument 4).

Sold by McSpedon & Baker, Stationers, 25 Pine Street, adjoining the
Custom Houses, N.Y.

DISTRICT OF NEW YORK — PORT OF NEW YORK

I, *David Lines* do solemnly, sincerely and truly *Swear* that the following List or Manifest of Passengers, subscribed with my name, and now delivered by me to the Collector of the Customs for the District of New York, contains, to the best of my knowledge and belief, a just and true account of all the Passengers received on board the *Steamship Humboldt* whereof I am Master from *Havre & Cowes*.

So help me God.

Sworn to this the *16th day of October 1853*

DLines

Before me *J. A[?]onn Lee*

List or Manifest OF ALL THE PASSENGERS taken on Board the *Humboldt* whereof *Lines* is Master, from *Havre & Cowes* burthen *2181 6/96 tons. Steamship*

NAMES.	Age. Years./ Months.	SEX.	OCCU- PATION.	The Country to which they severally belong	The Country to which they intend to become inhabitants	Died on the voyage
--------	----------------------------	------	------------------	--	---	-----------------------

<i>C. Sealsfield</i>	<i>50/</i>	----	----	<i>Citizen of the United States</i>		
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Dokument 4. Passagierliste (New York 1853)

[Gekürzte Liste mit weiteren 218 Passagieren; Anmerkungen: Master: Kapitän; Cowes: kleine Hafenstadt an der nördlichen Küste der englischen Insel Wight gegenüber der Bucht von Southampton; burthen: Tragfähigkeit; tons: entspricht ungefähr BRT.]

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

State of [allegorische Darstellung] City & County } SS.

New-York, [der prosperierenden USA] of New-York

[EXCELSIOR]

Be it Remembered, That on the *Twenty Third day of August* in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifty *eight Charles Sealsfield* appeared in the Court of Common Pleas for the City and County of New-York, the said Court being a Court of Record, having common law jurisdiction, and a Clerk and Seal, and applied to the said Court to be admitted to become a CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, pursuant to the directions of the Act of Congress of the United States of America, entitled "An Act to establish a uniform rule of Naturalization, and to repeal the Acts heretofore passed on that subject," passed April 14th, 1802, and the Act entitled "An Act for the regulation of Seaman on board the public and private vessels of the United States," passed March 3d, 1813, and the "Act relative to evidence in cases of Naturalization," passed 22d March 1816; and the Act entitled "An Act for further addition to an Act to establish a uniform rule of Naturalization, and to repeal the Acts heretofore passed on that subject," passed May 26th, 1824; and on the Act entitled An Act to amend the Acts concerning Naturalization, A passed May 24th, 1828. And the said applicant having thereupon produced to the Court such evidence, made such declaration and renunciation, and taken such oaths as are by the said Acts required, Thereupon, it was Ordered by the said Court, that the said applicant be admitted, and he was accordingly admitted to be a CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, In Testimony whereof, the seal of the said Court is hereto affixed, this 23^d day of *August* 1858 and in the *Eighty Third* year of the Independence of the United States.

[Siegel]

[allegorische Darstellung]

By the Court,

[Indianer / Weiße: ein Volk]

Nathaniel Javis Jr. Clerk.

Dokument 5. Einbürgerungsurkunde (New York 1858)

Die in der zufälligen Reihenfolge des Buchens zusammengestellte Passagierliste notiert unter der Berufsangabe überwiegend Kaufleute ("Merchant"). Die staatsbürgerliche Zugehörigkeit der Passagiere, erfahrungsgemäß wenig zuverlässige Angaben, verteilt sich auf Baden (1), Bayern (2), Belgien (1), England (1), Frankreich (4), Österreich (1), Preußen (1), Schweiz (11), USA (195), Württemberg (1), die sämtlich die Einbürgerung in die USA anstreben. Sealsfield wird an 80. Stelle aufgeführt, nennt keinen Beruf, ist mit 60 Jahren der Dritälteste (Durchschnittsalter 31 J.), weshalb er wohl auch erneut seine Altersangabe mit 50 nicht korrekt angibt. Er bezeichnet sich als Bürger der USA im Sinne des Einwohnerstatus, der die Absicht der Einbürgerung hat, was dann fünf Jahre später tatsächlich geschieht.

Eingedenk seiner manipulierten Biographie ist es nicht verwunderlich, wenn von ihm kein Wort dazu überliefert ist, daß er erst am 23. August 1858 nach amerikanischem und letztlich internationalem Recht durch ein Verfahren am City and County Court (New York) Bürger der Vereinigten Staaten wird, wie es die folgende Urkunde bestätigt (Dokument 5).

Sealsfield verschweigt dauerhaft das gewichtigste Argument dieser Reise, nämlich den Erwerb der amerikanischen Staatsbürgerschaft, letztere seit 1826 immer vorgegeben, aber bis 1858 nicht besessen. Die exakt fünf Jahre vom 16. Oktober 1853 bis zum 15. Oktober 1858, die längste Zeit, die er sich jemals in den USA aufgehalten hat, haben ihre Ursache in dem Umstand, daß er zur Erlangung der Staatsbürgerschaft eine entsprechende "allegiance" zu leisten hat, die seit Jeffersons Neufassung des Staatsbürgerrechtsgesetzes 1802 die folgenden Bedingungen umfaßt: "residence of five years with a declaration of intent three years before the admission; oaths or declarations abjuring titles and foreign allegiance and swearing attachment to the principles of the Constitution; and satisfactory proof of good character and behavior." Wie im Falle des zweiten amerikanischen Papiers von 1837 erfüllt Sealsfield diese Bedingungen der "allegiance," zusätzlich abgesichert durch seinen schon erwähnten möglichen Grundbesitz am Red River, dessen Verkauf vorgesehen ist, das Kapital in amerikanischen Aktien, denkbare Leumundszeugnisse amerikanischer Geschäftspartner (Banken) und das Vorweisen seines Ausweises von 1837.

Unmittelbar nach Erhalt dieses Dokuments richtet er nunmehr als Bürger der Vereinigten Staaten ein Gesuch an den amerikanischen Außenminister Lewis Cass, mit dem er um die Ausstellung eines "new passport" bittet. Bezeichnend für die Vorsicht im Zusammenhang mit seiner kryptischen Identität ist seine Sprecherperspektive als Amerikaner, indem er den tatsächlichen Daueraufenthalt in der Schweiz verschweigt und den Antrag damit begründet, auf Auslandsreise gehen zu müssen:

Honourable Lewis Cass Secretary of State of the US. at Washington Cy
August 26

Sir! *10.203*

Brooklyn 25 of Aug 1858

The undersigned being under the necessity of visiting foreign parts, would request to be furnished with a new passport, - his old one being enclosed, and to have it sent under his address to Shepy Schuchardt & Gebhard Banken 19 Kassanstr 124.

He remains very respectfully Your true an[d]

most obedient servant

Charles Sealsfield

Das Außenministerium reagiert sofort nach dem Eingang des Schreibens und stellt den erbetenen Ausweis am folgenden Tag aus (Dokument 6).

Bis auf geringe Abweichungen in Wortlaut und graphischer Ausgestaltung (Staatswappen) ist das "Pass"-Formular mit demjenigen aus dem Jahre 1837 identisch. Es fällt wiederum auf, daß Sealsfield keine zutreffende Altersangabe macht, so daß er sich auf fünf Nachweisen innerhalb von 32 Jahren grundsätzlich jünger angibt: 1826 - 28[9?] statt 33; 1827 - 31 statt 34; 1837 - 39 statt 44; 1853 - 50 statt 60; 1858 - 60 statt 65.

Nach Castle beginnt Sealsfield auf dem "Hamburger Dampfer *Hammonia*, der am 15. Oktober 1858 New York verließ und in Southampton und Le Havre anlegte," seine Rückreise. Dieser letzte Amerikaaufenthalt ist für Sealsfield gleichzeitig der einer endgültigen Regelung seines Lebenskonzeptes nach zweiunddreißig Jahren, während derer er die Rolle des Amerikaners konsequent gelebt hat. Die literarischen Aktivitäten sind Anfang der vierziger Jahre abgeschlossen, die Altersversorgung ist finanziell gesichert, das Haus in Solothurn erworben, die angeschlagene Gesundheit bedarf der Pflege. Sealsfield wird bodenständig und gibt das Leben des Vagabundierens auf. Seit dem radikalen Auf- und Ausbruch aus dem Europa der Restauration 1823 findet der Flüchtling Carl Postl als Exilant Charles Sealsfield zumindest äußerlich zur Ruhe. Sein Leben ist—einen Buchtitel von Leslie A. Fiedler verändernd—ein Leben "of no return of the vanishing Southern American."¹⁹

III

Der Staaten- und Heimatwechsel führt bei Migranten in der Regel dazu, daß sie sich nach verschieden langer Zeit der Einrichtung ihres Lebens in unterschiedlicher Weise der Identitätsfrage zu stellen haben. Mitgeführte Herkunftsidentität und zu findende Identität im Zielland können bei der ersten Zuwanderergeneration zur Identitätskrise führen und die Rückwanderung auslösen. Zumeist aber ergibt sich eine Lösung, indem man entweder beharrlich an der Herkunftskultur festhält, sich etabliert, unter seinesgleichen bleibt oder aber, möglichst rasch und unreflektiert, die Assimilation durch Namens- und Sprachwechsel, wirtschaftliche wie gesellschaftspolitische Integration und die Übernahme der Staatsbürgerschaft anstrebt. Diese Verhaltensweisen sind für die deutsche Amerikauswanderung im 19. Jahrhundert signifikant.

UNITED [Staatswappen] STATES
[NUNC SIDERA DUCIT]
OF AMERICA

To all to whom these Presents shall come Greeting

DESCRIPTION	N ^o . 10,203
Age <i>60Years</i>	The Undersigned Secretary of State of the United
Stature <i>6 Feet 9 Inches</i>	States of America hereby request all whom it
Eng. ^h	May concern to permit safely and freely
Forehead <i>high</i>	to pass <i>Charles Sealsfield</i>
Eyes <i>Hazel</i>	A Citizen of the United States, and in case of
Nose <i>roman</i>	Need to give him all lawfull Aid and Protection
Mouth <i>medium</i>	Given under my hand and the impression on the
Chin <i>round</i>	Seal of the DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Hair <i>chesnut</i>	at the City of Washington the 26 th day of
Complexion <i>dark</i>	<i>August AD, 1858</i> in the 83 Year of the
Face <i>rather round</i>	Independence of these United States.

[Siegel]

DEPARTMENT of STATE

Signature of the Bearer
Charles Sealsfield

Lewis Cass

Dokument 6. Reisepaß (New York 1858)

Da Sealsfield keine Seßhaftigkeit als amerikanischer Bürger anstrebt, tauscht er die eine Identitätskrise gegen die andere des amerikanisch maskierten Europäers aus, festhaltend an einer obsoleten Gesellschaftsordnung des südstaalichen Amerikanismus. Geht man davon aus, dann sind weltanschauliches Bekenntnis zum Amerikanismus, wirtschaftliche Bindung an amerikanischen Grundbesitz und amerikanisches Kapitalvermögen, Adaptation einer angloamerikanisierten Namensidentität, Sprechen der Landessprache, Aufenthalt im anderen Land und die berufliche Beschäftigung mit diesem Land die relevanten Parameter eines von der Außensicht her beschreibbaren Identitätswechsels. Weil die doppelten privaten und öffentlichen Umstände von Person und Gesellschaft in der vormärzlichen und nachmärzlichen Zeit nicht zur Deckung zu bringen sind, bleibt seine Identitätskrise grundsätzlich ungelöst, verursacht eine lebenslange Legitimationsneurose und führt letztlich in die Resignation der Privatperson und des Literaten.

Das ganze Dilemma seiner Identitätskrise wird daran deutlich, wie Sealsfield geradezu atemlos seine "Anglo-American conformity" inszeniert, dafür Behörden und Einzelpersonen in verschiedenen Staaten einspannt, mit einem verborgenen Taufnamen, zwei publiquen Pseudonymen, anonymen Veröffentlichungen und zwei Staatszugehörigkeiten hantiert. Möglich ist ihm dies nur, weil er die begrenzt kommunikativ vernetzte, zur Verifizierung kaum befähigte, darum düpiierbare Öffentlichkeit durchschaut. Diese Abschirmung seiner Identität bleibt bis zum Tode ungestört.

Geht man von letzterer aus, dann hat angesichts der psychischen Relevanz dieser Identitätsumstände für Postl / Sealsfield die öffentlich gezeigte, privat nicht abschätzbare Metamorphose seiner Identität als biographischer Transformationsakt unmittelbar zu tun mit der Lebensdisposition, deren gewichtiger Teil die Literatur ist. Seine gesamten Publikationen sind öffentliche literarische Leistung aus Sicht und Kenntnis des Amerikaners europäischer Herkunft. Sie zielen poetologisch auf die Modifikation des historischen Romans in der Tradition amerikanischer Scott-Tradition,²⁰ politisch auf die Verbindung von landeshistorischer Information und weltgeschichtlicher Vision zu Gunsten einer geschichtsphilosophischen Orientierung in Europa. In dieser rezeptionsästhetischen Intention sind sie aber auch zugleich publizistischer Nachweis seiner Existenz als Amerikaner. Für die Philologen bedeutet dies, darüber nachzudenken, inwiefern die Betrachtung seiner literarischen Leistungen als wesentlicher Funktionsteil der Identitätsetablierung um die zusätzliche Perspektive psychologischer Implikationen zu erweitern ist.

Universität Hamburg
Hamburg, Germany

Summary

Recent research and discovering of unknown documents concerning his cryptical life seem to prove that the biography of the German-American novelist Charles Sealsfield can be seen paradigmatically for the crisis of European restauration in the

time of Central European "Vormärz"—from 1815 (Congress of Vienna) or 1830 ("Julirevolution") to 1848 ("Märzrevolution" in Germany). Born as Karl Postl in a little Moravian village near Znaim (then Austrian territory) in 1743, raised in a cloister of the order of the "Kreuzherren mit dem Roten Sterne" (Prague) he became chief-secretary for external affairs as monk and priest.

The socio-political controversies of his time arising from a general public disorientation in a society suppressed by a cooperation between the orthodox Catholic church, the government in Vienna and a police-controlled public life irritated the well-educated priest who believed in ideas of tolerance and national liberalism that he had learned from the lectures of the famous scholar at Prague university, the theologian, philosopher and mathematician Bernhard Bolzano. After Bolzano's relegation in 1819 the social crisis developed rapidly, influencing Postl's inclination towards the conflicts of society. In the year of the so-called Bolzano-trial 1823, Postl left the order and fled to the U. S. arriving in New Orleans.

From this year on Postl changed his life entirely in order to become an American. He did that because he wanted to hide his original identity from the persecution by the Austrian authorities of state and church, to personalize his political devotion to the American society of the South and its aristocratic-democratic organisation, to present himself to the reading public as an americanized author writing authentically about American affairs, and last not least to gain credibility in Europe for his political mission to recommend democracy to the European autocratic regimes especially in Austria and the German countries meeting the socio-political crisis of European restauration.

The essay deals with this complex topic presenting a series of documents which mirror the migrant's and traveler's metamorphosis from Catholic priest and Austrian citizen Postl to the secularized author, political mediator, and American citizen Sealsfield. He travelled four times to the U. S. Each crossing of the Atlantic was led by the general purpose to gain new material for his novels and by the special purpose to assure his identity as an American. During his first stay from 1823 to 1826 he changed his name from Postl to Sealsfield proved by document 1, a provisional safety pass, issued by the state of Louisiana (1826). He used this paper to present himself as an American citizen in Europe fooling politicians, public authorities, publishers, and friends until he was naturalized in the U. S. in 1858. His second journey from 1827 to 1830 shows that he was still uncertain about his camouflaged identity as the second document shows, a passenger list from 1827. When his safety pass ran out after ten years he traveled to the U. S. again in 1837 for a short trip just to renew that pass (document 3), which now already shows a more official character. Urged by the unstable political development in Europe after 1848 and a personal uncertainty about the safety of his provisionally covered real identity he decided to go to the U. S. for the last time in order to legalize his status as an American citizen which he had pretended to be for so long. His stay had to last for exactly five years, from 1853 to 1858, because U. S. citizenship needed a continuous stay of that length. So in 1858 he got his document of naturalization from the New York District Court and a genuine American passport issued by the Washington Department for Foreign Affairs (documents 4, 5, and 6).

The real identity of Sealsfield as Postl was not unveiled until his death in 1864 (Solothurn, Switzerland) and the opening of the will by his relatives.

The presented documents of the camouflaged life of Karl Postl as Charles Sealsfield mirror his private fear and uncertainty as a persecuted political refugee, having illegally violated the vow as priest and the Austrian law of emigration. On the other hand we know from his letters and novels that the motivation to live under cover resulted for the political-minded European from the conflict he experienced knowing about democracy and living in an autocratically ruled and suppressed society. His whole life became a paradigm of an ambitious political attitude and action in a time of disorientation in Europe trying to show a certain orientation publicly by writing about the democratic development in the New World in his political-historical novels.

Anmerkungen

*Titelzitat: "... ließ sich in den Bürgerverein dieser Republic aufnehmen." Sealsfield an Brockhaus, 21. Juni 1854 in Eduard Castle, *Der große Unbekannte, Das Leben von Charles Sealsfield, Briefe und Aktenstücke* (Wien: Karl Werner, 1955), 289.

¹ Pfarrer Hemmann leitet Sealsfields Anordnung an Joseph Postl weiter, der dies schriftlich festhält: "Es sollen vor Allem ober der Grabschrift die Buchstaben C. P. angebracht werden. ... Das ist meine Signatur." In Eduard Castle, *Das Geheimnis des Großen Unbekannten. Charles Sealsfield (Karl Postl). Die Quellenschriften*; Charles Sealsfield, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Karl J. R. Arndt, vol. 26, *Supplementreihe. Materialien und Dokumente*, ed. Alexander Ritter, vol. 2, (Hildesheim: Olms Presse, 1995 / Nachdruck der Ausgabe: Wien: Wiener Bibliophilen-Gesellschaft, 1943), 258.

² Charles Sealsfields Testament, eröffnet am 16. Juni 1864. Castle, *Quellenschriften*, 74-78.

³ Sealsfield an Brockhaus, 21. Juni 1854, Castle, *Briefe und Aktenstücke*, 289-93.

⁴ 2 vols. (Stuttgart und Tübingen: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung, 1827), vii. - Zu seinem Karrierestart als Schriftsteller und der Zusammenarbeit mit Cotta und Murray vgl. die detaillierte Darstellung: Alexander Ritter, "Charles Sealsfields frühe Publizitätssuche bei den Verlegern Cotta (Stuttgart) und Murray (London). Biographische und buchgeschichtliche Umstände als Ursachen des Publizitätsverlustes nach 1848," in Klaus Amann, Hubert Lengauer und Karl Wagner, eds., *Literarisches Leben in Österreich 1848-1890*, Literaturgeschichte und Studien und Quellen, 1 (Wien: Böhlau, 2000), 561-600.

⁵ Die Kopien der Originale befinden sich im Besitz des Verfassers. Folgende Einrichtungen haben die Recherchen unterstützt und Materialien zur Verfügung gestellt: NAUSA, Forschungsstelle Niedersächsische Auswanderer in die USA, Universität Oldenburg; Stadtarchiv Zürich; Staatsarchiv des Kantons Solothurn; Ministère des Affaires Étrangères - Centre des Archives Diplomatiques de Nantes; National Archives and Records Administration Northeast Region (New York, NY); National Archives and Records Administration Southwest Region (Fort Worth, TX); National Archives and Records Administration (Washington DC); National Archives at College Park (College Park, MD).

⁶ Die Ausführungen gehen auf eine detaillierte Dokumentation zurück, mit der eine große Zahl von bislang unbekannten amtlichen Schreiben und Vermerken vorgestellt und ausführlich erläutert wird. Weil die bisherigen beiden Publikationen eine breite philologische Öffentlichkeit nicht erreicht haben, werden mit diesem Beitrag die wesentlichen Informationen und Erkenntnisse der amerikanischen Forschung zur Verfügung gestellt. Für die vorliegenden Überlegungen sind wenige zentrale Unterlagen mit freundlicher Genehmigung der Zeitschriften- und Jahrbuchredaktion ausgewählt worden, um diese unter den weiterführenden Aspekten krisenhafter Vormärzzeit, transatlantischer Wanderungsgeschichte und europäischer Migrantenexistenzen auszudeuten. Vgl. Alexander Ritter, "Grenzübertritt und Schattentausch: Der österreichische Priester Carl Postl und seine vage staatsbürgerliche Identität als amerikanischer Autor Charles Sealsfield: Eine Dokumentation," *Freiburger Universitätsblätter* 143 (1999): 39-71; dass. in *Sealsfield-Studien* 2, ed. Alexander Ritter (München: Charles Sealsfield-Gesellschaft, 2000), 81-122.

⁷ Zum aktuellen Stand der Diskussion (umfangreiche Literaturhinweise) Donata Elschenbroich, *Eine*

Nation von Einwanderern. Ethnisches Bewußtsein und Integrationspolitik in den USA (Frankfurt am Main und New York: Campus, 1986); Klaus J. Bade, ed., *Deutsche im Ausland—Fremde in Deutschland: Migration in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (München: Beck, 1992). Darin zur den Wanderungsbewegungen Europa-Nordamerika, 135-97; Klaus J. Bade und Michael Bommers, "Migration - Ethnizität - Konflikt: Erkenntnisprobleme und Beschreibungsnotstände: eine Einführung," *Migration Ethnizität Konflikt: Systemfragen und Fallstudien*, IMIS-Schriften, 1, ed. Klaus J. Bade (Osnabrück: Universitätsverlag Rasch, 1996), 11-40; Klaus J. Bade: "Transnationale Migration, ethnonationale Diskussion und staatliche Migrationspolitik im Deutschland des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts," *Migration - Ethnizität - Konflikt*, 403-30; Klaus J. Bade: "German Transatlantic Emigration in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century," P. C. Emmer and M. Mörner, eds., *European Expansion and Migration: Essays on the Intercontinental Migration from Africa, Asia, and Europe* (New York und Oxford: Berg, 1992), 121-55.

⁸ Bern[h]ard Bolzano (Prag 1781 - ebd. 1848), Philosoph, Theologe und Mathematiker, Hochschul-lehrer an der Universität Prag; im Zuge der Karlsbader Beschlüsse 1819 seines Lehramtes mit der Begründung enthoben, seine Vorlesungen folgten nicht strikt den orthodoxen Vorstellungen der katholischen Kirche und gefährdeten die Öffentlichkeit. Im Jahr des sog. Bolzano-Prozesses 1823 verläßt Postl Österreich und flüchtet nach Amerika. Vgl. die aktuelle Publikation: Helmut Rumpfer, ed., *Bernard Bolzano und die Politik - Staat, Nation und Religion als Herausforderung für die Philosophie im Kontext von Spätaufklärung, Frühnationalismus und Restauration*, Studien zu Politik und Verwaltung, 61 (Wien: Boehla, 2001).

⁹ Zur vormärzlichen europäischen Krisensituation und die 1848er Revolution vgl. aus der Fülle der Publikationen die folgenden aktuellen Veröffentlichungen zum thematischen Zusammenhang des vorliegenden Beitrags: Dieter Dowe, Heinz-Gerhard Haupt und Dieter Langewiesche, eds., *Europa 1848 - Revolution und Reform*, Forschungsinstitut der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung - Reihe Politik- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte, 48 (Bonn: Dietz, 1998); Norbert Otto Eke und Renate Werner, eds., *Vormärz - Nachmärz: Bruch oder Kontinuität?* Vormärz-Studien, 5 (Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2000); Alexander Ritter: "Identitätsneurose, Autordisposition, Literaturstrategie: Charles Sealsfields autobiographisch-politisches Schreiben gegen die eigene Krise, die amerikanische und die des Vormärz." *Akten des X. Internationalen Germanistenkongresses Wien 2000. Zeitenwende—Die Germanistik auf dem Weg ins 20. bis 21. Jahrhundert*, ed. Peter Wiesinger, vol. 29, Deutschsprachige Literatur in nichtdeutschsprachigen Kulturzusammenhängen; Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik, Reihe A: Kongreßberichte (Bern: Peter Lang, 2002).

¹⁰ Wolfgang Helbig, Walter D. Kamphoefner und Ulrike Sommer, eds., *Briefe aus Amerika: Deutsche Auswanderer schreiben aus der Neuen Welt 1830-1930* (München: Beck, 1988).

¹¹ Otto Ruppius, *Ein Deutscher*, Second Edition (Leipzig: Franz Duncker, 1882); Herta Lenz de Brüggens: *Von der Heimat losgerissen: Ein auslandsdeutscher Roman* (Breslau: Wilhelm Gottlieb Korn, 1932), 7-8.

¹² Die Bezeichnung variiert zwischen "safety pass," "safe conduct pass" und "safety conduct pass."

¹³ Auf die den paßamtlichen Ausweisen zugeordnete große Anzahl von Sichtvermerken verschiedener schweizerischer, französischer, deutscher, britischer und amerikanischer Behörden ist hier verzichtet worden (vgl. Anm. 4).

¹⁴ Da dieses Ausweispapier von Sealsfield offenbar als die ihm wichtigste Identitätsunterlage angesehen wurde, trug er sie, handlich zusammengefasst, vermutlich ein Leben lang bei sich. Die dadurch entstandenen Gebrauchsspuren verhindern, daß der Text insgesamt zuverlässig wiedergegeben werden kann. Mit den eckigen Klammern wird auf Entzifferungsprobleme und Lücken hingewiesen. Kursiv gehaltene Informationen markieren die handschriftlichen Ergänzungen im Vordruck.

¹⁵ Mit welchem Überlegungen und auf welche Weise sich Postl den Namen Sealsfield angeeignet hat, ist bis heute ungeklärt. Neben einer Reihe von Spekulationen scheint die Erklärung, es handle sich um ein bewußt konzipiertes Konstrukt, vergleichbaren Namen aus dem britischen Sprachraum nachempfunden, am ehesten plausibel.

¹⁶ Sidons, *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika* (Anm. 4), iii

¹⁷ Karl J. R. Arndt, "Einleitung," Charles Sealsfield, *Die deutsch-amerikanischen Wahlverwandtschaften*, Teil I/II, Charles Sealsfield, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Karl J. R. Arndt, vol. 21 (Hildesheim: Olms-Presse, 1982), iv-viii.

¹⁸ Eduard Castle, *Der große Unbekannte, Das Leben von Charles Sealsfield (Karl Postl)*, Charles Sealsfield, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Karl J. R. Arndt, vol. 25, *Supplementreihe: Materialien und Dokumente*, ed. Alexander Ritter, vol. 1, (Hildesheim: Olms Presse, 1993 / Nachdruck der Ausgabe: Wien und München: Manutiuspresse, 1952), 568 (dort ohne Quellennachweis).

¹⁹ Leslie A. Fiedler, *The Return of the Vanishing American* (Third Printing, Briarcliff Manor: Stein and

Day / Publishers / Scarborough House, 1976).

²⁰ Alexander Ritter, "Die Bekannten und die beiden 'großen Unbekannten': Scott, der historische Roman und sein Einfluß auf Charles Sealsfield," Norbert Bachleitner, ed., *Beiträge zur Rezeption der britischen und irischen Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts im deutschsprachigen Raum*, Internationale Forschungen zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft, 45 (Amsterdam und Atlanta: Rodopi, 2000), 443-77.

Mark H. Dunkelman

Hardtack and Sauerkraut Stew: Ethnic Tensions in the 154th New York Volunteers, Eleventh Corps, during the Civil War

History has not been kind to the Eleventh Corps of the Army of the Potomac, the Union's chief fighting force in the eastern theater of the Civil War. Today, the Eleventh is commonly remembered as a heavily ethnic unit—composed primarily of German-Americans—that compiled a poor battle record when it was routed at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. This perception of the corps as a second-rate foreign outfit that collapsed in combat is much the same as it was during the war. Old prejudices die hard.

Historians have been more sympathetic than popular memory to the Eleventh Corps and its German soldiers. A. Wilson Greene, describing the corps' fighting at Gettysburg, has stated flatly, "The Eleventh Corps performed with honor on July 1, 1863, and deserves a better reputation." Regarding the rout of the corps by Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson's famous flank attack at Chancellorsville on 2 May 1863, John Bigelow, Jr., in his classic history of the battle, wrote, "Such a disaster would have happened to any body of troops situated as the XI Corps was when Jackson struck it." Bigelow declared that to blame the defeat of the corps on its high percentage of German members was "preposterous." However, Bigelow added that "other men might have comported themselves with more dignity, or less ignominy, even while running for their lives." But Bigelow also noted that the German members of the Eleventh Corps were "more or less the product of American influences," and to impugn their courage would reflect to some extent on the American society that had nurtured them. In the end, Bigelow—writing in 1909—expressed puzzlement that the Germans, "who lead the world in the art and science of war, who have produced a host of commanders of the highest order, and have a long and glorious military history, should have furnished our country some of its poorest soldiers."¹

As if in response to Bigelow, Wilhelm Kaufmann, the chronicler of German-Americans in the Civil War, wrote in 1911, "Among the innumerable English-language histories of the war, works are seldom encountered that give our compatriots their just due . . . but slanders and hateful attacks are often made." Modern historians, more understanding of the plight of the Eleventh Corps, have been kinder than their predecessors. John J. Hennessy has characterized the corps as "the army's stepchild" because of its outcast status. In his classic trilogy on the Army of the Potomac, Bruce

Catton portrayed the corps as "the Cinderella of the army, the unwanted orphan child." Catton added that the Eleventh "was deeply aware of its own status. It seems to have felt, collectively, like a poor ignored wallflower at a high school dance."²

The historians cited above—and others as well—have characterized the prejudice directed at the Germans as coming from outside the corps, even before the disasters that befell the Eleventh at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. "[Its] ethnic composition made the entire corps a natural target for persecution," Greene wrote. According to Hennessy, the "strong prejudice against 'Dutch' regiments among the rest of the army . . . made the Eleventh Corps the target of countless derisive comments." To Catton, the Eleventh Corps was "an outcast from the spirit and affection of the army."³

That the rest of the Army of the Potomac denigrated the Eleventh Corps because of its largely German ethnicity has been well documented. Less has been written about ethnic tensions within the corps itself. This essay focuses on the outlook of members of one primarily native-born regiment, the 154th New York Volunteer Infantry, toward the German soldiers they served with in the Eleventh Corps. An extensive collection of surviving letters and diaries written by members of the 154th offers many comments on the subject. Those comments reveal that ethnic tensions were an internal problem as well as an external problem for the Eleventh Army Corps. While the soldiers of the 154th New York initially expressed no regrets about their assignment to the corps, and voiced admiration for its celebrated German commander, they soon were grouching about their forced association with the Germans. After the disaster at Chancellorsville, the bickering grew bitter, with many members of the 154th castigating the German troops for a poor performance in the battle. Only with the demise of the Eleventh Corps in 1864, and their consequent separation from the German troops, did the New Yorkers cease complaining about the Germans.

The 154th New York was raised in the summer of 1862 in the western part of the state, eight companies from Cattaraugus County and two from neighboring Chautauqua County. Its personnel was composed overwhelmingly of native-born Americans, primarily the sons and grandsons of pioneer settlers who had emigrated to the two counties from the central part of New York State and New England. A small minority, totaling 12 percent of the volunteers, were foreign born.⁴

Of 790 enlisted men of nine companies for whom birthplaces are recorded in the 154th New York's descriptive books (Company G's book was improperly filled out and omitted that data), 431 were born in Cattaraugus and Chautauqua counties, and 253 were born elsewhere in New York. One hundred and six were born in other states, a majority of them in Pennsylvania. Ninety-eight of the men were foreign born. Twenty-eight were natives of Germany (roughly 3 percent of the total); the same number were born in Ireland. (The others were born in England [11], Canada [9], Wales [9], France [5], Scotland [4], Sweden [2], Holland [1]), and an unspecified place in Europe [1].)⁵

The 154th New York was organized at Jamestown, Chautauqua County, where it was mustered in the service of the United States on 24 to 26 September 1862. On arriving at the Virginia front early in October, the regiment was assigned at random to the Eleventh Corps, commanded by Major General Franz Sigel. The Eleventh was

the most unique corps in the Army of the Potomac, set apart from the others by its ethnic makeup. Fifteen of its twenty-eight infantry regiments were composed primarily of German-Americans, enabling Sigel to refer to his corps proudly as "my German command." No other corps of the Army of the Potomac had such a high representation of a single minority ethnic group.⁶

The 154th New York was camped on Arlington Heights, on the Virginia side of the Potomac River opposite Washington, when word arrived that the regiment had been placed in Sigel's corps. Reaction was mixed, based primarily on Sigel's reputation as a general rather than on the ethnic composition of his corps. "It is said that we are to join General Sigel," Private William F. Chittenden of Company D wrote on 10 October 1862. "I hope it is so for he has the confidence of his superiors as well as the people we want a true and brave man and it would be better to [be worn] out [campaigning] than die in camp from inaction." The following day, an unidentified member of the regiment wrote, "Our camp is all excitement today on account of the report that we were signed over to General Seigels command some were glad and some are not for they well know that they would soon be obliged to go into action for he is known to be a man of war and not of pretention I was glad for one for I want to fight if we have gone so far."⁷

After a two-day march from Arlington Heights, the 154th joined the Eleventh Corps at Fairfax Court House, Virginia, on 13 October 1862, and was assigned to Colonel Adolphus Buschbeck's First Brigade of Brigadier General Adolph von Steinwehr's Second Division. The other regiments in the brigade were the German-American 29th New York and 27th Pennsylvania (Steinwehr's and Buschbeck's original commands), and the 73rd Pennsylvania, a regiment with many English, Irish, and native-born American soldiers augmenting a largely German core.⁸

Sigel's headquarters were in the dilapidated village of Fairfax Court House, and the soldiers of the 154th were now able to size up their new commander in person. Their opinions were favorable. "We 'fight mit Sigel' now and the boys are well satisfied with their General," wrote Second Lieutenant Alanson Crosby of Company A, quoting the famous poem and song that had made Sigel's name a watchword in the German-American community. Corporal Joel M. Bouton of Company C wrote, "We are in Sigels Corps where I had rather be than under any other division commander in the service, as I believe him to be the most capable." The men particularly approved of Sigel's reputation as a fighter. "We are under Gen Sigel now and I gess we shall have to fite," declared Private Oscar F. Wilber of Company G in a letter to his uncle. "You know that he is a man that will fite you know that he has been boxing with the Rebels for some time." According to Private Marion Plumb of Company D, "Seigle is a young man about 35 years old [Sigel was 37 at the time] but he is a smart man he is all around through the Camps The Rebels are afraid of the Flying Dutchman as they call him." (Germans were commonly called *Dutchmen* by native-born Americans.)⁹

At Sigel's first review of the 154th, on 20 October 1862, Private Barzilla Merrill of Company K approved of the general's plain uniform and gentlemanly manner. When Sigel rode up to the regiment on his black horse, Merrill noted, "he oncovered his hed and he done it nice." After their close look at Sigel, the men remained impressed

with him. "I have found out for certain now [Sigel] is the man that he said he was," Musician Charles W. Abell of Company E informed his parents, "and he has got . . . an Eagle Eye." "Gen Sigel is a very smart looking man is not very large but very active" thought Private John Dicher of Company B, one of the German-born members of the regiment. "We like him very much what we have seen of him."¹⁰

Some members of the 154th voiced no objections to their assignment to a largely German command. "Sigel has got lots of Dutchmen in his command," Charles Abell noted, but he added no negative comments about the situation. Writing to a friend from Fairfax Court House, Captain Lewis D. Warner of Company C declared, "We have as yet no reason to complain of the disposition that has been made of us; indeed we are all highly gratified and thank our lucky stars that, to use the Dutchman's phrase, we are to fight 'mit Sigel.'" Warner was perhaps exaggerating, and maybe was being sarcastic, when he reported that everyone in the 154th was "highly gratified" with the assignment to Sigel's corps. He added an anecdote that demonstrated the German idolization of Sigel. While innocent, the story nevertheless played on the stereotype of Germans as drinkers and mocked their accents: "This reminds me of what I heard on the streets of Washington. A battle-marked soldier was wending his way down one of its avenues, when he was accosted by a citizen (a Dutchman of course), in this wise. 'Say, soldier, you fight mit Sigel?' 'Ya.' 'Well den, you takes a trink mit me.'"¹¹

Other members of the 154th were direct in revealing distaste for the Germans. Henry Van Aernam, surgeon of the regiment and a well-educated man, shared the good opinion of Sigel. "General Segel is one of the very best Generals this war has produced," he declared. But Van Aernam revealed some bias when he added that the general "looks dutchy and speaks quite broken." The surgeon also thought that Brigadier General Carl Schurz, commander of the corps' Third Division, had an "awful dutchy look" about him. When Corporal George A. Taylor of Company F returned to the 154th's camp from a tour of guard duty at General Steinwehr's headquarters, he exclaimed with relief, "I am at *home* and glad to be here. The place where I have been since Monday noon is in the midst of Dutchdom and although the finest place in Fairfax is not the place for me."¹²

In November, the Eleventh Corps marched from Fairfax on a reconnaissance to Thoroughfare Gap, in the Bull Run Mountains. The 154th spent an otherwise uneventful week foraging and doing picket duty at the gap before returning to Fairfax. During the excursion, griping about the Germans continued. Corporal Newell Burch of Company E, who was detailed to serve as an orderly to General Steinwehr, noted in his diary on 15 November 1862, "On duty at Head Qrs this A.M. . . . Have my share of business, but dont like so much dutch." When a rumor drifted through camp that winter quarters might be established at the gap, Barzilla Merrill wondered if the German regiments were privy to inside information. "There is one dutch regiment in camp that are fixing up their tents nice," he observed, "and Seigle is a dutchman and it may be that they know about it."¹³

Back in camp at Fairfax after the movement to Thoroughfare Gap, Lieutenant Crosby notified his hometown newspaper, "We are surrounded completely by



Surgeon Henry Van Aernam complained that the "Dutch" elements of the Eleventh Corps "did behave like slinks" at the Battle of Chancellorsville. *Courtesy of U.S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, PA*



Sergeant Alexander Bird of Company G (pictured after his promotion to first lieutenant) was one of many members of the 154th New York who complained about German soldiers of the Eleventh Corps.

*Courtesy of William Welch collection, U.S. Army Military History Institute,
Carlisle Barracks, PA*

Dutchmen who have come to 'fight mit Sigel.'" As he was writing his letter, Crosby heard a homesick member of Company A sing an impromptu song:

O, I'd better staid at home with the gal I love so much,
Than be traveling round the Country with these dam Dutch.¹⁴

According to Joel Bouton, by the early part of December 1862 dissatisfaction with serving alongside the Germans led the commander of the 154th, Colonel Patrick Henry Jones (a native Irishman), to attempt to get the regiment transferred. "Our Col is trying to get us detached from this division," Bouton wrote, "as all of the rest nearly are dutch and the officers all dutch, and they are very partial to the German Regiments." The 154th men had to do more work than the Germans because of such favoritism, Bouton averred, citing an example: "Our Regiment has done more picketing than all of the other three Regts of our Brigade." Bouton indicated that Colonel Jones resented the extra burden his men faced because of the Germans' bias, and refused to tolerate it. "Col Jones is a man not to be run over by the Sour Krout," Bouton declared, using another common derogatory appellation for the Germans. No other documentation has been located regarding Jones's first effort to have the regiment detached—he would make the attempt again—but in any case nothing ever came of it.¹⁵

That December the Eleventh Corps marched from Fairfax to Falmouth, arriving too late to take part in the Battle of Fredericksburg, and established a winter camp near the Rappahannock River. In mid-January 1863 the corps took part in the dismal Mud March, and the soldiers returned to their Falmouth camp soaked to the skin, slathered in mud, and deeply discouraged. In February the Eleventh Corps moved about ten miles and established a new winter camp near Stafford Court House. During the winter, expressions of scorn toward the German troops by members of the 154th continued. On discovering that some slabs of lumber he had cut for his winter hut had been stolen, First Lieutenant Marshall O. Bond of Company D instinctively blamed the theft on the Germans. "I lay it to the darned Dutchmen," he complained in his diary. "They are all around me, & Some Came along this forenoon & wanted to know if I was not used to chopping. Said they were brought up in a city." When the regiment built new huts after the move to the vicinity of Stafford Court House, Bond declared, "We have Slashed about 10 Acres of pine timber to day The 154th Regt will Cut more Timber in one day than the Dutch Regts Can in six. Thats So." Sergeant John F. Wellman of Company B concurred, bragging that the 154th "beat the Dutch in building some fine winter quarters. Our quarters were built in supurb stile, and we taunted our neighbors, the Dutch . . . because their quarters resembled a sty."¹⁶

On at least one occasion the language barrier resulted in a ludicrous situation. On a snowy day in mid-February, Newell Burch was puzzled and aggravated when he was assigned to command a picket force of the 27th Pennsylvania. Being unable to communicate with the Germans, Burch could only guess that his assignment was meant "to punish the 27th men for some indignities to . . . Bushbeck or Steinwehr."¹⁷

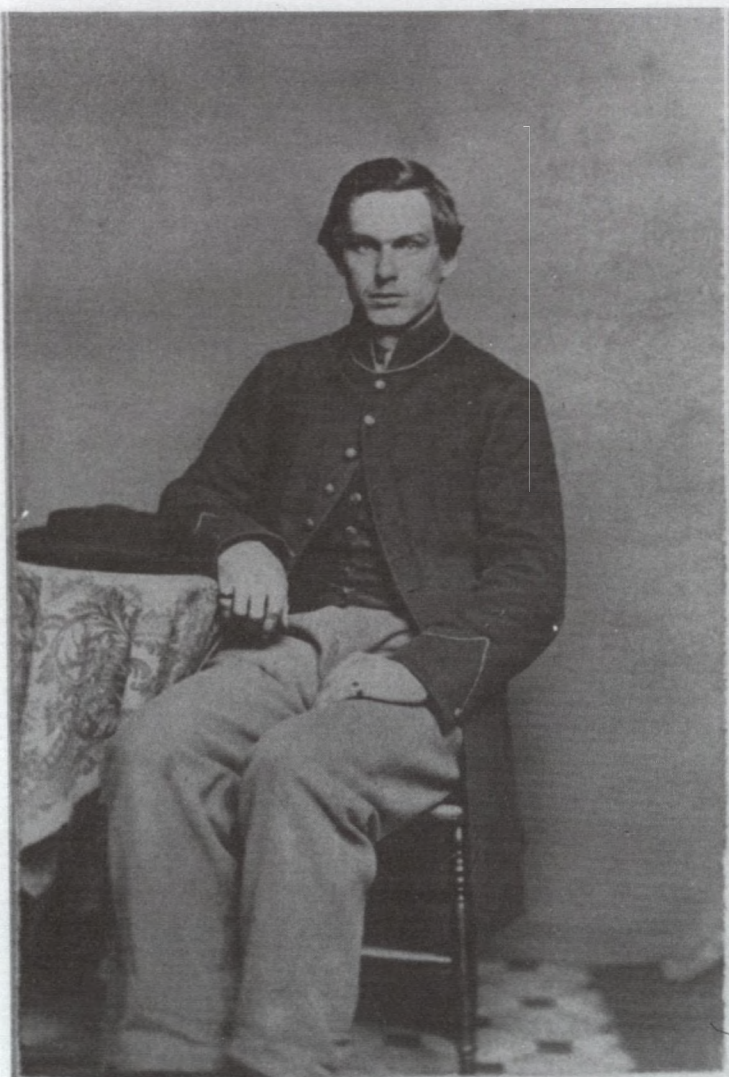
In certain cases, prejudice probably only aggravated tensions that would have occurred in any case. Marshall Bond recorded two run-ins he had with officious German officers. The first occurred in January 1863, as he and other 154th men were removing the wooden rafters of a stone grist mill on the Rappahannock. "Just as we got the last one almost off," Bond wrote, "Along came a dutch Officer that was on picket there, And asked us if we had got anny leave to tare down buildings on his post. we told him no." The officer then asked one of the group, Sergeant Horace Smith of Company D, what regiment he belonged to and where was his camp. "What did you say?" Smith replied, perhaps feigning an inability to understand the man's accented English. The officer repeated his questions, and Smith gave a noncommittal reply. "Up there," he said, but he neither looked in any direction nor made any motion. The officer ordered the group to leave the vicinity or he would report every one of them. The New Yorkers left, taking the rafters and boards they had cut with them to their camp. During the entire exchange, the German did not say a word to Bond or another officer of the 154th who was present—nor they to him.

In March 1863, as a detail under command of Bond was returning to camp after a round of picket duty, Private David W. Travis of Company C discharged his musket. "One of the Dutch Officers Came up to us & tried to find out who it was but could not do it," Bond reported. "So he Said he Should hold me responsible for it, & he Said he would give me til Afternoon to find out who it was." After the officer left, Travis owned up to being the culprit, but Bond never turned him in, because the German "did not tell [me] where to report."

On other occasions, alcohol fueled antagonistic encounters between members of the 154th New York and the Germans. "Had some trouble with a Couple of drunken Dutchmen," Lieutenant Bond noted on 17 January 1863, "but they pulled out And left me." Three days later, the Eleventh Corps slogged along on the notorious Mud March. Bond noted some problems with a German officer, possibly a division or corps staff officer. "Started out with a Dutch Colonel or Captain That was drunk, & we got off the Road & got lost, & he staid behind And we were out all night in The rain. it was Cold & awful muddy." Ten days later, snug in a new winter hut, Bond reported, "Slept very well. Only the Dutchmen Close by us got tight & hollored most all night, & kept lots of [us] awake a good share of the night."¹⁸

It seems likely that ethnic tensions exacerbated an incident that occurred on the morning of 28 February 1863. Private Joseph Cullen of Company B of the 154th was cutting firewood from a log near the camp of the 29th New York when he was ordered to stop by one of the 29th's sentinels, Private Leonard Horstman. Cullen refused to obey Horstman's demand, and continued chopping when confronted by the 29th's acting adjutant, Eugene Hinley, and members of the camp guard. "I don't care for your arrest," Cullen exclaimed to Lieutenant Hinley. "I shit on your arrest." Cullen swung his ax at the guard as they approached with fixed bayonets, but they finally subdued him by force. He gave a false name when arrested, but his true identity was quickly ascertained. Cullen was eventually found guilty by court martial and sentenced to three months of hard labor.¹⁹

While in winter camp at Stafford, the German regiments of Buschbeck's brigade



Joseph. Cullen. Co. B. 154013.

Private Joseph Cullen of Company B was found guilty by a court martial after an antagonistic encounter with German soldiers. *Courtesy of Michael Winey Collection, U.S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, PA*

pinned a nickname on the 154th that stuck with the regiment to the end of the war and beyond. It happened when the western New Yorkers engaged in some unscrupulous dealings with the Teutons. According to Private Charles W. McKay of Company C, the members of the 154th were fond of hardtack; the Germans preferred coffee. The 154th boys began to dry their used coffee grounds, bag them, and trade them to the Germans for hardtack, claiming the coffee was fresh. On discovering the deception, the Germans nicknamed the 154th men "Hardtacks," and shouted the name whenever a member of the 154th passed by their camps. In return, the 154th men yelled, "Coffee!" Other members of the regiment recorded variations in the name-calling. "The 154 Regt is call[ed] the hard tack regt," Private Martin Van Buren Champlin of Company C informed his sister, "and we named the 73 [Pennsylvania] Regt [the] Whiskey Regt."²⁰

According to Private George W. Newcomb of Company K, the bantering about nicknames had a sharp ethnic edge to it. "The Dutch Regts in our Brigade call our Regt the hard tack Regt and we call them the sour crout Regiments," Newcomb wrote. "They are all dutch in our Brigade except our Regt and they do not like us verry well We can hardly get any water to use but what some Dutchman has washed his ass in it." Newcomb's distaste for the Germans is evident, and it is hardly surprising to learn that the Germans reciprocated the feeling in the face of such prejudice.²¹

In general, contact between members of the 154th and the Germans seems to have been infrequent. If they went visiting, the Hardtacks shunned the nearby German regiments of their brigade; they preferred to walk to distant New York regiments to see hometown friends and family members from Cattaraugus and Chautauqua counties. In more than 1,300 surviving letters by members of the 154th, not one instance of friendship with German soldiers was recorded. There was, however, one particular German soldier who attracted the interest of the Hardtacks. As Sergeant Stephen Welch of Company C noted in February 1863, "Having fortunes told seems to be the order now-a-days, as there is an old Dutchman in the 29th [New York] that is pleasing the army by telling them that they will be home in three months." Many members of the 154th visited the fortune teller. In the opinion of Corporal Peter P. Mount of Company B, he was uncannily accurate: "He told some of the boys fortunes and told [the] very same things that had passed for a year back." One of the 154th's German-born members, Private Adam Herberner of Company K, became "half crazy" after a visit to the fortune teller when the German told him that a stay-at-home townsman was being intimate with his wife. Herberner swore he would show the suspect "one of those six eyed fellows [a revolver] when he gets home again," noted George Newcomb. (A month later Newcomb observed that Herberner "thinks his wife is an angel now," after learning she had given birth to his baby boy.) According to Joel Bouton, the seer "caused so much excitement" among the men that "Sigel has stopped his telling fortunes."²²

It was during the stay in winter camp that a momentous change occurred in the Eleventh Corps. General Sigel was discontented with the small size of his corps and displeased about serving under Joseph Hooker, who took command of the Army of the Potomac on 26 January 1863. Sigel consequently asked for and was granted a

leave of absence on 24 February 1863. He never returned to the Eleventh Corps. Twice Sigel requested to be relieved of command of the corps, but on both occasions no action was taken by the War Department. Sigel then changed his mind and decided to return to the corps, but by then it was too late—a new commander had been appointed.²³

Sigel's replacement, Major General Oliver Otis Howard, took command of the Eleventh Corps on 2 April 1863. Newcomer Howard was a Maine native, a West Point graduate, and a recent division commander in the Second Corps, widely known as the "Christian soldier" for his deep piety. His bravery was undoubted—he had lost his right arm at the Battle of Fair Oaks, Virginia, in 1862.²⁴

Despite his seemingly sound military qualifications, Howard received a chilly reception by his new command. The German element was deeply dismayed at the replacement of their hero, Sigel, and took an instant dislike to the new commander. They particularly resented Howard's emphasis on religion. And notwithstanding the often rancorous feelings they displayed towards their German comrades, the men of the 154th New York had continued to admire General Sigel. Overall, they too regretted his departure and the advent of Howard. "I heard yesterday that Gen. Sigel had resigned," Private William Charles of Company F wrote soon after Sigel took his leave of absence. "For one I am very sorry for I believe him to be a very good General and one that wishes to put down this Rebellion." After sizing up Howard, Private Edgar Shannon of Company B declared, "I believe I'd rather have Sigel." Private Harvey Earl of Company H thought that Howard "ant as smart a looking man as Sigel is, he hant got but one arme." However, some soldiers were impressed by Howard's empty right sleeve, and the bravery it symbolized. Corporal John N. Porter of Company H noted of his first encounter with the general, "I saluted him and he took the reins in his teeth and returned the salute."²⁵

In a letter to his brother, Private David S. Jones of Company K voiced both regret at Sigel's departure and satisfaction with Howard's appointment:

Yes the grand 11th corps has lost its idol. In looking over Seigl's [performance] and the acts of the corps it is impossible to find a place where the least might of fault can be attached. . . . You have seen much in the paper of the demoralization of the Potomac army [in the aftermath of the Battle of Fredericksburg and the Mud March]. that demoralization has never reached this corps, but admiring and idolizing its leader it has been ready for any duty or service. but Seigl is lost to us. You may judge of what Hooker thinks of us; for he has placed Gen. O. O. Howard in command of us, and who stands second to no officer in the army, and whose record is unblotted.²⁶

Ten days after Howard's appointment, Buschbeck's brigade was ordered to prepare to move the following day. On 13 and 14 April 1863, Buschbeck's men marched from their winter camps near Stafford Court House to Kelly's Ford on the upper Rappahannock, where they remained for the next two weeks, picketing the riverbank,

foraging the surrounding countryside for pigs and chickens, and fraternizing with Confederate cavalry pickets on the opposite shore. During the stay at the ford, Sergeant Alexander Bird of Company G recorded several aggravating encounters with German soldiers in his diary. "Went out in the country," he noted on 21 April. "Dutch Sergt tries to arrest me I cant see the point." On 22 April, "Had Brigade drill by Col Bushbeck big thing but I could not see it." 25 April: "Another Brigade drill dont understand Dutch orders consequently dont mind very good rather slow to execute." On the night of 26 April 1863, Buschbeck formed his brigade in line of battle in response to an erroneous report that the enemy was preparing to cross the river. The colonel rode along the line and said some encouraging words to each of his regiments. Members of the 154th recorded Buschbeck's words to the Hardtacks in an approximation of his thick accent: "Now, poys, ven de enemy make de attack, you pe not afraid, but joost shtand prave und cool, und shoot 'em town joost like shickens."²⁷

Making fun of German accents and carping about their forced association with the "sauerkrauts" seems like nothing more than petty behavior on the part of the Hardtacks. But the bickering between native-born and German members of the Eleventh Corps surely had a negative effect on the unit's esprit de corps and morale. Troops that one day would stand together to face the crucible of combat disliked each other, and that was an unfortunate state of affairs. The internal dissension worsened an already battered sense of unit pride. The Eleventh Corps was widely denigrated by the rest of the Army of the Potomac because of its large concentration of "Dutchmen," and because it was considered an outsider outfit that had never fought alongside the older troops. Consequently the corps was attacked by prejudice from the outside, and corroded by prejudice from the inside. Added to those factors was the negative reaction in the corps to the replacement of Sigel with Howard. The result was a poor state of morale.²⁸

On the evening of 28 April 1863 the 154th New York spearheaded the movement of the right wing of the Army of the Potomac across the Rappahannock, paddling pontoon boats across the river at Kelly's Ford and scattering the Confederate pickets on the southern shore. Four days later, the Eleventh Corps met its fate at Chancellorsville.²⁹

On 2 May 1863, the corps was positioned in clearings along the Plank Road, running east to west through a tangled forest aptly named the Wilderness. The Eleventh was stationed on the army's far right flank, where generals Hooker and Howard both believed it to be well out of harm's way. Hooker rode his white charger along the corps' line that morning, and was heartily cheered by the men. On returning to his headquarters at Chancellorsville, Hooker sent two dispatches to Howard cautioning him to be prepared in case of an attack from the west. Howard took no precautions in response to Hooker's warnings. During the day, Howard also ignored rumors and reports that a Confederate force was making its way westward beyond the thick screen of the Wilderness, headed for the corps' right flank. Howard was so unconcerned about a potential attack on his corps that he even left his headquarters at Dowdall's Tavern to accompany his largest brigade, the Second Brigade of Steinwehr's division, when it was ordered to support a distant probe by the Third Corps. The movement

was aimed at what proved to be the rear guard of a Confederate force commanded by Stonewall Jackson—the very force headed for the Eleventh Corps' right flank.

And so it happened that as afternoon waned, the men of the Eleventh Corps were cooking suppers, smoking pipes, playing cards, and lounging in general. Suddenly a tremendous racket erupted from the woods to the corps' west, and frightened deer, quail, and rabbits bolted from the forest and through the lines of the startled soldiers on the corps' far right. With an explosion of gunfire and the piercing keen of the Rebel yell, more than twenty thousand Confederates commenced the most famous surprise flank attack of the war.

Unprepared, unprotected, unsupported, and outnumbered by more than two to one, the Eleventh Corps was powerless to stop Jackson's juggernaut. The First Division, commanded by Brigadier General Charles Devens, Jr., was the first to be struck. It was soon shattered and sent reeling. Schurz's men—some of whom had been placed facing west by their wary commander—were able to offer more resistance, and when those two brigades were finally forced to retreat, many of the men rallied at the corps' final line, a shallow rifle pit stretched perpendicularly across the Plank Road near Dowdall's Tavern, defended by Buschbeck's brigade.³⁰

The 154th New York anchored the left flank of the so-called Buschbeck line. Positioned to the regiment's right were the 73rd Pennsylvania, the 27th Pennsylvania, the 29th New York, and rallied elements of Schurz's and Devens's divisions. With artillery support, the Buschbeck line momentarily blunted Jackson's attack. But the small force of approximately four thousand men could not resist the overwhelming onslaught for long, and soon the outflanked regiments on the right of the line gave way and retreated. A few companies of the 73rd Pennsylvania, noticing the Hardtacks still standing fast on their left, remained to fire another round with the New Yorkers. Seeing the regiment was in danger of being surrounded by the enemy and captured en masse, Colonel Patrick H. Jones of the 154th, the highest ranking officer of the Eleventh Corps left on the battlefield, gave the order to retreat. The regiment then had to cross an open field about eight hundred feet wide to reach the shelter of some woods, and many fell in making the attempt.³¹

The Hardtack Regiment's stand in the Buschbeck line on the evening of 2 May cost it severely. Killed, wounded, and missing in the 154th totaled 240 out of 590 present for duty, a ratio of 40 percent. It was the highest loss among Eleventh Corps regiments, and the fourth highest Union regimental casualty count in the Battle of Chancellorsville. The entire Eleventh Corps lost 2,426 casualties, approximately 22 percent, in its futile efforts to stem Jackson's attack.³²

Historians have agreed that no troops, as poorly placed and unprepared as the Eleventh Corps was at Chancellorsville, could have done much better in the face of Jackson's attack. Nevertheless, a storm of vituperation struck the corps in the aftermath of the battle, and much of it was directed at the Germans. Some of the abuse came from other corps of the Army of the Potomac. Other attacks came from the press. And while calumny rained on the Eleventh Corps from those sources, faultfinding erupted within the corps itself, and members of the 154th New York were quick to join in.

Many of the Hardtacks, describing the battle in letters to their home folk, mentioned the rout of Devens's and Schurz's divisions, and the unwillingness (for the most part) of those troops to rally on the Buschbeck line. "They run right back through our lines," declared Private Charles H. Field of Company B. George Newcomb accused Schurz's men of "running through us like so many frightened sheep." Many of the men also mentioned the early retreat of the rest of Buschbeck's brigade, with the exception of the few companies of the 73rd Pennsylvania that stood by the 154th. The 29th New York and 27th Pennsylvania "shamefully retreated," charged Private Isaac N. Porter of Company E. "The 29th N.Y. of our brigade ran like deer," Horace Smith wrote in his diary the night of the battle. Thinking about it a few days later he added bitterly, "How I would like to give them a volley of musketry from our guns." To a man, the soldiers of the 154th New York expressed pride in the regiment's stand, despite the overall disgrace of the Eleventh Corps. "Our regt fought like tigers," bragged Corporal Thomas R. Aldrich of Company B (who was wounded three times), "and were all cut to pieces. . . . I tell you we had a *hard* place in the fight. The [other Eleventh Corps] troops broke and run over us [as] we lay in the breast works." According to Surgeon Van Aernam, "Just now it is a reproach for a man to belong to the 11th Army Corps and the Dutch part of it did behave like slinks in the fight on the 2nd inst., but I am proud of the bravery, the heroism and the valor of the 154th!"³³

Private Allen L. Robbins of Company K scorned the Germans in a letter published by his local newspaper back home, the *Gowanda Reporter*:

We as a corps are demoralized, and a disgrace to the army of the Potomac, or at least we are said to be. I, for one, don't relish the name, but I am forced to bear it being one of that body. . . . Had it not been for some of the Irish comprising three companies in the 73d Pa., together with the 154th, they had scarcely saved them [the reserve artillery of the corps]. Our battalion with the help of those brave sons of Erin, held the ground till every dutch 'sour krout' had retreated to the woods or fallen in the attempt. For my part, I have no confidence in the fighting qualities of the Dutch.³⁴

Thirty years after the battle, Sergeant John F. Wellman of Company B composed an epic poem about Chancellorsville, and recalled the rout of Devens's and Schurz's divisions with sarcasm: "The flying Dutchmen, yelling mine Gott! / Ze whole Rebel army has got in our rear, / And if only Gen'l Fonz Seigle was here, / For we fights mit Ziegle, and runs mit Howard / And gives not a damn, if you call us a coward."³⁵

Other members of the 154th looked beyond the Germans for the cause of the rout, and many decided General Howard was the culprit. (Howard himself, in a post-battle letter to his wife, admitted, "The Germans and the Americans are many of them against me.") "So confident were our Gens. that we were going to have a great victory," observed Private Dwight Moore of Company H, "they met at the Headquarters of Gen. Howard the day the battle began, and had a grand jubilee. . . . The criminal negligence of Gen. Howard was the cause of our defeat." Stephen Welch stated flatly,

"I shall never believe that there was anyone to blame at the Battle of Chancellorsville for the stampede, except the General of the Corps." Allen Robbins, in his letter published in the *Gowanda Reporter*, agreed that Howard was culpable. "I am quite sure there was a great lack of generalship in the battle of Chancellorsville on the 2nd inst.," he wrote, "and circumstances point strongly to Gen. Howard as one of the delinquents on that (to us) unfortunate day. . . . Curse such stupidity!"³⁶

Responding to Robbins's letter with his own letter to the newspaper, Sergeant James M. Mathewson of Company K absolved Howard of blame, and attacked the Germans.

The faults were with the men, and not in their commanders. In the first place, they were mostly Germans, and were not satisfied because Sigel did not lead them; in the next place there were many of them two years men whose time was nearly out, and they did not like to be shoved into a hard fight.³⁷

Reflecting on the battle in the postwar years, former quartermaster sergeant Newton A. Chaffee agreed that resentment by the Germans of Sigel's replacement by Howard was a factor in the Eleventh Corps' performance at Chancellorsville. "How much of this feeling of resentment entered into and had to do with the Spirit and actions of that Army Corps that day, no one can tell," Chaffee said. "But we always believed, and we still think it was a very unwise move, the changing of those commanders."³⁸

At least one member of the 154th hesitated to assess blame in the wake of the rout. "You know that this Regiment belongs to the 11th corps," William Charles wrote to his wife. "And that is the corps that is so much blamed for Running a way from the Rebels instead of fighting them. Somebody were very much to blame but who it is I will not pretend to say. All I [will say] is this, that the Rebels came very near taking the whole of us, Supply trains and all!"³⁹

While the Hardtacks were castigating the actions of their German comrades, their German commanders of brigade and division were praising the stand of the 154th in the battle. "Our [brigade commander] Bushbeck said that we fought the best of any new Reg't he ever saw," wrote Private James W. Washburn of Company C. "The 11th Corps have got a bad name for running except [for] Bushbecks Brigade," observed Corporal John N. Porter of Company H. "The 154th are in that Brigade. [Colonel] Bushbeck said this Regt stood longer than they had ought to but we did not know when we were outflanked and supposed one Brigade could whip Jackson's whole Army." Musician Thaddeus Reynolds of Company I recorded with approval comments made by General Steinwehr and Colonel Buschbeck after the battle:

A. von Steinweigh rode up to our Lieut Col [Henry C. Loomis] yesterday while on drill and says he your Regt. is not large any more. Col. Loomis answered no they got badly cut up in the engagement. Well says the Gen. you did well boys and you have my best respects and highest gratifications. .

... Bushbeck thinks more of this Regt. now than any others in the brigade He is the finest dutch man that I ever saw He is not afraid to speak to a private and he thinks more of some privates than he does of one half of the shoulder straps.⁴⁰

In his official report of the Battle of Chancellorsville, General Steinwehr claimed that Buschbeck "withdrew his small brigade in perfect order" after its stand in the rifle pit near Dowdall's Tavern. Surgeon Van Aernam sent a copy of Steinwehr's report to his wife, and contradicted the general's version of Buschbeck's stand. "The real fact is the 27th [Pennsylvania] and 29th [New York] both skedaddled without showing fight," Van Aernam wrote, "and all the fighting that was done by his Division was done by the 73rd Pa. and our own Regiment. Both these Regiments are worthy of great praise—much more than they get in the report."⁴¹

Van Aernam also alleged that the Germans were seeking Colonel Buschbeck's promotion to brigadier general, and voiced the opinion that Colonel Jones of the 154th New York was the officer most deserving of promotion. Jones had fallen wounded in the hip and been captured at the rifle pit on 2 May 1863, and had returned on parole ten days later to a hero's welcome by his regiment before being hospitalized. "It seems the 'Dutch' powers that be are determined to make a General of Col. Bushbeck," Van Aernam wrote. "That is all right and proper if it can be done with justice to other parties, but if any officer in the 11th Corps has earned a commission as General for anything that was done in that rout Col. Jones is entitled to the position." (As things turned out, Buschbeck never received a promotion. Jones was promoted to brigadier general in December 1864, after commanding a brigade—including the remnants of Buschbeck's command—during the Atlanta Campaign and the March to the Sea.)⁴²

With Colonel Buschbeck absent sick, Colonel Charles R. Coster of the 134th New York (whose largely native-born regiment had replaced the discharged 29th New York) led the First Brigade at the Battle of Gettysburg. On the afternoon of the first day of the fighting, 1 July 1863, Coster's brigade was ordered from Cemetery Hill, where Steinwehr's division had been held in reserve, to the northeastern outskirts of town to cover the retreat of the Eleventh Corps. The 73rd Pennsylvania was detached from the brigade near the railroad station, and Coster's other three regiments hurried out Stratton Street to John Kuhn's brickyard, where they took position behind a post and rail fence with the 134th New York on the right, the 154th New York in the center, and the 27th Pennsylvania on the left of the line. Two Confederate brigades immediately attacked Coster's position. Outnumbering the Yankees by more than three to one, the Confederates outflanked both ends of the Union line and sent it reeling. The 154th New York retreated to the left, attempting to reach the brickyard's carriage gateway, and found that the 27th Pennsylvania had already fled and the escape route was blocked by the enemy. The regiment was practically surrounded, and most of the men were captured. Casualties in the 154th totaled 205 out of 265 engaged in the fight, a loss rate of 77 percent.⁴³

Extant letters written by the few Hardtacks that escaped the brickyard fight are

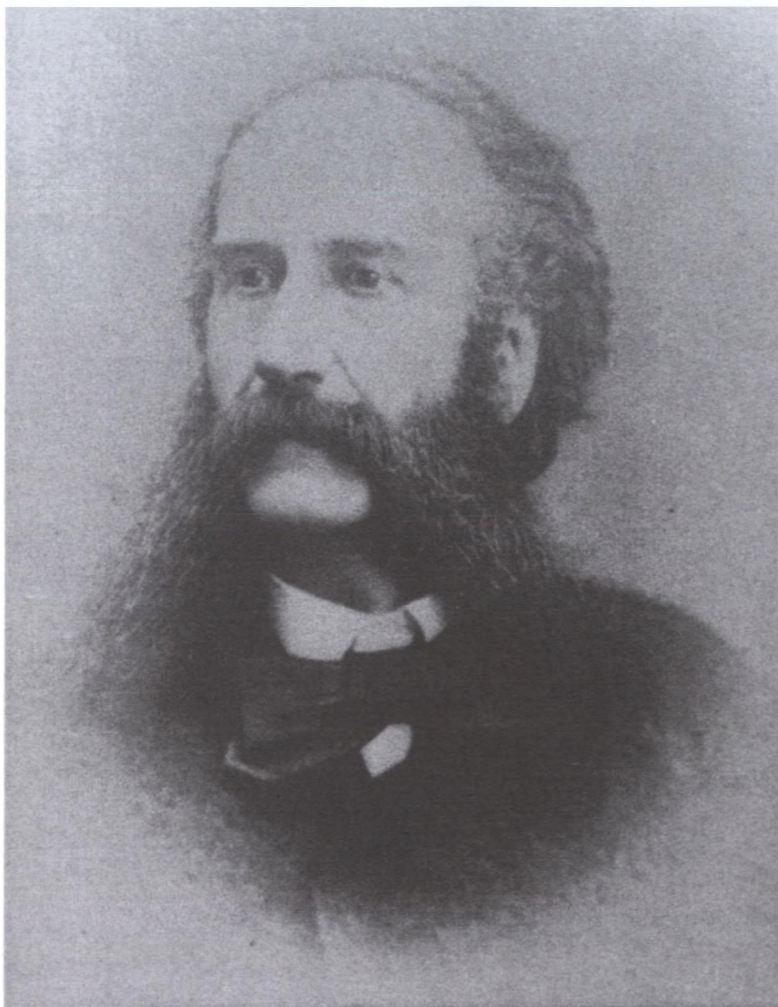
scarce. Consequently, comments by the men on the performance at Gettysburg of the 27th Pennsylvania (which reported a loss of 111 out of 324 engaged, a 34 percent casualty rate), and of the Eleventh Corps in general, are lacking. Nor are their observations available regarding the criticism that was leveled at the Eleventh Corps in the aftermath of the battle by the rest of the army and the press. And none of their remarks have been located regarding a proposition that emerged after the battle to break up the Eleventh Corps. Under the proposal, Steinwehr's division was to join the Second Corps, the First Division to join the Twelfth Corps, and Schurz's Third Division to become an independent command. Knowing their lack of respect for the German element of the Eleventh Corps, it seems safe to say that many of the members of the 154th would have approved of the plan.

Citing the widespread prejudice against the Eleventh Corps, General Steinwehr endorsed the proposal:

The officers and men of my division, although fully aware of the great injustice of this prejudice (particularly so far as themselves are concerned), yet feel its weight. Their consolidation with another corps, against which no such unfounded prejudice exists, seems, therefore, to me desirable and likely to affect them favorably. They have, moreover, the experience that even their gallant conduct at Gettysburg did not protect them against the repetition of these attacks from irresponsible newspaper correspondents, which unhappily influence and make public opinion.

Steinwehr was seconded by Buschbeck. "The unfortunate event at Chancellorsville," Buschbeck observed, "has cast a prejudice upon our corps which all subsequent efforts seem unable to destroy." Howard and Schurz also endorsed the plan. However, despite the approval of its leaders, the Eleventh Corps was not broken up. The corps nonetheless ceased to serve with the Army of the Potomac. Within a week after the Battle of Chickamauga in September 1863, the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps were detached from the army, placed under the overall command of General Hooker, and sent by rail to the relief of the beleaguered Army of the Cumberland in the western theater of the war. In October the Eleventh Corps played a key part in opening the famous Cracker Line that relieved the siege of Chattanooga, in November the corps took a secondary role in the smashing Union victory that drove the Confederates from their commanding positions on Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, and in December it was part of the force that marched to the relief of the siege of Knoxville.⁴⁴

In Tennessee, far from the disapproval of the Army of the Potomac, the Eleventh Corps felt it redeemed its reputation. But new-found pride in the corps only went so far. Despite all they had been through together at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg and the Tennessee campaigns, the Hardtacks continued to gripe about their German comrades. In January 1864 the 154th was sent to Kelley's Ferry to unload boat loads of rations, and when they returned to Lookout Valley, they found their old camp occupied by another regiment. Many of them complained, as Private Henry A. Munger



Postwar Portrait of Colonel Adolphous Buschbeck. According to Private Thaddeus Reynolds of Company I, Buschbeck was "the finest dutch man that I ever saw." *Courtesy of War Library and Museum, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Philadelphia, PA*

of Company F did, of consequently having to inhabit "an other old dutch camp." The German-built huts, the men judged, were "not so good as the ones we built," according to Martin Bushnell.⁴⁵

Continued dissatisfaction in serving with the Germans led Colonel Patrick Jones of the 154th to again seek to have the regiment transferred. According to Second Lieutenant Alonzo A. Casler of Company A, after the return to Lookout Valley from Kelly's Ferry, the 154th's new camp was separated from the rest of Buschbeck's regiments. "I think we are detached from our brigade at least I hope so," Casler wrote. He complained that the 154th New York and the 73rd Pennsylvania "always had to take the lead" instead of the "dutch commands," and "this is why we have always been cut up so" in battle. According to Casler, Colonel Jones had twice petitioned to general-in-chief Henry W. Halleck in Washington for the 154th to be relieved from Buschbeck's brigade. The first request had been relayed by either General Halleck or President Abraham Lincoln to General Howard, who had replied that the 154th could not be spared. The second request had brought a similar refusal. "So we have had to dutch it through," Casler stated.⁴⁶

While they continued to "dutch it through," the Hardtacks never tired of making fun of Colonel Buschbeck's accent. Years after the war, John Wellman recalled an amusing incident:

In camp at Lookout Valley one of Co. G's boys could mimic Col. Bushbeck to perfection. One day he got on a stump and went through the orders for brigade drill, imitating the colonel, while the boys laughed and hollered. But while the fun was going on, down the path comes Col. Bushbeck from the rear, and coming softly up put his hand on the boy's shoulders and said; "Dot will do, boy, when I is far, far away!" Our comrade was so scared that he nearly turned a somersault to the ground, while the colonel walked on, laughing.⁴⁷

On 11 March 1864, General Howard reviewed Buschbeck's brigade. "I wish you could have been present if for nothing more than to see and here our Brigade Commander command us," Martin Bushnell informed his parents. "He was one Dutcher. . . . His Regt will not reenlist and there time is out in May and I guess he will have to go home with them as he is not likely to be promoted to a Brig. Gen." Indeed, when the 27th Pennsylvania left the army in May 1864, Buschbeck returned to Philadelphia as a colonel. Despite his outstanding record as a brigade commander for the better part of two years, particularly at the battles of Chancellorsville and Chattanooga, Buschbeck never was granted a star, and even was ignored when brevet brigadier generalships were handed out wholesale at the end of the war. Similarly, Brigadier General Steinwehr's lengthy and commendable service as a division commander was never rewarded with promotion to the position's proper rank of major general, nor was he granted a brevet.⁴⁸

The cycle of prejudice against the Germans in the 154th New York was broken only when the Eleventh Corps ceased to exist. Preparing for his spring campaign,

Major General William T. Sherman ordered the consolidation of the Eleventh and Twelfth corps on 4 April 1864. The new organization was to be known as the Twentieth Corps, to be commanded by Hooker. The Eleventh Corps' crescent badge was dropped, and the Twelfth Corps' star adopted as the new badge, with no objections from the former Eleventh Corps men. In the reorganization, the German regiments were scattered throughout the new corps. Steinwehr, Schurz, and other Germans lost their commands in favor of native-born Twelfth Corps officers. Buschbeck was the only Eleventh Corps brigade leader to retain command (of the Second Brigade, Second Division), but less than a month into the spring campaign, he and his regiment left the army on the expiration of their term of service, and the purge was complete.⁴⁹

The Hardtacks were at last free of the Dutchmen, of the tainted crescent badge, and of the belittled Eleventh Corps. Wearing the white star badge of Major General John W. Geary's Second Division, Twentieth Corps, they fought repeatedly during the Atlanta Campaign and marched to the sea and through the Carolinas to the end of the war and victory—all the while possessing outstanding morale. On 24 May 1865, the 154th New York paraded with pride past cheering throngs crowding the avenues of Washington in the Grand Review of Sherman's army. At the head of their brigade rode one of their own, their admired former colonel, Brigadier General Patrick H. Jones. Colonel Buschbeck and his comical accent, generals Steinwehr and Sigel and all the other Dutchmen, were nothing more than memories.

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Notes

¹ A. Wilson Greene, "From Chancellorsville to Cemetery Hill: O. O. Howard and Eleventh Corps Leadership," in Gary W. Gallagher, ed., *The First Day at Gettysburg: Essays on Confederate and Union Leadership* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1992), 91; John Bigelow, Jr., *The Campaign of Chancellorsville* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1910), 479-80.

² Wilhelm Kaufmann, *The Germans in the American Civil War* (Carlisle, PA: John Kallman, 1999, reprint), 2; John J. Hennessy, "We Shall Make Richmond Howl: The Army of the Potomac on the Eve of Chancellorsville," in Gary W. Gallagher, ed., *Chancellorsville: The Battle and Its Aftermath* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 23; Bruce Catton, *Glory Road* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1952), 172.

³ Greene, "From Chancellorsville to Cemetery Hill," 58; Hennessy, "We Shall Make Richmond Howl," 24; Catton, *Glory Road*, 176.

⁴ Mark H. Dunkelman and Michael J. Winey, *The Hardtack Regiment: An Illustrated History of the 154th Regiment, New York State Infantry Volunteers* (East Brunswick, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1981), 21-23. Information about the men's ancestry is found in scores of biographical sketches in William Adams, editor, *Historical Gazetteer and Biographical Memorial of Cattaraugus County, N.Y.* (Syracuse: Lyman, Horton and Co., 1893) and *Presidents, Soldiers, Statesmen, 1776-1898* (New York, Toledo and Chicago: H. H. Hardesty, 1899).

⁵ Regimental descriptive books, National Archives, Washington, DC. The birthplace of one of the Germans was given as Prussia.

⁶ Frederick H. Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion* (Dayton, OH: Press of Morningside Bookshop, 1978), 318-20; John G. Rosengarten, *The German Soldier in the Wars of the United States* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1890), 201-3, 218; Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), 95-110; William L. Burton, *Melting Pot Soldiers: The Union's Ethnic Regiments* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1998), 76-77, 84-93, 101, 109; Augustus C. Hamlin, *The*

Battle of Chancellorsville, (Bangor, ME: published by the author, 1896), 37-43; Stephen D. Engle, *Yankee Dutchman: The Life of Franz Sigel* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1993), 147.

⁷ William F. Chittenden to Kindly remembered friends at home, 10 October 1862, author's collection; unidentified soldier to Dear Uncle and Aunt, in addendum to letter of Henry Cunningham to Absant friend, 11 October 1862, Cattaraugus County Memorial and Historical Museum, Little Valley, N.Y. Spelling and punctuation have been unchanged in quoting from soldiers' writings. Unless otherwise noted, the source first cited is the same for subsequent citations from the same soldier's letters.

⁸ Dunkelman and Winey, *The Hardtack Regiment*, 31; Burton, *Melting Pot Soldiers*, 101.

⁹ Alanson Crosby, letter of 23 October 1862, published in the *Cattaraugus Freeman*, 6 November 1862; Joel M. Bouton to Friend Stephen, 26 October 1862, courtesy of Maureen Koehl, Town of Lewisboro (New York) Historian, South Salem, NY; Oscar F. Wilber to Dear Uncle Nathan Wilber, 14 October 1862, courtesy of Beverly Geisel, Hamburg, NY; Marion Plumb to My Dear Wife, 17 October 1862, courtesy of Kenneth F. Plumb, Vienna, VA.

¹⁰ Barzilla Merrill to Well Ruba, 20 October 1862, courtesy of Doris Williams, Orange City, FL; Charles W. Abell to My Dear Dear Mother, 29 October 1862, courtesy of Jean Schultz, Westford, VT; John Dicher to Miss Sarah Frank, October 1862, courtesy of Scott Frank, Staunton, VA.

¹¹ Abell to My Dear Dear Mother, 29 October 1862; Lewis D. Warner to Friend Nelson P. [Wheeler], 21 October 1862, in *Pine Knots and Bark Peelers: The Story of Five Generations of American Lumbermen* (New York: Ganis and Harris, 1960), 64.

¹² Henry Van Aernam to My dear Dora, 15 October 1862, U.S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, PA (hereafter USAMHI); George A. Taylor to Dear Ellen and Friends, 22 October 1862, Chautauqua County Historical Society, Westfield, NY.

¹³ Dunkelman and Winey, *The Hardtack Regiment*, 34-36; Newell Burch diary, 14 and 15 November 1862, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul; Merrill to Ruba, 15 November 1862.

¹⁴ Crosby, letter of 8 December 1862, published in the *Cattaraugus Freeman*, 18 December 1862.

¹⁵ Bouton to Friend Steve, 7 December 1862.

¹⁶ Dunkelman and Winey, *The Hardtack Regiment*, 39-40, 43-44; Marshall O. Bond diary, 24 December 1862, 7 February 1863, courtesy of New York State Library, Albany; John F. Wellman, "Story of a Regiment's First Fight," poem courtesy of John M. Wellman, Jr., California City, CA.

¹⁷ Burch diary, 17 February 1863.

¹⁸ Bond diary, 8 January, 2 March, 17 January, 20 January, 30 January 1863.

¹⁹ Records of court martial of Private Joseph Cullen, 27 and 28 March 1863, File no. LL274, Folder 1, RG 153, Judge Advocate General (Army), National Archives.

²⁰ Charles W. McKay, "Three Years, or During the War with the Crescent and Star," *The National Tribune Scrap Book* (n.p., n.d.), 125; Martin V. B. Champlin to Sister Louise, 21 February 1863, courtesy of Louise Crooks, Shinglehouse, PA.

²¹ George W. Newcomb to Dear Wife, 6 March 1863, Lewis Leigh Collection, Book 36, no. 90, USAMHI.

²² Stephen Welch diary, 20 February 1863, courtesy of Carolyn Stoltz, Tonawanda, NY; Peter P. Mount to Dear Brother, 2 March 1863, courtesy of Evelyn E. Row, Willow Street, PA; Newcomb to Dear Wife, 1 March 1863, and 4 April 1863, author's collection; Bouton to Dear Steve, 3 March 1863. Bouton identified the fortuneteller as a member of the 74th Pennsylvania.

²³ Engle, *Yankee Dutchman*, 156-59; Dyer, *Compendium*, 318.

²⁴ Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Blue* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1981), 237-38.

²⁵ William Charles to Dear Ann, 6 March 1863, courtesy of Jack Finch, Freedom, NY; Edgar Shannon to My dear Frant, 10 April 1863, courtesy of Alberta McLaughlin, Frewsburg, NY; Harvey Earl to Dear brother, 12 April 1863, courtesy of Marguerite Whitcomb, Great Valley, NY; John N. Porter to Dear Sister, 2 April 1863, courtesy of Francis N. T. Diller, Erie, PA.

²⁶ David S. Jones to My ever dear brother, 3 April 1863, courtesy of Clara Jones, Salamanca, NY.

²⁷ Dunkelman and Winey, *The Hardtack Regiment*, 50-51; Alexander Bird diary, courtesy of Janet Bird Whitehurst, Los Banos, CA.; Franklin Ellis, ed., *History of Cattaraugus County, New York* (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts, 1879), 110.

²⁸ Hamlin, *The Battle of Chancellorsville*, 23; Hennessy, "We Shall Make Richmond Howl," 18; Greene, "From Chancellorsville to Cemetery Hill," 58.

²⁹ Dunkelman and Winey, *The Hardtack Regiment*, 51-53.

³⁰ Stephen Sears, *Chancellorsville* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1996), 237-38, 245, 247-48, 262-81, 286; Hamlin, *The Battle of Chancellorsville*, 64-78; Bigelow, *The Campaign of Chancellorsville*, 295-305.

³¹ Dunkelman and Winey, *The Hardtack Regiment*, 57-58, 60.

³² The three regiments whose losses exceeded those of the 154th New York were the 12th New Hampshire of the Third Corps (317), the 27th Connecticut of the Second Corps (291), and the 121st New York of the Sixth Corps (276). Sears, *Chancellorsville*, 286, 475-90, 492.

³³ Charles H. Field to Dear Cousin Adrian, 8 June 1863, courtesy of Patrick Gallagher, Sunnyvale, CA, and Phil Palen, Gowanda, NY; Newcomb to Dear Wife, 9 May 1863, USAMHI; Isaac N. Porter to Friend Murray, 13 May 1863, State University of New York, College at Fredonia; Horace Smith diary, 2 and 5 May 1863, Mazomanie (WI) Historical Society; Thomas R. Aldrich to Dear Mother, 6 May 1863, courtesy of Patricia Wilcox, Fairport, NY; Van Aernam to My dearest Lis, 15 May 1863.

³⁴ Allen L. Robbins, undated letter in *Gowanda Reporter*, undated clipping, Cattaraugus County Historical Museum, Little Valley, NY.

³⁵ Wellman, "Story of a Regiment's First Fight."

³⁶ O. O. Howard to Dearest, 26 May 1863, O. O. Howard Papers, Bowdoin College Library, Brunswick, ME; Dwight Moore to Dear Mother, 8 May 1863, Moore pension file, National Archives; Stephen Welch to My Dear Wife, 12 July 1863, courtesy of Carolyn Stoltz, Tonawanda, NY; Robbins, undated letter in *Gowanda Reporter*, undated clipping.

³⁷ James M. Mathewson to Eds. Reporter, 13 June 1863, *Gowanda Reporter*, undated clipping, Cattaraugus County Historical Museum, Little Valley, NY.

³⁸ Newton A. Chaffee, Decoration Day address at Versailles, NY, 1896, manuscript, Gowanda Area Historical Society, Gowanda, NY.

³⁹ Charles to Dear Ann, 11 May 1863.

⁴⁰ James W. Washburn to Absent Parents, 12 May 1863, Washburn pension file, National Archives; Porter to Brother Thorpe, 9 May 1863; Thaddeus Reynolds to Dear friends at home, 20 May 1863, Reynolds pension file, National Archives.

⁴¹ U.S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: The Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1880-1901; cited hereafter as OR), Series I, Vol. 25, Part 1, 645-46; Van Aernam to My dearest Lis, 15 May 1863.

⁴² Van Aernam to My dearest Lis, 15 May 1863.

⁴³ Mark H. Dunkelman and Michael J. Winey, "The Hardtack Regiment in the Brickyard Fight," *Gettysburg Magazine*, No. 8, January 1993, 16-30; Mark H. Dunkelman, "'We Were Compelled to Cut Our Way Through Them, and in Doing so Our Losses Were Heavy:' Gettysburg Casualties of the 154th New York Volunteers," *Gettysburg Magazine*, no. 18, 56.

⁴⁴ Warren W. Hassler, Jr., *Crisis at the Crossroads: The First Day at Gettysburg* (University: University of Alabama Press, 1970), 148; OR, Series I, Vol. 27, Part 3, 778, 779-80, 785.

⁴⁵ Dunkelman and Winey, *The Hardtack Regiment*, 99; Henry A. Munger to Friend Cassius, 31 January 1864, author's collection; Bushnell to Dear Parents, 29 January 1864.

⁴⁶ Alonzo A. Casler to My Darling Wife, 29 January 1864, courtesy of Marjorie D. Hazen, Ashland, Ohio, and Clark Casler, Jamestown, NY Copyright Marjorie D. Hazen and Clark Casler. Used by permission.

⁴⁷ John F. Wellman, "The Fun in Army Life: Laughable Occurrences in Camp," *Cattaraugus Republican*, 19 September 1902.

⁴⁸ Bushnell [to parents], 12 March 1864.

⁴⁹ New York State Monuments Commission, *In Memoriam: Henry Warner Slocum 1826-1894* (Albany: J. B. Lyon Co., 1904), 228-30, 232.

Timothy G. Anderson

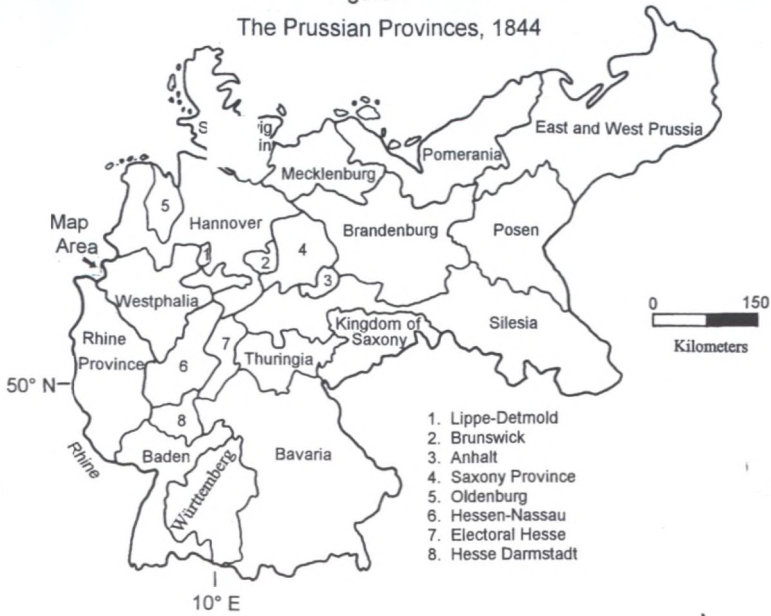
On the Pre-Migration Social and Economic Experience of Nineteenth-Century German Immigrants

Introduction

Overseas migration and immigration are central tenets of American history, a constant theme running throughout the chronicle of the country. Of the literally hundreds of ethnic and immigrant groups that have contributed to the making of today's plural society, Germans have been among the most influential, both in terms of raw numbers of immigrants who arrived during the nineteenth century and in terms of cultural contributions to American life. Immigrants from the German lands accounted for at least six million of those who entered the United States between 1830 and World War II, or about one in five. The influence of such a large immigration on the ancestral makeup of the American population is clearly reflected in recent census data: just over 26 percent of those sampled in the long form in 1980 reported German ancestry, the largest of any single ancestral group.¹

Since immigration is such a prominent part of the history of the country it is also central to the popular images and ideals that Americans have concerning their past. But it is not an overstatement to say that much of this imagery and history has been romanticized in the country's popular culture. In part, Anglo-conformity and the growth of a strong national cultural model in which immigrants are believed to have assimilated into an American democratic and individualistic ideal explain this. That is, nineteenth-century peasant immigrants, arriving destitute from a largely unfree Europe, are believed to have achieved economic success by discarding their own cultural identities in favor of democracy and individualism ("American" traits), as well as by virtue of hard work, frugality, and religious morality. Lending further credence to such myths, earlier generations of American academicians also embraced the romantic idealism inherent in this model of immigrant adaptation (or maladaptation), from Frederick Jackson Turner to the "classic" immigration historians.² For example, Marcus Lee Hansen's nineteenth-century peasants were pushed out of Europe not only by overpopulation and poverty, but also by the constrictions placed upon individual liberty by despotic monarchies.³ Even in Oscar Handlin's classic study, members of an alienated, innocent, and naïve European peasantry became an "army of emigrants," pushed and pulled by forces at work beyond their control, who found collective success in the promised land by shedding their peasant past and embracing American

Figure 1
The Prussian Provinces, 1844



Province Westphalia, 1820



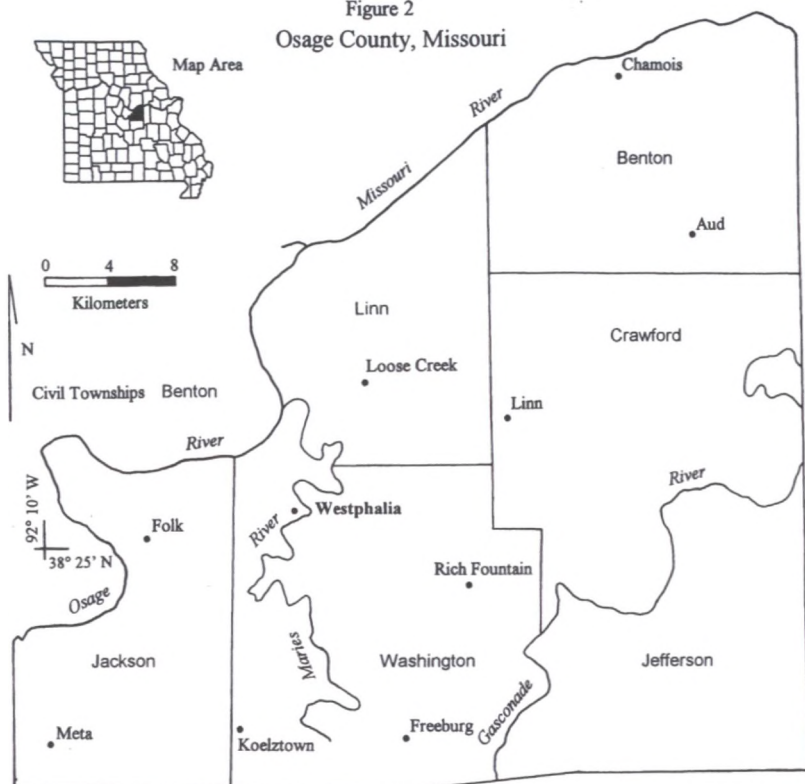
democratic ideals.⁴

At issue is not that this history is an altogether false history, but rather that it is a history that has been homogenized, sanitized, and idealized to fit national myths and beliefs. Resultantly, the extent of the economic success of nineteenth-century immigrants, as well as the forces at work in that success, have been idealized and sanitized as well. In this powerful version of events, immigrant success came only with acceptance of, and complete assimilation into, an American ideal. So too, nineteenth-century European immigrants have more often than not been homogenized into one ideal type—the destitute and largely naïve peasant—with little attention paid to country or region of origin. This history, seen largely from only an American point of view and failing to take space and place into account, is a cloudy history, and it has cloaked a complete understanding of such an important part of our past.

To be sure, much of this cloudiness results from the failure of early studies to take into account the place-specific social and economic milieu from which the immigrants came, or to even bother to find out from where immigrants originated in specific countries and locales. However, historian Frank Thistlethwaite's urgent plea in 1960 to lift the "salt-water curtain" separating immigrant communities in the United States from their source regions in Europe encouraged social scientists to reexamine nineteenth-century trans-Atlantic migrations from the perspective of new research agendas.⁵ In response to this challenge, several detailed and comprehensive studies have appeared that follow immigrants from place of birth in Europe to place of death in the United States, focusing on the pre-migration experience of specific immigrant cohorts and in the process doing much to help lift the curtain shrouding the total trans-Atlantic migration experience.⁶

Given the fact that such a research agenda relies heavily on individual-level data from specific source communities it is hardly surprising that such studies are few in numbers. Depending on the country of origin, such data are often difficult to locate or are not extant. Which is to say nothing of the difficulty in tracing persons back to small source villages. When these data can be located, however, the results can be fruitful and enlightening. If we know from where the immigrants came and from what kind of an economic atmosphere they came, and if we know where they went and can analyze how they progressed economically, then we can gain a fuller understanding of the complete process from start to finish and arrive at more unbiased conclusions as to why they left and how they fared in the United States. Within this context, this study employs individual-level socioeconomic data contained in Prussian tax rolls and local parish records to reconstruct the pre-migration experience in northwestern Germany of a sizeable group of immigrants who settled in Osage County, Missouri, in the mid-nineteenth century. Based on the analysis of these data, the study argues that rural German peasant society was not one dimensional in nature, as often portrayed by earlier immigration historians, but rather far more intricate and multi-faceted in terms of socioeconomic class and land ownership. Those who emigrated to the United States in the nineteenth century tended to come from specific socioeconomic niches within this class-based society and in doing so took a proactive rather than a reactive role in their own economic betterment. Further, the study

Figure 2
Osage County, Missouri



Source: *Standard Atlas of Osage County, Missouri* (Chicago: George A. Ogle & Co., 1913)

posits that the relative success of this group on the Missouri agricultural frontier can in part be explained by its pre-migration experience in northwestern Germany, which in effect pre-adapted the group for a fully market-driven socioeconomic experience in Missouri.⁷

Pre-Migration Socioeconomic Patterns

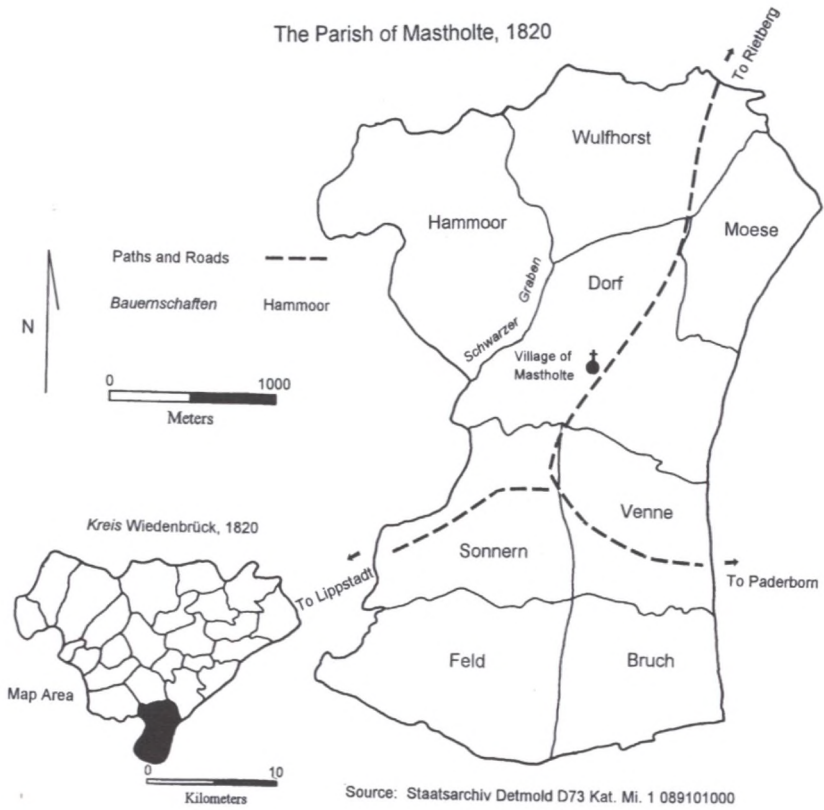
Unlike the Scandinavian countries, where detailed parish registers survive, migration records for the German lands are incomplete and geographically scattered at best, missing or nonexistent at worst. The Prussian government, however, kept rather complete records of emigration, consisting of lists provided to the district governments by the *Landrat* (County Magistrate) of the various counties. The emigrant lists for the Westphalian districts of Münster and Minden (although not nearly as complete) have been transcribed and published and include legal as well as clandestine emigration.⁸ Rather complete lists from the lower Rhineland have been transcribed and published as well.⁹ These lists record places of origin, occupations, names, and sometimes ages of those in the emigrant party, as well as emigration date and occasionally the geographic destination of the emigrants, although more often than not this simply appears as *Amerika* or *Nordamerika*.

While such data are quite valuable in identifying emigrant source villages and dates of migration, they reveal little in terms of the socioeconomic status of individual migrants. And although the emigration lists give the occupation of the migrant heads of household, occupations are more often than not identified by simple generic terms, such as "farmer" or "tailor," terms that fail to accurately describe or take into account the broad range of social and economic classes that typified nineteenth-century German society. Given the fact that early modern European societies were stratified into rather rigid class categories and distinctions, this information is vital if one is to gain a full understanding of such societies or the forces driving phenomena such as migration.

Records that detail social structure in rural German villages are few and far between; those that survive are often found in smaller archives rather than at federal or district-level repositories. One such set of records that survive in scattered archives is the Prussian *Klassen-Steuer-Liste* (literally "Class-Tax-Lists"). Essentially the annual rolls of government tax assessors, these lists detail a wealth of information for each household in each tax administrative unit (*Steurgemeinde*): head of household, number of persons in each household, income, debt, tax class, land ownership, livestock ownership, and property and head tax payments. Given such detailed information, the analysis of these lists yields a rather accurate account of the socioeconomic structure of individual villages, especially since the assessors assigned a socioeconomic class to each household based on tax payment. Since tax payment was a function of income, one's tax and economic class correlated well with land ownership.

Between 1841 and 1880 nearly 300 families migrated from the small Prussian parish of Mastholte in the eastern part of the province of Westphalia (figure 1)—many of them as part of a chain migration that spanned two generations—to three

Figure 3



small immigrant communities in Osage County, Missouri: Westphalia, Loose Creek, and Rich Fountain (figure 2). The parish united the two *Gemeinden* (towns in the New England sense of the word) of Mastholte and Moese in *Kreis* (County) Wiedenbrück, ten kilometers south of the town of Rietberg in the Minden administrative district. In 1843 the parish had a population of 2,180.¹⁰ Each *Gemeinde* corresponded to a tax administrative unit (*Steuergemeinde*), with each of those units broken down further into *Bauernschaften*, groups of farms with common historical roots, such as shared communal fields (figures 3 and 4).

Fortunately the *Klassen-Steuer-Liste* for Mastholte and Moese survive in the city archives at Rietberg and are nearly complete for much of the nineteenth century. The data contained in these lists from five sample years just before and during the onset of the migration to Osage County were analyzed in order to reconstruct the pre-migration socioeconomic environment in these two sending communities.¹¹ When combined with the data from official emigration lists a much clearer picture of the socioeconomic status of individual emigrants emerges.

The tax roll data, combined with vital statistics information gleaned from parish registers, reveal a rather rigid proto-industrial community structure, typical of similar small villages in northwestern Germany in the early nineteenth century (table 1).¹² The parish was numerically dominated by cottagers (*Kötter*) and share-croppers (*Heuerlinge*) well into the nineteenth century. Cottagers and sharecroppers typically owned neither house nor land, but rather rented a small cottage or out-building and a small plot of land from a landed peasant. Sharecroppers were also often obliged to work from time to time on their landlord's farm, sometimes without cash remuneration (the so-called *Heuerling* system).¹³ Such stipulations were often spelled out in written contracts.¹⁴ Subsistence came from any wage earned on the farm and, as in much of eastern Westphalia, was necessarily supplemented with the sale of domestically-produced linen thread at regional city or state-controlled markets (*Leggen*) as well as with seasonal migratory labor, often in Holland (such migratory laborers were known as *Hollandgänger*).

In the *Gemeinde* of Moese 33 percent of the households held over 97 percent of the arable in 1847 (figure 5). Of the 1,175 hectares of arable, the eleven large peasant farmers (*Vollmeier*), just 4 percent of the total number of households, held 498 hectares, about 42 percent. Likewise, medium-large farmers (*Halbmeier*) accounted for only 3 percent of all households, but they held just under 20 percent of the arable between them. Small and medium peasant farmers (*Eintäger* and *Zweitäger*, respectively) comprised roughly 15 percent of all households, but although the *Eintäger* held almost 19 percent of the arable this was split between thirty-five farmers (13 percent of the population) such that the mean holding was only 6.6 hectares.¹⁵ As a group the thirty-three cottager households in Moese comprised about 12 percent of all households and held about 7 percent of the arable, although technically they cannot be considered as landed since they usually did not own their holdings outright. The majority of the cottagers are also listed as day-laborers (*Tagelöhner*) in the tax rolls, supplementing small agricultural incomes with day work on larger peasant farms in addition to cash income earned from spinning.

Figure 4

Bauernschaft Hammoor, Parish of Mastholte, 1837



Source: Staatsarchiv Detmold. D73 Kat. Mi. 1. 089101021

the households, the remaining majority, almost 64 percent, was comprised of those with no land holdings at all. Numerically, this proportion of the population was dominated by sharecroppers, day laborers, or those who took part in both activities (about 30 percent of all households). Maids (*Mägde*) and male farmhands (*Knechte*) encompassed the rest of the landless population. In most cases these individuals were the sons and daughters of sharecroppers or cottagers who had not married or were not heirs to the family farm. Most were young and single and worked as wage laborers on the farms of landed peasants.

The socioeconomic patterns found in Mastholte are best explained by the widespread development and occurrence of sharecropping as a characteristic form of labor control in proto-industrial regions, a system in which landed peasants and the propertyless were bound together economically. The landed peasant needed the cheap (or even free) labor of the sharecropper on the farm, as well as the income generated from the rental of cottages and small tracts of land. Conversely, the propertyless *Heuerlinge* needed a cottage in which to live and a piece of land on which to grow flax (the raw material for linen) and subsistence crops. Sharecropping (the *Heuerling* system in northwestern Germany during this period) met the needs of both.¹⁶

The *Heuerling* system and the linen industry allowed a large propertyless class of peasants to subsist by providing a dwelling to live in and a piece of land to rent. Spinning, especially, was turned to as a source of income since it required little initial capital outlay and because a well developed market for such products had become established in northwest Germany as well as abroad. All that one needed to enter into business and start a family was a spinning wheel and a place to undertake the activity (the peasant cottage). As such, propertyless peasants could enter into the cottage linen industry on their own, selling homemade linen thread at regional markets (the so-called *Kaufsystem*). Since children were seen as an economic asset in such an economy family size steadily increased over time. In Moese in 1847 the mean cottager household size was 5.9, the mean sharecropper household 4.5. Because the *Heuerling* system could support a relatively large propertyless class and because the *Kaufsystem* allowed individual participation in the linen industry, there were few disincentives to curtail marriage and reproduction. Over time this tended to produce a relatively large and densely settled population of peasants whose subsistence came not wholly from agricultural activities, but rather from agriculture combined with cottage industry.¹⁷ Birth, death, and marriage records kept by parish priests at Mastholte reveal this trend (figure 6). The birth rate in the parish remained high, between thirty and forty-seven per thousand, and well above the death rates during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. As a result the population increased from 1,441 in 1802 to 2,181 in 1843, interrupted only then during the mid-1840s and 1850s by emigration to the United States.¹⁸

Emigration Push Factors

As long as a reliable market existed for domestically produced linen products and as long as the technology used in their production remained fairly static and inexpensive the *Heuerling* system, combined with cottage industry, could support and

Table 1. Socioeconomic Statistics, *Gemeinde Moese*, Parish of Mastholte, 1847

Class/Occupation	N ¹	Family Size ²	Land Ownership ³	% ⁴
<i>Landed</i>				
Small Peasant	35	5.1	6.6	12.8
Cottager	20	3.1	3.1	7.3
Cottager/Day-Laborer	13	5.9	1.4	4.8
Large Peasant	11	6.2	45.3	4.0
Medium-Large Peasant	8	6.1	28.2	2.9
Medium Peasant	6	6.2	21.2	2.2
New Farmer & Day-Laborer	5	4.6	1.0	1.8
Landed Share-Cropper	1	<u>2.0</u>	<u>5.0</u>	<u>0.4</u>
Subtotal	99			36.2
<i>Landless</i>				
Share-Cropper/Day-Laborer	51	4.5	0.0	18.7
Day-Laborer	28	4.1	0.0	10.3
Spinner	26	2.7	0.0	9.5
Pensioner	9	2.6	0.0	3.3
Pensioner/Day-Laborer	5	4.2	0.0	1.8
Merchant	1	3.0	0.3	0.4
Teacher	1	1.0	0.0	0.4
Priest	1	<u>1.0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>0.4</u>
Subtotal	122			44.7
<i>Servants</i>				
Female Maid	31	1.0	0.0	11.4
Male Farmhand	<u>21</u>	<u>1.0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>7.7</u>
Subtotal	52			19.1
Total 273 (Total Population = 1,075)				100.0

¹Number of Households in Category²Mean Household Size in Category³Mean Size of Holding in Class/Occupation Category, in Hectares⁴Percentage of All Households

Source: Stadtarchiv Rietberg, Best. 1083

absorb a growing propertyless population. Beginning in the 1830s, however, two profound changes in the textile industry rapidly upset the balance between subsistence and poverty that the *Heuerling* system and the *Kaufsystem* provided. First, cotton from the American South replaced linen from the Continent and Ireland as the fabric of choice in the global textile market. Second, mechanized production of textile products in a centralized factory setting in Great Britain undercut hand production organized through a decentralized rural industry in Germany.¹⁹

Hardest hit by such developments were those propertyless peasants most dependent upon the cash income from the sale of home-produced linen products, but the transition also produced a general downturn in the economy that affected the lower strata of the population in general. The price of linen yarn began to fall in the 1820s, intensified in 1830s, and reached a low point in 1848 during a disastrous harvest year that saw the prices for most grains bottom out.²⁰ During this low point in 1848 linen exports from northwest Germany came to a virtual standstill.²¹ Whereas over 84,000 linen spinners were counted in Prussia in 1849, just over 14,500 were enumerated only twelve years later in 1861; the Minden district alone registered a decline in the number of spinners from 19,279 to 5,059 over the same period.²²

In effect unemployed, the propertyless class of cottagers and sharecroppers in rural proto-industrial communities tended to respond to this crisis, which presented the very real possibility of poverty, in different ways. Some turned to a greater reliance on day labor and extra-regional migratory work, often in the herring industry in Holland. Some turned to migrate to emerging industrial districts in Germany, as Rothert found in a study of the background of workers at two mining firms in Bochum.²³ Still others chose to migrate to rural areas in the United States where it can be argued they believed that they would not be under direct capitalist control. Such was the choice for some 300 families from the parish of Mastholte who left for rural Missouri in the 1840s and 1850s.

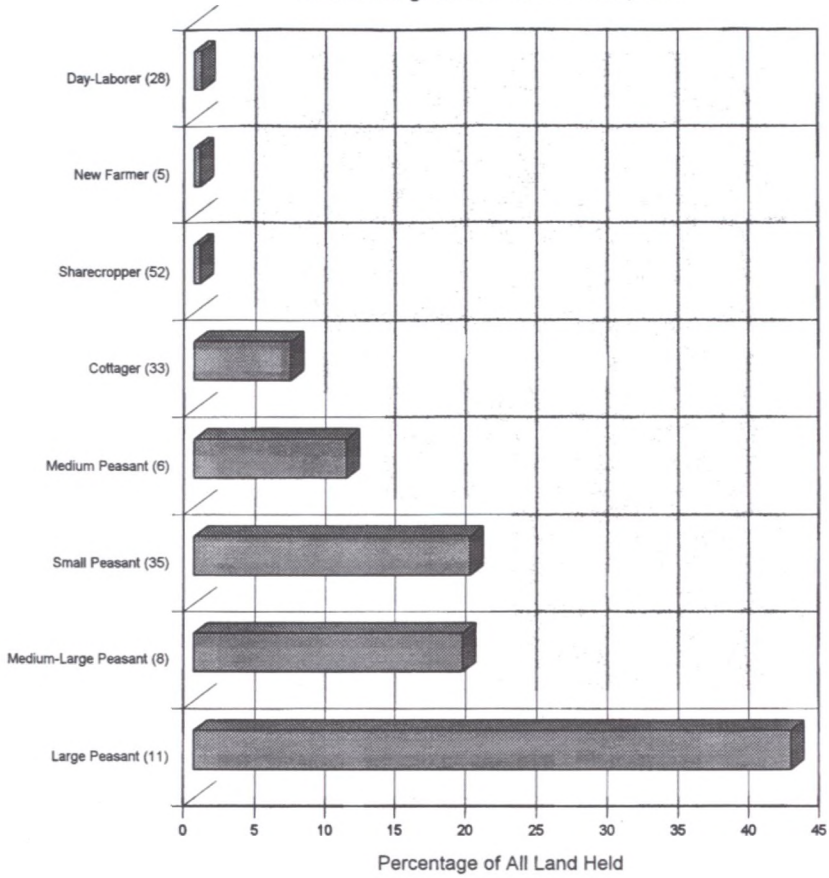
An examination of the socioeconomic background of those that emigrated from Mastholte, facilitated by information culled from tax rolls and official emigration lists, reveals that the propensity to emigrate varied according to socioeconomic standing (table 2). Seven of every ten emigrant heads of household from the parish were propertyless or were cottagers who rented very small tracts of land, that part of the population most dependent upon supplementary income from domestic industry. Numerically, cottagers, followed by day-laborers, farmhands, maids, and sharecroppers, dominated the emigrant cohort. The data also show that a clear majority of the emigrants were young and single. Even the average cottager emigrant household was comprised of only two people—young married couples with no children. Maids were, on the average, twenty-three at the time of emigration, day-laborers and farmhands twenty-six, and cottagers about thirty.

Conclusions—Emigrants and Preadaptations in Northwest Germany

While “classic” immigration studies portray European peasant societies as uniform (especially in terms of socioeconomic class) and peasant immigrants as reactive

Figure 5

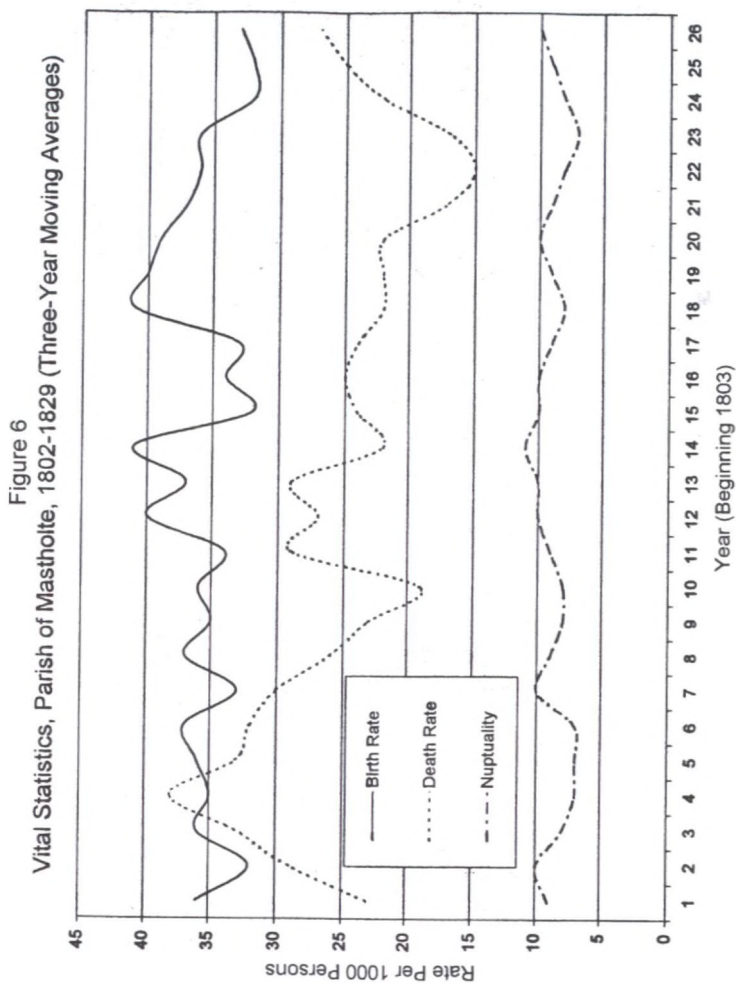
Land Holdings in Gemeinde Moese, 1847



Source: Stadtarchiv Rietberg, Best. 1083

automatons without any other choice but flight from an undemocratic Europe, this and other studies have shown that this depiction is a simplification of historical reality. Three main points have been outlined here, each of which questions such classical and popular assumptions. First, it is clear that German peasant society in the early nineteenth century was itself highly stratified into landed and landless elements. Landed peasants generally did well as successful agrarian capitalists within the *Heuerling* system as landlords to sharecroppers, and migration overseas or elsewhere was generally not necessitated during the crisis years of the 1830s and 1840s.²⁴ Second, it is clear from the data presented in this survey that this migration was highly selective, that is the poorest of the poor did not, on the average, choose the option of overseas migration. While sharecroppers accounted for a large share of the population of the parish of Mastholte, they are underrepresented in the emigrant population. These persons most likely remained at home, turning to a greater reliance on day labor or seasonal work, or moved to emerging industrial districts where wage labor was still available. The poorest stratum of the population could not, in all likelihood, afford the cost of the trans-Atlantic passage, especially if one had a large family, which most did. Cottagers, on the other hand, either held or rented large enough parcels to reap some agricultural income. Even so, cottagers with large families did not migrate from Mastholte. While the average cottager family in the parish numbered almost seven persons, virtually all of the cottagers that emigrated overseas during the study period had no children. Maids, farmhands, and day-laborers, as wage earners who usually lived with their employers and thus paid little or no rent, had the opportunity to save for the cost of travel. Moreover, as friends and other family members became established in growing immigrant communities in Osage County, Missouri, the economic and social costs of overseas migration were significantly lessened. Third, it is evident that conscious choices were made by members of the peasantry in the parish when faced with crisis in the 1830s and 1840s, but that overseas migration was a choice made by relatively few. At least in the case of these German immigrants those few were clearly not as downtrodden or naïve as portrayed in popular perception and imagery. The *Kaufsystem* was a system in which domestic producers were relatively free from direct capitalist control. That is, peasant cottage industry producers in this system exercised control over how much and when they could produce and at which markets to sell their products. To take a job in a factory or mine would result in a loss of such independence. For those cottagers and others who could garner enough capital through minimal agricultural activities or day labor for the overseas passage, a conscious choice not to become proletarianized appears to have been made by going to a place where they believed they would not be under direct capitalist control, in this case the Missouri agricultural frontier.

Finally, based on the results of this analysis I argue that the emigrant cohort that migrated to Missouri carried with them traits that in effect preadapted them for economic success in the United States, although this was largely serendipitous. The concept of preadaptation refers to sets of traits held by a group of people that give that group a competitive advantage, in the ecological sense, in their interaction with a new environment.²⁵ While Jordan and Kaups's study of Fenno-Scandian preadaptive



Sources: St. Jakobus Catholic Parish, Mastholte, Germany, Births, Death, and Marriage Registers

Table 2. Emigrant Cohort Characteristics, Parish of Mastholte, 1800-1900

Class/Occupation	N ¹	%	Family Size ²	Age ³
Medium Peasant	2	0.7	1.0	28.5
Medium-Large Peasant	2	0.7	8.5	n.a.
Pensioner	3	1.0	2.5	58.5
Large Peasant	10	3.4	7.0	49.8
Small Peasant	11	3.7	6.0	45.6
Sharecropper	13	4.4	3.4	39.4
Female Maid	25	8.4	1.0	22.9
Male Farmhand	34	11.5	1.0	26.0
Day Laborer	46	15.5	1.0	25.8
Other ⁴	64	21.5	n.a.	n.a.
Cottager	87	29.3	2.0	30.3
<i>Total</i>	297	100.0		

¹Number of heads of household²Mean size of emigrant families in class/occupation category³Mean age at emigration of head of household⁴Persons listed in emigration lists but not found in tax roll data

Sources: Stadtarchiv Rietberg Best. 1050, Best. 1057, Best. 1064, Best. 1083, Best. 1090; Friedrich Müller, "Westfälische Auswanderer im 19. Jahrhundert – Auswanderung aus dem Regierungsbezirk Minden, II. Teil, 1816-1900," *Beiträge zur westfälischen Familienforschung* 38-39 (1980-1981), 3-711; Friedrich Müller, "Westfälische Auswanderer im 19. Jahrhundert – Auswanderung aus dem Regierungsbezirk Minden, II. Teil, Heimliche Auswanderung 1814-1900," *Beiträge zur westfälischen Familienforschung* 47-48 (1989-1990), 7-762.

traits introduced into the lower Delaware Valley and later adopted by Scots-Irish pioneers focuses largely on ecologically preadaptive trait complexes, a more recent study by Karl Raitz suggests that Irish immigrants in the Kentucky Bluegrass and the Nashville Basin brought with them culturally preadaptive trait complexes (such as experience with masonry and an extensive kinship system) that served them well in the Border South.²⁶ I suggest a similar characterization of certain traits possessed by the German immigrants in this study. The immigrants brought with them generations of collective experience with, and active involvement in, a commercial agro-industrial system. These individuals were leaving an area where their economic function in the world economy had been marginalized by technical and structural change, and going to an area where it had not. In other words, one can surmise that they were relatively well informed about how the world economy worked since they had, through protoindustry, long been participants in it. As active participants in the *Kaufsystem* in Germany, the immigrants had ample experience with markets, consumer demand, and price fluctuations. Such experience would serve them well in Missouri, as they had to adopt a different agricultural system in order to respond to a different agricultural market. On both sides of the Atlantic, however, the immigrants were operating within a similar capitalist market structure. It was this economic experience that was of most value in succeeding in the new milieu in the United States.

The immigrants in this study brought with them a rich European background and a collective experience punctuated by active involvement in a commercial agro-industrial economy. In Missouri they were, in a sense, entrepreneurs who used their experiences gained in the Old World to succeed in the New World by quickly responding to a different agricultural market, a different set of environmental parameters, and a new socioeconomic milieu. So too, I argue that those "selected" out of the peasant population of Mastholte for migration made clear choices not to become proletarianized. As such, a tenacious individualism appears to have been part of this set of preadaptive traits. I believe there are strong implications suggested here. We may need to take another look at the experience of rural nineteenth-century Europeans in the Middle West by following them back to specific source regions and analyzing their pre-migration experience. Jordan and Kaups suggest that many of the folk material culture traits observed in North America can be traced back to Europe with the Finns. The results of this and other studies suggest that since much of the American Middle West was settled by northwest Europeans in the nineteenth century, we may be able to trace the economic response of Europeans to that region back to their proto-industrial experience in northwest Europe.

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Notes

¹ James P. Allen and Eugene J. Turner, *We the People: An Atlas of America's Ethnic Diversity* (New York: Macmillan, 1988), 50.

² Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," *Annual Report for*

the Year 1893, *American Historical Association* (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1894), 199-227.

³ Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860* (New York: Harper and Row, 1940).

⁴ Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1951).

⁵ Frank Thistlethwaite, "Migration from Europe Overseas in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *Rapports du XIe Congrès International des Sciences Historiques, Stockholm, 1960, V: Histoire Contemporaine* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1960).

⁶ For example, see Jon Gjerde, *From Peasants to Farmers: The Migration from Balestrand, Norway, to the Upper Middle West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Yda Saucressig-Schreuder, "Dutch-Catholic Emigration in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: Noord Brabant, 1847-1871," *Journal of Historical Geography* 11 (1985): 48-69; Walter D. Kamphoefner, *The Westfalians: From Germany to Missouri* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Robert C. Ostergren, *A Community Transplanted: The Trans-Atlantic Experience of a Swedish Immigrant Settlement in the Upper Middle West, 1835-1915* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988); Anne Kelly Knowles, "Immigrant Trajectories Through the Rural Industrial Transition in Wales and the United States, 1795-1850," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 85 (1995): 246-66; Axel Lubinski, *Entlassen aus dem Untertanenverband: Die Amerikaauswanderung aus Mecklenburg-Strelitz im 19. Jahrhundert* (Osnabrück: Universitätsverlag Rasch, 1997); Anne Aengenvoort, *Migration-Siedlungsbildung Akkulturation: Die Auswanderung Nordwestdeutscher nach Ohio, 1830-1914* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999). For a recent overview of the historiography of the subject see Jon Gjerde, "New Growth on Old Vines—The State of the Field: The Social History of Immigration to and Ethnicity in the United States," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 18 (1999): 40-65.

⁷ These findings are detailed in Timothy G. Anderson, "Immigrants in the World-System: Domestic Industry and Industrialization in Northwest Germany and the Migration to Osage County, Missouri, 1835-1900" (Ph.D. diss., Texas A&M University, 1994).

⁸ Friedrich Müller, "Westfälische Auswanderer im 19. Jahrhundert—Auswanderung aus dem Regierungsbezirk Münster, I. Teil, 1803-1850," *Beiträge zur westfälischen Familienforschung* 22-24 (1964-66): 7-484; "Westfälische Auswanderer im 19. Jahrhundert—Auswanderung aus dem Regierungsbezirk Minden, II. Teil, 1816-1900," *Beiträge zur westfälischen Familienforschung* 38-39 (1980-81): 3-711; "Westfälische Auswanderer im 19. Jahrhundert—Auswanderung aus dem Regierungsbezirk Minden, II. Teil, Heimliche Auswanderung 1814-1900," *Beiträge zur westfälischen Familienforschung* 47-48 (1989-90): 7-762.

⁹ Wilhelm Toups, "Auswanderer aus der früheren Bürgermeisterei Lank," *Almanach für den Kreis Neuss* (1982): 111-36; "Auswanderer des Kreises Neuss im 19. Jahrhundert," *Almanach für den Kreis Neuss* (1984): 105-48; "Auswanderer des Kreises Neuss im 19. Jahrhundert," *Almanach für den Kreis Neuss* (1985): 104-51. For an exhaustive study of emigration (including detailed emigrant lists) from the Westphalian parish of Ostbevern during the nineteenth century see Werner Schubert, *Auswanderung aus Ostbevern* (9 Vols.) (Privately Published).

¹⁰ Stephanie Reekers and Johanna Schulz, *Die Bevölkerung in den Gemeinden Westfalens, 1818-1950* (Dortmund, 1952).

¹¹ Stadtarchiv Rietberg, Best. 1050, Klassen-Steuer-Liste, Gemeinde Mastholte, 1840; Best. 1057, Klassen-Steuer-Liste, Gemeinde Mastholte, 1850; Best. 1064, Klassen-Steuer-Liste, Gemeinde Mastholte, 1857; Best. 1083, Klassen-Steuer-Liste, Gemeinde Moese, 1847; Best. 1090, Klassen-Steuer-Liste, Gemeinde Moese, 1857.

¹² The classic study on proto-industrialization is Franklin F. Mendels, "Proto Industrialization: The First Phase of the Industrialization Process," *Journal of Economic History* 32 (1972): 241-61. For a thorough overview of proto-industry and proto-industrialization in Europe see Sheilagh C. Ogilve and Markus Cerman, eds., *European Proto-Industrialization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), especially chapters one through three, which summarize theories and historiography of the subject.

¹³ Jürgen Schlumbohm, "From Peasant Society to Class Society: Some Aspects of Family and Class in a Northwest German Protoindustrial Parish, 17th-19th Centuries," *Journal of Family History* 17 (1992): 183-99. In the literature on the subject the term *Heuerling* is most often employed to describe what is known as a cottager in English, that is a landless or land poor peasant. In the small area analyzed here, however, Prussian tax rolls clearly differentiate between *Kötter*, landed peasants who usually held less than three or four hectares, and *Heuerlinge*, landless peasants who more often than not worked either as sharecroppers or day laborers on a landed peasant's farm.

¹⁴ Josef Mooser, *Ländliche Klassengesellschaft, 1770-1848: Bauern und Unterschichten, Landwirtschaft und*

Gewerbe im östlichen Westfalen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 489.

¹⁵ The terms *Vollmeier*, *Zweitäger*, etc., are descriptive class terms of medieval origin that referred to the number of days labor-rent per month. Although up to 90 percent of the German peasantry west of the Elbe had been freed of manorial dues very early, these terms continued to be employed by Prussian officials for tax assessment purposes as descriptive and legal categories. Such terms are confusing and difficult to translate into English but they are nevertheless illustrative of the intense stratification and differentiation in German peasant societies, even within the cottager and sharecropping classes.

¹⁶ For detailed studies of proto-industry and sharecropping systems in other areas of Westphalia see: Mooser, *Ländliche Klassengesellschaft*; idem, "Property and Wood Theft: Agrarian Capitalism and Social Conflict in Rural Society, 1800-1850," in *Peasants and Landlords in Modern Germany*, ed. Robert G. Moeller (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1986), 52-80; Jürgen Schlumbohm, *Lebensläufe, Familien, Höfe: die Bauern und Heuerleute des Osnabrückischen Kirchspiels Belm in proto-industrieller Zeit, 1650-1860* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994).

¹⁷ Peter Kriedte, Hans Medick, and Jürgen Schlumbohm, *Industrialization Before Industrialization: Rural Industry in the Genesis of Capitalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); idem, "Proto-Industrialization Revisited: Demography, Social Structure and Modern Domestic Industry," *Continuity and Change* 8 (1993): 217-52.

¹⁸ St. Jakob Parish Records, Mastholte, Germany. Births, Deaths, Marriages, 1802-29.

¹⁹ Anderson, "Immigrants in the World-System."

²⁰ Mooser, *Ländliche Klassengesellschaft*, 480.

²¹ Gerhard Adelmann, "Strukturelle Krisen im ländlichen Textilgewerbe Nordwestdeutschlands zu Beginn der Industrialisierung," in *Wirtschaftspolitik und Arbeitsmarkt*, ed. Hermann Kellenbenz (München, 1974), 110-28.

²² Carl Biller, *Der Rückgang der Handleinwandindustrie des Münsterlandes* (Leipzig: Abteilung aus dem Staatswissenschaftlichen Seminar zu Münster, Heft 2, 1906), 143.

²³ Liebetraut Rothert, "Zur Herkunft westfälischer Bergleute auf Bochumer Schachtanlagen 19. Jahrhundert," *Westfälische Forschungen* 31 (1981): 73-117.

²⁴ Mooser, "Property and Wood Theft."

²⁵ Milton Newton, "Cultural Preadaptation and the Upland South," *Geoscience and Man* 5 (1974): 143-54.

²⁶ Terry G. Jordan and Matti Kaups, *The American Backwoods Frontier: An Ethnic and Ecological Interpretation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989); Karl Raitz, "Rock Fences and Preadaptation," *Geographical Review* 85 (1995): 50-62.

Klaus Dehne

German Immigrants in Rural Southern Indiana: A Geographical View

In this essay, I examine German immigration and its role in shaping rural Knox County in southern Indiana, looking at the size, spatial distribution, regions of origin and socioeconomic structure of the population. I focus on characteristics of the immigrants like the clear inclination of Germans from the same regions of origin to settle together, their attitude towards land ownership, their persistence of settlement or the frequent founding of churches as an important symbol within the ethnic colony. The results presented here agree with other researchers' results concerning different rural regions of the United States as to the spatial peculiarities mentioned above.¹ Obviously, the Germans in Indiana acted very similarly to the ones in other states, leading to the conclusion that these tendencies can be regarded as typical of this ethnic group.

Indiana's German-born population in 1850 was fourth largest in the Old Northwest, but Indiana had the highest proportion of German-born among the foreign-born (see table 1). For the entire United States, Indiana ranked seventh, reflecting relatively heavy settlement by this immigrant group. The foreign-born population of Indiana grew from 55,546 in 1850 to 120,439 in 1860 and 136,465 in 1870. The biggest wave of German immigration to Indiana took place in the 1850s when 37,325 persons immigrated. Their number reached its peak in 1890 with 84,900 (see figure 1). In the same year, the part of the German population in the category of "foreign-born" peaked with a share of 58.1 percent.

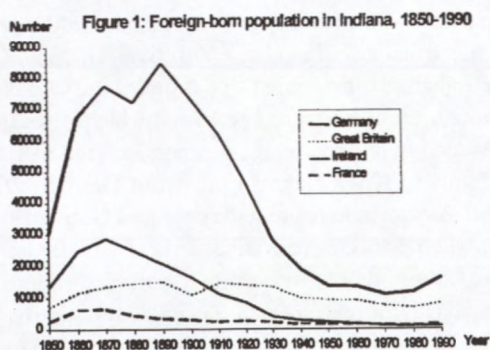
A decline in German immigration to the U. S. can be seen across the state after 1890. Despite this constant reduction, the German-born population outnumbered the rest of the foreign-born population between 1850 and 1990. In the period between 1850 and 1900, the German-born population represented more than 50 percent of the foreign-born population of Indiana.² In other words, more people emigrated to Indiana from Germany than from any other country. Because of the geographic origins of the first settlers, the timing of settlement and the nature of their early migration routes, Indiana's settlement extended from the south to the north. Pioneers ferried across the Ohio from Kentucky or ended their long down-river journey in one of the small towns on the Indiana side. From there they set off on trails and traces into the

Table 1: German-born population in the Old
Northwest in 1850

States of the Old Northwest
German-born population

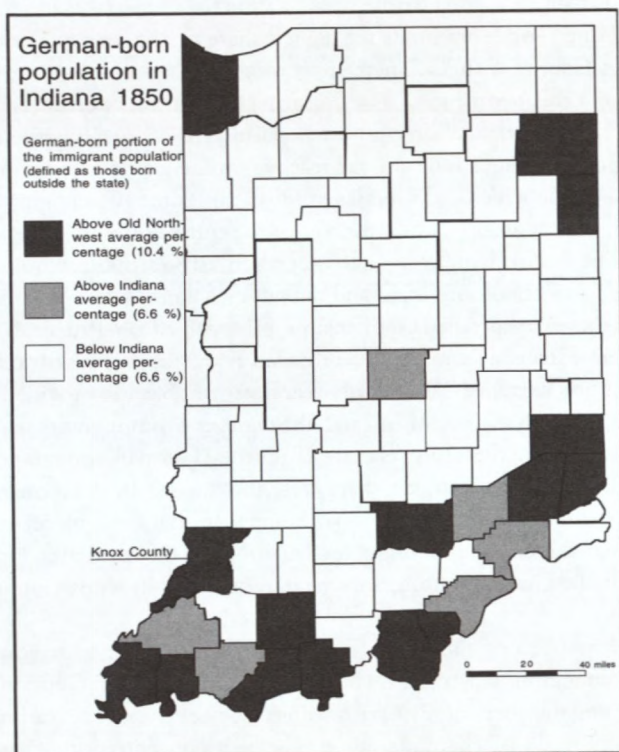
	Absolute <i>Share</i> ¹
Ohio	112,990 51.4 %
Illinois	39,681 35.3 %
Wisconsin	39,030 35.6 %
Indiana	30,398 53.4 %
Michigan	10,248 18.4 %
Total ONW	232,247 41.9 %

¹ of the foreign-born population of the state
Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1850



Source: U.S. Census of Population (1850-1990)

Map 1



Data based on Gregory S. Rose, "Indiana's Ethnicity," 621 ff.

Cartography: K. Dehne

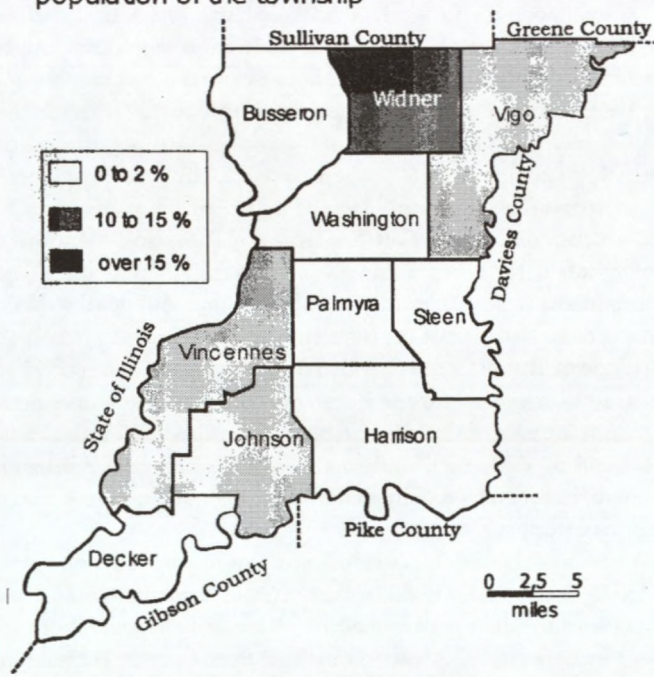
interior.³ Topography also played a role, because the northern part of the state consisted of wetlands which were more difficult to farm. The majority of German immigrants also adopted this pattern.⁴ German concentrations commonly appeared in the southern quarter of Indiana, particularly along the Ohio River. In 1850, Germans accounted for 6.6 percent of Indiana's immigrants. This is below the Old Northwest average of 10.4 percent, although many counties like Knox, which is located in southwestern Indiana, had considerably above average percentages (see map 1).⁵ From 1850 to 1910 most immigrants to Knox County came from Germany, followed by Ireland, France and England. As shown in figure 1, the strongest German immigration occurred during the 1850s, when 546 Germans settled there (see figure 2). By 1870, 1,447 residents of Knox County had been born in Germany.⁶ These numbers allow the conclusion that especially in the nineteenth century the Germans in Knox County appeared to have had some influence which was at least caused by their large number.

In order to find out how many immigrants had settled down in each of Knox County's townships the share of the foreign-born population of each one in relation to its entire population has to be examined. Looking at the distribution of the foreign-born population in the ten townships of Knox County one can see that in 1870 Widner Township was the favorite rural location for immigrants to settle (see map 2).

As Widner Township holds the highest share of the foreign-born population in rural Knox County with 15.7 percent, it makes sense to look at the German-born population in this township.⁷ The German share of 98.1 percent in 1870 and 96.7 percent in 1880 among the foreign-born population in Widner Township is remarkable. These high percentages hint at a far reaching influence of German immigrants on Widner Township which was founded in 1804.⁸ In 1860, 610 immigrants from Prussia formed the largest group with 50 percent of the entire German immigration to Knox County. The second highest share represented Germans who simply named "Germany" as a region of origin and did not give a more detailed answer. The high portion of these "unspecified Germans" probably came from Prussia. It is very unlikely that they came instead from Bavaria or Baden as the percentage of immigrants from these states was extremely low twenty years later on. Bavaria provided 100 people (8 percent) as a region of origin. In 1880, the number of immigrants from Prussia had increased to 841 and therefore its share of the total German immigration had risen to 63 percent. The second largest share were the "unspecified Germans." Again the third largest amount of immigrants had come from Bavaria with 55 immigrants, but their share of the German immigration had dropped to 4 percent.⁹ Figure 3 shows a selection of the German immigrants' regions of origin in Knox County in 1860 and 1880.

A comparison of the years 1860 and 1880 in respect to regions of origin of German immigrants illustrates a change in the structure of German immigration. The increasing numbers of Prussians within the twenty years preceding 1880 can be regarded as a result of chain migration. The high concentration of the Prussians in Knox County and especially Widner Township results from the clearly recognizable tendency of Germans from the same regions of origin to settle down together. They followed their natural impulse of moving close to people they already knew or they

Map 2: Foreign-born population in Knox County, Indiana, by township, 1870, related to the total population of the township



Data based on U.S. Census of Population, 1870
Cartography: K. Dehne

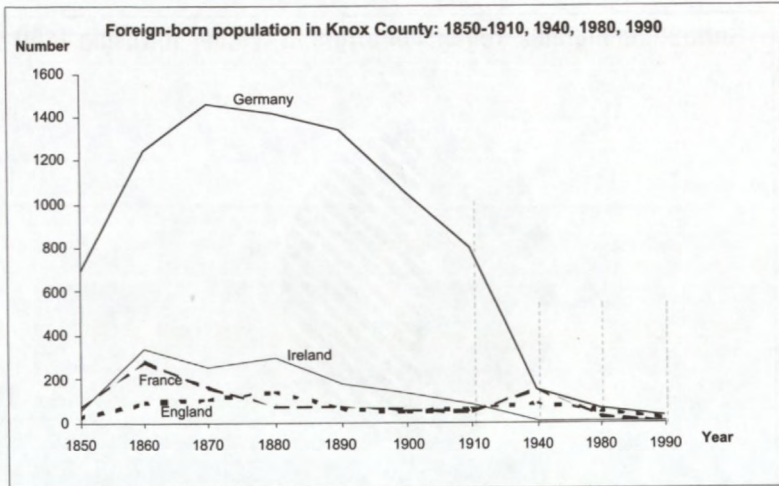
could talk to in their native language. This behavior had several advantages. The integration in the new country became much easier when no language barriers existed in the community, supporting neighborhood help.¹⁰ Yet, the phenomenon of chain migration cannot be observed in connection with other German immigrants such as the Bavarians, though the Bavarians' emigration intensity into the United States was equal to that of the Prussians in 1870.¹¹

There are several probable reasons behind the greater amount of chain migration to Knox County among the Prussians than Bavarians. First of all, the considerably higher number of the Prussians settling there had a more significant influence on the migration habits of the compatriots at home because of the larger number of emigrants' enthusiastic letters sent home: fewer immigrants from Bavaria also meant fewer letters home. Another reason could be seen in the Bavarian-born population's distribution throughout Knox County: In 1860, 4 percent of them lived in Widner Township where 17 percent of all Prussians were living. The share of Bavarians living in Vincennes City was 88 percent, compared to only 43 percent of Prussians.¹² Another motive for the chain migration of the Prussians was—as the examples of Widner Township and Vincennes City show—the different spatial distribution and density of Prussians in Knox County in contrast to that of the Bavarians. The dense concentration of Prussians in the countryside of Knox County provided the Germans with the chance to purchase a farm, which was impossible for the Bavarians within their urban agglomeration in Vincennes. As the increase of the Prussian population also in Widner Township shows (see figures 4 and 5), these rural settlements—which became “Prussian islands”—were consequently a necessary requirement for the chain migration of the immigrants' identical regions of origin.

Thus, Prussians did not only settle in Knox County in higher numbers, they also formed a denser concentration within rural areas compared to the Bavarians. An example of chain migration is described by Herman Froeschke (born in Berlin in 1845; died in Vincennes in 1920) who immigrated from Prussia: He had four brothers who had emigrated before him and had settled down in Knox County.¹³ Gerhard Holscher (born in Coesfeld in 1823) who emigrated from Bremen to the U. S. and reached New Orleans on 15 May 1847, followed his brothers who had arrived there some months before.¹⁴ This demonstrates that the way of the Germans bound for Knox County was often part of the “migration-chain” which was a kind of link between their homes and their destinations.

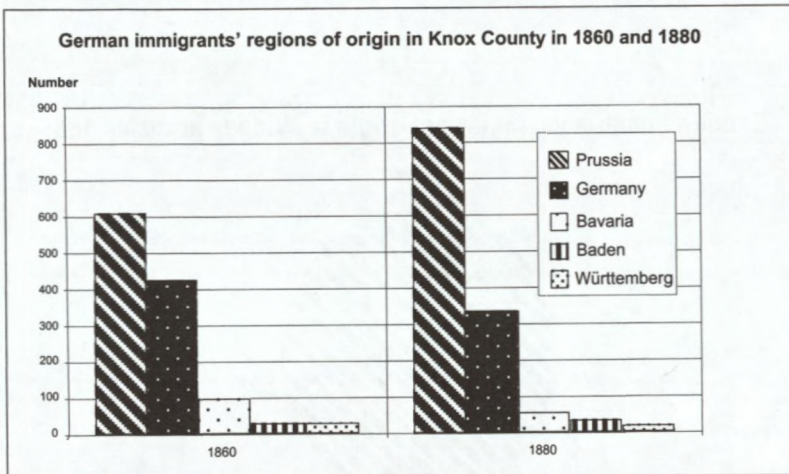
The generally higher percentage of male German emigrants to the United States¹⁵ also applies to Widner Township. In the year 1880, 132 of a total of 236 Germans living in Widner Township were male. Thus, the percentage of male emigrants (56 percent) was 12 percent higher than that of females. The high frequency of identical surnames in Widner Township gives evidence of the large number of related families. On the one hand this is due to the fact that whole families immigrated, on the other, it is a result of the chain migration. The high number of relationships also was increased by the choice of the partner who almost exclusively was a person chosen from the German community. As the German immigrants preferred staying within their socio-ethnic neighborhood, the number of marriages outside their own ethnic community

Figure 2



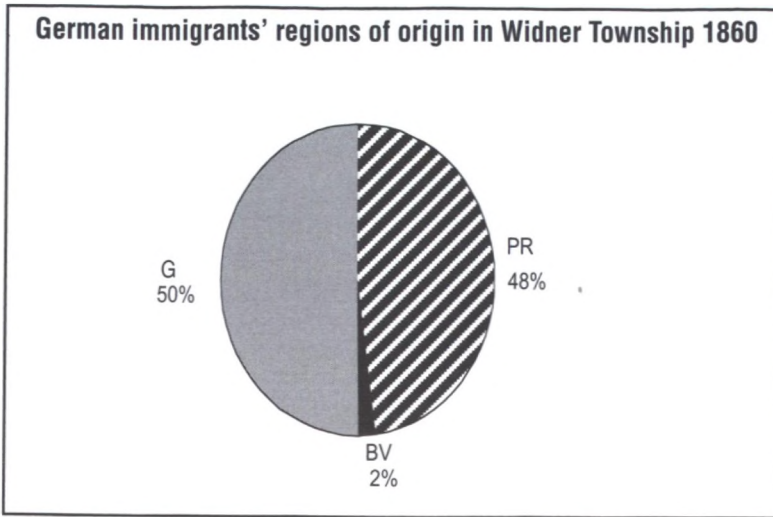
Source: For 1850 and 1860: Manuscript Schedules of the Census of Population; 1870 to 1910, 1940, 1980 and 1990: U.S. Census of Population

Figure 3



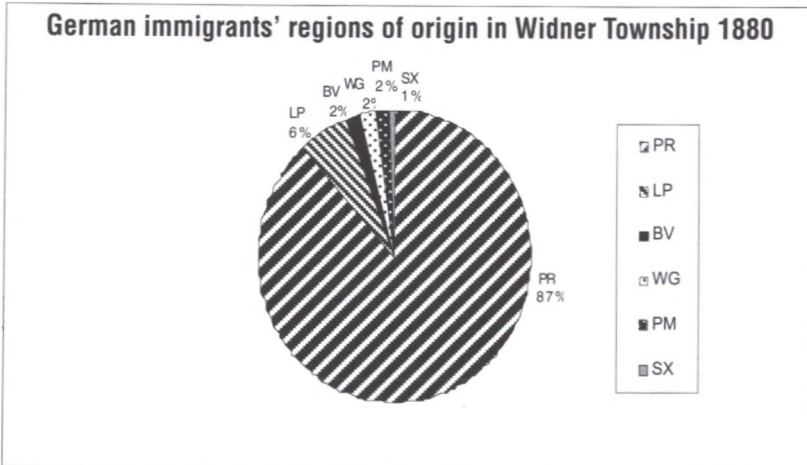
Source: Manuscript Schedules of the Census of Population, Eighth Census of the United States, Knox County, Indiana, 1860; for 1880: Connie A. McBirney and Robert M. Taylor, eds., *Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience* (Indianapolis, 1996), 150f.

Figure 4



Source: Manuscript Schedule of the Census of Population, Eighth Census of the United States, Knox County, Indiana, 1860

Figure 5



Source: Manuscript Schedule of the Census of Population, Tenth Census of the United States, Knox County, Indiana, 1880 [Prussia (PR), Lippe (LP), Bavaria (BV), Württemberg (WG), Pommern (PM), Saxony (SX)]

remained very low, partly because of this social relationship and partly as a result of it. Even at the beginning of the twentieth century only 28 percent of American-born children with German fathers in the entire United States and 14 percent of those with German mothers came from "mixed marriages."¹⁶ In the towns the number of marriages outside their own ethnic group was generally much higher than in the rural areas because of the fact that the population in the towns was much more heterogeneous.¹⁷ In 1880, 81 percent of a total of 98 married German-born men were married to German-born brides. Furthermore, 16 percent of them had American-born wives, whose parents had both been born in Germany. Only 3 percent had married American-born women whose parents had also been born in the U. S. Thus, in the year 1880, 97 percent of the married men in Widner Township had married either German women or American-born women of German parents.

The "cultural baggage" of the German immigrants was most typical with regard to their attitude towards land ownership which was much more important for them than for those who considered America's land resources as unlimited: they knew the meaning of population pressure and lack of land.¹⁹ Compared with other immigrant groups, they stayed where they had settled down and very rarely sold their land in order to make profit. On the contrary, they tried to buy adjacent land for brothers and sisters or for their children and worked it over generations as family enterprises. This is why German settlements in the country often grew in number as well as in size while many of the American neighbors eventually sold their land and moved westward. This fact led to "German islands" in remote areas of the Midwest into the twentieth century—at least in terms of conservative, family-orientated farmers' values and remembrances of Germany. In many cases immigrants from the rural underclass succeeded in becoming landowners.²⁰

Examinations of land ownership in Widner Township confirm the assumption that land ownership was most important for the Germans. Although they represented just 13 percent of the population of Widner Township in 1880,²¹ they owned almost one third of the land there (32 percent). The Americans—representing 87 percent of the total population—possessed 68 percent of the township area.²²

The Germans had acquired their land together, mostly in the eastern part of the township. The reason for this was that only here was unsettled land available, as the western part had already been sold and settled on because of its better soil.²³ The increase in number and size of the land owned by German immigrants was a consequence of the inclination of Germans to settle as near as possible to their ethnic group. The surface of the area acquired by Germans and by their descendants increased from 1880 to 1903²⁴—and apart from that up to 1978—with the Germans expanding into areas originally cultivated by settlers from other ethnic origins. About one hundred years later (1978), some plots were still owned by the same family who had owned them in 1880.²⁵ The land acquired by Germans in fact reserved a whole area for German settlers who came later as the area was described as potentially German. Moreover, non-Germans tended to move away from a certain area if Germans moved there in large numbers.²⁶ For example, an area owned by a Swiss man in 1880, became German property about twenty years later (1903).²⁷

Widner Township has been an area of single farms since the second half of the nineteenth century up to the present day. There is only one major settlement: the village of Freelandville. In the year 1880, 374 people lived in this village, 68 of whom had been born in Germany.²⁸ In this year German immigrants owned more than half of Freelandville (69 percent), compared to 21 percent of land held by Americans, 3 percent owned by churches and 7 percent, where the owner could not be determined or the ownership could not be determined exactly.²⁹ German ownership of almost 70 percent of the total area of Freelandville is remarkable because of the fact that they represented only 18 percent of the total population of the village.³⁰ Thus, this settlement also clearly shows the attitude of German immigrants towards landownership. This result as well as the persistence and expansion of German settlements correlates well with Joseph Schafer's pioneering census-based studies on the Germans in Wisconsin: he shows that German communities persisted and even expanded over the years in contrast to higher levels of mobility among Yankees.³¹ Examining the Germans in Minnesota, Hildegard B. Johnson found that most German settlements expanded over time caused by the fact that German newcomers took over farms of non-German owners.³² Terry Jordan's research indicates similar trends among German immigrants to Texas.³³ Russel L. Gerlach's examinations of German settlements in Missouri agree with Schafer's and Jordan's results.³⁴ Obviously, the Germans in Indiana acted very similarly to the ones in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Texas and Missouri, leading to the conclusion that this tendency can be regarded as typical of this ethnic group.

The cultural heritage of the German immigrants to acquire adjacent land for their descendants in order to maintain the family enterprise has not vanished today. In contrast to their small percentage in the nineteenth century, German-Americans constitute the largest group involved in agriculture according to the 1980 census. Among the 5.6 million American farming population, one million described themselves as being of "pure" German descent and another million as being of "mixed" German descent, figures, that together equal more than one third of all American farmers.³⁵ In sum, Widner Township can be taken as a good example of the immobility and continuity of a German settlement once it had come into existence.

The acquisition of the numerous areas Germans had bought above all in Widner and Vigo townships but also in other Knox County areas required the necessary financial means of the German immigrants. The majority of the German emigrants came from the lower class or the lower middle class. These emigrants, however, lacked the necessary money to buy land, let alone the relatively high investment for the start of a stable or even profitable production of subsistence or market production in the United States. Those among them who inherited a certain fortune and those who married children from German-American farmer families or had a certain amount of money from the sale of their small properties had the chance of acquiring a small farm property which was limited in terms of expansion as a rule. The others had the choice of staying on the land they had immigrated to as agricultural workers—what they had been on the land they had emigrated from—or trying to save the financial means they needed for a desired agricultural existence by working in urban industries for a certain period of time.³⁶ The example of the Germans who worked for the canal construction companies

in Indiana shows that these jobs were not restricted to urban areas. Many others managed to provide the necessary amount of money by getting credits which became much more difficult from 1820 on.³⁷ The later immigrants could possibly count on financial help from relatives who had immigrated to the U. S. before them.

German immigrants to America did not necessarily come from a poor background, however their financial situation ranged from being rich landowners, who had sold their property and had had good farming land bought before even leaving for the Midwest, to poor agricultural workers who could not pay their family's fare for the journey and had to do menial jobs.³⁸ The official estimation of the value an emigrant from Bavaria brought to the U. S. between 1835 and 1855 is ninety-five dollars. Emigrants from the comparatively poor land of Baden brought about forty dollars during the same period. Thus, the German emigrants brought not only their working potential as well as their respective skills to America, but also money—which was more than necessary in their new home country.³⁹ One example of a German family in Knox County who may be regarded as part of the well-situated middle class (at least in comparison with most emigrants) is the Glass family. John Richard Glass had emigrated with his parents and his brother in 1833. He had been born in Bonn in 1830 and he arrived with his family in New Orleans at the age of three.⁴⁰ As his granddaughter Joy Thomas Decker (born 1 April 1898 in Vincennes, Indiana) told me, her great-grandfather had owned a house, a mill and a horse in his home country. The money he received from selling all this evidently did not only cover the costs for the journey but also the acquisition of land.⁴¹

In the year 1880, from a total of 429 working men in Widner Township almost 60 percent of all working people were Americans with the percentage of German immigrants as well as their first generation being a little above 40 percent.⁴² In the following the percentage of the employees exclusively refers to the male workers there. As this was a rural area, it is quite logical that the people working in agriculture represented the highest percentage with 58 percent in the year 1880, 34 percent followed a trade and 8 percent worked in the commerce or service sector.

If one examines the percentage of the people employed in the different economic branches according to their ethnic membership, one will see that the ratio of the Germans in comparison with the Americans in the first two sectors is completely different. The employed people born in the United States with American parents were represented within their ethnic group with 57 percent in agriculture, 34 percent in the trades and 9 percent in commerce and in the service sector. As one might deduce from the landownership of the German immigrants in Widner Township, the Germans were highly represented in the primary sector within their ethnic group. With 67 percent of people working in agriculture they outnumbered the Americans by 10 percent. On the one hand, this high percentage can be explained by the high proportion of German immigrants, who were agriculturalists. On the other hand, immigrants simply may have been striving to fulfill the American dream of working one's own agricultural piece of land.

In the secondary sector, the German percentage of 25 percent was almost 10

percent less than that of the American one. A closer look at the producing and processing trades—with respect to their own ethnic group—shows that among the German workers in this field only 25 percent were unskilled workers, which means that a vast majority were craftsmen or skilled workers. In comparison, the percentage of unskilled Americans working in the producing and processing trades was 92 percent.⁴³ As to their concentration in the different trades and professions there is a very likely explanation: a large number of them had already acquired their respective skills and were able to find a job in their original trade.⁴⁴ In the field of service and trade the German percentage of 9 percent almost corresponds to the American one.

Being the largest group of immigrants, the Germans had a lot of influence on church, schooling, politics and the economy as well as on social life and cultural activities in Knox County. A typical sign of the German-Americans' cultural individuality was their endeavor to bring their mother tongue into public schools. Before 1880, the state of Indiana was in charge of the integration of German lessons into public elementary schools.⁴⁵ As soon as the population was large enough, immigrant settlements in rural areas could isolate themselves to a far extent from American society. The survival of the German language among the immigrants' grandchildren was two to five times higher in the countryside than in the big cities. During the author's interviews with Americans of German origin elderly individuals frequently would recite proudly German prayers or spell the German alphabet having been taught by their German grandparents. This was also a point where the low population density played a decisive role: American farms appeared to be secluded from the rest of the world—a fact that became evident even to those immigrants accustomed to the scattered settlements in the northwestern part of Germany, which contrasted sharply to the rather densely populated settlements in the south. Another crucial factor for the existence of a settlement was the question of whether German immigrants were able to establish a church community of their own. Institutional life on the countryside was quite often limited to activities around church and school which were closely connected with each other. Consequently, the important role the church played as a central institution within rural settlements cannot be left out of consideration.⁴⁶ According to vague estimates, approximately one-third of German immigrants were Catholics, while the other two-thirds were Lutherans or members of the Reformed Church. For many immigrants the church community became the focus of their social activities. The formation of German-speaking church communities was closely linked to the establishment of German schools. It was not until 1850 that denominational schools were rivaled by public schools which were regarded as "over-denominational."⁴⁷

One of the consequences of World War I was that the German language vanished almost totally from public life. This development had an effect on school life, too. Before the beginning of World War I, German had by far been the most popular foreign language taught in American high schools. The number of students studying French had never exceeded 10 percent, but in 1915 every fourth student studied German. In 1922, nothing was left of the language's once prominent position: only 0.6 percent of the students still attended German classes. German remains largely unimportant in American classrooms even today. The rapid transformation of the

language spoken in church was closely connected with this development. Whereas German-Americans once had been a minority among the English-speaking church community, a large number of them had already become bilingual before the war. As for the purely German denominational groups, the process of language change was rather slow.⁴⁸ In the nineteenth century, Germans formed six churches in Knox County: two in Widner Township, one in Vigo Township and another three in Vincennes.

When the first German immigrants arrived at the eastern part of Widner Township during the 1840s, one of their first activities together was the establishment of a church. On 27 October 1847, twenty-one German families under the guidance of Reverend Heinrich Toelke founded a congregation now known as the "Bethel United Church of Christ." Within the following year, a wooden church was erected. The building, which was used also as a denominational school, existed until 1913. In 1857, the community joined the German Evangelical Synod of North America. Today's church building has existed since the year 1935.⁴⁹ In October 1997, the community, which consisted of more than 600 members,⁵⁰ celebrated the 150th anniversary of their church.

In 1878, a group of Germans lived around the area of Freelandville whose religious denomination was quite different from that of the members of the Evangelical Church. For this reason, they established a church of their own which they called the Church of the United Brethren in Christ. The foundation stone to the new church building was laid on 6 September. The church was officially opened on 21 December of the same year. At this point the community had forty-nine members. Today's church building has been in existence since 1925. After joining different denominations several times, the majority of the community members finally decided to call themselves the Otterbein United Methodist Church. The cemetery next to the church building, however, kept its old name. On 9 December 1979, the church celebrated its one-hundredth anniversary. Twelve years later, the congregation was dissolved. The last service took place on 10 November.⁵¹ Twelve German families founded a church now known as the "Salem United Church of Christ" in Westphalia, Vigo Township, in 1850; the cemetery was built in 1862. Today's church building was erected in 1920.⁵²

During the 1840s and 50s, a large number of German immigrants settled down around the vicinity of Vincennes. In order to practice their religion—as they were used to doing in their home country—sixty-nine heads of German families founded Vincennes' first church in 1847, the so-called St. John's Catholic Church.⁵³ In 1880, the church community consisted of 172 families.⁵⁴ Today it is the city's largest congregation with over 2,300 members.⁵⁵ The construction of today's church building was started in 1851 and finished only a year later.⁵⁶ Its ornamented glass windows were donated by church members and decorated with dedications written in German. In the summer of 1997, the community celebrated its 150th anniversary by remembering its German founders. The festival mass was said in German and the German salutation "Willkommen" was written on the plate next to the church entrance. In 1852, the congregation founded St. John's School, which offered instruction in both English and German.⁵⁷

In 1849, a group of German immigrants decided to found a church community which they called the Evangelical Protestant Congregation. Some of the founding members were Lutherans, while others belonged to the German Evangelical Church. In 1854, they started the construction of their church building on Eighth and Scott Street, which was finished two years later. Since the community members could not come to agreement on how to name their church—Lutheran or Evangelical Church—they split up in 1859. The Lutherans kept the old church building; the Evangelicals erected a new one.⁵⁸ Today St. John's Lutheran Church has 500 members.⁵⁹ In 1862, the Evangelicals finished their new church building on Fifth and Hart Street. Today's building of St. John's German Evangelical Church was erected in 1886 along Fifth and Shelby Street in order to replace the old one.⁶⁰ This event was recorded in the inscription plate written in German posted over the entrance. At the present, St. John's Evangelical Church has 414 community members.⁶¹

The German-Americans' influence on schooling shows that they represented an important political factor. However, they could not exert the same strong influence as Irish immigrants, for they were divided by religious, social and regional differences which kept them from unanimous voting and they lacked the "privilege" of a common mother tongue such as English. Nevertheless, Germans did exert considerable influence in both state and local politics.⁶² Many of them even gained very high political acknowledgement in Indiana. Since the Civil War, numerous Germans had been elected to important political positions: Dr. Max Hoffmann, who was secretary of state between 1869 and 1871, as well as the two treasurers J. A. Lemcke (1887-91) and Albert Hall (1891-95)—just to name a few. Frederick W. Viehe of Knox County was one of a great number of German state senators.⁶³

During the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, German immigrants founded a large number of companies in Knox County. Only a few still exist today. On the one hand, this is due to changes on the business market that allow only economically viable enterprises to survive; on the other, many companies of German origin, which can no longer be recognized as such since World War I, brought fundamental changes in the management structure of most companies. The following will exemplify the development of a few German company foundations in Knox County some of which remain in business today.

In 1978 the Kixmiller's Store at Freelandville was included on the National Register of Historical Places. Founded in 1846 by the German immigrants John Ritterskamp and Chris Baker, the store has traded clothes as well as food ever since. It was taken over by Simon Kixmiller in 1890. In 1943 his son William Rhinehart Kixmiller, who signed the store over to his daughter in 1984, succeeded him. By 1997, the store however, which had been run by the Kixmiller family for over a century, was up for sale. Due to structural changes in Knox County and the rising economic pressure put on the competitive market by neighboring Vincennes, the store was no longer viable.

The insurance company German Mutual Fire Insurance Association was founded by German immigrants in Widner Township on 21 April 1883. In 1933, it combined with Widner Mutual Fire Insurance Association which is one of the oldest enterprises in Knox County. With its head office being located in Freelandville, it operates in

another four counties across southern Indiana. Before 1929, the minutes of business meetings were written in German.⁶⁴ In 1853, the Prussian immigrant Edward Bierhaus founded a small food store in Freelandville. In 1865, he moved to Vincennes and one year later his store was officially named "E. Bierhaus & Sons." The food wholesale company had been family property since its foundation. In the year 1990, the company had a turnover of 45 million dollars.⁶⁵ In August 1997 however, the company, which had been run in the fifth generation, was forced to declare bankruptcy.⁶⁶ During the fall of 1887, the German National Bank was founded in Vincennes. On 30 January 1888, Seleman Gimpel was voted chairman of the bank, Gerard Reiter became vice-chairman and Henry J. Boeckman employed as accountant. The name of the bank was meant to stand for the positive work ethics, integrity and efficiency of the German community in Vincennes. On 7 April 1888, the bank opened its doors for the first time. On 18 January 1918, the chairmen decided to change the bank's name, thus responding to the commonly held anti-German opinion among the American population at that time. Consequently, the name of the bank was changed to American National Bank.⁶⁷ Eagle Brewery was founded in 1859 by the German John Ebner and taken over by Eugene Hack and Anton Simon in 1877. As a consequence of Prohibition, however, the company had to cease production in 1918.⁶⁸

In contrast to rural life on the countryside, big cities such as Indianapolis had developed a great variety of social activity groups which were organized in so-called "Vereine." The Germans founded these organizations through which they could express themselves and plan a course of action in challenging some of the existing ideas of their day.⁶⁹ In Vincennes only one such group was brought into being. It was called the "Harmonie Verein." In June 1888, the two Germans "Doc" Detterman and Louis A. Meyer together with twenty fellow countrymen talked about the idea of founding a society whose aim would be to put on musical gatherings and other activities. Above all, they planned to have "German coziness" as a motto for their gatherings. They wanted to offer some "ideal" place to the immigrants where "the German language could be spoken and traditional songs from their home country could be sung."⁷⁰ The organization was founded on 8 July 1888. As the American National Bank had already done before, the "Harmonie Verein" changed its name to Harmony Society in 1918. This again can be seen as a consequence of World War I. During a gathering on 6 May 1918, members decided to sever the connection with the German-American Alliance and change both its statutes and the "current conditions." The main objective of the "Harmonie Verein," "to particularly support and spread the musical and social culture in German language," was cancelled and replaced by the phrase "the propaganda of Americanism and Harmony." In May, the minutes were written in German for the last time. From the following meeting on, which took place on 3 June 1918, the minutes were written in English. When the date for the celebration of the society's thirtieth anniversary was fixed in July 1918, the name "Harmonie Verein" appeared for the very last time.⁷¹ It is not surprising that not a single comment on the change from German to English can be found, although it must have been an extremely drastic change for its members. Most scholars postulate that any mentioning of the language change in situations such as these was deliberately left out in order to keep

the stimulus for public discussions on this precarious situation as low as possible. Today, the "Harmony Society" has 470 members, including another 120 honorary members.⁷²

Despite the high esteem of "German qualities" among the American population, today no large American city shows any trace of strong German influence. Cultural phenomena such as the division and exploitation of land, agriculture, architecture, different forms of settling and infrastructure disappeared quickly in the New World. This was due to the immigrants' necessary assimilation to the new natural conditions as well as the ongoing social mixing processes. The facing of both the new limitations and new incentives culminated in the slow disappearance of the old familiar traditions. The survival of some of the old customs had much better prospects if the change was realized at a rather slow pace. All in all, the modern way of life as well as the newly adopted behavior have changed everything. Even those last elements of the Germans' national character that had managed to survive vanished quickly with the "rush" of progress.⁷³

Due to centralized settling of ethnic groups within limited areas, some of the old traditions such as language and religion, customs and the architectural style of typical German houses and churches, were able to survive.⁷⁴ Knox County is now a rare example of an area where the influence brought by German immigrants can be recognized even today. In the city of Vincennes, however, masses said in German and the German names of many institutions could only survive up to World War I. Around the rural areas of Knox County, which showed some traces of a stronger influence, German characteristics could survive for a much longer period of time. This can be seen at the example of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ in Freelandville, where up to 1924 all services were said in German.⁷⁵

In the Salem United Church of Christ in Westphalia all Sunday services were held in German until 1931.⁷⁶ The reason for this can be found in both the German-speaking community and the local isolation of the church and immigrant population. Furthermore, in Widner and Vigo Township there are plenty of gravestones to be found which are decorated with German epitaphs or words of farewell. Along the roads to Freelandville, all welcome signs are written in German. Other examples of the survival of the language are the adding of the word "Pflegeheim" to the name of the "Freelandville Community Home" founded in 1963 and the place-name sign for the village of Westphalia in Vigo Township, which was named by German settlers after their region of origin.

It is quite striking that the relics of German immigration can be found more frequently in the rural areas of Knox County than in the city of Vincennes itself. Yet, a big exception to this are the numerous foundations of German churches which give evidence of the "German past" within the city area. As for the question of assimilation, the difference between rural and city areas was already emphasized by Fritsch in 1896:

The German farmers living in the countryside together with their fellow countrymen tend to keep up their German individuality and mother tongue. Only seldom are they attracted by big city life, they rather stick to their old

German traditions. Yet a totally different situation can be found within the smaller cities, where a mixed population of Germans and Americans lives in close contact with each other. They approach each other through both immediate neighborhood as well as trading connections—a fact that results in a rather superficial familiarity which could be compared with the common quest for the “almighty dollar.” Furthermore, this development causes the German language to vanish.⁷⁷

As the examples above illustrate, German was retained in the rural areas for a much longer period of time and so the assimilation process occurred much later in the rural areas than in the cities. On the whole, the German way of settling in the rural areas of the Midwest has adapted to the expectations of the American population. For this reason, scattered settlements can be found today throughout Knox County: the farms are typically located in the centers of their fenced-off estates. These settlements, which came into being in places offering good trading opportunities, are occasionally interspersed with smaller settlements such as Freelandville in Widner Township. Today, those churches established by German immigrants are the most visible signs of ethnic variety within the cultural diversity of Knox County. Even if “Harmony Park” of the “Harmony Society” in Vincennes has lost connection with its ethnic origins, it is still used as a place of sociability for many kinds of festivities—just like its German founders originally wanted it to be.⁷⁸ Its existence as well as that of the “Harmony Society” reminds us of the manifold social activities brought to Vincennes by Germans. Crucial demographic, economic and social developments in the United States, however, made it also more difficult for the people living in the rural areas of Knox County to keep up their traditional moral and behavioral qualities and reinforced the pressure to assimilate. Nevertheless, as can be seen from the examples above, there are still some strong traces of German immigration throughout Knox County.

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Notes

¹ Important studies on German immigrants in rural America include those by Joseph Schafer, “The Yankee and the Teuton in Wisconsin,” *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 6 (1922-23):126-45, 261-79, 386-402, 7: 3-19; Hildegard Binder Johnson, “Distribution of German Pioneer Population in Minnesota,” *Rural Sociology* 6 (1941): 16-34; and Hildegard Binder Johnson, “The Location of German Immigrants in the Middle West,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 41 (1951): 1-41; Arthur B. Cozzens, “Conservation in German Settlements of the Missouri Ozarks,” *Geographical Review* 33 (1943): 286-98; Terry G. Jordan, *German Seed in Texas Soil* (Austin, 1966); Russell L. Gerlach, *Immigrants in the Ozarks: A Study in Ethnic Geography* (Columbia, MO, 1976); Kathleen N. Conzen, “Peasant Pioneers: Generational Succession among German Farmers in Frontier Minnesota,” in Steven Hahn and Jonathan Prude, eds., *The Countryside in the Age of Capitalist Transformation* (Chapel Hill, 1985); Helmut Schmahl, *Verpflanzte, aber nicht entwurzelt: Die Auswanderung aus Hessen Darmstadt (Provinz Rheinbessen) nach Wisconsin im 19. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main, 2000). For a detailed review of rural German immigration see Kathleen N. Conzen, “Die deutsche Amerikaeinwanderung im ländlichen Kontext: Problemfelder und Forschungsergebnisse,” in Klaus J. Bade,

ed., *Auswanderer - Wanderarbeiter - Gastarbeiter: Bevölkerung, Arbeitsmarkt und Wanderung in Deutschland seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Ostfildern, 1984), 350-77.

² Connie McBirney and Robert Taylor, eds., *Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience* (Indianapolis, 1996), 648ff.

³ James H. Madison, *The Indiana Way: A State History* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1986), 60.

⁴ Giles Hoyt, "Germans," in Connie A. McBirney and Robert M. Taylor, eds., *Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience* (Indianapolis, 1996), 152.

⁵ Gregory S. Rose, "Indiana's Ethnicity in the Context of Ethnicity in the Old Northwest in 1850," in McBirney and Taylor, *Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience* (Indianapolis, 1996), 623.

⁶ The 1850 and 1860 census lists of Knox County, Indiana, were searched for immigrants from Germany, Ireland, France and England. Manuscript census schedules for the Seventh and Eighth Census of the United States, 1850 and 1860. All other figures have been taken from the U.S. Census of Population, 1870 to 1910, 1940, 1980 and 1990.

⁷ Based on calculation from the 1870 census of population. Bureau of the Census, *Ninth Census*, 1870 (Washington, DC, 1872), 126.

⁸ Maxine Batman, ed., *Knox County History* (Paducah, KY: Turner Publishing Company, 1988), 81.

⁹ These and all subsequent population figures have been aggregated by the author from the microfilmed manuscript schedules for the Eighth and Tenth Census of the United States, 1860 and 1880.

¹⁰ For a detailed research about the process of chain migration see Walter D. Kamphoefner, *The Westfalians: From Germany to Missouri* (Princeton, 1987). Chain migrations have also been proved by Kate E. Levi, "Geographical Origin of German Immigration to Wisconsin," *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* 14 (1898): 341-93 and Joseph Scheben, *Untersuchungen zur Methodik und Technik der deutschamerikanischen Wanderungsforschungen an Hand eines Vergleichs der Volkszählungslisten der Township Westphalia, Clinton County, Michigan, vom Jahre 1860 mit Auswanderungsakten des Kreises Adenau (Rheinland)* (Bonn, 1939).

¹¹ Walter D. Kamphoefner, "300 Jahre Deutsche in den USA," *Geographische Rundschau* 35 (1983): 170.

¹² Manuscript Schedule of the Census of Population, Eighth Census of the United States, Knox County, Indiana, 1860.

¹³ Martha Helderman, interview by author, tape recording, Vincennes, IN, 6 July 1996.

¹⁴ Bub Holscher, interview by author, Knox County, IN, 7 July 1996.

¹⁵ Jürgen Bähr, *Bevölkerungsgeographie* (Stuttgart, 1992), 311.

¹⁶ Kamphoefner, "300 Jahre Deutsche," 173.

¹⁷ Kamphoefner, "'Entwurzel' oder 'verpflanzt'? Zur Bedeutung der Kettenwanderung für die Einwandererakkulturation in Amerika," in Bade, *Auswanderer*, 347.

¹⁸ Manuscript Schedule of the Census of Population, Tenth Census of the United States, Knox County, Indiana, 1880.

¹⁹ W. Helbich, W. D. Kamphoefner, and U. Sommer, *Briefe aus Amerika* (Munich, 1988), 63.

²⁰ Willi P. Adams, *Deutsche im Schmelztiegel der U.S.A.*, 3d ed. (Berlin, 1994), 15.

²¹ Manuscript Schedule of the Census of Population, Tenth Census of the United States, Knox County, Indiana, 1880.

²² These and all subsequent figures concerning land ownership base on a hand count from maps in different atlases. *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Knox County, Indiana* (Philadelphia: F. Bourquin, 1880), 11.

²³ Emil Rinsch, *The History of Bethel United Church of Christ, Freelandville, Indiana* (Tell City, IN, 1973), 9.

²⁴ *Historical Atlas of Knox County, Indiana* (Vincennes, IN, 1903), 14.

²⁵ *Plat Book of Knox County, Indiana* (La Porte, IN, 1978).

²⁶ Kathleen N. Conzen, "Die deutsche Amerikaeinwanderung im ländlichen Kontext: Problemfelder und Forschungsergebnisse," in Bade, *Auswanderer*, 369f.

²⁷ *Historical Atlas of Knox County, Indiana*, 14.

²⁸ Manuscript Schedule of the Census of Population, Tenth Census of the United States, Knox County, Indiana, 1880.

²⁹ *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Knox County, Indiana* (Philadelphia: F. Bourquin, 1880), 13. Tax duplicates of Knox County, Indiana: 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880 and 1881.

³⁰ Manuscript Schedule of the Census of Population, Tenth Census of the United States, Knox County, Indiana, 1880.

³¹ Joseph Schafer, "The Yankee and the Teuton in Wisconsin," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 6 (1922-

23):126-45, 261-79, 386-402, 7: 3-19.

³² Hildegard B. Johnson: "Distribution of German Pioneer Population in Minnesota." *Rural Sociology* 6 (1941): 16-34.

³³ Terry G. Jordan, *German Seed in Texas Soil* (Austin, 1966).

³⁴ Russell L. Gerlach, *Immigrants in the Ozarks: A Study in Ethnic Geography* (Columbia, MO, 1976).

³⁵ Helbich, Kamphoefner, and Sommer, 63.

³⁶ Klaus Bade, "Die deutsche überseeische Massenauswanderung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Bestimmungsfaktoren und Entwicklungsbedingungen," in Bade, *Auswanderer*, 283.

³⁷ Jürgen Heideking, *Geschichte der USA* (Tübingen and Basel, 1996), 110.

³⁸ Adams, *Deutsche im Schmelztiegel*, 14.

³⁹ Hoyt, "Germans," 152.

⁴⁰ *History of the Thomas Family* (Vincennes, n.d.).

⁴¹ Joy Thomas Decker, interview by author, tape recording, Vincennes, 6 July 1996.

⁴² Manuscript Schedule of the Census of Population, Tenth Census of the United States, Knox County, Indiana, 1880.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Helbich, Kamphoefner, and Sommer, 276.

⁴⁵ Kamphoefner, "300 Jahre Deutsche," 173.

⁴⁶ Helbich, Kamphoefner, and Sommer, 63.

⁴⁷ Adams, *Deutsche im Schmelztiegel*, 23.

⁴⁸ Helbich, Kamphoefner, and Sommer, 63.

⁴⁹ Bethel United Church of Christ Historical Committee, ed., *The 1994 Calendar* (Freelandville, IN, 1993).

⁵⁰ Pastor's office of the Bethel United Church of Christ, telephone conversation with author, Vincennes, IN, 8 August 1997.

⁵¹ Bethel United Church of Christ Historical Committee.

⁵² Carolyn Smith, *Salem United Church of Christ* (Westphalia, IN, 1975), 6f.

⁵³ Donald K. Ackermann, ed., *St. John the Baptist Catholic Church* (Vincennes, 1990), 9.

⁵⁴ Francis Scheper, *A Brief History of St. John the Baptist Catholic Church* (Vincennes, 1947), 12.

⁵⁵ Donald K. Ackermann, interview by author, Vincennes, 13 August 1997.

⁵⁶ Joseph Erbacher, ed., *St. John the Baptist Catholic Church* (Vincennes, 1984), 6.

⁵⁷ Richard Day and Walter Rinderle, eds., *Two Hundred Years of Permanent Pastors and Catholic Education in Knox County, Indiana; 1792-1993* (Vincennes: Jostens, 1993), 36f.

⁵⁸ St. John's Lutheran Church, ed., *100 Years of Divine Blessings: 1859-1959* (Vincennes, 1959).

⁵⁹ John Duke, interview by author, Vincennes, 14 August 1997.

⁶⁰ St. John's Evangelical and Reformed Church, ed., *100th Anniversary* (Vincennes, 1949), 3ff.

⁶¹ Priest's office of St. John's Evangelical Church, telephone conversation with author, Vincennes, 8 August 1997.

⁶² Kamphoefner, "300 Jahre Deutsche," 173.

⁶³ William Fritsch, *Zur Geschichte des Deutschthums in Indiana* (New York: G. Steiger, 1896), 62f.

⁶⁴ Batman, 187, 198.

⁶⁵ E. Bierhaus & Sons, eds., *Spanning "Five Generations": The 125th Anniversary of E. Bierhaus & Sons* (Vincennes, 1991).

⁶⁶ Brent C. Bierhaus, interview by author, Vincennes, 9 August 1997.

⁶⁷ Robert R. Stevens, "The American National Bank," in Richard Day, *Vincennes* (St. Louis, 1994), 202ff.

⁶⁸ *Indiana German Heritage Society Calendar 1997* (Indianapolis, 1996).

⁶⁹ Theodore G. Probst, *The Germans in Indianapolis* (Indianapolis, 1989), 21.

⁷⁰ George Klein, interview by author, Vincennes, 2 August 1997.

⁷¹ Minute Book of the Harmony Society, 1913-22, Harmony Society, Vincennes, Indiana.

⁷² Dick Rider, telephone conversation with author, Vincennes, 3 August 1997.

⁷³ Michael P. Conzen, "Deutsche Spuren in der US-amerikanischen Kulturlandschaft," *Geographische Rundschau* 48 (1996): 221.

⁷⁴ Karl Lenz, *Auflösung und Zusammenhalt ethnischer Gruppen im ländlichen Raum des kanadischen und US-amerikanischen Westens*, Passauer Schriften zur Geographie, 7: Europäische Ethnien im ländlichen Raum der

Neuen Welt, ed. Klaus Rother (Passau, 1989), 10.

⁷⁵ Bethel United Church of Christ Historical Committee.

⁷⁶ Smith, *Salem United Church*, 10.

⁷⁷ Fritsch, *Geschichte des Deutschthums*, 57.

⁷⁸ George Klein, interview by author, Vincennes, 2 August 1997.

Johannes Strohschänk

The Official Word vs. the Horse's Mouth: Descriptions of Wisconsin for the German Emigrant in the 1850s

In 1852, Wisconsin created the Office of State Commissioner of Emigration. Its main purpose was to lure as many European, especially German, settlers as possible to its rich but largely unpopulated lands. Despite the continued flow of German emigrants to the shores of the United States throughout the second half of the century, the office was allowed to operate for only three years, to be reopened again in 1868.¹ The reasons for the office's early demise in 1855—mostly political in nature—are discussed elsewhere,² while a more sweeping account on the office's fate throughout the century is provided by La Vern J. Rippley.³ Focusing exclusively on official American promotion efforts to encourage emigration from Germany, Ingrid Schöberl has painstakingly traced advertisements by the Wisconsin commissioners of emigration in German periodicals, but bases most of her other information regarding that office on secondary sources that have not always proven reliable.⁴ After a brief general introduction, the present study focuses on the principal publication issued by Wisconsin's first emigration office: a pamphlet describing Wisconsin which was translated into several languages. The information contained in this document will then be compared to other publications by German emigrants which, like the pamphlet, were designed to offer advice to fellow Germans regarding Wisconsin as a desirable place for settlement. The conclusion constitutes an attempt to determine which of the mentioned sources was best suited to provide, and indeed did provide, crucial information and assistance to the German emigrant. The findings—combined with what we otherwise know about the office's operation—may enable us to assess the impact of the emigration office. In other words, did it really, for the short time it existed in the 1850s, influence and stimulate the flow of German emigrants to Wisconsin?

The Charge by the Legislature

By way of introduction, let us first consider the office's official mission and the scope of its responsibilities. Just four years after statehood, the Wisconsin legislature took a historic step when it adopted Chapter 432 of the Laws of 1852 in which it created the Office of the Commissioner of Emigration.⁵ It was a very simple law,

whose first paragraph spells out the mission in which the office was to be involved: A commissioner to be appointed by the governor whose office was to be located in New York City for a term beginning on 1 May 1852 and ending 30 April 1853, whose duties were to include:

- being present at his office during the "usual business hours"
- giving to emigrants information regarding the soil and climate of Wisconsin, together with information on the state and lines of business (occupations) which might be pursued there "with advantage"
- advising emigrants about the "cheapest and most expeditious" route by which to reach Wisconsin
- giving such further information as will protect emigrants against "the impositions often practiced upon them"
- reporting to the governor as often as required and in the manner prescribed by him
- reporting the number of emigrants seen by the office, their nationalities and the occupations they intended to pursue in the state; and
- to employ "such assistance" in the office as is approved of by the governor.

The other four paragraphs of the act regulate the office's direct responsibility to the Governor, requiring an annual report, budget and salary for the commissioner, and the date on which it was to take effect: 9 June 1852.

According to the act, the commissioner of emigration had a number of responsibilities. However, the main charge was threefold: (1) advise emigrants about the attractions of Wisconsin as a place where to resettle; (2) advise the emigrants about the best, least expensive and swiftest means of traveling to Wisconsin; and (3) attempt to protect the emigrant from fraud and deception during their passage.

These assignments were carried out by the first commissioner, Gysbert Van Steenwijk, through his offices in the heart of New York's dock district, where the emigrants disembarked from their ships and began to filter into the city, oftentimes being steered into taverns, hotels and boarding houses. Large signs, advertising the office's services both in German and English, were posted in the area. Likewise, advertisements, editorial articles and other announcements were placed in New York as well as in a number of European newspapers. Moreover, pamphlets written in several languages were distributed in New York and Europe directly to emigrants or through shipping houses, private persons traveling to Europe, and in the office's correspondence.

Herman Haertel, Van Steenwijk's successor in 1853, continued in the same pattern. The last commissioner, Frederick W. Horn, retained his predecessor's practices in New York, but also appointed a sub-agent who was deployed to Quebec.

Each of the three commissioners, Van Steenwijk, Haertel and Horn, compiled reports to the governor on their respective activities. These reports appeared to have consisted of periodic letters (for several of them remain in existence) as well as of annual reports. While the annual reports for 1852 (authored by Van Steenwijk) and

for 1853 (by Haertel) are to be found in bound volumes, Commissioner Horn's annual report for 1854 was never printed nor finalized. To this day it only exists in handwritten manuscript form, edited by the author but never formally submitted to the governor.⁶

The Pamphlet and Its Sources

Through advertisements, articles and editorial comments in newspapers and circulars, as well as through personal contacts with emigrants, the commissioners sought to achieve their objective of disseminating information on the attractions of Wisconsin as a place of settlement. The most important communication, however, consisted of pamphlets which were prepared in English, German, Norwegian, Dutch, and perhaps other languages, as well.⁷ Their text was patterned after a single article whose source has been variously attributed to either Increase A. Lapham, state geographer, or John H. Lathrop, chancellor of the University of Wisconsin. One source states that authorship of the seminal pamphlet is to be attributed to both of these well known Wisconsinites but speculates that the sole author was, in fact, Lathrop.⁸ This seems plausible when one considers the size of each source. Lathrop's article occupies eight narrowly printed pages, compared to Lapham's book of 208 pages. While Lathrop's piece could have been transferred to a sixteen-page pamphlet (bound or folded from four sheets) without changes, Lapham's book would have required extensive editing and cutting. However, nowhere is there mention of such an effort nor of an editor who would have undertaken this task. Moreover, in a time when data and statistics about a developing state community were subject to rapid change, a source published seven years earlier would hardly have been reliable where it concerned human activities. This, too, must have been on Van Steenwijk's mind when he recommended in his annual report of 1853 that Lapham should be commissioned to publish a new edition of his 1846 book on Wisconsin, "adapted to [its] present condition . . . with all the resources of our beautiful and rich country."⁹

Extant copies of the pamphlet, in any of the languages mentioned, could not be found. Fortunately, however, both Lapham's and Lathrop's texts are still accessible. In order to provide the modern reader with a clearer understanding of the way the young state of Wisconsin was viewed by two of its most astute observers, both works will be briefly discussed and summarized.

Lathrop's Article

J. H. Lathrop's original article describing Wisconsin was published in 1853 in the periodical, *De Bouws Review*, appearing in two parts.¹⁰ Assuming that this text served as a source for the commissioners' pamphlets, it must previously have been available to the first commissioner in other form, possibly as manuscript.¹¹

The article contains a wealth of information on Wisconsin. First it describes its location in the United States and its situation on two of the Great Lakes, as well as referring to its many rivers and lakes. A brief review of its population is presented together with prospects for rail and water transportation. The author continues with

a statistical listing of the "imports and exports" of the several port cities in the state for 1851-52 as well as for the state as a whole in 1852 (26).

After this general overview, Lathrop provides a brief history of Wisconsin and a detailed account of the migration of settlers to the state to that date, followed by a description of the state's physical geography and geology together with particularly interesting features (such as the portage between the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers). He continues with an assessment of the state's forest resources, its educational facilities, and mining opportunities (234). Lumbering is given a great degree of prominence in the article. Speaking of the forest, the author states that "[t]hat of the Upper Wisconsin and its tributaries is the most extensive and distinguished still more for the fine quality than the inexhaustible quantities of lumber" (235).

The article goes on to describe the bright future of agriculture in the state. All types of farming "suitable to the latitude" are deemed possible in Wisconsin. And, of added benefit to the person wanting to own the land that he farms, he advises that there remains much good farmland for sale at the government price of \$1.25 per acre. He even observes that the California gold rush has placed improved land on the market at reduced prices (236).

From agriculture, Lathrop's focus shifts to manufacturing in Wisconsin. "The artisan will find a fair field of labor, and for the employment of capital in Wisconsin." Builders and millwrights are reputed to be in high demand. The flour and timber industries are both in need of workers and capital for development, and woolen, cotton and flax mills "must soon become fixed facts in Wisconsin." The Lake Michigan shoreline lends itself to the marine industry and soon Wisconsin will, in the author's opinion, no longer be dependent upon eastern factories for its steam engines (236).

For both manufacturing and trade, Lathrop underscores Wisconsin's prime situation on the Great Lakes. Milwaukee, in particular, is touted as a commercial center "unexampled in the history of American cities," having grown in population to 25,000 in the seventeen years since its founding in 1836 (236).

Because of the importance of transportation routes for bringing produce to market and finished goods back, Lathrop places emphasis upon the development of "internal improvements," the rivers, canals, actual and proposed railroads, and major roads. He projects that there would soon be a canal linking the Great Lakes with the Mississippi, and that improvements would also soon be made to the link between the Erie Canal and the Hudson River. Already, the author notes, the telegraph has connected Milwaukee with Chicago and the outside world, and it would not be long before a network of telegraph lines would crisscross the interior of the state (238).

Lathrop concludes his narrative with this optimistic outlook for the settler on Wisconsin's near future:

Indeed, looking at the fact that nature has prepared the soil of Wisconsin for the plow and its herbage for the immediate sustenance of domestic animals—contemplating the appliances of civilization, which art brings to the very doors of his cabin—[the immigrant] will not doubt—as in truth he need not—that twenty years will do for Wisconsin what fifty years have

barely sufficed to do for Ohio; that in all that goes to constitute a healthy and refined civilization, Wisconsin is destined to a more rapid development and an earlier maturity than has heretofore marked the history of states under the most favorable of conditions.

These views are not extravagant. They are conclusions fully warranted by the premises. The predictions of today will be sober history in 1872. (238)

With the "immigrant," Lathrop apparently had mostly Germans, Irish, and Scandinavians in mind. At one point he writes:

There is a Germany in America which is destined to be greater than the German's fatherland. Ireland is already cisatlantic and regenerate. The Scandinavian with his remarkable power of assimilation, touches our shores, and is American in thought, feeling and language. (231)¹²

To the extent that the pamphlets about Wisconsin distributed by the commissioner in New York, New England, and in Europe consisted of part or all of Lathrop's article, what the prospective emigrant would have learned about Wisconsin was by and large general in nature. With the exception of the building trade, it did not tell the emigrant precisely what jobs or occupations were in need of workers nor what specific crops a farmer could raise, what wages might be expected or what costs might be anticipated to start up a farm. On the other hand, it did advise the emigrant about the general environment of the place called Wisconsin and of the fact that opportunities abounded, for the farmer, the artisan, the "mechanic," and the capitalist alike.

The article is relatively free of boosterism. Even the conclusion cited above has some merit. Wisconsin, with its untapped natural resources and its unsettled lands could, perhaps not as early as 1872 but thereafter, become a leader among the United States, for it was then indeed situated at a strategic location for transportation to and from markets, and it possessed, from the vantage point of the 1850s, a seemingly "inexhaustible" supply of timber, prime farmland, plentiful water resources, and a wealth of minerals.

Lapham's Book

As already mentioned, Commissioner Van Steenwijk called upon the legislature to subscribe to a new edition of Lapham's book, *Wisconsin—Its Geography and Topography, History, Geology and Mineralogy*, which had first appeared in 1846.¹³ In contrast to Lathrop's article, Lapham's book is extremely detailed and, considering that the territory was insufficiently explored and sparsely settled at the time, provides a fairly complete portrayal of the state's features.

The wide range of topics includes a history of the territory, with an explanation of the origin of its boundaries, as well as a description of its topography, lakes, rivers, and prehistoric occupants, followed by a portrayal of its modern day native tribes (9-

28). In describing the territory's government, Lapham gives a full account of the means by which public lands were surveyed and delineated (28-36). He also provides information on the territory's university and secondary schools (36-38). A separate section deals with Wisconsin's phenomenal growth in population, its production statistics, and its internal improvements. At the time, these consisted of roads and piers, but Lapham envisions the completion of canal projects and railways as well (38-48). It follows a list of altitudes, latitudes and longitudes of various sites and communities, and a description of four geological zones (the northern, "primitive" zone, the central sandstone zone, the southwestern "mineral" zone, and the southeastern limestone zone), complete with an exhaustive list of minerals, including proven and suspected reserves of lead, copper, zinc, and iron ore (48-70). Ever the student of botany and biology, Lapham identifies trees and animals, and even provides a detailed list of plants recently discovered in Wisconsin, both native and introduced (70-75). He also describes the territory's climate, including weather statistics, and growing seasons from north to south (75-80).

The next, most extensive, section of the book features descriptions of each county in the territory, including location, topography, rivers (with proven or potential water power sites), notable lakes, soils, vegetation, population, crops and animal husbandry, towns (as administrative units), municipalities and post offices. Special attention is given to the Lakes Superior and Michigan and the Fox, Rock, and Mississippi Rivers (81-202).

Considering the paucity of firsthand information available to Lapham, his achievement is indeed most remarkable, both in its accuracy and its wealth of information. For the commissioners, Lapham's book would have far surpassed Lathrop's article in value to the prospective settler. Lathrop concentrates upon the state's economic activity, present and future. Lapham's book is a multi-disciplined overview of Wisconsin's attributes with an emphasis on natural history (and prospects for agricultural exploitation), both in general and by specific county, including an assessment of settlement and remaining available land in each. While Lathrop's article may have enticed people to settle in Wisconsin for economic reasons, pointing out as it did the abundant opportunities for the infusion of both labor and capital, Lapham's book offers a wealth of information on the physical appearance of Wisconsin and its degree of social development.

Along with other source materials (books, letters, pamphlets, and word-of-mouth descriptions), the insights provided in Lapham's book could have directed the emigrant of the time to the state and, although no particular locality was promoted, perhaps to specific areas, giving him enough information in the process to know what weather to anticipate, what soils or minerals he would find, the location of post offices (the primary means of communication on the frontier) and, in light of the described resources, what types of enterprise might be successful in a given community.

After reviewing Lapham's work and comparing its physical observations with modern references, as well as considering the practical information offered by the author, it becomes evident just how valuable a source of information this book must have been, and it comes as no surprise that Van Steenwijk would recommend this

work as a helpful compendium for emigrants even seven years after its first publication. Because of its volume, it seems unlikely, however, that Lapham's work would have served as blueprint for a general picture of Wisconsin to be offered potential settlers as a first impression.

Measuring both Lathrop's and Lapham's work with what we know about the state today, one cannot help being impressed with the general accuracy and completeness of the information provided. For example, both authors correctly—though in the terminology available at the time—outlined the geological formations of the region. Lapham's description of the state's vegetation and fauna still stands as an example of scientific observation. On top of this, Lapham provides a natural and population history of the state that remains unchallenged today. The geographical and meteorological statistics submitted by Lapham, although sparse, have been confirmed by modern data. Both authors saw the great agricultural potential of Wisconsin as well as the promising prospects for the exploitation of the state's forests. They foresaw the rapidly growing need for workers and capital in all branches of business associated with a mushrooming economy revolving around agriculture, lumber and transportation. For this, both pinpointed Wisconsin's strategic location between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi. However, in predicting improved rivers and new canals for navigation, Lathrop did not anticipate the railroads to the degree in which they would supersede river and canal traffic. Regarding the apparently infinite supply of lumber, both authors failed to foresee the advances in technology that helped to accelerate its depletion. Still, these developments did not adversely affect the emigrants of the 1850s in significant ways. The building of railroads only speeded up their travel from the seacoast across the land, and the clearcutting of ever larger tracts of land only meant an exponential rise in the availability of farmland, a welcome trend for the many emigrants who had been farmers in the Old World, as well, and who continued their exodus throughout the nineteenth century.

Reaching the Emigrant

The pamphlet "Wisconsin," fashioned after Lathrop and/or Lapham, likely constituted the agency's principal vehicle for carrying its message to the targeted audience. In retrospect, it may be surmised that the commissioners attempted to provide information similar to that disseminated by their successors in 1867.¹⁴ If so, then the farmer could have learned from the office staff that crops such as wheat, oats, corn, potatoes, rye, barley, buckwheat, tobacco, and hay were successful in Wisconsin. He could also have garnered the market prices for those crops at the time, allowing him to predict potential profits or losses. He would have been able to find out which specialty crops, e.g., apples, peas and beans, clover, flax, hemp, sorghum, and grapes could be grown, and that there was a market for butter, cheese, and maple syrup. He might have learned where land was available in the state, the condition of the soils, and to what extent he would have to exert labor to clear the land and place it into production. He might also have inquired about the average wages for laborers in order to calculate how many man hours he could afford while establishing his farm

in Wisconsin. The laborer, tradesman, or artisan could have found out what trades and occupations were in demand, and where. If interested, the emigrant might also have learned about Wisconsin's legal climate—the right to vote after but one year's residence,¹⁵ its laws of inheritance and taxation, its governmental structure and its school system.

Apparently the commissioners did indeed provide specific information about Wisconsin's climate and geography, its cities and routes of transportation. The first commissioner, Van Steenwijk, noted in his "Annual Report" for 1852 that he

had long known and appreciated Wisconsin's great advantages in regard to healthy situation, moderate temperature, richness of soil and easy access to the best markets of the United States, its liberal political institutions, richly endowed and excellent schools, the true progressive spirit of its American and European population and the rapid growth of fine internal improvements. (4)

This led him to the belief that he could well contribute to the advancement of the state in advising the emigrants to relocate here. He also recommended in his report that to facilitate this objective, the state should authorize the employment of a delegate

with the necessary instructions, recommendations and introductions [who] should go to the principal ports and starting points in England, Scotland and Ireland, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Sweden and Norway, and perhaps Switzerland. (13)

Accordingly, he had 20,000 pamphlets printed in German, 5,000 in Norwegian and 4,000 in Dutch¹⁶ that were distributed "on vessels . . . , in hotels and in taverns, mostly to the immigrants personally; by sending them across the Atlantic for distribution among emigrants leaving port" (5-6). He felt that information on Wisconsin should, additionally, be made available not only in New York but in New Orleans, Quebec, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore.

In his "Report," Haertel indicated that he had as his chief aim the presentation of information on Wisconsin "in general; its advantages above other states, descriptions of particular localities; its commerce; the wealth of its mineral, timber and agricultural districts; its climate, public institutions, political privileges, means of education, &c." He noted that he had distributed 30,000 of the pamphlets, one half of which in Europe, and that he has "seldom failed to give descriptions of Wisconsin, even to those who were influenced by relatives and friends to settle in other States," observing that a number of those to whom he had spoken changed their minds and went to Wisconsin, writing to him, expressing their appreciation for his advice (7). No figures on pamphlets issued are available from the last commissioner, Horn.

It has already been observed that the efforts of the commissioner of emigration were, among all ethnic groups, primarily aimed at attracting and assisting Germans—not because Germans necessarily were the most desirable of the European immigrants,

or the best-educated, and not because they necessarily possessed the skills needed in the frontier state, or that they brought with them more capital than other immigrants. Instead, the commissioners simply had realized that the majority of emigrants landing on Wisconsin's shores were of German origin.

A review of the 1850 census for the state supports this observation. Of the 305,538 Wisconsin residents counted for that year, 40,348, or 13.2%, reported German states as their country of origin. Beginning in the late 1840s, Wisconsin had become a favored destination among German emigrants who were pouring into the state in unprecedented numbers. In their reports, the three commissioners recognized this trend. Van Steenwijk commented that the German immigration to Wisconsin in 1853 was "most considerable," and that most of the emigrants who visited his office were German. The majority of newspapers to which he contributed articles, editorials, and advertisements overseas were German, and when he had the act of legislature that created his office translated, his target language of choice was German.¹⁷ Haertel similarly noted a predominance of German visitors to his office, and a substantial amount of his foreign correspondence was with German newspapers. He estimated that the number of German emigrants who had settled in Wisconsin during the year of 1853 was approximately 16,000 to 18,000, with the next highest group, the Irish, at a distant 4,000 to 5,000. He also remarked that 50 million people in Europe speak German, a huge reservoir of potential emigrants to Wisconsin.¹⁸ Frederick Horn noted that it was the middle class of Germany that was on the move, driven by high taxes and the chaos of war. He added that, in 1854, during the months of May through July, 67,048 Germans passed through New York harbor while all other ethnic groups totaled 48,084, and that roughly 16,000 of the Germans in question were headed toward Wisconsin.¹⁹ No wonder that Rudolph Puchner, a German settler of New Holstein, mused that, at this particular time period, Wisconsin was "the mecca of immigrants."²⁰

Under the circumstances it may be concluded that the pamphlet, deemed by the commissioners to play such an important role in their efforts to reach out to the emigrants, was carefully translated for maximum impact. Whether this document was akin to the Lathrop article of 1853 or more like Lapham's Wisconsin pamphlet of 1867, it is evident upon review of each of these masterful descriptions that the purpose was to provide an objective overview of the state and its resources while at the same time promoting it as a place of abundant opportunity. Since Wisconsin had already experienced a large German influx and since the current social and political situation in Europe was unlikely to reduce the exodus of Germans, the importance of the pamphlet in its German version, even at a reduced circulation due to the limited number of copies, should not be underestimated.

Information on Wisconsin Offered Through Private Sources

For the period under observation, the Wisconsin Office of Commissioner of Emigration was not the only provider of information about the process of emigrating and resettling in Wisconsin. A plethora of other contemporary sources was available

to the prospective emigrant, several of which will, in the following, be compared with the advice given by the commissioners. The selection of materials is limited to those books, letters, and articles which are contemporaneous to the period of the office's existence between 1852 and 1855 and which pertain to the emigrant in general and Wisconsin in particular.

***Nordamerika Wisconsin, Calumet: Winke für Auswanderer* by Carl de Haas, "Farmer in Wisconsin"**

Rudolph Puchner, who was just mentioned, observed that reading de Haas's book not only induced him to emigrate to this state but, additionally, to relocate in de Haas's community of Calumet. It may be assumed that the two volumes of de Haas's book²¹ were widely distributed and read among the German emigrant community.

The subtitle of the book implies that it was aimed primarily at the prospective farmer.²² Indeed, the author offers plenty of useful statistical information for the farmer. However, being more than a farmer's almanac about Wisconsin, the book also includes practical information, concerning currency and exchange rates, weights, measures and distances, as well as an autobiographical sketch, describing the author's own motivation to emigrate and the trip from his hometown in the Rhineland to the seacoast and the journey across the ocean. This account, clearly emphasizing the practical, contains ample advice on what to expect in terms of provisions and accommodations, what to bring along to make the passage more bearable, what the ships looked like, and what was charged for passage.²³

De Haas goes to great lengths to acquaint his reader with New York as it would appear to the newcomer who just crossed the ocean. He gives advice about agents, steamboats on the Hudson River and connections from Albany westward to Wisconsin. This is followed by a detailed description of Milwaukee (43-45). For the emigrant who ventures inland from that point, de Haas has a list of supplies and materials to be purchased in that city, including the cost for oxen and wagon with which to haul his belongings (44-48). He describes the lands surrounding Milwaukee and other localities before focusing on his own selected community of Calumet on the shores of Lake Winnebago (49-52). At this point, the reader is given an account of the author's initial land-taking experience (52-58), together with more statistical information (including temperatures for 1847 and 1848) and descriptions of the soil types present in the area (64-72). To end the first volume of his book, de Haas introduces the reader to the three main vegetation patterns in southeast Wisconsin, distinguishing between prairie, oak opening, and forest lands, and describes the labor necessary to put land into production (72-82).

The second volume contains an even more thorough description of Wisconsin, its land and climate and other information primarily of interest to the prospective farmer (17-40). However, de Haas's detailed summary of the geography of the state as well as his exhaustive descriptions of not just Calumet but a number of counties in the state worthy of settlement—including Milwaukee—must also have appealed to emigrants of all professions. De Haas concludes his narrative with a brief account of

the Territory of Minnesota along with a history of Wisconsin and immigration to the state (116-40) followed by a list of prices for the year 1849, both of goods, supplies and materials and of the bids received by farmers for their harvest products and animals.

De Haas calculated the cost of emigrating from the city of Leipzig to Wisconsin, buying land, raising a cabin and putting the land into production at \$670 (124). He did not forget to list the yields which one might expect to coax from the soil, extolling the prospect of farmers for succeeding in their own right (128). For the emigrant without means, de Haas demonstrated the availability of jobs and noted the wages then being paid. In his opinion, America, when compared to Germany, was a paradise for the poor man (130).

Simply because of its complexity and breadth of information, de Haas's account stands out among most other contemporary publications on the subject. While it was primarily aimed at the farmer, while it encouraged emigration to Wisconsin exclusively and, within Wisconsin, to the vicinity of his farm in Calumet, it is exemplary as a testimony to the benefits of emigration. That it must have been well known among German speaking emigrants is indirectly proven by the fact that the book was widely advertised (and critiqued) in newspapers of the time that catered to the emigrant readership.²⁴

Unfortunately, de Haas's account would become quickly dated, its information stale after only a few years. During the time of the Wisconsin Office of Commissioner of Emigration, its popularity may already have been in decline but, as with other texts, it likely formed a basis upon which the emigrant could formulate requests for more detailed information from the commissioner.

In comparison with what was available through the commissioner's office, de Haas's text could therefore be termed a thorough introduction to the adventure of emigration, upon which the information given by the commissioner could be built. The commissioner could thus confirm or modify what the emigrant had learned from the book and update him on the latest status of available land and jobs in the areas of Wisconsin described by de Haas. Without a question, it was a matter of a few years before all of the "Congress land" in Calumet had been taken and de Haas's readers would have to look farther afield in this part of the state, if not in more distant locations, to find similarly priced land to buy. What the commissioner could do and that de Haas's book could not was to facilitate a safe sojourn in New York and either recommend agents through whom passage to Wisconsin could be obtained or make those arrangements himself for the emigrants.

The mission of de Haas's book, then, was both to provide background information to the reader about the emigration experience and to encourage him to gravitate toward an area within Wisconsin which de Haas himself had found to be attractive and economically enticing. There is no doubt that de Haas accomplished these goals. It is altogether likely that untold numbers of German emigrants decided upon Wisconsin, in general, and the area surrounding Lake Winnebago, in particular, after reading his book.

Der nordamerikanische Freistaat Wisconsin by Theodor Wettstein

This book appeared in the same Bädeler series devoted to "the latest information on foreign countries with special emphasis on German emigration and colonization" that featured de Haas.²⁵ With over 600 pages, it appears to be the most comprehensive compendium the emigrant could buy at the time. The backbone of the work consists of two reports by Wettstein, the first a travelogue following Wettstein's passage from Barmen in the German Ruhr area to Milwaukee, the second a detailed description of Wisconsin. Sandwiched between the two are four extraneous but nevertheless relevant texts: advice on avoiding being swindled (by C. T. Voß), an annual report by the German Folk Society of New York for the year 1847-48, a reprint of the laws and regulations for emigration by the Senate of Bremen as well as excerpts from the acts of U.S. Congress regarding immigration (in German translation), the conditions for passage from Bremen to the U.S. issued by a shipping agent, and a postscript by Wettstein. Wettstein's second report²⁶ is followed by a separate, thorough portrayal of Milwaukee, through which he aims to address the city dweller who is not in the position to buy land and start a farm. By this he explicitly intended to fill a gap, since most other emigrant guide books address a more rural audience, focusing on land acquisition and agriculture (cf. part 2, 157).

Wettstein obviously had a gift for coordinating and organizing the trip to America, not only in order to ensure its safe and smooth execution but also to lower the cost for him and his large family. Possibly tipped off by de Haas's recommendation, he contacted the reputed booking agent Traub who invited him to round up the passengers for a chartered passage on the still new steamship *George Washington*.²⁷ Wettstein managed to enlist 156 persons willing to emigrate from his area and satisfying his requirements of "cleanliness and enterprising spirit" (part 1, 7), at a handsome provision that allowed him and his family to travel—cabin, not steerage—virtually for free (1, 9). For the transfer from the hinterland to Bremerhaven, he negotiated the fare with the train companies and had some 50,000 pounds of luggage shipped separately by a freight forwarder, thus avoiding excessive damage by repeated transfers between train lines (1, 9-10).

Wettstein's observations and recommendations regarding the ocean crossing are both sobering and helpful, from the gradual acceptance of rats on board by the resigned passengers (1, 20) to the admonition not to use one's own bedlinen to line the bunks but rather to buy a primitive but inexpensive straw mattress in Bremerhaven which, soiled and damaged, could be discarded after passage (1, 24). However, when he notes that the rare and small portions of butter given out by the crew only serve to protect the passengers from seasickness caused by the consumption of fat (1, 23), one wonders whether the reader (and future passenger) may not be the victim of a conflict of interest pitting Wettstein's better knowledge against his good relations with the captain and the shipping agent.

The most thorough and helpful sections of the book concern Wisconsin and Milwaukee, in Wettstein's opinion the destinations preferred by German emigrants (2, 156). Before describing any specific features, he goes to great pains to dispel the

common notion in Europe that all the thirty-three American states and territories are alike in terms of climate and vegetation (2, 157). He points out that Wisconsin's climate, although not ideal, is healthier than most, which is confirmed by the rapid increase of the state's population (2, 190). At the same time, he is honest enough to cite the two most frequent diseases in Wisconsin—"cold fever" (erroneously ascribed by him to the emissions of decaying plant material after clearing the land) and "summer complaints" (most likely dysentery contracted by contaminated water)—but compares their occurrence favorably with that in southern states (2, 225-27).

Wettstein must have read most other accounts on the subject, especially Lapham and Goldmann (see below), to whom he refers explicitly but also implicitly. For example, when describing the geographical location of the state and its borders, he almost literally uses Lapham's vocabulary (apart from quoting from the state's constitution) and even apologizes for the "crude" terminology to which the European reader may be unaccustomed (2, 161). He follows Lapham in citing the most important lakes, rivers, and canals. Of the latter he predicts a boom in the near future, enhancing Wisconsin's transportation system to a point where it can compete with the best in the country (2, 172).

In regards to vegetation, crops and soils, Wettstein not only gives expert advice based on his own experience but also relies on de Haas and Goldmann (see below). He explains the American system of marking townships using the grid system, again referring to de Haas (2, 185-87). When he lists and briefly describes each county (2, 187-88), he basically provides an abstract of Lapham's exhaustive account. However, in his thoughtful explanation of the factors that contribute to the growth of communities on the frontier (2, 194-97)—with the saw and grist mills as the catalysts around which the other institutions crystallize and grow—he offers original insights that cannot be found elsewhere. Wettstein concludes his description of the state with a list of the cities and the existing railroads. In the latter regard he corrects the assumption passed as fact in other German literature that the railroad line between Prairie du Chien on the Mississippi and Milwaukee was already in operation. Rather, it was still in the planning stages, money being the major obstacle. It would be deplorable indeed, Wettstein exclaims, if emigrants were traveling up the Mississippi River planning to board the train in Prairie du Chien to take them to the interior of the state, only to be faced with impenetrable wilderness (2, 198).

In a separate chapter, Wettstein describes the process of settling in Wisconsin, beginning with an explanation of the social forces that build a community—from commerce and transportation to education to religion to entertainment (2, 205)—and a county-by-county list of population growth and another list (probably borrowed from Lapham) of available land and its worth in each county, including land taxes and land office revenue (2, 237). He describes the major routes of transportation, again exhorting Wisconsin's great potential for outperforming every other state (2, 211), but also mentions the disadvantage of freezing weather that paralyzes most water routes during an extended period of the year (2, 219).

In excerpting and commenting on the constitution of Wisconsin, Wettstein offers his own view on the granting of suffrage after only one year of residency. In his eyes,

the liberal requirement only leads to uninformed decisions on the part of newcomers, who still are more concerned with building an existence in the wilderness than with party politics, and tempts party vote hunters to manipulate the result with votes that had been bought off with a glass of beer or like incentives (2, 247). He lists the three major parties (Whigs, Democrats, Free Soilers) and describes the state's political (2, 258-63) and social institutions, including a free press, something to be noted by the subjects of an absolutist monarchy (2, 264). When discussing religion, Wettstein points out the separation between church and state which, contrary to expectation, has not resulted in depraved manners and morals but rather the opposite (2, 277). He also describes the state's education system and its funding by property taxes, making sure to stress that although taxes must be paid they are much lower than in the old country (2, 293).

Notwithstanding Wettstein's claim that he possesses no specific knowledge in agriculture, he inserts a brief section on farming but mostly refers to others who have written exhaustively on the subject, especially de Haas, Wilhelm Dames (see below), and C. Fleischmann, the United States' consul in Stuttgart.²⁸ He adds his own cost calculation for raising a farm in the woods and warns the inexperienced settler against claiming land that he may not be able to develop within a year (2, 299-313).

The last part of the book is devoted to Milwaukee. Here, Wettstein recounts the development of the city, ward by ward, offers statistics on production and trade (perhaps borrowed from Lathrop) and pronounces Milwaukee's great potential to become the foremost city in the west. His individual numbers of and comments on businesses in each profession and trade are particularly helpful for the non-farming emigrant.

Generally, Wettstein's observations, besides those borrowed from other sources, are unique in their frankness and originality. His is clearly a concern for the misled, naive and overly romantic emigrant. In describing the qualities required for a successful settler (well-informed, physically fit, independent, enterprising, modest), he doesn't mince words. Too common, he believes, is the romantic idea of a blissful, careless life at the bosom of nature:

Hinter dem Glase daheim, und in heiterer Unterhaltung der angehenden Auswanderer werden mit ungeheurer Leichtigkeit die Bäume des Urwaldes umgehauen und verbrannt, ein Blockhaus steigt auf, das Land wird urbar gemacht, und man zaubert sich in ein idyllisches Schäferleben hinein, wo die Wonne kein Ende nimmt. (2, 319)

It is for this reason that, in his introduction, Wettstein assumes almost personal responsibility for giving it to the reader straight: "Leid, herzlich leid würde es mir sein, wenn auch nur Einer durch meine Berichte veranlaßt würde, die Heimath zu verlassen, und es ihm später nicht gut gehen sollte" (1, 2).

In a whimsical aside Wettstein chastises European rulers for their reluctance to let emigrants go and protect them appropriately. Almost as soon as he begins this tirade he aborts it, for fear, as he coyly admits, of getting in trouble with the re-

established censorship office in the German states (after the failed Revolution of 1848). Interestingly, an inserted editorial note just as gamefully reassures the author not to worry since remarks as sensible as his certainly would not offend any authority these days. It is left up to the reader to interpret this exchange as a skilfull strategy for averting the censor's eye.

In his treatment of starting a new existence in Wisconsin, especially as non-farmer, Wettstein provides an invaluable service to his readers. After studying his book (especially also the additional sections not authored by Wettstein, such as the warnings by Voß on the numerous dangers awaiting the traveler, or the excerpts from the Wisconsin Constitution), there is little left that the German settler in Wisconsin might have wanted to know. Still, whatever may be lacking in Wettstein's account (e.g., labor costs and wages, as well as information on establishing a farm) is furnished by de Haas, making the two books quite complementary. Armed with the works of de Haas and Wettstein, the settler could confidently embark on his voyage and orient himself in the new land. The only component missing would be the latest, up-to-date, information on shipping lines, fares, accommodations in New York, and land available. He also might have welcomed maps of the United States, as developed by mid-century, and of Wisconsin.

***Wie sieht es in Wisconsin aus?* by Wilhelm Dames**

Wilhelm Dames, of whom we know very little otherwise, recounts his voyage in this booklet²⁹ day by day, from the valley of the Ruhr to Wisconsin. Dames provides his reader with extremely practical advice, including tips on packing one's possessions and on the laws regulating what food stuffs passengers are allowed aboard ship. His graphic account of the ocean crossing reveals both the hardships (foremost among them seasickness) and the monotony of the trip. Dames then describes his stay in New York, indicating the person he contacted for advice and information. In this respect, Dames seemed to stress more the importance of seeking out good advisors than giving specific advice himself.

Dames's booklet is filled with information—the cost of tickets, routes of travel and the like. Since it is written in the form of a diary it is relatively easy for the reader to follow his progress and plan for the length of the journey to Wisconsin. Once arrived in Milwaukee he continues with a travelogue of his wanderings through southern Wisconsin in search of a home. He finally takes out papers for land located in the vicinity of Rush Lake in Winnebago County. He concludes his daily account by acquainting the farmer with the opportunities awaiting him and advises those readers not interested in farming about the trades in which they may find work.

In his factual approach to the subject, Dames serves the reader interested in useful information well, although it can't be said that he advises them, either as to particular aspects of the journey or where to settle once Wisconsin is reached. Most of all, however, it is his journal style that gives the reader a distinct sense of perspective. Absent of photography, his scenic tour of south central Wisconsin offers an almost visual impression of the new land. Unlike de Haas, Dames does not advocate a

particular area for settlement nor does he give any specifics about the economic, political or social circumstances to be found in Wisconsin. On the other hand, whereas authentic diary entries frequently tend to get lost in mundane details and observations, Dames, obviously with an eye toward a wider audience, represents a successful balancing act between providing essential information and painting a large canvas.

***Der nordamerikanische Freistaat Wisconsin* by Gustav Richter**

Richter's tiny book of fifteen pages³⁰ reads like a Fodor pocket guide, only not for the casual tourist but for the person who desires to settle in Wisconsin. A short section also explains how, and at what cost, to get there from New York, after obtaining advice at the German Union at 95 Greenwich Street. Probably the most valuable asset of this booklet, however (apart from a compressed wealth of information on the natural and economical qualities of the state), is the complete text of the constitution of the state of Wisconsin in German, including, of course, the clause that entitles emigrants to vote after only one year of residency. Another attractive feature is a detailed fold-out map of Wisconsin, with a square mile grid of the federally surveyed portions at the time of the book's publication (about one-third of the entire state).

There is no question that the broad range of information available through the commissioner of emigration would have been of greater value to the emigrant than Richter's text. One of the real problems with booklets such as Richter's is that the information they contain becomes stale; for instance, the German Union in New York soon moved from 95 Greenwich Street to another location, land is taken and no longer available, and even more general advice is subject to changing conditions. The inherent flexibility of the commissioner, whose information was periodically brought up to date, was an advantage that was hard to beat. Neither does Richter alert the emigrant to the attendant problems and dangers during the emigrant's journey (he touches upon the routes and expenses of travel but leaves it at that), nor, despite his presentation of statistical data and other information on the state, does he provide specific hints where within the state emigrants might consider resettling. His is a general text only. Its greatest value lies in its map, its cursory information and in furnishing the complete state constitution in the emigrant's native language. Without additional information, especially on the perils of traveling through the port of New York, the reader and emigrant would have been left dangerously exposed to all sorts of exploitation along the way.

***Briefe von Wisconsin* by Freimund Goldmann**

An intrepid adventurer who ended up in Wisconsin's lead mining district, Goldmann wrote letters home to his father which were published for the benefit of emigrants to the United States.³¹ His parents reluctantly allowed him to seek his fortune overseas since, as his father comments in an introduction to the text, "Old Europe has nothing to offer. The New World has everything to give" (1).

Goldmann's letters begin with the journey across the Atlantic Ocean, including an exacting description of all aspects of the voyage, down to the meals eaten, the cabins offered (to those of sufficient means to avoid steerage), and the cost of the trip. From the reading of these letters, the emigrant would come away with an appreciation for the nature of the ocean voyage. Goldmann next briefly describes his interlude in New York and then engages in an account of the trip from the seacoast to Milwaukee. Like his description of the sea voyage, it is presented in great detail, together with alarm at the cost of travel and the danger of being "swindled" (9).

After mentioning Milwaukee he sets out upon his journey of discovery, walking westward through southern Wisconsin. His account reads like a travelogue, giving a picture of the scenery and the people he encountered. Goldmann ended up in the vicinity of Mineral Point, southwest of Madison, where he decided to stay. From this point on his letters provide a narrative of his life on the frontier, including a detailed description of a house being built and of his daily routine. He takes the time to mention his American neighbors, commenting on their characters and mannerisms.

At one point Goldmann provides advice to the prospective emigrant, recommending that he be aware of lurking dangers and that he prepare in advance for both the journey and settling down in the new land. He speaks to the planting of crops and how one copes with life and the expenses incurred, together with the earnings realized by one's farming efforts. In recommending emigration, he goes so far as to advise his followers also to settle in Wisconsin, noting its advantages over other developing areas in the United States (24).

Goldmann's is an engaging account, not professionally edited for a prospective readership but, as is alluded to by his father, straightforward and honest, containing folk wisdom and observations which might assist fellow emigrants in easing the transition from the Old World to the New. A person thinking about emigrating might consider this to be a starting point in his reading, providing food for thought about the nature of the journey and expectations to develop about the place of settlement. It would have been of greatest value to the farmer on the frontier. Even at that, its statistical information would soon have been dated. Once again, the currency of advice and information available through the commissioner's office would have been of greater benefit, not to speak of the specific up-to-date information on land purchases.

***Friendly Adviser for All Who Would Emigrate to America and Particularly Wisconsin* by Christian Traugott Ficker**

This book, translated into English by Joseph Schafer of the Wisconsin State Historical Society,³² is a rather involved autobiographical sketch which sets forth in great detail the experience of an emigrant of this time period, including the trials and tribulations of the voyage from Europe to New York. In contrast to the sources previously described, Ficker does relate advice as to what the emigrant was to expect in New York and from whom to seek advice and counsel there, including the Wisconsin Office of Commissioner of Emigration on Greenwich Street,³³ before he embarks

on a thorough description of his passage from New York to Wisconsin.

Perhaps speaking from experience, Ficker comments on the lines of trade that were in demand in the new home for farmers, laborers, tradesmen and professionals, alerting the emigrant that, at least in the beginning, he might not be able to practice the trade or profession he had learned. He also reminds the reader, somewhat obliquely, that it would be of value for the emigrant to acquaint himself with the American ways.

An account follows of starting up a farm, including the building of a house and barn in Mequon (Ozaukee, later Washington County; 231-33). Moving from the specific to the general, Ficker provides a geographical sketch of the state, a description of its political structure, the availability of churches, schools and social organizations and societies, and then concludes with his own appraisal of what kind of person should consider emigrating. In this regard, Ficker concludes that those who are capable of caring for themselves might consider the prospect, together with those who live under political or religious oppression (471f.).

In its combination of detailed description, some information, and advice, Ficker's work is more akin to the book written by de Haas than any of the other sources mentioned here, although his implicit recommendations for settling in Wisconsin are more general in nature than de Haas's specific invitation to Calumet County. An emigrant who had read Ficker's advice and, heeding it, had turned to the Wisconsin commissioner's office in New York, would have been served rather well indeed, given the complementary nature of the book and the commissioner's services.

Articles from Contemporary Periodicals

At a time when journalism was not yet imbued with the mantra of separating factual reporting from editorial comment, articles appearing in European and American newspapers of the 1840 and 1850s helped promote emigration. Generally widely read, these might, from a modern standpoint, be regarded as "informercials." They were usually written and submitted by emigrants themselves who made use of a paper's regional circulation to "spread the word" about emigration. Editors, who did not depend on wire services for obtaining news to print and to reserve space for them, normally welcomed such contributions. Since the articles—sometimes printed serially over a number of subsequent issues—were signed off with the contributor's name, the reader was aware of their potentially subjective nature and no doubt valued them as such.

The following examples stem from two weekly publications, one aimed at the general public, the other at emigrants. They are symptomatic for literally thousands of contributions on emigration not only to the United States but to Latin America and Australia, as well. Just as immigration became a ubiquitous staple in the public discourse of nineteenth-century United States, emigration had become a topic of daily conversation among a majority of Germans who had read the latest news. Indeed, it may be argued that the widely available and eagerly read press of Europe in the

nineteenth century contributed significantly to the ground swell that led to one of the greatest migrations in history.

Wilhelm Ostenfeldt in the *Itzeboer Wochenblatt*

In a series of two articles that appeared in the *Itzeboer Wochenblatt* (of the same town in Holstein) in the autumn of 1847,³⁴ one Wilhelm Ostenfeldt encouraged readers to join the wave of emigrants departing the old country for the United States. Ostenfeldt was a native of Kiel, who had emigrated to the United States a few years earlier and settled in the vicinity of Calumet, de Haas's new found home. He became the representative of a wealthy entrepreneur, Benjamin Field of Beloit, Wisconsin, who had purchased forested lands to the east of Calumet and sought to sell them, at a profit, to pioneering farmers. Ostenfeldt returned to the land of his birth in 1847 to drum up interest in the lands owned by his principal. As a result, he assembled a large group of Holsteiners, individuals and families, who would form the nucleus of the community of New Holstein in Wisconsin.³⁵

In his articles, Ostenfeldt attempted to demonstrate the attractiveness of emigration, whether for reasons of political freedom, the availability of land or for other purposes. After setting the stage in this fashion he asks the question: To which state should the emigrant travel who wishes to purchase land journey? He proceeds to compare briefly a number of prominent destinations for emigrants of this time period—Texas, Illinois, Iowa and Wisconsin, reserving, as is to be expected, his most favorable judgment for the latter. He then offers his reasons for this choice: the low price of available land, the productiveness of the soil, the general state of health of its inhabitants and its accessibility from the seacoast. He recommends that the reader avail himself of the services of particular booking agents and travel from Hamburg to New York by sail or steamship. Practical advice about costs and routes of travel to the interior of the country is also provided. Ostenfeldt does not specifically mention his intent to sell land but does make himself available to answer questions which might be posed to him by the readers. Clearly, his articles are teasers that are not all too different from promotional literature mailed to households in our days, promising the bliss of vacationing or retiring inexpensively on your own piece of property in the region of your dreams. They offer just enough information to whet the readers' appetite and to express the author's personal opinion, presumably based on experience, as to how to undertake the emigration process and to which state to emigrate. Ostenfeldt is less site specific than some of the other authors mentioned here and seems to raise more questions than furnish answers. Admittedly, being first and foremost a salesman, that must have been his objective, for it would not have been through the reading of his articles that persons would have simply traveled somewhere to Wisconsin in order to buy land (unlike through de Haas's very detailed description of Calumet). Only through subsequent personal contacts with Ostenfeldt would the reader have been encouraged to join in the settlement of a wilderness territory in far off Wisconsin.

The services available through the commissioner's office were obviously more

complete and probably more concise than what an agent like Ostenfeldt had to offer. For one thing, his ulterior motive was to sell land, and he certainly was not going to steer potential customers elsewhere, even, arguably, if it had been in their best interest to do so. Secondly, Ostenfeldt exhibits a rather general, if not superficial, knowledge of Wisconsin, his primary attention being reserved for the specific land area that he was empowered to sell. Thirdly, his major thrust was not to sell his product through these articles but to dissuade their readers from going elsewhere or buying other land. (In the latter respect, he discourages his readers from purchasing lands already titled in a previous settler's name, for these were times when liens and encumbrances unknown to the unsuspecting purchaser were common.) The commissioner, on the other hand, would have been able to provide broad, unbiased information on the entire state of Wisconsin, its resources and available lands without pressuring the emigrant into making a purchase. Apart from promoting Wisconsin in general as a desirable state for resettlement, the commissioner's approach would by and large have been neutral relative to the need for advice and the interests of the emigrant. Luckily for those who took him up on his offer, Ostenfeldt turned out to be an honest broker who went far beyond his commercial interests by accompanying the emigrants on their journey—thus protecting them from countless inconveniences and exploitations—and by helping them find their land and establish the settlement of New Holstein.³⁶

Der deutsche Auswanderer

In the mid-nineteenth century, specialized newspapers were aimed exclusively at the prospective German emigrant. Apart from providing editorial content, they served as a vehicle for advertising booking agencies, passages on particular ships, rail lines, places of lodging, and more. Topical articles were devoted to places where to relocate (including other countries and continents besides the United States), travel descriptions, statistical information on the number of emigrants leaving for America or other destinations, and the reprinting of legal regulations, both in German lands and abroad. Furthermore, these papers often reprinted letters from emigrants and discussed recently published books on emigration, among them de Haas's, as we have seen.³⁷ One of these weekly newspapers was the *Allgemeine Auswanderungs-Zeitung*, published in Rudolstadt (in the Saxon principality of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, today part of Thuringia) Bremen and New York, another *Der deutsche Auswanderer*, published in Darmstadt, in the grand duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt (located south of the confluence of the Main and Rhine Rivers, it was a strategic location for many emigrants from the southern and southwestern German states). Several letters printed in this publication in 1848, one in the form of an extended "letter" from an emigrant to Wisconsin, are representative for the type of information about the state made available through this and similar sources.

"Amerika: Das Gebiet Wisconsin und die deutsche Einwanderung dahin" by Carl Tuckermann

In his report,³⁸ Tuckermann emphasizes that for several years Wisconsin has been the most significant destination for German emigrants in the United States. Known for its fertile soils, healthy climate and abundant resources, Wisconsin has become well known amongst Germans as a place for resettlement. He names the counties where much land has already been claimed by settlers (Milwaukee, Washington, Racine, Kenosha, Iowa and Grant) and generally describes the landscape, dividing it into prairies to the west of Milwaukee, and the deep forest to its north and along Lake Michigan. Not dissimilar to Lathrop's treatise of 1853, Tuckermann's article covers a lot of ground, providing sketchy details on the state's history, climate, geography, agricultural potential and its location convenient for marketing agricultural products (noting the connection via the Great Lakes to eastern markets, soon to be supplemented, as he erroneously believed, by a canal in Illinois to the Mississippi River, giving Wisconsin farmers access to southern markets, as well). He also extols the virtues of Wisconsin's constitution and the ability of foreigners to vote after one year of residency. Although he promotes the state in general, Tuckermann places special emphasis on Sheboygan County and, to a lesser extent, on its neighbors, Fond du Lac, Calumet and Manitowoc Counties, each of which was then heavily forested and largely unpopulated. In this context, he observes that ample government land was still available at \$1.25 per acre or \$800 per square mile. He concludes by dissuading the reader from considering immigration to Texas, for the heat is oppressive and the crops are foreign to Germans (as opposed to those that can be raised in Wisconsin). Moreover, the laborer would find himself competing against cheap slave labor and there would be Indian problems, not to speak of the fact that the state was filled with murderers, robbers and outcasts from the remainder of the United States.³⁹

Tuckermann's article certainly was of the type which would have triggered interest in a reader even casually thinking about heading for Wisconsin. It is short on details and long on promotion, although promotion of a relatively neutral nature, since Tuckermann does not appear to represent the interests of a particular enterprise, nor is he attempting to secure settlers for a particular community. Themes common to many of the books, pamphlets, articles and letters of the time devoted to Wisconsin run through Tuckermann's exposé: Wisconsin is a healthy place, a land not unlike Germany where one may farm in the same manner as in the homeland. Wisconsin has prospects of a great future as an agricultural district and, although a fair amount of land has already been taken in the vicinity of Milwaukee, much remains to be claimed to its north and west at low prices. The reader also may detect the subtle yet obvious attempt to encourage immigration to a state where there already is a sizable German community. Thus, Tuckermann's article would have planted the seed, giving the German emigrant reason to think more seriously about Wisconsin, but no more.

"Amerikanische Briefe-Auszüge aus Auswandererbriefen-Empfehlung von Wisconsin"

The author, L. W. Ranis, begins his letter to Germany⁴⁰ by noting that he was writing it from 7,000 miles away at the edge of civilization. He waxes optimistic about the opportunities for success in Wisconsin, observing that the farmer could even plant crops of wheat or corn in the same spot, year after year, still obtaining great yields. He also expresses amazement at the prairie where the grasses are so tall they conceal the largest of men. The climate, he avers, may be compared to that of Sicily. According to him, there are "alligators," two shoes in length, in the Rock River near Watertown that one must be careful to avoid. (He may have meant snapping turtles.)

Confronted with this type of enthusiasm and sensationalism, the modern, if not contemporary, reader must ponder the question whether Ranis was simply naive about his new home or wanted to gloss over any shortcomings in order to impress. And this is but one example of many letters that were far too short and scattered in their approach to the subject matter to have been of significant value to the emigrant other than the fact that a fellow German citizen has been there before him and has found Wisconsin an attractive place to settle in. The frequency and apparent sincerity of this type of communication, however, likely did not fail to have their effect on readers who knew not where to go in the new land but looked with eagerness to reports from people like themselves. Although some stories might more aptly be called tall tales, it can well be imagined that some desperate Germans, for want of better, more objective information, may have clung to such letters, if only to nurse their dream of a new life that would lift them out of their misery back home. There can be no doubt that any reader who solely relied on such form of communication would be easy prey for the dangers and deprivations that lurked in the path.

"Reise von New York nach Calumet (Wisconsin)"

In this rather lengthy article,⁴¹ published anonymously, a thorough description is given of the trip from New York to Wisconsin. Before embarking on the actual account, the author promotes the state as the main focus of German emigration to the United States and provides a list of more specific sources of information on Wisconsin.

The travel description contains such information as the cost for off-loading luggage in various places and the amount of time needed for respective portions of the trip (e.g., 1/2 day from New York to Albany, 2 days by train, or 12 days by canal boat, from Albany to Buffalo, and 4-6 days on the Great Lakes to Wisconsin). The cost of traveling these distances is discussed, as well as the need for steerage passengers to buy supplies for the journey across the lakes.

Once in Milwaukee, the author recommends a number of accommodations and the types of provisions, supplies and material that one should purchase before setting out for the interior where these items would be more expensive. (In this respect, he

lists as indispensable, among other, a yoke of oxen and a wagon, a hay rake, several barrels, chairs and a table, rice and dried apples, coffee, sugar and salt, and a stove.)

Then the reader may follow the author in a one-day journey by coach from Milwaukee to Fond du Lac followed by a day-long trip on foot to Calumet. He notes in detail the countryside through which he passes, including the native prairies and woods and the crops in the fields of those farms that had already been wrested from the wilderness. He also speaks of the port of Sheboygan and observes that from Milwaukee to Sheboygan it takes but 8 hours by boat while by ox and wagon it is an arduous 4 to 5 day journey.

This article could be of benefit only to the emigrant who had already decided on Wisconsin as a new home (and, in particular, in the Calumet area, which by then was already known to readers of de Haas, Ostenfeldt or Tuckermann), because it supplies specific advice on a given route and a given place to settle. Contrary to the simplifications or exaggerations of Ranis or similar letter writers, the reader of this sober account (as those of Tuckermann or Ostenfeldt) will likely seek more information from sources such as the commissioner of emigration, on the more general features of the state, and on the latest developments in regards to land availability and travel advice.

“Das deutsche Element in Milwaukee im Staate Wisconsin”

This newspaper review, one in a series of pieces on recently published literature on travel and emigration,⁴² scrutinizes a book by Alexander Ziegler that apparently contains an overview over the brief history of Milwaukee and much information on the city's development. In noting the author's emphasis on the prevalence of the city's German traits, he exclaims: “Deutsche Sprache, deutsche Sitten und Gebräuche, sowie deutscher Einfluss auf die politischen Verhältnisse sind daher hier vorherrschend.” After listing Milwaukee's German businesses, casinos, singing groups, schools, book publishers and newspapers, the reviewer reiterates the author's observation that Germans from all walks of life—professionals and day laborers alike—will find work here. German is so dominant in Milwaukee, according to Ziegler, that American businessmen must learn the language or risk losing the trade of the large German population. The newspaper reviewer recommends this book to the reader as a true travelogue, in this case focused upon the virtues of resettlement in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

While it is difficult to gather from a review such as this the value of the information offered in the book itself (except from the biased perspective of the reviewer who, on his part, is speculating on the needs of his emigrant readership), it does show that there was a very active press at this time, printing all sorts of accounts by those who successfully crossed the ocean and one third of the North American continent, raised a new home and still were left with enough time and energy to write about the experience. It was left up to the reader to separate the wheat from the chaff, to view letters by emigrants as individual vignettes that can't be relied upon exclusively. Then again, announcements, book reviews, and even advertisements had their place in the

prospective emigrant's arduous education process. In that sense, newspapers could be seen as signposts pointing to the places where more information could be had.

Conclusion

The examples cited are evidence that at a time when German emigration to the U.S. had reached its first peak, numerous printed sources of advice and information catered to those who were considering the adventure of starting a new life overseas. While each private publication was valuable in one or several aspects (preparation, sea voyage, New York, passage across the United States, land taking, farm raising, trades, etc.), their scope was necessarily limited. Where they did excel was in the area of personal travel experience, especially the ship voyage for which the commissioner had to rely on second-hand accounts. However, while the authors frequently admonished their readers to beware of criminal elements, only the commissioners had a representative view on the vast range of fraudulent behavior vis-a-vis the emigrants. Most of all, though, none of the German authors knew Wisconsin as Lathrop or Lapham did. (It is telling that at least one of the more thorough writers, Wettstein, must have borrowed extensively from Lapham.) By drawing on one or both of these eminent pioneers, the commissioners provided an invaluable service to those who had the opportunity to read the office's pamphlet describing the state. Ideally, of course, the curious German emigrant considering Wisconsin would have consulted both, some private sources to gain a feel for the actual voyage, and the official publications by the commissioner to develop an understanding of the state's natural and economic resources. The available data (popularity and availability of private publications, numbers and places of circulation for the commissioner's pamphlet, as well as references to both kinds of information in German emigration weeklies) suggest that many emigrants did just that. Their curiosity must have been fed by individual accounts acquired already in Europe and by the official publication from the Wisconsin Office of Commissioner of Emigration, possibly obtained as late as upon arrival in New York. In its incremental and, at the same time, quite varied actions, the office undoubtedly contributed to the emigrant's success.

However, as the emigrants responded both to the push out of Europe and to the pull towards America, the question at hand is not only which information, official or private, was more adequate, but also, whether the Wisconsin emigration office, through its direct interactions with German (and other) emigrants, and through its printed publications—especially the pamphlet—did indeed make a noticeable difference.

While the available sources do not allow a clearcut answer, it appears that the office's success was anything but overwhelming: (1) The numbers of emigrants who contacted the office are impressive when seen by themselves but very modest when compared to the total numbers of emigrants passing through New York.⁴³ (2) The fact that German emigration to the United States after 1855 dropped off temporarily (to pick up again after the Civil War), certainly was not the reason that caused the Wisconsin legislature to abolish the office; the decision was taken prior to this decline.⁴⁴

Whether the diminishing German emigration numbers after the office's demise are an indicator of the office's previous success is doubtful because, on one hand, the actual statistical numbers on emigrants served, as argued above, are small, and, on the other, because overreaching sociopolitical reasons account for fluctuations in German emigration throughout the nineteenth century. (3) The office had very limited resources that were no match for the competition of ticket agents, runners, tricksters and other profiteers of the emigration industry. (4) New York's dock district at the time (prior to Castle Garden and Ellis Island) must have been chaotic, discouraging any organized and concerted effort by the Commissioner of Emigration to find a targeted "audience." (5) Even at the "source," in Europe, the office was competing with fraudulent schemes by agents to enlist emigrants before they could find out that they had been tricked.

Still, even if the available data does not support what might be called a "success story," I believe that the mere existence of the Wisconsin Office of Commissioner of Emigration was historically significant for the following reasons: (1) Wisconsin was the first frontier state to create a public institution with the charge to encourage and oversee the flow of emigrants to its lands. (2) The office evidently also had a humanitarian effect on the emigration process. Although, in the absence of any criminal law directed against the exploiters of this historic migration, the commissioners had very limited recourse, one of them did seek legal redress at least on two occasions to help defrauded emigrants.⁴⁵ (3) By targeting predominantly Germans—for whatever reason—the office may indeed have slightly increased the German ethnic share in the population of Wisconsin. (4) After all, and most important, the Wisconsin Office of Commissioner of Emigration—for the short period it first existed—represented a public effort not only to influence the existing process of emigration but also to shape and increase a state population, an effort that might, in our times, be labeled as social engineering.

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Notes

The state government documents cited in this study are held in the Archives of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison. They have been identified by the following abbreviations:

VSAR	Van Steenwijk, Gysbert. "First Annual Report of the Commissioner of Emigration for the State of Wisconsin" (23 December, 1852). <i>The Journal of the Senate of the State of Wisconsin</i> , 1853. Madison, 1853. Appendix L.
HHAR	Haertel, Herman. "Report. To His Excellency William A. Barstow, Governor of the State of Wisconsin" (30 December, 1853). Madison, 1853.
FHQR	Horn, Frederick W. "Extracts from Quarterly Report. Office of the Commissioner of Emigration, Frederick Horn, Aug. 20, 1854, to His Excellency, William A. Barstow." Unpublished.

¹ Under the title of Board of Immigration (to 1871), then Commissioner of Immigration (to 1875). The last Wisconsin Board of Immigration opened in 1879, to close again in 1886. (See also note 4.)

² See J. Strohschänk and William G. Thiel, "The Wisconsin Commissioner of Emigration 1852-1855:

An Experiment in Social and Economic Engineering and its Impact upon German Emigration to Wisconsin," (forthcoming).

³ "Official Action by Wisconsin to Recruit Immigrants, 1850-1890," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 18 (1983): 185-95.

⁴ *Amerikanische Einwandererwerbung in Deutschland 1845-1914* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1990), esp. 25-33.

⁵ While to modern observers the term "immigration" may appear more suitable for naming the office, rather than "emigration," it must be noted that, in the 1850s, the latter was far more widely used to describe the process of leaving one's homeland and traveling—mostly across water—to a new, unsettled area. Arguably, the focus of the agency's attention was primarily Europe, from where the migration, preferably to Wisconsin, began. Once the places of destination have become almost as densely populated as the places of origin, forcing newcomers to immerse themselves in an existing, clearly defined culture and infrastructure, the former term gains prominence (cf. the same agency's name in 1868, "Wisconsin Office of Commissioner of Immigration"). In general, the terms "emigrant" and "immigrant" have largely been used indiscriminately in the literature. In the absence of clearer definitions, I will call the migrant *in transit* "emigrant," while the foreign *settler* who has succeeded in carving out an existence in the new environment will be referred to as "immigrant."

⁶ Cf. Theodore C. Blegen, "The Competition of the Northwestern States for Immigrants," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 3 (Sept. 1919): 3-29; 8.

⁷ Whether a number of pamphlets were printed also in Czech could not be ascertained, although Czechs, who at the time were living within the borders of the Habsburg empire, were attracted to and settled in Wisconsin, as well (cf. Blegen, 5, and Karel D. Bicha, "The Czechs in Wisconsin History," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 53 [Spring, 1970]: 194-203). Most Czechs read and spoke German as their second language.

⁸ See Richard N. Current, *The History of Wisconsin, Vol. II: The Civil War Era 1848-1873* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1976), 45, note 5. Notwithstanding the speculation about Lapham's (joint or sole) authorship of the pamphlet distributed to the emigrants, it is certain that he wrote a similar pamphlet in 1867, published by the reinstated office in two editions, under the title, *Statistics, Exhibiting the History, Climate and Productions of the State of Wisconsin* (Madison, 1867).

⁹ VSAR, 14-15.

¹⁰ Vol. 14 (Jan. & Mar., 1853). Parts entitled, "Wisconsin. Population, Resources and Statistics" (24-28) and, "Wisconsin and the Growth of the Northwest" (230-38), respectively.

¹¹ Van Steenwijk obliquely refers to the pamphlet as having been "prepared under the direction of your Excellency [the governor]" (VSAR, 5).

¹² Thomas J. Townsend, the state-appointed traveler between Wisconsin and New York, to whom Rippley attributes these lines ("official action," 187), must have quoted from Lathrop. Lathrop's observation is remarkable also for the distinction between a "Germany in America" and fully assimilated Irish and Scandinavian settlers. While it is true that German immigrants tended to preserve their language longer than the two other ethnic immigrant groups, they did eventually integrate themselves fully, putting to rest certain fears by Anglo-Saxons that the German culture and language might subvert American traditions.

¹³ *Together with Brief Sketches of Its Antiquities, Natural History, Soil, Productions, Population; and Government*, 2d ed. (Milwaukee, 1846).

¹⁴ See note 7.

¹⁵ Rippley's account of the introduction of the residency requirement for voting ("official action," 185f.) is at least misleading when he speaks of an attempt to shrink the requirement from twelve to six months and then continues, "In the end, the liberals prevailed and the short residency provision remained in effect in Wisconsin until 1912." Indeed, it was the twelve months' requirement that ruled during that period (cf. Current, 47).

¹⁶ While these proportions might show "a pro-German bias" (Rippley, 186), they may as well simply reflect the general population differences between those ethnic groups in Europe.

¹⁷ VSAR, 11, 12, 5.

¹⁸ HHAR, 13, 5, 9. See also note 16 above.

¹⁹ See FHQR.

²⁰ Rudolph Puchner, *Memories of the First Years of the Settlement of New Holstein*, trans. from the German and supplemented by William G. Thiel (Eau Claire, WI: William G. Thiel, 1994), 15.

²¹ Two vols. (Elberfeld: Jahns Bädeler, 1848-49).

²² This is remarkable inasmuch as Puchner himself was a teacher in the humanities who took to farming only after emigrating. This would qualify him as a so-called Latin Farmer, although Puchner proved to be more adept and persistent than most other academics who took to the plow.

²³ It is of interest to note that de Haas announces in his book that in the beginning of August (1848?) the first Bremer steamship, the *George Washington* would be in operation. Perhaps Theodor Wettstein as well as Freund Goldmann (see below) read this account for they both mention that the ship they took across the Atlantic Ocean was the *Washington* (1, 8, and 3, respectively). It may at least be speculated that books and pamphlets on the emigration experience changed hands at will and were widely distributed for the benefit of their "up to the minute" advice.

²⁴ The book was repeatedly advertised in the German weekly for emigrants, *Allgemeine Auswanderungs-Zeitung* (Rudolstadt, Bremen, New York), e.g., in the issue of 19 June 1848, p. 160.

²⁵ *Der nordamerikanische Freistaat Wisconsin in seiner physischen, sozialen und politischen Gestalt: Zur Belehrung und Warnung für deutsche Auswanderer; Nebst einer ausführlichen Darstellung aller Gewerbe, Fabrik-, Industrie- und Handelszweige* (von Th. W. aus Milwaukee) Neueste Länderkunde mit besonderer Beziehung auf deutsche Auswanderung und Colonisation, Nr. 4. (Elberfeld und Iserlohn: Jahns Bädeler, 1851).

²⁶ Repaginated from page 1, as are all other parts.

²⁷ See note 23 above.

²⁸ *Der nordamerikanische Landwirt: Ein Handbuch für Ansiedler in den Vereinigten Staaten* (Frankfurt/M., n.d.).

²⁹ (Cerasco, WI, 1849).

³⁰ (Wesel, 1849).

³¹ (Leipzig, 1849).

³² *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 25 (Dec. 1941): 217-30; 26 (March 1942): 331-55; (June 1942): 456-75. German original published in Leipzig, 1853.

³³ Ficker recommends to those readers interested in Wisconsin to turn to the "responsible agent from Wisconsin (this year he is Mr. H. Haertel)" (225). At the minimum this demonstrates a perception on the part of the author that his book is only a general guide, but the reference also establishes a tie between Ficker's reportorial account of the emigration experience and the up-to-date factual advice available through official channels which he felt obviously could be trusted.

³⁴ 28 Oct. and 9 Dec. .

³⁵ Cf. Thiel.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ See note 21.

³⁸ *Der deutsche Auswanderer*, 22 Jan. 1848.

³⁹ This advice was timely, as Texas appeared to have a draw on Germans at the time. (See, e.g., the warning printed in the *Allgemeine Auswanderungs-Zeitung* of 19 June 1848, where a poetic eulogy of the "paradise" of Texas is contrasted with the tragic fate of the Adelsverein in New Braunfels).

⁴⁰ Complete title: "Amerikanische Briefe. Auszüge aus Auswandererbriefen. Empfehlung von Wisconsin. Cleveland. Dr. Meyer. Reise nach Watertown. Yankees entfernt. Beschreibung des Landes. Senator Meyer. Mr. Breket. Fieber und Ruhr. Steigen der Preise des Bodens. Deutsche und amerikanische Frauen. Urbarmachung. Das Klima und die Natur. Deutsche in der Gegend von Watertown. Dienstboten." Watertown, Wisconsin, 23 July 1847 (18 March 1848).

⁴¹ *Der deutsche Auswanderer*, 1 July 1848.

⁴² *Der deutsche Auswanderer*, 9 Dec. 1848. Complete title: "Interessante Mittheilungen und Auszüge aus der Literatur der Auswanderung und Reisen—Das deutsche Element in Milwaukee im Staate Wisconsin (Aus Alexander Ziegler's Skizzen einer Reise durch Nordamerika und Westindien. Erster Theil)."

⁴³ Van Steenwijk claims to have been contacted by 436 persons, "of whom the majority represented also their friends and families, many of them companies of 20, 30 or even more persons" (VSAR, 10). Haertel reported being first visited by some 300 persons ("mostly Germans"), then by 600. He also mentioned receiving in excess of 3,000 written inquiries (IHAR, 5). Between 1840 and 1859 an average of 157,000 immigrants per year came ashore in New York. 1854 alone saw New York receiving 428,000 immigrants (cf. *Annual Reports of the Commissioners of New York State, 1847-1860* [New York, 1861]). Of those, Germans averaged some 37% (see Roger Daniels, *Coming to America* [New York: Harper Perennial, 1990], 146). By comparison, in 1855 the entire population of Wisconsin was 522,109 (cf. Current, 76).

⁴⁴ Cf. Strohschänk and Thiel. In this, I disagree with Rippley's assertion that "Wisconsin, *therefore* [i.e., because of political pressures at home *as well as* improving economic conditions abroad; emphases mine], ceased to recruit immigrants" (188).

⁴⁵ In his letter of 21 June 1853, Commissioner Haertel advised Governor Farwell that he then had "two suits pending" on behalf of emigrants for fraud. He appears to have justified this gambit upon the basis that although first and foremost it was the emigrant whose money and goods were at stake, it was Wisconsin that, too, would suffer in the end, for the defrauded emigrant, although willing to settle in this state, certainly would not have the means to make it there unless he recouped his losses.

Helmut J. Schmeller

Folk Doctors and Home Remedies among Volga Germans in Kansas

In the course of the 1850s and the 1860s a large number of German-speaking colonists in Russia found themselves confronted by a succession of seemingly intractable problems. Threatened by a gradual erosion of the privileges granted to them a century earlier and faced by a growing land shortage which was further aggravated by falling grain prices and several bad harvests, many of them decided to leave Russia to seek opportunities in the New World. Enticed by the promises of inexpensive land, a considerable number opted for emigration to North America, while others sought their fortunes in South America, notably in Brazil and Argentina.

It has been estimated that some 12,000 German immigrants from Russia, among them Mennonites, Baptists, Lutherans, and Roman Catholics settled in Kansas in the 1870s. While the Mennonites chose to establish themselves in the central part of the state, notably in McPherson, Marion, and Harvey Counties, other groups decided to settle in the western part of Kansas. Impressed by favorable reports of their own scouts, the Volga Germans decided to take advantage of the widely advertised offers from railroad companies to purchase relatively inexpensive land in several western counties. By the end of 1876, some 1,200 Roman Catholics from the Volga region had established themselves in Ellis and in Rush counties. In a setting which apparently reminded them of their former homeland, they built settlements named after their erstwhile homes along the Volga. The first among these were Liebenthal in Rush County and five villages in Ellis County, namely Katharinenstadt, Herzog (later Victoria), Munjor, Pfeifer, and Schoenchen.¹

It goes without saying that the settlers faced a variety of obstacles and setbacks during their early pioneering years. Upon their arrival the local press commented with some disdain on the strange and uncivilized demeanor of these "Rooshians"; however, the *Hays Sentinel* also expressed the hope that in spite of their unkempt appearance the newcomers' zest for hard work would surely benefit the economic development of the area.² But what sustained the immigrants throughout the difficult period ahead and helped them overcome economic difficulties and isolation was above all else their strong religious faith, the memory of shared experiences of their stay in Russia, and the bond of a common culture with its rich reservoir of communal traditions.

The purpose of this essay is to examine one aspect of these communal traditions

among the Volga German settlers in western Kansas, namely the various folk remedies, the healing practices, and the role of the so-called folk doctors. Looking at the totality of the health care practices of the Volga Germans in the context of the kind of medical care offered by regular physicians in the last quarter of the nineteenth century will suggest some reasons why these remedies and the folk doctors continued to play an important role even as scientifically trained physicians gradually became available. Indeed, folk doctors and traditional remedies retained a measure of some popularity well into the middle of the twentieth century.

During their century long stay in Russia, the Volga Germans had been forced to rely on their own resources for health care. For one, professionally trained physicians in the Russian colonies were few and far between. And, although inoculation against small pox was relatively widespread, there appears to have been considerable reluctance to accept the idea that diseases were spread by germs or to take appropriate measures to prevent the spread of communicable diseases. Under these conditions, which were in fact quite similar to what the immigrants would encounter on their arrival in western Kansas, health care was a matter for established home remedies and traditional healers. For the most part, these folk doctors, most of them women with particular abilities and talents in certain areas of health care, relied on specific skills which had often been passed on to them by family members.³

The fact that the new settlers continued to rely on their folk doctors and on the store of home remedies may in some instances have been due to the scarcity of physicians as well as to the cost of professional medical care. But it also reflected the Volga Germans' sense of independence and self-reliance coupled with a traditional reluctance to deal with outsiders. Whether the folk healers acted as midwives or as bone setters or provided general medical advice, the folk doctors were available to anyone in the community who needed help; their services were either free or required only a token gesture of appreciation. Several practitioners also integrated into their healing practices specific prayers and religious formulas, similar to the kinds of prayers, charms, and incantations one finds in Johann Georg Hohman's volume *Der Lang Verborgene Freund, oder Getreuer und Christlicher Unterricht für Jedermann*. It appears that some of the Germans from Russia in Kansas were familiar with Hohman's booklet which has been characterized as "a source of more satisfaction and comfort . . . than possibly any other human book."⁴

The similarities between Hohman's cures and charms and those of the various groups of Germans from Russia point towards a common origin in that large body of medical knowledge, charms, practices, and remedies shared by rural people throughout the German lands in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. During their years in Russia, the German colonists and their folk doctors had kept alive many of these practices. After their migration to the New World and their settlement in relatively sparsely populated rural areas, necessity and tradition assured the continued popularity of these familiar health care practices. Although it is difficult to establish with any degree of certainty which of the many remedies were specific to the Volga Germans, it appears that most of them, albeit with minor variations, were also known to other groups of German immigrants from Russia and indeed to rural peoples throughout

Kansas.⁵

As a largely agricultural people, settlers in Kansas as elsewhere experienced their share of injuries to the skin like cuts, abrasions, burns, and the like. Cuts in the skin were often treated with axle grease which acted as a sealant. In the case of deep cuts, fresh chicken meat was applied to the wound. Meat from a freshly killed chicken or a cud of chewing tobacco was recommended for snake bites. Burns could be treated by applying grease or molasses to the affected area; minor burns, including sunburn, called for an application of sweet cream. To meet the ever-present danger of blood poisoning, some settlers used a poultice of flour, butter and egg while others recommended a poultice of hot milk and bread or the application of a mixture of turpentine and sugar. The theory behind the dozens of poultices in use everywhere was that they would draw the poison out of the blood. Poultices also came in handy in the treatment of boils and hemorrhoids. Here the practitioner prepared a mixture of alum and egg white and applied it to the affected area just before the patient retired for the evening. In the case of internal hemorrhoids, the mixture was administered as an enema with the procedure to be repeated for three evenings in a row. Another method called for the insertion of alum soaked cotton balls into the rectum.⁶

Disorders of the skin, notably rashes, warts, and discolorations, received a good deal of attention. A mixture of turpentine and pork lard—*Derbadien un Schweina Fett*—was used as an ointment in massages to prevent infection. One skin condition referred to locally as *Derflek*, presumably a case of ringworm or a skin discoloration allegedly caused by home made soap, could be alleviated by rubbing the affected area with the worn sole of a baby shoe. Along with skin rashes, warts seemed to be a common problem. To remove them one had to tie as many knots in a string as one had warts and then bury the string in a place where it would quickly decompose. As the string decomposed, the warts would also disappear. Another method for removing warts called for the application of raw potato peelings to the warts. The peelings then had to be removed and buried and the warts would disappear as the potato skins decomposed.⁷

To deal with the common cold, practitioners recommended teas, especially *Kamillentee*. Camomile tea, which was also used to alleviate “female disorders” together with variety of other ailments, enjoyed considerable popularity as did the ever popular turpentine-and-fat mixture. To relieve chest congestion, some practitioners called for the use of mustard plasters while others recommended the application of a mixture of boiled onions and vinegar or of goose fat to the chest area. To complement the treatment and to increase its effectiveness, the patient was encouraged to use laxatives. Other gastrointestinal problems called for the use of teas, preferably camomile tea or peppermint tea; a tea made from a spurge was used in the treatment of diarrhea as well as in cases of intestinal worms. One of the remedies for ear aches was to blow tobacco smoke from the homegrown *Russa Duwak*, i.e., homegrown tobacco, into the affected ear, a procedure that allegedly also relieved toothaches. Finally, even a cursory survey of frequently used remedies must mention the very popular *Forni's Alpenkräuter*, which in addition to alleviating the discomforts of a number of gastrointestinal problems,

served as a general tonic. Whether the claim of the Chicago-based manufacturer that the product had an "excellent effect upon the general state of health" was due to the mixture of "domestic and foreign medicinal herbs" or to the 14% alcohol content is difficult to say.⁸

Ailments which were allegedly caused by a temporary displacement of a body part make up an entirely different category. For example, an enlarged uvula, which could cause the patient some difficulties in swallowing, called for the skills of a *Halszapfe Zieber*. During the corrective procedure the practitioner, often a parent, would place a pinch of pepper on the subject's outstretched tongue and then, without any warning, grab the patient's hair near the top of the skull and give it "a good jerk." This, supposedly, caused the uvula to retract. However, should the subject be bald, a relaxing scalp massage was called for. Once the patient was sufficiently at ease, the practitioner would suddenly and vigorously grab and pull the unsuspecting patient's skin at the top of the head. Regardless of the merit of this popular practice, it still seems preferable to a surgical removal of the uvula.⁹

Another instance where a displaced body part appears as the main culprit has to do with a temporary dislocation of the navel. Although there is general agreement that no navel is actually dislocated or "thrown out" there is no shortage of individuals willing to testify to the efficacy of several corrective procedures. The symptoms appear most often in children after strenuous physical activity: headaches, abdominal pains, pains in the side, nausea, and in some cases even vomiting. In the case of adults symptoms frequently appear after heavy physical labor, especially lifting. To correct the problem, one of two methods was used. The first called for the subject to lie, face down, on a flat surface with the practitioner standing above the subject and manipulating the skin in and around the lower back in a rolling and pulling fashion until two or three cracks could be heard. The cracks indicated that the navel was back in place—not that it ever was out of place—and the problem had been corrected. Likewise, Germans from Russia who migrated to Argentina used an identical skin manipulation to relieve the discomforts of an upset stomach.

The second method to correct a displaced navel, essentially a form of cupping, called for the subject to lie on the back on a flat surface. A burning candle, affixed to a piece of cardboard, a large coin or embedded in a piece of bread, was placed on the navel while a small drinking glass was put over the burning candle. As the glass shut off the air supply and as the flame died out a vacuum was created which slightly lifted the skin around the navel. Removal of the glass then caused the navel to move back into its proper position. The original diagnosis of a thrown out navel was thus confirmed by a successful treatment.¹⁰

The dislocated navel phenomenon represents one example of a traditional practice which survived the coming of modern medicine. A 1986 study of this phenomenon among a group of Volga Germans in Colorado by a health care professional isolated a series of symptoms which were believed to be caused by the thrown out navel. In addition to the symptoms mentioned by the Volga Germans in Kansas some respondents in the Colorado study, albeit a minority, even listed sinus pains, headaches, anorexia, dizziness, and general listlessness as symptoms of a thrown out navel. While

the major forms of treatment were quite similar to those practiced by the Volga Germans in Western Kansas, significant variations should be noted. Thus, in addition to skin manipulation and cupping, the Colorado group also favored a method known as "shaking"; here the practitioner would stand behind the subject lifting him off his feet and while holding him administer a "quick upward lift." Preventive measures included using a navel band with half a walnut shell sown into the lining and strategically placed to prevent a newborn's navel from being displaced during the first six to eight weeks after birth. The presence of colic, constipation, or gas pains in children was also attributed to a displaced navel and could be alleviated by certain stretching exercise accompanied by applying pressure to the lower abdomen.¹¹

Of all the functions of the folk doctors, that of serving as a bone setter or as a midwife was the most important. The *Knocha Doktor*, both men and women, operated well into the 1950s, apparently enjoying an excellent reputation. Their considerable tactile skills were generally passed on within the family from one generation to the next. Every village appears to have had a bone setter: one of the first in Herzog was the Russian born Anna Maria Riedel, generally known as *die Riedel's Goot*, while in the city of Ellis Jacob Lang and his sons John and Ted enjoyed the confidence of their patients. The principal function of the *Knocha Doktor* was to take care of fractures, dislocated joints, and sprained wrists or ankles. In some cases bone doctors were even called upon to correct skeletal imperfections in infants. Needless to say that all procedures had to be performed without any painkillers although, in some cases, "a little *Schnaps*" was considered helpful in relaxing the patient. In addition to setting broken bones and providing splints often made of heavy cardboard, the bone setters also provided massages frequently using the familiar mixture of pork lard and turpentine to prevent infection. One of the most frequently cited examples of the bonesetters' skills relates to an incident at a hospital in Hays, Kansas. Lawrence Weigel, a highly respected folklorist from Hays, recalls a case where physicians recommended amputating a man's badly mangled leg. One *Knocha Doktor*, Dorthea Beilman, an immigrant from Katharinenstadt, Russia, happened to be a patient in the hospital and, upon the injured man's request, was called in for consultation. She managed to rearrange the patient's shattered bones thus preventing the dreaded amputation recommended by the attending physician. In addition to serving as a bone-setter, Beilman also enjoyed a reputation as a herbalist. She dug up roots and collected herbs along the banks of the Saline River and used them to prepare various types of salves and herbal medications.¹²

The importance of the *Knocha Doktor's* function notwithstanding, it was probably the midwives who played the most crucial role in the health care picture of the settlers. Childbirth in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was an extremely serious matter, considering that as late as the early twentieth century on average one mother died for every 154 living births.¹³ It appears that up until about 1910 the Volga Germans relied on the services of a midwife although a physician's assistance was soon to become more common. In Herzog, a woman known as *die alt Marlis Wees* served as a midwife while *des Lambrecht Fraacha* provided her services to the people of Pfeifer. In addition to assisting with delivery, midwives often stayed at the home of the new mother, helped around the house, and prepared a proper diet for the new mother

which often included cream soup, toast, chicken broth and stewed prunes. One particular practice surrounding the birth of a child represents another example of the "displaced organ" notion mentioned above: new mothers were encouraged to stay in bed for nine days with the ninth day being the most crucial because on that day the Virgin Mary would see to it that "things would get back in the right place."¹⁴

Some folk doctors apparently also provided certain abdominal massages to increase the chances for a successful pregnancy and advised women during pregnancy to avoid heavy work or lifting. The purpose of such massages which had to be administered in two-week intervals was, in the words of one practitioner, once again to "make sure that things were in their right place." While there was no set fee for the services of a midwife, it appears that in the early 1900s a midwife was paid between three to ten dollars for the nine days of attendance. The customary fee for attendance at a delivery alone was one dollar. By comparison, regular physicians, according to some sources, charged between three to six dollars for a single house call.¹⁵

Perhaps the most serious problem associated with childbirth was the danger of a massive loss of blood. Here, as well as in other life-threatening situations, a magical or pseudo-religious element came into play: if all else failed, the bleeding could be stopped by invoking the help of the Trinity and by reciting the following formula which allegedly could only be taught to one person at a time: *Es stehen drei Lilien vor Gott, die erste heisst weiss, die zweite heisst gut, die dritte stillt's Herzblut. Herzblut steh' still in Gottes Willen. Gott Vater, Gott Sohn, Gott heiliger Geist.* After reciting the prayer, the practitioner recommended a pause which was to be followed by two additional recitations of the same formula. In less serious cases, like a nosebleed, the bleeding could be stopped by letting a few drops of blood drip on two pieces of wood arranged in the form of a cross. At other times, the practitioners simply invoked the Trinity to stop the bleeding, a practice also recommended by Hohman.¹⁶

The belief that a disease could be cured, that evil could be warded off or that an unfortunate situation could be remedied by repeating certain phrases which often included an appeal to the Trinity appeared to be fairly widespread among German immigrants. In the case of the Germans from Russia, it was the figure of the *Braucher* or *Braucherin* whose functions appear to be similar to that of the traditional *Gesundbeter* in Germany or that of the *curandera* in the German Russian settlements in Argentina. While some sources argue that *Braucher* should be viewed as faith healers, others compare the *Braucher* to a "white witch" whose ministrations could counteract the malevolent influences of the kind of *Hexerei* practiced by "black witches." Although *Braucher* still appear to function in some German Russian settlements in the Dakotas, they have disappeared from the Volga German communities in western Kansas where they appear to have played a less prominent role.¹⁷

In view of the lack of appropriate evidence there is no point in attempting to assess the actual therapeutic value of each of the practices and remedies of the Volga Germans. In some cases their alleged effectiveness may well have been largely due to the patient's confidence and faith in the practitioners.¹⁸ Whatever their shortcomings, there is little or no evidence that home remedies and treatments offered by folk doctors caused any harm. However, to appreciate the role of the folk doctors as well as the

longevity of their practices, a look at the level of medical care offered by "regular" physicians in the rural areas of Kansas during the last quarter of the nineteenth century provides a useful perspective.

When the Volga Germans arrived in Kansas in 1876, the practice of medicine, especially in the western part of the state, had barely been affected by the tenets of the new scientific medicine. Arthur E. Hertzler, one of the most prominent Kansas physicians and founder of the famous clinic in Halstead, Kansas, characterized the state of the medical arts in the rural areas in the 1880s by saying that aside from alleviating pain and suffering, he could not think of a single disease doctors actually cured, except "malaria and the itch." Some practices associated with the idea of "heroic medicine" as well as others characteristic of the pre-bacteriological age continued to linger on as witnessed by the ongoing debate between advocates and opponents of the germ theory of disease. Failure to accept the bacterial origins of disease prevented the implementation of measures to prevent their spread. For the same reason, hygienic conditions during surgery as well as during deliveries in the 1890s were lagging woefully behind, even though many doctors had begun to wash their hands, albeit often only *after* they had completed a procedure. Indeed, some people apparently resented the fact when the better trained physicians of the 1880s washed their hands, taking it as evidence of "personal 'persnickety' and an insult to the family's standards of cleanliness."¹⁹

Rural physicians, most of them dedicated men but limited by the standards of medical training, had to struggle hard to make a living. In many instances, their methods were still guided by the notion of "heroic medicine" which, among other things, held that disease was the result of some unnatural excitation or imbalance of the body which could be cured by "shaking the system" through bloodletting, blistering, and the administration of powerful emetics and cathartics. All of these approaches, it was believed, would restore the body to its natural and healthy state. Although modern scientific medicine made its impact felt in Kansas, a number of physicians argued as late as 1896 that pneumonia could be most successfully treated by bleeding the patient. As to medications prescribed by regular doctors, a good number such as the various mercurials not only had little therapeutic value but were actually harmful. That many of these medications, including the numerous patent medicines, seemed to alleviate the patients' pain for a short time appears to have been due in large measure to the fact that they contained substantial doses of alcohol, morphine, and opium.²⁰

Even though the practice of modern scientific medicine in Kansas slowly gained some ground, developments in the 1870s and 1880s did little to inspire confidence. During these years Kansas became the battle ground between competing schools of physicians: "regular" physicians, homeopaths, eclectics, and army of quacks like the magnopathic physicians or the vita-pathic doctors vied for the public's attention. Along with an assortment of peddlers of various patent medicines of dubious value, they did little more than further muddy the waters. Again in the 1920s, the practice of medicine in Kansas suffered another setback caused by political squabbles and the emergence of a new group of quacks, the most notorious of whom was undoubtedly John R. Brinkley and his goat gland transplants. Under these conditions and considering the often

substantial cost of medical treatments, it seems not surprising that doctors were often called upon only as a last resort. Of course, with the progress of time and improvement in the quality of medical care, a generation of much better trained professional physicians enjoyed a wider acceptance among the Volga Germans. In turn, many of the new physicians seem to have quietly tolerated the activities of the folk doctors.²¹

In comparison to many of the practices of professional physicians especially during the last quarter of the century, the methods of the folk doctors appear to have been relatively gentle and non-threatening. There is no question that the religious component in some of the healing practices reduced the patient's anxiety and in that manner may well have contributed to the healing process. Any attempt at explaining the persistence of folk medicine and folk doctors among the Volga Germans, however, must also take into account the fact that patient and healer shared a special relationship based on a common language and a shared cultural background. As the new world of medical science tended to become increasingly unintelligible and often intimidating to most ordinary people, the home remedies and the familiar routines of the folk doctors continued to occupy an important place in the overall health care picture of the Volga German community.

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Hays, Kansas

Notes

¹ Norman E. Saul, "The Migration of the Russian-Germans to Kansas," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* 40 (Spring 1974): 43-52. For a discussion of the reasons for emigration from Russia and a description of their settlement in the United States, see Fred C. Koch, *The Volga Germans in Russia and the Americas from 1763 to the Present* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1977), 195-217. For a detailed account of the early settlement activities in the five villages, see Sister Marie Eloise Johannes, *A Study of the Russian-German Settlements in Ellis County, Kansas*, The Catholic University of America Studies in Sociology, vol. 14 (Washington, DC, 1946), 15-25.

² *Hays Sentinel*, 5 April 1876; 16 August 1876.

³ Lawrence Weigel, "Folk Medicine and Folk Doctors in the Catholic Volga German Colonies in Russia and in Ellis County, Kansas," *AHSGR Workpaper* 19 (December 1975): 53-54; Koch, *The Volga Germans in Russia*, 168-70; Timothy J. Kloberdanz, "The Daughters of Shiphrah: Folk Healers and Midwives of the Great Plains," *Great Plains Quarterly* 9 (Winter 1989): 7-10.

⁴ Johann Georg Hohman, ed., *Der Lang Verborgene Freund, oder Getreuer und Christlicher Unterricht für Jedermann; enthaltend Wunderbare und probmässige Mittel und Künste, sowohl für die Menschen als das Vieh* (Harrisburg, PA: n.p., 1843); Carleton F. Brown, "The Long Hidden Friend," *The Journal of American Folklore* 17 (April-June 1904): 96-99; Madge E. Pickard and R. Carlyle Buley, *The Midwest Pioneer, His Ills, Cures, and Doctors* (New York: H. Schuman, 1946), 318.

⁵ The single most important local source for the history and culture of the Germans from Russia in Ellis and Rush Counties is the folklorist Lawrence Weigel. He is a frequent contributor to the publications of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia (AHSGR) and has been honored with the Distinguished Service Award of the AHSGR. In a series of short articles entitled "Volga German Traditions" published in *The Ellis County Star* (hereafter cited as *ECS*) and in publications by the AHSGR, Weigel offers detailed information on the folk medicine and the folk doctors in Ellis County. A part of the information in this essay is derived from Weigel's articles, from conversations with Volga Germans. Interviews with selected members of the Volga German community during the last two weeks of October 1980 were arranged by Prof. Leona Pfeifer of Fort Hays State University. Due to the sensitive nature of the subject

matter of the interviews, the informants are not identified. See also Amy Brungardt Toepfer and Agnes Dreiling, *Conquering the Wind*, rev. ed., (Lincoln: American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, 1982), 71-72. For a discussion of home remedies in other parts of western Kansas, see Amy Lathrop, *Pioneer Remedies from Western Kansas* (Concordia, KS: n.p., 1962).

⁶ Weigel, "Folk Medicine," 53; Weigel, *ECS*, 14 November 1974; Johannes, *Russian-German Settlements*, 50, n.117; interview with a practitioner.

⁷ Weigel, *ECS*, 14 November - 5 December 1974.

⁸ Weigel, *ECS*, 14 November 1974; Johannes, *Russian-German Settlements*, 47-48; On Forni's *Alpenkräuter*, see *AHSGR Workpaper* 19 (December 1975): 58. According to a practitioner, home made remedies (1 cup of whiskey, 4 tbs. of hot water and 4 tbs. of sugar) were also very effective in the treatment of colds.

⁹ Weigel, "Folk Medicine," 54; Weigel, *ECS*, 5 December 1974.

¹⁰ Weigel, *ECS*, 14 November 1974; Iris Barbara Graefe, *Zur Volkskunde der Russlanddeutschen in Argentinien* (Wien: A. Schendl, 1971), 126; Toepfer and Dreiling, *Conquering the Wind*, 71-72.

¹¹ Mary Ruth Harris Lorenson, "'Thrown Out Navel': A Volga German Folk Belief with Implications for Health Care" (Ed.D. diss., University of Northern Colorado, 1986), 44-57; for an extensive list of health care practices and beliefs, see Lorenson, 123-37.

¹² Weigel, "Folk Medicine," 54; Weigel, *ECS*, 8 April - 22 April 1976; 28 November 1974; Johannes, *Russian-German Settlements*, 50.

¹³ Judith Walzer Leavitt, *Brought to Bed. Childbearing in America, 1750-1950*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 25.

¹⁴ Johannes, *Russian-German Settlements*, 49; Weigel, "Folk Medicine," 53-54. Interview with a practitioner. See also Klobberdanz, "Daughters of Shiphrah," 4.

¹⁵ Interview with a practitioner; Johannes, *Russian-German Settlements*, 49, n. 110; Howard Ruede, *Sod House Days. Letters from a Kansas Homesteader, 1877-78*, ed. John Ise (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1983), 65; Writer's Program, Kansas, *Lamps on the Prairie: A History of Nursing in Kansas* (Emporia, KS: Emporia Gazette Press), 45; Klobberdanz, "Daughters of Shiphrah," 9-10.

¹⁶ Interview with a practitioner; Weigel, *ECS*, 14 November 1974; Hohman, *Der Lang Verborgene Freund*, 10-11.

¹⁷ Graefe, *Zur Volkskunde*, 126; Charles L. Gebhardt, "Hexerei, Braucherei, und Allerlei." *AHSGR Workpaper* 21 (Fall 1976): 26-29; Shirley Fischer Arends, *The Central Dakota Germans: Their History, Language and Culture* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1989), 162; Klobberdanz, "Daughters of Shiphrah," 10-11; Weigel, *ECS*, 5 December 1974. Interview with Leona Pfeifer, 12 June 2001.

¹⁸ On folk treatment and a possible placebo effect, see Lorenson, 120.

¹⁹ Arthur E. Hertzler, M.D., *The Horse and Buggy Doctor* (Garden City, NY: Blue Ribbon Books, 1941), 9; Thomas Neville Bonner, *The Kansas Doctor: A Century of Pioneering* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press), 56-62; Writer's Program, *Lamps on the Prairie*, 56-57.

²⁰ Larry Jochims, "Medicine in Kansas, 1850- 1900." *The Emporia State Research Studies*, vol. 28, no.2 (Emporia, KS: The School of Graduate and Professional Studies, 1979), 7 15; idem, "Medicine in Kansas, 1850-1900." *The Emporia State Research Studies*, vol. 30, no. 2 (Emporia, KS: The School of Graduate and Professional Studies, 1981), 51-56.

²¹ Bonner, *The Kansas Doctor*, 71-80; 207-21.

Geoffrey C. Orth

The Great War, Literary Tastes, and Political Correctness: The Strange Case of Charles Follen Adams, German Dialect Poet

Charles Follen Adams (1842-1918) was a strange candidate to be America's most popular and widely-read German dialect poet at the turn of the twentieth century.¹ To begin with, he was not of German but of Yankee, that is, New England ancestry, and, as far as is known, was not at all proficient in German, neither standard nor dialect, and had never studied the language formally. Other New Englanders, including his distant relative John Quincy Adams, had exhibited an affinity for German language, literature, and culture which dated back to the earliest days of colonization. But while Adams was named for the German patriot and scholar Charles Follen, his initial contact with German dialect, according to numerous biographical sources, came not from scholarly circles but from listening as a youth to his family's washerwoman and from conversing with Pennsylvania German soldiers in the Army of the Potomac during his rather lengthy convalescence from wounds sustained in the battle of Gettysburg.

Adams never claimed to be a professional writer, and saw his poetry largely as an avocation. In his own words, "I am, and always have been in the business world and my writing has been my diversion and not my occupation."² Yet while he had committed himself early on to a career in business—primarily as a dry goods merchant—his poetry made him well known in the literary world, not escaping the attention of such luminaries as Oliver Wendell Holmes, Twain, Whittier, James Whitcomb Riley, and Longfellow.

He claimed, in a lecture given at the Emerson College of Oratory in 1900, to have been inspired in his literary use of German dialect by Charles Godfrey Leland (1824-1903), an American who had studied at Heidelberg and Munich and had popularized the genre through his "Hans Breitmann" ballads. Leland's collection showed his familiarity with high German culture, such as his parody of the opening lines of the *Nibelungenlied*. The ballads, beginning with "Hans Breitmann's Barty" (1856), were widely circulated in mid-nineteenth-century America and depicted, in a "peculiar jumble of English and German," what Adams called "the coarse type of German—rollicking, beer drinking and sometimes profane."³ Breitmann was emblematic for the German immigrants who arrived in the U.S. after the abortive

Revolution of 1848 and, in the words of Leland's niece and biographer, Elizabeth Roberts Pennell,

was not of the soil. . . . He was not even Pennsylvania Dutch, as critics who had never set foot in Pennsylvania were so ready to assert. He was in every sense an alien; by birth, by language, which was not Pennsylvania Dutch either, whatever the critics might call it—in his thoughts, his habits, his ideals. No figure could have been more unlooked for in American literature, up till then so intensely national in character.⁴

As can be seen throughout the collection,⁵ in which Breitmann appears in venues as varying as Civil War battlefields and the Vatican, where he interviews the pope, Leland presents the image of "the German with his head in the heavens of philosophy and his feet in the ditch of necessity, spouting pure reason over his beer-mug, dropping the tears of sentiment on his sausage and sauerkraut."⁶

On the other hand, Adams aimed to present through his dialect characters, as he put it, "certain peculiarities we do not meet with either the Yankee or the Irish," both of whom "possess a large share of mother wit and are frequently quick at repartee, and like the traditional fool can laugh at their own folly, [but] the phlegmatic German, while causing intense amusement by his quaint speech and peculiar way of mixing up the English language, is himself perfectly oblivious of the fun he creates for others."⁷ Unlike Leland's coarse Hans Breitmann, however, Adams's most famous literary creation, Yawcob Strauss, depicted what he saw as the "jolly, good-natured, home-loving German," a somewhat less erudite version of Professor Fritz Baer in Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women*.

Both the portrayal of German cultural influence in America in a humorous and positive light and Adams's skillful self-promotion, a talent he undoubtedly acquired in the business world, helped create widespread acclaim for his work from the 1870s through the early years of the twentieth century. Yet every bit as noteworthy as the rise in popularity of his works was its sudden decline. In fact, the disappearance of Adams's poetry from the literary canon is contemporaneous not only with the emergence of more sophisticated literary tastes which looked down on dialect work in general, but also with the decided downturn of the popular image of Germany in the years leading up to U.S. entrance into World War I.

As Henry Pochmann has shown, an American affinity for things German dated back to prominent seventeenth-century New England figures like the Winthrops and Mathers, who investigated German theological and scientific thought as well as literature.⁸ After appearing in 1774, Goethe's *Sorrows of Young Werther* was so widely read in the United States as late as the 1820s and 1830s that, according to an article in the *Democratic Review*, "you could not put up at a country tavern without seeing [*Werther*] in the parlor beside the Bible, nor visit a circulating library without finding three or four dogs'-eared copies of it on the first shelf."⁹ In 1841, Emerson writes to Margaret Fuller that there was "nothing at the bookshops but Werter [*sic*] & Cato by Plutarch."¹⁰ American admiration for the German university system is another example

of the high esteem in which Americans held Germany and its culture. In the nineteenth century, such literary lights as Longfellow, George Bancroft, and George Ticknor were educated at the University of Göttingen, and Emerson and Fuller, both of whom travelled extensively in Europe, were well versed in German literature, which they read in the original. Somewhat later, Mark Twain was able to jest about his German education at the University of Heidelberg. Moreover, in the words of Frank Luther Mott, American fervor for German literature was "second only to that which was shown in English writings."¹¹

While this background of German cultural influence in America is instructive in establishing a framework for the popularity of Adams's work, it can also be misleading. Though it was known as such in his time, what Adams created cannot be properly called German dialect poetry. Rather, it is more properly described as an "eye dialect" of English, an attempt at capturing an accent orthographically, and most likely an inaccurate one at that. Its link to the body of German and German-American literature and culture is therefore tenuous, at best. To begin with, unlike that of Leland's Hans Breitmann, Adams's "German dialect" is purely macaronic in form and would not be recognizable to a German, but was his own caricature of how English sounds when spoken by German immigrants. By contorting normal English diction, inventing hybrid words, and substituting, for instance, *v* for *w* and *sh* for *s*, Adams created a humorously germanicized English. There are features of his verse, however, which seem to betray his lack of mastery of German. His inappropriate voicing of consonants makes obvious his unfamiliarity with High German, or even with the English accent of a native speaker of High German. It may, however, be an accurate representation of a Pennsylvania German applying to English the linguistic patterns for voicing and unvoicing consonants peculiar to his own Palatinate dialect. For instance, Adams unvoices the initial sound of *greatest* [and writes it as *creates*], even though German possesses the initial *gr* consonant cluster. In addition, he unvoices the initial *b* in *boy* [*poj*], while voicing the initial *c* in *comes* [*gomes*]. This is consistent with his own notes on creating dialect, where he replaces English *t* with German *d*, English *p* with German *b*, and English *b* with German *p*.¹² The correspondence to Pennsylvania German, to which Adams was exposed in his Civil War years, is notable; for example, the Pennsylvania German version of Santa Claus is known as *Belsnickel*, a variant of High German *Pelznickel*. To give an example from the opposite direction, English *pot pie* becomes *bott boi* in Pennsylvania Dutch. Elsewhere, however, features of Adams's curious language do not conform to any variety of German; his use of *der* as a universal definite article and his inversions [e.g., *I sometimes dink*] are not speech patterns a German speaker would produce.

These flaws may indicate that Adams was more a bemused observer of his German-American subjects than one who truly understood the culture he described. In truth, Adams seems to have had but little interest in German-American culture. He was, however, paying German-Americans a genuine compliment by making the immigrant Strauss family the characters through whom he depicted American values. In short, it was the unforgettable dialect characters who spoke this *patois* who helped popularize his poetry and make him both widely published and much in demand for poetry

readings for the better part of his life.

While not representative of any German literary influence on American writings or readership, and not properly classified as German dialect poetry, what Adams's works do reveal is a humorous and fully positive image of America's largest minority at the time. Adams's contacts with Pennsylvania German soldiers in the Civil War came at a time when public admiration for German-Americans had risen to new heights. For example, the title phrase of a popular tune of the day, "I goes to fight mit Sigel," was taken up by "newspapers and magazines all over the North . . . and endlessly repeated . . . to express admiration and respect for the German soldier doggedly following and fighting under the leadership of what was probably the most popular of all German officers, Franz Sigel."¹³ This positive image of the German continued well after the war. At that time, in John Higham's words, "the Germans had a reputation for thrifty, honest, industrious, and orderly living," and "fared nearly but not quite so well as [Anglo-Saxon Americans]."¹⁴ It was then that Adams's first dialect poem, "The Puzzled Dutchman," appearing in *Our Young Folks* in 1872, played on the success of Lelan's "Hans Breitmann" ballads, then at the height of their popularity. The initial favorable reception paved the way for occasional contributions to Boston newspapers, *Harper's Magazine*, *Scribner's Monthly*, *Oliver's Optic Magazine*, and other popular journals of the day. National recognition first came in 1876 with the publication of his best known poem, "Leedle Yawcob Strauss," in the *Detroit Free Press*.

Leedle Yawcob Strauss

I haf von funny leedle poy,
Vot gomes schust to mine knee;
Der queerest chap, der createst rogue,
As efer you dit see,
He runs und schumps und schmashes dings
In all barts off der house;
But vot off dot? He vas mine son,
Mine leedle Yawcob Strauss.

He get der measles und der mumbs,
Und efferyding dot's oudt;
He sbills mine glass off lager-bier,
Poots snoof indo mine kraut;
He fills mine pipe mit Limburg cheese—
Dot vas der roughest chouse;
I'd take dot from no oder poy
But little Yawcob Strauss.

He dakes der milk-ban for a dhrum
Und cuts mine cane in two
To make der schticks to beat it mit—

Mine cracious! Dot vas drue.
 I dinks mine hed vas schplit abart,
 He kicks oup sooch a touse;
 But neffer mind—der poys vas few
 Like dot young Yawcob Strauss.

He ask me questions sooch as dose:
 Who baints mine nose so red?
 Who vas it cuts dot schmoodth blace oudt
 Vrom der hair upon mine hed?
 Und where der plaze goes vrom der lamp
 Vene'er der glim I douse;
 How gan I all dose dings eggsblain
 To dot schmall Yawcob Strauss?

I somedimes dink I shall go vild
 Mit sooch a grazzy poy,
 Und vish vonce more I Gould haf rest,
 Und beaceful dimes ensшой;
 But ven he vas ascheep in ped,
 So quiet as a mouse.
 I brays der Lord, "Dake anydings,
 But leaf dot Yawcob Strauss."¹⁵

While the language of the poem can be in places difficult to comprehend at first glance (e.g., the use of archaic or obscure English words like *chouse* [trick, swindle] and *touse* [tussle, rumpus]), its meaning becomes clear when read aloud, which was the author's intention. The poem is simple enough in its architecture. There are five eight-line stanzas of iambic pentameter. In each stanza, the second and fourth lines, and the sixth and eighth, rhyme. After humorously cataloging young Strauss's rambunctious behavior in the first three stanzas, while simultaneously poking fun at the stereotypical image of the German *pater familias*, the author subtly changes the focus in the fourth stanza to Strauss's exasperation at his young son's often unanswerable questions. In the final four lines, however, he makes clear how lost he would be without his son, and it is here that the image of Leedle Yawcob becomes that of every child in the eyes of loving parents. The humor is based largely on stereotypical description of German-Americans and their speech, but the poem's poignancy is underlined by the turn at the end. Here, Strauss's sentiments became emblematic not of the German-American condition, but the human condition in general, or, better yet, the American condition. In the words of the *Detroit Free Press*, "The Teutonic brain thinks in parallel lines with the gray matter of the American brain if we may judge by these verses."¹⁶ As Holger Kersten has pointed out, the poem's praise of homely virtues falls clearly into the nineteenth-century sentimental tradition.¹⁷ Thomas Wortham has defined the age of the Fireside Poets as one "[t]hat

saw no reason to fear sentiment in art. Clarity and even simplicity of expression, good feeling, and hopeful expectations were the virtues celebrated in good writing and right thinking."¹⁸

In Adams's poetry, Kersten tells us, "the German immigrant's voice seemed perfectly suited to the expression of emotional matters because citizens of German extraction were often perceived as romantic people with strong family ties." He concludes that Adams's selection of a foreigner to express his own emotions serves well as a "distancing device."¹⁹

The ethnic humor in this and other Strauss pieces, then, is not pejorative or deprecatory in nature, as is often the case within the genre,²⁰ but is more like chuckling at oneself. While Adams's use of the Strauss figure may well have served effectively as a distancing device, based on his life experience and his writings, his choice of a German-American subject hardly seems coincidental.

The poem's instant popularity resulted in its reprinting throughout the United States and in Great Britain. According to an article on Adams's death in the *New York Tribune*, the poem "went the length and breadth of the land and, not being copyrighted at that time, advertising men used it in any conceivable shape and with all sorts of pictures to illustrate their circulars."²¹ In London, according to an obituary article in the *Boston Herald*, newspapers lobbied in favor of Adams's appointment as American ambassador to the Court of St. James, confusing him with his near-namesake and distant relative, diplomat Charles Francis Adams.²²

When the immense popularity of "Leedle Yawcob Strauss" created a strong demand for Adams's poetry, he began to produce, within the limits of his business obligations, a steady flow of verse. Although he wrote primarily in the evenings while devoting himself to his business during the day, his efforts evoked strong encouragement from leading authors, including the most well known of the Fireside Poets, Longfellow, Whittier, and Holmes. In fact, in a letter to Leon Varney in 1909, Adams noted that Holmes had written him "many keenly appreciative letters"²³ encouraging his work in the field of dialect poetry. His success led him to publish in 1876 his first collection of verse, entitled *Leedle Yawcob Strauss and Other Poems*, followed by *Dialect Ballads* in 1888. In a letter from 1877, Longfellow thanked him for a copy of the earlier collection, noting that he had "long known the piece from which the volume takes its title."²⁴

While none of his later poems reached the popular heights enjoyed by "Leedle Yawcob Strauss," its companion piece, "Dot Leedle Loweeza" ("That Little Louisa"), was another favorite of the public. The two poems, according to one source, were inspired not by German-American models, but by Adams's son, Charles Mills Adams, and his daughter, Ella Adams Sawyer.

Domestic relations, emphasizing what is now commonly referred to as "family values," are a dominant theme in his work. After pondering some troubling or irritating side of domestic life, Adams's Strauss inevitably comes to the conclusion that the rewards of family life clearly outweigh any associated trials and tribulations. In "Der Oak und der Vine," Strauss describes an evolution in his thinking on the gender roles in a marriage. While he had originally assumed that the man was the "shturdy oak" and his wife "der glinging vine," he concludes that "den dimes oudt off nine, I find me

oudt dot man himself/Vas been der glining vine." His conclusion is fully in keeping with liberal suffragist sympathies of the day: "In helt und sickness, shoy and pain, In calm or shtormy veddher, 'Tvas beddher dot dhose oaks and vines/ Should always gling togeddher."²⁵

In another popular piece—"Vas Marriage a Failure?"—Mrs. Strauss leads her husband to a fitting conclusion to his musings on the success of their union by showing him "vhare Yawcob und leedle Loweeze/By dheir shnug trundle-bed vas shust saying dheir prayer, Und she say, mit some pride: 'Dhere vas no failures dhere!'"²⁶ In a final example of domestic focus, "Dot Baby off Mine," Adams uses the same formula applied so successfully in "Leedle Yawcob Strauss." After detailing his exasperation in raising young Yawcob's even more obstreperous infant brother, Strauss concludes again that all the earlier travail will prove worth the final reward once he himself is in his dotage: "Vell, vell, ven I'm feeble, und in life's decline, May mine oldt age pe cheered py dot baby off mine!" In the accompanying drawing, an old man is supported on the arm of his young and healthy offspring.²⁷

In other poems, Adams's dialect humor takes on a less domestic focus, as in his earliest piece, "The Puzzled Dutchman," where the speaker's problem is that he reached maturity without having been able to distinguish himself from his identical twin: "Und so I am in drouples: I gan't kit droo mine hed/Vedder I'm Hans vot's lifing, Or Yawcob vot is tead!"²⁸

In "Der Drummer," a different tone surfaces, more in keeping with the German fondness for orderly behavior. Here, the loose conduct of the traveling salesman has so disgruntled the good innkeeper Pfeiffer that the latter is moved to ask and answer his own rhetorical question: "Who, ven he gomes again dis vay, Vill hear vot Pfeiffer has to say, Und mit a plack eye goes away? Der drummer."²⁹ Similarly, in "Zwei Lager," the same Pfeiffer's wife reaches a practical and less violent solution to the problem of two inebriated, late-arriving customers who refuse to heed the innkeeper's plea that the pub is closed for the night: "I vix dose shaps, you pet my life, So dey don'd ask off Pfeiffer's vife/ Zwei lager./ Den righdt away she got a peese/Of goot und schtrong old Limburg cheese, Und put it schust outside der door; Und den ve didn't hear no more 'Zwei Lager.'"³⁰

Elsewhere, Adams showed his versatility in his parody of Samuel Woodworth's poem "The Old Oaken Bucket" with a piece entitled "Dot Long-handled Dipper." It would be fair to say that from the standpoint of original humor, this is his most successful verse. Its first few lines set the tone:

Der boet may sing off "Der Oldt Oaken Bookit,"
Und in schveetest langvitch its virtues may tell,
Und how, when a poy, he mit eggsdasy dook it,
Vhen dripping mit coolness it rose vrom der vell.
I don't take some shtock in dot manner off trinking!
It vas too mooch like horses and cattle, I dink.
Dhere vas more sadisfactions, in my vay of dinking,
Mit dot long-handled dipper, dot hangs py der sink.³¹

Adams shows here the mark of a true humorist; as much as he may share the domestic focus of the nineteenth century, he is not above poking fun at this specific icon of sentimental verse. Woodworth's piece, by then set to music, extols the virtues of homely memories: "How dear to my heart are the scenes of my childhood," then focuses on a specific "moss covered bucket I hailed as a treasure."³² Adams develops his theme with a series of images which create an effective parody of the original: the speaker tells of going to the well "in der rough vinter veddher" only "To haf dot rope coom oup so light as a feddher, Und find dot der bookit vas proke off der chain." His descriptions of the trials of drinking water from the well as it "runs down your schleeve, and schlops into your shoe" effectively demolish Woodworth's bucket as "the source of an exquisite pleasure." Unlike Woodworth's "tears of regret" and "sighs for the bucket that hung in the well," Adams's poem extols the simple utility of "How handy it vas schust to turn on der faucet." Adams's mentor Holmes, known for his parody of Longfellow's "Psalm of Life," wrote Adams to express his appreciation of the piece, thanking him for "the fresh draught from the long-handled tin dipper, which you have made a rival to 'The Old Oaken Bucket.'"³³ It is fair to conclude that the best of his poems succeed not only from his deft handling of the dialect and keen sense of both humor and pathos, but also from his use of surprising twists in the final stanza, which, as in Holmes's comments on "Yawcob Strauss," "moistened thousands of eyes—these old ones of mine among the rest."³⁴

While his collected poems include such non-dialect verse as "Sequel to the 'One-Horse Shay'" (a response to his favorite Holmes poem) and the temperance piece "John Barley-Corn, My Foe," it was his dialect poetry—and his dramatic readings of it—that kept him, according to an obituary in the *Boston Globe*, "in constant demand as a lecturer and reader" for the latter portion of his life.³⁵ The general reading public of the late nineteenth century clearly shared the sentiments Holmes expressed in a letter written to Adams in 1887: "I can never stop with one [of your poems] any more than I can with one peppermint lozenge. If I take one I am sure to take two or three."³⁶ This and many other similar letters from leading writers of the sentimental age indicate that they share Adams's sentiments and consider him one of their own.

The public, from the 1870s on, demanded ever more works from his pen, and, astute businessman that he was, Adams drove a hard bargain for his works. Editor H. M. Alden had to admonish him in a letter of 1880 that "the prices allowed for poems, even for authors of established reputation (Mr. Longfellow excepted) are not as high as you seem to think."³⁷ Nonetheless, favorable reception continued unabated. Whittier wrote that he "read [Adams's poetry] with pleasure. The Dutch pieces particularly, which are mirth-provoking, with a suggestion of pathos in the father's love for his hilarious offspring, which makes tender the homely ruggedness of the verses in which the honest Teuton expresses his fatherly pride."³⁸ James Whitcomb Riley writes, "Your German-English studies have always pleased me greatly."³⁹ J. T. Trowbridge adds that "you have the ability which so many writers lack—that of doing full justice to your productions in reading or reciting them. You have ease and naturalness of manner before an audience, even without effort, and humor without farcical exaggeration."⁴⁰

By 1902, Adams's fame had spread even to the White House, whence President Theodore Roosevelt assured him that he and Mrs. Roosevelt "both enjoyed [his books] greatly."⁴¹ Other prominent Americans, from Edward Everett Hale and Mark Twain to Edward Guest, sent frequent congratulatory letters. In the words of prominent suffragette Julia Ward Howe, Adams deserved praise for his "playful vein of satire. . . the whole marking a department of literature which you have certainly made your own."⁴²

Once Adams's business career was firmly established, he seemed ready to devote renewed energies to the dissemination of his dialect poetry. He contracted to set "Dot Leedle Loweeza" to music with the White-Smith music publishers in 1893, then reached agreement with the Oliver Ditson Company to publish a musical version of "Dot Long-handled Dipper" in 1900. Six years later, Harper Brothers solicited Adams for the inclusion of his poems in Twain's *Library of Humor*. His final collection of poetry, *Yanvob Strauss and Other Poems*, was printed by Lothrop, Lea and Shepard in 1910, a handsome edition with over 100 illustrations by Morgan J. Sweeney. It was to be the last publication of his work.

Clearly, an analysis of the long-lived popularity of Adams's work and then its rapid descent into obscurity must be seen in both a literary and socio-historical context. Beginning with the turn of the century and the dawn of modernism, the judgment of critics and writers in journals, reviews, and in the universities turned against the sentimental tradition in which Adams framed his works, as the modernists rejected the bourgeois optimism on which it was based and the sincerity which marked its tone.⁴³ Perhaps more importantly, they were even less favorable towards dialect works, and while contemporary scholars might argue over whether Adams's poetry should be mentioned in the same breath as that of true dialect poets like Paul Lawrence Dunbar, at that time critics made few such careful distinctions. Moreover, they, as opposed to the reading public, became the primary arbiters of taste, and their opinions began to dictate more and more which works became accessible to the American readership. These trends in literary taste affected the reception of not only Adams's works, but also those of his forerunner Leland, as well as those of more genuine dialect writers still prominent today, like Dunbar and Joel Chandler Harris.

The publication of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, which coined the term "standard language," gave rise to such organizations as the Society for Pure English, whose founder, Robert Bridges, was one of Shaw's models for Henry Higgins in *Pygmalion*.⁴⁴ Prominent writers also sought to further the cause of standard English. Henry James, for instance, protested in 1905 against immigrant speakers of English, claiming that "to the American Dutchman and Dago, as the voice of the people describes them, we have simply handed over our property."⁴⁵ A few years later, Paul Shorey echoed James's sentiments in a speech to the American Academy of Arts and Letters, complaining that "we are all hearing every day and many of us are reading and writing not instinctively right and sound English but the English of German American and Swedish American, Italian American, Russian American, Yiddish American speakers, pigeon [*sic*] English, Japanese schoolboy English, Hans Breitmann English, doctors' dissertation English, pedagogical seminary English, babu English."⁴⁶

Adams's problem, however, was not solely one of critical hostility to dialect literature. The emergence of German imperialism on the world scene ran counter to the American image of Germans as an innocuous and closely related "other," which is the image that Adams's works portray. Simply stated, German behavior in Europe was rapidly eroding the American affinity for things German on which much of the popularity of Adams's dialect poetry rested. Meanwhile, Anglo-American sentiment remained strongly rooted in the national fabric. According to Roger Daniels, canards circulating among the populace, such as one accusing Germans of having crucified a captured Canadian soldier,⁴⁷ were aimed at revising the German image in America and defining German "otherness" in wholly negative tones.⁴⁸

In 1914, the year the Great War broke out in Europe, President Wilson began to struggle with what became known as the hyphen question. In an objective consideration by British historian Clifton J. Child, this was a term that was "applied almost exclusively to the German Americans. . . . It gave the impression that they were still Germans as much as Americans, and that they would stand by Germany even though America suffered."⁴⁹ William H. Skaggs's book *German Conspiracies in America*, despite its overtly propagandistic tone, became most influential. Wilson's efforts to keep America neutral, already made much more difficult by the sinking of the *Lusitania* in 1915, became even harder with news of German agents helping to arm the Mexican rebel Pancho Villa, who had been raiding American towns in the Southwest.⁵⁰ By this time, according to Higham, "the struggle with Germany . . . called forth the most strenuous nationalism and the most pervasive nativism that the United States has ever known," and "little more was heard in the United States about the origins of liberty in the forests of Germany."⁵¹ After the declaration of war on 6 April 1917, almost everything German became stigmatized. *Sauerkraut* was renamed *liberty cabbage*, *frankfurters* were suddenly *hot dogs*, and *hamburger* was reborn as *Salisbury steak*. Meanwhile, as Rippley notes, German became in some places so suspect that its use was banned in churches and on the telephone.⁵²

While numerous court challenges arose against laws banning German in the schools, it is clear that its pervasiveness there had been suddenly and decisively overturned and that German was well on its way to losing its status as America's most popular second language. While 25% of Americans enrolled in high school were learning German in 1915, by the fall of 1918, the number had plummeted to near zero.⁵³

Meanwhile, the lives of dachshunds, schnauzers, and German shepherds—renamed Alsations—were made miserable by patriotically minded little boys. That first political and then linguistic aversion to things German rapidly led to literary aversion is not surprising.

Considering the growing antipathy toward Germans and the modernist critical standards which denigrated even the best of dialect works, it is hardly surprising that there was little room for Adams's whimsical and sentimentalized macaronic verse at the literary table. The thematic content of his poems relied on a thoroughly positive view of Germans, for Adams clearly made the Strauss family values parallel to those of broader American society.

In his last decade of life, Adams's literary production had largely ceased, and he focused his activity on trying to promote public interest in pieces he had produced years before. The last edition of his works, largely a compendium of previously published poems, appeared in 1910. In his contractual agreement with Lothrop, Lea and Shepard, the publisher was obligated to produce 500 copies with the stipulation that the author would buy back any remaining unsold copies after a year.⁵⁴ Further interest from publishers was lacking. While Adams neglects to comment directly on the national mood towards things German in his voluminous correspondence, evidence shows that his reading engagements dwindled, and letters from prominent correspondents became increasingly infrequent. Moreover, his most well-known advocates, such as Holmes and Longfellow, had passed from the scene. In perhaps a final attempt to revive interest in his Yawcob Strauss series, he wrote to Harvard professor Hugo Muensterberg in 1916:

Just previous to the outbreak of the war I had an offer from the largest promoter of the movies in London for the use of my book. . . . The war ended all negotiations, but it struck me that Boston, my native city, should introduce the Strauss family to the world, on the screen. . . . The popularity of my poems for many years and the phenomenal sales of my literary life work to date leads me to believe that this project may be worth considering.⁵⁵

Such an ambitious plan to link poetry and the silver screen was clearly exciting and innovative, but considering the Germanic content, its political incorrectness made it a very unlikely project for its times. Adams belatedly came to this realization, noting to an interviewer not long before he died that "the revelation of the German character as influenced by vicious militarism had grieved him sorely and had, of course, made its unfavorable impress upon the immediate popularity of his verses."⁵⁶

The Brooklyn Eagle wrote in its commentary on Adams's death in 1918 that "[American] feeling toward Germany and the Germans is no longer humorous, no longer tolerant," while noting that the genre of German dialect poetry was "probably extinct forever."⁵⁷ Equally revealing is an article on Adams's death in the *New York Herald*,⁵⁸ which underlines the connection between his works and the political context of the times: "A news dispatch from Boston announced the death yesterday of Charles Follen Adams, author of the . . . delightful little poem ["Leedle Yawcob Strauss"], which honored the German as we knew him before the days of submarine outrages, liquid fire and poison gas." In the mind of the times, the German image in America had become synonymous with war, destruction, and brutality. Historical realities had created a most difficult burden for a writer like Adams to overcome if he were to hope for continuing literary recognition based on a more benign image of the German. As a case in point, Eva Schlesinger's study shows that after 1919, the influential *Atlantic Monthly* under the editorship of Ellery Sedgwick generally ignored German literature, and where it was noticed at all, it was consistently equated with war.⁵⁹ It is instructive that even what was perhaps the single most popular German-American icon, America's longest running comic strip, Rudolph Dirks's "Katzenjammer Kids," did not survive

the war unscathed. As encyclopedist Ron Goulart has noted, "in response to the First World War and resulting anti-German emotions, the title was changed to 'The Shenanigan Kids' in June 1918; the family's origin was changed to Holland and the boys' names [were changed from Hans and Fritz to] Mike and Aleck."⁶⁰ Nearly two years passed before they were able to resume their German identity. On the other hand, for the most part, Adams's Strauss family disappeared for good.

The place of Adams's dialect poetry in the American canon is modest, at best. He is mentioned as a specialist in the genre in most major literary histories,⁶¹ but often receives much less attention than his predecessor Leland.⁶² Moreover, his poetry is only rarely included in major anthologies.⁶³ Perhaps most remarkable is the selection found in the *Oxford Book of Light American Verse*. While the collection includes no fewer than five Adams poems, none of the five is a dialect piece.⁶⁴ When one considers that even the most avid of Adams's readers at the turn of the century would be hard pressed to name more than two of his non-dialect poems, the omission of his best known works appears astonishing.

That Adams's work remains a mere footnote to American literature is not surprising, especially considering that most other practitioners of ethnic dialect poetry have met similar fates. Nor has critical judgment been kind to the Fireside Poets, with whose work his poetry can certainly be linked. It is clear, however, that Adams's positive depiction of ethnic German figures in American verse coincides with the public's broadly enthusiastic reception of things German, and the sudden end of the popularity of his dialect poetry can only be interpreted within a socio-historical as well as a literary context.

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Appendix

The two major editions of Adams's works are *Leedle Yawcob Strauss and Other Poems*, Boston: Lea and Shepard, 1876, and an expanded edition, *Yawcob Strauss and Other Poems*, Boston: Lothrop, Lea & Shepard, 1910. The latter edition contains over 100 illustrations, attributed to Morgan J. Sweeney ("Boz").

The largest collection of Adams's correspondence is found in the Houghton Library, Harvard University. The collection includes editorial correspondence and contracts with publishers, as well as numerous letters to Adams, of which the following are especially noteworthy: Henry Mills Alden, 9 January 1880; Samuel Langhorne Clemens, undated; Edgar A. Guest, 21 September 1917; Edward Everett Hale, 6 December 1887; Oliver Wendell Holmes, 1 January 1878, 6 October 1887, and 1 October 1893; Julia Ward Howe, 19 January 1900; Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, 28 December 1877; James Whitcomb Riley, 5 March 1882; Theodore Roosevelt, 8 August 1902; J. T. Trowbridge, 26 December 1895; John Greenleaf Whittier, 31 March 1878. A letter from Adams to Hugo Muensterberg, 28 April 1916, is found in the Boston Public Library, and one to Leon Varney, 24 May 1909, is found in the Barrett Collection of the Alderman Library, University of Virginia. Also found in the Adams Papers at Harvard are notes from a lecture given at Emerson College of Oratory, 1900.

Biographical entries on Adams are found in *The Dictionary of American Biography*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928; *The National Cyclopedic of American Biography*, New York: James T. White, 1898; and John C. Rand, ed. *One of a Thousand*, Buffalo: Matthews, Northrup and Co., 1890.

Obituary articles on Adams are found in the *Boston Globe*, 9 March 1918: 2; the *Boston Herald*, 9 March 1918: 11; the *New York Tribune*, 9 March 1918: 11; and the *New York Herald*, 9 March 1918: 8.

Notes

¹ Standard literary histories note Godfrey Leland and Adams as the leading poets in this field, and according to Ralph Davol, writing in *New England Magazine* in 1905, "since the passing of [Leland's] 'Hans Breitmann,' [Adams] is recognized as the leading exponent of this Dutch dialect which keeps him in demand on the lecture platform and at social assemblies."

² Charles Follen Adams, Notes from a lecture given at Emerson College of Oratory, 1900, C. F. Adams Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

³ Adams Lecture Notes.

⁴ Elizabeth Roberts Pennell, *Charles Godfrey Leland: A Biography* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1906), 1: 338-39.

⁵ Charles Godfrey Leland, *Hans Breitmann's Ballads* (New York: Dover, 1965). The final stanza of the most famous poem in the collection, "Hans Breitmann's Barty," is representative of Leland's dialect verse: "Hans Breitmann gife a barty—/Where ish dot barty now?/Where ish de lofely golden cloud/Dot float on de moundain's prow?/Where ish de himmelstrahlende stern—De shtar of de shpirit's light? All goned afay mit de lager beer—Afay in de ewigkeit!"

⁶ Pennell, 340-41.

⁷ Adams Lecture Notes.

⁸ Henry A. Pochmann, *German Culture in America: Philosophical and Literary Influences, 1600-1900* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press: 1957), 19-36. Cotton Mather's interest in German writings was very broad-based; beyond an extensive collection of general reference works, German works in his library focused on topics as diverse as Pietism, science, literature, and the occult, including witchcraft.

⁹ Review of *Life and Works of Goethe*, by G. H. Lewes, *Democratic Review* 37 (February 1856): 157.

¹⁰ Emerson to Fuller, September 1841. *Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Ralph L. Rusk (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), 2: 445.

¹¹ Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939), 1: 401.

¹² Notes in C. F. Adams Papers accompanying a manuscript entitled "Does Lager bier intoxicate?"

¹³ William L. Burton, *Melting Pot Soldiers: The Union's Ethnic Regiments* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1988), 111.

¹⁴ John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1955), 25.

¹⁵ Charles Follen Adams, *Leedle Yawcob Strauss and Other Poems* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1878), 11-15.

¹⁶ *Detroit Free Press*, 24 April 1878, 11.

¹⁷ Holger Kersten, "Sentimental Communication in Disguise: Yawcob Strauss's German-Dialect Humor," *Thalia* 17, 1-2 (1997): 21-35.

¹⁸ Thomas Wortham, "William Cullen Bryant and the Fireside Poets," in *The Columbia Literary History of the United States*, ed. Emory Elliott (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 284.

¹⁹ Kersten, 32.

²⁰ See, for example, George Cooper, *Cooper's Yankee, Hebrew, and Italian Dialect Readings and Recitations* (New York: H. J. Wehman, 1891).

²¹ *New York Tribune*, 9 March 1918, 11.

²² *Boston Herald*, 9 March 1918, 11.

²³ C. F. Adams. Letter to Leon Varney, 24 May 1909. Barrett Collection, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

²⁴ Correspondence of Charles Follen Adams. Houghton Library, Harvard University. 28 December 1877.

²⁵ Charles Follen Adams, *Yawcob Strauss and Other Poems* (Boston: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard, 1910), 188-93.

²⁶ *Yawcob Strauss*, 268.

²⁷ *Leedle Yawcob Strauss*, 82-87.

²⁸ *Leedle Yawcob Strauss*, 87-89.

²⁹ *Leedle Yawcob Strauss*, 63-67.

³⁰ *Leedle Yawcob Strauss*, 102-5.

- ³¹ Yawcob Strauss, 284-89.
- ³² Samuel Woodworth, "The Old Oaken Bucket," in *The Best Loved Poems of the American People* (New York: Doubleday, 1936), 385.
- ³³ C. F. Adams Correspondence, 1 October 1893.
- ³⁴ C. F. Adams Correspondence, 1 January 1878.
- ³⁵ *Boston Globe*, 9 March 1918, 2.
- ³⁶ C. F. Adams Correspondence, 6 October 1887.
- ³⁷ C. F. Adams Correspondence, 9 January 1880.
- ³⁸ C. F. Adams Correspondence, 31 March 1878.
- ³⁹ C. F. Adams Correspondence, 5 March 1882.
- ⁴⁰ C. F. Adams Correspondence, 26 December 1895.
- ⁴¹ C. F. Adams Correspondence, 8 August 1902.
- ⁴² C. F. Adams Correspondence, 19 January 1900.
- ⁴³ Wortham, 282-87.
- ⁴⁴ Michael North, *The Dialect of Modernism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 13.
- ⁴⁵ Henry James, *The Question of Our Speech* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1905), 41.
- ⁴⁶ Paul Shorey, "The American Language," in *Academy Papers: Addresses on Language Problems by Members of the American Academy of Arts and Letters*, eds. Paul Elmer More, et al. (New York: Scribner's, 1925), 161.
- ⁴⁷ The story was the subject of an inquiry made in British Parliament, but according to British General John Charteris, it originated when an allied soldier reported that he had seen German soldiers sitting around a fire near a figure appearing to be a crucified soldier; upon closer inspection, it turned out to be a shadow from the fire. The story was repeated over and over without the final explanation. See James Morgan Read, *Atrocity Propaganda, 1914-1919* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1941), 41-42.
- ⁴⁸ Roger Daniels, *Not like Us: Immigrants and Minorities in America, 1890-1924* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1997), 78. Daniels points out that in the American version, the supposedly crucified soldier became a Canadian; this aimed at evoking more empathy from an American audience, and the alliterative phrase "crucified Canadian" was easily remembered.
- ⁴⁹ Clifton J. Child, *The German-Americans in Politics, 1914-1917* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1939), 85.
- ⁵⁰ For a thorough discussion of German government actions in Mexico, see Barbara W. Tuchman, *The Zimmermann Telegram* (New York: Viking, 1958), especially the chapter "Viva Villa, Made in Germany," 88-106.
- ⁵¹ Higham, 195, 202.
- ⁵² La Vern J. Rippley, *The German-Americans* (Boston: Twayne, 1976), 187.
- ⁵³ Rippley, 123.
- ⁵⁴ The contract is found in the C. F. Adams Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
- ⁵⁵ C. F. Adams. Letter to Hugo Muensterberg, 28 April 1916, Boston Public Library.
- ⁵⁶ Clipping in the C. F. Adams Papers, *Boston Post*, 10 March 1918.
- ⁵⁷ Clipping in the C. F. Adams Papers, *Brooklyn Eagle*, 9 March 1918.
- ⁵⁸ "Leedle Yawcob Strauss," *New York Herald*, 9 March 1918, 8.
- ⁵⁹ Eva Schlesinger, "The Record of German Literature in America as Exemplified by the *Atlantic Monthly*, 1919-1944" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1976), 199.
- ⁶⁰ Ron Goulart, ed., *The Encyclopedia of American Comics* (New York: Facts on File, 1990), 212.
- ⁶¹ See, for example, George F. Whicher, "Minor Humorists," in A. W. Ward & W. P. Trent, et al., eds. *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature*, 17 (New York: Bartleby.com, 2000); Emory Elliott, ed. *The Columbia Literary History of the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988); Robert E. Spiller, ed. *The Literary History of the United States*, (New York: Macmillan, 1965); and James D. Hart, ed. *The Oxford Companion to American Literature* (New York: Oxford, 1995).
- ⁶² While there is no mention of Adams in *The Encyclopedia of American Poetry: The 19th Century* (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1998), editor Eric Haralson assigns six pages to an entry on Leland.
- ⁶³ Adams's poetry is not included, for example, in the authoritative collection *American Poetry: The Nineteenth Century*, ed. John Hollander (New York: Library of America, 1993).
- ⁶⁴ Wm. Harmon, ed. (New York: Oxford, 1979). Two of the poems, "John Barley-Corn, My Foe" and "To Barry Jade," were among his best known non-dialect pieces.

Andrew Yox

The German-American Community as a Nationality, 1880-1940

Festoons of oak stood by the entrances of the new Harugari Hall in Buffalo, New York, in 1886. Louis Buehl, a hotelkeeper, welcomed the audience from the speaker's table. If a latter day practice held true, the officers also were seated in front, facing the members, wearing medallions held by ribbons of the German tricolor—black, red and gold. Buehl's speech was a series of injunctions. He enjoined his hearers to preserve German traits in Buffalo. According to Buehl, the work of Harugari prospered, as it was "right" and "necessary" to foster the "German language," the "noble" customs of the German people, and to "Germanize" America. This was the "duty" of *Deutschtum*, the German community.¹

Amidst the work on minorities in the United States during the last thirty years, there are reasons to wonder why an ethnic leader could recite a list of demands and speak of "duty." "Ethnicity" has come to mean a temporary construction of identity. And yet, if identity is always in flux, how can there be duty? In the German-American case, the recent literature has stressed the accommodations and inventions of ethnicity, the uncertain and shifting identity of the Germans, and the intrusions of a German socialist culture. But their own community was "Deutschtum," the realm of Germanism—not Ethnicism or Socialism. German-American poets fashioned prayerful requests to the fatherland, and hymns to the Kaiser, German songs, and even lager beer. The essence of *Deutschtum* consisted in the imposition of remaining German, and this too was its lure in an age of nationalism. As a German-American lawyer noted in 1908, the "love for fatherland is such a powerful factor in world history, that we must view it as a gift from heaven."²

Nationalism was not only a consciousness; it was a power. It existed when demands were made in the name of a nation, and followers dutifully obeyed. The story of *Deutschtum* from the standpoint of Buffalo, New York, suggests how the German-American community embraced nationalism and functioned as a nationality. As Buffalo's community was prosaic, its ideology was representative. The sensibility of being a dutiful German remained viable in the United States through the 1930s, but especially in the period before World War I.

Nationalism was a gift from heaven, at least in a sense. In Buffalo, a century ago, the Germans dominated much of the skyline. On Main Street, the tallest Catholic church, St. Louis, conveyed what the speaker, Buehl, had called Germanization. Among

downtown Gothics such as St. Joseph's Cathedral, and the new St. Paul's Episcopal, St. Louis was conspicuously ornamented and European. Its austere finials, front façade tower, and spire of diaphanous openwork resembled the cathedrals at Freiburg and Ulm. Thirteen years before, German trustees had gutted its low-key Romanesque predecessor. It now housed a purely German Catholic congregation, on the edge of a Yankee neighborhood on land seized from a French congregation over the protest of an Irish Bishop. Other Gothics of the East Side such as St. Andrew's Lutheran, St. Anna's Catholic, and St. Boniface lacked the intricate tracery of St. Louis, but dutifully followed the German pattern with façade towers, belfries, and fanciful Germanic spires that dwarfed surrounding neighborhoods. Other buildings also emanated Germanic standards. The Germans had a *Turnverein Halle*, spelled with an *e*, the city's Music Hall with a frieze of a Germanic eagle, book stores, a dark stone bank, a hospital, a "Buffalo Freie Presse" high-rise, and a half dozen fanciful breweries with loud gables and dentils. At Lafayette Square, at the city's heart, a massively ornamented German Insurance Building maintained eight truncated tent roofs. Hundreds of feet of iron fretwork crested the tent roofs like a crown. Did not the Harugari speaker say that German culture was noble? And was not being German in 1900, like an insurance policy, a portfolio that promised dividends as the German fatherland led a worldwide renaissance of Germanic achievement? As a whole panorama in 1900, German Buffalo was overwrought but serious; its highest points evoked the fatherland.³

German-American architecture itself was didactic, and this made the effort to preserve German culture intelligible. Though later allegations that the German schools in the United States were "nurseries of Kaiserism" were overdrawn, the German presence in education was imposing. In 1981, ten years before the Ukraine became its own nation, there were Ukrainian cities without schools that taught Ukrainian. From 1874 to 1908 in Subcarpathian Europe, over 400 persecuted Rusyn schools passed at first into a bilingual status, and finally into schools where Hungarian replaced Rusyn altogether as the language of instruction. By contrast, from 1884 to 1917, there remained about twenty-five parochial schools in Buffalo that maintained instruction in German and English. By 1910, the best of the parochial schools such as St. Boniface, St. Anna, St. Mary, Sacred Heart, First Trinity, and St. Andrew's Lutheran had become two- and three-storied brick monuments to bilingual education, built with the over-reverent, over-sturdy air of the Insurance Building and the Music Hall. Pastor-teachers such as August Senne and John Sieck in Buffalo taught the theology of Christ's twofold nature, and the history of the Reformation in German, and also covered mental arithmetic, and the story of the American government in broken English. The Buffalo Mission of 300 Jesuits, many of them teachers, fought successfully in 1903 to remain within the German province of Jesuits. To outsiders, they were "aliens," and "Germans." Many could hardly speak English. Some taught that the German tongue was the "vessel of faith." Children who resisted the onslaught of German received the switch, and if one can imagine this scene, one can perceive a classic image of nationalism. In the public schools, German became an elective at the Central High School in 1862, and at four primary schools after 1868. By 1916, all of the city high schools and

thirty-three of the primary schools had electives in German. By this point, a group of East Side primary-school principals maintained five-year programs of instruction in the German language, despite the opposition of the State Board of Regents who offered tests for only one year of German.⁴

Americans had one of the most progressive public school systems in the world, but the Germans willingly pushed their demands in the midst of this achievement. The petitions of local Germans first for German courses, and then for Kindergartens, and German gymnastics (*Turnerei*) were an intermittent feature of the period from the Civil War to World War I. These bids were demands for those who recognized that the Germans were threatening political retaliation if German was not taught. In 1873, Buffalo's oldest newspaper, the *Commercial* referred to the case for German instruction as a show of "German proscription." Forty years later, a study of the New York State Teacher's Association, noted that the program of German classes in the primary schools had been sustained through "the demand of German parents." In Cleveland at this time, a German pastor "demand[ed] . . . a brand of German language instruction that is sufficient to know the wealth and value of the German spirit." The *New York Times* in 1905 even found the problem of German proscription in education a test case of national character. For it was the "Germans" who "clamor . . . again and again" for the teaching of German, "and by so doing incite others much more truly alien to make demands even more absurd."⁵

Even as parents pushed for German language classes, it seemed unlikely that any kind of secular didacticism could enter the German churches. Pastors and priests suspected worldly aspirations, and were alert to strictures that departed from apostolic teaching. But as the brick and mortar campaign of the late-nineteenth century concluded with success, many wondered who would inherit the translucent stained glass windows, and the three-manual pipe organs: Germans or Americans? The Lutheran, Henry Karsten, a produce dealer, argued that the German liturgies should always be retained, for they alone were "beautiful." A third-generation housewife told her family that German must always be retained, for it alone made the worship services "pleasant." Reverend Friedrich Kahler built his Lutheran church on Main Street, married a Presbyterian, and used English for the services. But this enraged even fellow moderates in the New York Ministerium. In 1902, Kahler's church, under fire, withdrew from the Ministerium. Kahler complained that East Side Germans believed in a "Teutonic Jesus." At Bethlehem Evangelical church before World War I, a mother complained that elders and pastor were forcing their daughter to be confirmed in German. By 1915, the Catholic devotional newspaper in Buffalo, the *Aurora*, told all of its readers to become a member of the German-American Alliance. It expected its readers to "work unremittingly" to counter Anglophiles who wanted the United States to go to war against Germany.⁶

The demands of nationality entered the churches, and flourished in *Vereine*, associations dedicated to singing, gymnastics, humor and literature. Some had "papas" (founding members) and military units. Some conducted funerals and weddings. Such solidarity connoted a willingness to be bossed that was absent from the more chummy American clubs. Their formation even before 1871 as "German" societies also made

Germanic legalisms an elemental, binding force. The *Saengerbund* rehearsed by a sign: "Honor the German Language." The *Liedertafel* had a banner: "Stay True to the Watch on Rhine." The festival brochure of the German Society in 1891 bore the motto "Uphold the German Word." Sweeping demands blended naturally with good-natured post-prandial oratory: "stay true to our traditions," "Germans to the front," "stay continually as one," and "hold fast to the language of our fathers." At the fiftieth anniversary of the German Society in 1891, F. A. Georger noted that the demand to preserve the German language in the organization went even beyond duty. It was "indispensable" for the survival of the *Verein*.⁷

At the apex of importunity, the leaders of Buffalo's *Deutschtum* acted as the righteous, highhanded guardians of Germanic idealism. During the years after 1900, Dr. Wilhelm Gaertner emerged as the German leader in Buffalo. With a Ph.D. from the University of Marburg as well as an American M.D., this gruff physician had such authority, that local Germans called him the "Führer." When the prominent singing society, Orpheus, showed signs of lapsing in its commitment to the German language, Gaertner suddenly emerged from the ranks of its passive members to become its president. He arranged for a 1905 Schiller Festival in Buffalo, and for Orpheus-sponsored visits of a Vienna men's choir and a German admiral. The climactic moment of his service came at the start of World War I when he read a letter he had composed to thousands of local Germans. As the head of the German-American Alliance in Buffalo, Gaertner pledged to the German Kaiser, the moral and financial support of Buffalo's *Deutschtum*.⁸

Singing society directors also had a penchant for winning prestige while playing the part of the didactic German. The *Buffalo Truth* observed in 1886 that the most widely known German conductor in Buffalo, Frederick Federlein, "often stormed and swore at luckless singer[s]." His regard for ladies in the mixed chorus was said to resemble the outlook of warriors in the *Nibelungenlied*, a medieval German poem. Nevertheless, Federlein lasted thirty years with the *Saengerbund*, an organization with over 500 members. A group of women supported him, and members arose to his defense when Buffalo's German mayor, Philip Becker, tried to have him fired in 1883. Hermann Schorcht, a conductor of Orpheus during Gaertner's tenure, also like Federlein, rehearsed all-German programs in a demanding manner. Schorcht once challenged an American-born singer to a duel over a "gibe," and, on another occasion, threw a pencil at the choir because of their crooning. A German choir, he exclaimed, needed to convey more power of expression.⁹

This was classic nationalism—demands placed on others in the name of a people, a fatherland, and a culture. And if there were striking requests in this vein, one appeared in the *Buffalo Demokrat* in 1913: "Stay true to Germany, true until death." This is not as staunch as "defend Buffalo's *Deutschtum* and German honor, even in the face of a fanatic American who might pistol-whip you to death should you try." It is not necessarily fanatical, like the call of the pro-Indian, Sikh Ghadar party of California in 1911: "Come, let us become Martyrs." But the cry of this mainstream German-American newspaper is truly nationalism. It is not merely an ethnic phrase such as: "German is the language that God spoke to Adam" or "knowing the German language

profits a man in whatever field." Instead, it is inherently religious as it deals with ultimate concerns. The 1913 quote has a kinship not with ethnic one-upmanship, but with an observation of a German Catholic priest in Buffalo in 1932 that love for the German fatherland stemmed from Christ's commandment to love one's heavenly father.¹⁰

It is notable that in German-American circles, the Buffalo community bore a stigma of inferiority. Theodore Sutro, a distinguished New York City businessman and poet told local Germans in 1908 that they were one of the "mainstays" of *Deutschtum*, but only in the state of New York. Years before, Karl Heinzen charged that the Germans of Buffalo were interested only in beer, business and dancing. L. Viereck in an exhaustive study of German influence in the public schools classified the efforts of Buffalo's *Deutschtum* as "indifferent." There are some major implications here about the scope of nationalism throughout the United States. For this community, skipped by Prince Henry of Hohenzollern in his celebrated tour of German-America in 1902, was, by the standards of the world and of local Anglo-Americans, a major immigrant colony. In 1906, the membership of German Lutheran and German Evangelical churches alone in Buffalo surpassed that of the Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, Congregationalists, and Disciples of Christ combined. In 1915, there were more German Catholics in Buffalo than Mormons in Salt Lake City. By 1900, there were more residents of German descent in Buffalo than there were Serbians in Belgrade, Russians in Minsk, Finns in Helsinki, Bulgars in Sophia, Croats in Zagreb, or even Greeks in Athens. Lackluster Buffalo alone had half as many German newspapers as the entire Brazilian *Deutschtum* in 1900. Buffalo's German league of nationalist *Vereine*, the Alliance, predated the ones in Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires by a decade, and appears to have attracted more supporters.¹¹

The demands of German nationalism were alive and well outside of Buffalo. Karl Ruemelin, a Cincinnati politician, spoke of Germans in America who "demand that only German bees make their German honey." German newspapers and major German-American leaders disseminated injunctions as Buehl did, in one community after another. Germans were to support a noble family life. German women could not be dilettante mothers like their American counterparts, but true candy-withholding madonnas of virtue. German girls were to dress more discreetly than American girls. German men were to shun factory-made folktypes such as the American male, who swore, drank whiskey and boasted of his new "auto-machine." German males were to command their families through respect, stay awake for their family after work, fight prohibition, and always tell the truth since this was a key "German trait."¹²

The importunate character of this culture was possible, as many German-Americans had internalized the demands. Secretary of State John Hay once told Theodore Roosevelt that it was a "singular ethnological and political [fact] that the prime motive of every German-American" was to support Germany in world affairs, even above the United States. In fact, municipal elections indicate that sizable numbers of German-Americans—in Buffalo's case, probably a plurality—supported anti-war and anti-draft candidates after the United States had declared war on Germany. In 1895, a leader of the *Turnverein* could claim that German-American women "never"

neglected their domestic work. A German Jewish lawyer, Jacob Stern, argued in 1907 that the Germans would never assimilate in the United States, because in the hearts of German-Americans, there was "always" a pride of German achievements. In the fight against prohibition, the German county of Comal, Texas, produced a 99 percent majority for a wet gubernatorial candidate in 1912. Rudolf Cronau, a prolific, award-winning author, took it for granted in 1916 that the Germans "set a higher value on truth . . . than any other peoples. They all love truth."¹³

Even amidst the proliferation of those who baked pies instead of kuchen, and pronounced the letter *b* there were probably millions of Americans on the eve of World War I who were on some level of their psyche responding to the demands of German nationalism. This alone was the German case, in a nation of 100 million. The following numbers are only suggestive, and do not constitute a sum of those who showed fidelity to *Deutschtum*. But they do provide a sense of dimension. On the national level, a conservative estimate of the size of the German-American Alliance in 1914 (2,000,000) shows a group as large as the American Federation of Labor. Include the wives and children of Alliance members, but subtract all who were Catholics or Lutherans. Include one-tenth of all the congregations of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States in 1916, for they were German national parishes. Include about 1,000,000 Missouri and Wisconsin Synod Lutherans who maintained bilingual, or all-German parochial schools. There were about as many Germans here as there were people in the western third of the United States in 1910.¹⁴

To be sure, during the turn of the century, Theodore Roosevelt stopped congratulating farmers for being as German as he was. Histories note that more and more Americans of German descent spoke English at home. Still, the entire population of German descent probably doubled in the United States from 1875 to 1915. If $X + Y = Z$, and Z doubles, it remains illogical to suggest a decline for Y just because X happens to increase. A *Verein* address book and newspaper accounts from Wilmington, Delaware, indicate that German associations such as *Harmonie*, and the *Saengerbund* increased to the point that by 1914, the combined *Verein* membership equaled half of the city's German-born population. From 1895 to 1915, the circulation of German newspapers in small towns such as Hermann, Missouri, Carroll, Iowa, and Aurora, Illinois increased. In Chicago, the circulation of local German newspapers during this time increased from about 114,000 to 141,000. The German-American Alliance registered a 66 percent gain in membership from 1907 to 1915. In the nation's high schools in 1915, 28 percent of all students enrolled in a German-language class. This marked an all-time high for a foreign language in United States schools, a proportion that has only been matched by Spanish-language enrollments in the late 1990s. In the prairie town of Perham, in west central Minnesota, the percentage of German-Americans able to speak English actually declined from 1900 to 1910, and the rate at which Germans married out of their nationality dropped. It was little wonder that the *New York Times* referred after 1900 to an "adamantine *Deutschtum*."¹⁵

The case of Buffalo evokes the sense of "duty" alluded to in the beginning, the otherwise uncanny penchant for German-Americans to hold fast to their culture. From 1890 to 1915 the circulation of the four non-socialist German newspapers in

Buffalo increased from about 15,900 to 22,664. This came despite the falloff of German immigration after 1890 and despite the fact that the ratio of immigrant family heads to American-born family heads within the German population dropped from three in 1892 to one in 1915.¹⁶ During this same period, the number of pupils taking German in Buffalo's public schools increased from 5,435 to 12,406. By 1916, two-thirds of all Buffalo primary schools offered German, and the number of students completing the "highest grammar grade"—six years, increased from 40 in 1892 to 943 in 1915.¹⁷ From 1890 to 1915 in Buffalo, the number of students enrolling in *Turnverein* gym classes and Kindergartens, the number of German families in German neighborhoods, and the number of German Lutheran churches in the city increased. The names of parks attesting to German influence and nationalism—Teutonia, Schiller, Humboldt, and Germania—increased to four by 1914. In 1914, the largest gathering relative to the German-American population in Buffalo's history was reached when an equivalent of one-fourth of all German-Americans attended a German Day tribute to early German victories in World War I.¹⁸

In some cities, such as Los Angeles, California, or Newark, New Jersey, increases in the German immigrant population after 1890 remained impressive. But Buffalo's German-born population began to decline in the 1890s when the generation that crowded into the city in the 1850s began to die off. Moreover, Buffalo, unlike New York, Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Louis, had a distinctive Bavarian, and south-German slant to its German population. The Buffalo community, more so than other more renown centers of *Deutschtum*, contained a large number of south Germans from rural areas, the very group considered least attuned to the nationalistic political parties of Germany after 1871. Yet even in Buffalo, *Deutschtum* by 1917 was a movement with potential, rather than a rearguard act as has been suggested. The extent of nationalistic ardor implied here for the German-American experience as a whole, in fact, may be significant from an American, and even a world standpoint.¹⁹

Consider, for instance, the German case in relation to Southern nationalism before the Civil War. In the last thirty years, at the same time it has become unfashionable to speak of immigrant groups as nationalities, much has been made of Southern or Confederate "nationalism." But how was the Confederacy essentially nationalistic? When newspapers such as the *Carolina Watchman* in 1850, the *Charlotte Hornet's Nest* in 1850, the *Charleston Courier* in 1850 and the *New Orleans Daily Crescent* in 1855 embraced the cause of a Southern nation, they began with the premise that northern attacks on slavery had become intolerable. Their Southern nation began as a solution to a larger problem, an expedient. Leading German-Americans spoke and sang of blood as a "good cement," of their culture as "holy," and of the fatherland as "above the nations." But George Fitzhugh had more faith in the system of slavery than in the South, and Josiah Nott stressed the dominion of the "American Caucasian" rather than a Southern race. German-American poets such as Ernst A. Zuendt, Wilhelm Mueller, and Paul Hoffmann addressed Germany with the warmth one might a lover, but Southern writers were more likely to extol "Charleston," "Carolina," or a "Kentucky Belle" than the South. German-American newspapers extolled the German language and German customs. Newspapers such as the *Richmond Whig* in 1854 and the *New Orleans*

Daily Crescent in 1855 were more interested to prove how the Yankees had divided a people of the same "language" and "descent," than to justify Southern nationality.²⁰

Southerners consistently missed chances to promote a sense of duty to the Southern nation. James Hammond claimed in 1859 that not the South, but cotton was king. Robert Toombs of Georgia urged his countrymen to worship at the "altar of liberty" rather than at the shrine of their new nation. Fire-Eaters such as Nathaniel Beverly Tucker, John Quitman, Robert Rhett, and William Yancey were the earliest and most adamant proponents of a southern nation. But Tucker spoke of Virginians as a "nationality." Quitman believed that any group or business could form its own state if it was willing to pursue a private act of imperialism in Latin America. Robert Rhett felt it was better to tear a nation into "1,000 fragments" than endure a powerful government. From the waving of the palmetto flag in 1861 to the decision of Robert E. Lee to fight for Virginia's sake, and the threatened secession of Georgia, the Confederacy teemed with anti-nationalist, libertarian desire. It was not just that wartime commands outweighed nationalistic demands. Essentially, the South proved willing by 1861 to follow the commands in order to evade the demands.²¹

In the United States, "liberty" was Jefferson's "true God," Lincoln's providence, and Ralph Waldo Emerson's piety. Even the "Americanizers" of World War I, failed to surmount this tradition. As their demands were weak, they too lacked the nationalistic flair of the German-Americans. The Superpatriots of this era, as their name implied, began as patriots, not nationalists. Their leader, Theodore Roosevelt, was more of a professor than a boss. He intimated that all immigrants should be learning English, but found it impossible to insist that all Americans know English. He proclaimed that ethnic voting was treason, but failed to urge countermeasures. He argued that there was no room in America for other nationalities, but admitted that Americans were still "developing our own distinctive culture." President Woodrow Wilson, who embraced Superpatriotic ideals in 1915, essentially demanded that all immigrants cease unpatriotic activity. Instead of demanding that they cut ties with their fatherland, he argued that it was "sacred" to love the land of one's birth. Moreover, Wilson often equated American patriotism with an essentially un-nationalistic internationalism. "Think first of humanity" demanded Wilson to new American citizens at Philadelphia's Convention Hall in 1915. Though wartime pressures incited a brand of American chauvinism that included kiss-the-flag ceremonies, and beatings, the ideological basis of such bullying remained weak. The question lingers: Was it nationalism or scapegoating? In numerous essays on Americanization before World War I by Frances Kellor, Jane Addams, the Secretary of the Interior, Franklin Lane, and others, one finds an unusual degree of hedging. What is an American? What is an American supposed to do? The only demand that emerged in these works was an implicit suggestion. Americans should believe in democracy.²²

Germans in the United States were but imitators of the European nationalists, but still, their tone was more fatherly, and their demands more sweeping than the Americanizers. In addition, the degree of German nationalism in the United States even appears to have ranked high among the other German colonies around the world. In Riga, Latvia, Germans dominated trading houses, and banks, but remained politically

vulnerable and called their culture "Baltic." The German farmers in Chilean and Volga River hamlets knew nothing of "German Days" and Schillerfests. The German communities of Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires included German utility companies and employment agencies, and yet South American communities lacked broad and indigenous movements.

The Harugari speaker, Louis Buehl, had called for a Germanized America. But the defeat of Germany in 1918 shattered the nationalistic faith, and after a brief revival of "Deutschtum" in the 1930s, the descendants of Buffalo's "Great German East Side" scattered, and its neighborhoods turned into a ghetto. Americans of German descent uttered few trenchant lamentations for *Deutschtum*, for it came to represent a religious and social abyss. They fled it. Elderly Americans with German backgrounds today believe that their ancestors Americanized quickly. One might assume from their accounts and from the outcome of *Deutschtum* that American culture was too charismatic for an immigrant culture to withstand its influence. But the case in Buffalo shows that there was no victory for the forces of Americanization before 1917. *Deutschtum* not only endured in Buffalo's prosaic community, but showed signs of progress. During the age when beer gardens and spires marked the bounds of German efforts in the United States, *Deutschtum* lived in tension with American culture. It was not a natural but a moral phenomenon. When this foreign intrusion collapsed, it was not due to the allure of American culture that had worked unsuccessfully against it for years, but to the bankrupt status of German nationalism as a secular religion. The "Faith" faltered in 1918, and limped back to life in the 1930s only to die after 1941. Much of world and American culture has demonized it thereafter.²³

To see the *Deutschtum* that once existed as a nationality, however, is to see much more than the German-American experience, unclouded by modern bias. It is to see the *Polonia*, the Hungarian *Magyarsag*, and *La Colonia Italiana* in a new light as well. The literature on foreign nationalism suggests that groups such as the Irish, Hungarians, Asian Indians, Greeks, Poles, Cubans, and the fascist-era Italians showed even more ardor than the Germans. But the case of *Deutschtum*, properly construed, underlines the scope and importance of other nationalities. A new image of the United States emerges as well. Here was a nation that was able to defeat serious nationalistic movements without having a strong nationalism of its own. In the United States—even in its Southern Confederacy in 1861—the demands of society have had more to do with an individual's economic rights and political liberties than with nationalism. How then did the United States persevere? Certainly, as the great superpower of the twentieth century, the living proof that all other nationalist fantasies did not amount to much. At the very least, victories in the World Wars have compensated for the uneven appeal of American nationalism. The United States has not needed to convert its nationalities, so much as to subvert its wounded and discredited remnants. Perhaps like the Assyrians of the eighth-century BC, the United States has not so much bedazzled foreign nations with its culture, as it has discredited other cultures with its success.

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Notes

¹ My thanks to Shemetric Jones, who helped prepare this manuscript, and to Jaci Walker who helped with searches for information. *Buffalo Freie Presse*, 10 July 1879, 12 March 1886; "One-Hundred-and-Fifteenth New York State Grand Lodge: German Order of Harugari Convention 1962," Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society.

² Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference* (Boston, 1969), 14; Milton Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life* (New York, 1964), 27-29; Werner Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture* (New York, 1986), 14-15; April Schultz, "The Pride of the Race Had Been Touched: The 1925 Norse-American Immigration Centennial and Ethnic Identity" *Journal of American History* 77 (March 1991): 1267. Leonard W. Doob in *Patriotism and Nationalism* (New Haven, CT, 1964), 6, has provided one of the clearest and most useful definitions of nationalism. He notes that nationalism is the "set of more or less uniform demands" which arise from patriotic ideology. Standard works in German-American history have evaded the consideration of German nationalism. Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Ethnicity as a Festive Culture: Nineteenth-Century German-America on Parade" in Werner Sollors, ed., *The Invention of Ethnicity* (New York, 1989), 69-72; David Detjen, *The Germans in Missouri: 1900-1918* (Columbia, Missouri, 1985), 20; Frederick Luebke, "The Germans" in John Higham, ed., *Ethnic Leadership in America* (Baltimore, 1978), 67; Brent O. Peterson, *Popular Narratives and Ethnic Identity: Literature and Community in Die Abendschule* (Ithaca, NY, 1991), 248; Hartmut Keil and John B. Jentz, eds., *German Workers in Industrial Chicago, 1850-1910* (Dekalb, IL, 1983), 5; Hartmut Keil, ed., *German Worker's Culture in the United States 1850 to 1920* (Washington, DC, 1988), 97, 122, 171. The religious and nationalistic dimensions of German-American poetry is seen in: *Boston Germania*, 9 May, 20 June, 1 August 1914; Gustav A. Zimmermann, *Deutsch in Amerika: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutsch-amerikanischen Literatur* (Chicago: Ackermann und Eyler, 1892), 42-43. *Chicago Abendpost*, 2 August 1914; *Freie Presse*, 17 August 1908. In the late 1930s, the *Buffalo Volksfreund* told its readers to: "speak German, think German, act German." "The German language must always be kept alive." "Do not let yourself be robbed of the Deutschum." 9 August 1936, 14 August 1938, 13 August 1939.

³ Andrew P. Yox, "The Parochial Context of Trusteeism," *The Catholic Historical Review* 76 (October 1990): 722, 725; *Geschichte der Deutschen in Buffalo und Erie County* (Buffalo, NY, 1898), 73, 148; Richard C. Brown and Bob Watson, *Buffalo* (Woodland Hills, CA, 1981), 119, 123; *Buffalo* (Buffalo, 1908), 127-41.

⁴ Gail Lapidus, "From Democratization to Disintegration: the Impact of Perestroika on the National Question" in Gail Lapidus and Victor Zaslavsky, eds., *From Union to Commonwealth: Nationalism and Separatism in the Soviet Republics* (Cambridge, Eng., 1992), 50; Paul Magocsi, *The Shaping of a National Identity: Subcarpathian Rus', 1848-1948* (Cambridge, MA, 1978), 65; H. Perry Smith, ed., *History of the City of Buffalo and Erie County*, 2 vols. (Syracuse, NY, 1884), 2: 164-78; *Geschichte der Deutschen*, 131, 274. Sacred Heart German Catholic school was said to have been sturdy enough to have supported an inbound train. The school had wooden rafters one foot wide and floor joists eighteen inches deep. *Buffalo Times*, 28 April 1929; Interview with Martha Murbach, former member of St. Andrew's Lutheran Church, 13 August 1979; Francis X. Curran, "The Buffalo Mission of the German Jesuits 1869-1907" in James A. Reynolds, ed., *Historical Records and Studies*, 43 (New York, 1955): 122-24; Department of Public Affairs, *Buffalo: Its Schools* (Buffalo, 1916), 30.

⁵ *Buffalo Commercial*, 19 May 1873; *Freie Presse*, 20 May 1873; Department of Public Affairs, *Buffalo*, 30; Willi Paul Adams, *The German-Americans: an Ethnic Experience* (Indianapolis, 1993), 27; *New York Times*, 26 September 1905. It is sometimes noted that important German programs, such as the language classes of St. Louis, were discontinued before 1910. It should be noted, however, that the political power of the Germans waned as their relative size in the city declined after 1890. Also, advocates of the German parochial schools, as in the case of St. Louis, often opposed funding for German in the public system.

⁶ Adaline M. Greenthaner, "Years of Grace," unpublished manuscript, Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society; Paul Bloomhardt, *Frederick August Kahler* (Buffalo: Otto Ulbrich, 1937), 28, 33; Alphonse Wolanin, "A Brief History of the Genesee Community," unpublished manuscript, Buffalo and Erie County Library, 1967; *Aurora*, 6 August 1915.

⁷ Ernst Besser, comp., "Buffalo Deutscher Saengerbund," unpublished scrapbooks, Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society; Die Deutsche Jungmaenner Gesellschaft, *Festschrift zur Feier ihres fünfzigjährigen Stiftungsfestes* (Buffalo, 1891), 1, 12; *Buffalo Demokrat*, 12 May 1891, 10 March 1897, 10 May 1898, 22 April 1903.

⁸ *Buffalo und Sein Deutschum* (Philadelphia, 1912), 90-92, 124-25; *Demokrat*, 4-7 May 1905, 10

August 1914.

⁹ Besser, "Deutscher Saengerbund;" *Buffalo Courier*, 13 May 1907; 24 January 1909; *Volksfreund*, 13 October 1909.

¹⁰ *Demokrat*, 9 August 1913; Joan Jensen, *Passage from India* (New Haven, CT 1988), 191; *Volksfreund*, 15 August 1932; Matt. 22:37.

¹¹ *Freie Presse*, 17 August 1908; Stanley Nadel, *Little Germany: Ethnicity, Religion, and Class in New York City, 1845-80* (Urbana, IL, 1990), 104; L. Viereck, *Zwei Jahrhunderte Deutschen Unterrichts in den Vereinigten Staaten* (Braunschweig, Germany, 1903), 174. From a systematic sample of 1,486 Buffalo households, drawn from the federal manuscript census schedules of 1900, I estimated that the size of the population with German surnames and/or German nativities in 1900 was about 130,000. This tabulation used a probability chart for the nationality of surnames based on a printout of Buffalo's entire population of 1855. Lawrence Glasco compiled the 1855 tabulation for his 1973 dissertation at the State University of Buffalo at New York, "Ethnicity and Social Structure." Andrew P. Yox, "Decline of the German-American Community in Buffalo 1855-1925" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Chicago, 1983), 385; The following population sizes are found in B. R. Mitchell, comp., *International Historical Statistics: Europe, 1750-1993* (London, Eng., 1998), 74-76, for the year 1900/01 in thousands: Athens (111), Belgrade (91), Helsinki (91), Minsk (91), Sofia (68), and Zagreb (61); Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies: 1906, Part 1*, 80-81; Frederick Luebke, *Germans in Brazil* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1987), 54. The *Volksbund* of Argentina had, perhaps, 10,000, and the Brazilian *Germanischer Bund* about 6,000 members in 1916. These leagues were organized by German nationals, and were often cold-shouldered by the naturalized "Teuto Brazilians" and the Argentine "Volksdeutsche" of the South American nations. In Buffalo, some fifty-seven *Vereine* were affiliated with the German-American Alliance, and the total of individual members may have exceeded 20,000. The Alliance-sponsored German Day of 1914 in Buffalo attracted 25,000 adults. *Buffalo News*, 10 August 1914; Ronald C. Newton, *German Buenos Aires, 1900-1933* (Austin, TX, 1977), 57, 63, 142.

¹² Carl Ruemelin, "Die Zukunft des Deutschtums in Amerika," *Deutsche Pionier* 2 (1870-71): 343; *Freie Presse*, 9 August 1907; *Volksfreund*, 9 May 1905; *Buffalo Echo*, 29 July 1915, 16 September 1915.

¹³ This is not to say that communities such as Buffalo's *Deutschtum* would have satisfied Johann G. Fichte any more than they satisfied German-American leaders such as Karl Heinzen, and Theodore Sutro. But masked balls, beer and flirtation among Germans had a nationalist dimension. Nationalism was not confined to highbrow cultural interests. William R. Thayer, comp., *The Life and Letters of John Hay*, 2 vols. (Boston, MA, 1915), 2:291; Frederick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty* (DeKalb, IL, 1974), 293. In Buffalo, the Mayoral Primary of 16 October 1917 featured a German socialist candidate, Friedrich Brill, who opposed both America's entry in World War I and the draft. In all the neighborhoods in which German families comprised over half of the population—The Orchard, Peckham, East Lovejoy, Upper Sycamore, Humboldt, and Schiller (Wards 8, 11, 13, 15, 18, and 19)—Brill won a plurality. Use of the Spearman correlation shows a strong and positive relation between ward rank in percent German-born, and the ward rank in the percent voting for Brill (.900). Also, the Spearman correlation is positive (.634) between ward rank in percent American-born with German surnames, and ward rank in the percent voting for Brill ($N=27$ wards). *Buffalo Enquirer*, 17 October 1917; 1915 New York State manuscript census schedules. A systematic sample of 2,254 households was used to establish the proportions for the minorities in the Buffalo wards. Yox, "Decline of the German-American Community," 312-13, 403-4. Hugo Muensterberg, *Tomorrow: Letters to a Friend in Germany* (New York, 1917), 85; *Buffalo Sonntagspost*, 14 April 1895. *Freie Presse*, 7 August 1907; Seth S. McKay, *Texas Politics, 1906-1944* (Lubbock, TX, 1952), 50; Rudolf Cronau, *German Achievements in America* (New York, 1916), 126. To be sure, the content of what was German sometimes changed from case to case. The unifying principle, however, was nationalism, the willingness to follow the demands that emanated from the leaders of a nationality. Those who conformed to these cultural patterns such as Wilhelm Hellriegel, an East Side shop keeper, or Philip Becker, a former Mayor, were referred to as a "good German" or a "genuine German." *Geschichte der Deutschen*, 45, 108.

¹⁴ Clifton J. Child, *The German-Americans in Politics 1914-1917* (Madison, WI, 1939), 4; Harold Livesay, *Samuel Compers and Organized Labor in America* (Boston, MA, 1978), 114, 171; Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life* (New York, 1990), 154; *Courier*, 16 October 1911; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1950* (Washington DC, 1952), 1-11. In the sensational, war inspired book, *The German-American Plot*, Frederick Wile claimed there were ten million "pro-German sympathizers in the United States" in 1915. (London, Eng., 1915), 29; In 1917, Hugo Muensterberg claimed that "millions keep German social traditions alive. . ."

in the United States. *Tomorrow*, 81. However big the number, I would not claim that devout German Catholics and Lutherans made particularly good nationalists. But along with Isaiah 26:13 many could later confess: "O Lord our God, other lords than you have ruled us, but we acknowledge no one other than you."

¹⁵ Phyllis Keller, *States of Belonging: German-American Intellectuals and the First World War* (Cambridge, MA, 1979), 236, 234, 261; Carl Wittke, *German-Americans and the World War* (Columbus, OH, 1936), 5; Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Immigrants, Immigrant Neighborhoods, and Ethnic Identity," *Journal of American History* 66 (December 1979): 609; J. Emil Abeles, "The German Element in Wilmington from 1850 to 1914" (M.A. Thesis, University of Delaware, 1948), 17, 37; Some have viewed Milwaukee as a textbook case of assimilation. But according to Karl Arndt's, and Mary Olson's exhaustive survey, the subscriptions to German newspapers in Milwaukee showed hefty increases up until World War I, with the *Vorwaerts* and the *Germania* leading the way. See *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals 1732-1955* (New York, 1965), 48, 56-73, 133, 240-41, 676-97. Not all newspapers in the survey compiled by Arndt and Olson provided circulation figures for the same year. To gain an estimate for the year 1915, I thus used slopes based on the known points of circulation on the graph from the years 1910 to 1916. Heinz Kloss, *Um die Einigung des Deutschamerikanertums: Die Geschichte einer unvollendeten Volksgruppe* (Berlin, 1937), 255; Edwin H. Zeydel, "The Teaching of German in the United States from Colonial Times to the Present," *The German Quarterly* 37 (1964): 362; U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, *Digest of Education Statistics, 1997* (Washington, DC, 1997), 69; David Peterson, "From Bone Depth: German American Communities in Rural Minnesota Before the Great War," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 11 (Winter 1992): 36-37; *New York Times*, 27 March 1901.

¹⁶ The city's oldest German newspaper, the *Demokrat*, climbed from 1890 to 1915 in circulation from about 5,000 to 10,327. The *Volksfreund* and the *Aurora* also registered gains, as did the socialist newspaper, the *Arbeiter Zeitung*. The *Freie Presse* died in 1912. To determine the sizes of the German-American population from 1890 to 1915, I used a sample of 1,636 from the 1892 New York State manuscript census schedules, and 2,254 from the 1915 New York State manuscript census schedules. Yox, "German-American Community," 198, 384, 413; Arndt and Olson, *German-American Newspapers*, 319-29.

¹⁷ Department of Public Affairs, *Buffalo*, 30, 45.

¹⁸ Marie Hassett, "The Contributions of the Germans to the Development of Buffalo as evidenced by the Buffalo Turnverein," unpublished manuscript, Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society, 1969, 31; Department of Public Affairs, *Buffalo*, 45. Though the number of families with German surnames declined in many of the older neighborhoods such as the Orchard, and lower Sycamore, the number of German families more than tripled from 1890 to 1915 in new areas on the city's extreme East Side such as the Schiller Park area, East Lovejoy, and the so called "Kaisertown" district. Yox, "German-American Community," 403-4; Buffalo Council of Churches, *Where Buffalo Worships* (Buffalo, 1927), 58-62; "Parks in Buffalo," unpublished scrapbook, Buffalo and Erie County Library. The 1914 German Day in Buffalo attracted 30,000 residents at a time when the entire German population of Buffalo (based on surnames) reached about 130,000. The 1871 parade celebrating the unification of Germany may have attracted a higher relative audience, but the crowd was not in one place, and was not counted. Other outstanding crowds for German festivals included the 1851 St. John Picnic, the National Fest of 1895, and the 1913 German Day. See Yox, "German-American Community," 415.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 34; Max Hannemann, *Das Deutschtum in den Vereinigten Staaten: Seine Verbreitung und Entwicklung seit der Mitte des 19 Jahrhunderts* (Gotha, Germany, 1936), Tables 5-7. The proportion of the German population considered Bavarian was consistently higher for Buffalo than for midwestern cities such as Milwaukee, Chicago, and St. Louis, as well as for eastern centers such as New York and Philadelphia. Francis A. Walker, *The Statistics of the United States* (Washington, DC, 1872), 1:388-89; *Compendium of the Tenth Census* (Washington DC, 1883), 548-49.

²⁰ Avery O. Craven, *The Growth of Southern Nationalism* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1981), 90, 100, 103, 152, 221, 243; *Sonntagspost*, 7 April 1895; Julius Goebel, *Das Deutschtum in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika* (Munich, 1904), 54; *Das Goethe-Schiller Denkmal in San Francisco, California* (San Francisco, 1901), 20; *Volksfreund*, 5 October 1909. George Fitzhugh, *Cannibals All!* (Cambridge, MA, 1960), xv; Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny* (Cambridge, MA, 1981), 153; Ernst Anton Zuendt, "Deutschland erwacht," and Wilhelm Mueller, "Der alten Heimath," in Zimmermann, *Deutsch in Amerika*, 123, 202; *Germania*, 9 May 1914. John McCardell and others have noted that Southern writers were relatively late in embracing the idea of a Southern nation. *The Idea of a Southern Nation: Southern Nationalists and Southern Nationalism* (New York, 1979), 164-65.

²¹ Eric H. Walther, *The Fire-Eaters* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1992), 36, 109, 123; in a recent work, Mitchell Snay argues that few Southern clergymen advocated a separate Southern nation before 1861. *Gospel of Disunion: Religion and Separatism in the Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1993), 6.

²² Philip Davis, comp. and ed., *Immigration and Americanization* (Boston: Athenaeum, 1920), 21, 612, 616-17, 627, 655; Winthrop Talbot, *Americanization* (New York, 1917), v; Emory Bogardus, *Essentials of Americanism* (Los Angeles, 1919), 11.

²³ Benjamin Disraeli once noted: "Duty cannot exist without faith."

Jerry Glenn

**An Embarrassment of Riches:
German-American Poetry and Novels**

Childhood in the Third Reich: World War II and Its Aftermath.

By Kaye Voigt Abikhalel. Lewiston: Mellen Poetry Press, 2001. 74 pages. \$14.95.

Provenzalische Gedichte.

By Peter Beicken. University Park, MD, 2001. 20 pages. Limited edition of 50 copies.

Ingeborg in Grand Rapids: Ingeborg Carsten-Miller liest im Rahmen des 25. Symposiums der Society of German-American Studies in Grand Rapids, Michigan am 4. Mai 2001.

By Ingeborg Carsten-Miller. Silver Spring, MD: Carnill, 2001. 32 pages.

Zillis wieder im Bildgespräch: Gedichte zur romanischen Kirchendecke von St. Martin in Zillis.

By Margot Scharpenberg. Beuron: Beuronischer Kunstverlag, 2001. 48 pages. DM 24.

Land of Dreams.

By Dolores Hornbach Whelan. Morris, CT: Rossel, 2000. Irregular page numbers. \$12.95.

Landing Attempts: Selected Poems.

By Gert Niers. Translated by Jerry Glenn and Clarise Samuels. Max Kade Occasional Papers in German-American Studies, 4. Cincinnati: University of Cincinnati, 2000. 22 pages.

Kahn & Engelmann: Eine Familien-Saga.

By Hans Eichner. Wien: Picus, 2000. 367 pages. DM 39.80.

Mephisto ist nicht tot: Roman.

By Geertje Subr. Düsseldorf: Grupello, 2000. 223 pages. DM 36.

Manhattan-Serenade.

By Karl Jakob Hirsch. Edited by Helmut Pfanner. Bern: Lang, 2001. 159 pages. DM 55.

Three volumes of German-language poetry have appeared in the past year. As the titles indicate, each has a specific focus. All of the *Provenzalische Gedichte*, written by **Peter Beicken** in July and August 2000, have titles related to the theme; most of them specify the location and some the time: "Chartres, mittags" (3), "Arles, nachts" (7). The collection is strongly unified. The poems are written in a poetic free verse, are approximately the same length (most fifteen to twenty lines in length), and address aspects of the region, its cultural heritage, and its local color—"local color" in both senses of the phrase, the actual colors of the landscape and the feeling a visitor gets when experiencing the physical beauty, the culture, and life as it is lived today.

A sense of color is pervasive. In the first poem, "Chartres, mittags," we move from observing the surroundings—"Aus den flimmernden Weizenfeldern / und dem plastikweißen Gewerbegebiet"—to the famous cathedral—"steigen die beiden ungleichen Türme / der Kathedrale." The presentation of the interior is no less interesting: "Innern filtern die Fenster / das himmlische Licht, prismatisch / bunte Legenden, Geschichten, Gleichnisse. / Gott ist die Stimme der Farben." References to painters associated with the region (Van Gogh, Cézanne) add to the strong visual element.

The poems are vivid in their visual effect, but the other senses are not lacking. Numerous references to music are present, and we hear "Das sanfte Plätschern der Fontäne" (10); here, as with the visual images, not all is pleasant: "das Mopedknattern, / schmerzvoll laut" (7). The numerous flowers suggest the sense of smell, and this is occasionally made explicit: "Lavendelstauden mit tiefem Geruch" (4), a line that echoes in the later image "Lavendel, erotisch violet" (18). In summary, this collection offers a pleasing sensual and sensuous experience.

As the title indicates, the new volume by **Ingeborg Carsten-Miller** collects the poems read on a specific occasion, at the symposium of the SGAS in May 2001. It is often difficult consciously to recognize the thematic plan behind a selection of poems during a reading, and it is especially interesting to have the opportunity to study such a selection on the basis of the printed text. Close analysis does reveal a careful plan. The collection begins with three winter poems, the last of which, "Warte nur" (11), points to the coming of spring (which had just arrived in Grand Rapids in early May), "wenn der Frühlingswind / die letzten Altjahrsblätter / von den Zweigen bricht / und klare Vogelstimmen / ihre Partnersuche / beginnen." A sketch of a cheerful pelican graces the facing page.

Three transitional poems, including her native "Pommern" (16-17)—a common theme in Carsten-Miller—lead into the central section, "Dichter-Gewimmel im Savoy-Café, Canti 1-V." The first two short poems set the scene: the (stereo)typical gaggle of would-be artistes at a poetry reading in a literary café, complete with saxophone music. "Das Bild ist perfekt, / wenn man / die Ohren / schließt" (19). The longer (two-page) third and central poem offers a snapshot of the climax of the evening, a reading by an aging hippie whose poetry, worldview, and reading style are "Zerfahren—zerfetzt / wie Deine / ungepflegten / Bartspitzen." The concluding two canti return to the audience, "Halb schlafend," which, in the end, "geht dann / gelangweilt / von / dannen" (23).

Transitional poems follow, one on the topic of translating, with a play on "überzusetzen" (easy) and "zu übersetzen" (difficult). The concluding poems reveal a decidedly optimistic vision: "Die Hoffnung bleibt" (29); "Morgen / ist der Tag, / an dem ich vieles tue, / was mir heute nicht gelingt" (31).

In *Zillis*, Margot Scharpenberg returns to the medieval religious paintings on the ceiling of St. Martin's church, the subject of her first collection of poems about paintings, *Bildgespräche mit Zillis* (1974); in fact, seven of the twenty-four poems in the present volume are reprinted from the earlier collection. In each case, the poem (e.g., "König David," "Reitender König") is now printed on the left-hand page, in two columns if necessitated by the length of the poem, while the facing page contains a reproduction of the painting and, beneath it, a relevant scriptural passage (some from the Apocrypha). This format reflects a decided improvement over that of *Bildgespräche mit Zillis*, in which some poems extended over to a second page so that the entire poem could not be read with the picture in view.

Some general comments are valid for the entire collection. Scharpenberg writes a lyrical free verse, decidedly modern in its style and tone. (Two poems do have rhyme, one, "Reitender König" occasionally, one, "Ruhe auf der Flucht," consistently.) Her style is reflective, and the reader is required to participate. The lack of punctuation is one of the devices that contributes to this quality. The approaches taken in the poems, however, differ quite significantly. Two examples will suffice to give a sense of the nature of the collection.

The illustration to "König David" depicts the bearded, but still youthful king seated on a throne, holding a knife in his left hand and pointing to the viewer's right with the index finger of his right hand. The Biblical passages cited are Ezek. 34, 23-24; Ps. 89, 4-5, and Ps. 132, 17-18. The poem begins with a reflection on the part of the speaker: "Könige thronen / was haben sie vorher getan / eh sie die Krone trugen" (6). A reference is made to the "Beschneidungsmesser / ... / es meint die Priesterschaft," and David's life is adroitly summed up as "Täuscher Tänzer Töter / schön anzuschauen / vertraut mit Saitenspiel / und mit Frauen." The final two stanzas offer an interpretation from a Christian perspective: "er ist vor allem Vorfahr / mit der Rechten / weist er auf Kommendes." David was unable to attain the status of shepherd and prince of peace: "das wird ein andrer Hirt / der wahre Gottessohn / vollbringen."

The "Reitender König" is one of the three wise men, depicted on a horse; the Biblical passages are Mark 2, 1-2 and Mark 2, 9. The poem written in the first-person singular; this *ich*, however, is not the subjective lyrical speaker, but rather the king, whose impatience is expressed in the opening lines: "Halt mich keiner auf / ich bin in Eile / gerufen bin ich / —und bins nicht alleine— / zum neugeborenen Herrn" (12). As in the case of "König David," description is secondary to commentary and interpretation, although now in the form of an interior monologue of the king: "ich möchte endlich / mein Geschick verstehn."

Zillis is a stunningly beautiful collection of beautiful religious poetry. Not only are the illustrations superb, the layout, typography, and even the quality of the paper leave absolutely nothing to be desired.

For obvious reasons it would be inappropriate for me to review the next book. I

asked a colleague to do the review; his text follows.

Gert Niers's *Landing Attempts* is a unified selection of deftly translated poems. The poet reflects on the passage and irrecoverability of time, the fragmentation and fading of memory, and the difficulty of discovering and expressing one's identity in a new land. Sometimes language for the immigrant, "sequestered / in the thicket of a strange tongue" and/or "submerged by language," serves more as impediment to self-expression than as tool for its realization.

In this too short collection Niers sometimes merges the physical and the metaphysical as though they exist on one and the same level and were a single concern. Language becomes a kind of landscape. In a poem dedicated to Margarete Kollisch, about whom Niers has written in his study of exile writers, the word itself becomes a place and has a geography and topography. Although he would probably agree with T. S. Eliot that words "slip and slide," in his compact tribute to fellow exile writer Kollisch, Niers envisions the "solid interior of the word."

In the well-positioned last poem, "Song of Growing Old," a classic of its kind that crackles with wit and self-deprecating humor, Niers brings together his preoccupation with time and concern for the relationship between the physical and the metaphysical. This reviewer's single criticism is in effect a recommendation for some publisher: expand this short but rich selection to reveal Niers's talents and vision more fully to readers of poetry in English.

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Norbert Krapf

Kaye Voigt Abikhaled is a new voice in German-American poetry. Like Whelan, Eichner, and several others, she is a member of the older generation making a belated literary debut. As the brief biographical note in the present collection informs us, she was born in Berlin, came to America in 1950 on a Kiwanis high-school fellowship, and immigrated in 1960. She has published poems in journals and anthologies, but this is her first book. To get a negative point out of the way: the technical editing leaves something to be desired, e.g., inconsistent use of single or double hyphens for dashes.

The one-page introduction begins "This manuscript is partly autobiographic. It relates the impressions of a six year old living in Germany at the beginning of World War II. Written mostly in free verse and divided into chapters, the story recalls childhood memories, impressions, and conversations overheard when adults thought no one was listening" (1), and goes on briefly to describe some of the themes—the "chapters," twenty-five in all, which even with this hint I will simply call longish poems.

The first poem is set in pre-war "Berlin," when "We were happy. / Life was good. / The world was good" (3). Here, in the concluding lines, the short, simple sentences represent the perspective of a child. Elsewhere in the poem, the mind of an adult poet is clearly at work: "Those days, our house / teemed with friends and relatives / who stayed until all hours. / Tugged into beds we strained to listen / to

conversations echoing on sleepy minds" (2). The image in the last two lines is wonderful: the children being reluctantly tugged rather than cozily tucked into bed, and their internal battle between curiosity and sleepiness.

A considerable amount of material—events, impressions, retrospective political analysis—is packed into the poems devoted to the war years. An especially interesting and consistently developed theme is some form of the conflict between good and evil, or more accurately in many instances, good guys and bad guys. We see, for example, two Polish POWs assigned to help the family with chores. One "maliciously tripped and kicked us / mumbling Polish threats and curses" (42), while the other, "his blue eyes sparkling with kindness // . . . smiled a lot at me" (43). A more sinister contrast is depicted in "Air Traffic" (36-38): two contrasting pairs of "American mustangs / . . . / In two's, / . . . / diving toward target . . ." The first of these pairs, labeled the "A-Team" and "out for blood," shot at "anything that moved / . . . even small dogs running / as in target practice." Team B, on the other hand, was "sometimes compassionate, / sparing the prone body in a ditch / . . . / They were our heroes / in those last uncharted days of war." What a telling definition of hero: a fighter pilot who does not strafe children. A final contrasting pair, after war's end, can be found in the father and the mother. The former, "in his prime" (59) and bored with his family, simply departs, delivering "a final humiliating sermon / of obscene accusations / as the last act of personal vengeance." The mother, on the other hand, pulls herself together and instills a sense of pride and hope in her four children: "Against all odds they were going to keep their hopes / and aspirations high" (62).

The primary incarnation of evil is Hitler, who is occasionally mentioned, and all he represented. His opposing pole, in a sense, is the American soldiers, and all they represent, who appear near the end of the collection. Contrary to what the population has been lead to believe, the Americans feel compassion for the suffering women and children, even though they are reluctant to show it, "blaming an icy wind / for falling tears." The Americans are also juxtaposed to the British forces, who "took stock, appropriated, / took time to confiscate anything of value" (51), and, at considerably greater length and over more than one poem, with the Russians, whose behavior, both as conquerors and as occupiers, need not be recapitulated here.

The final three poems deal with the protagonist's extremely positive encounter with America. "Going South" (70-72) is especially charming, as the young German with a passing command of British English encounters her first black person, Southern hospitality, and unintelligible dialects and accents. The linguistic confusion is charmingly reflected in rhymes, half-rhymes, and off-rhymes: "I took to guessing what was said, / nodded 'yes' and simply prayed / that half the answers would be right. / Southern drawl a wonderful fright!"

Dolores Hornbach Whelan follows up *Adrift between Two Worlds* (1997; reviewed in the 1999 *Yearbook*) with another substantial collection of English poems. It is divided into three expressly labeled "chapters": "The Spiritual Life," eleven for the most part serious poems on that topic and containing frequent references to death; "Living with the Past," fourteen poems on a variety of themes including the burden of collective guilt often placed upon a German-American; and "Life in These United States," an

eclectic group of twenty-nine poems. The divisions are far from rigid, as poems in one section contain themes that are equally applicable to a different one. Although there is an underlying unity of tone (of "poetic voice"), the form varies tremendously, ranging from prose to free verse to serious rhyme to humorous rhyme (the rhyme words in the first stanza on p. 4a are degrees, seas, trees, and debris). The page numbering is not continuous; each poem is numbered (as poem 4 in the example just cited), and if the poem is longer than one page, subsequent pages become 4b, etc. As is the case with Abikhaled's book, technical problems (now including repeated lines) are not lacking.

A detailed comparison of certain themes here and in *Childhood in the Third Reich* would be interesting. An eerily similar experience to one described above is found in "Strafed Memories (Spring 1945)." Two teenage girls are bicycling down a rural road, when "Suddenly, out of nowhere, two fighter planes / Swooped over our heads, dove down so we could see / The pilots' laughing faces; they had a little fun. // Allowed their machine guns to hammer a path / Into our country road." (14b). This must have been a common phenomenon; my wife was strafed as an eight-year-old while wheeling her infant brother in a baby carriage along a sidewalk.

The image of America in this collection is even more negative than in *Adrift between Two Worlds*. This becomes strikingly apparent in the first line of "The Great Escape" (which also illustrates the thematic overlap between the chapters): "In the third year of my American imprisonment" (9a). The book's title is ironic. To the question "How do you like / Our freedom here?" she can only respond "I love nature in Connecticut" (17c), and later the title assumes more tangible form: "<<\$\$\$Dream, dream, the American dream>>\$\$ / <<<\$\$\$ Of liberty, of dollars and equality>>>\$\$\$" (37a). The social criticism is sometimes ironic, as in the treatment of the commercialization of Christmas ("Oh, unto us profit is given," 50 f.), and, in general, the stereotypical uncultured myopia of Americans. On other occasions, the ironic distance vanishes and the speaker climbs on a soapbox to defend, e.g., Europe's much maligned system of socialized medicine.

The general—spiritual—positive framework does not disappear with the conclusion of the first section. The final two poems conclude with similar positive images: "In all that golden wrap-around / You feel God's warm embrace" and "And through the thickening haze they face / She feels God's warm embrace" (55, 56).

The embarrassment of riches continues with no less than three—very different—novels. **Karl Jakob Hirsch** (1892-1952) belongs to that large group of exiles who had begun to establish a literary reputation in Germany, but had not gained the stature that would open doors for them in the United States. He was able to publish his novels in this country only in serial form, in the New York *Neue Volkszeitung*, while supplementing his earnings as a creative writer and journalist by working at menial jobs. *Manhattan-Serenade* was serialized in 1939 under the title "Heute und Morgen" and now appears in book form for the first time. After his return to Germany in 1948 Hirsch corrected and revised the novel with the intention of publishing it as a book, a goal that he was unable to realize. Helmut Pfanner has incorporated these changes, for the most part minor, with the exception of a significantly revised conclusion; the original conclusion is printed in an appendix. The editor has added an extensive

Nachwort, as well as detailed notes explaining New York geography, English words like nickel and funeral home, and a few literary and historical references ranging from the "blaue Blume" to Franklin Roosevelt.

This is a typical, perhaps prototypical novel of exile in New York. It is also a *Bildungsroman* of sorts. Tom, the educated German protagonist, arrives on a hot July day, depressed and forlorn, not knowing a soul in the city, and is immediately faced with a bewildering array of linguistic and cultural difficulties. (Fortunately his new homeland is too uncultured to be bothered by the fact that his brown shoes do not match his black suit.) He undergoes a tripartite education: learning American ways and adapting to his new working-class milieu; recovering his sense of dignity and worth; and discovering his political identity. A major influence in his development is Sylvia, who becomes his wife: "Lehrer und liebende Frauen glauben an die Verwandlungsmöglichkeit des Menschen" (45). Also helpful are Frank, Sylvia's brother, who offers advice and encouragement, and Martin, a Nazi foil, whose philosophy serves as a significant stimulus to Tom's growing political awareness. "Ich fechte nicht gegen die Heimat," he says to Martin, his position becoming clarified as he verbalizes it, "ich kämpfe für sie. Für die Befreiung der alten Heimat von Euch" (117).

Manhattan-Serenade is far from uniformly optimistic. The characters, even Sylvia, have their low points, and, most notably, Frank is murdered (by Martin). But the overall tone is inspirational; indeed, the book is in some respects propagandistic: pro-American, anti-Nazi, and pro-German, as the above quote amply demonstrates. The style is simple and straightforward, reflecting the unambiguous moral message. Pfanner's edition is a welcome addition to the available corpus of German-American exile literature.

Hans Eichner is a name familiar to many readers of the *Yearbook*, but as a professor of German literature at the University of Toronto, not as a novelist. Born in Vienna in 1921, he fled in 1938, eventually winding up in Canada after an adventurous odyssey that included Australia and doctoral study in London. *Kahn & Engelmann* is "ein Roman, in dem es zwar wenig gibt, was nicht wirklich geschehen ist, aber auch wenig, was so geschah, wie es hier berichtet wird" (from the brief *Nachwort*, 367). After a few backward glances, the "saga" begins with a brief section on the trials and tribulations of Jewish life in late nineteenth-century Hungary, leading to the narrator's grandmother Sidonie Kahn setting out on foot for Vienna with her husband and daughter. Sidonie, a young woman when her journey begins, is the first of a series of strong female characters who become successful in business. Midway through the book we meet the second half of the title, "Sandor Engelmann—mein Vater, um diesen Sachverhalt gleich festzustellen" (159). The narrative focus shifts constantly, from the personal to the financial to the cultural to the political. The final section—surely largely but by no means entirely autobiographical—traces the life of the narrator after the *Anschluss*, including references to his present circumstances, as he sits at his desk in Haifa and writes.

This literary debut is an extraordinarily rich work and only the most extensive review could begin to do it justice. It is the saga of several generations of a Jewish family, and we see them in various geographical and political situations. It is also a

highly personal account by a first-person narrator. Last but certainly not least, it is a portrait of the brief heyday of the Jewish Vienna of Freud, Schnitzler, and Co., and its destruction in 1938. Memory (remembrance) is an important theme. On a superficial level, the contrast between reported minutia on the one hand, and the narrator's frequent comments that he is not sure of something, is fascinating. And then there is the matter of Jewish memory and remembrance.

One episode subtly ties together many of the novel's themes and issues. "Gegen Anfang der fünfziger Jahre [the lack of specificity is striking] war ich zum ersten Mal seit 1938 wieder in Wien" (301-2). He visits the Jewish cemetery, searching for his father's grave. At the entrance "stand ein Dutzend Polizisten: die Lebenden hatte man nicht geschützt, aber nun beschützte man die Toten." An old man offers to accompany him on his quest amidst the "wildgewachsener Efeu, seit Jahren nicht beschnittene Zierbüsche, Unkraut und vor allem ein Gestüpp von wilden oder verwilderten Rosen. [...] Der Granitblock auf dem Grab meines Vaters war unbeschädigt; die Inschrift war fast völlig verdeckt von wilden Ranken, die Rosen blühten." The combination of neglect and beauty is suggestive of the Jewish past of Vienna, of which the narrator's father was a part. The old man, as promised, says a Hebrew prayer at the grave, "während ich unwissend und beschämt schwieg"—the narrator's distance from his Jewish heritage speaks volumes. Should not the city of Vienna take over the upkeep of the cemetery? "[...] aber ich verwarf diesen Gedanken gleich wieder: Die Wildnis mit den blühenden Rosen war wohl das richtige Denkmal für diese untergangene Welt, und selbst daß die Hakenkreuze noch auf den Mauern prangten, schien mir in Ordnung. Sie legten Zeugnis dafür ab, wie diese Welt untergangen war" (302-3).

"Unzufriedenheit bei allem, Wechsel von Beschäftigung zu Beschäftigung, Qual überall: Tu was, schreit es aus dem Kochtopf, tu was, brüllt der Staubsauger, tu was, kreischt es auf der Leinwand" (7), we read on the first page of *Mephisto ist nicht tot* by **Geertje Suhr**. The author of a collection of poetry and a published dissertation on Heine, Suhr's biography is similar to that of several other German-American writers: born in Germany, immigration as a young adult, study of *Germanistik* at the University of Illinois, debut as a creative writer relatively late in life. Like Eichner's novel, Suhr's does not have a significant German-American thematic element; like Hirsch's, it focuses on a single protagonist, Gorda. We follow her development from early childhood to early adulthood. As the introductory quote indicates, she is in a constant state of turmoil.

The book is divided into three sections, entitled "Anni," "Amerika," and "Hans," indicating her three primary focuses at three stages of her young life: her cousin, Anni, when as a child in the early postwar years she struggles, for the most part unsuccessfully, to find companionship; America, which she visits and experiences as an exchange student; and Hans, her first serious boyfriend as she prepares to enter adulthood. Intelligent and multi-talented, young Gorda is the victim of a combination of her own temperament and an unsettled family life. The family often moves, and Gorda has difficulty making friends: "Die mögen mich nicht. Mit mir stimmt was nicht. Die-Neue-die-Neue" (44). The style of this first section is strongly reflective of the mental processes of a highly active child with psychological problems, alternating

between third-person narration and childlike (childish?) interior monologue, as here. At the conclusion of this section, Gorda, now a teenager, reflects, as the perspective shifts from first- to second- to third-person: "Rapunzel vorm Spiegel im Turmgefängnis: Was soll nur aus mir werden? Eine vertrocknete Jungfer bleibst du für immer und ewig. Es muss etwas geschehen. Sie will fort von hier. [...] In Kalifornien soll sich alles alles wenden" (92).

And indeed it does, as we see in a prophetic passage on the first page of the second section: "Rapunzel ließ ihren Zopf herunter. Als sie ihn hochzog, hingen daran etliche Prinzen . . ." (95). Not that Rapunzel has found utopia; but now her problems are those of a typical teenager. All in all, Gorda adapts well, and her time in America is both pleasant and educational, in the broadest sense of the word. As in the first section, the style is appropriate to the situation, reflecting the thought process of a girl of Gorda's age and temperament.

The third section has an inauspicious beginning: "Dann ist man plötzlich wieder zu Hause, aber was heißt zu Hause, wenn man sich fremd *weiß*" (151; emphasis added). How will Gorda adjust? Fortunately, fairly well. Utopia is still missing, but as in California her life is more or less normal, with the more or less normal problems of a girl in her late teens. School is, of course, a significant concern: "Die Lehrer beginnen das Einpauken fürs Abitur. [...] Lernen heißt: es tun, ohne es zu können, damit aus den Fehlern das Wissen erwächst" (215). If girlfriends dominated her consciousness in the first section ("Anni") and an entire new country and new experiences the second section ("Amerika"), her focus is now on young men ("Hans"), as well as a few who are not so young. The relationship with Hans, her first love, does not last. "Hans, sagt der Schmerz, er wird dich nie wieder küssen, er wird dich nie wieder streicheln, das hält kein Mensch aus. Hans, sagt der Schmerz, ..." (223; ellipsis in the original).

The plot of the novel offers little that is new: a gifted but difficult girl in the troubled setting of postwar Germany finds a new beginning as an exchange student in California. Upon her return, she experiences the normal ups and downs of someone approaching the *Abitur*. The style, however, is truly fascinating; I hope the many quotes will at least give an inkling of this.

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Book Reviews

Edited by Timothy J. Holian
Missouri Western State College

The Pennsylvania Germans: James Owen Knauss, Jr.'s Social History.

Edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 2001. xiv + 225 pages. \$21.55.

Knauss's survey of eighteenth-century Pennsylvania German newspapers and the culture of the Pennsylvania Germans of that period was originally published by the Pennsylvania German Society in 1922 under the title *Social Conditions among the Pennsylvania Germans in the Eighteenth Century as Revealed in the German Newspapers Published in America*. This new edition by Tolzmann includes a reprint of the original text and adds a short introduction outlining the significance of Knauss's work for both our understanding of this early period of Pennsylvania German society but also for the detailed survey of newspaper publications prior to 1800 in German-speaking Pennsylvania. Tolzmann also appends a seven-page index of personal names at the end of the work to enhance its usefulness for researchers.

Of primary interest is Knauss's painstakingly detailed account of newspapers published in German in Pennsylvania until 1800 beginning with the short-lived *Philadelphia Zeitung* of Benjamin Franklin, which may have had as few as two issues in the spring of 1732. Knauss's first chapter is devoted to a description of "The Newspapers and Their Publishers." At the end of the book, Knauss provides in his "Conclusion" a bibliography or checklist of all known issues of every newspaper published or thought to have been published. In his "Table of German American Newspapers of the Eighteenth Century" he lists, with numerous annotations regarding the publication history and the publishers, some forty-eight distinct newspapers. Most of these were published in Philadelphia. Lancaster, Germantown, Reading, York in Pennsylvania as well as Baltimore, Hagerstown and Frederick in Maryland were also locations for some of the earliest German newspapers serving the Pennsylvania Germans. Knauss also provides detailed information on the individual issues as well as the location of extant copies of the newspapers.

In the intervening seven chapters, Knauss discusses in effect the readership of these papers, the Pennsylvania Germans themselves. Individual chapters are devoted to the religion, education, charities, vocations, politics, and social traits of the eighteenth-century Pennsylvania Germans. Of special interest to students of German-American dialects is Knauss's chapter on the German language among the Pennsylvania

Germans. Knauss may have found one of the earliest examples of the emerging Pennsylvania German dialect in a 30 April 1794 newspaper article in the *Neue Unpartheyische Readinger Zeitung*: "Dadi, was hun ich gseha?" "Was host du dan gseha?" "Ey, ich hun a Ding gseha do isch a Kop druf und das bleckt die Zähn und der Man der zobelt dran, do knorr'ts dan streicht er, do springa d'Leut in dem Haus rum und kaner kan die Thür finna" (p. 105). Compared to other contemporaneous accounts of the language such as that by Johann David Schöpf (*Reise durch einige der mittleren und südlichen vereinigten nordamerikanischen Staaten* . . . [Erlangen, 1788]), Knauss's newspaper quote appears to be truly an example of spoken Pennsylvania German.

While the editor is to be praised for reissuing this valuable study of the early Pennsylvania Germans, the new introduction and index should have been corrected prior to publication. There are several glaring typographical errors in the four-page introduction, including the titles of Tolzmann's indispensable bibliography of German-Americana (1975) and Knauss's original 1922 publication (that title is also misspelled on the back cover of the new edition as well). A brief look at the last page of the index reveals Nicholas von Zinzendorf spelled as "Zindendorf." A correction of such errors would definitely enhance the new edition.

University of Kansas

William D. Keel

Mennonites in Transition from Switzerland to America: Emigrant and Immigrant Experience; Anabaptist Documents.

Edited with transcriptions and translations into German and English as well as annotated by Andrea Boldt, Werner Enninger, Delbert L. Gratz. Morgantown, PA: Masthof Press, 1997. v + 138 pages.

This attractive volume, published under the auspices of the Swiss American Historical Society, comprises an edition of various eighteenth- and nineteenth-century documents pertaining to Swiss emigration to America, together with commentaries and copious notes. The book is a revised and extended version of what the editors refer to as a brochure, the title of which (*From Bern, Switzerland, to Kidron and Bluffton, Ohio: Anabaptist Documents*. Essen [Germany], 1994. 69 pp.) describes the subject more precisely than the general title now.

The first document contains the family history of some of the emigrants descending from Peter Neuenschwander of Langnau in Emmental (1696-1764). Genealogy has always been important for Anabaptists (Mennonites). Both Christian tradition and the history of the Anabaptists as a religious minority and a migrating people made them pay close attention to their genealogies. Family history was their primary way to define their identity. A family birth register of nine entries supplements the genealogical sources. It was compiled for the Peter Sprunger family who came to Wayne County, Ohio, in 1852. As an interesting feature, almost all the entries make reference to the signs of the Zodiac which is uncommon for Anabaptists in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The next document, a lectionary of 1763 of the

Münsterberg congregation in Switzerland, contains the list of Bible passages and the hymns to be used in the nineteen religious services scheduled for the year. It shows the emigrants' firm intent to hold on to their religious ritual when settling in the New World. Another document, an agreement between church elders in Switzerland and the departing group, aims at securing financial assistance for the emigrants, granting them, in effect, a loan to be paid back not to the lenders but rather to needy people in their new community in America.

Two emigrant diaries and two emigrant letters (from 1822 and 1854) constitute the bulk of the document collection, and they furnish the most interesting material. The authors of the diaries, Jacob Gerber and Michael Neuenschwander (1778-1852), a grandson of Peter Neuenschwander, left with their relatives (1822) and family (1823), respectively, for their chosen destination, Wayne County, Ohio. The diaries and letters together present fascinating facts of the process of emigration in the early 1800s: leaving the country of one's ancestors, the details of the voyage, namely, accommodations, daily life on the ship, weather, food, passengers, fares, first impressions of New York; there were threatening dangers: sickness, childbirth, and death. In spite of such challenges the language of the reports is unemotional, they are written in a matter-of-fact style. Much attention is given to the emigration routes. Port of embarkation was Le Havre de Grace, as the place was then called. The Neuenschwander family needed 22 days for the journey through France via Dijon, Paris, Rouen, and 48 days at sea with landing at [Perth] Amboy, New Jersey. It took the ship of the Gerber party 66 days until arrival in New York. Neuenschwander followed an overland route across New Jersey to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, on to Chambersburg and to Pittsburgh; from there to Lisbon, Ohio, to Canton and to Wayne County in 59 days, including a three-week layover in Pittsburgh due to the death of one of his children. Except for a more southerly route at the onset (via Trenton, Philadelphia, and Lancaster, PA), Gerber, in the previous year, had taken the same route from Chambersburg on. Based on the records of the trip, the editors drew three maps detailing the immigration routes for both groups and included them with the documents (84-85; 108). The spelling of place names as they occurred in the original text is amusing to the reader, as it was done within the means of the emigrants' dialect, e.g., "hafratagras" (88) and "haferdegras" (76) for "Havre de Grace," "bentzelvania" (59) and "chlenstaun" (80) for "Pennsylvania" and "Allentown."

The purpose of this book is threefold: (1) This edition of documents contributes to the factual knowledge about Swiss Anabaptist emigrants of the 1820s, the Bernese *Täufer*. (2) The editors want to achieve a high degree of transparency in publishing documents in local historiography that are either hidden in local archives and libraries or have been inadequately used for research. Accurate translations and reliable information on sources, ownership, and location of such documents are needed. There is an appeal to those in possession of immigration records for making them available to a wider public. (3) The editors seek to stimulate cooperation across academic disciplines, e.g., between persons who are historically and those who are linguistically interested. Of course, such are ambitious goals which require competence in various fields. This team of editors has demonstrated its expertise in linguistics and dialectology,

including Swiss German and Pennsylvania German, and in history and church history, including Mennonite and Anabaptist culture, and with this book they have set an example of such teamwork. While the first goal is realistic and has been accomplished by this publication, the second goal must be made known to local historians and to depositories of local immigration records. The third goal will be the hardest to realize because the required team combinations can hardly be forced, they must develop.

The presentation of the material in chapters, determined by type of document, is cogent and clear. Introductions, placed ahead of each section, do not follow a uniform pattern, rather they emphasize features of the document that the editors consider culturally, historically or linguistically important. Publishing each document as a verbatim and true-to-the-line transcription of the original Swiss (mostly Bernese) German writing is the editors' prime concern. The transcription is accompanied by two translations (German and English) and by ample annotations. The book's quarto size is a fortunate choice for the typographical arrangement of long genealogical lists and the other material since it allows the accommodation of four columns (text, two translations, notes) across opposite pages, thus making parallel reading possible. Transcriptions and translations have been prepared meticulously and from a wealth of linguistic and philological knowledge. The annotations have several goals: clarifying the meaning of the original text where it poses problems, explaining vocabulary and usage in Swiss German, and offering the reader supplemental historical and theological information. Overall, commentaries and annotations are very helpful, but in a number of places, excurses are too extensive, touching upon peripheral or less relevant material, albeit interesting (for instance, the far-reaching discussion of the signs of the Zodiac [23 ff.], or the excursus on *Hausväterliteratur* [66]).

The editors have explained the linguistic phenomena of the various documents with painstaking precision. There is, however, an imbalance in the level of presentation of philological matters. Some explanations are rather technical and specialized, they would satisfy the trained linguist (e.g., 58; 47; 75; 107; 121), while others appear to be directed to an inexperienced learner (e.g., explanation of German perfect tense vs. English present perfect [89]).

There are some discrepancies in the publication. In the genealogy section, one Peter Neuenschwander (born ca. 1778) is listed under two different numbers, no. 11 on page 13 and no. 12 on page 15. Another Peter Neuenschwander (born 1726 in Langnau) is listed as no. 3 on page 12 and no. 2 on page 13. A clarifying explanation is not given in the annotations. In the text, the term "brochure" is repeatedly used referring to the present book. This is a misnomer; also, it may lead to confusion with its precursor publication (Essen, 1994). Reference is made to "a few sample pages," reproduced from the originals, regarding the diaries and letters in order "to give the reader an impression of the original handwriting." The sample pages are not to be found in this reviewer's copy. The statements concerning the limited availability of sources (39; 58) are difficult to accept within an editorial endeavor and international collaboration.

Errors in spelling, hyphenation, spacing, and especially transposition abound throughout the book. They span the whole range from glaring mistakes, e.g., "i" for

"it" (2); "acorG" for "acort" (7); "1922" for "1822" (in a chapter heading [109]), to the less obvious, e.g., page 101: line number of text (220) hidden in column of annotations (L. 207); footnote 4 on page 25 belonging to page 26. Transpositions occur predominantly between columns and are very likely the result of word processing glitches. Such shortcomings may annoy the reader, but they will not really diminish the merits of the book.

The collection of documents affords the reader a firsthand impression of the realities of one facet of nineteenth-century European emigration, namely, of a small yet important religious group from Switzerland. The texts are very well translated, explained, and elaborated in introductions and annotations by a team of competent scholars. This informative book provides results of genealogical research that reach far beyond names and numbers. It should inspire further research in immigration documents and local history by exploring and thoroughly researching local archives and libraries.

University of Kansas

Helmut Huelsbergen

Plain Women: Gender and Ritual in the Old Order River Brethren.

By Margaret C. Reynolds. Edited with a foreword by Simon J. Bronner. Pennsylvania History and Culture Series, 1. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001. xii + 192 pages. \$29.95.

In this posthumously published work, Reynolds offers us unique insights into both the historical context of the Old Order River Brethren as well as the role of women within the River Brethren and, in particular, the significance of their participation in River Brethren rituals. In addition to archival materials, Reynolds bases her presentation and interpretation on several years of fieldwork among the Old Order River Brethren in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. From 1992 to 1996, she observed the breadmaking preparatory services and love feasts of this group. She also conducted oral interviews with twenty-eight baptized adult women from the group. Her focus was on the plain dress, food preparation and mealtimes, and especially the role assigned to women in the ritual of preparatory breadmaking at the love feast.

The first chapter is devoted to a historical overview of the development of the River Brethren, one of the several denominations among those associated with Anabaptism and Pietism in the Pennsylvania German context. She traces the group from its Brethren-Mennonite origins in the late-eighteenth century through a number of nineteenth- and twentieth-century divisions and mergers to the present day. She believes that the River Brethren and, in particular, the Old Order River Brethren represent an "American overlay of German Protestant traditions." She maintains that their unique perception of the role of women and their emotional intensity serve to maintain their separation from the other plain orders such as the Old Order Amish, Old Order Mennonites, and Old German Baptist Brethren.

Her remaining three chapters focus on that uniqueness among Old Order River

Brethren women. Reynolds treats the symbolism of plain women's dress, kitchen traditions, and the breadmaking ritual in separate chapters. In her chapter on "Coverings for the Body" she focuses on how women's dress serves to bond those who are part of the group as well as to create boundaries that ensure their cultural survival. Reynolds notes that each generation may introduce new traditions in plain attire that can distinguish it from other age groups within River Brethren culture. Reynolds also discovered that some women wore hair coverings even when they slept—in accordance with the Biblical mandate that women should only pray with covered head—because they might awaken at night and want to pray. She also describes at length the process leading to a young girl's beginning to dress "plain" around the age of twelve or thirteen as a sign of spiritual maturity. Reynolds concludes by claiming that River Brethren women are among the staunchest defenders of plain dress in comparison to other "plain" groups.

Reynolds discussion of food preparation and meals leads us through a description of a typical family meal in which the role of the woman as guardian of both the home and the religion come to the fore. The meals of ordinary River Brethren women are gifts of love to her family. Reynolds then examines how that role has become transformed in recent years by some River Brethren women providing foodstuffs for sale in local grocery stores or even providing "typical Pennsylvania Dutch" meals for tourist groups in Lancaster County. She concludes this chapter by noting that in the home, women minister as foodgivers to both the physical body and the spiritual welfare of the community. However, the growing commercial kitchen enterprises have, in Reynolds's view, the potential to create internal divisions which may undermine the group's cohesion.

The ritual of mixing, kneading and baking of communion bread by the adult baptized women of the group on the morning of the love feast is followed by an afternoon of preaching and personal testimony and culminates in the foot washing and communion service in the evening. Reynolds notes that among all of the Old Order and Anabaptist Brethren groups, which practice foot washing and love feast, only the Old Order River Brethren have the preparation of communion bread as part of a formal religious ritual. She argues the Old Order River Brethren confer greater status and respect on women in their society through this uniquely women's ritual of communion breadmaking.

The reader is left with a very intensely personal and human as well as probing account of the role of women in the Old Order River Brethren in today's world. The interweaving of observation, quotations from interviews and interpretations by Reynolds immerses the reader in the cultural fabric of women's lives in this group. Her examination of women in this often neglected religious group is a solid contribution to ethnographic, religious and gender studies. On a final note, we welcome Reynolds's study as the first volume in the new Pennsylvania German History and Culture Series, published in cooperation with the Pennsylvania German Society.

Over the Barrel: The Brewing History and Beer Culture of Cincinnati; Volume Two: Prohibition to 2001.

By Timothy J. Holian. St. Joseph, MO: Sudhaus Press, 2001. 392 pages. \$29.95.

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 Cincinnati, as in countless other cities across the United States, wartime Prohibition measures brought beer brewing to a halt. Formal nationwide Prohibition brought legal brewing to an end in 1919. Breweries tried to make near-beer, soda and ice to stay afloat, but many never weathered the fourteen-year drought that forever changed America's—and Cincinnati's—brewing history. This is the subject of this work.

This second volume in a two-volume series completes the Cincinnati brewing saga from Prohibition to the present. Once again, Holian makes history come to life, filling his book with a plethora of illustrations, advertisements, newspaper articles and pictures that squarely put the reader into the moment. Holian skillfully covers eighty years of brewing history with remarkable thoroughness and focus, but never once does he lose the reader to boredom or stultifying detail.

Starting with Prohibition, its ensuing lawlessness and hard times for Cincinnati's German-American brewers, and working his way up decade by decade to the present, Holian paints an all encompassing picture of Cincinnati's once-glorious brewing industry as it struggled to its feet from a blow from which it could never fully recover. The Roaring Twenties, Great Depression, repeal of Prohibition in 1933, the death of Cincinnati's brewing magnates, industry expansion, contraction and consolidation, World War II, the rise of national brewers (Anheuser-Busch, Miller), the eclipse of Cincinnati as a brewing center, the death of great brewing traditions and the newfound appreciation for microbreweries are all given careful attention. History does not happen in a vacuum. Holian skillfully relates all brewing events to local, state, national and even international historical context.

The *Over the Barrel* series is also a marvelous look into American brewing history and how the taste of beer itself has changed over the years. For example, accommodations had to be made to allow for grain rationing and supply problems during World War II. Rice and corn were included in the mash to add fermentable material, thus allowing brewers to use less barley. When women became the predominant consumers in the beer market during the war years, brewers made beer less bitter, using milder hops, appealing to feminine tastes. When the war ended, the new lighter beers remained popular, particularly in a country where warm weather and lawn mowing require quick and light refreshment. As time went on and product consistency became an industry issue, the maltier, hoppier brews were less favored. Older-style beers languished or were left only as specialty products, if they did not die out.

What goes around comes around. Americans who grew up drinking watery swill found themselves traveling abroad or stationed in Europe—and enjoying real beer.

An entire generation of Americans discovered for itself how good homebrewed beer could be when they could not buy European favorites at home. In Cincinnati, as elsewhere, enterprising craft brewers took matters into their own hands and started brewing beers that taste good, brews that Americans had fallen in love with all over again.

The American craft-brewing renaissance of the last decade has changed American perceptions about beer. While national breweries continue to brew inexpensive, bland, mass-produced, watery products, craft brewers have revived entire beer styles for a public suddenly aware of what it has been missing since World War II. The Cincinnati microbrewing scene has seen a real return to the city's brewing roots, reviving styles and brands long ago consigned to history. Like mushrooms after a rain, microbreweries and brewpubs have sprung up all over the greater Cincinnati area. Again, due to financial problems, the economy in general, competition from the national brewers and market saturation, there has been considerable expansion and contraction in the craft brewing market. Still, microbreweries and brewpubs continue to offer Cincinnatians a broad selection of brew styles and brands. Re-educating local beer consumers and acquainting them with their long lost brewing heritage continues to be the mission for Cincinnati's modern-day brewers.

Although the Hudepohl-Schoenling Brewing Company provided sponsorship assistance to produce this book, Holian has covered the entire Cincinnati brewing history, not just Hudepohl-Schoenling's. He has done so in an even-handed manner, and the book is not biased toward or against any breweries in particular.

Holian's *Over the Barrel* series is a must-have for historians, brewing aficionados, and anyone who appreciates good beer and good history. A real treat, this book is truly a labor of love written by an expert author and native Cincinnati who is an enthusiastic and knowledgeable local historian as well as avid brewer.

County Kerry, Ireland

Paula Weber

Word Atlas of Pennsylvania German.

By *Lester W. J. Seifert*. Edited by *Mark L. Loudon, Howard Martin and Joseph C. Salmons*. Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, 2001. vii + 121 pages + 173 maps. \$34.95.

Those of us privileged to have known "Smoky" Seifert—his warmth, humor, humanity and, above all, his passion for his teaching and research in German-American dialectology—will appreciate in our own personal way the publication of his Pennsylvania German word atlas. For the student of Pennsylvania German and German-American dialects, it is a true treasure trove of linguistic material, especially in its word maps and in its reprinting of four earlier essays, authored or co-authored by Seifert.

Following two biographical essays on Seifert's professional and personal life by Howard Martin and by Seifert's daughter, Suzanne Seifert Treichel, Mark Loudon

introduces the reader to the field of Pennsylvania German dialect studies. In the main part of his essay, Loudon focuses on the development of the scholarly study of Pennsylvania German beginning with Haldeman's *Pennsylvania Dutch* (1872). Loudon notes that the serious linguistic analysis of Pennsylvania German began in the 1930s when a group of linguists, among them Seifert and his longtime collaborator, Carroll E. Reed, emerged who wrote their doctoral dissertations on various aspects of Pennsylvania German. Loudon continues with a discussion of the field work of Seifert and Reed and the preparation of questionnaires in the early 1940s that served as the basis for their dissertations (1941), a number of articles, *A Linguistic Atlas of Pennsylvania German* (1954) and eventually this word atlas. In a final section, Loudon explores Pennsylvania German research since Seifert and Reed. Here the critical shift in emphasis to sociolinguistic aspects after 1980 comes to the fore. Loudon notes the work of Marion Lois Huffines, Werner Enninger, Joachim Raith and himself. In this overview of research, it is puzzling, however, that the list of references at the end of Loudon's piece omits all four articles by Huffines and one by Raith, as well as one by Carroll Reed, on aspects of Pennsylvania German that appeared in the *Yearbook of German American Studies*.

Four reprinted essays on Pennsylvania German vocabulary compose the second section of the atlas. The first one by both Reed and Seifert provides a general introduction to their research and also an overview of the localities investigated, the subjects interviewed and their questionnaire. The second and third essays by Seifert analyze lexical differences and similarities in four regions: parts of Berks, Lehigh and Lancaster counties as well as the Susquehanna Valley in parts of Dauphin, Schuylkill, Northumberland and Snyder counties (the third essay is a revision of the second for the 1968 symposium on the German language in America at the University of Texas). The final essay by Seifert explores variation in the diminutives of Pennsylvania German. The atlas concludes with the 144 full-page maps produced for the word atlas and also appends 29 maps originally published in Reed and Seifert's 1954 linguistic atlas.

Given the linguistic and symbolic detail on both the maps and in the reprinted articles, the editors are to be congratulated on an outstanding job of preparing this volume for publication. One rather glaring error was noted: The form for "daughter-in-law" in Lancaster County based on the map (no. 90) is [se:nəri] which would be rendered orthographically as *Seenerie* following Seifert's system. On page 73 of his reprinted article, however, the word is spelled *Seemerie*. Whether that error was already in the 1946 original article could not be determined. In any event, researchers and students can rely on the painstaking attention to detail in the maps and articles left for us by "Smoky" Seifert and published in this handsome volume by the Max Kade Institute for German American Studies in Madison, Wisconsin. We are in their debt.

University of Kansas

William D. Keel

Known by the Work of His Hands.

By Claire Messimer. Kutztown, PA: The Pennsylvania German Society, 2000. 231 pages. \$75.00.

Cemeteries are rarely studied, despite the wealth of lore displayed within their boundaries. The layout of cemeteries, the placement of graves, and the tombstone inscriptions, all reflect aspects of the lives of the people buried within. It is refreshing to see this volume, an adaptation of the author's thesis in American Studies, striving to incorporate cemetery analysis with local history. Claire Messimer makes a rare journey into cemeteries, and uses the life and handiwork of her ancestor, a tombstone cutter and engraver, as a guide to the lives of German immigrants and their descendants in rural Lebanon County, Pennsylvania. She writes, and I concur, that, "I can only hope to encourage others to consider tombstones an artifact in desperate need of research and conservation" (10).

Known by the Work of His Hands is divided into three parts. In the first part, which is fairly short and consists of six chapters, Messimer introduces the reader to the history of the German immigration into this region of Pennsylvania, and the information that is known about the life of her ancestor, Joseph Brownmiller (referred to as JB consistently through the book, so I will also in this review). The bulk of the book (eleven chapters) is the second part, which starts with an introduction to cemetery analysis and then proceeds to examine JB's tombstones within the context of the local German immigrant community. Part three is a short conclusion to the volume.

JB was born into a family of stone carvers in 1807 in Hamlin, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania. During his young adult years, he earned his living as a schoolteacher, while his older brother was a tombstone carver. Messimer was not able to find many written records about JB's life, but it appears that in the mid-1840s (when JB would have been almost forty years old) he began to produce tombstones himself. By 1850, he had stopped teaching and lived a small house next to the cemetery where the majority of his stones are still found. He earned a living from carving after this, and continued to produce tombstones until 1893. JB died in 1895. His work encompassed a time of significant cultural shifts, and, as Messimer illustrates, his tombstones reflected these cultural changes.

I enjoyed the discussion of German symbols and design on the tombstones, and was astounded to see how clearly I could distinguish JB's tombstones from others after reading this book. Although he had a personal style, the evolution of JB's designs over his career reflected the greater trends in tombstone design. Messimer did a very nice job of showing the relationship between changes in ethnic identity and changes in tombstone design. I was particularly interested in how the change from German language in *Fraktur* script to English language in plainer script reflected the change in the local German immigrant community after the Civil War. My own research is on Amish and Mennonite cemeteries in central Pennsylvania, and despite their continued use of German within the community, English has been used on tombstones, with only the rare exception, since the early 1800s. This would indicate that language was playing a different role in the immigrant Lutheran communities than in the Anabaptist

communities.

The strengths of this volume are its integrative approach, its unusual topic, and its readability. However, there are several places where the book could have been strengthened. The maps are important to understand the geographical placement of the people and places mentioned in the readings. However, those provided in the appendix are difficult to read and are not labeled. A specific map indicating the location of the cemeteries where JB's tombstones are found would have been much appreciated. Because this is almost a coffee-table book, the pixilated digital photos (fine for a thesis) should have been retaken for the book. Finally, the organization was sometimes hard to follow, as the author skipped from background material to tombstone analysis several times. Overall, though, the book fills an important niche by demonstrating how to incorporate cemetery studies into local history research, well beyond the typical genealogical domain.

Diverse readers will be interested in *Known by the Work of his Hands*: historians, genealogists, artists, and the general audience with an interest in cemeteries. This would also be a wonderful book for professionals outside these areas interested in a "case study" introduction to the importance of cemeteries and tombstones in understanding a community and culture. However, a check of online booksellers shows that the work is not available to the general browsing public. Because this book is written with such accessible language, and would be of interest to anyone who has stopped by a cemetery to wander, it would benefit from wider distribution.

SUNY College at Potsdam

Bethany M. Usher

Nach Amerika!: Geschichte der liechtensteinischen Auswanderung nach Amerika in zwei Bänden; Band I: Auswanderung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert; Register mit persönlichen Daten aller bekannten Auswanderer; Personen und Ortsregister für die Bände I und II; Band II: Einzelbiographien von Personen und Familien; Beiträge von Auswanderern.

Volume I by Norbert Jansen. Edited by Pio Schurti and Norbert Jansen. Vaduz: Historischer Verein für das Fürstentum Liechtenstein; Zürich: Chronos Verlag, 1998. 267 + 298 pages.

A seven-year research project undertaken by the Historical Society of the Principality of Liechtenstein has resulted in an impressive two-volume set documenting the history of emigration from Liechtenstein to North and South America spanning the last two centuries. In volume one Jansen provides the context for emigration by describing the social and economic conditions in Liechtenstein that resulted in departure for the New World as well as the conditions in America that beckoned the immigrants. He goes on to provide a detailed account of the emigration from Liechtenstein during the last two centuries. The emigrants are followed to their new homes in the United States and other areas of the Americas. Interestingly, the pattern of emigration from the principality parallels that from the other parts of German-speaking Central Europe.

Two of the earliest groups of emigrants from Liechtenstein arrived in New Orleans in the early 1850s and continued up the Mississippi, finding new homes in the vicinity of Dubuque, Iowa. Many more came in the decade of the 1880s. A second larger group settled twenty miles up the Mississippi in Guttenberg, Iowa. Smaller settlements of Liechtensteiners are documented for Freeport, Illinois, Wabash, Indiana, and O'Neill, Nebraska. The ebb and flow of nineteenth century emigration from Liechtenstein follows the well-known political and economic upheavals on both sides of the Atlantic as one might expect.

In the 1920s, following economic collapse and severe floods in the Rhine Valley, another wave of Liechtensteiners headed for America. These immigrants headed for Midwestern industrial cities such as Chicago, Milwaukee, and Cincinnati. Following a post-World War II group of immigrants, the departure of Liechtensteiners to the New World has slowed to a trickle. Smaller numbers of the twentieth-century immigrants also went to Canada, Argentina and Brazil.

In the epilogue to the first volume, the author has been able to document some 1,600 Liechtensteiners who emigrated—principally for economic reasons—to America during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This seventy-page index of emigrants represents, in effect, a case study in which all known emigrants, whether individual or families, from one country have been compiled with information relating to origin, destination, family composition, and also whether the individual or family returned to Liechtenstein.

Some interesting statistics are presented or can be derived regarding the emigration. Emigrants during the nineteenth century comprise 60 percent of all emigrants to America from Liechtenstein. Approximately 75 percent of emigrants were individual males or male heads of household; 25 percent were female or widows with children. Nearly 92 percent had as a destination the United States; about 5 percent had Canada; and only 3 percent had various South American countries. A total of 10 percent returned to Liechtenstein, although the rate for the nineteenth century was only 3 percent of returnees versus 21 percent for those whose original emigration was in the twentieth century.

The second volume compiled by Schurti and Jansen offers insights into the subjective decision to leave one's native land and travel across the ocean to seek a better life. In the first part are some fifteen biographical essays relating the histories of families or individuals who participated in the emigration from Liechtenstein. In the second part, the authors have either obtained personal statements from or interviewed sixteen emigrants from Liechtenstein living in the New World and one who returned to Liechtenstein for their personal impressions on the emigration experience. Taken together with the historical and statistical information in volume one, volume two provides needed detail and very personal, subjective views on nearly every facet of emigration from this small country in the middle of Europe.

All in all, the publication is a thorough, very detailed account of the emigration from Liechtenstein to the New World and a handsome boxed set richly illustrated with documents and photographs. The two volumes will not only be of value to those who are of Liechtenstein descent or modern Liechtensteiners, who wonder

why so many of their fellow citizens left their homeland for America, but also for scholars of German emigration in general. By focusing with such thoroughness on the emigration from one—albeit very small—German-speaking country in Central Europe, the authors have offered a model case study for the entirety of that emigration.

University of Kansas

William D. Keel

Pribers Paradies: Ein deutscher Utopist in der amerikanischen Wildnis.

By Ursula Naumann. Die Andere Bibliothek. Frankfurt: Eichborn, 2001. 317 pages.

In her lively account, Ursula Naumann pieces together the American adventures of a German utopian of a special sort. His projected “Paradies” was not the religious commune of a group trying to live the life of the disciples of Christ, but a secular community, a republic with equal rights for women and men, no discrimination on racial and religious grounds, a haven for runaway black slaves and white indentured servants. There was to be no private property, equal duty for work and communal responsibilities, no distinctions in dress, and a minimum of laws and punishments.

All of this could have happened on Indian territory in Tennessee close to Georgia and South Carolina in the 1740s. The protagonist of this exciting story is not exactly well known in German-American studies; his name may be familiar only to some specialists of the history of the American Southeast.

He was Christian Gottlieb Priber; he spelled it “Priber” in America, other variants are Pryber and Preber. He was born in Zittau, 21 March 1697. Zittau, on the river Neisse, now close to the corner where Poland, the Czech Republic and Germany come together, a town of less than 50,000 inhabitants, founded in the thirteenth century and a traditional center of the textile industry, especially linen, with around 7,000 inhabitants during Priber’s time. It was exposed to the Thirty Years’ War, and later to the wars between Austria and Prussia after 1740. During Priber’s childhood, Zittau, as part of Saxony, suffered from the (second) Northern War between Russia, Poland (plus Saxony), and Sweden, especially when it was occupied by Russian troops. Priber, the oldest son of a rather well-to-do merchant, completed the *Gymnasium* and went on to study law at the universities of Leipzig and Erfurt where he obtained the degree of a Dr. juris in 1722. He went home to marry and practice as an attorney. Some time after 1731 and before 1733, he disappeared from Zittau.

At that time, in 1732, King George II granted the charter for the establishment of Georgia. In 1733, the city of Savannah was laid out. James Edward Oglethorpe hoped to establish a colony on liberal principles. He tried to populate the new state with independent farmers, contrary to the slave economy of neighboring South Carolina. This did not succeed. Pressures for the expansion of white settlements led eventually to the removal of the Native Americans on the western border, the Cherokee Trail of Tears. But Priber must have had high hopes for the new land of Georgia.

In their meeting of 18 June 1735, the trustees of the colony of Georgia gave this certain Mr. Christian Gottlieb Priber the permission to sail there. Priber, however,

went to Charleston, instead of Savannah, and obtained a claim of 600 acres in the northwest of South Carolina where he moved in spring 1736. By the end of 1737 he had left South Carolina and lived with the Cherokee Indians in Great Tellico west of the Appalachians, in today's Tennessee. He learned their language very fast, he dressed and lived as they did, he had an Indian wife and a daughter by the name of Creat.

The governors of South Carolina and Georgia became concerned about his presence and influence, because they thought that he was French, and the British and the French competed for the dominance of the Indian tribes. It got worse when it turned out that Priber indoctrinated the Cherokee against the promises of the British and told them to be on guard against treacherous treaties and contracts. Priber told the Cherokees that they were a nation just like the French and British kingdoms, they should guard and maintain their national borders and deal with the Europeans on an equal footing. Furthermore, they should be wary of the white traders and be sure that they would get fair deals.

But the threat to British economic interests and expansionism went even further. He acted like a foreign minister for the Cherokee; they became much more assertive in their dealings with white officials and traders. Furthermore, Priber urged the Indians to form a larger confederation of tribes as the only possible defense against white expansion.

During these years, Priber was making plans for his "Paradies." He wrote down the constitution for his project and possibly kept a diary, but his manuscripts are lost. Therefore, information on him comes from other sources, and is not easy to evaluate, because it is all partisan, usually hostile. There was also a language problem: Priber knew many languages, for instance French, and communicated well with the Indians, but his English was rudimentary. Ursula Naumann's sympathetic rendering of Priber's life and projects relies, therefore, on her interpretation of the documents, and differs from that of other historians.

There is an account by a French captive of the Indians, Antoine Bonnefoy, whom Priber tried to enlist for his project of the "Paradies" republic that seems most trustworthy in its details. This republic, beginning as a "town," never materialized, but it added considerably to the aura of menace to British interests that surrounded Priber. The French were more interested in trade and in maintaining their Louisiana colony than in settling the region; therefore, their dealings with Indian tribes were less treacherous, and Priber may have thought of them as friendly partners.

The governors of South Carolina and Georgia made several attempts to capture Priber, mainly because of his influence among the Cherokee and Creek Indians hostile to their interests. Later it was realized as well that he favored harboring runaway slaves and indentured servants—who would be among the inhabitants of his "Paradies." The British succeeded in 1743 when Priber was on his way to Mobile, Alabama, or Fort Toulouse, presumably for negotiations with the French. Priber was brought to Fort Frederica, on St. Simons Island. He was questioned by Oglethorpe who also tried to decipher Priber's manuscripts, before he sailed back to England, and Priber's project was considered a serious threat to British plans. Therefore he remained as a military prisoner at Frederica on dubious charges.

During this time the legend arose that Priber was a German Jesuit who planned to establish a Jesuit Indian state like in Paraguay. Priber remained a captive in Frederica until a great fire and explosion of munition and bombs in 1744 destroyed most of the houses and barracks. A later account of an officer stationed there during this time considered him stoic, even cheerful in spite of his captivity. He must have died there some time afterwards. Fort Frederica was abandoned. The descendants of Priber's four German children are numerous, and his Indian daughter seems to have had many descendants as well.

Naumann, in her account, follows the chronology, but intertwines the events of the 1730s and 1740s with her own search for Priber's identity, ideas, and biography, and her secret but futile hope to discover Priber's lost manuscripts. She tells the story whenever possible by quoting the eyewitness accounts on Priber (in her own excellent translations) and provides the historical, ethnological, and geographical background needed for a German audience—probably for most Americans as well. She tries and usually succeeds in maintaining the fine line between a historical novel and a historian's scholarly biography. For the sake of readability, the scholarly apparatus is kept to a minimum. However, her endnotes and bibliography offer ample documentation and enough possibilities for further reading. Nauman has spent years in archives and visited the areas where Priber lived, in Germany and America, she discovered new documents, and also found and contacted his descendants in Germany who were unaware of their ancestor.

Her descriptions are lively and make good reading, while remaining historically reliable. The register of all dramatic personae is a welcome addition. The book is well presented, with a pleasing print and a good number of relevant illustrations.

Priber crossed the path of only a few Germans while he lived in this American region: the Salzburgers in Ebenezer and their leader Johann Martin Boltzcius come to mind. And, in Fort Frederica, there must have been some Germans, as there was a Lutheran minister named Johann Ulrich Driessler who mentions Priber in his reports. He must have encountered some German craftsmen in Charleston while he stayed there. But Priber's story proves that the Southeast in its early days should be of some interest for German-American studies.

For a man of the early Enlightenment from a small town in eastern Saxony (not too far from Kamenz), Priber's ideas and project seem extraordinary. There is no doubt that he learned much from the Cherokee when he lived among them. The Cherokee, on the other hand, acted in his spirit when they later established an independent nation that was brutally crushed by the United States. It seems worthwhile to follow the trail from the German Enlightenment of Thomasius and Leibniz to equal rights for men and women and all races in North America in other instances. Maybe Priber was not the only dreamer of this kind?

This is a book that can provide interesting course material, either through excerpts or by retelling parts of the story, as it combine the history of the Native Americans, of the Southeast United States, and a German immigrant who wanted to change the

world into an enlightened republic of peace. It should offer ample substance for lively discussions.

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Wulf Koepke

Anaheim - Utopia Americana: Vom Weinland zum Walt Disney-Land: Eine Stadtbiographie.

By Rainer Vollmar. *Erdkundliches Wissen*, vol. 126. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998. 289 pages. Euro 24.00.

Anaheim - Utopia Americana is an intriguing cultural geography of the city of Anaheim, California. Rainer Vollmar has written a city biography in which he illustrates the transformation of Anaheim from an agricultural community in the nineteenth century to the home of the world famous Disneyland in southern California of today.

The book is divided into two parts. In the first part Vollmar traces back the city's history to the founding days of 1857 when members of the German Los Angeles Weingarten Verein (Los Angeles Vineyard Society) staked out their shares to plant their vineyards. During the first years the settlement, also known as "Campo Alemán" to the Indian and Mexican population, overcame a number of natural catastrophes, including floods and drought. After the vineyards were destroyed by diseases, and watering problems remained unmanageable, the farmers discontinued their interest in vine and turned to other crops such as oranges, lemons, and olives. When the Southern Pacific Railroad (1874-75) and Santa Fe Railroad (1887) gave easier access to the community Anaheim's population grew larger at the end of the nineteenth century. In the following years more roads and larger industries aided the small city in its development. Although German cultural life survived during WWI the number of the original German settlers and their influence slowly faded. In preparation for WWII the city became the home of a number of war factories. They remained in Anaheim even after the war, which led to an extreme population growth between 1950 and 1980. Furthermore, Walt Disney became interested in the city to establish a "Disney Theme Park" during the 1950s. On 17 July 1955 today's world-famous Disneyland opened its doors within the city limits. Since then it has become the most popular tourist attraction in southern California, drawing millions of visitors to Anaheim every year.

In the second part Vollmar illustrates the impact Disneyland has had on the city. He examined how the large Disney enterprise transformed and formed the city of Anaheim, erased its small town flair, and put its company's stamp on the town. Since the opening of Disneyland the Disney corporation has entered into a private-public partnership with the city. The company's investment in the town, constant streams of tourists, and increasing numbers of consumers have since then shaped the city's history, geography, urban planning, and politics, and made it a new "company town." To meet the company's demands for space and infrastructure, roads and neighborhoods had to

be built, moved, and reconstructed. In a most thought-provoking way Vollmar illustrates the struggle between private and public interest over space and resources and the negotiation processes which have marked the relationship between city and company.

With the example of Anaheim, Vollmar shows how company interests and consumer habits shape today's architecture and city planning. Large theme parks such as Hersheypark, Hershey, PA, or Sea World of Florida, Orlando, FL, have taken over large parts of spare-time activities and amusements. Their impact on the community is felt not only by new jobs and the influx of people but also by the demands these companies make on the cities they move to. As one of the first cities with a gigantic corporate theme park Anaheim serves as an example for a twentieth-century postmodern "entrepreneurial city" where entertainment and sports enterprises have become main businesses.

The book gives a lively and well written account of the developments and transformations of Anaheim, how the city is shaped by private interests, how city planners are led by business concerns, and how historic buildings and neighborhoods have to give way to market interests. Although Vollmar touches on the German roots of the city the book is written with a clear focus on the question of what influence Disneyland has had on the city since the 1950s.

The study is very well researched. Vollmar has used a wide range of historical, geographical, and architectural sources. The text is enriched with 164 illustrations, 31 newspaper clippings, and 36 tables in which statistical material is presented. On nearly every page, maps and photographs help the reader to visualize Anaheim's transformation. In a back pocket the reader also finds several city maps, and copies of aerial pictures of the city. The book certainly would find a much larger readership if it had been written in English.

Anaheim - Utopia Americana is a superb example of how a small ethnic community in the nineteenth century has become a "Mickeytopolis: Fun, Sport and Convention City in Tomorrowland" (249).

Bonn, Germany

Katja Rampelmann

Early German-American Newspapers: Daniel Miller's History.

Edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 2001. vii + 111 pages. \$15.00.

The publication under review is a reprint of a long article that originally appeared in *Pennsylvania German Society Proceedings and Addresses*, vol. 19 (1910). Daniel Miller traced the history of German newspapers in the American colonies and the United States from their beginnings in the first half of the eighteenth century until roughly the middle of the nineteenth century, although there is no rigid cut-off date and the author occasionally comments on later circumstances right up to his own days. Geographically the book is, for obvious historical reasons, mainly concerned with Eastern Pennsylvania, and Miller's hometown and county, Reading and Berks County,

are treated with particularly loving care. As a bibliography, this work is, of course, largely superseded, but it still provides valuable insights by fleshing out the purely bibliographical information. Another important contribution, as the editor notes in his introduction, is the inclusion of facsimiles of countless early newspaper mastheads and other pictorial material.

Most striking for the modern reader is the difficulty of newspaper production and the newspaper business in general in those early days. Invariably they were shoestring operations, and accordingly most of them had a short lifespan. One cannot but admire the ambition, industriousness, and above all the sheer optimism of the printers and publishers. Benjamin Franklin in his first attempt to produce a German-language paper in the New World hoped it to be financially viable with just 300 subscribers, but when only fifty came forward, he went ahead anyway. Small wonder then that his enterprise did not last long. The low population density was one of the major factors that worked against early newspaper publishers. Even major political centers were just villages by modern standards; in 1794, Harrisburg had a population of no more than 800, but this was considered enough to support a German newspaper beside the English one.

Another headache for publishers was the matter of distribution, which was haphazard at best. By 1790 there were just seventy-five post offices for the whole nation, of which ten served Pennsylvania, with a single post office serving the state of New York. As a result, readers or subscribers, particularly in the country, had to have as much faith in receiving their paper as publishers in receiving payment. At a later time, private postriders were common. Instructive is the example of the *Unparteyische Reading Adler*, which in 1796 was delivered in town by carriers and in the country "by first opportunity." Even what we would consider the basis of the whole business, the *news* in newspapers, had to be taken *cum grano salis*. Locally, nothing much seemed to have happened most of the time anyway, and when it happened, reports did not reach the office for a while. Publishers therefore relied to a large extent on second-hand information culled from European newspapers which were several months old by the time they reached American shores. The purely technical challenges were also formidable: a substantial number of early German-American papers were produced on presses built locally by craftsmen on the model of cider presses.

As if this was not enough, newspaper publishing at times posed its own dangers. Freedom of the press is a relative term, even in the land of the free. Comparatively well-known is the fate of Christoph Saur, Jr., who, as a member of the Church of the Brethren, was for religious reasons opposed to rebellion against the lawful authorities. In 1778, he was arrested, stripped, shaved, painted red and black, and marched from Germantown to Valley Forge. His property was confiscated, which meant the end of the original famous Saur printing firm. Other printers of revolutionary times with politically incorrect views had their equipment destroyed or were forced into line by strong-arm techniques, though Saur was, as far as we know, the only German-American among them who suffered. When in 1799 taxes on houses and their windows gave rise in several eastern Pennsylvania counties to the "Fries rebellion," which had to be put down by calling in the military, the Reading newspaper publisher Jacob Schneider

was publicly flogged for having printed an article critical of the forces of the government.

Despite these obstacles, the number of early German-language newspapers, some of them published in what can only be described as out-of-the-way places in rural Pennsylvania, is truly astonishing, even though many foundered after a year or two. The political controversies of the day clearly fueled many activities in the newspaper business, as did religious or denominational considerations. Daniel Miller's *History* opens a window into that fascinating time. Readers interested in the history of early German-American printing and publishing will welcome this reprint.

University of Cincinnati

Manfred Zimmermann

A Chorus of Different Voices: German-Canadian Identities.

Ed. by Angelika E. Sauer and Matthias Zimmer. *American University Studies, Series 9, History*. New York: Peter Lang, 1998. x + 244 pages. \$44.95.

With *A Chorus of Different Voices: German-Canadian Identities*, the editors hoped "to create a starting point for discussion and initiate dialogue with other areas of ethnic studies by opening up the boundaries of a closely guarded field" (x). They succeed. *Chorus*, a collection of essays resulting from a workshop held in Edmonton, Alberta, in 1996, offers a wide ranging and challenging exploration of what it means to be German-Canadian. This collection demonstrates that the label "German-Canadian" has multiple meanings, incorporates a diversity of experiences, and denotes no clear cultural, religious, ethnic, or historical boundaries.

The first essay, Dieter Haselbach's "The Social Construction of Identity: Theoretical Perspectives," warns of the dangers of studies such as those undertaken in this collection. With identity comes exclusion, Haselbach argues, in a discussion that is, in fact, a critique of identity as social construction, multiculturalism as a political goal, and the politics of identity. It is an interesting essay to start with, not only because of the questions Haselbach raises about this kind of research, but also because of the assumptions he himself makes about who German-Canadians are. His discussion seems to focus primarily on those who move between two distinct, clearly bounded cultures, a generational issue he does not resolve. To what extent do second, third and subsequent generations alternate between distinct cultures? Is there, as Haselbach suggests, "dual identity"? Matthias Zimmer, in "Deconstructing German-Canadian Identity," takes on these questions and concludes that, in fact, there is no distinct German-Canadian identity because there is no "essential notion of Germanness" shared by all Germans. German-Canadians, he argues, have different histories, they (or their ancestors) came to Canada at different times from different places and social conditions, and the majority are no longer bound to each other by German as a common language. German-Canadians are, Zimmer argues, more "divided by their Germanness ... than united by it" (33).

Oda Lindner, in "Is Biculturalism a Viable Concept? Evidence from German-

Canadians," suggests, on the other hand, that German-Canadians frequently have dual cultural membership. Lindner uses the German-Canadians as a type case to present a model of biculturalism as both behavioral adjustment and cultural amalgamation. Nevertheless, it is a model still in the making. Oversimplifying both bilingualism and biculturalism, Lindner begins by suggesting that bicultural German-Canadians are like bilinguals who switch from one language to another depending on context. She concludes, however, that two independent cultural systems cannot be maintained, and, ultimately, defines German-Canadians as those who blend two cultural backgrounds into one. Her work begs the question raised by Zimmer: What two cultural backgrounds are being blended? And, if Germans immigrating to Canada came for a variety of reasons, with different histories, social circumstances, political views, religious backgrounds, and even language varieties, is there just one German-Canadian blend?

Manfred Prokop, in his article "The Maintenance and Survival of the German Language in Canada: A Follow-Up Study," implicitly defines German-Canadian as German-speaking Canadian and equates the loss of German with the loss of German culture in Canada. Offering little new for researchers of language maintenance and shift, Prokop demonstrates that those who settled in rural areas have maintained German more successfully than urban settlers, and that sectarian German speakers (rural Mennonites and, especially, the Hutterites) have maintained German more successfully than their non-sectarian neighbors (cf. H. Kloss, "German Language Maintenance Efforts," in *Language Loyalty in the United States*, J. A. Fishman, ed. [The Hague: Mouton, 1966], 206-52; M. L. Huffines, "Pennsylvania German: Maintenance and Shift," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 25 [1980]: 43-57). The conclusion he reaches is that, with the loss of language, German culture in Canada will be reduced to *Wurst* stands at folk festivals (and that the only true German-Canadians will be those in German-speaking religious enclaves).

Whereas Mennonite historians seem often to explore Mennonite history in isolation, to consider Mennonites and other Anabaptist groups apart from the broader waves of German immigration from Europe, as if they were not affected by the same forces, Prokop gives little attention to how and why religious differences contribute to patterns of German language maintenance. The result is a far simpler picture of German-Canadian identity, one that fails to explain how identity might change over time and place. While recognizing that identity is a dynamic process and is realized in a variety of ways, Wsevolod W. Isajiw also studies Germans as a monolithic group. His article, "Identity and Identity-Retention Among German Canadians: Individual and Institutional," which is based on data collected in a 1979 study of ethnic groups in Toronto, measures ethnic identity according to language use; practice of ethnic traditions, such as eating ethnic food at festivals, observing ethnic customs, and possession of ethnic articles; and group obligations. He reports that Germans appear to lose their identity faster than the comparable groups studied, including "majority Canadian," English, Italian, Jewish, and Ukrainian. One can question the choice of groups studied. For example, are Jews to be identified only by religious affiliation and not the national origin of the immigrating family members? Moreover, Isajiw

augments his Toronto data with results of a nationwide survey conducted by Statistics Canada that documented, among other things, the number of ethnic community organizations and ethnic community media. To what extent the definition of groups in the Isajiw study is comparable to that in the national study is unclear. Moreover, the data as presented in this article tell us little about how Germans identify with each other. German-Canadians rank third in the number of ethnic publications, but who are the readers? Do sectarian publications count in this total? Isajiw recognizes that his study may not assess what kind of identity (identities?) German-Canadians share, especially in the second, third, and subsequent generations, but, he argues, the data support a notion of identity as a dynamic process.

The rest of the articles in this collection draw on historical research to reaffirm the dynamic nature of ethnic identity. Gerhard P. Bassler's essay, "German-Canadian Identity in Historical Perspective," argues that, while German immigrants to Canada had diverse origins, their identity as German-Canadians was forged in the process of immigration and settlement. German-Canadian identity is, thus, historically conditioned and its boundaries ever shifting. It is these boundaries, Bassler suggests, that we need to study further. In his essay, "The German-Canadian Experience Viewed Through Life Writings, 1850s to 1930s," Dirk Hoerder draws on immigrant life-writings to demonstrate that newly arrived Germans had widely varying experiences depending on when and where they settled. Hoerder suggests that, in exploring German-Canadian identity, we need to begin asking how new immigrants (and, I suggest, their descendants) participated in Canadian life and how did they interact with those from other cultural backgrounds.

In "As I Experienced Them Myself": The Autobiographical German-Language Immigrant Woman in Prairie Canada, 1874-1910," Royden Loewen brings gender into the discussion of identity to suggest that women's narratives tell a very different story than men's. Loewen recognizes the diversity of the immigrant experience and explores the interaction of religion, place of origin (the *Volksdeutsche* and *Reichsdeutsche*), the nature of immigration (whether the immigrant came alone, met family who had gone on ahead, came in a group, or migrated following an earlier immigration), and gender in shaping the immigrant experience. Similarly, John Walsh's essay, "Ethnicity, Family, and Community: German Canadians in Suburban Ottawa, 1890-1914," looks at ethnicity, gender, class, age, and place as connections between family and community and argues that these links are socially constructed and so experiences change over time. Focusing his study on New Edinburgh, a largely working class district in Ottawa, the capital city, Walsh uses census, assessment and church records to document both family (private) and community (public) life in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. His work demonstrates the development of competing German-Canadian identities as individuals moved between family, neighborhood, and different religious, political and work communities.

Yet, while Bassler, Hoerder, Loewen, and Walsh demonstrate the diversity of the German-Canadian experience and German-Canadian identity, Barbara Lorenskowski demonstrates the power of external forces on ethnic identity. In her article "'Spies', 'Saboteurs', and 'Subversives':" German-Canadian Internees and the Wartime

Discourse at the Canadian home front, 1939-1945," Lorenzkowski analyzes how the Canadian government constructed a dominant wartime discourse in which German-Canadians were defined as either "good" or "bad" (Nazi). Asking what the government determined to be dangerous, disloyal and guilty versus harmless, and innocent, she compared these definitions with the biographical data of wartime internees to understand the Canadian government's construction of "Nazi German." In so doing Lorenzkowski demonstrates how the Canadian government failed to meet its own internment goals.

In "Immigrants' Identities: The Narratives of a German-Canadian Migration," Alexander Freund looks at how German women immigrating to Canada following World War II reconciled competing discourses to construct themselves as women and good Canadians. "People construe narratives as guiding frameworks for their lives and as aides in the conceptualizations of themselves," argues Freund (189). Similarly, in "'Kinder, Küche, Kirche': Re-creating Identity in Postwar Canada," Hans Werner explores the role of memories in the "re-creation" of identity for ethnic German immigrants to Canada. According to Werner, the separation and upheaval of wartime challenged traditional ethnic German notions of gender, family, and identity and led ethnic Germans, in their search for stability, to emphasize and extend the role of family life in a search for stability.

In the final essay of the collection, "The 'Ideal German-Canadian': Politics, Academics and the Historiographical Construction of German-Canadian Identity," Angelika E. Sauer argues that the study of German-Canadians has been overly political and has, as a result, developed "blind spots" (228). Researchers have, she suggests, minimized conflict within the German-Canadian community, downplayed the cultural differences between groups of ethnic Germans, and excluded from study individuals and groups who did not meet the imposed German-Canadian norms. Two issues that must be explored, she asserts are "the assumption that there is a secular ethnic German identity and that it is somehow tied to the use of the German language" (232). Her analysis of the state of German-Canadian studies sets the stage for new and exciting work.

Each article concludes with notes. There is no comprehensive bibliography or index, which is unfortunate. This collection of essays is a conversation about a group that, at the end, remains ill defined. There is no single methodology that brings these essays together, nor is there a single object or purpose of study. But, in exploring the foundation and construction of German-Canadian identity—in acknowledging that German-Canadian identity (whatever it is) is constructed, not given, and in raising questions about the impact of experience, religion, gender, and language on the construction of this identity—the essays in this volume provide a means of bringing German-Canadian studies into the larger discussion of ethnic identity.

Images of Germany: Perceptions and Conceptions.

Edited by Peter M. Daly, Hans Walter Frischkopf, Trudis E. Goldsmith-Reber, Horst Richter. McGill European Studies, vol. 3. New York: Peter Lang, 2000. xxiv + 244 pages. \$57.95.

Images of Germany: Perceptions and Conceptions offers a selection of the papers presented at the second international German Studies conference, held at McGill University in September 1997. As Peter Daly notes in the introduction, images of Germany "run the gamut" from the tourist stereotype to informed, scholarly statements, and what one thinks of Germany depends on who and where one is. This collection of essays presents a range of statements about Germany and Germans, from official pronouncements by those in government positions to a study of German stereotypes in popular North American culture. It is a collection of fascinating studies of a country and a people.

The editors have grouped the articles in this work into six sections. The first, "Inner-German Views: Official Perspectives," begins with Hans-Günter Sulimma's "Germany Today: Realities and Challenges," a remarkable essay in that it presents the way in which German officials would like Germany to be viewed: a unified, "new" Germany, a reliable trading partner, a nation committed to working together with its neighbors. Sulimma, the ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to Canada, argues the need for the media to spread this image. In "The Role of Inter Nationes in Propagating an Image of Germany Abroad," Rainer Epbinder of Inter Nationes, a private though federally-funded agency dedicated to informing people in other nations about Germany, takes pains to point out that there is no official image of Germany; Germany is, rather, a "mosaic" (11), and the goal of Inter Nationes is to engage in dialogue though which it presents the diverse images of Germany. These first two articles tell us much about how official Germany hopes to be perceived and, thus, are a starting point from which to consider the way in which Germany is, in fact, perceived. They are a fascinating beginning to a work that explores not what Germany is, but rather what people think it is or represent it to be.

The other two articles in this first section offer "official perspectives" only in that their authors analyze official German "publications"—presidential speeches and postal stamps, respectively. In "The Image of Germany in Selected Speeches of Presidents of the Federal Republic of Germany," Trudis E. Goldsmith-Reber argues that speeches given by post-WWII German presidents reflect dominant images of Germany, including, she suggests, the German work ethic, Berlin as a new social contract, the call for civic courage, and the burden of the Holocaust. As such, they represent answers to the question guiding Goldsmith-Reber's research: Who are the Germans? But, while Goldsmith-Reber points out themes, she does little socio-political analysis of the speeches themselves, which is unfortunate, for such analysis might shed light on evolving images of Germany within Germany. This is certainly the outcome of Margarete L. Myers's very interesting study of "Propaganda at the Post Office: Competing Visions of Germany in the Postage Stamps of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, 1949-1959." Noting that, following WWII, both Germanys were intent on reconstructing their respective political and

national identities, Myers explores how this played out in the images on postal stamps. These reveal, she argues, different and evolving interpretations of progress, democracy, and culture.

The second set of articles, subtitled "Inner-German Views: As Expressed in Literature, Film and Culture," all focus on the conflicting images of Germany that have played out in the arts of East and West. In "Twilight over Hermlin: Controversial Readings of Abendlicht," Andreas Solbach considers the response of the West German literary world to East German writer Stephan Hermlin's presentation of himself as an antifascist freedom fighter and argues that the controversy over inconsistencies in Hermlin's public biography is a metaphor for the deeper struggle between the East and West German states to define truth. Imke Meyer's "Hemp Shirts, Dress Shirts, Brown Shirts: Gender and Political Discourse in Annegret Held's Prose Sketch 'Political'" is far more narrow in its focus, suggesting that Held's prose sketch "Political" fails because it ends up reproducing and affirming the political structures it claims to oppose. Meyer suggests that this failure to explore the implications of one's political (or apolitical) rhetoric is common to post-reunification literature and argues the need to question current political discourse. Andrea Rinke argues, in "Images of an Extinct State: Heroines in the GDR Cinema," that GDR filmmakers often used female protagonists to present the GDR as progressive, reinforcing the moral superiority of the socialist GDR over the capitalist FRG. Finally, Arnd Bohm discusses one of the most striking of recent images of Germany in "Veil of Allusions: Christo's Wrapping of the Reichstag." Discussing the way in which the project changed from conception to implementation, Bohm argues that Christo's wrapping of the Reichstag came to symbolize opposing images of Germany, both its past and its future.

"Inner-German Views: East German Images of West Germany" presents essays that discuss how the inhabitants of the former GDR have viewed their neighbors in the west. Gary Bruce's "'Our Elections Have Nothing to Do with Democracy': East German Popular Perceptions of West German Democracy in the Early 1950s" argues that East Germans viewed the West German political system very positively in the early years of the GDR. In fact, Bruce suggests, social unrest in the GDR during this period demonstrated a desire on the part of those in the East for German unification under the West German political system. Looking at attitudes forty years later in "East German Adolescents' Attitudes Towards West German Democracy," Hans Oswald argues that the processes of modernization may have been different in the East than in the West and, hence, that Western standards do not necessarily evaluate East German achievements or lifestyle adequately. Moreover, Oswald asserts, since unification arrogant West German views of the East have, in turn, influenced East German views of the West. Oswald concludes that the integration of East German adolescents in the Western system will depend on their own experience of unification and suggests the 1998 election, when they have the right to vote for the first time, will provide further opportunity to analyze their evolving identification with the west. Given the publication date of 2000, it is unfortunate that this essay was not revised to include this analysis, for it makes the essay appear dated. It is also unfortunate that there are no essays that explore West German views about East Germans and their

integration into the West German political and social systems.

Although adolescents in the former GDR may still be making up their minds about the new Germany, immigrants arrive with particular expectations. We read of these in the fourth section "Views of Immigrants to Germany." Julius H. Schoeps explores "The Images of Germany Held by Russian Jews: Trends and Developments in Jewish Migration to the Federal Republic of Germany," and Matthias Konzett investigates "Post-Ideological Tendencies in German-Turkish Writers." Each presents complex images of Germany. According to Schoeps, Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe find greater security in Germany than in their homelands even as some feel guilt for settling there. On the other hand, Germans continue to feel guilt over the Holocaust yet point to the growing Jewish community as evidence of the German democracy at work. The attitudes of both groups need further exploration. As Schoeps points out, the majority of those studied had been in Germany only a short time and had yet to face issues of citizenship and national identity. Unfortunately, although the author notes that these problems would likely arise after 1997, this essay, published in 2000, has not been revised to consider them, and so like Oswald's, Schoeps' conclusions already seem out of date. In looking at how "German" literature is defined, Konzett sheds light on how "Germans" define themselves and the other within German society, a key issue in the absorption of immigrants into German society. Konzett argues that German-Turkish writers face clichéd reader expectations, and works of minority authors remain ghettoized in the German literary canon. Interestingly, in claiming for German national literature the work of Aysel Özakın, born in Turkey but, at the time this essay was written, residing in London and writing her novels in Turkish or English, Konzett make even more complicated the notion of a national literature.

"Views from North America" presents essays that explore images of Germany in North American politics, popular culture, and education. Director of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation's Washington Office, Dieter Dettke suggests, in "Germany's Image in America: A Friendship with Undercurrents," that Americans hold as many negative images of Germany as positive ones. Drawing the important distinction between stereotype and image, Dettke looks at how images of Germany have changed even as stereotypes have remained stable. Surprisingly, he says little about the effects on North American views of Germany of Germany's role in European unification. In "A New German Stereotype: Images of Germans in American Pop Culture," Julie Hagedorn discusses competing stereotypes of Germans in popular American TV shows, arguing that a new, much less threatening German stereotype—the cultured, avant-garde, intellectual—is replacing the old jack-booted, bully. Although her evidence is not entirely convincing (is the avant-garde intellectual obsessed with Brecht really less threatening to a North American audience?), her research suggests ways in which the concerns (and fears) of North Americans shape North American images of Germany. Mark Webber argues that focusing on the context in which images occur is as important as focusing on the images themselves. In "Plus ça change ...? Images of Germany and the Germans in North American Textbooks of German," Webber points out that texts used in North American German language classrooms are, for most, the introduction to Germans and German culture. Unfortunately, he argues, these texts

present an abstract German world of tourist images, student life and picturesque country scenes that tells students little about the diversity and reality of German life. This is a complex essay, for, as Webber points out, a number of considerations (e.g., classroom needs, pedagogical style) affect textbook content. Still, Webber presents little in the way of concrete examples to support his assertions about the shortcomings of these texts, and he fails to explore how these texts are actually used (and, perhaps, supplemented) in classrooms. It would have been interesting if Webber had discussed his role as co-author of a competing text and had included his own text in the analysis, particularly since, he asserts, it tries to meet the concerns he raises in the essay.

In the final section of the book, "European Images of Germany," Lothar Baier considers her own experience as a German encountering the French in "Images of Germany in France and in Québec," a very interesting article that tells us more about a particular German's impressions of the French than vice versa. Similarly, Marketa Goetz-Stankiewicz's essay, "Václav Havel on the Global Stage: A Neighbourly Statesman Moulding His Nation's Image of Germany," tells us much about the factors shaping the Czech images of Germans and Germany and the role of Havel in shaping the way his nation responds to a new relationship with a united Germany. In these articles, we come to realize that images of Germany are not the responsibility of Germany alone, that they reflect a myriad of cultural histories, ideologies, and national myths.

Each essay has its own notes and works cited page, and there is an index to the work as a whole, which is very useful. The editors have declined to include a summary chapter. Thus, this collection presents us with a range of views and leaves us to draw our own conclusions. This is as it should be, for, as these works make clear, there is no one conclusion to draw. But, after reading this collection, we will be far more aware of the complexity of national and cultural identity.

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Karen M. Johnson-Weiner

Germans and the Revolution of 1848-1849.

By Justine Davis Randers-Pehrson. New German-American Studies/Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien, vol. 18. New York: Peter Lang 1999. 585 pages. \$ 69.96.

The 150th anniversary of the 1848-49 revolution in Germany was celebrated by a large number of international, national, and regional exhibitions, conferences, and publications that tried to summarize, re-interpret, or reveal new aspects of the events of the German *Vormärz* and revolution. Although gone down in history as an unsuccessful revolution, scholars agree that the political uprising of those days uprooted long-standing political, social, religious, and economic traditions, and laid the foundation of the liberal and democratic values of today. Prompted by the genealogical research on her great-grandfather Anton Joseph Kilp who had left Bavaria at the time, Justine Davis Randers-Person has also traced back the events of 1848-1849. The result is a well-written overview of the complex political and socio-economic

situation in the German states that triggered the revolution. In twenty-three chapters she lays out the social and political settings of the 1840s, the numerous liberal protest movements that had formed since the 1830s, the events during the revolution, and the counteraction by government forces.

The book begins with a portrait of the problems caused by the difficult transformation from an agricultural to an industrial society, the dislocation of people, the shaken European financial markets, and the closely related growing economic, social, and political tensions that had built up since the turn of the eighteenth century. Using a large number of contemporary first hand accounts Randers-Pehrson draws a lively picture of the social factors that dominated pre-revolutionary society such as the strict division of social classes or the access to education. She continues to chronicle the development of the various protest movements (such as the *Burschenschaften*, the *Turnvereine*, and secret lodges) that sympathized with other liberal reform movements in Europe, and began to voice their objections to the political conditions and established practices. Besides the commonly known resistance movements Randers-Pehrson also includes a brief history of the religious dissent movements of the 1840s—the “*Deutschkatholiken*” and “Protestant Friends of Light”—that, influenced by Hegelian philosophy, challenged the close connection between state and church. Furthermore, the author visits the cornerstones of protest activities in the 1830s (*Hambacher Fest*, *Frankfurter Wachesturm*) and introduces the reader to some of the key-figures of the time (Büchner, Weidig). Another positive aspect of the book is that Randers-Pehrson takes the reader beyond German boundaries to visit the various reform movements in Austria, Poland, Italy, and Switzerland. She manages to find an intriguing balance between detailed personal accounts of the time and the complicated general history of the revolution. She presents the complex events in various German states and the large number of individuals involved in a clear structure. Furthermore, Randers-Pehrson leads the reader through the intricate events of the Frankfurt Parliament, the assembly in the Paulskirche, and the Prussian National Constituent Assembly where she also depicts well-known figures such as von Gagern, Hecker and Struve. The book closes with a description of the post-revolutionary atmosphere that caused thousands of people to leave their homes, including her great-grandfather.

The book intends to give a general overview of the situation before and during the revolution. However, this rather broad and complex topic does not allow Randers-Pehrson to go into much detail. Important people, events, and movements are all pulled into the picture but only touched upon on the surface. Chapter headings such as “Religious Protest and the Ramifications into Politics and the Women’s Movement” illustrate the sweeping and rather general nature of the book. For those who are less familiar with the historical situation in European states in the first half of the nineteenth century the book offers interesting reading, a clear structure, and a good general overview. Historians, however, should be advised that the book offers little new interpretation or insights into the current scholarly debate on the topic. A number of details, however, point to the fact that the book was written for a more popular, historically interested audience: Not all quotations are marked with their sources (e. g., 113 or 156); the study contains relatively few notes; or the use of older secondary

literature (she uses, e.g., Wilhelm Mommsen, *Größe und Versagen des deutschen Bürgertums*, 1949, but not Wolfgang Mommsen, *Die ungewollte Revolution*, 2d ed., 1998). Additionally, the book could have been edited more carefully. In chapter four, e. g., the reader finds note 48 in the text but not in the notes. Unfortunately, the book does not include an index.

However, the text is well written and easy to follow. The book contains a number of nice reprints of contemporary drawings and pictures. For those who are not looking for a detailed study of the 1848-49 revolution, *Germans and the Revolution of 1848-1849* offers enjoyable reading.

Bonn, Germany

Katja Rampelmann

Voyage to North America 1844-45: Prince Carl of Solms's Texas Diary of People, Places, and Events.

Translated by Wolfram M. Von-Maszewski. Introduction by Theodore Gish. Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2000. ix + 244 pages. \$32.50.

"The largest single immigration of Germans to the United States, and certainly the most unusual, occurred in Texas around the middle of the nineteenth century. With a sense of noblesse oblige, the organization formed to direct this German colonization of Texas entitled itself the *Gesellschaft zum Schutz deutscher Einwanderer in Texas* (The Society for the Protection of the German Immigrants in Texas)" (1). On this note Theodore Gish begins his introduction to a remarkable document, an annotated translation by Wolfram M. Von-Maszewski of the original eighty-eight-page diary kept by Carl, Prince of Solms-Braunfels, from the beginning of his journey to the United States in May 1844; through his pioneering efforts to establish a permanent German presence in and near the untamed Texas Hill Country; and culminating in New York shortly before his return to Europe in June 1845.

Indeed, the German colonization of Texas—from the port of Carlshafen (Indianola) to an interior area which would include enduring settlements such as New Braunfels and Fredericksburg—was remarkable for its lasting impact, in a region which, then as now, was best known for a strong Hispanic presence. While the *Adelsverein*, as the *Gesellschaft* otherwise was known, was never able to achieve its most expansive colonization goals for Texas, it did succeed in bringing some 10,000 German immigrants to the state by 1850 and encouraging another 10,000 to come as a result of its ongoing presence.

As Gish points out, the *Adelsverein* colonization of Texas may be regarded as the best documented immigration in the history of the United States: a 45,000-page collection of materials is preserved at Yale University, while other materials are under the care of the Rheinland-Pfalz state archives in Koblenz and the Schönstein Castle in Wissen, Germany, among other locations. In Wissen, Gish located the Solms diary—long misattributed to Count Edmond von Hartzfeldt—and made arrangements for the text to be transcribed for subsequent translation and future publication. For this

German-American scholars will be thankful for years to come; the resultant work shines an invaluable light upon the thoughts and actions of Solms and yields a unique firsthand perspective on the manner in which Germans came to settle in the relative wilds of Texas.

The first section of *Voyage to North America*, and by far the longest, consists of the Solms diary, divided into six chapters. Chapter one extends from the departure of Solms from the family castle along the Rhine River (13 May 1844) to his arrival at port in Boston, and his subsequent river journey of almost three weeks to New Orleans. Of particular interest here is his description of several important German-American centers of the mid-1800s, most notably New York, Baltimore, Cincinnati and Louisville, allowing us a compelling (albeit brief) glance into their German-American cultural and architectural development. Chapter two covers the arrival of Solms at Galveston and his first journey into the interior of Texas. Clearly the author encountered a very different environment than that to which he had become accustomed in Germany: here as in the first chapter, problems with nature ("Saturday, July 6th. A night without comparison, mosquitoes, fleas, lice." [36]), occasional sickness, and incessant heat make evident that outdoor life was often uncomfortable, and the threat of Indian raids a constant concern. The remaining four chapters offer ample evidence of the early friendships and business associations made by Solms in Texas, as well as travels to various parts of the Republic in search of suitable land for settlement.

For the most part, Solms is spartan in his writing: few journal entries are more than five to ten lines long, with some shorter ones inevitably devoid of important revelations ("Saturday, [February] the 8th. Did paper work all day until late in the evening." [118]). Yet even brief diary passages frequently provide people and place names which allow the reader to trace the development of the *Adelsverein* under Solms. Clearly mindful that some of these names are unfamiliar, especially to those without a background in Texas German studies, Von-Maszewski wisely incorporates an extensive array of detailed notes at the end of each chapter, which taken together effectively clarify the significance of many of the early associations made by Solms. In an additional welcome gesture, Von-Maszewski includes reproductions of various pages of the original diary—in old script—and accounting ledgers maintained by the *Adelsverein*, as well as illustrations of several key individuals and places in the life of Solms, most notably Sophie von Salm-Salm, whom he would eventually marry and to whom he frequently wrote throughout the time in which he kept his diary. Last but by no means least, a lengthy appendix includes a shorter diary written by Alexander Bourgeois d'Orvanne, the colonial director of the *Adelsverein* until his dismissal by Solms in August 1844. The text serves as an interesting counterpoint to the observations made by Solms in his own journal, though Gish rightly notes that the reader should take the Bourgeois entries with some measure of skepticism: much of what was written stems from the period around his firing and thus, as a "'managed' version of the events" (9), might be colored somewhat by the personal differences of the moment. Also present in the appendix is a selection of maps detailing the routes of Solms's various Texas travels from July 1844 to June 1845; an illuminating "Memoir on American Affairs" written by Solms shortly after his return to Germany and for presentation to Queen

Victoria in January 1846; and sundry lists of military commanders, vessels of war, and forces and posts in existence at the time when the diary entries were compiled.

Given the importance of the *Adelsverein* to German-American history and the settlement of Texas as a whole, there can be no underestimating the significance of the discovery of the Solms diary, and by extension the relevance of this new publication. For those interested in immigration studies and German-Americana generally, *Voyage to North America* should be welcomed as a remarkable first-person account of a significant arrival to American shores, deserving of a place in both personal and academic libraries. For those with a specific inclination toward German Texan studies and the history of Texas, it ranks as nothing less than a must-have.

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Timothy J. Holian

Radical Passion: Otilie Assing's Reports from America and Letters to Frederick Douglass.

Edited, translated, and introduced by Christoph Lohmann. New York: Peter Lang, 1999. xxxvii + 378 pages. \$32.95.

With this volume of eighty essays and twenty-seven letters by Otilie Assing (1819-1884), Christoph Lohmann, professor emeritus of English and American Studies at Indiana University launches the flagship in the New Directions in German-American Studies Series of the Longfellow Institute of Harvard University under the watchful eyes of Werner Sollors.

Although Lohmann points out early that Maria Diedrich of the University of Münster has written the definitive biography of Assing in *Love Across Color Lines: Otilie Assing & Frederick Douglass*, which came out in the same year as this work, and although that study serves as his primary source for the details of Assing's life, this book nevertheless stands alone. Not only that, it makes you hunger for Diedrich's biography. Using archives in the United States, Poland, and Germany, Lohmann has collected as many essays and letters of Assing's as he could find, and has brilliantly translated them here. If it may be said that an easy read is a damned hard write, then this seamless, eloquent work reveals a lifetime of careful study of the English language by a native German speaker, and would in all probability even please fussy Miss Otilie herself.

But what makes this a remarkable new contribution to German-American studies is the fact that Otilie Assing is a brilliant writer, a fascinating personality, and an insightful observer of American politics, economics, religion, and culture per se. Through her own experience of the failed German revolution of 1848, this Jewess witnessed and wrote about some of the most tumultuous times in American history, besides being correspondent for the *Morganblatt*, and being personally involved with one of the greatest black men of that era. Furthermore, her own experiences with anti-Semitism in Germany uniquely prepared her for the struggle she took up with Frederick Douglass. Although strongly opinionated in favor of the European

intellectual, and generally scathing in her writings about America, Assing is transformed by America, and by virtue of her subject becomes one of the leading feminine essayists of that time. Lohmann's recovery of her hitherto unknown voice necessarily restructures debate within both the field of German-American studies, as well as American history in general.

For example, part of this intriguing new chapter in the narrative of Frederick Douglass is the mutual decision he and Otilie made to keep it a secret, purposely destroying their correspondence. Without spoiling the story for the reader, and it is a great story, suffice it to say that Frederick Douglass becomes a much more complicated figure in American history as a result of this utterly German woman in his life. Lohmann, Diedrich, and one Terry H. Pickett, who made a "fortuitous discovery" of historical primary sources on Assing, therefore deserve credit for actually providing new directions in German-American studies with this first of a brand new series, and Sollors deserves to be pleased with both the trim and the tack of his flagship volume.

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Raymond Lohne

Deutsche Minderheitenliteraturen: Regionalliterarische und interkulturelle Perspektiven der Kritik.

By Alexander Ritter. Munich: Verlag Süddeutsches Kulturwerk, 2001. 427 pages. Euro 24.00.

Alexander Ritter, *Privatdozent* at the University of Hamburg, has been waging his own private struggle against the *Germanistik* establishment for years. The product of this struggle is his new book, *Deutsche Minderheitenliteraturen*, a collection of essays extending from 1979 to 1999, including a new preface. Since the prime mover of Ritter's book is a polemic, we have to ask ourselves whether there is just cause for such a crusade or whether his work merely contains issues of historical interest. Certainly Ritter's campaign is a noble one and it is gripping to read how he presents himself as a sole voice in the wilderness, clamoring to have the purview of German studies extended to include marginalized, neglected, and discredited literary works.

An important aspect of Ritter's argument is his *Ideologiekritik* of the terrain which German studies has mapped out as the appropriate domain of scholarly research. The two principal questions, which are reiterated in different essays in his study, are fundamental for understanding Ritter's contribution: "Wie viele deutsche Literaturen gibt es?" and "Warum verweigert sich die Germanistik den deutschsprachigen Minderheitenliteraturen?" (94). Both questions are, of course, complex and subject to careful, detailed analysis. Ritter argues with respect to the first question that German literature has been traditionally perceived as a binary construct, comprising what he calls "binnendeutsche Literatur," which encompasses the countries of Central Europe where German is the official language and then that literature produced in those areas of the world where German is in some cases a recognized minority language either previously under the aegis of a socialist ideology (Hungary, the Soviet Union, or Romania) or a language that is connected with a minority culture that operates freely

without any overt governmental persecution or discrimination (South Tyrol, Alsace, or Canada). In the latter country, the minority culture is not officially recognized nor is it subsidized by any state or other official organs or agencies and hence is endangered in another sense from the first set of countries mentioned. Here it is important to add, as Ritter trenchantly points out, that the terminology for these minority languages *qua* cultures is subject to dispute and is frequently susceptible to ideological coloring: "Minderheitenliteraturen tragen wechselnde und dabei irritierende Bezeichnungen, selbst bei identischer Sprachzugehörigkeit" (69). Thus, such terms as "auslandsdeutsche," "volksdeutsche," "deutsche," "deutschsprachige Literatur in Rumänien," "rumänische Literatur deutscher Sprache," "deutsch schreibender Autoren" are frequently used interchangeably without reflecting upon their accuracy or cultural valuation. The list is endless, but Ritter finally offers the designation "deutschsprachige Literatur des Auslands" (69, 185) as a term empirically closer to the linguistic-cultural realities and apparently free of ethnocentric biases.

The second question is discussed in a very convincing way and leads us *à la* Foucault to examine the very underpinnings of knowledge as evinced in German studies. That knowledge, as Ritter argues, has essentially a political impetus has generally been accepted at the latest ever since the pioneering work of Paul Lauter and his associates in American Studies and their refashioning of the canon in the *Heath Anthology of American Literature* (1990). There are of course similar mechanisms working within the institutions of German literature, but they are of a longer and more complex nature. What is defined as German literature is intimately connected with the evolution of a German national identity and the development of a German state. As Ritter notes: "Eine solche, eigenartige Parzellierung der literarischen Landschaft deutscher Sprache hat natürlich ihre langfristigen, weit in die Geschichte zurückreichenden Voraussetzungen, damit aber auch ihre philologisch noch kaum reflektierten Tabus und Vorurteile" (46).

The process of canon formation in German literature and its relationship to minority literatures, according to Ritter, can be differentiated according to three historical stages. The first stage, extending from the middle of the eighteenth century to 1848, leads, to simplify Ritter's much richer argument, to the emergence of a way of thinking that would mold the subsequent development of *Germanistik*, especially its relationship to its minority literatures. Such concepts as *Volke*, *Raum*, *Geist*, *deutsch*, and other concepts influenced by Romanticism were easily applied to the predicament of cultural and ethnic minorities outside the principal territory of the burgeoning German Empire. A tendency soon became discernible in which "Deutschtumsideologie und germanistische Wissenschaft in fatale verwandtschaftliche Nähe zueinander geraten konnten" (51).

The second stage encompassing the period immediately after the abortive attempts at liberal democracy in the Paulskirche up until the end of the Great War was characterized by the increasing presence of ideology and nationalist sentiment in the study of minority literatures. During this period in which the German ideal became tantamount to a secular cult, minority literatures "served" what Ritter calls "von Minderheit als kulturellen Vorposten Deutschlands" (52). It was after what was

generally perceived in Germany as the profound humiliation following Versailles that minority cultures began to epitomize the all-pervasive danger hovering over German culture everywhere. It is easy to see, as Ritter argues, that this current of thought facilitated the political and ideological appropriation of German minority cultures.

The third stage, which, in retrospect, appears almost to be a culmination of all the tendencies mentioned and at the same time marks a watershed in the magnification of ethnic and racial conceptualization, transformed and incorporated minority cultures into part of a messianic, to use the National Socialist jargon, *Weltanschauung*. As Ritter carefully notes: "Die fast ausschließlich weltanschaulich geprägte Erforschung der deutschen Minderheiten, auch ihrer Sprache und Literatur, fügt sich über solche Voraussetzung widerspruchlos in die konsequente ideologisierte Wissenschaftsprogramm der Germanistik" (55). Ritter is also, however, careful to point out that while this approach had its obvious limitations and distortions, it also led to an avid interest in minority literatures and cultures—an interest that is for the most part missing in the present.

The starting point, Ritter maintains, for the post-war study of minority literatures is "ein schlechtes Gewissen" (46). Of course, there were differences in approaches between West Germany and East Germany, but the central point remained: a too eager involvement in minority literatures could easily be misinterpreted as stemming from irredentist impulses. Thus, the study of minority literatures became couched in that familiar pattern that has pervaded German thought up to the present "taboo" that most insidious of mechanisms that stifles all creative and iconoclastic thought processes. This was, however, not the only reason for the neglect and marginalization of minority literatures. As Ritter himself writes:

Der Verfasser konnte über Jahre hinweg die Erfahrung machen, dass die deutsche Literatur im Ausland für die journalistische Literaturkritik und die Medien entweder unbekannt war oder als Bagatelle eingeschätzt wurde. Es gebe für sie keine Leser, sie besitze keinen Verkaufswert, ausländische Literatur habe man sowieso auf dem deutschen Markt, sie liefere keinen Beitrag zum deutschen Literaturleben. Weil die Medien vor allem kommerziell urteilen und ihre Informationsbereitschaft danach richten, wuchs ihr Interesse, als die Aussiedler zum innenpolitischen Thema gerieten und damit auch die Nachricht über ihre Kultur sich als verkaufbar erwies. (120)

Just as Ritter explains the underpinnings of the formation of literary canonization in Germany, he also empathically describes the dilemma of minority writers in Alsace or South Tyrol or Hungary. Minority writers writing in German have a "Furcht vor der Enge," (115) worrying that their work will be regarded by the principal literary institutions as provincial or even be relegated to a local color school. On the other hand, if they attempt to adopt many of the prevailing cosmopolitan literary styles and conventions, they run the risk of losing their connection to their own culture, which of course means losing their cultural identity. Even more disturbing is Ritter's notion of the "Doppelisolierung," which describes the predicament of minority writers as

being both estranged from their domestic readership and at the same time unable to establish a connection to a readership outside their fragile literary audience (120). There is of course a creative element to this tension, which Ritter assigns various terms: "Oszillieren," "Zwitterstellung," "Doppelleben" (125, 192), all of which suggest that the minority writer has been given an opportunity, unavailable to other writers, of reaping creative profit from this position of ambivalence and ambiguity.

In the second section of his book, Ritter examines the history and development of minority literatures. Of the twenty examples of minority literatures in German he mentions, Ritter deals more carefully with only three. His studies of Volga-German, i.e., Soviet-German literature, the German literature in Alsace, and Romanian-German literature—all reveal very different literary activity as well as challenges for German establishment criticism. His discussion of the literature of the Alsace region is especially illuminating. After a brief survey of fate of the Alsace amid the historical pendulum of power politics between France and Germany, he finds two crucial points that characterize this literature. The first point concerns the role of the critic and may be extrapolated to include all minority literatures: "Elsässische Literatur kann nicht ohne Kenntnis der lingualen Bedingungen verstanden werden, diese wiederum nicht ohne die politisch wechselhafte Geschichte der Region" (193). Secondly, the possibilities for minority literature to develop a unique perspective are very real and should be incorporated into the vision of establishment criticism: "Das literarische Leben der letzten Nachkriegszeit und besonders der Gegenwart knüpft in seinen Grundzügen an die europäisch-kosmopolitische Perspektive an" (193-94). A further significant insight is gleaned in Ritter's discussion of Romanian-German literature—the fact that within a given region, there are different historical developments and hence different varieties of literature: "Die politisch bedingte künstlerische und menschliche Not sucht literarische Lösungen durch ihre symbolische und metaphorische Sublimierung in der geistigen und geistlichen Tradition slawischer, vor allem jüdischer Überlieferung in Bibel und Chassidismus: Czernowitz ist Prag vergleichbar" (210).

The final section of Ritter's study examines further aspects of German minority literatures. Once again, his purview is very broad. In addition to discussing the situation of Russian-German literature after *Glasnost*, Ritter analyzes the history of the discourses surrounding German minority literatures by discussing the work of two influential scholars who established their reputations during the Third Reich—Hugo Grothe and Heinz Kindermann. The final two chapters conclude with a gloomy prognosis for the literary cultures of German minorities, focusing primarily on Russia and Romania in the post-Cold War era and South Tyrol amid the new phase of European integration.

In conclusion, *Deutsche Minderheitenliteraturen* ultimately proves to be a passionate plea for renewed intellectual involvement with a lost or moribund literary landscape. In this sense it is an important and incisive documentation not only of the tragedy of minority cultures in their struggles for survival, but also an exposé of the neglect and myopia of the German critical establishment. We should add that Ritter's impressive study is a very German book. The foreign *Germanist* encountering this work will be confronted with an array of lacunae. Not only are the arguments frequently presented

as a series of authoritative theses, but the language also goes beyond what we normally refer to as *Bildungssprache* and in many cases threatens to disintegrate into intellectual jargon. One example will suffice: "Historisches Bewusstsein ist zeitgebundene 'Determinante' der 'Korrelation von Geschichtsschreibung und kollektiver Identitäts-Vergegenwärtigung.' Darum führt die Doppelstrategie von 'vergangenheitsbezogener Rekonstruktion und gegenwartsbezogener Systematisierung' zu Fragen nach der ubiquitären Funktion für Identitätsvergegenwärtigung, zeitabhängigen Autorposition und Epochenmarkierung hinsichtlich der zu beschreibenden Gleichzeitigkeit des Ungleichzeitigen und seiner Vergleichbarkeit in Zeiträumen" (155). Despite these reservations, Ritter's study is tantamount to a *curriculum vitae* of an active and fruitful intellectual life, which certainly should become one of the staples of every *Germanist* intent on expanding the ken of German studies.

University of Turku

Jerry Schubalter

Brewed in Detroit: Breweries and Beers Since 1830.

By Peter H. Blum. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1999. 355 pages. \$34.95.

When asked to list the most important centers of German-American brewing activity, most observers respond with Milwaukee and St. Louis, despite a dearth of scholarship on all but a handful of individual firms there. Still, such an answer is reasonable, for these cities housed the largest and most successful brewery operations of both the pre- and post-Prohibition eras. In contrast, relatively few observers associate the concept of German brewing with Detroit, despite the fact that the city was home to one of the most successful brewers of the last century (Stroh) and a host of other German-American firms (Goebel and Pfeiffer, most prominently) which survived for years after the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. With *Brewed in Detroit*, Peter Blum takes a large step toward placing the contributions of Detroit brewers—German-American and otherwise—into their proper historical light.

There is no question about the author's qualifications for taking on this project. Blum worked for Stroh for nineteen years in the realm of brewing development; after his formal retirement the company appointed him brewery archivist, in charge of the preservation of historical documents from the Detroit area generally and the Stroh company (and family) specifically. Even a cursory examination of the book shows that Blum makes excellent use of this resource: rare, often previously unseen images from the Stroh collection highlight the men and machines which led the company to become one of the top ten beer producers in the nation by the 1970s.

Brewed in Detroit is divided into three parts. The first, "Background," briefly discusses the historical development of beer as a social beverage; the brewing process from the malting of barley to packaging of the finished product; and the role of the brewmaster in the workplace. Included here is an October 1897 photograph of a German-language diploma from the United States Brewmasters Federation (*Der Vereinigte Staaten Braumeister Bund*), as well as a group picture of Detroit-area master

brewers circa 1950, clearly dominated by the German element: even at this relatively late date, fifteen of the sixteen individuals identified possess German surnames. Also included in this section is a condensed history of brewing in and around Detroit, from its origins in the 1830s to the decline and fall of the local industry roughly 150 years later. The third part of the text, "Breweries in Surrounding Cities," offers brief histories of individual malt beverage manufacturers—mostly during the pre-Prohibition years—in locations such as Ann Arbor, Mount Clemens, Pontiac, and even across the border in Windsor, Ontario. In each case Blum offers ample evidence that German beermakers also slaked the thirst of those who lived beyond the reach of early Detroit breweries.

Much more substantive is the second part of the book, "Detroit Breweries," which provides detailed information on the various brewers known to exist during that time. In keeping with Blum's background, the history of Stroh is told over more than thirty pages, including the founding of the company by Bernhard Stroh in 1850 and its leadership in later years by other members of the Stroh family. Supplementing the discussion of Bernhard Stroh is an overview of his life in Kirn, along the Nahe River, before emigration to America and a decision to shorten his name from the original (Strohschneider). Of particular interest is chapter five ("Ten Small German Lager Brewers"), which stresses the nature of a German-American small brewery operation in the city during the mid- to late-nineteenth centuries and also the importance of lager brewing—a German-bred process that revolutionized American beer production beginning in the 1840s—in opening up opportunities to new arrivals from German-speaking Europe. Chapter six ("Four Polish Brewers") augments this discussion, with an overview of several key Detroit brewers with an eastern German background and their efforts to survive both increasing competition from rival Detroit firms and the effects of external factors, such as prohibitionist tendencies and the invasion of local markets by financially secure national breweries.

Brewed in Detroit also is noteworthy for several additional features which augment the body of the work. In the scope of four appendices, Blum includes a directory of all known breweries in and around the city and the years during which they were known to operate; a list of beer brands manufactured in Detroit both pre- and post-Prohibition, and by which firms; and sales volumes of city breweries for the year 1870 and from 1934 to 1999—the latter a particularly useful collection of data, showing the relative size of the post-Prohibition brewers and the rapidity of their decline before closure. In addition to his extensive use of Stroh archival materials (which include artifacts from other Detroit brewers of the period, indicating that local breweries to some extent shared resources, but also that Stroh was particularly adept at gathering and maintaining information), Blum incorporates numerous rare photographs from private collections and historical libraries. While the vast majority of these images are reproduced in black-and-white, sixteen full-color pages immediately precede part one of the book and provide attractive reproductions of vintage bottle labels, serving trays, and other highly sought-after breweriana. Most enlightening in this regard are full-color reproductions of Stroh brewery lithographs from a century ago: in several cases children are shown in conjunction with brewery products. In one

instance a young boy is pouring himself a large bottle of Stroh's Brown Stout, a long-forgotten brew from the now-defunct company. Clearly, much has changed in how beer is manufactured and, certainly, marketed to an eager audience!

These and other features make *Brewed in Detroit* a worthwhile acquisition for those interested in German-American history and culture, especially in their study as concerns Detroit and surroundings. Blum's work ably demonstrates the importance of beer and brewing to German-American economic, social, and even political progress over the last two centuries. In light of this and other recent scholarship on Midwestern brewing heritage (Louisville, Cleveland, Kansas City, Chicago, and Cincinnati), a similarly comprehensive treatment of the aforementioned Milwaukee and St. Louis (also Indianapolis and Columbus, for that matter) would be very welcome.

Missouri Western State College

Timothy J. Holian

Narratives of America and the Frontier in Nineteenth-Century German Literature.

By Jerry Schuchalter. *North American Studies in Nineteenth-Century German Literature*, vol. 25. New York: Peter Lang, 2000. 302 pages. \$56.95.

Although the German *Amerikaroman* enjoyed great commercial, if not critical, success in the nineteenth century, the genre has since faded into obscurity, despite ongoing German interest in American culture. With this collection of essays, Schuchalter seeks to stimulate the interest of scholars who have long since dismissed the genre as *Trivialliteratur*. The introductory essay establishes three principal narrative types: the pastoral narrative of initiation, the narrative of *Geld* and *Geist*, and the narrative of mysteries. A fourth section examines "dissonant narratives," works which cannot be easily categorized. Thus Schuchalter positions the *Amerikaroman* as a complex genre, counter to the traditional view of these novels as formula literature.

The seven essays that follow serve to illuminate the ideas put forth in the extensive introduction. As one might expect from a scholarly study of the *Amerikaroman*, Schuchalter devotes a great deal of space to Charles Sealsfield, one of the few practitioners of the genre to receive significant critical attention. Four of the seven chapters deal principally or substantially with Sealsfield, whose novels straddle the narrative types identified by Schuchalter in the introduction. In "Charles Sealsfield's Fable of the Republic," Schuchalter describes the author's view of the young republic as a virtuous alternative to European corruption. As the eastern United States became more Europeanized, Sealsfield identified the American frontier as fertile ground for maintaining his utopian vision of republican values. Thus the topic of the first chapter blends neatly with that of the second: "Charles Sealsfield and the Frontier Thesis" examines how the American frontier dissolves all vestiges of privilege and class distinction, liberating the European from "the powerlessness resulting from being the monarch's subject and allows him to discover the freedom which only mature citizens of a republic can enjoy" (113-14). According to Schuchalter, this process of

conversion from European to American is central to Sealsfield's fiction. Because of the changes implicit in this initiation experience, Schuchalter suggests that the America novels of Sealsfield and his successors should be regarded as a type of *Bildungsroman*.

Not everything is positive in the *Amerikaroman*, however, as revealed in the chapter "*Geld and Geist* in the Writings of Gottfried Duden, Nikolaus Lenau, and Charles Sealsfield." Schuchalter's second narrative type encompasses those novels which contrast the artistic, cultured German with the practical, money-obsessed American. Lenau's letters construct this paradigm, which finds literary voice in works by Sealsfield, Reinhold Solger, Ferdinand Kürnberger, and Otto Rupp, among others. In later novels, Sealsfield's original utopian vision of the virtuous republic has been tempered by the view that America had succumbed to a decadence and materialism that even the promises of the frontier cannot overcome. Although Duden's writings offer a German-American construct that is the reverse of Lenau, it was Lenau's paradigm that dominated the *Amerikaroman* in the nineteenth century, and that arguably continues to resonate among German writers today.

The seven principal essays in this volume have appeared previously in journals, but where exactly is unclear: in spite of an extensive bibliography of primary and secondary works, only the appearance of "Charles Sealsfield's Fable of the Republic" in the *Yearbook of German American Studies* (vol. 24) is documented. Two other essays, "*Geld and Geist*" and "Frontier Thesis," appeared respectively in volumes 27 and 30 of the *SGAS Yearbook*. The remaining essays presumably were published in *Nordisk Judaistik* and in publications of the University of Vaasa, which Schuchalter acknowledges in the preface. Their inclusion here certainly makes them more accessible to readers in North America.

The inherent weakness in a collection of essays is that it generally remains just that: a collection of essays rather than an integrated narrative. Although presented in book form and introduced with an extended interpretive essay, the various chapters remain somewhat detached from each other. Yet key ideas surface repeatedly, suggesting that presentation might have been improved by reconstructing the texts thematically to correspond to the three narrative types identified in the introduction. Nevertheless, the information presented here is first-rate. Schuchalter argues effectively that the *Amerikaroman* is more complex than traditional criticism has allowed. His method of categorization into narrative types provides a convenient framework for future criticism; the fourth category of "dissonant narratives" in particular offers interesting points of departure for further study.

Washington and Jefferson College

J. Gregory Redding

Annual Bibliography of German-Americana: Articles, Books, Selected Media, and Dissertations

Dolores J. Hoyt and Giles R. Hoyt in collaboration with the Bibliographic Committee of the Society for German-American Studies.

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The Bibliographic Committee wishes to thank the IUPUI University Library for its generous cooperation. The Bibliography includes references to books, articles, dissertations and selected media relating to the experience of German-speaking people in North America and their descendants.

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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.

Society for German-American Studies

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 2002

Chair: William Keel, University of Kansas
Helmut J. Schmeller, Fort Hays State University
Jerry Glenn, University of Cincinnati

Society for German-American Studies

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 2002

Chair: La Vern Rippley, St. Olaf College
Gerhard Weiss, University of Minnesota-Twin Cities
Adolf Schroeder, University of Missouri



