YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Volume 37

2002

The Society for

German-American Studies

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

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

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THE SOCIETY FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

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General Information

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

The *Yearbook* is published annually. The editor welcomes contributions in English, preferably, or German on all aspects of German-Americana from members of the Society. The manuscript should be prepared so that it can be read anonymously by the members of the Editorial Board, with the author's name appearing on a separate sheet only. For submission, four copies of the manuscript prepared in accordance with the University of Chicago Press *Manual of Style* are requested. All manuscripts and correspondence concerning the *Yearbook* should be addressed to the Editor, Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, 1445 Jayhawk Blvd., University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045-7950. Inquiries regarding book reviews for the *Yearbook* should be addressed to Timothy J. Holian, Missouri Western State College, St. Joseph, MO 64507. The *Newsletter* appears four times a year. Items for the *Newsletter* should be submitted to La Vern J. Rippley, Saint Olaf College, Northfield, MN 55057.

The SGAS annual membership dues, which include subscription to the *Yearbook* and the *Newsletter*, are $25.00 for regular members. Membership applications to the Society for German-American Studies should be made to the Treasurer of the Society, William Roba, Scott Community College, 500 Belmont Road, Bettendorf, IA 52722. The Society for German-American Studies is open to membership from individuals, societies, libraries, and organizations.

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From the Editor

The Society for German-American Studies, founded under the leadership of Robert Ward in 1968, celebrates its thirty-fifth year of existence in 2003. Our marking of that anniversary will continue throughout the year. One aspect of that celebration was the publication this spring of the first Supplemental Issue of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies*.. Our colleague, Christoph Schweitzer, professor emeritus of German at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, desired to publish his edition and translation of the 1783 pamphlet *Wahrheit und Guter Rath an die Einwohner Deutschlands, besonders in Hessen* oringinally published anonymously in Philadelphia. With generous support from the University of North Carolina Research Administration, the Executive Committee of the Society agreed to publish and distribute this volume to our membership. We have already received much favorable reaction to this new publication.

We continued the celebration with our annual Symposium held at Loyola College in Baltimore in April 2003. The scholarly presentations, the historical tours and social events, as well as our attendance at the German-language worship service at historic Zion Lutheran Church in Baltimore—all organized by Randall Donaldson—were certainly fitting tributes to the mission of SGAS. On the occasion of the Symposium, the Society was honored with a proclamation signed by Robert Ehrlich, governor of the state of Maryland, commemorating the Society's thirty-fifth anniversary. The proclamation was presented to SGAS President Don Heinrich Tolzmann by the Honorable Judge Gerard Wittstadt, president of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland. A copy of that proclamation follows on page ix.

The 2003 volume of the Yearbook will also be a special edition. As in 1983 for the tricenntenial of the founding of Germantown, Pennsylvania, we will solicit contributions from distinguished scholars in our field. We hope that this edition of the Yearbook will be a suitable tribute to thirty-five years of scholarship in German-American history, culture, language and literature.

The current issue includes articles spanning several centuries from the Hessians in the British Army during the American Revolution to a twentieth-century German-Canadian poet. Featured in this issue are two essays. The first by Guy Stern is entitled "Carl Schurz in Michigan," a publication version of the talk he presented in response to his being honored with the SGAS Outstanding Achievement Award at the 2002

Symposium in the Amana Colonies in Iowa. The second essay is the 2002 Symposium plenary presentation on the history of the Amana Colonies by historian Peter Hoehnle. Other contributions in this volume focus on the experience of women immigrants in the nineteenth-century Midwest, a comparison of town organization in Germany and Colonial New England, Schützenvereine in Illinois, Milwaukee Socialist Heinrich Bartel, and German emigration to North America following the Napoleonic Wars.

We would like to extend a special welcome and word of thanks to Elfe Vallaster-Dona, of Wright State University in Dayton, Ohio, who assumes responsibility for the review of recent publications in German-American literature with this volume. In her inaugural essay, she has incorporated cover illustrations of the five books being reviewed, adding a new dimension to that section of the Yearbook. Our former literary review editor, Jerry Glenn, assisted in making the transition as smooth as possible. Again, we thank Jerry Glenn for his many contributions to the success of the Yearbook.

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 Dolores and Giles Hoyt, and last, but most certainly not least, the members of the SGAS Editorial Board, whose evaluations and suggestions maintain the high standards of this publication.

Max Kade Center for German-American Studies
at the University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas
May 2003

The State of Maryland

Proclamation

From the Governor of the State of Maryland

THE SOCIETY OF GERMAN AMERICAN STUDIES DAY

APRIL 24, 2003

WHEREAS, The Society for German American Studies (S.G.A.S), an international German American historical association was established in1968 and its membership now consists of many of the outstanding German American historians of both the United States of American and of Germany; and

WHEREAS, The Society encourages the study of, and promotes research in the history, literature and creative arts of the German elements in North America. It publishes a journal, entitled The Yearbook. This publication contains articles on German America history, literature and culture; and

WHEREAS, The Society will hold its 27th Annual Symposium in Baltimore beginning on April 24, 2003 and continuing through April 27, 2003. More than 400 German American historians, many from leading universities here in America and in Germany will be in attendance; and

WHEREAS, Maryland is proud to join in celebrating a special day to honor and support the outstanding accomplishments of The Society of German America Studies.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, ROBERT L. EHRLICH, JR., GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF MARYLAND, do hereby proclaim APRIL 24, 2003 as THE SOCIETY OF GERMAN AMERICAN STUDIES DAY in Maryland, and do commend this observance to all of our citizens.

Given Under My Hand and the Great Seal of the State of Maryland, this 24th day of April Two Thousand and three

Robert L. Ehrlich
Governor

R. Karl Aumann
Secretary of State

Guy Stern

Carl Schurz in Michigan

Carl Schurz, as exemplary representative of German-American immigrants, has evoked an unending outpouring of political, social, literary, and multicultural scholarship. As recently as 1996, Hans L. Trefousse, the well-known investigator of German-American studies and the author of a standard biography on Schurz, reentered the field with a cross-cultural article, "Carl Schurz and the Politics of Identity."[1] Equally indicative, scholars from a variety of fields mention him in their investigations. An early bibliography of American journalism, *Some Great American Newspaper Editors* devotes a chapter to him,[2] Allan Nevin's monograph on the *Evening Post* accords him no less space.[3] The environmentalist Jeanne Riha, who recently warned us about the follies of despoiling the environment by chronicling the way in which land was exploited directly after the Civil War, identifies Carl Schurz as one of the few heroes of a villainous age:

> However, when Carl Schurz, one of the era's few honest men, became head of the Department of the Interior in 1877, he introduced stiffer protection for timber and repealed or modified some land disposal laws. Schurz condemned miners, hunters, prospectors, settlers, railroaders, lumbermen, and thieves for the destruction of the resources, but he accused the prevalent public opinion that was unmindful of the reckoning to come as well.[4]

The article clearly heroizes Schurz. But Carl Schurz had risen, in fact meteorically, to heroic stature even before he came to the United States. As Hans Trefousse puts it in his masterly summary:

> Schurz's career was truly astounding. Born in Liblar near Cologne in 1829, the son of a local school teacher and storekeeper, he attended the Marcellen-Gymnasium in Cologne and enrolled at the University of Bonn, where he fell under the influence of Gottfried Kinkel, a high spirited professor of art history, who became a leader of the most extreme republican and democratic faction during the revolution of 1848. Enthusiastically taking part in this upheaval, Schurz assisted his professor, joined the revolutionary army in Baden and the Palatinate, and was almost taken prisoner at Rastatt, besieged

by the Prussians who might have dealt severely with him had he not managed to escape through a sewer before the surrender of the fortress and reach the French side of the Rhine.

The professor was less fortunate. Captured by the Prussians, he was condemned to life imprisonment, and Schurz determined to free him. He returned to Germany incognito, bribed a guard at the prison in Spandau, near Berlin, where he had Kinkel lowered from the roof by means of a rope, and then took him by relays to the Baltic coast of Mecklenburg. From there, the two made their escape to Scotland, so that Schurz became famous at the age of twenty-one, the liberals recognizing him as one of the heroes of the failed revolution.[5]

His life in the United States was almost as heroic. After his arrival, he spent some years getting assimilated to America; in later years it was said of him that "he was the only statesman of his generation who could make an eloquent speech either in English or German without revealing which was his native tongue."[6] His most amazing demonstration of linguistic skill, however, took place on the floor of the Senate, when he translated a technical article impromptu into four separate languages.[7] He became a fervent advocate of bilingualism. In a speech, delivered in New York in 1897, he was greeted with standing applause when he said:

> Es gibt keine Sprache der Welt, deren Eigentümlichkeiten schwerer in einer anderen Sprache wiederzugeben sind, wie die deutsche; und keine, in die andere Sprachen mit all ihren Redeweisen und Versmassen mit solcher Treue übertragen werden können und so reichlich übertragen worden sind. . . . Und so sollen wir uns als Amerikaner die englische Landessprache aneignen und dabei die deutsche Muttersprache nicht verlieren.[8]

Schurz's first permanent home was located in Watertown, Wisconsin, where Margarethe Meyer, Schurz's wife since 1852, opened the first American kindergarten.[9] Schurz, without even having his naturalization papers in hand, ran unsuccessfully for lieutenant governor; already during the campaign he distinguished himself as an ardent antislavery advocate.[10] After his defeat, he started and edited two German-language newspapers, the Watertown *Anzeiger,* and the *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, respectively.[11]

Today, it may surprise us to learn that a small community such as Watertown, Wisconsin, could support a German-language newspaper. But we have it on good authority_namely, the *Familien-Blätter*, a little-known but well-edited German newspaper published in Detroit by the redoubtable newspaperman August Marxhausen_that in the middle of the nineteenth century a cornucopia of German-American newspapers were published in the United States: "In 23 Staaten und dem District Columbia gibt es zusammen 166 deutsche Zeitungen, einschließlich 46 tägliche. Dazu kommen 5 wöchentliche in Kanada. . . . Es gibt hiernach 98 Städte in den Vereinigten Staaten und in Kanada, in welchen deutsche Zeitungen erscheinen."[12]

In short, Schurz's attempt was anything but quixotic. For a good part of his life, he combined journalism with politics. He led the Wisconsin delegation to the Republican Presidential Convention of 1860 in Chicago, switched from supporting Senator William Seward to Lincoln on the third ballot, and served as a member of the Notification Committee that carried the news of Lincoln's nomination to the candidate.[13] The two remained lifelong friends, especially after Schurz's effective campaigning for Lincoln. Shortly after his inauguration, the President posted him as ambassador to Spain. At the beginning of the Civil War, Schurz rushed back to the United States to join the Union army; he served with honor at Chancellorsville and other battles, rose to the rank of Major General, drew commendations from Generals Sherman and Hancock, and undeserved censure from Generals Howard and Hooker.[14]

After the war, Schurz filled journalistic posts in New York, Washington, Detroit, and St. Louis. But during his stay in Washington, he also accepted an assignment from President Andrew Johnson to study and report on Reconstruction in the former Confederate States. His classic paper, advocating an immediate right-to-vote for former slaves, was anathema to Andrew "Tennessee" Johnson. The report was quickly squelched by Johnson, but it was widely quoted in legislatures and by the public. [15]

During his time in Missouri, he ran for the United States Senate. He won, and thus became the first German-born citizen to sit in the Upper House. The policies that he would later champion as Secretary of the Interior under President Hayes_a more enlightened policy towards Native Americans, suffrage for Black Americans, civil service reforms, and setting aside parklands for the benefit of all citizens he already advocated when he served in the Senate. Their controversial nature, coupled with his "hard-money" stand, and the fact that the Democrats won the state legislature that elected the senators from Missouri, precluded his reelection to the Senate.[16]

While Schurz was fighting for these issues in the U.S. Senate, during the first term of President Ulysses S. Grant, one of Detroit's German-language newspapers, the aforementioned and as yet largely unexplored *Familien-Blätter*, fought right alongside him. When, in April 1868, the citizens of Michigan rejected the new state constitution by approximately fifteen to twenty thousand votes, largely because it carried a provision granting immediate voting rights to Negroes (*Negerstimmrecht*), Marxhausen, the publisher, was scathing in his editorial denunciation. Having heard and read that the opponents of black suffrage wanted first to introduce a literacy test for the freed slaves, he countered that he had observed illiterates among white voters: "Wir wollen hier nicht über die Frage disputieren, ob die Aufstellung einer solchen Forderung überhaupt zulässig ist oder nicht, auch wollen wir nicht die Aufrichtigkeit Derjenigen, welche sie stellten, in Zweifel ziehen; aber die Gerechtigkeit würde verlangen, daß dieselbe Qualifikation allen Bürgern auferlegt wird." Elsewhere, he demands "equal rights for all citizens," an attitude reified by his positive coverage of Jewish events in Detroit—for example of a successful masked ball during the Festival of Purim.[17]

Carl Schurz kept fighting for Civil Service Reform as President of the National Civil Service Reform League, and as editor of *Harper's Weekly* even after his tenure in President Hayes's cabinet. He took on Tammany Hall in an election for the mayoralty

of New York, when he wrote of one of the political bosses: "No doubt he has extraordinary abilities in his own way. There never was a successful robber chief who did not have extraordinary abilities of his trade."[18]

Schurz made his last public appearance in 1905 when he delivered an address at the University of Wisconsin, the public university of the state in which he had started his illustrious American career. The university bestowed an honorary doctorate on him. Until his death in 1906, he crafted position papers, continued working on his reminiscences, and wrote letters to prominent friends and allies in the Republican Party. In two of his last letters, one of which was addressed to President Theodore Roosevelt, he argued for disarmament and deplored the genocidal cruelty against the Armenians.[19]

This brief summary of an extraordinary life indicates, in a general way, what is known about the life and times of Carl Schurz. Schurz's own writings, supplemented by assiduous scholarly work, provide the basic source material for this sketch. But his visits and activities in Michigan have not been equally well explored. There is, to be sure, documentation of the fact that Schurz visited Michigan at least five years before becoming a resident of the state; in fact, the visit elicited a rather woeful comment from the statesman. Writing to his wife from Hillsdale, Michigan, on 4 February 1861, he complains:

> This morning I left Oberlin and reached here between three and four o'clock. . . . spent Sunday in the family of a pious doctor where they cook no midday meal on the Sabbath. Think what a situation that placed me in! At breakfast no meat, at midday none, and at evening none. I will gladly be pious, but I am not wild about traveling on an empty stomach.[20]

But neither Schurz nor Schurz-scholars have much to say about Schurz's year and a half in Michigan or about his subsequent visits. The reasons are not hard to adduce; Schurz came to Detroit with high hopes, hopes which were subsequently overshadowed by tragedy. Two months before departing from Washington, on 28 January 1866, he voiced his expectations to his wife:

> Detroit is a fine city of some seventy-five thousand inhabitants and one of the cheapest places to live which the country affords. The undertaking, as stated [i.e., the founding of the *Detroit Post*], is ready; press, types, a business—site all have been bought and paid for and sufficient cash capital is on hand to carry on the business. The undertaking stands on the solidest basis, and from the way it is organized I do not doubt it will be successful.[21]

But his arrival in Michigan began with a not-so-minor tragedy, and his stay ended with a major one. In a German letter from Detroit of 10 June 1866, subsequently translated, and sent to his German friend Heinrich Meyer, he reports:

We had our household goods sent from the East by rail. Two large boxes had just arrived at the station when a fire broke out and destroyed not only the buildings but all the goods there. Among these were our boxes. They contained our most valued possessions and their loss is irreparable. You may know how M.[argarethe—i.e., Mrs. Schurz] valued the letters which she had received from me. A box containing all these was destroyed. They contained not only a record of all the closest mutual relations of our lives, but, in part, a very detailed sketchy diary account of all the interesting events I have been connected with during the past fourteen years. M[argarethe] had collected and arranged them with the greatest care, even to the scraps of paper on which I had written to her during the war, on the battlefield or on the march. The letters were of quite indescribable value to us. They would have been the most splendid legacy to our children. When they were lost, we felt as though a part of our lives had been taken from us, and as though we could see our past only dimly, through a veil. You can imagine how severe the blow was to us, and even now, when we speak of it, we can hardly repress our tears. I do not believe that we shall ever become reconciled to this loss.
And there were other heavy losses. First among these are all my manuscripts, collected materials and notes, extracts etc. etc.; then a lot of letters from prominent persons, for example from Lincoln, then all our pictures, large photographs, of which we had a very pretty collection_fortunately the albums with the portraits were in the trunks; then all our music, and the most valuable of my war relics, my old, shot-riddled Division flag, my sword; then my entire military library and the greater part of my books on political economy and history . . . and my entire, very valuable, collection of military and geographic maps.[22]

The last visit to Detroit was even more tragic. As Hans Trefousse describes it:

Just before completing arrangements in St. Louis, however, he suffered a major blow. In the spring of 1867, while he was away on a campaign trip in Connecticut, he received news that his little daughter Emmy, then three years old, was seriously ill. Hurrying back to Detroit, he found her dying. For the grief-stricken parents, the loss was staggering, and Margarethe's health took a serious turn for the worse.[23]

With these calamities overshadowing his Detroit sojourn, it is not surprising that the years 1866-67 are the least detailed annals in Schurz's reminiscences. These gaps, however, can be filled by hitherto neglected archival material: the morgue of the Detroit *Wochenpost*, now edited by Ingrid Stein; four letters by Carl Schurz preserved at the Bentley Historical Library of the University of Michigan; and the previously largely ignored papers of Udo Brachvogel, located at the New York Public Library, which contain an unpublished fragment by Brachvogel entitled "Carl Schurz."[24]

We may begin by asking: What brought Carl Schurz to Detroit in the first place? While the reasons offered by different accounts vary, a fact not generally pointed out in the Schurz literature, they are ultimately reconcilable. An article-length history of Detroit newspapers ably summarizes Schurz's send-off to Detroit:

> Senator Chandler was inclined toward the radical policies advocated by Senator Thad Stevens and other vengeful politicians but the *Advertiser and Tribune* refused to adopt such rigorous policies and got completely out of control. Thereupon Senator Chandler and a few influential associates decided to put the heretofore party organ out of business by promoting a new newspaper in Detroit which would be their party organ. To that end he arranged for Gen. Carl Schurz to come to Detroit with a new group of able newspapermen chosen in the east and on March 27, 1866, the *Detroit Daily Post* was founded. Carl Schurz was the intellectual equal of his employers. . . .
> [But] because of . . . [his] experience [during his inspection trip to the Southern states] and his natural honesty of opinion, he soon tired of his Detroit engagement and at the end of a year he resigned from the *Post* and went to St. Louis to edit a German newspaper, the *Westliche Post.* [When Schurz came to Detroit he found that] the *Detroit Post* was established in a building belonging to Senator Chandler at the northeast corner of Larned and Shelby.[25]

This account is confirmed by biographies of Senator Chandler and by Schurz himself in his memoirs: "I remained at the head of the *Tribune* office at the national capital, according to my promise to Mr. Greeley, to the end of the winter season [of 1866] and then accepted the chief-editorship of the *Detroit Post*, a new journal established in Detroit, Michigan, which was offered to me . . . I might almost say, urged upon me . . . by Senator Zachariah Chandler."[26]

But the chroniclers of the German-language press tell it differently. They speak of the entrepreneurial spirit of two newspapermen, Conrad and August Marxhausen, immigrants from Kassel, who founded the *Michigan Journal,* one of the first German-language newspaper in Detroit, and then recruited Carl Schurz for their next venture:

> Er [Marxhausen] sah, daß die vielen neu ankommenden deutschen Immigranten einen fast unstillbaren Nachrichtenhunger hatten, und brachte zusätzlich 1866 eine Wochenzeitung, "Die Familien-Blätter," heraus. Ehrgeizig wie Marxhausen war, nutzte er den guten Draht zu seinen republikanischen Freunden, um das Konkurrenzblatt an die Wand zu spielen. Mit dem berühmten Redakteur Carl Schurz holte sich Marxhausen einen wichtigen und einflußreichen Mann ins Haus. Den hielt es aber nur solange in Detroit, bis sich das neue Blatt gefestigt hatte.[27]

The solution to the puzzle is easy. Schurz, debt-ridden as he was, undertook editorial assignments for both newspapers. Since the *Detroit Post* did not have a Sunday edition, he could squeeze in work for the weekly *Familien-Blätter*, located on nearby East Jefferson Avenue. This double duty explains the frenetic activities of Schurz in Detroit. As Hans Trefousse was able to ascertain:

> In any case, regular daily routines never suited Schurz, who was now tied to his desk from morning to night. Friends who visited him found him on his swivel chair in the office, puffing at his cigar—he loved to smoke. Although he did not complain, he told them he could not say he had too little work. Every morning he collected material for articles that he assembled in the afternoon. Then at night, when he thought he was finished, the foreman and the printers would grumble that half a column was still missing. Even his maid protested about his long hours.[28]

It is fair to add that a penchant for hard work accompanied Schurz all his life. A charming, hitherto unpublished description of him by Udo Brachvogel, who worked under Schurz in the editorial offices of the St. Louis *Westliche Post,* confirms this fact. Brachvogel, who would himself become a well known German-American author, translator, and journalist—he appears prominently in standard reference works on German literature,[29]—was a close observer of his editor and friend Schurz. He observed: "Leben und Arbeit sind immer eines gewesen . . . ."[30]

Schurz consistently championed his convictions in the *Post.* In an editorial of Friday, 11 May 1866 (p. 4, col. 5), he argued: "Nothing is more profitable than justice," for the voting rights of freed slaves. "In his admirable letter to the Anti-Slavery Society, which we publish in full elsewhere, Chief Justice Chase utters the prophetic oracle of American destiny: 'That all freeman are entitled to suffrage, on equal terms, is an axiom of free government.'" Schurz added: "By that crucial test this republic must abide or fall."

Sometimes, he offered views about matters pertaining to university life. On Saturday, 6 October 1867, he noted that typhoid fever had broken out at Yale College and commented wryly: "The dormitory system of our colleges is probably a remnant of monastic institutions and its utility is very questionable."

There appears to have been no substantial disagreement between Schurz and his employer Chandler, at least no public disagreement. To be sure, the latter favored a speedy impeachment of President Johnson during that divisive year of 1866. As a biography of the Michigan Senator puts it, "Chandler contributed significantly to the work of the thirty-ninth congress, keeping the anti-Johnson members at white heat."[31]

Schurz, on the other hand, urged further deliberations and delay in his editorials. "In this respect the delay will be of great advantage to the public, giving the people also an opportunity to read the testimony and make up their minds concerning its proper weight and bearing."[32]

Schurz, in describing his leave-taking from Detroit and his newspaper posts, was nonetheless exceedingly tactful. He refers to the advantageous offer which he had

received from the *Westliche Post* in St. Louis and then adds tersely: "My connection with the *Detroit Post*, which owing to the excellent character of the persons with whom it brought me into contact, had been most pleasant, was amicably dissolved, and I went to St. Louis to take charge of the new duties."[33]

Probably, Schurz was not only running towards his new job, but also away from the old one. He had accepted the position at the *Detroit Post* after some arm-twisting by Senator Chandler. I infer, as did Catlin before me, that Schurz and the Michigan Senator differed on many political issues, some extending quite beyond the latter's simply waving the bloody shirt, as the hard-liners were characterized at the time.[34] In later years, Schurz would be unsparing of his erstwhile employer. In letters to Rutherford B. Hayes, then running for the presidency, he accused Chandler of influence peddling, conflict of interest, and a penchant for illegal fund raising. He predicted that Chandler (then Secretary of the Interior) would proceed with "the levying of assessments on officeholders under the name of 'voluntary contributions,'" if he also became national chairman of the Republican Party. [35] It appears that his leave-taking from Detroit, motivated at least in part by his political differences with Chandler, may have anticipated this future falling-out.

But there is a happy ending to the story. Carl Schurz was remembered fondly in Michigan and by the German-language press long after his departure. When General Sheridan visited St. Louis, for example, August Marxhausen's *Familien-Blätter* reported not only the "glittering reception" of the Civil War hero, but also mentioned the paper's erstwhile editor: "Carl Schurz hielt bei dieser Gelegenheit eine vortreffliche Rede."[36] And Schurz returned to Michigan repeatedly. Among the unpublished papers collected in the Bentley Historical Library of the University of Michigan we find evidence that James B. Angell, acting president of that prestigious institution, made several attempts to secure Carl Schurz, then Secretary of the Interior, as a guest speaker. On 1 November 1871, Schurz writes to Angell from Kalamazoo that he will accept the invitation to lecture—as we know from another source—on "Civil Service Reform":[37]

> My dear Sir,
> Your note of Oct. 23rd has reached me, and I gratefully accept your kind invitation. I shall be at Ionia on the 3rd and intend to take the night train from there to Detroit. If that can be conveniently done, I shall arrive at Ann Arbor by the train which leaves Detroit at 9 a.m. I shall probably have to return to Detroit the same night [4 November] in order to be ready for an early train southward on Monday morning. While I am most happy to accept the hospitality of your house, I can do it only on the condition that you permit me to arrange things as to cause you no inconvenience by my departure at an unreasonable hour.
>
> very truly yours,
> C. Schurz[38]

A little more than four years later, on 17 January 1876, Schurz had occasion to recall his visit. He writes to Angell: "Sincere thanks for your kind offer of the hospitality of your house, the enjoyment of which is among my pleasantest memories. . . . Please remember me kindly to Mrs. Angell."

Carl Schurz, whose life in Michigan was intense and crisis-ridden, remained until one hundred years later the only German-born American to rise to a cabinet post. His successor to an analogous position paid him an eloquent compliment: "The streak or the strain of German liberalism which Carl Schurz represented stood for human dignity and individual freedom and democratic systems in the forefront of European movements of similar persuasion." That was of course the voice of Henry Kissinger.[39] But we, as citizens of Michigan and its neighboring states, can feel gladdened that he walked here before us—in Detroit, Kalamazoo, Ann Arbor, and Ionia.

Wayne State University
Detroit, Michigan

Notes

[1] See Hans L. *Trefousse, Carl Schurz: A Biography* (Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1982); also Trefousse, "Carl Schurz and the Politics of Identity," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 31 (1996): 1-11.

[2] See Margaret Ely, *Some Great American Newspaper Editors* (White Plains and New York: H.W. Wilson, 1916). In her introduction Ely points out that "Carl Schurz, the patriot and orator, and Whitelow Reid, the diplomat, are widely known in other than the editorial field." See also pp. 22-30 for an extensive bibliography.

[3] Allan Nevins, *The "Evening Post": A Century of Journalism* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1922), ch. 20.

[4] See Jeanne Riha, "Environmental Echoes," *Monthly Review* [NYC] 48 (Jan. 1997): 40-44, here 42.

[5] Trefiyseem "Carl Schurz and the Politics of Identity," 1.

[6] See John L. Butler, "Carl Schurz," in *American Newspaper Journalists, 1873-1900,* ed. Perry J. Ashley, Dictionary of Literary Biography, 23 (Detroit: Gale Research, 1983), pp. 313-22, here p. 320.

[7] Butler, "Carl Schurz," 320.

[8] Carl Schurz, "Die deutsche Sprache in Amerika," reprinted from the *Festbericht* (i.e., 50th anniversary celebration of "Der Deutsche Liederkranz") in *Detroiter Abendpost*, 3 Nov. 1954, pp. 16 and 22.

[9] See Lawrence S. Master, "Schurz, Margarethe Meyer," in John F. Ohles, *Biographical Dictionary of American Educators* (Westport, CT, and London: Greenwood Press, 1978), 3:1156f.

[10] See Butler, "Carl Schurz," 318: "His forceful support of antislavery forces (during the campaign) brought him instant recognition nationally."

[11] Butler, "Carl Schurz," 318.

[12] Anon., "Die deutsch-amerikanische Presse," *Familien-Blätter* 4,90 (19 March 1868): 170. For an article dealing specifically with the foreign-language press in Detroit, including the German newspapers, see Charles D. Cameron "Detroit's Foreign Language Press," *Detroit Saturday Night*, 27 Feb. 1926, p. 18.

[13] See Trefousse, *Carl Schurz: A Biography*, 86.

[14] Butler, "Carl Schurz,"319: "Schurz won the regard of Sherman, Winfield S. Hancock, and many others who ranked among the best of the Northern generals."

[15] See President [Andrew] Johnson, " Message of the President of the United States, communicating, in compliance with a resolution of the Senate of the 12th instant, information in relation to the states of the Union lately in rebellion: accompanied by a report of Lieutenant General Grant, on the same subject," [18 December] 1865 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1865). While Johnson quashed the report, Congress voted its publication. It received extensive coverage in the press.

[16] See Trefousse, *Carl Schurz: A Biography*, 222.

[17] See August Marxhausen, "Vereinigte Staaten," *Familien-Blätter* 4,94 (11 April 1868): 233, cols. 2 and 3. Also see his "Stadt Detroit," *Familien-Blätter* 4,88 (27 February 1868): 144: "Am Montag, den 9. März wird der große jährliche Purim-Maskenball in Merrill-Hall stattfinden, worauf wir unsere Leser um so lieber aufmerksam machen, weil der Reinertrag desselben für einen edlen Zweck . . . bestimmt ist."

[18] Speech given at Cooper Union, New York, in 1900, quoted by Butler, "Carl Schurz," 321.

[19] See Frederic Bancroft, ed., *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, 6 vols.(New York and London: G. P. Putnam, 1913) (Volume 1: 20 October 1852/26 November 1870; Volume 2: 13 December 1870/ 27 February 1874; Volume 3: 4 March 4, 1874/ 28 June 1880; Volume 4: 20 July 1880/ 15 September 1888; Volume 5: 30 January 1889/ 27 December 1898; Volume 6: 1 January 1899/ 8 April 1906), here 6:309-11, 436-40, letters dated, respectively, 29 December 1903 and 14 September 1905.

[20] Carl Schurz, *Intimate Letters of Carl Schurz, 1841-1889*, edited and translated by Joseph Schaefer, Wisconsin Historical Collection (Madison, WI: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1928), 242.

[21] Schurz, *Intimate Letters*, 358.

[22] See Frederic Bancroft, ed., *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, 1:375-76.

[23] Trefousse, *Carl Schurz: A Biography*, 163.

[24] The Brachvogel papers are located in the Rare Books and Manuscript Division of the New York Public Library. The "Carl Schurz" fragmentary essay is stored in Box 3.

[25] George B. Catlin, "Adventures in Journalism," *Michigan History Magazine* 29, 3 (July, August, September, 1945): 343-76, here, 361-62.

[26] Carl Schurz, *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, 3 vols., ed. Frederic Bancroft and W. C. Dunning (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1908), 3:21ff.

[27] Marie-Therese Leopold, "Geschichten machen Geschichte: Rückblick auf das Werden und Nicht-Vergehen der 'Nordamerikanischen Wochen-Post,'" *Nordamerikanische Wochen-Post* [Detroit], 8 October 1994, p. 1A-2A.

[28] See Trefousse, *Carl Schurz: A Biography*, 161. Schurz himself admitted his "workaholic" habits. In a letter from Detroit of 16 December 1866 to his close friend Theodore Petrasch, he writes: "I, poor chap, naturally have to work like a plow horse." He complains that beyond his newspaper editorship, he faces a lecture tour dealing with Germany that will include thirty whistle stops and a deadline for an article to appear in the *Atlantic Monthly* (see Schurz, *Intimate Letters*, 371).

[29] See "Brachvogel, Udo," in Wilhelm Kosch, *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon*, 3d ed. (Berne and Munich: Francke Verlag, 1968), 1:845.

[30] Brachvogel, MS, p. 2.

[31] See Sister Mary Karl George, *Zachariah Chandler: A Political Biography* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1969), 148.

[32] Untitled editorial, *Detroit Post*, 27 November 1867, p. 4, col. 3.

[33] Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 3:256.

[34] See Catlin, "Adventures in Journalism," 306f.: "Mr. Chandler was a political boss of decided opinions and domineering disposition. . . . The party bosses now and then demanded the support of the newspaper for hand-picked candidates and for policies, which the editors and proprietors of the newspaper could not approve."

[35] Letter of 14 July 1876 to Rutherford B. Hayes: in Frederic Bancroft, 3:260-61.

[36] Anon., "Politische Rundschau, Vereinigte Staaten," *Familien-Blätter* 3,6 (14 September 1867), 184.

[37] The date of Schurz's lecture (4 November 1871) is indicated in *The Chronicle* (i.e., the student newspaper of the University of Michigan) 3 (4 November 1871): 1. The topic and an extensive recapitulation appear in "Various Topics," *The Chronicle* 3 (18 November 1871): 55. "During the last fortnight Ann Arbor people have been favored with two excellent lectures, one delivered before the lecture association by Carl Schurz on 'Civil Service Reform.'" The article continues: "The picture presented by Carl Schurz of the evils of the civil service was certainly a dark one. The fact that the lecturer possessed exceptional advantages for knowing whereof he spoke only made the prospect more discouraging. So widespread are evils of the system that it would seem almost impossible to avert from our republic the ruin that certainly awaits it, unless a reform be effected. It is to such men as Senator Schurz, possessing views broader than those of mere partisanship, and courage to apply correction where needed, even at the expense of party, that the country looks for aid. His propositions for reform were such as must commend themselves to every honest man. He argues that the appointing power be taken from the Executive and that appointments be made on the basis

of merit, as determined by competitive examinations; also that no civil officer should be subjected to removal on account of political opinions, but should hold office for a certain term of years, or during good behavior."

[38] I am indebted to Ms. Anne Frantilla, Assistant Reference Archivist of the Bentley Historical Library at the University of Michigan, for locating this material.

[39] See Henry Kissinger, "On the One-Hundred-Fiftieth Anniversary of Carl Schurz," in Rüdiger Wersich, ed., *Carl Schurz, Revolutionär und Staatsmann: Sein Leben in Selbstzeugnissen, Bildern und Dokumenten* (Munich: Heinz Moos Verlag, 1979), 1-4, here 2.

Peter Hoehnle

A Short History of the Amana Society, 1714-2002

Nestled in the wooded valley of the Iowa River in east central Iowa, the seven villages that comprise the Amana Colonies retain ample evidence of the work of the sturdy German Pietists who settled and constructed the villages a century and a half ago. Refugees from religious persecution in the German states of the early nineteenth century, the founders of Amana were the descendants of an eighteenth century religious movement first known as the Community of True Inspiration (*Wahre Inspirations Gemeinde*).

The origins of the Amana Society can be found in the Pietist Movement of the early eighteenth century. Dissatisfied with the dogmatism and formality of the established church, Pietists, under the leadership of individuals such as Auguste Francke, sought to reinvigorate religious experience and service through a return to simpler forms. For some Pietists such a return meant eschewing most of the trappings of the established church including a church hierarchy, a formal liturgy, regular sacraments and ostentatious church ornamentation. Instead, such forms were replaced by simple gatherings featuring *a cappella* singing, unadorned worship places, and ecstatic, extemporaneous worship.

In the early 1700s a Lutheran clergyman, Eberhard Ludwig Gruber and a saddle maker named Johann Friedrich Rock of Himbach, began to meet and engage in frequent discussions of scripture and Pietist thought. In 1714 a group of mystical pietists known as the *Inspirirte,* or "Inspired," came to their attention. Although they initially rejected the Inspired's claim that they possessed the gift of divine inspiration, Gruber invited representatives of the group to a meeting in his home on 16 November 1714. The Community of True Inspiration traces its foundation to this meeting, after which both Gruber and Rock became active supporters of the sect.

Gruber assumed leadership of the sect, while Rock became one of its *Werkzeuge,* or inspired instruments. After 1720, Rock remained the group's only *Werkzeug* and, as such, made visitational journeys to Inspirationist congregations scattered across the German states. Following Gruber's death in 1728, Rock assumed leadership and continued in this capacity until his death in 1749, after which his scribe Paul Nagel, trained as an attorney, became the group's leader. Nagel continued to visit the scattered Inspirationist congregations and maintained a degree of activity within the sect despite the fact that it no longer possessed an inspired leader. Following Nagel's death in

1779, however, the group entered a period of decline that did not end until 1817, at a point when virtually all of its original leaders and mainstays had died. In that year Michael Krausert, a journeyman tailor from Strassburg, proclaimed that he was an inspired *Werkzeug* and made himself known to the Inspirationist communities.[1]

Krausert's emergence led to dissension within the dying movement, as some leaders and congregations refused to accept him as a true *Werkzeug*. Krausert, however, gained followers and began to instigate a revival. In 1818 Barbara Heinemann, an illiterate serving maid from Alsace, was directed to the Inspirationists by friends who felt that her strange visions and inner promptings were similar to those of an Inspirationist *Werkzeug*. Krausert accepted Heinemann at once, and she began to speak in Inspiration alongside her mentor.[2]

In 1819, Christian Metz, a young carpenter who had been born and reared within the Inspirationist community, also began to speak in Inspiration. Conflict soon erupted among the three leaders that ultimately ended, in 1819, with the leading elders of the sect ordering Krausert to leave. Metz ceased to speak in Inspiration, leaving Heinemann as the only *Werkzeug*. In 1823, tired of the demands placed upon her by the unique position that she held within the community and anxious to have a normal life, Heinemann married Georg Landmann, a schoolteacher. The Inspirationists, who held the celibate state to be the most pleasing to God, viewed Heinemann's marriage as a spiritual fall. Accordingly, Heinemann ceased to deliver testimonies, and Christian Metz, who remained the group's charismatic leader for the next fifty years and who had once again begun to speak in Inspiration that winter, took her position.[3]

Like the *Werkzeuge* who came before him, Metz undertook visitational journeys to the scattered congregations. In the early 1830s he expanded his usual visits to include Inspirationist communities in Switzerland which had been largely ignored for several decades. Here Metz led a revival. During the 1820s and 1830s civil authorities began to revoke the privileges granted the various Inspirationist communities and to question their rights to educate their own children and refuse military service. In 1826, Metz located an abandoned convent in the liberal principality of Hesse Darmstadt that he rented as a refuge for his followers. Members of some of the persecuted congregations gathered at the convent, Marienborn, and began to form a semblance of community life there. At the same time, Metz's testimonies began to suggest that:

> the time will come, and it is not far distant, when I [the Lord] will remove My luminaries [the Inspirationists] from there and put them in a different place. Eventually, I will gather all those who follow and remain true to Me. I will assemble them into . . . one flock.[4]

Over the next seven years, Metz and his associates leased additional properties as sanctuaries, including Herrnhaag in 1828, Arnsburg (renamed by the Inspirationists "Armenburg") in 1832, and Engelthal, also an abandoned convent, in 1834. Between 300 to 400 of the Inspirationist faithful ultimately congregated at these leased properties. Moving to the estates represented a significant action on the part of the faithful, as it

required uprooting themselves from their homelands and forgoing a private family home as they moved into large common buildings with other Inspirationists.[5]

Although they continued to maintain their own money and property, certain aspects of the Inspirationist existence became communal while they were housed on the estates. Fields were tilled communally for the good of the whole community, and at Herrnhaag and Armenburg wealthier members of the Society established woolen factories in order to provide much needed employment and income for the sect. Rents for the estates were paid from the common fund, while their income was divided among the members "according to their ability and time spent at work." Finally, meals and church services on the estates were held in large common rooms. Not only did the Inspirationists become used to living and working together during this time, but they also came to submit to the authority of the *Werkzeug* and other elders in secular matters as well as in spiritual. At the same time, Metz and the elders worked to unify the separate estate congregations through regular visits and conferences in which the elders of the three communities assembled in order to discuss matters of common interest. Thus, by the late 1830s, the Inspirationists set the stage for an expansion of communal living by the group in the next decade. [6]

In 1842, facing the effects of a long drought, increased rents on the estate properties and continued persecution, Metz delivered a testimony directing the community to seek a home in the New World. Within a few months of this testimony, Metz, and three associates boarded the ship *New York* and set sail across the Atlantic. After a stormy voyage, the committee arrived in New York and, after fruitless searches elsewhere, purchased a 5,000-acre tract on Buffalo Creek Indian Reservation just outside the city of Buffalo, New York. Unfortunately, the company that sold Metz the land did not yet possess clear title to the property, and it would be four years before such a title could be produced. In the meantime, the Inspirationist faithful began the process of migrating to their new home.[7]

Before his followers arrived, Metz and Wilhelm Noé crafted a "preliminary constitution" which may have reflected organizational discussions held in Germany. Under the terms of the agreement, each member of the Society was to surrender his or her property to a common fund for a period of three years. The leaders agreed to use the fund to pay the passage for poorer members of the sect, secure land, and otherwise fund the development of the new settlement. Interest would accrue on the funds deposited by the members, and the Society would provide them with food and shelter. After the three years had passed, the Society would redistribute its property among the members.[8]

Precisely why Metz chose to institute communal living at this point deserves some exploration. Perhaps his need for a large amount of money with which to purchase the contiguous tract of land led him to institute a common fund. The desire to assure that all members, regardless of their wealth would be able to immigrate was also likely a factor. Metz would have been aware of the fact that such a system would not be viewed as a significant departure from the arrangement previously held on the German estates, and so would prove acceptable to his followers. He may also have been motivated

by a desire to emulate the first Christian church described in the book of Acts in which all property was held in common. [9]

Metz named the new settlement "Ebenezer," a biblical term meaning, "hitherto the Lord has helped us." The community, legally, became known as the "Ebenezer Society." Within a short time, the community had created three small villages on its New York land and acquired a large tract of Canadian land when its owner converted to the faith. By 1852 the community had created three additional villages in New York and two small outposts in Canada. Each village was a self-sustaining unit with blacksmiths, wagon and harness makers, cobblers and tinsmiths. By 1846 a large woolen mill was in operation at the village of Middle Ebenezer, while tanneries, flourmills and sawmills operated in the other villages. As the community became established in its new home, Metz realized the need to formalize and extend his communal arrangement indefinitely. A permanent constitution was drawn up and signed by the members and, in 1846, the New York State Assembly formally incorporated the community as the "Village of Ebenezer."[10]

By 1854 the Ebenezer villages had reached a state of settlement and organization beyond that of most rural communities of the time. Bound together by religion and their unique economic system, the Inspirationists were also in daily contact with one another, whether working side by side in the fields or in the kitchen houses, and such contact strengthened the growing bonds of community. And yet, for the apparent strength of the Society, threats, both externally and internally, threatened its long-term survival. Internally, some divisions between members of the community were apparent. Although major controversies, such as an 1846 debate on whether or not the community should observe total celibacy during which Metz was openly challenged in a church service, passed without serious harm, other problems proved to be more persistent and insidious. In what would prove the bane of the Inspirationists' communal experience, members of the Society realized that they had no incentive to work particularly hard. Not only did communal activity lessen the demands on the individual worker, but the fact that the deficiencies in one worker's efforts would be compensated for by those of another also prevailed. By 1854 the Society already employed hired hands to perform certain tasks on the farms and in the mills of the Society.[11]

Society records indicate a growing concern by Metz and other leaders with a developing sense of "materialism" and an indifference to spiritual teachings by members of the Society. Such a "falling away" from core principles was likely fueled by the fact that the nearby city of Buffalo possessed a large and vibrant German immigrant community with which Society members had some contact and whose lifestyle they likely envied.[12]

Externally, the Society leaders were buffeted by attacks from competing business interests and hostile neighbors. In the spring of 1854 complaints that the Society failed to meet its fair share of the tax burden led to a formal investigation by a committee of the New York General Assembly. At the same time, a dispute involving a dam a few miles downstream from the villages threatened to draw the community into a lawsuit. The dam, originally constructed in 1828 by the Buffalo Hydraulic Association, diverted water from Buffalo Creek into a canal which, in turn, powered several tanneries and

other industries in the city of Buffalo. Over time the canal had silted in, leading the Association to raise the level of their dam on Buffalo Creek, rather than dredge the canal bed. This action caused water to back up in the creek bed and flood some of the Inspirationist's low-lying fields. Worse still, the higher water level often made it impossible for the turbines of the Middle Ebenezer mills to function. The Association, alarmed by Inspirationist complaints about the dam, filed a formal court injunction, (later overturned) against the Society. On the same day that the injunction was filed, Christian Metz delivered an *Einsprache* (a written, as opposed to a spoken) testimony directing the Society to seek a new home in the West.[13]

Within days of Metz's testimony, the Inspirationists organized a scouting party. The committee traveled to the new territory of Kansas but failed to locate or purchase a suitable tract. Plagued with illness and perhaps unsettled by the growing controversy over slavery in the territory, the committee returned to Ebenezer. A second committee traveled to Iowa and located a tract of land only twenty miles from the state capital of Iowa City on its first day of exploration. In June 1855, a third committee began to purchase what would eventually amount to 26,000 acres of land in the heavily wooded valley of the Iowa River.

The new site, unlike Ebenezer, was relatively isolated from the "outside world." Additionally, the river and a large creek promised suitable waterpower, while the large stand of timber, clay and stone outcroppings provided easily available building materials. Settlement began with the arrival of a hand picked contingent of thirty-three settlers from Ebenezer in July. This advance party began the process of clearing land and constructing houses and barns at what became the village of Amana. In the following year, more settlers arrived from Ebenezer, and a new settlement, West Amana, was started on the northwestern corner of the Society's land holdings.

In almost every year after 1855, the Society started a new village, spreading the communities across its estate roughly an hour apart by ox cart. Each village was surrounded by its own farm district averaging roughly 2,000 acres. As in Ebenezer the Inspirationists farmed their new holdings in the open field manner they had known in Germany, in which farm workers inhabited a village and worked the land surrounding it, but no one lived on an independent farmstead. The Inspirationists funded their Iowa purchases through the sale of their Ebenezer holdings, although the Panic of 1857 temporarily halted land sales and forced the community to borrow large sums of money from Buffalo banks. On 30 December 1864 the final contingent of settlers arrived at Amana from Ebenezer; by that time, the Amana villages had a total population of 1,228 members. [14]

The 1860s were years of growth and development at Amana, as the community struggled not only to plant crops, but also to build homes, barns, shops and factories. Each village was laid out so that the *Saal*, or meetinghouse, was centrally located with shops and barns located at the edge of town. The most significant construction activity involved completion of a seven-mile long millrace in order to divert water from the Iowa River for use at the Society's various mills and factories. The millrace, begun in 1865, required four years for construction. The completed canal powered both of the

Society's woolen mills, the Amana calico mill, machine shops at both Main and Middle Amana, a starch factory at Middle Amana, and a flourmill at Main Amana.

On 24 July 1867 Christian Metz, the beloved charismatic leader of the community died at the age of seventy-two. Metz's mantle as *Werkzeug* fell upon Barbara Heinemann Landmann, who had regained her gift of inspiration in 1849 and who continued to spiritually guide the community until her death in 1883, at the age of eighty-eight. Landmann's status as a woman, however, combined with what appears to have been a difficult personality, limited her actual leadership role within the community.

Daily life in communal Amana quickly settled into a familiar pattern that remained unchanged for over seventy years. Mothers cared for their children until they reached the age of three, after which they spent part of each day in the village *Kinderschule*, or daycare. At the age of five, children entered one of the village schools, which followed the German *Volkschule* pattern of classroom instruction, interspersed with manual training and playtime.[15]

At the age of fourteen, Amana youth entered the work force. Boys often began work on the farm where most of the Society's labor force was employed. Later, the village elders might assign them to work in one of the Society's craft shops or in the woolen, calico or flourmills. Girls were always assigned to work in one of the Society's over fifty communal kitchens. Each kitchen, under the management of a *Küche-Baas*, fed between twenty and forty community residents five times a day. Older women might spend a few hours at the kitchen house preparing vegetables for cooking, or working in the enormous three-acre gardens which supplied each kitchen with vegetables.

Beyond their workday life, Amana residents attended eleven church services each week, a nightly *Nachtgebet* (evening prayer service) and services during the day on Wednesday and Saturday and twice on Sunday. Although the brief *Nachtgebet* services were generally held in designated residences, the weekend services were held in the village *Versammlungsaal*: a large centrally located brick or sandstone building. Inside the *Saal*, members sat with men on one side and women on the other facing a bench of elders who conducted the worship service. Worship consisted of readings from the Bible, as well as from the inspired testimonies of the *Werkzeuge*, *a cappella* hymns sung from the *Psalter Spiel*, and prayer.

Amana residents had plenty of free time to indulge various hobbies, such as handwork, furniture making and even fine art. The botanical illustrations produced by the Prestele family of Amana for nurserymen and the Smithsonian Institution have received scholarly attention, as has the work of West Amana painter, Carl Flick. Woodworker Friedrich Hahn, of Middle Amana, in addition to making over forty clocks, also constructed a telephone system that linked the Amana villages by 1881. Life in Amana was sedate and simple; the villages, resembling German *Dörfer*, were noted for their profusion of flowers and gardens. German remained the principal language throughout the communal period, and German cultural traditions, such as Christmas trees, persisted among the otherwise austere Inspirationists.[16]

In 1918, while the Society was still riding the crest of wartime production profits, its attorney recommended an amendment to the constitution that would provide for

the dissolution of the communal organization. That such dissolution was necessary became apparent to many leaders during the 1920s, as both the textile industry and agriculture entered a decline following the removal of wartime price supports in 1919. The finances of the Society were further damaged by a major fire in 1923 that destroyed the Amana flourmill and much of the adjacent woolen mill, which, although uninsured, was rebuilt. By 1932, the Society's total debt reached almost $500,000. At the same time, other problems, such as the $60,000 annually paid to hired workers, waste, corruption, and an on-going youth rebellion steadily eroded the Society's strength. Additionally, the Society had been without a charismatic leader since Landmann's death in 1883, and while the elders had been successful in managing affairs since that time, they had failed to adapt the communal system established under the guidance of the *Werkzeuge* to modern conditions.[17]

Following a lobbying effort by a group of concerned Amana men, the *Bruderrath* appointed a committee of four to address the members in each village and to explain the organization's precarious financial state. After these presentations in April 1931, Society members elected a committee to plan for the Society's future. Almost from the start, the "Committee of Forty-Seven," as it became known, began to plan for a complete reorganization of the Amana Society. In June they sent a formal letter and questionnaire to each adult member of the Society asking them whether they would be willing to return to a life of self-denial, or whether they would prefer reorganization. The membership voted 74 percent in favor of pursuing reorganization.[18]

After months of deliberation, the Committee produced a reorganization plan to create a joint stock business corporation, known as the Amana Society that would assume the business aspects of the Society while a separate organization, the Amana Church Society, would oversee religious affairs. The plan provided for distribution of voting shares to adult members, which would entitle them to vote in Society elections and to receive medical and burial benefits from the new corporation. Additionally, the Society would issue prior distributive shares to each new member based on their years of service under the old system. Thus, an elderly member of the Society would receive stock shares, representing their lifetime of service, which they would be able to redeem for cash or credit at the Society main office. The new plan also provided for the orderly appraisal of Society property and guaranteed members the right to purchase their homes. The plan was approved by 96 percent of the members when submitted for a vote on 1 February 1932.[19]

During the weeks that followed approval of the plan, the Society began a period of transition. In March and April appraisers descended on the villages, and surveyors laid out lot lines where none had been before. The appraisers reviewed the equipment and inventory of each of the Society's 162 shops—not including the Society's woolen mills, four hotels, grain elevators and farm departments.[20]

The first significant shift in Society habits brought by the impending reorganization was when the communal kitchens served their last meal on the night of 11 April 1932. Fifty years after the reorganization a woman in South Amana still lamented the end of the kitchen houses: "I missed the kitchens and the girls I worked with. Sure, it

was easier to cook for my husband and myself instead of [for] thirty people, but I missed the girls in the kitchen."[21]

In the weeks following the closing of the kitchens, the Society held auctions and sales in each of the seven villages, so residents could purchase utensils with which to set up housekeeping. Most residents bought things for their sentimental value; few saw uses for the old lapboards, giant copper boilers and oversized frying pans.

In April the Society's new business manager, a former bank examiner from Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Arthur Barlow, arrived to assume his duties. Assisted by a hastily assembled staff, Barlow began to institute double-entry book keeping among the Society businesses. Barlow directed the closure of shops that the Society deemed unprofitable. The individuals who worked in those shops were told that they could purchase their equipment and continue as a private business, or take a new job with the Society. The new organization guaranteed jobs to all of its members, which usually meant working in one of the factories or on the farm. For many craftspeople the change that their employment brought was minimal, since most had worked on the farms in the summer months anyway. Some craftsmen continued to operate their businesses as a sideline, while working on the farm or in one of the Society factories.

On 2 May 1932 the new Amana Society Corporation came into existence and, for the first time, Amana workers were put on a payroll. The reorganization plan called for a transition period, during which the Society and its members could adjust to the new order of affairs, and during which every worker, from the managers down to the farm hands, would receive ten cents an hour wage. To compensate for the low wage, the Society sold groceries and other items in their stores at cost to members.[22]

Many Amana residents, when asked about the "Change" on its fiftieth anniversary, described it in positive terms. "I don't see how they could have lived any longer the way they did," commented one resident, "[y]ou have to go forward, not backward, and this was a backward way of living." Other residents recalled the anticipation of buying a car or of having their own kitchen. Some women expressed relief at being freed from the authority of their kitchen boss and the regimentation of kitchen life. (In a demonstration of her new freedom, one Amana woman served canned pineapple at the first meal she prepared after the kitchens closed.) The individuals who were alive at the time of the anniversary, however, were young in 1932 and, as a result, their memories reflected the attitude of the Society's youth. For older residents, the "Change" was greeted with trepidation. One older High Amana woman, upset that she could no longer continue peeling potatoes at her kitchen house, which had allowed her to socialize, commented, "I can not understand how those people who brought this [reorganization] on will be able to rest in their graves." [23]

The elderly woman who lamented the loss of her kitchen house job likely did not enter the post communal workforce. Many younger women did, however. Amana women found wage labor jobs following the reorganization, one assumes, in part because their income was needed at home, and also because they were used to working and wanted to preserve the camaraderie of their kitchen house experience. Some women found work in the woolen mills, and the Society employed other women to maintain some of the kitchen gardens as small truck farming operations. Still other

women participated in the Society's short-lived attempts at producing mittens and canned goods, known as "Department W," for sale.[24]

For men, the reorganization meant little change in their ordinary work habits. Most continued to work at the job they had done before the change, provided they were employed by one of the sixty businesses that survived Barlow's purge. One difference in their labor, however, and one that was frequently commented upon in later years, was how many men who had professed illness and an inability to work before the change suddenly "recovered" after it occurred. Residents attribute this shift to the realization that if they wanted their families to survive they would need to work. These miraculous cures led the colonists to bestow the nickname "Dr. Barlow" on their new business manager.[25]

Amana young people, many of whom had been part of the Society workforce since the age of fourteen, jumped at the opportunity that the reorganization afforded them for attending high school. Suddenly, young Amana men and women, who had been "adults" under the old Amana Society, found themselves once again immersed in youth culture and irresponsibility.

During the 1930s the Amana Society managed to show a modest profit at the end of each year. The employment and stock structures created by the reorganization proved to be effective. A new community school system, formed in 1932, opened a high school in Middle Amana in 1934. Still, the Amana Society remained much as it had always been. New improvements, including radios, synthetic siding, automobiles, running water and electricity were added to Amana homes, but the villages retained much of their communal era atmosphere. In reorganizing the Society, the Amana people successfully reorganized their community, retaining what they felt were its best aspects, while obliterating the distinctive features of communal ownership and labor that had characterized it for nearly a century.

In 1934, George C. Foerstner, the son of the High Amana storekeeper, began to sell and install refrigeration coolers from a small shed located across the street from his father's store. In 1936 Foerstner, and his single employee, began to manufacture as well as to install these appliances under the name "Amana Electric Company," which was soon purchased by the Amana Society. Under Foerstner's continued management, and using Amana Society capital, the business grew to enormous proportions, marketing the first upright home freezer in 1948. Sold by the Society in 1950, the company, headquartered in Middle Amana, grew to become the sixth largest appliance manufacturer in the country, employing over three thousand people. Additional workers came from outside the community, many of them relocating to the former communal garden and field sites surrounding the villages of Main and Middle Amana. The modern ranch style homes that these individuals, as well as younger community residents, build in these new developments altered the Amana landscape. Following a merger with the Raytheon Corporation in 1967, Amana introduced the first home microwave oven. Currently a division of the Maytag Corporation, Amana Appliances remains a major presence in the Amana community.

A further change came to the Amana community in the 1960s with the growth and development of tourism. The community had always been a popular destination

for the curious, but improved roadways, the addition of an interstate highway only seven miles from the villages, the visibility given the name "Amana" through its connection with the appliance company, and effective marketing, brought thousands of visitors to the villages each year.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the Amana Society was touted as the largest and most successful communal society in the United States. With seven unadorned villages spread over a 26,000-acre domain, the Society managed to keep most of the rest of the world at bay while practicing its unique religious and social beliefs. A century later, in the year 2000, the Amana Society still controlled a 26,000-acre domain, but its seven villages, now billed as "Iowa's most popular tourist attraction," were filled with gift shops and boutiques catering to the very human desires that its founders had abhorred in the outside world.

In the seventy years since its reorganization, the Amana villages have acquired many of the standard accouterments of American life, including community clubs, Boy and Girl Scout organizations, family vacations, automobiles, television and other aspects of American consumer culture. Through all of this change, the Amana Church has remained a potent force in the community. Although the majority of the current members of the church are communal era residents or their descendants, new converts join each year and the current membership stands at 400. In 1961 the church instituted an English language service, and members today have the choice of attending services entirely in English, or an early Sunday service which still features German hymns, prayers and scripture reading. Amana services still feature *a cappella* singing and are conducted by lay elders, as opposed to an ordained clergy. Since 1987 both men and women have served in the voluntary capacity of church elders.[26] In the end, what survives of the old Amana is the collective memory of its communal survivors, of whom there are fewer each year, the physical environment that those communal workers created, and the fleeting visions of faith, work and hope expressed by its founders.

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Notes

[1] Gottlieb Scheuner, *Inspirations Historie, 1817-1850*, trans. Janet W. Zuber (Lake Mills, IA: Graphic Publishing Company, 1987), 3. This essay is a condensed version of the author's forthcoming book, *The Amana People: A History of a Religious Community.*

[2] Scheuner, *Inspirations Historie,1817-1850*, 5, 12; for Heinemann's early life and experiences see Gottlieb Scheuner, *Barbara Heinemann Landmann Biography*, trans. Janet W. Zuber (Lake Mills, IA: Graphic Publishing Company, 1981).

[3] Scheuner, *Inspirations Historie, 1817-1850*, 23-24, 38. The standard biography of Metz is Francis Alan DuVal, "Christian Metz: German-American Religious Leader and Pioneer," Ph.D. diss., State University of Iowa, 1948.

[4] Scheuner, *Inspirations Historie, 1817-1850*, 42, 48, 53-54.

[5] Andelson, "Communalism and Change in the Amana Society, 1855-1932," Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1974, 38; Scheuner, *Inspirations Historie, 1817-1850*, 59.

[6] Scheuner, *Inspirations Historie, 1817-1850*, 81; Barthinius L Wick. "Christian Communism in the Mississippi Valley: The Amana Society, or Community of True Inspiration." *Midland Monthly* 6 (October 1896): 338; Scheuner, *Inspirations Historie, 1817-1850*, 72.

[7] Wilhelm Noé to "Brothers and Fellow Members," 22 December 1842, trans. Peter Stuck, collection of the author.

[8] The original draft of the provisional constitution is dated 20 February 1843 (Charles F. Noé, "A Brief History of the Amana Society," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* 2 (April 1904): 176; DuVal, "Christian Metz," 119).

[9] Some have suggested that Metz's visit to the Zoar Communal Society in eastern Ohio the spring following his arrival may have cemented his thinking on the issue of communalism. Metz's comments of that visit, however, suggest that, if anything, the visit dampened his enthusiasm. Finally, Metz may well have had in mind the statement in Acts 3:44-45 that the first Christian church had held all things in common.

[10] The principal source for the history of the Ebenezer Society is Frank J. Lankes, *The Ebenezer Community of True Inspiration* (Buffalo: Kiesling Printing Company, 1949).

[11] For the controversy over celibacy see Jonathan Andelson, "The Gift To Be Single: Celibacy and Religious Enthusiasm in the Community of True Inspiration," *Communal Societies* 5 (1985): 1-32.

[12] Andelson, "Communalism and Change," 57.

[13] For the controversy involving the Hydraulic Association see Peter Hoehnle, "Machine in the Garden: The Woolen Textile Industry of the Amana Society, 1785-1942," *Annals of Iowa* 61 (Winter 2002): 24-67.

[14] Andelson, "Communalism and Change," 73-74.

[15] For a memoir of childhood in communal Amana see Barbara Yambura and Eunice Willis Bodine, *A Change and A Parting: My Story of Amana* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1960).

[16] For the work of the Prestele family see Charles Van Ravenswaay, *Drawn From Nature: The Botanical Art of Joseph Prestele and His Sons* (Washington, DC: The Smithsonian Institution Press, 1984); for the arts and crafts of the Amanas see Steven Ohrn, *Remaining Faithful: Amana Folk Art in Transition* (Des Moines: Iowa Department of Cultural Affairs, 1988).

[17] William F. Moershel, "Statement of Liquitable Assets and Liabilities," 4 April 1931, author's collection.

[18] Minutes, Amana Society Board of Trustees, 16 March 1931, Amana Society Archives, Amana Society main office, Main Amana (Lawrence Rettig, *Amana Today: A History of the Amana Society from 1932 to the Present* [South Amana, IA, 1975], 123).

[19] *Reorganization Plan* (Middle Amana, IA: Amana Society, 1932).

[20] One of Marston's assistants, Charles G. Parsons, used the Amana valuations as the basis of his master's thesis. Charles G. Parsons, "Valuation of the Industrial Property of the Amana Society" (M.S. thesis, Iowa State College, 1932).

[21] Emilie Zuber Hoppe, "A Story Recalled," unpublished paper, Amana Heritage Society, 1981, 13, quoting Minnie Setzer, then of High Amana, who had worked in the communal kitchens for over thirty years before the reorganization.

[22] Iowa County Land Deed Records, Book 81/82, pp. 213-23, Iowa County Recorder's Office, Marengo, Iowa.

[23] *Amana Society Bulletin*, 2 June 1932. Oral Histories nos. 6 and 20, typed transcripts, Oral History Collection, Amana Heritage Society.

[24] The Society continued to employ women to cultivate the "Corporation Gardens" until at least 1936. Bertha M. H. Shambaugh, "Amana – In Transition," *Palimpsest* 17 (May 1936), 155. For information concerning "Department W" see *Amana Society Bulletin*, 14 July and 1 September 1932.

[25] Bertha M. H. Shambaugh. "Amana – In Transition," 151; Oral History no. 59, typed transcript, Oral History Collection, Amana Heritage Society. The belief that men who had falsely professed illness to avoid working before the reorganization was common among the subjects of the Amana Oral History Project in 1982.

[26] The only published historical account of the Amana Church Society since 1932 is found in Rettig, *Amana Today*, 50-65.

Johannes Dillinger

Town Meeting Republics: Early Modern Communities in New England and Germany

The purpose of this text is to outline and compare the political representation of rural communities in early modern New England and Germany. In order to understand and interrelate the various political systems I will suggest a new definition of communalism and introduce a comparative approach. Finally, I will describe elements of rural political thought that informed both colonial New England and pre-revolutionary Germany.[1]

Even today, a comparative approach to the understanding of European and American communities and their roles in the development of republican institutions might be somewhat suspicious. Comparisons between American and German rural communities were at the core of an influential theory of late-nineteenth-century historiography.[2] Montesquieu was probably the first to suggest that the English system of representation derived from the political order of the Germanic tribes as described by Tacitus. Borrowing heavily from research done by Georg Waitz, the so-called Oxford School of English and American historians presented what seemed to be nothing less than the master narrative of the interrelation between community and state in the Western World. British historians such as John Mitchell Kemble[3] and Edward Augustus Freeman assumed that the Anglo-Saxons brought to the British Isles a political system that was based on assemblies of free men who collectively owned pieces of land, the so-called "mark." The local gathering of the mark was depicted as the nucleus out of which English parliamentarism and subsequently the constitution of the United States developed. The townships of New England were regarded as the most genuine modern embodiments of this ancient Germanic tradition of freedom and communalism. In the U.S., Herbert Baxter Adams and John Fiske embraced the Oxford School declaring that New England towns were a "mark" and "a long-lost child of Old England and a grandchild of the Fatherland." They tried to compare the colonial records of New England with Tacitus's *Germania* and tourist guides of the Black Forrest region.[4] With that kind of promotion the Teutonic theory of communalism and representative government made it into to the schoolbooks. Growing skepticism concerning age-old continuities, more critical studies of the source materials as well as the anti-German

sentiment generated by the beginning of the First World War put an end to Oxford School antiquarianism.

The Oxford School had assumed the existence of an old but exclusively Anglo-Saxon communalist tradition: Apart from a few exceptions in Switzerland feudalism or absolutism had supposedly reduced the peasants of continental Europe to mere subjects. Apart from its naive methodology, it is this ideologically motivated emphasis on exclusiveness that makes the Oxford School suspect. It had already been observed by Alexis de Tocqueville that during the Ancien Régime villages in France, Britain and Germany had enjoyed political power similar to that of New England towns.[5] Recent scholarship describes a pattern of local self-government that shaped some regions of Western and Northern Europe in various degrees from the High Middle Ages till the nineteenth century.

Peter Blickle introduced *Kommunalismus* (communalism) as a term of German historiography.[6] He defined communalism as a form of voluntary local organization of everyday life. It is based on periodical meetings of householders resident in the community, on their right to define local norms and to appoint nonprofessional representatives.[7] According to Blickle communalism was the precondition of republicanism in Europe. To make the concept of communalism more manageable I will suggest restricting it to rural communities, that is to say to communities that lacked institutions of higher education as well as an administration run by professionals and were characterized by the prevalence of agricultural production.

Today, it is clear that German communalism was no institutionalized resistance of the peasantry against the aristocracy. On an abstract level the local corporations of villagers formed horizontal systems that were opposed to the hierarchies of the territorial state. In practice however, administration and communities interacted and cooperated in so many ways that it is often difficult to tell both systems apart.

The term "localism" is used as a descriptive category by Kenneth Lockridge.[8] It stands for a different approach to the political culture of peasants. Localism means not so much a form of organization but rather the political orientation, maybe the mentality, that made the peasants of the early modern period accept the local corporation as the basic political and economical unit. Localism was the driving force behind the Puritan migration, the Great Awakening as America's communal reformation, and the resistance to the new federal order of the revolution. Because it spells popular suspicion and rejection of all supra-local structures Lockridge considers localism the negative master narrative of Western and especially American political and constitutional history.

Lockridge's concept of localism has an element of dynamism and goal orientation that is lacking in Blickle's understanding of communalism as a legal structure. In order to avoid a misuse of communalism as a structural catchall phrase that invites generalizations it might be helpful to dynamize the concept of communalism. I suggest calling the political orientation and the political activities displayed by rural corporations that were characterized by the right to make their own decisions in periodical meetings, to issue local laws, and to send deputies to the representative assemblies of the territorial states "representational communalism."

Representational communalism interacted with individual households and territorial systems. In contrast to modern multinational movements such as conservatism or communism representational communalism cannot yet be defined by its ideological orientations and aims—we still do not know enough about these aims. Rather, it is defined by its subject—politically powerful local communities—and its milieu—the territories and colonies of the Ancien Régime. Politically powerful communities that enjoyed all the rights described above were—at least in Germany—a minority. Therefore, a comparative history of representational communalism is not identical with a history of rural communes. It is the history of the politically active peasantry, not the history of villages defined simply as settlements or legal structures.

Today, it seems possible to try a new comparative approach: A synchronic comparison of the forms and functions of early modern communalist structures in New England and Germany might help to understand both systems. In recent years, American and German historians alike have suggested this kind of approach.[9] Comparisons can be used for a variety of purposes; the notorious problem of the phenomena's comparability has to be considered in the context of the specific purpose of the comparison. First of all, the comparative approach gives the comparates a clearer and more comprehensive profile. The comparison individualizes its objects. Furthermore, comparison is probably the best method for historians to establish typologies and to test hypotheses. A major aim of comparative historiography is synthesis. A synthesis is no generalization. Synthesizing comparisons as defined by Theodor Schieder integrates a variety of structures into a type of a higher order.[10] Historical phenomena from different contexts that share one or more distinctive qualities can be grouped together in a new unit. This new unit provides a hermeneutic model similar to Weber's ideal types. A comparison of the elements of this model provides us with an extensive analytical synthesis of its different forms and molds. The works of Gerschenkron on the industrialization of Europe and Moore on the origins of dictatorship and democracy in the United States, European and Asian countries are probably the best examples.[11]

The synthesizing aspect of the comparison might help to arrive at a comprehensive understanding of early modern representational communalism. It allows us to focus both on the variety of communalist structures and on representational communalism as a macrophenomenon.

Town meetings and the representation of the peasantry at national or regional estates could be found in various parts of early modern Europe. France[12] and England[13] and even more so Sweden[14] and Switzerland[15] had their own forms of communalism.[16] In order to give more specific information this article will concentrate on New England and German territories exclusively. Although both systems clearly differed from each other, there were wide ranges of similarities that can be addressed as characteristics of representational communalism.

Much confusion has been caused by the fact that political privileges of rural communities varied greatly in the different territories of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation.[17] As a rule all freeholders and often even tenants were admitted to town meetings. Although these meetings tended to be inclusive and were mostly

concerned with the organization of agricultural work, it would be wrong to regard them as a function of the rural settlement as a collective of agrarian labor only. Such meetings could be formed by more than one village. They were not limited to closed settlements, but were also known in regions characterized by single farmstead economies. Thus, their very constituency proves that they were above all political and legal institutions. The meetings elected selectmen and commissions for specific tasks. The emerging territorial states led by an ecclesiastical officeholder, an aristocratic lord or a city council respectively attempted to utilize or usurp the competencies of peasant communities in various ways and with very varying success. Using the communities as their platforms peasants were able to involve the lordship in a continual process of bargaining. The administration of the early modern states seems to have been the institutionalization of this process, an agency of brokerage between peasants and lords rather than an instrument used exclusively by the state. The responsibility and loyalty of many local and regional officials were permanently renegotiated between the state and the communities. The nearer to the local level the more difficult the differentiation between legal and extralegal norms and obligations became.

This political culture of negotiation between state and community was more effective than the short-lived violent protests it increasingly replaced after the defeat of the rebels in the Peasants' War of 1525.[18] Peasants articulated their demands in lawsuits and petitions. The most tangible form of political participation of the peasantry was the representation of rural communities at the territorial diets. Since the fifteenth century so-called *Landschaften* developed: *Landschaften* were regional corporations of the peasantry within territorial states that were based on communities and had the right to send representatives to the regional diets. The *Landschaften* were concentrated in two German regions: On the Northwestern seashore including Ostfriesland as well as various islands[19] and in the long stretch from Trier[20] through Baden, Württemberg, and the Western Hapsburg territories to Salzburg and the Tyrol.[21] If one considers the number and size of the territories that were informed by *Landschaften* it should be quite clear that they were more than just another oddity of the constitution of the Old Reich. The *Landschaften* of larger territories joined the other estates at the regional diets. In a variety of smaller territories the peasantry represented by the *Landschaft* was the only counterpart the prince had to face. The question whether *Landschaften* represented the villages of a territory or its subjects at large is of secondary importance: The representation was informed by local interests that were realized and organized in communities, and articulated in periodical meetings. The *Landschaften* participated in the legislation, their demands informed the territorial codes of law. The representatives of the peasantry helped to organize the military. The freeholders of a *Landschaft* were—very like the settlers of the New England colonies—obliged to join the militia. The most important task of the *Landschaften* was to negotiate taxation with the territorial lord. The principle of "no taxation without representation" was true for German *Landschaften* regions, too. In order to organize the payment of taxes, some *Landschaften* formed a financial administration of their own. The *Landschaften* financed themselves with tax money and redistributed payments among its member communities. The rural population was far from stereotypically accepting or rejecting

the princes' demands for money, at least in some parts of the Southern Germany they creatively developed a system of self-taxation.

Nevertheless, one might argue that *Landschaften* were de facto essentially instruments of the territorial lords that facilitated the implementation of their laws and tax demands. No doubt, the *Landschaften* system was based on reciprocity but so was state administration. Both were agencies of brokerage designed to serve policy-making processes or the running of day-to-day affairs respectively. The *Landschaften* provided communities with the opportunity to influence political decision-making on a high level, in a number of territories they even enabled peasant villages to influence state building itself.

The most highly developed and most powerful representational communalism of the early modern period is found in New England. The basic unit of New England self-government was the town meeting. This meeting elected all local officials including the militia leaders and the selectmen as the town government. The Congregationalist settlers faced two main problems: How could they define norms for the new society they were about to build? And: How could they organize the huge space of the new land? The answer to both problems was representational communalism. In contrast to Virginia, New England strongly discouraged living on isolated plantations. The General Court gave land grants only to already existing towns or to proprietors that had promised to found a new town. It thus used entrepreneurial initiative for the ends of a communalist colonization.

As they were responsible for the maintenance of forts, bridges and highways the communities were de facto in charge of the infrastructure that organized the newly colonized space. The townships also actively participated in the creation of Massachusetts's first code of law that shaped the entire colonial legislation of New England till the end of the seventeenth century. The towns were allowed to pass their own bylaws.

The members of the lower house of the General Court, the deputies, were the elected representatives of the individual communities.[22] The constituency of the magistrates, the members of the upper house, was the colony as a whole. However, the voters and the election process itself were organized in and by the communities. De facto, the towns were in charge of the franchise itself. During the first years of the colony only members of the Congregationalist church in full communion were officially allowed to become freemen entitled to vote. But according to Congregationalist principles the parishioners themselves decided who was to be admitted as a church member. In 1647, the General Court strengthened the power of the community even further: Everyone could take part in communal elections who was declared fit to do so by his fellow residents even if he was not a freeman. The various censuses introduced in compliance with English tradition did not effectively narrow the franchise: Practically everyone owning a farm, i.e., the majority of the population, was able to qualify for the census.

Following Koenigsberger it might be possible to call the German and American states in which the peasantry organized in periodical local gatherings and used representational bodies to help to form the new territorial administrations "Town

Meeting Republics."[23] Evidently, these communalist republics were highly diversified. This diversification itself calls for that kind of comparative approach I advocate for my analysis. The smallest common denominator of the political systems was some sort of political participation of rural communities. If we concentrate on the communities and their political life the obvious differences between middling and petty territories, between systems with three or four estates, two chambers or just a *Landschaft* become variants within the macrophenomenon "representational communalism." The concentration on representational communalism is well justified: It was not only the element a variety of state organizations had in common, it was also the platform that was available for the majority of the population in the respective countries. The comparison, however, must try to consider each type and each institutional form of communalism in its specific milieu. It is therefore necessary to construct a synthesizing comparison along a number of central questions. These questions should address key issues of each system. They should be suitable to thematize the social and political differences within the community as well as the interaction between the community and the respective wider political and administrative system.

I will now discuss three of these basic conditions of communalism and communal representation that informed the politics of Germany as well as those of New England in the early modern period. First, I will address the question, what religious forms the communities used to define themselves and their role opposite the state. Second, I want to explore the selection of representatives. This will shed some light on how peasant communities perceived the territorial state. And finally, I will discuss the political orientation of rural communities that informed representation and the dealings with the state.

Communalist villages exercised a high degree of control over the parish church. The reformation and the Catholic reforms alike were to a certain degree initiated and organized by the communities. Reformation theology and the covenant doctrine of Zwingli, Bullinger and Bucer were a mutual influence on both the so-called communal reformation in Germany and English Puritanism.[24]

The rebels of the German Peasants' War attempted to communalize the church, including the free election of the minister by the parishioners. What they demanded in vain became reality in other communalist systems. The Congregationalists of England and New England created the most radical variant of this concept of community church. They regarded the local assembly of "visible saints" as the true church and thereby identified parish and church. It is certainly tempting to connect the Reformation and rural corporations with each other. But while Puritanism strengthened local control over the church it robbed the church of its potential as integrative element within the respective town: The restrictions on church membership were incompatible with the idea of the township community as a religious unit. As far as Germany is concerned it is misleading to identify communalist ecclesiastical politics and Protestantism. After the defeat of the peasantry in 1525, the German nobility soon gained control over the reformed church.[25] Secular Catholic territories in which the dichotomy between church and state persisted provided peasant communities with more opportunities to influence the parish church and its resources than Protestant states.[26]

Independently of the communal reformation, peasant communities used religion to define themselves. In Germany, peasants' organizations were founded on religious forms. Rebel groups but also alliances formed ad hoc by the inhabitants of a town or a district to achieve a specific end were sworn confederacies.[27] They were based on oaths that called on God as their witness and their guarantor. In a manner reminiscent of these European rural traditions the political culture of New England was informed by a system of oaths. In New England the formation of a new town could take the form of a covenant reflecting the Puritan notion that the church was based on a covenant between God and the faithful.[28] Although they certainly helped to define communities vis-à-vis territorial administrations, covenant or sworn confederacy did not spell egalitarianism. Neither were they specific forms of communalist organization. In both New England and Germany, the religious core of the confederacy, the oath, was of course also used to organize the hierarchies of the state.

Covenant and oath were of course not the only religious structural principles of American Puritan politics. New England had its own doctrine of divine right: In a manner reminiscent of Bodin's absolutist ideology, New England magistrates presented themselves as God's vice-regents on earth.[29] The ability to rule was regarded as a special grace from God. This doctrine of divine right had important consequences: Even less willing than Luther to acknowledge the German Peasants' War as lawful resistance, preachers in New England condemned it as an exemplary attack on God's order and anathematized Thomas Müntzer. The election by the people was a formal act by which the divine calling of the magistrates was publicly acknowledged. Elections were presented as a challenge not for the candidates but for the voters who had the religious duty to carefully choose the right one. Only the small governing elite of magistrates claimed divine election. At least according to Winthrop, no divine calling was necessary to be a representative, to be able to work for a specific town. The deputies' office had an exclusively secular character; it was perhaps the most unequivocally secular part of Puritan political culture. The oath or covenant on which the community was based on did not endow the representative with sacral qualities. Their entire authority was based on the election by the people. From the middle of the seventeenth century onwards most members of the upper house had served as deputies before they were elected magistrates. After 1660, religious arguments became less and less important in New England politics. At the same time the rigorous restrictions on church membership were lifted. The representatives of the communities could be regarded as the vanguard of secularization. Concerning the European systems it can at least be said that although communalist movements always claimed to do the will of God, the spokesmen of communities did not regard themselves as divinely elected. The sacralization of officeholders was not compatible with representational communalism. However, neither in Germany nor in New England did communalism find a specific religious form of its own.

Even if it might seem an over-simplification I would suggest that communalist systems had a clear tendency to extend the franchise to every freeholder.[30] The variety of regional election privileges spells de facto that every landowner enjoyed the right to vote. The comparatively low number of copyholders, i.e., tenants in New England

made it possible to exclude them from the franchise. In Germany, where land was scarce and various forms of tenancy informed peasant economics, the distinction between landowners and copyholders with hereditary tenure became blurred. The rural assemblies of Kleve and Mark that negotiated taxes with the lordship were significantly called the *Erbentage*, the diets of the heirs: The right to leave one's farmstead to one's heirs was the precondition of political participation.[31] When acting as heads of household even widows were allowed to participate in elections in Germany. In the rural societies of the early modern period, landownership was the basic condition for political as well as economic activity. New England's early attempt to restrict the franchise to members of the Congregationalist church was a short-lived aberration from this principle.

The mode of selecting representatives is crucial for determining the political power of communities. Some of the delegates of the *Landschaften* were well-off peasants freely chosen by their fellow townsmen, yet most of them were officials of the territorial lord. When elections were held, candidates had to be selected from the ranks of the territorial administration. In the *Landschaften* of Northern Germany there was a clear tendency to replace elections with cooptation: the allegedly representative body chose its own members. Once chosen, the members of the North German *Landschaften* enjoyed life tenure as a rule. Other spokesmen of the peasantry were appointees of the territorial lord.[32] However, as we already observed, these regional and local officeholders owned loyalty not only to the aristocratic ruler. They were professional intermediaries between state and communities. Further qualifications are necessary: In terms of education and wealth local officeholders, for example the village constables that were sent to the regional diet in Swabian Hapsburg territories, could hardly be distinguished from their fellow villagers. Attendance at the diets was not part of the officials' duties. If we consider the fact that administration as brokerage between people and state belonged to the sphere of politics it might be possible to regard these officials that were also representatives not so much as administrators but as professional politicians. Nevertheless, the fact remains that communities obviously accepted executives of the territorial administration as their proxies and made no effort to replace them with persons that were exclusively loyal to the communities themselves.[33]

Recruitment patterns of leaders and the relationship between the electorate and its representatives are major topics in the historiography of Colonial America. Prosopographical research for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries suggests not only that the members of the General Court came from the colony's economical elite, but also that the upper house was largely the domain of the most affluent settlers.[34] However, what seems to have been regarded as the most important quality of a candidate for the General Court was his experience as an officeholder. Most deputies and magistrates had served in communal offices for a number of years. As a rule deputies were returned to office several times while magistrates were re-elected till they gave up office because of old age. New England seems to have produced a political elite that was hardly less stable and hardly closer to the social and economical conditions of the average villager than its European counterpart. It has been argued that common men were led by "deference," an unthinking respect for their so-called betters.[35] This

explanation seems to be rather tautological. At least, it can be said that communities on both sides of the Atlantic relied on experts for administration. Peasant communes in Germany and New England were willing to employ educated people from the cities or lawyers as their representatives. Local representation took the shape of an "expertocracy" rather than a meritocracy.

The practice of choosing representatives suggests that the communities did not conceive of themselves and the territorial state as opponents. The representatives were experts, professional or semi-professional politicians who commanded the skills needed to participate in the communication with the state. New England's rural communities did not supervise their respective representatives. Before the eighteenth century there is hardly any evidence that the deputies of the General Court received any instructions from the town meetings.[36] At least in some South German territories representational communalism included more vigorous control: The so-called *Hinter-sich-bringen*, literally "putting-behind-oneself," was part of the duties of communal representatives: They had to present all resolutions of the regional diets to their hometown for ratification.[37]

Representational communalist systems in Europe and America shared values and goals. Evidently, local self-government and representation were means to an end; they were expressions and instruments of a political awareness and political aims. I would like to point out some basic features of the political thought peasants in early modern New England and Germany had in common. These ideas and values played a major part in communalist politics but this does not necessarily mean that they were exclusively held by the rural population and rejected by burghers or aristocrats. On the contrary, one of the reasons why communities and territorial aristocratic states were capable of cooperation was that they shared sets of values.

Basic features in the demands of the peasantry were swift and simple legal procedures. As soon as they arrived in America, the settlers got rid of the formalities of the common law. Massachusetts's representational communalism effectively banned arbitrary, slow, and costly procedures almost forty years before *habeas corpus*.[38] Although they developed remarkable skill in using lawsuits as a means to protect their interests, German peasants demanded the simplification of legal procedures in 1525 and afterwards. A caveat is needed here: As the numerous witch-hunts organized by German peasant villages prove, the simplification of legal procedures does not necessarily result in justice.[39] Being suspicious of learned jurisprudence communalist systems on both sides of the Atlantic were more willing than aristocratic states to accept the Bible as a blueprint for the legal system.[40]

Even though—at least in Germany—the preservation of subsistence certainly was the foremost concern of most peasants, communes demonstrated an understanding of the economic implications of political decisions well beyond the rural household economy. New England communities as well as some of their German counterparts were substantial landowners. Numerous regulations in German territories regarding exports and imports of agricultural products met demands of the peasantry. In New England and in Germany peasants kept complaining about the lack of interchangeable

currency. Several *Landschaften* took on the role of banks. This proves that at least a part of the rural population used its power to influence monetary politics.[41]

These economic objectives together with the upkeep of infrastructure such as roads and bridges as well as the preservation of the commons were regarded as contributing to the welfare of the community as a whole. The welfare of the community, the *Gemeinnutz* or the common good, was a basic category of rural political thought. The political ideal of the common good was used to justify actions and norms. The rebellious peasants of Württemberg proclaimed in 1514 that next to the greater honor of God the common good should be the purpose of politics. In his famous speech during the passage to Massachusetts, John Winthrop expressed the very same notion.[42] It was explicitly claimed that the promotion of the common good was the end of justice and the *raison d' être* of peasant confederacies. John Locke's main idea that the good of society is served best when everyone works for his own advantage had already been formulated and published by the German political theorist Leonhard Fronsberger in 1564. But his call went unheeded.[43] The rural common-good ideology was still too strong. However, the peasantry's preoccupation with the commonweal did not spell an interest in equality. Rural artisanship, market orientation and even rural capitalism were basic features of the country economy, especially in New England. The political value of common welfare certainly checked individual entrepreneurial initiative but the ability to enter the market seems to have been part and parcel of the common good. The more radical demands of Müntzer and his followers as well as the community of goods practiced by the Anabaptist minority remained alien to peasant culture.[44] Nevertheless, the dominant role of the common-good concept might have been one of the reasons why the protection of private property as central obligation of the state played but a minor role in popular political thought till the eighteenth century. Paradoxically, in New England it was the dominion regime that—by questioning the settlers' land grants—strengthened the idea that the state was the guarantor of property.[45]

Part and parcel of the community's welfare was order. To guarantee order and thereby peace was depicted as one of the main duties of New England rulers. In German *Dorfordnungen*, collections of local bylaws, it is one of the main tasks of the inhabitants to keep up peace and good order within the village.[46] Town courts staffed by peasants sanctioned breaches of the peace and petty crime. Even though most peasant communities in early modern Germany did not officially participate in the administration of criminal justice they influenced criminal procedures as pressure groups, brought charges collectively or even usurped legal functions of the territorial authorities. In a very similar way the communities of New England, too, were integrated in the system of peacekeeping and law enforcement. In addition to the self-policing of the individual village, German and New England peasant representative alike advocated legal sanctions against personal conduct considered offensive or luxurious on the territorial level in order to keep up public order.[47]

The central objective of communalism was the unity of the community itself. This might seem tautological. However, to actively achieve unity was regarded as the central task of a commune. In German as well as in American source materials the communal obligation to act "as one man" ("ein Mann zu sein") occurs time and again.

In his "Arrabella" speech Winthrop urged his fellow settlers to "be knit together in this work [i.e., the building of the colony] as one man." When they decided on more important business, town meetings in the electorate of Trier formally proclaimed their willingness "beyeinander zu stehen, ein Mann zu sein, auch leib und gut beieinander zu lassen" (to stand together, to be one man, to preserve together life and property).[48] In New England as well as in Germany town meetings seem to have regarded unanimous decisions as the rule or even as necessary.

It has been observed that the territorial state in early modern Germany was integrated into a system of reciprocity that bound it to the villages.[49] The reciprocity that informed the relations between the peasant community and the lordship could be regarded as the equivalent of the structuring principle that governed life within the village: Within the community, unity and peace spelled the willingness of individuals to obey to its rules and accept standards of conduct that were based on reciprocity. Covenant and confederacies created obligations of individuals towards each other and thereby originated communities. In contrast to Lockean concepts of contract, covenant and confederacies did not mention individual rights.[50] Strict social control was one of the basic features of early modern community life. Factionalism, individualism, and self-interest, of course, existed within village communities but they were considered illegitimate. They contradicted the political ideal of unity. Indirectly, the central ideas of unity and peace discouraged opposition and strengthened the positions of representatives.

The concept of oneness had a distinctly exclusive, even an aggressive trait. At the core of the concept of localism lies a negative attitude towards all outside influences. This negative attitude took two basic forms. First, in New England as well as in Germany peasants feared powerful outsiders, small groups of corrupt officials, the stereotypical "bad counselors" of the prince. New Englanders counted among the worst evils of the dominion regime the fact that Governor Andros had employed people from other colonies as officials.[51] The villagers that enjoyed all political privileges of their community were keen to control the influx of newcomers. In Europe and America alike, the ruling majority that enjoyed all economical and political privileges, the landowning rural householders excluded small tenants from political participation and were obsessed with fear of the group of non-householders, itinerant farm hands and poor vagrants.[52] Colonial New England and the communalist territories of Germany were certainly no "middle class democracies" or "Hausväterdemokratien" as Robert Brown and Karl Bosl called them, rather, they were landowner republics.[53]

Although representative institutions, periodical elections and political participation were elements of representational communalism, it cannot be addressed as a driving force of democratization. Its frequently easy coexistence with aristocratic states, its tendency to accept or even create authoritarian structures, and its utter lack of respect for pluralism suggests otherwise. However, the desacralization of the political sphere, the obvious interest to participate actively in decision-making in a variety of political fields, and the use of expert knowledge suggest that representational communalism was a strong partner of the emerging territorial state—a partner, not an opponent. Peasant communities on both sides of the Atlantic seem to have been lacking

a political vision of their own. All of their basic ideas and aims were identical or easily reconcilable with those of the territorial states. Representational communalism was compatible with the estates systems of the German territorial states as well as with the quasi-parliamentarism of seventeenth-century New England. However, it integrated specific forms and structures such as elections, representative institutions, the participation of at least a large group of the subject into the process of policy making, into the political culture.[54] In the new intellectual climate of the revolutionary era, these patterns were apt to become instruments and vehicles of democratic reform.

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Notes

[1] I presented a short version of this paper at the 25th Symposium of the SGAS at Grand Rapids, Michigan, May 3-6, 2001.

[2] Cf. H. J. Ford, *Representative Government* (New York: Holt, 1924) and John Sly, *Town Government in Massachusetts (1620-1930)* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930), 52-69.

[3] Kemble's connections to German historiography were crucial for the development of the Oxford School, cf. Petra Feld, "Kemble, John Mitchell," in *Hoops — Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, 2d ed. Heinrich Beck et al. (Berlin: DeGruyter, 2000), 6:422-23.

[4] Herbert B. Adams, "Mr. Freeman's Visit to Baltimore," in *An Introduction to American Institutional History*, ed. Edward Freeman, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, vol. 1 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1882; reprt. New York: Johnson, 1973), 5-12.

[5] Alexis de Tocqueville, *De la démocratie en Amérique* (Paris, 1835-40), Alexis de Tocqueville, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Jacob Mayer (Paris: Gallimard, 1951), 1:60-63, and Alexis de Tocqueville, *L'ancien régime et la révolution* (Paris: Gallimard, 1856), Alexis de Tocqueville, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Jacob Mayer (Paris: Gallimard, 1952), 2:119-22.

[6] Blickle reflected in some detail on the development and significance of the term "communalism, " Peter Blickle, "Kommunalismus: Begriffsbildung in heuristischer Absicht," in *Landgemeinde und Stadtgemeinde in Mitteleuropa. Ein struktureller Vergleich*, ed. Peter Blickle (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1991), 5-38; cf. the critical comment by Robert Scribner, "Communalism: Universal Category or Ideological Construct?" *Historical Journal* 37 (1994): 199-207.

[7] Peter Blickle, *Kommunalismus: Skizzen einer gesellschaftlichen Organisationsform*, 2 vols. (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2000), 2:374.

[8] Kenneth Lockridge, *Settlement and Unsettlement in Early America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

[9] Cf. Timothy H. Breen, "Introduction," in *Puritans and Adventurers: Change and Persistence in Early America*, ed. Timothy H. Breen (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), vi-xviii; Blickle, *Kommunalismus*, 36.

[10] Theodor Schieder, "Möglichkeiten und Grenzen vergleichender Methoden in der Geschichtswissenschaft," in *Geschichte als Wissenschaft*, ed. Theodor Schieder (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1965), 187-211.

[11] Alexander Gerschenkron, *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1962); Barrington Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (London: Allan Lane, 1967).

[12] Roland Mousnier, « La Participation des Gouvernés à l'Activité des Gouvernants dans la France du XVIIe et du XVIIIe siècles, » *Schweizer Beiträge zur Allgemeinen Geschichte* 20 (1962-63): 200-29.

[13] Derek Hirst, *The Representatives of the People?: Voters and Voting in England under the Early Stuarts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975); Mark Kishlansky, *Parliamentary Selection: Social and Political Choice in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

[14] Peter Blickle, Steven Ellis and Eva Österberg, "The Commons and the State: Representation, Influence, and the Legislative Process," in *Resistance, Representation and Community*, ed. Peter Blickle (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 121-23; Göran Rystad, "The Estates of the Realm, the Monarchy, and Empire, 1611-1718," in *The Riksdag: A History of the Swedish Parliament*, ed. Michael Metcalf (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 61-108.

[15] Hans Conrad Peyer, *Verfassungsgeschichte der alten Schweiz* (Zürich: Schulthess, 1978); Peter Bierbrauer, *Freiheit und Gemeinde im Berner Oberland, 1300-1700* (Bern: Stämpfli, 1991).

[16] The author is currently working on a study that will include all these systems in a multinational comparison.

[17] Cf. the surveys in André Holenstein, *Bauern zwischen Bauernkrieg und Dreißigjährigem Krieg* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1996); Werner Troßbach, *Bauern 1648-1806* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1993); Heide Wunder, *Die bäuerliche Gemeinde in Deutschland* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986).

[18] Cf. for the Peasants' War, its religious and political contexts and consequences Peter Blickle, *From the Communal Reformation to the Revolution of the Common Man* (Boston: Brill, 1998) and James M. Stayer, *The German Peasants' War and Anabaptist Community of Goods* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991).

[19] Bernd Kappelhoff, *Absolutistisches Regiment oder Ständeherrschaft?: Landesherr und Landstände in Ostfriesland im ersten Drittel des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Hildesheim: Lax, 1982); Kersten Krüger, "Die Landschaftliche Verfassung Nordelbiens in der frühen Neuzeit," in *Civitatum Communitas: Festschrift Heinz Stoob*, ed. Helmut Jäger (Cologne: Böhlau, 1984), 2:458-87.

[20] Richard Laufner, "Die Landstände von Kurtrier im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert," *Rheinische Vierteljahreshefte* 33 (1968): 290-317.

[21] Peter Blickle, *Landschaften im Alten Reich* (Munich: Beck, 1973).

[22] Cf. Richard Simmons, *Studies in the Massachusetts Franchise, 1631-1691* (New York: Garland, 1989).

[23] Helmut Koenigsberger, "Schlußbetrachtung: Republiken und Republikanismus im Europa der frühen Neuzeit aus historischer Sicht," in *Republiken und Republikanismus im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Helmut Koenigsberger, (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1988), 285-302.

[24] John Peacock, "Covenant, Body Politic, and the Great Migration," in *The Covenant Connection: From Federal Theology to Modern Federalism*, ed. Daniel J. Elazar and John Kincaid (Lanham: Lexington, 1999), 201-22; cf. also J. Wayne Baker, *Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenant: The other Reformed Tradition* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1980) and Daniel J. Elazar, *Covenant and Constitutionalism: The Great Frontier and the Matrix of Federal Democracy* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1998).

[25] Peter Blickle, *Gemeindereformation: Die Menschen des 16. Jahrhunderts auf dem Weg zum Heil* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1985).

[26] Marc Forster, *The Counter-Reformation in the Villages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992).

[27] Klaus Gerteis, "Bauernrevolten zwischen Bauernkrieg und Französischer Revolution," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 6 (1979): 37-62; Walter Rummel, *Bauern, Herren und Hexen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 26-37.

[28] Cf. Donald Lutz, ed., *Documents of Political Foundation written by Colonial Americans* (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1986) and the survey of Lutz's results in Elazar, *Covenant*, 22-23, 32.

[29] Cf., e.g., John Winthrop, "Defense of the Negative Vote," in *The Winthrop Papers*, ed. Allyn B. Forbes, (Boston: MHS, 1944), 4:380-91; John Winthrop, "A Discourse on Arbitrary Government," in *The Winthrop Papers*, 4:468-88; cf. Timothy H. Breen, *The Character of the Good Ruler: A Study of Puritan Political Ideas in New England, 1630-1730* (New Haven: Norton, 1970), 73-76.

[30] Simmons, *Studies*, 67-73; John Frederick Martin, *Profits in the Wilderness. Entrepreneurship and the Founding of New England Towns in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 167-85; Karl Bosl, "Repräsentierte und Repräsentierende. Vorformen und Traditionen des Parlamentarismus an der gesellschaftlichen Basis der deutschen Territorialstaaten vom 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert," in *Der moderne Parlamentarismus und seine Grundlagen in der ständischen Repräsentation*, ed. Karl Bosl and Karl Möckl (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1977), 99-120.

[31] Harm Klueting, "Bauern auf den 'Erbentagen' nordwestdeutscher Territorien," *Parliaments, Estates and Representation* 7 (1987): 41-49.

[32] Krüger, *Verfassung*, 466-69; Nis R. Nissen, "Bäuerliche Führungsschichten Dithmarschens zwischen Bauernkrieg und Bauernbefreiung," in *Bauernschaft und Bauernstand 1500-1970*, ed. Günther Franz (Limburg: Starke, 1975), 165-82.

[33] Blickle, *Landschaften*, 449-58.

[34] Cf., for example, Robert E. Wall, *The Membership of the Massachusetts Bay General Court, 1630-1686* (New York: Garland, 1990); Joy Gilsdorf and Robert Gilsdorf, "Elites and Electorates: Some Plain Truths for Historians of Colonial America," in *Saints and Revolutionaries: Essays on Early American History*, ed. David Hall (New York: Norton, 1984), 207-44.

[35] Cf. the controversy in Michael Zuckerman, "Tocqueville, Turner, and Turds: Four Stories of Manners in Early America," *Journal of American History* 85 (1998): 13-42, and Robert Gross, "The Impudent Historian: Challenging Deference in Early America," *Journal of American History* 85 (1998): 92-97.

[36] Wall, *Massachusetts*, 26; for the eighteenth century cf. Michael Zuckerman, *Peaceable Kingdoms: New England Towns in the Eighteenth Centruy*, 2d ed. (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1983), 20-23; exceptions in Simmons, *Studies*, 65.

[37] Blickle, *Landschaften*, 268-70, 567-68.

[38] Richard Simmons, "The Massachusetts Revolution of 1689: Three Early American Political Broadsides, "*Journal of American Studies* 2 (1968): 1-12; Nathan Matthews, "The Results of the Prejudice against Lawyers in Massachusetts in the Seventeenth Century,"*Massachusetts Law Quarterly* 13 (1928): 73-94.

[39] Johannes Dillinger, *"Böse Leute": Hexenverfolgungen in Schwäbisch-Österreich und Kurtrier im Vergleich* (Trier: Spee, 1999), 79-83, 305-41, 417-38.

[40] Edgar McManus, *Law and Liberty in Early New England: Criminal Justice and Due Process, 1620-1692* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993), 8, and Blickle, *Kommunalismus*, 2:12; for Sweden cf. Blickle , Ellis and Österberg, *Commons*, 149.

[41] Blickle, *Landschaften*, 194-95, 347, 377-78, 474-76.

[42] Blickle, *Kommunalismus*, 1:88; John Winthrop, "A Modell of Christian Charity," in *The Winthrop Papers*, ed. Steward Mitchell, 6 vols. (Boston: MHS, 1931), 2:282-95.

[43] Winfried Schulze, *Vom Gemeinnutz zum Eigennutz: Über den Normenwandel in der ständischen Gesellschaft der Frühen Neuzeit* (Munich: Oldenbourg) 1987.

[44] Stayer, 58-60, 95-122.

[45] Breen, *Character*, 203-39.

[46] Paul Münch, "Grundwerte der frühneuzeitlichen Ständegesellschaft?: Aufriß einer vernachlässigten Thematik," in *Ständische Gesellschaft und soziale Mobilität*, ed. Winfried Schulze and Helmut Gabel (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1988), 53-72, esp. 66-71; Bernhard Schildt, "Der Friedensgedanke im frühneuzeitlichen Dorfrecht," *Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Germanistische Abteilung* 197 (1990): 188-235.

[47] Johannes Dillinger, "Die Gemeinde, die Kolonie, der Sünder: Grundlagen des Strafrechts im kolonialen Neuengland," in *Rahmenbedingungen der Strafjustiz in der Frühen Neuzeit im internationalen Vergleich*, ed. Helga Schnabel-Schüle, forthcoming.

[48] Winthrop, *Modell*, 294; *Sammlung der Gesetze und Verordnungen welche in dem vormaligen Churfürstenthm Trier über Gegenstände der Landeshoheit, Verfassung, Verwaltung und Rechtspflege ergangen sind*, 3 vols., ed. Johann Jacob Scotti (Düsseldorf: Wolf, 1832), 1,152:555.

[49] Thomas Robisheaux, *Rural Society and the Search for Order in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

[50] Joshua Miller, *The Rise and Fall of Democracy in early America, 1630-1789: The Legacy for Contemporary Politics* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991), 28-35.

[51] Cf., e.g., "The Declaration of the Gentlemen, Merchants, and Inhabitants of Boston, and the County Adjacent: April 18, 1689," in *The Andros Tracts*, 3 vols., ed. William Whitmore (Boston: Prince, 1868-1874, reprt. New York: Franklin, 1971), 1:11-19, esp. 12-14; cf. Breen, *Character*, 156-63.

[52] Bernd Roeck, *Außenseiter, Randgruppen, Minderheiten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993).

[53] Bosl, *Repräsentierte*, 109; Robert Brown, *Middle-Class Democracy and the Revolution in Massachusetts, 1691-1780*, 2d ed.(New York: Russell & Russell, 1968).

[54] Frank O'Gorman, "The Culture of Elections in England: From the Glorious Revolution to the First World War, 1688-1914," in *Elections before Democracy: The History of Elections in Europe and Latin America*, ed. Eduardo Posada-Carbó (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), 17-31.

Linda Katrizky

Johann Gottfried Seume's Expedition with the Hessians to America, 1781-83

Defying established categories and well-defined contemporary genres, Johann Gottfried Seume (1763-1810) occupies a complex position in literary history and critical thought; hence his appreciation is still likely to fall and rise with the tides of taste and political concerns. His reputation rests mainly on his three autobiographical reports, *Mein Leben, Mein Sommer 1805* and *Spaziergang nach Syrakus,* and his sidelined niche in German studies attests to his lack of inventive strategy, and to his unadorned, laconic language. He himself stressed repeatedly that he only wrote about what he had personally seen and experienced, and that he merely wanted to let the facts speak for themselves and was not interested in descriptive embellishments.[1] Like is, therefore, not measured with like, when his writings are linked and compared to such outstanding literary masterpieces as Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (1811-14), Karl Philipp Moritz's *Anton Reiser* (1785-90), or Jung-Stilling's *Heinrich Stillings Jugend* (1777), and then found wanting, nor when they are briefly acknowledged as the most important pre-Goethe experiment to express correspondence between the representation of self and world.[2] Seume had no intention to embroider his language or experiences, to record his private psychological history or to call attention to the stages of his personal growth ("die psychologische Geschichte meiner Bildung"). He starts *Mein Leben* by specifically emphasizing that he had declined a substantial sum offered to him for a narrative constructed on such lines. Instead, encouraged by such eminent writers as Herder, Gleim and Schiller, he set out to relate the incidents of his life in his own particular manner ("nach meiner Weise die Umstände meines Lebens . . . niederzulegen"), in plain language and with the didactic intention of exposing the conditions of life as he had experienced them in order to arouse interest among his readers, provide instruction for young people, and strengthen their moral fortitude ("Wenn die Erzählung unterhält und vielleicht hier und da die Jugend belehrt und in guten Grundsätzen befestigt, so habe ich nicht umsonst gelebt und geschrieben").[3]

He brought some unusual qualifications to this task, for he originated from the rural poor. His family, however, subscribed to exacting moral standards and maintained invigorating memories of a higher social status enjoyed in former times. When Seume's exceptional intellect was recognized, local well-wishers enabled him to obtain an

adequate education, and driven by his own intellectual curiosity he acquired in time ample information and erudition in several branches of learning. Yet he never succeeded in extricating himself from adverse circumstances, for his moral integrity prevented him from conditioning himself to the archaic and oppressive political system, which still held power in the many petty German states. His guiding principles, instilled by his upright parents, were reinforced by his ardent studies in ancient literature and philosophy. Thus he credited next to his mother the Greeks with fostering the good that was in him ("Was ich Gutes an und in mir habe, verdanke ich meiner Mutter und den Griechen"). He also steeped himself in history and geography and became an expert in Bible knowledge, but was really touched only by the inspiring example of Jesus and by the moral standard of his teaching ("der schöne, begeisterte Enthusiasmus Jesu und die liebenswürdige Moral seiner Lehre"). To all this he added intensive reading of Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke, filling his mind with the ideals of the Enlightenment.[4] Through his ardor in setting these against the actual situations, in which he found himself and the people with whom he had to interact, he was, and still is, frequently evaluated as political writer in terms of nineteenth and twentieth-century radicalism. Thus Hausenstein, for instance, defines Seume's whole occupation as being a political character (who "einen förmlichen Beruf daraus machte, ein politischer Character zu sein") and hails his patriotism, sharpened by the democratic ideals of classical Greece, as legacy to the working class, to which the future belongs ("Dieser Patriotismus ist Seumes allgemeinstes Vermächtnis an die zukunftschaffende Vaterlandsliebe der Arbeiterklasse"). Seume himself defined as political "was zu dem allgemeinen Wohl etwas beyträgt oder beytragen soll: quod bonum publicum, promovet" (what contributes or should contribute to the common good), and only in this sense he declared that every good book had to be more or less political.[5]

His working class origins and his poverty haunted life have also led to a frequent bracketing of Seume's autobiography with that of the Swiss peasant, Ulrich Bräker, especially as both had to endure spells as pressed common soldiers. Bräker, however, was an autodidact,[6] while Seume was university educated and well versed in theology, philosophy, and classics, and keenly interested in literature and topical intellectual affairs.

When pressed into the Hessian Army, he was trying to make his way from his native Saxony to Paris on the first of his adventurous excursions on foot. With his chronic lack of means this mode of traveling afforded him throughout his life the only possibility to satisfy his "Wanderlust" and intellectual curiosity. It also provided him with the unusual perspective on life and social conditions missing from the records of the numerous grand tours with their resting points at well-established inns, cultural highlights and dazzling courts. Young and optimistic, Seume felt irresistibly drawn to Paris as the center of political change, fully expecting to experience there at first hand the enlightened principles of the French Revolution which fired his enthusiasm. Love of freedom had filled him since early childhood, when his family was hovering at subsistence level and, like most peasants and smallholders, did not own their property outright, but had to pay for it continually through oppressive tithes and harsh service to a feudal overlord. These relentless demands instilled entrenched opposition to all

oppression in the young Seume, and a longing for equity and for an end to all special privileges and class distinctions.

Many aristocrats grossly and heartlessly abused their power, and the lot of those under their sway was pitiful. But not all were unfair and unfeeling. One of them was so impressed by the exceptionally bright youngster that he supported his education and eventually sent him to the university at Leipzig. There he was expected to study theology, one of the few avenues of advancement for those without fortune and connections. Promotion entailed, however, acting as useful member of an establishment in which the ruling prince was practically autonomous and the nobility exempt from taxation and free to lord it over a largely rural, disfranchised population. All burdens were heaped on these, and their only consolation was provided by a religion, which represented this form of government as hallowed and God-given, and promised to the poor and weary recompense only in a next world.

When his father died, chafing under this regime and worn out from the hardships of his dependent condition, Seume was eight years old. All through his life he retained vivid recollections of the unbroken spirit with which the hapless man had resisted injustice and suppression. In spite of a debilitating, painful infection, from which he suffered during the last years of his life, he was not spared the compulsory labor, which the overlord could command in addition to hefty, and often crushing contributions in kind. Thus prevented from attending to his own little property, his family sank more and more into poverty. To see him suffer mentally and physically under this slavery until his early death at barely thirty-seven turned the son into an ardent believer in the principles proclaimed by the Enlightenment, and in particular the French Revolution. Yet, though he never wavered in denouncing class-divisions and class privileges as the root-evil in society, his judgment was not clouded by spite, bitterness or unsubstantiated idealism, and he frequently commended individual noblemen for instances of kindness and personal good will. Their example encouraged him to envisage an uncorrupted monarchy, administered by upright officials to the benefit of all.

One such was Count Hohenthal-Knauthayn, to whom he was indebted for his education, but on whom he did not want to depend any longer, when he fully realized that his own views on religion were quite incompatible with a theology that had adapted itself to co-exist with autocratic rule and with the virtual enslavement of large parts of the population. More and more Seume perceived institutionalized religion as vital part of the social pyramid he abhorred, and to which he refused subservience. His freethinking father had once ironically advised him that to get on in life he must agree with anything said or demanded by those above him. "Boy," he had remarked in self-mockery, "when they tell you from above that water runs uphill, you have to reply instantly: 'Your Lordship, it has just arrived on top.'"[7] Like his father, Seume refused to bend to such obligations, and the progress of his studies was increasingly hampered by his inability to comply with them. Convinced that it would be dishonest to continue drawing on the support of his titled sponsor and impossible to discuss his motivation with him, he decided to leave quietly for Paris, where he imagined that his longing for a classless society had already become a reality.[8]

Yet Seume was no impractical dreamer. He had nothing in common with the romantic movement, which was in full sway when he wrote down his memoirs in 1813, and in which many of his literary contemporaries found relief from depressing reality. He had already clearly distanced himself from the classic as well as the romantic conception of literature in the programmatic introduction to his *Mein Sommer 1805*, in which he set himself the task to describe exactly what he experienced on his tour of the European North, stressing that all perspectives are much more realistic for somebody on foot, than for the traveler in a carriage.[9] The language of his earliest publication rather echoes the passionate commitment of the *Sturm und Drang*, reminding Hausenstein of the style of Karl Moor in *Die Räuber*,[10] while his writings foreshadow the aspirations, realism and politics of *das Junge Deutschland,* the literary movement giving voice to the sentiments preparing the Revolution of 1848. Even as late as this, Paris still appeared as the beacon of freedom to German youth galled by their political impotence, and two of the prominent representatives of *das Junge Deutschland* eventually made their permanent home there, Heinrich Heine (1797-1856) and Ludwig Börne (1786-1837).

When Seume set out in June 1780 to find true freedom, a sword at his side and some spare shirts and several volumes of classical authors in his traveling-bag, his plans for the future were reasonable and feasible. He intended to have a good look at Paris and then proceed to Metz and there enter the military academy to train as artillery officer. He excelled in mathematics and could expect to succeed in a vocation which in Germany was open only to the sons of the nobility and those with means and special connections, unless quite exceptional losses in war depleted their ranks and the most courageous of the lower orders had to be promoted. Germany, at the time, was, however, not a place in which freedom and individual enterprise flourished, and all these hopes were crushed, when, after hardly having touched Hessian territory on his third night, he was forcibly intercepted by lawless recruiting officers, who tore up his university credentials, denounced him as a vagrant and pressed him into military service.

Under these circumstances his prospects were fundamentally different from the martial career he had envisaged for himself, for he now found himself a prisoner of the landgrave Friedrich II. of Hessen-Kassel, the most notorious and detested among those petty German territorial rulers, who sustained their lavish lifestyles by selling into foreign bondage soldiers, whose obedience and complete subordination was mercilessly enforced. England, without a native standing army, was the best customer for these unfortunates, never more so than during the wars in America, when fighting men were urgently needed. In his *Kabale und Liebe* (1784) Schiller passionately denounced this ruler, who dominated and epitomized this disgraceful trade to such a degree that though other princes also sold men, German mercenaries under English command became generally known as Hessians, and in my own youth children were still subdued with the threat: "ab nach Kassel" (meaning: get lost). Much later Seume recorded his misfortunes in *Mein Leben*, an account of his life, which remained a fragment because he was too ill and worn down to carry out his task.

As he wrote so many years after the events described, some later critics felt and feel that not all his remarks should be taken as gospel truth and that the wish to dramatize himself had clouded his memory. The close friends, who eventually finished the account of his life, harbored no such doubts. They were Christian August Heinrich Clodius and Georg Joachim Göschen, the influential bookseller and publisher, who assisted Seume during the last years of his life by providing various literary commissions. They describe his oral, as well as his written reminiscences as modest and truthful, cheerful and serene,[11] and his autobiographic works are, indeed, remarkably free of any sensationalism, gory details, or self-pity, notwithstanding all the hardships they enumerate. The version of events as presented in *Mein Leben* agrees completely with that presented in Seume's letter from Halifx dated 1782 ("Schreiben aus Amerika nach Deutschland"), which is largely ironic, rather than accusatory, and yet describes the Hessian garrison as a devils' nest ("Teufelsnest") which seems to have been one of the very openings of hell ("eine Öffnung nach dem Styx"). His reaction to his brutal and unlawful capture was a mixture of shock, resignation in face of the inevitable, and the faint hope that, maybe, in this extremity fate would yet provide him with some favorable opportunities. He deplored especially that while all his sympathies were with those who fought for freedom, and while he wished the American settlers every success, he himself was, for better or worse, pressed into the service of tyrants and bent to their will.[12]

In *Mein Leben* Seume sums up his attitude after his capture with remarkable understatement, noting that he stopped fretting in the end, consoling himself that life goes on wherever we are, and that he, too, may survive, where others can make it. Besides, getting across the ocean might open a new life for him. Those, who deduced from such statements that his rational acceptance of the inescapable denotes acquiescence with the perpetrated cruelty and injustice, overlook the short and caustic remark following these considerations: "That is what I thought."[13] While Seume pinned his hope on a better future, conditions were so desperate that about a hundred of his fellow captives conspired to overpower their guards and escape from their appalling prison, the Festung Ziegenhayn. Seume was chosen as a leader, but on the advice of an experienced former Prussian sergeant, who had likewise fallen into the clutches of the landgrave, he excused himself with his youth and inexperience. Many previous disappointments had convinced his shrewd counselor that such desperate attempts rarely met with success and usually ended in disaster. Such was, indeed, the case. Thanks to this timely warning, Seume escaped punishment by the skin of his teeth. Retribution was swift and cruel, though eventually only two men were to be hanged, and the landgrave, who had no intention of depleting his potential income, mitigated even these sentences. The men already standing under the gallows were instead ordered to run the gauntlet thirty-six times. Not everybody survived this brutal flogging, especially when thus prolonged. More than thirty others were likewise condemned to run the gauntlet, though less often.[14] Apart from describing this as cruel punishment, Seume provides no details of this atrocious procedure. During the eighteenth century it was still so much a part of the disciplinary methods in German armies that no description was necessary to put his readers into the picture.

Significantly, Ulrich Bräker, enticed by deception into the Prussian army and as a Swiss citizen unused to forcible coercion and arbitrary deprivation of freedom, left a vivid account of this disgraceful penalty. It was frequently and routinely meted out, often at the slightest provocation, thus serving to break free spirits and intimidate those daring to resist. The poor peasant Bräker had been lured into Prussian territory by the promise of excellent employment opportunities and a life of ease and plenty. As soon as he realized where his naïve trust had landed him, he started scheming to escape. "The only thing that interested me and so many others like me," he confessed later, "was how to get to hell out of it and back home!" His account explains why flight was no easy option, for he soon witnessed "the hussars bringing in deserters all the time." He had to listen to the ominous "drum rolls, as the culprits ran the gauntlet—and other such inducements." He understood quickly that his only feasible path to freedom and safety led through the chaos of a battlefield. Consequently he patiently bided his time and eventually escaped—not without grave risk and anxious moments—during the Prussian war against the Saxons, at the battle of Losowitz on 1 October 1756.[15]

Bräker's autobiography is distinguished by a realistic attitude and by observations sharpened by methods pioneered by the Pietist practitioners of self-observation, which left no room for self-pity. Marxists rightly praise him "as a social realist," and his reminiscences as "models of exact and honest reporting of ordinary life as seen and felt by the common man." In all this, and in the similarity of some of their experiences, he has frequently been compared to Seume, who shares Bräker's satiric vein, but lacks his healthy, sunny humor. Hans Mayer, therefore, finds Seume fiercer and sees his social and philosophical theories as revolutionary. In this sense Seume has been claimed as forerunner of various radical movements, but what he wanted was not to incite revolutions, but to show the world as it really was, so that people of all stations could take notice, change their ways and work together for the needed improvements. Both writers had no plans to remodel the world by force. They abhorred misuses of power, and the effects of coercion, and saw clearly that people on all levels of society where prone to infamy, while those of good will and with kind intentions could also be found in all ranks. Each in turn was therefore judged self-contradictory, though it is the world they experienced and described which is full of paradoxes and contradictions. His suffering in the army of Frederick II notwithstanding, Bräker could admire the aspects of greatness in this celebrated king, and Seume, who detested privileges and unbridled aristocratic power, went all the same out of his way to praise the integrity of single privileged individuals. He also continued to regard monarchy with all its failings as the most expedient method to govern a state, provided, of course, monarchs were prudent, honest and responsible.[16]

The conditions described by Bräker so many years earlier still concord with army life as encountered by Seume. Not much had changed. Bräker, the Swiss citizen to whom the situation of impressed men was entirely new and unexpected, provided some of the factual background which Seume left out, obviously counting such conditions among those home truths, he refused to repeat in his reminiscences, because they are nothing new to half the population, while the other half does not at all want

to know about them. He also stated that his particular fate was only one of many, and well enough known.[17] Yet his account added considerably to the general distaste for the practice of selling soldiers abroad, and in particular to the unfavorable opinion, in which the landgrave of Hessen-Kassel was held by those not belonging to his immediate refined and lavish circle, nor profiting from his free spending. Though he has found his apologists down through the ages, he was indisputably foremost among those princes, which the anonymous Bonaventura denounces, because they pay with people instead of with cash, and maintain the most disgraceful slave trade with death. Like Bräker and Seume, Bonaventura was no revolutionary and also realized that such tyrants are frequently benevolent towards individuals, and only massacre people wholesale.[18]

Thus even the hated landgrave was esteemed by some and found champions, who consequently attempted to discredit Seume, the most vocal and widely known victim of his autocratic, immoral practices. William L. Stone, for instance, acknowledges in his introduction to the *Memoirs, Letters, and Journals of Major General Riedesel* that "the landgrave of Hessia was especially an object of indignation." While he concedes that he himself "was not able to say to what extent this censure was just," he nevertheless excuses the practices of this ruler and belittles the traumatic experiences to which Seume gave voice. "Strenuous endeavors have been made to characterize as a great outrage," Stone declares:

> the impressment of the well known and beloved poet Seume by Hessian recruiting officers during the American war, chiefly because he was a noted personage. Might, of course, prevailed over right at that time. Still, a similar experience happened to many others, who, like the poet, could not show the necessary passport in their travels, and whose appearance, likewise, indicated that they led a vagabond life.[19]

In his 1782 letter from America Seume gives the number of those imprisoned with him as approximately 1,500, among them men from quite different principalities and from many stations in life. According to Stone and others who view history through the eyes of the powerful, "the recruited soldier belonged body and soul to him to whom he had sold himself" as a matter of fact. The conditions of this supposedly voluntary slavery he then calmly describes as follows: the soldier "was severed from every tie; in short, he was, in every sense of the word, the property of his military lord, who could do with him as he saw fit." Seume recounts in his autobiography that he found a large crowd already installed at the fortress Ziegenhayn, to which he was forthwith dispatched, among them a drop-out from the university of Jena, a bankrupt merchant from Vienna, a haberdasher from Hanover, a monk from Würzburg, a bailiff from Meiningen, a sergeant from a Prussian hussar regiment, a cashiered Hessian major. They all had to wait until sufficient further men had been ensnared from ploughs, roads and towns to make up a worthwhile consignment. Seume does not dwell much on the hardships of this initial stage, yet in his letter from Halifax he likens it significantly to the entrance to hell. From his scant information it would seem that though the

men had lost their freedom, their accommodation and keep was abominable, and their health rapidly declining, harsh military discipline was not yet fully enforced.

Finally the whole consignment was marched to Kassel and to the river Fulda, from whence they were taken in barges to the Weser and on to the port city of Bremen, where English freighters already awaited them. They all resembled the prisoners they were much more than soldiers, for no weapons had been issued to them, while their guards were heavily armed. These beat and pushed all those of the impressed men, who failed to shout loudly and lustily enough "Long live the King," when shortly after Kassel they were inspected by the English officer in charge, Sir William Faucit. This English emissary seemed during this "Seelenverkauf" (sale of souls) like a merchant inspecting his wares to Seume, who was spared the indignity of joining in the enforced shouts, because owing to his shortness he had been placed in a middle row. Thus his refusal to express oral homage went unnoticed, but he prudently waved his hat, like all the others. Before the river, winding through the patchwork of intertwined German territorial states, skirted Prussian territory, the captive Prussians were disembarked and forced to take a detour on land. Seume grasped the opportunity to declare himself a Prussian, as the forced inertia and lack of movement on the overcrowded, narrow barges had become intolerable to him. Although he was known as a Saxon, he was grudgingly allowed to join the group. Before long, escape was plotted among these men, who knew their homeland so near, but this attempt was anticipated and quickly foiled, and when the party rejoined their waterborne companions soon after, all further thoughts of liberty had to be abandoned.[20]

Even on this sorry trip Seume could not help noting the abundant beauties of nature, but his natural sense of observation and enjoyment was blunted by numb and slavish brooding and by the acute humiliation under which he not only suffered on his own account, but on that of his homeland, in which such degrading conditions were permitted. Once the transport reached the mouth of the river the unwieldy barges could no longer be navigated, so the whole motley assembly was shipped by special coastal vessels to the harbor and the English freighters, where they were pressed together, layered and pickled like herrings. Space was at a premium, hence the men were not allotted any hammocks, but squeezed into wooden boxes under the deck, where the dimensions were so restricted that no full-grown person could stand up straight. These boxes were arranged in two layers, so it was even impossible to sit upright on a bed. Each box had to be shared by twelve men. They fitted together so tightly that the last two had literally to be pushed in. None of them could move at all, unless the whole crowd changed position on command at the same time. The food was hardly better than the accommodation: "peas and pork and pork and peas," with rarely a break in the monotony. The pork was four or five years old, black and streaky; the water scarce and stale, any bread to be had was riddled with worms. Rumor had it, that it had been confiscated long ago from the French during the Seven Years' War, and Seume ruminated darkly that now it served to keep Germans alive, destined to kill Frenchmen in America. These conditions were especially intolerable, as the passage encountered violent storms and lasted, instead of the usual four weeks, fully twenty-two. The rations, never ample, became less and less.

The conditions on this journey were by no means unusual, though in Seume's case storms considerably prolonged the hardships. Very similar circumstances are described, for instance, in a historical sketch first published in the mid-nineteenth century in a German periodical. Translated as "The Voyage of the First Hessian Army from Portsmouth to New York," it was published together with "an Extract from the Diary of the German Poet and Adventurer, J. G. Seume, a Hessian Soldier." This account enumerates in unemotional language such calamities as disease reigning supreme, over-crowed conditions resulting in limbs paralyzed even long after disembarkation, death on board, lack of the most basic necessities, "undrinkable and finally putrid" water, utensils smashed by storms or gnawed by rats, only to end with the resigned declaration: "all of these troubles more or less were suffered by most of the transport ships." By commencing his narration with the assembly of the first Hessian army in the harbor of Portsmouth the writer avoids the prickly question of how these men were recruited and assures for himself a detached perspective.[21] Seume and his companions suffered similarly on their later voyage, yet out of approximately five hundred men only about twenty-seven died during the crossing. Among them was the monk from Würzburg, a man of culture and knowledge. Broken by his deplorable fate and unable to reconcile himself with it he abandoned all hope, fell into complete apathy and could hardly be beaten out of his stupor. Finally he was no longer molested by anybody and before long he died of complete despair and self-neglect in his excrements, his hair and nails overgrown and insects crawling over him.[22]

A description of such a sea passage can also be found in the memoirs of General Riedesel, who reported confidently, while escorting a transport of recruits and still on the Elbe: "We have finished our march without desertion, and without the least complaint either from the inhabitants or the men; and, what is the most remarkable feature in the whole of it is, that a large number of those who were very much fatigued held out to the end." His commentary, though phrased in a positive manner, proves that desertions and attempts of desertion had to be expected and occurred frequently. Before the final embarkation, these men were drilled for four days, and then within two hours transferred to the English ship, overseen by Colonel Faucit, the very same who a few years later was to receive Seume and his fellow prisoners. This English agent counted all the men once more, was handed the necessary lists, and commended General Riedesel, because "he had never seen an embarkation of troops which was so quiet and orderly." Riedesel reported all this to Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick. The high-level interchange may explain the claim that Riedesel declared himself "unable sufficiently to describe the contentment of our soldiers. Every one is joyful and in good spirits." These were the same impressed men for whom, as reiterated by Stone: "thirty thalers were to be paid as a bounty for each man. One-third of this sum was to be paid one month after signing of the treaty, and the remainder two months subsequently." It is difficult to know, who was deluded and in how far, but it indicates the illusions—sincere or deliberately deceitful—which were officially kept up to sustain practices completely contrary to the teaching of Christianity, which was publicly not only practiced, but strictly enforced. Pfister is especially expansive on the importance of divine services on board, and on "the religious, sympathetic feeling," which "certainly

prevail in the deeply rooted piety of our (Hessian) people." But what was so regularly preached was hardly compatible with Seume's belief in the rights of men as proclaimed by the Bible, as well as by the French and American Revolution. Altogether, the correspondence of Riedesel dwells rarely on the unpleasant aspects of ordinary army life with which the high nobility, sufficiently removed from the ranks, was not directly connected.[23]

For these details we have to look into different documents, for instance the journal of Lieutenant Johann Karl Philip von Krafft, a Saxon by birth, who was promoted to ensign in a Prussian regiment of fusiliers under Frederick the Great, but resigned his commission and, hoping for greater rewards, made his own way to the New World. America attracted the adventurous, as well as those expecting to better their lot in a country still largely unknown, but attractive through the promise of liberty and fortune. Many succeeded in this quest, but von Krafft's tortuous path demonstrates clearly that the move was by no means invariably easy and smooth. He had intended to join the Braunschweigers under General von Riedesel, but as officers were not needed, his application was not accepted. Only after great difficulties and most disagreeable, dangerous adversities, he finally made it to corporal in a Hessian regiment. His voluntary enrollment secured him a degree of autonomy unattainable to impressed men. His position was low enough to keep him constantly and closely involved with them, yet it elevated him above the lower ranks and allowed him to observe their lot with the detachment of a volunteer and free man. He talks of discipline and punishments so casually that his matter-of-fact accounts make chilly reading. In 1781 he notes on 27 September: "Several desertions having occurred among the Hessians, a gallows was built in front of Fort Knyhaussen in order to excite fear." On 1 October "the portraits of the 3 Hessian officers who had deserted . . . were fastened to the gallows." Soon after he "was obliged to go on fatigue command to take 4 deserting sailors to New York head-quarters." On the same day he had already contacted his superior officer "to report a soldier to him for an offence." The outcome of this communication is not mentioned, but it could have been appalling for the culprit, for on 5 January 1782, von Krafft "attended at a Court Martial on account of a Grenadier who had been stealing while on watch." The details of this crime are not even mentioned, but the man was sentenced "to run the gantlet 12 times on one day through 200 men." Such ferocious punishment was freely inflicted. On 18 February von Krafft also "attended on Court Martial of a rascal who was sentenced to run the gantlet 12 times in one day through 200 men." The sentence was probably carried out on 20 February, when von Krafft, without adding further details, "attended a gantlet 12 times run." Then on 2 June we find him "at examination of a man for insubordination;" on 3 June "on Court Martial of a deserter;" on 4 June "at a gantlet. It being the King's birthday all the Royal troops had to fire after sundown in the evening."[24]

For any indication of how these troops felt on that evening, and of what pain, fear, revulsion and terror these barbaric procedures aroused among them, we have to turn to such accounts as that of Ulrich Bräker, who was forced to watch men run up and down the gauntlet until they fell down senseless, only to be driven through the same torture again on the next day, "with the clothes ripped of their flayed backs, and

once again they'd be flogged with renewed vigour, until shreds of congealed blood hung down over their breeches." Ulrich Bräker and his Swiss comrade in arms "would look at each other trembling and deathly pale, and whisper: 'The bloody barbarians.'"[25] Men who did not wield their whips with sufficient strength, where themselves similarly punished. von Krafft goes on to relate with matter of fact neutrality on 18 July: "In the morning after the watch parade I had to take the usual oath over a deserter (who subsequently was condemned to run the gauntlet 30 times) in the Court Martial, which was my first." The list goes on, even after the entry on 3 August: "To-day proclamations of peace were published everywhere in the papers. Although it is not, generally speaking, reasonable of me to so consider them thus, they are nevertheless thunderbolts to me." This was followed on 23 August by yet another "Court Martial of a deserter," who was sentenced to run "24 times through 200 men." On 26 August von Krafft again "held examination over a deserter. At a gantlet," and a further one he records for the following day.[26]

Negative emotions aroused by the news of peace were not entirely uncommon, even among the impressed men, whose bondage did not automatically end, when they returned home. They also faced a lack of avenues open to discarded soldiers. Officers without private means encountered a bleak future in times of peace, and for many of the ranks hope of integration into civil life was slim. The privations and sufferings of von Krafft, before he managed to win a position as corporal and later as ensign with the Hessians, go a long way to explain his reluctance to welcome peace and also his unconcern to suffering inflicted on others.

Riedesel himself does not mention such details. By all accounts he was a cultured, well-educated man, exceptionally honest, upright, fair and reasonable; this, however, within the standards of a class, who regarded their privileges as God-ordained and unassailable, and accepted the subordination of humbler folk as their due and an established fact of life. Hence thoughts of equity were unknown among them, and the basic ideals of the French and American Revolution were rejected as base insurrection. From birth, Riedesel moved in the highest circles, and that not only in petty German courts. He corresponded with rulers and generals, and on his way back from America he went to London in order to personally "hand the king the dispatches he had brought. The latter received him in the most kind and gracious manner."[27]

The privileges of his class anchored him in a sphere of life even more incomparable with that of the common soldier, as that of the rich plantation owners compared with the status of their lowest slaves. Of these his wife, a religious, devoted and dauntless woman, who insisted on following her husband to the unknown rigors of the New World, wrote with obvious revulsion:

> The landed proprietors in Virginia own many Negro slaves, and treat them badly. Many of them are allowed by their masters to run naked until they are fifteen and sixteen years old, and the dress which is then given them, is scarcely worth wearing. The slaves have an overseer who leads them out at daybreak into the fields, where they are obliged to work like beasts or receive beatings; and when thoroughly exhausted and burned by the sun, they come

into the house. They are given Indian meal called hominy, which they make into pastry. But often they are, when they are tired and had rather sleep for a couple of hours, again obliged to go to work. They view it as a misfortune to have children, as they in turn will become slaves and wretched men. As they have not the time to cultivate the little land which they have, they possess nothing, and are only able by the sale of poultry to scrape together sufficient money to clothe themselves. Still, there are good masters, who can be easily told, by their slaves being well clothed and housed. Under such auspices, the Negroes are also good servants, and are very faithful and much attached to their masters. That wicked masters have disaffected servants is not to be wondered at.[28]

Though shocked by such conditions, Friedericke von Riedesel did not draw any parallels between this life of slavery and the lot of the impressed men around her. She repeatedly described them as well contented and specially attached to her husband. Apparently it did not occur to her, nor to most other observers, that those of the ranks, who were charged arranging her private transport, helping with the household cores, fetching wood and water, and attending to her personal needs, were comparable, both in their situation and attitudes, to such house-slaves as were personally involved with their masters and were humanely treated.

On his own level Major General Riedesel was, indeed, a fair, caring and considerate man. His lifestyle and status, however, differed fundamentally from that of the impressed men under his command. On board the ship, which brought him from Bremen to England, Riedesel was allocated, as he wrote to his wife, "a state-room almost as large as your sitting-room," which four other high officers shared. On each side was a small cabin, one for himself, one for the English captain. His daily routine was pleasant: "I rise about seven o'clock in the morning, after having said my prayers in bed," he reported. Breakfast is served "upon the English fashion upon tea and bread and butter." After that, a walk on deck, smoking a pipe, then writing, reading, drinking coffee, strolls on deck with the two Englishmen in command, one or two more pipes and then at two o'clock to a dinner with table cloth and three dishes, lasting about an hour. After that half an hour or three quarters is spent drinking the health: "First the king; second the duke; third, yours and the children; fourth, Captain Foy's wife; fifth, a good sea voyage; and sixth, a successful expedition in America." No shortage of wine, arrack and beer, a pleasant hospitality between the commanders of all the ships which make up the transport, and the confident expectation that when everybody will be transferred to a man-of war, "everything will be more agreeably arranged for" his comfort. Later conditions changed somewhat, for all on board got seasick "The cook could not cook," and "great lamentation and great blundering arose on all sides." There was nothing prepared to eat, but Riedesel and the captain remained well enough to concoct for themselves "a pea soup in the sailor's kitchen, and eat cold roast beef." However, "the soldiers had nothing."[29]

Expectations and conditions for the impressed men were decidedly different and, though some no doubt expected that any change ahead could only be for the better,

their spirits were by no means unanimously joyful. While Seume failed totally to keep his friend, the monk, interested in life and survival, he took every possible step to remain active himself and fight against despondency and despair. To obtain exercise he voluntarily shared in the work of the sailors and learned as much of their language and trade as possible. On calm days he was allowed to climb into the crow's nest with his copy of the *Aeneid*, drawing consolation from Virgil's vivid tales of adventures, the violent storms at sea he described, and of adversity bravely endured and overcome by heroes of old. Such freedom of movement he owed to the kindly English captain, who happened to pass as Seume was reading in Horace, thereby arousing the scorn of the vulgar ship's mate. The captain, however, was so impressed by this display of learning that he not only affirmed that under present circumstances Horace could offer "a very good diversion," but also took Seume into his private cabin, showed him his own stock of books, allowed him to borrow from them, and even began to augment his unusual passenger's scant and unwholesome fare from his personal stock of provisions. Once they reached land, the captain would have liked to keep the young German among his crew, but Seume was not at liberty to accept the offer of his affable benefactor.[30] Nor could the kindhearted captain do more than mitigate on a very small and restricted scale circumstances over which he had no control. Reporting isolated acts of personal benevolence even in a pitiless environment is a special feature of Seume's narration. It strongly enhances trust in the veracity of his account and demonstrates his gift for fair and detached observation. Such instances of general humanity saved his personal sanity and sustained his continued hope for the better future for himself and all mankind, which remained his permanent ideal. All the same, thoughts of regaining his freedom were never far from his mind, for it was his passionate belief "that slavery is worse then death" ("Sklaverey ist mehr Erniedrigung, als Tod").[31]

It was already late autumn, when the Hessians disembarked in Halifax. Their intended destination had been New York, but by the time they arrived the tide of war had already turned so much against the Royalists, and the settlers around New York had become so dominant that it was considered too chancy to release into this debacle the Hessian captives with their volatile loyalties.[32] In the Canadian isolation chances for successful deserting were slim. Halifax was an ideal harbor with abundant shelter, as Seume quickly noticed, but all other conditions were less than appealing. The place was surrounded by impenetrable woods, everything needful was in short supply or nonexistent; the natural environment was harsh, the weather growing colder by the day. All the same, the men, ravaged by narrow confinement, malnutrition and, increasingly, by scurvy, were overjoyed to feel once again solid ground under their feet. Originally they had been allocated to various regiments, but as the English front was already crumbling, the men were kept together and in reserve, fighting the elements, illness, hunger and above all boredom, instead of the American settlers, with whom lay the true sympathies of Seume and his closest friends. [33]

Again Seume was luckier than most. As he had already proven himself on the passage a diligent learner and willing to work, he had been instantly promoted to petty officer on landing, and when the tents arrived the charge of erecting the one for

his men fell to him. Undaunted by inexperience and utter lack of expertise, he found a seasoned veteran, a former Prussian rifleman, to whom he delegated the task. This "old satyr"—as Seume described him, taking his references habitually from classic literature—ably organized the men, pretending all the while that he was acting under Seume's specific directions. The assignment was far from easy, as the ground was stony, and any stakes and pegs they needed they had to get themselves out of the unchartered wilderness. Few of the tents survived the first storm intact; better techniques had to be improvised. Gradually the community settled down and began to make the best of the unknown and hostile environment, into which they had been deposited. Battlefronts were far away, and the entire community was isolated from the rest of the world by the sea and vast forests, which impeded deserting to such a degree, that even a certain amount of hunting was allowed. For a while Seume took the Prussian veteran with him every day into the woods, ostensibly to hunt, but mainly to be taught by him the drill and army routine, which he himself was supposed to instill into the men under his command. As they were daily expected to join their designated regiments, life was still somewhat lax and disorganized, less restricted than under normal barrack conditions, if far from pleasant.[34]

It was during that time that a young aristocratic officer noted Seume's education and literary aspirations and sought his acquaintance. This was Karl Ludwig von Münchhausen (1759-1836), scion of an influential family, which produced a number of well-known and distinguished personalities, among them the famed Baron Münchhausen, whose purported *Marvellous Travels* (narrated by Rudolph Erich Raspe) were published anonymously in London in 1785, and also the enlightened first governor of the university of Göttingen, founded by George III in 1736, and quickly gaining a leading position under Münchhausen's able leadership.[35]

A warm and genuine friendship soon developed between Seume and the young nobleman, based on similar interests and the shared desire to learn from the other what each of them felt was still lacking in his own education. Münchhausen was at the time, as Seume describes, using the words of Samuel Johnson, "a man of sound strong unlettered sense," but he possessed in full measure the polish and the complex outlook, which Seume, though university educated, still lacked. He, in turn, could introduce his new-found friend to classic authors and German poetry, particularly to the works of Hagedorn and Hölty, in which both delighted. The opportunity to widen their experience was irresistible for both. Their common confinement in an alien, monotonous location enabled Münchhausen to overrule class distinctions and follow his own inclinations to the point of including Seume into his circle of fellow officers, where once again he was able to enjoy stimulating companionship and was relieved of some of the chafing restrictions, which otherwise he would have encountered. In this congenial company he experienced firsthand the considerable difference between the fate of an officer and that of impressed men. This exceptional position amply answers the arguments by the apologist Stone, who attempts to disprove "the philanthropical howlers who were grumbling so continually about 'soul selling,'" by pointing out that Seume himself acceded that:

> his military life had its attractions, for it gave him the opportunity of crossing the ocean. Neither was he specially rejoiced when the news of peace came, thus enabling him to return to Europe. Speaking in reference to this, he says: "The news of peace was not very welcome, because young people, desirous of signalizing themselves in battle, did not like to see their career thus brought to an end. They had flattered me with the prospect of becoming an officer, in which event a new career might have opened for me; but with peace all this vanished.'[36]

Stone, of course, was not or would not be aware that gaining officer rank would lift Seume into educated and polite society, while going home was not necessarily synonymous with regained liberty, for those still in good health and condition were then by no means free and they feared with good reason to be resold to Prussia. For those sick and ill life at home offered few opportunities and inducements.

The generosity of his new friend allowed Seume a thorough taste of the advantages enjoyed by officers. His life was nevertheless far from pleasant, because he was not excused from his normal duties. His special skills, by now well known, earned him the additional task of scribe to Colonel Hatzfeld, who kept him supplied with abundant work, but thought that his patronage and a few condescending words were ample recompense for uncounted hours of extra toil. Seume was even arrested and vindictively threatened with further punishment, when he once tried to avoid this added occupation and went hunting after his official daily chores were finished. But his firmness and honesty finally won over his exacting taskmaster. He was finally relieved of his normal obligations and even awarded some payments for the services he rendered to the general.

On the rare occasions when Seume found opportunities to spend some time with his aristocratic friend, the young nobleman, who himself had literary aspirations, encouraged him to persevere with his poetry. Seume himself makes light of these early efforts, nearly all of which are lost. Only some verses are preserved, because they were edged into his memory, so he could later recall them. Their main interest lies in a vibrant description of the inhospitable, primeval forest, which surrounded the Hessians, and of the dread and fear it exuded. This was considerably, and probably quite deliberately, increased by gory accounts of savages, who lurked in this green wilderness, ready to torture and scalp anyone they could lay their hands on. In Seume's poem this belief is presented as part of the terror incited by the untamed backwoods. However, in his autobiography he emphasizes, that though the cruel custom of the savages to scalp their enemies was common knowledge, he himself had never come across a single such incident. In fact, he had found these supposedly uncivilized people consistently friendly and amenable. Much later he wrote a poem "The Savage" ("Der Wilde"), asserting that it described a true story for which he could personally vouch. Published in 1793 by Schiller, and achieving considerable resonance in Germany, it tells of a distraught and exhausted Indian, lost in a raging thunderstorm and heartlessly denied refuge at the door of a white man. Sometime later the settler also lost his way in the woods and was rescued by the native, who offered him warmth, food and a bed for the night, and safely guided him back the next morning. Only then, to the horror

of the white man, did he reveal his identity, forgoing any revenge and merely pointing out that those considered savage by the settlers were really the better people. Yet Seume was no sentimental promoter of the noble savage image. When he describes the trade between natives and Europeans, he remarks that all of them cheated just as cunningly and readily as they were cheated themselves. He praises the Indians' exceptional skill with their main weapons, the outmoded Dutch firearms, and their unmatched dexterity in and on the water, and he describes the men as good-looking and athletic. But he also mentions their predilection for rum, and the womenfolk he found unattractive. His overall impression of what he assessed as the "so-called savages" was of decent people, peaceful unless seriously provoked, and in their dress and culture rather resembling Estonians and Latvians, European populations oppressed and kept in poverty by foreign rule and exploitation. Seume encountered their primitive conditions, partly under the Russians, partly under the Prussians, when in 1805 he had to escort a young nobleman to the university town of Dorpat—today Tartu in Estonia. For good measure he then carried on alone and largely on foot through Poland and on to St. Petersburg, Finland, Sweden and Denmark, describing his impressions in the autobiographic travelogue, *Mein Sommer 1805*.[37]

Through such extensive excursions and impressive foot-marches, notably the adventurous *Spaziergang nach Syrakus* ("On Foot to Syrakus"), Seume gained literary fame in later life. It can hardly surprise that someone with his stamina, determination and fiery enthusiasm for liberty should have plotted escape from impressment even under the most unpromising circumstances. During his forced sojourn in Canada his plan had been all along to join the republicans, whose cause was so dear to his heart, and in another petty officer he had found a like-minded fellow conspirator. Both resented their involuntary confinement, and chafed more and more under the inclemency of the elements to which they were exposed, the illness, hunger and boredom. If this companion was less circumspect, he was also more worldly-wise and sophisticated. He had stayed for a while in Switzerland with his relation, the famous Kaspar David Lavater, a friend of many notables, among them Goethe, and admired all over Europe for his character studies and his voluminous, widely read *Physiognomische Fragmente* (1775-78). The desperate plan was to trust to destiny, brave the forests and reach Boston, a gamble for life and death, as the young men fully realized. Seume had held back, however. He was somewhat reluctant to gamble and face such uncertainties, not least because his friendship with Münchhausen bound him to the camp. At last the declaration of peace in 1783 put an end to their scheme. Peace was not welcomed with unmingled joy, even by the impressed Hessians, among whom the rumor that once back they would be sold to the Prussians gained credence through the usual practices of the landgrave.[38]

Peace ended for Seume also his happy and advantageous connection with Münchhausen. Once embarked, their futures led into entirely different directions, and he only saw his friend again on two further occasions. Once, when their homeward bound ships came so near each other that with great difficulties they could exchange a few words, and once more at the end of Seume's *Spaziergang nach Syrakus* in 1802, which he rounded off with a loop through France, walking back to Germany via

Strassburg, Mainz and Frankfurt. Before returning home he stayed a few days in Schmalkalden with Münchhausen and his family. The occasion was not an unmitigated success. Though Münchhausen apparently went out of his way to make his friend welcome and wanted, Seume felt depressed. He was inhibited by the entirely different lifestyle to which mere nobility entitled, and he was too honest to entirely brush aside his antiaristocratic principles or his antipathy towards privileges and class distinctions. Their changed circumstances prevented him from returning to the comparatively easy intercourse of their shared life in the New World.[39] Yet his rock-strong convictions never clouded his appreciation of personal worth and good will, and so the friendship endured, kept alive through letters, of which a number of those from Seume to Münchhausen, written between 1792 and 1806, were published in 1969 in *Euphorion* by Rolf Kraft.

The correspondence starts with a letter Seume obviously found difficult to write, because he began it 1 January 1792 and only finished it 28 March. He had heard nothing from his friend so far and began by inquiring why, where he was and what he was doing. Yet Münchhausen could not have written, because Seume himself had not kept his promise to forward a postal address. It would seem that he had negated on his pledge, because he shrank from revealing his strained, and sometimes desperate circumstances, for he mentions in the last paragraph of this first letter rather casually that now he had just finished his university course and was henceforth permitted to lecture at a university. He mentions nothing of the difficulties and deprivations he had to overcome before he could reach this goal. Throughout the correspondence his overall tone appears deliberately, almost too forcefully, brisk and light hearted. Literary questions still provide common concerns, but he skips lightly over his own problems, and shows not the slightest tinge of envy of his friend's better fortune. Nor does he ever mention their shared, yet very different experiences among the Hessians. His joviality seems mostly somewhat strained; designed to hide real feelings rather than give them vent. True passion breaks forth only in the letter written after the disastrous battle of Jena and Auerbach, when the army, in which Münchhausen was still serving, had been thoroughly beaten by Napoleon, and Seume did not even know what had become of his friend.

For once in this correspondence his true convictions are revealed. He blamed the catastrophe first and foremost on the incompetence of the German princes and their total unwillingness and incapacity to read the signs of the times and adapt to their changing spirit. As these absolute and unbending rulers had refused to consult reason and nature—namely the natural needs and inclinations of their people— to Seume their eventual total defeat was inevitable. There had been no freedom, no justice, no unity, no righteous aim, no sense, and no reason; therefore, in his view, there could be no ultimate resistance or victory. He blamed the defeat on the narrow-mindedness of a system based not on intrinsic merit, but on the privileges of a hereditary caste, which left no room for equity, enterprise and the common good, and he foresaw with dread that after the debacle of lost battles those in power would disregard the needs of the people and be only concerned to secure as many concessions as possible for themselves. In 1815 the Congress of Vienna proved him right. It endorsed the schemes of petty

rulers and ignored the hopes and aspirations of the people and all those, who had flocked to arms on their own free will in order to defend their country. At a time, therefore, when idealists enthusiastically volunteered to fight against the Napoleonic invasion, Seume had lost hope in a foreseeable change for the better. He retreated into personal grief, quoting from Addison's tragedy *Cato*:

> Where general shame depresses all the nation
> The post of honour is a private station.[40]

An aphorism among the collection of his mainly politically and socially orientated thoughts (which he called *Apokryphe)*, compresses his views into the cryptic observation: "In Ulm and Austerlitz and Jena our flogging system displayed its full glory." Like Juvenal, who found it hard to write without producing satire (*Difficile est saturam non scribere*), Seume believed that all that was necessary to write a perfect satire was to describe everything as it really is. He also deplored that the epoch was a sequence of public infamies to which nobody objected.[41]

This may sound cynical, but Seume had experienced the conditions under which the underprivileged existed, and he knew their problems more thoroughly than most contemporary writers. By the time his military transport took him back to Europe and reached Bremen, he was so desperate to escape a further life of slavery that he resolved once more to desert, come what may. His former fellow plotter and one other man were in the conspiracy, but somehow found an opportune moment during the night to vanish for good from their bondage, and they left Seume behind. In his despair he attempted a wild run while his sergeant was distracted by a squabble about provisions, and here his autobiography ends. Not so his misfortunes and extraordinary adventures, many of which were added to his memoirs and together with it published by his friends. They testified to the human kindness and selfless help, which Seume experienced throughout his life, but also to the shameful trickery he had to endure, and the brutal force and merciless might, which over-ruled right and oppressed the poor, and rendered movements within Germany so precarious. For though Seume finally escaped from the Hessians, he could not win ultimate freedom, but was once more impressed, this time into the dreaded Prussian army. Undaunted, he deserted once more, was recaptured and condemned to the gauntlet, but by that time he had found benevolent sympathizers, who interceded for him and finally helped him to escape forever the soul-destroying life of an impressed soldier. His adventures did not end there, but the rest of his short life was rather less distressful, though rarely free of care and worry.

Seume wrote much, but his intention was not to produce elegant literature, but to witness to the truth as he had experienced it. He became widely known, mainly through his autobiographical travelogues, which still keep his name alive. The importance of his literary legacy owes nothing to a poetic gift of transforming reality into vision. His poetry is, therefore, mostly forgotten, though two lines are still much quoted. They contain the advice to trust in the good nature of those who are fond of

singing, and are taken and slightly transformed from the first verse of his poem *Die Gesänge*:

> Wo man singt, da lass' dich ruhig nieder,
> Böse Menschen haben keine Lieder.[42]

His aphorisms are still quoted here and there, and are now increasingly appreciated, owing to their rational and democratic sentiments. The enduring significance of his work stems from his unwavering commitment to personal freedom and equality, with which he denounced slavery and personal subjugation in all guises. Though he admired the achievements of classic civilization, he vehemently denounced the slave culture of Greece and Rome. When he encountered a former American slave ship in the harbor of Copenhagen, he learned with obvious approval that the entire crew had been massacred by the black captives, and he wished that a similar fate should befall all those who shame Christianity by enslaving fellow humans.[43] He vented his feelings fervently and described life honestly and uncompromisingly, especially as seen from the lowest ranges of the social pyramid. Hence he is often claimed by radical movements, but he belonged to no faction. He dedicated his life to inform the public by candid reporting, hoping thereby to expose misuses, activate good will and promote the promising human potential of which he remained convinced in spite of all his adverse encounters. To this end he continued to make facts known, even though he was fully aware that many did not want to hear about them, and that he often had to act against his own personal interest, because he had experienced all too often that because wrongdoing is so widespread, truth offends nearly everywhere.[44]

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Notes

[1] Johann Gottfried Seume, *Mein Sommer 1805* (rprt. Nördlingen: Krater Bibliothek, 1987), e.g., 5: "Schreibsucht ist, wie alle meine Freunde bezeugen können, nicht meine Krankheit." "[Ich] stelle die Dinge vor, wie ich sie sehe." 17: "Meine Äußerungen sind meine Überzeugungen." 23: "Ich habe . . . die Wahrheit jeder Silbe ohne Dichtung behauptet." 35-36: "Es ist in meinen Versen . . . keine Silbe Dichtung; alles ist reine historische Wahrheit nach meiner Überzeugung."

[2] See Johann Gottfried Seume, *Mein Leben*, in *Kindlers Neues Literatur Lexikon*, ed. Rudolf Radler et al. (München: Kindler Verlag, 1991); Günter Niggl, *Geschichte der deutschen Autobiographie im 18. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1977), 152.

[3] Johann Gottfried Seume, *Mein Leben* (1813), ed. Rolf Max Kully (Basel: Gute Schriften, 1972), 7-8.

[4] *Mein Leben*, 45, 28, 23-24, 46, 48.

[5] Johann Gottfried Seume, *Ausgewählte Werke Seumes*, ed. and intr. Wilhelm Hausenstein (Leipzig: Leipziger Buchdruckerei, 1912), "Einleitung," 2, 90; *Mein Sommer 1805*, 7.

[6] Inge Stephan, *Johann Gottfried Seume: Ein politischer Schriftsteller der deutschen Spätaufklärung* (Stuttgart: Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1973), 1, 174.

[7] *Mein Leben*, 22.

[8] *Mein Leben,* 21-23, 49-50.

[9] E.g., Stephan, 2: "Als 'verspäteter Aufklärer' lebte Seume gleichsam als Relikt in der Blütezeit der Romantik und des philosophischen Idealismus, die sich als Gegenbewegungen zum Rationalismus der Aufklärung verstanden . . . Von beiden Richtungen konnte er kein Interesse für seine Dichtungen erwarten." *Mein Sommer 1805,* 5-6.

[10] "Schreiben aus Amerika nach Deutschland," Halifax, 1782, in *Ausgewählte Werke,* 34-38, n. 3. This letter was first published by J. W. v. Archenholz in his journal *Neue Litteratur und Völkerkunde,* 1789.

[11] *Mein Leben,* 85: "eben so anspruchslos und wahr, eben so heiter und gleichmütig."

[12] "Schreiben aus Amerika," *Ausgewählte Werke,* 34: "weil es niemanden behagen wollte, sich so ohne sein gegebenes Gutachten mit den armen Teufeln von Amerikanern zu schlagen, denen wir alle herzlich gut waren, und alles mögliche Glück wünschten."

[13] *Mein Leben,* 53: "Am Ende ärgerte ich mich weiter nicht; leben muß man überall: wo so viele durchkommen, wirst du auch: über den Ocean zu schwimmen war für einen jungen Kerl einladend genug; und zu sehen gab es jenseits auch etwas. So dachte ich."

[14] *Mein Leben,* 53-55; Inge Auerbach, *Die Hessen in America 1776-1783* (Darmstadt: Hessische Historische Kommission Darmstadt, 1996), 290: "Die für sein Urteil über den Soldatenhandel maßgeblichen Schriften sind nämlich erst kurz vor seinem Tode entstanden, speziell "Mein Leben." This statement fails to take into account the letter from Halifax, written in 1782.

[15] Ulrich Bräker, (*Lebensgeschichte und natürliche Abentheuer des armen Mannes im Tockenburg*), *The Life Story and Real Adventures of the Poor Man of Toggenburg,* tr. and intr. Derek Bowman (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1970), 135-37, 138-41.

[16] Hans Meyer, "Aufklärer und Plebejer: Ulrich Bräker, der arme Mann im Tockenburg," in *Von Lessing bis Thomas Mann: Wandlungen der bürgerlichen Literatur in Deutschland* (Pfullingen: Günther Neske, 1959), 112-13, 115; Stephan, e.g., 57, 76, 85.

[17] *Mein Leben,* 7: "es geht wider mein Wesen, . . . einige allgemeine Wahrheiten zu sagen, die die eine Hälfte längst weiß und die andere Hälfte nicht wissen will;" 52: "Die Geschichte und Periode ist bekannt genug: niemand war damals vor den Handlangern des Seelenverkäufers sicher; Überredung, List, Betrug, Gewalt, alles galt. Man fragte nicht nach den Mitteln zu dem verdammlichen Zwecke."

[18] Bonaventura, *Nachtwachen* (1804-5) (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1984), 50: "Fürsten und Herrscher, die mit Menschen statt mit Münzen bezahlen, und mit dem Tode den schändlichsten Sklavenhandel treiben;" 60: "Fürsten, die den einzelnen Menschen wohltun, und sie nur in ganzen Heeren würgen."

[19] Friedrich Adolphus von Riedesel, *Memoirs, Letters, and Journals of Major General Riedesel,* 2 vols., intr. and tr. William L. Stone (Albany: J. Munsell, 1868), reprt. *Eyewitness Accounts of the American Revolution* (New York Times & Arno Press, 1969), 1:20-21.

[20] *Ausgewählte Werke,* 35; *Mein Leben,* 55, 58.

[21] A. Pfister, *The Voyage of the First Hessian Army from Portsmouth to New York 1776,* tr. Charles Frederick. Heartman, Heartman's Historical Series, no. 3 (New York: Chas. Fred. Heartman, 1915), 26-27.

[22] *Mein Leben,* 58-59, 62-65.

[23] Riedesel, 1:24, 32-33; Pfister, 14-15. Auerbach, bases her chapter on "Deserteure," largely on official war documentation and hence with the views of officers and the administration. Also discussed are the American propaganda leaflets exhorting desertion, but remaining largely ineffectual, due to various circumstances of which the frequently far from welcoming reception by the rebels is mentioned, 264-90, but not the punishments meted out to recaptured deserters. Specially pointed out, but not analyzed, is the "Factor Heimweh, der in der Tat im Verhalten der Hessen eine so bedeutende Rolle gespielt hat, daß 'Heimweh' offiziell als Todesursache neben 'hitzigen Fiebern' anerkannt war," 269 and n. 980. The sentimental euphemism "homesickness," hardly acceptable as professional medical term, obviously provided convenient cover for numerous personal tragedies.

[24] Johann Karl Philip von Krafft, *Journal of Lieutenant John Charles Philip von Krafft* (New York: New York Historical Society, 1882), rprt. *Eyewitness Accounts of the American Revolution* (New York Times & Arno Press, 1968), 151, 157, 161.

[25] Bräker, 127.

[26] von Krafft, 164-66.

[27] Riedesel, 2:179.

[28] Friedericke von Riedesel, *Letters and Journals relating to the War of the American Revolution and the Capture of the German Troops at Saratoga by Mrs. General Riedesel,* tr. and intr. William L. Stone, (Albany: J.

Munsell, 1867), rprt. *Eyewitness Accounts of the American Revolution* (New York Times & Arno Press, 1968), 159-60.

[29] Riedesel, 1:34-35: "On Board the Pallas," 21 March 1776; 37: 26 March 1776.

[30] *Mein Leben*, 65-66, 61, 67.

[31] *Mein Sommer 1805,* 11.

[32] *Mein Leben,* 66, Seume concluded: "Man brachte uns wahrscheinlich nach Hallifax, weil es in Neuyork und den andern Provinzen schon höchst mißlich mit den Royalisten stand, und man das Ausschiffen dort kaum wagen durfte."

[33] *Mein Leben,* 80: "Das Leben englischer Söldlinge war uns eben nicht angenehm, und wir beide hatten uns mit dem Gedanken getröstet, wir würden uns gelegenheitlich an die Republikaner anschließen können."

[34] *Mein Leben*, 66-68.

[35] Freiherr Carl Friedrich Hieronymus von Münchhausen (1720-97), known as the "Lügenbaron," and Gerlach Adolf von Münchhausen (1688-1770).

[36] *Mein Leben*, 68-71; Riedesel, 2:105, 1:21.

[37] *Mein Leben,* 74-79, 118; "Der Wilde," first published in Schillers *Neue Thallia,* 1793, in *Ausgewählte Werke*, 417-20; see *Seumes prosaische und poetische Werke,* 10 vols. (Berlin: G. Hempel, 1867-76), 10:219-20, note: "Diese Erzählung habe ich, als ich selbst in Amerika und in der dortigen Gegend war, als eine wahre Geschichte gehört. Sie interessierte mich durch ihre ächte reine primitive Menschengüte, die so selten durch unsere höhere Cultur gewinnt;" The excursion into the North is described in *Mein Sommer 1805,* where he, e.g., describes a desolate place in Estonia, "wo einst die Ahnherren der heutigen Erbherren unter dem Mantel einer Religion, die ausgezeichnet Bruderliebe lehret, Elend und Sklaverey über ein freyes Volk brachten," 57.

[38] *Mein Leben,* 80-81, 84.

[39] Rolf Kraft, "Unbekannte Briefe Johann Gottfried Seumes an Karl Ludwig Frhr. v. Münchhausen, 1792-1806," *Euphorion: Zeitschrift für Literaturgeschichte* 63 (1969): 190-91.

[40] Ibid., 167-206, 200-1.

[41] *Ausgewählte Werke*, 511, 529: "Man darf die meisten Dinge nur sagen, wie sie sind, um eine treffliche Satire zu machen," 519.

[42] *Ausgewählte Werke*, 409: "Wo man singet, laß dich ruhig nieder/Ohne Furcht, was man im Lande glaubt;/ Wo man singet, wird kein Mensch beraubt:/Bösewichter haben keine Lieder." The poem was first published in Leipzig in the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt,* 1804, no. 23.

[43] *Mein Sommer 1805*, 185; e.g., *Ausgewählte Werke*, 252-56, "Apokryphen" on slavery," ending: "Jeder Vertrag, der die Würde der Menschennatur antastet, ist unhaltbar, wenn er auch nicht widerrechtlich wäre. Heiliger Spartacus, bitte für uns!! Wenn doch mehr solche Schulmeister des Menschenverstandes aufträten!" Other examples, e.g., in Seume's treatise on Plutarch, 531-43.

[44] *Mein Sommer 1805*, 7, 9: "Wahrheit . . . beleidigt fast überall, weil fast überall Sünde ist."

Siegmar Muehl

German Emigration to North America, 1817-18: The Gagern-Fürstenwärther Mission and Report

In the year 1817, a young German aristocrat, Moritz von Fürstenwärther, arrived in the United States to undertake a special mission. Unlike his near contemporary, the high-born Frenchman Alexis de Tocqueville, who came to America fourteen years later to investigate prison practices while observing life in the new republic, Fürstenwärther's mission was to report on the fate of the many German emigrants arriving in America at that time.

German emigration in 1817 had markedly increased, particularly from the southwest German states. A series of poor harvests caused by unseasonably severe weather had led to high food prices and famine among the common people. Hans von Gagern, first author of the above report and native of the Palatinate located in the area of heavy emigration, wrote:

> Distress, need and anxiety appeared in all European realms. Especially in Germany it took many forms. If in the past two centuries Germans had been touched by the desire to emigrate, it was this time in 1817 the desire increased in even greater measure, especially among those less well off. This phenomenon occurred in Württemberg, Swabia, and especially in the Palatinate.

A recent account of these years by Mack Walker, historian of German emigration, provides graphic documentation of the distressing circumstances.[1]

Among the thousands of would-be emigrants abandoning their homes to find a better life abroad, many headed for North America. Families and individuals—farmers, laborers and artisans—sold what little they had and hit the road on foot, in wagons, or for those with some means, by riverboat down the Rhine, all traveling north to reach Dutch ports where they hoped to find westward passage.

This unregulated German crowd, joined also by Swiss Confederation neighbors to the south, became a serious burden to communities along the main Rhine valley route, and in the cities of the Netherlands, especially at the port of Amsterdam. The situation was made even worse by a counterflow of people who had exhausted slim

resources in the often weeks-long delays to secure passage. Many returnees on their homebound route had to resort to begging and theft to survive.

At the time of the emigration crisis, Hans von Gagern (1766-1852) was serving as minister-representative of the Netherlands' Court at the German Federal Diet, Frankfurt-on-Main. Of noble family in the Duchy of Orange-Nassau, one of the small states in the German Palatinate, or Pfalz, Gagern had served as minister to his native Duchy of Nassau prior to the Napoleonic invasion of Germany in 1805.[2] After Napoleon's defeat in 1813 at Leipzig and withdrawal of his forces to France, Gagern became minister for the Netherlands' Court now ruled by the newly crowned Orange prince, William I. Following the Congress of Vienna, 1814-15, where Gagern represented the Dutch Court, Gagern had been appointed Netherlands' ambassador to the German Federal Diet, representing the Duchy of Luxembourg, now part of the Netherlands' territory.

In May 1817, as a result of the chaotic emigrant situation in Holland, Gagern received a dispatch from the Dutch Court stating that by mid-June "emigrants shall be admitted to the royal Netherlands' territory only if inhabitants of the kingdom stand for their stopover expenses."[3] Gagern was directed to bring this resolution to the attention of the Diet, make answer, and disseminate the ruling through German newspapers and every other means available.

Addressing the Diet in early June, Gagern appealed to his fellow Diet representatives on grounds of German honor and humane concern. He asked them to call on their governments to take action to advise and better control the emigrants.

Not content with whatever measures the Diet might subsequently take, Gagern's personal concern moved him to devise a plan to inform himself, as well as members of the Diet, by investigating the situation through a firsthand observer. He wanted detailed information not only on conditions emigrants faced on the way to and in Amsterdam itself, but in addition, to discover how those emigrants who finally obtained passage to North America fared on board ship and after arrival.

To answer these questions and undertake this mission, Gagern recruited a relative, his nephew Moritz von Fürstenwärther.[4] Fürstenwärther, like Gagern, was of noble descent, but from a Palatine family of reduced means as a result of Napoleonic reforms that had deprived them of former properties and income. Gagern had become Fürstenwärther's guardian when his parents died in his youth.

According to Gagern's account, Fürstenwärther was a "restless spirit, not in accord with himself." After spending some time in Jena, probably as student at the university, Fürstenwärther took part in the Spanish War of Independence against Napoleon. When he returned to Germany, his liberal bent inspired him with the idea of going to South America to take part in insurgencies there seeking to throw off Spanish colonial rule. At this juncture, Gagern, concerned for the future of his restless ward, conceived the idea of selecting Fürstenwärther for the North American mission "to answer my questions, and while there, to test and let mature his resolve in relation to South America."[5]

No evidence suggests how old Fürstenwärther was when he agreed to undertake the assignment—probably in his twenties—or how long the expected duration of the

mission was. His final report covered a period of some nine months, of which six were in the United States. Despite his supposed restless and wayward spirit, during and after the end of his mission, he wrote perceptive letters and an informative, well-organized report on his observations and experiences.

The report published by Gagern in Germany in 1818 was titled *The German in North America*. This small volume contained an introduction, mission instructions, and an epilogue written by Gagern. Excerpts from Fürstenwärther's letters, his formal report, and various newspaper enclosures and documents sent from the United States provided the main content.[6]

There are few references to this mission and report in German-American research literature in the United States. Walker, cited above, mentions it. One writer misrepresents the mission, stating that its purpose was "to inquire into the subject of German emigration in the United States and to present as gloomy a picture as possible." Careful reading of the report hardly justifies this judgment. A more recent German account provides extensive documentation of the emigration scene in southwest Germany, 1816-17, including documents relating to the mission and excerpts from Fürstenwärther's report.[7] The present article provides a full account of the mission and report for benefit of readers in the United States.

In his pre-trip instructions to Fürstenwärther, Gagern exhorted his nephew:

> Dedicate yourself to the service of human kind and your poor countrymen. . . . Everything that relates to this situation you should examine with great care and leave nothing unobserved that bears on the future for lessening the difficulties and for better management of the situation.[8]

Fürstenwärther was to begin his investigations "along the way, in the Dutch harbor and on the sea." Once in America he was to provide information on a great variety of subjects: what happened when emigrants arrived; how indenture contracts handled; how did Native Americans view the German emigrant; what was the state of the German language and that of their religious practices; what were the German settlers' attitudes toward their homeland, persistence of the German language and their religion. Gagern also had questions relating to occupations, wages, prices and ways of acquiring land.

Besides making enquiries about German settlements, Gagern wanted information about settlements of other emigrant groups that might apply to German efforts to establish colonies. Of the Spanish settlements in Florida and Louisiana Gagern noted: "Your acquaintance with the Spanish language will be of great help to you." In process of investigating French settlements, Gagern warned Fürstenwärther, a former opponent of Napoleon: "Your European partisan spirit must remain neutral." The German animus toward the French apparently still ran strong in 1817, two years after Waterloo. What follows draws selectively from Fürstenwärther's letter excerpts and report contained in *The German in North America*—observations that contribute to our understanding of the German emigrant-immigrant experience.

Fürstenwärther reached Amsterdam on the first leg of his mission 27 June 1817. His first letter to Gagern, dated 3 July, described what he saw:

> I have found the suffering of most of the emigrants far greater and the situation for all lacking in guidance and assistance. . . .You must challenge the humanity and honor of the German name to seize upon the quickest means of remedy to alleviate the present evils. And in future, when further emigrations take place, [you must] find better ways for making suitable arrangements and better organization.
>
> I encountered on the road crowds of families turning back, all of them destitute and reduced to begging. In Cologne, the government made provisions for this, cared for these returnees and provided means of transport to their homes. In Holland, however, the crowd of these unfortunates is indescribably large. All the cities are overwhelmed with them.[9]

The author went on to observe that for those with means, things generally went well. This group found ways to embark, but often after long delays. Those with little or no means "were at the mercy of the money lenders and unscrupulous ship agents who treated them in a shameless manner." Swiss emigrants, by contrast, fared better through intervention by the caring Swiss Consul in Amsterdam. In addition, the Swiss government provided money for the journey to Amsterdam—two louis d'or—and for those who turned back, money for lodging along the way. Before leaving their homeland, Swiss emigrants received "certificates of domicile" which guaranteed re-entry to their homeland. By contrast, many Germans emigrants—for example those from Württemberg—had to renounce their citizenship, leaving them no place to return.

Fürstenwärther's first letter included a sample contract which was supposed to be read and signed by the ship's captain and the individual emigrant before departing. The contract specified fares, food, water and other provisions for up to sixty days, which included time on board in port and the thirty some days for the sea journey, depending on weather. An adult's fare was 170 gulden (about $68.00)[10]; the fare for children four years of age and older half that; those under four traveled free.

The contract listed each week's "menu" by day, e.g., a Sunday's ration included "a pound of pork with barley—two cups for five fares." A measure of water and beer was allotted per day per person so long as the beer remained drinkable. When it became too bitter to drink, an equal amount of water replaced it. The latter had to be used for cooking as well. Who did the cooking and how was not specified. Vinegar was also supplied for "cleanliness, to keep the air fresh and invigorate the people."

Despite the contract stipulations, Fürstenwärther reported frequent violations and extra-legal maneuvers by ship owners and captains. Many of the ships provided insufficient food of poor quality. To increase profits, emigrants were crowded into a smaller ship space than the law specified. If doctors accompanied the ships, they often lacked necessary medical supplies, or worse, were "ignorant men, barbers." These conditions combined to make for frequent high death rates during the voyage. For

those that survived, many arrived in America in desperate condition: ill, demoralized and seriously undernourished.

Fürstenwärther embarked for America on a U.S. ship, the brig *Ohio*, on 7 July from Helder, a port north of Amsterdam. His letter of that date reported a ship there had remained in port for five weeks with passengers on board awaiting a full complement of fares and provisions. Twenty-eight passengers had died, including "25 small and nursing children."[11]

In his report, the author noted that ships transporting emigrants were generally of "the worst kind, old and in disrepair, the captains ignorant, inexperienced and brutal men." He emphasized: "American ships are the best. . . . They sail faster, treatment is better, and responsibility of the captains greater."[12]

Fürstenwärther's ship landed at Philadelphia where he spent most of his six-months mission. Needing time to settle in, his first letter from the United States, written 28 October, discussed, among other subjects, indenture contracts which almost all impoverished emigrants resorted to as means of paying for their passage. Fürstenwärther often returned to this topic in his later letters and report, providing information from a variety of sources relating to how contracts were made, conditions stipulated, and how individuals so "bound" fared in their subsequent service.

An able-bodied emigrant with some employable skill unable to pay his or her fare before embarking was taken on board with the understanding they would be bound by an indenture contract and would not to leave the ship until such contract was concluded. Fürstenwärther described what took place:

> As soon as a ship arrives in America the captain leaves it to make it known to the newspapers. Artisans and farmers, often from distant regions, then make their appearance to look for such people they can use. They pay the captain the fare and take them into work and service. [The parties involved] conclude a special contract of indenture that binds them for a certain number of years.[13]

A representative of the Philadelphia German Society came on board to observe the contract process to make sure the conditions were fairly stated and the emigrant understood his or her obligation. A "Register" was kept listing the details of these contracts. The Society representative also enquired concerning passenger treatment during the voyage. If gross neglect was discovered, the Society carried out an investigation. In one egregious, widely-reported case, a captain was charged with "abusing" women on board. In another, 300 persons had died due to bad treatment during the voyage.

According to Fürstenwärther, there had been some 6,000 emigrant arrivals in Philadelphia so far in 1817. At the time of his letter, five ships were docked there with "some 200 persons of all sexes and ages who had not paid their fares."[14] For persons not immediately "bound" on arrival, the ship's captain was required to provide care on board for thirty days. If by then some had not yet been bound, these individuals were additionally charged for their maintenance, putting them further in debt to any future

contract employer. As last resort, captains would sometimes let these detainees go for a "trifling price," or put them out on the streets.

Typically, a bound individual, or "redemptioner," served from two to four years. Paying off a full adult fare required four years. If a redemptioner's family included children over four years old, the time could be longer, since the latter were obligated for a half fare. Pennsylvania law stated that no one could be bound outside the state, nor could husband and wife or children be separated without consent.

A model of an indenture contract used in Philadelphia for a minor required father's consent and the minor's "own free will." The contract specified that during the time of indenture, the youth would "dutifully serve his designated master who is executor, steward and agent." The master's obligation was "to provide adequate food, drink, clothing, laundry and living quarters, and also provide six weeks of schooling in every year of his service, and at conclusion of same to provide him with two full outfits of clothing, of which one is new."[15]

Because being "bound" was often misunderstood in Germany, Fürstenwärther took pains to note the difference between "indenture" and "slavery," noting the former was voluntary and time-limited. However, abuses did occur "that may well cast a shadow on the German name and make it scorned." An expression used by some for those under contract was not "bind and serve," but "buy and sell." Fürstenwärther had made the acquaintance of a former compatriot from Kentucky who claimed that speculators bought up indenture contracts, transported the individuals into southern states and sold them at public auction to the highest bidder. In Kentucky, according to this informant, indentured German emigrants were referred to as "Dutch" or "white slaves."[16] At the time, the Philadelphia Register of emigrants showed that among some 6,000 Germans and Swiss listed, nearly half were "bound." Farmers were in greater demand than artisans. As for artisans or mechanics, those with simple skills whose products were necessities readily found work: masons, carpenters, wheelwrights, cabinet makers, butchers, smiths, cobblers, tailors, bakers, etc. Trades that supplied luxury products were not in demand. The latter could be bought more cheaply from abroad.[17]

Fürstenwärther observed that the artisan employed in America on his own "lives better on a third part of his earnings than he does in Germany with it all. In this unique land, all industry and trades are independent and free from all restrictions of craft guilds and government regulation." Artisans could earn about $1.50 per day. On the distaff side, German maids, much in demand, could earn weekly with board $1.25 to $1.50, with cooking and other skills up to $2.00. As for living costs, in Philadelphia room and board ran from $3.00 to $6.00 per week, a pair of boots cost $12.00-$14.00, a dress suit—the material and making $36.00-$40.00. For a farmer, a horse cost about $60.00, a head of cattle $15.00, a sheep $1.50.[18]

For farmers, several arrangements existed for acquiring land, depending on seller and location. Buying government land was the cheapest and safest way to acquire such property. Bought at a land office, an acre cost $2.00, with 160 acres the minimum purchase. With a down payment of one-fourth the total cost, the balance could be paid off over four years. Buying land from speculators was not only more costly but risky. A French group purchased 3,000 acres on the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania

from speculators and founded the colony of Galliopolis, but later lost the land because of an invalid title.[19]

In November 1817, Fürstenwärther traveled to Baltimore, destination for a number of emigrant ships. His visit left him with unfavorable impressions. No laws existed in Maryland, as they did in Pennsylvania, to regulate indenture contracts with the result that redemptioners were often treated badly. Fürstenwärther recommended that emigrants not able to pay their passage to America should not ship to Baltimore. At the time, no German aid society existed in Baltimore to look into abuses and petition for protective legislation.

Fürstenwärther's November letter from Baltimore reported a situation that caused a great stir among local Germans. Two German emigrant families had been indentured by free Negroes, of which a number had settled in the city. The aroused German community pooled resources and bought the German families back and "pledged to prevent further such abuses." Later Fürstenwärther commented on the relationship between Negroes and Germans:

> The German does not get along with them. The German is viewed by them with envy and jealousy. . . . The Negro has his natural cunning, his greater cleverness and facility with the English language. These give him a great superiority over the artless, good-natured German farmer. The Negro regards himself as a higher being and looks down on the German.[20]

In Fürstenwärther's view, the indenture system, despite occasional abuses by both parties in the contract, conferred important advantages. During service time, the redemptioner learned English, became familiar with local customs, acquired skills and made contacts that would facilitate eventually working on his own. In some cases, where a redemptioner chose to work for his employer beyond his required contract time, he could earn money to set himself up in a trade or buy land to begin farming.

From Baltimore, the author traveled to Washington, D.C., where he twice visited John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State. Fürstenwärther's 28 December letter recorded his impressions of the visit with Adams: "I would have liked to avoid this formality, only it would not be practicable." Fürstenwärther had been prepared to find Adams "dull, and very cold," but, to the contrary, found him "civil and friendly toward me. He listened to me with great interest." On the author's second visit, Adams held forth on the U. S. government's view toward German emigration:

> We of the government here have been of the opinion that the European states, especially the German governments, do not like to see emigration. For political reasons in order to not disturb good relationships, we avoid favoring the same, or the appearance of doing so. By the same token, if the German princes did not want to put obstacles in the way of German emigration, then we would also be inclined to favor it.[21]

Adams added that in America, "as a matter of national pride we affect a great indifference toward foreign emigration. The opinion seems to be that the people in the United States can make progress enough without them." Depending on Fürstenwärther's grasp of English after three months in the United States, his conversation with Adams could have been in English or German since Adams was fluent in the latter.[22]

Through his reading, the author became aware that earlier American leaders had expressed views on German emigrants. Benjamin Franklin for one had voiced serious misgivings. He feared too great numbers of Germans would make Pennsylvanian a German colony. "Instead of their Learning our Language, we must learn their's, or live as in a foreign Country."[23] Later, he used even stronger language: "Those who come here are generally of the most ignorant Stupid Sort of their own Nation." He further complained: "I suppose in a few years they will also be necessary in the Assembly, to tell one half of our Legislators what the other half say." Franklin did admit to some positive German attributes: "They have their Virtues, their industry and frugality is exemplary; They are excellent husbandmen and contribute greatly to the improvement of the Country."[24]

Thomas Jefferson also addressed the subject. Speaking of the "inconveniences" of importing large numbers of foreigners, he expressed concern with their adapting to our "peculiar" form of government, "a composition of the freest principles of the English constitution, with others derived from natural right and reason." Jefferson feared that emigrants from absolute monarchies such as existed in the German states would bring ways of thinking foreign to democratic ways, or if they turned their back on their past "it will be in exchange for an unbounded licentiousness, passing as usual from one extreme to another."[25]

Fürstenwärther's observations made during his visit 1817-18 showed that for the most part Franklin's and Jefferson's fears had not been realized. Although isolated German settlements in the interior still used German exclusively, these were exceptions. The author noted: "The past ten years have shown an eclipse of the German language and a strong tendency to use English. Business was now conducted in English. In traveling one heard no other language." In his Philadelphia contacts, Fürstenwärther found that even among the most cultured and wealthy German immigrants, German speech was not pure and held in little regard. The language had "changed into a dialect mixed with English." Germans had translated family names into English equivalents. He further observed that although emigrants' children still learned German it was "but seldom completely. The youth are against everything that is German. They do not know the land of their forefathers and are ashamed of their origins. With grandchildren, the language is usually lost completely."[26]

Among the educated there were still those who remained of "German mind." Often associated with Lutheran congregations, they chose to retain the German language in their services. For this purpose, such churches established classes for their young members to study language and religion.

As for German-American politics half-a-century after Jefferson expressed his concern, Fürstenwärther observed:

> The German in America, particularly in the country, shows in one way that he does not particularly acknowledge the country of his ancestors. One can think he did not come from Germany. He is an ardent Democrat. . . . The Hessians are a good example. They served during the Revolution in the English army. Most remained in America.[27]

Fürstenwärther added the "Hessians" were "especially democratic" while retaining German characteristics of "bluntness, crudeness and obstinacy."

Speaking of German Lutherans in the United States, the author reported that differences in regard to using German had sometimes caused problems. "Many churches, particularly in the large cities, alternate German and English preaching. In earlier years, this caused great dissension, even angry scenes in the Lutheran congregation in Philadelphia. One part went along with it and another part challenged it."[28] Those challenging the dual service wanted an English service only. Eventually, the two groups went their separate ways in different churches.

To Gagern's question—"Is the German esteemed in America?"—Fürstenwärther wrote that for every German the way stands open to office and preferment. He is esteemed because of his industry, thriftiness, frugality and sincerity, his calm disposition."[29] However, Fürstenwärther added a qualifier:

> As a mass this group did not lend itself to producing a favorable opinion. The number of educated Germans who came to this country, or who settled here, was always small. . . The abuses and misery, the impoverished condition and demoralization of many recent German arrivals had strengthened negative impressions among the native born.

How was author received during his visit to America; what were his impressions of the social and cultural scene? Not too long after his arrival in Philadelphia, Fürstenwärther wrote Gagern on 15 November:

> Your assignment for me is not an easy one. The subject is large and many-sided. The sources on which I must draw are not so easily accessible as you believe. Many require continuing investigation and observation. First I have to become known. . . . Then you tell me that people here take a great interest in my mission. This lies not in the American character.[30]

Later in the same letter Fürstenwärther mentioned that an H. Dupont, a prominent Philadelphian, had given him advice, extended invitations to visit, and provided a letter of introduction to a General Mason, an important figure in Washington, D.C. DuPont, had also introduced Fürstenwärther to M. Saughan, president of the English Society for the Support of Immigrants. Saughan was also librarian for the American Philosophical Society. The Society was a venerable institution in the city, founded 1743 by Benjamin Franklin.[31] Among its members, according to Fürstenwärther, some

were of the "wealthiest and cultured local Germans." The author was invited to become a member, giving him free access to the library where he probably found the previously mentioned Franklin and Jefferson writings.

About the same time, Fürstenwärther became a member of the Monsheim Society, a German group, whose meetings were often devoted to discussing religious and moral questions. He reflected: "It was for me a new as well as an interesting experience to attend such a German gathering in another part of the world."

The author's impressions of a poor emigrant's prospects in coming to America were positive but also realistic. "Thousands, indeed millions of people in this blessed land could find room, success and well-being. One who comes here with only small capital, and even without it, will prosper with hard work. . . . He will certainly find success as farmer or artisan."[32] But at the same time he added: "The cares and dangers of the voyage, the many obstacles and difficulties which arise from the lack of knowledge of this country and the language makes for great uncertainties up to now."

The combination of Fürstenwärther's aristocratic nature and German cultural background created a less favorable impression of America. Near the end of his final report, written late April 1818 after six months stay in the United States, he reflected:

> I cannot remain silent about some of the defects and the dark sides. One has in this country no notion, indeed, no presentiment, of a higher and more refined life—at least on this earth. One misses everything that can make life on earth more beautiful and refined, every manifestation of higher pleasures and elevated conversations. Coarse materialism and interests are the leading principles of the inhabitants. Lack of sociability, disdainful pride, reserve and coarseness distinguish the masses and repel the European of culture and sensitivity.[33]

Americans, the author felt, "did not acknowledge that higher spiritual freedom found only in Europe—mostly in Germany." Yet, for everything that seemed culturally missing in American life, Fürstenwärther admitted much was better: "The American's right to civic freedom, freedom of belief, of speech and press, and in social life. Of these, Americans could be proud."

Preparing Fürstenwärther's letters, report and enclosures for publication, Gagern added an epilogue, a "Final Words" chapter. He wrote: "Herr von Fürstenwärther has responded to the assignment objectively, without bias, and according to his convictions." Admonishing his German Diet colleagues, Gagern wrote:

> It would be great foolishness if our governments would be jealous concerning these emigrations, or fear the appearance of disapproval in the eyes of the world. Nothing comes of that. . . . They will always come about naturally for we are overpopulated. . . . If they still take place, it is a subject for reasoning, control and charity. The princes should view those seeking another home, a haven, with patience, with a friendly and compassionate eye.[34]

Gagern seconded the Fürstenwärther's recommendation that emigration societies be established in Germany to support and cooperate with their counterparts in America. Referring to the former, he added: "I would count it to my honor if they bore my name, or the one who undertook the difficult journey and the investigation."

What impact did Gagern's and Fürstenwärther's efforts have in improving the emigration situation in Germany? After Gagern had first read the Netherlands' Court order to the Diet, June 1817, when he urged action by the German governments affected by the emigration crisis, the subsequent discussion was directed toward restrictive and punitive measures, police actions to control the emigration.[35]

Some of the affected states did take action. Württemberg ordered compliance to the Dutch demand requiring Netherlands' sponsorship before an emigrant could enter that country; Nassau in the Palatinate required a guarantee of embarkation; Bavaria, a pass and sufficient money to travel across the latter's territory.[36]

After the published report became available in Germany, the Diet resolved January 1819:

> That the designated publication be accepted as a valuable source for improvement of the condition of German emigrants to that part of the world; to give acknowledgement to the author and F [Freiherr] v. Fürstenwärther and hearty thanks for their concerns, and moreover to bring this situation to the immediate attention of their governments.[37]

Writing in 1820, Fürstenwärther himself acknowledged some small gains resulting directly from his recommendations:

> After my report appeared, more societies for the purpose of making emigration more systematic began to be established in Germany. However, because of lack of experience and means to disseminate information, instead of effecting good results, they had only small impact, at least in the beginning.[38]

Soon after publication, copies of *The German in North America* appeared on this side of the Atlantic with accompanying critical notice. A Dr. Shaeffer, editor of the *Deutscher Freund*, a New York paper, took umbrage at Fürstenwärther's comments about the "dark side and defects" of the American scene. Regarding Fürstenwärther's claim that Americans lacked "nobility of spirit," the editor wrote: "God be thanked we have much here on this American earth to adorn and ennoble life. An order of nobility to be sure we have not. The little word von is not necessary to make a man noble."[39]

Another German-language paper, the Philadelphia *Amerikanische Ansichten*, published by a Pastor Plitt provided a more sympathetic review.[40] He praised Gagern as one "in the ranks of esteemed Germans who in times of great affliction acted vigorously for their Fatherland." The editor did note some errors in Fürstenwärther's reporting relating to prices and wages. In 1817-18, the latter had reached "unheard-of highs" due to a banking crisis, and excess of paper money. For example, the dress suit

Fürstenwärther reported costing around $40.00 cost only $20.00 in 1820. Plitt also noted that German speech was not so endangered as Fürstenwärther portrayed. "In the coastal cities and their environs German speech will maintain itself so long as the union with the Fatherland exists."

As for Fürstenwärther's remarks on the "dark side in the character of our citizens," Plitt allowed that there was found among some German immigrants a narrow outlook especially marked among uneducated country people—people who were a "thorn in the eye" of cultured Germans living the in the United States, but also to visitors of refined backgrounds such as Fürstenwärther. "No one," claimed Plitt, "would gainsay this reaction."

Fürstenwärther's previously cited 1820 letter, written in response to Plitt's review, defended his partly negative assessment of American culture. He observed his purpose in these remarks was to serve warning to "educated and well-off Germans," those who might be considering emigrating to America, "that they not be deceived." Fürstenwärther complained: "Not everything I held for the truth was spoken for the public at large and for the press"—a swipe at his uncle Gagern who apparently published the full text of the report without prior consultation.[41]

Later in 1820, an English-language review of the *The German in North America* appeared as lead article in the Boston-published *North American Review*. The article was attributed to editor Edward Everett.[42] Everett, professor of Greek at Harvard, was no stranger to Germany having spent nearly five years there traveling and studying as a young man. Everett's review gave extended translated excerpts from the book, often interspersed with unflattering observations. Unlike editor Plitt, Everett seemed to entertain a particular animus toward Gagern. In his opening remarks Everett stated: "The gentleman well known to such of our readers as have taken the trouble to follow the train of proceedings at Frankfurt is one of those who must bear a full portion of the blame, which attaches to that assembly of having said much and done nothing."[43]

According to Everett, Fürstenwärther arrived in Philadelphia "without speaking a word of the language." Given this handicap, Everett wondered how it was possible for "this worthy gentleman [to] talk of what does or does not dwell in the American character."[44] Unfortunately, Fürstenwärther provides no direct evidence to judge his ability to speak English. If he had no English to begin with, as Everett claimed, he soon must have acquired some facility since he not only communicated with Philadelphia citizens of non-German background, but also seemed able to read reports and documents in English, and occasionally used English words in his writing.

Everett complained of Fürstenwärther's "wishing and striving to keep up the German peculiarities of their countrymen in America." This criticism seems unfair since both he and Gagern accepted the inevitable loss of a German outlook and language among German settlers in America. Fürstenwärther had reflected:

> To the German, when the sun sets here in the far west, it seems to him no longer a German but an American sun. He too must change from being German to be reborn again into a second life. This change does not take place quickly, but only by degrees does he become like other people.[45]

In his epilogue, Gagern expressed a similar sentiment: "Our language does not prevail there, but it exists! We can give it friendly help. English is overcoming it. That is not unreasonable. English came before it. If German gives way. . . in no other way can our German families flourish."[46]

Everett's review referred to an earlier article that provided a poignant eye-witness account of the plight of impoverished immigrants who, after arriving in the United States, waited on shipboard for someone to pay their fare and contract their service. Taken from a British publication, the account claimed that the "infamous traffic" in redemptioners was confined to American ships. Subsequent investigation showed the scene described below took place, not on an American ship, but on British vessel out of Amsterdam arriving Philadelphia in 1817:

> As we ascended the side of this hulk, a most revolting scene of want and misery presented itself. Mr. [. . .] inquired if there were any shoemakers on board. He [the captain] called in the Dutch language for shoemakers. The poor fellows came running up with unspeakable delight, no doubt anticipating relief from their loathsome dungeon. Their cloths [*sic*], if rags deserve that denomination, actually perfumed the air. I inquired of several if they could speak English. They smiled and gabbled, "No Engly, no Engly—one Engly talk ship." The deck was filthy, The cooking, washing, and necessary department were close together.[47]

Everett approvingly quoted Fürstenwärther's testimony regarding ships transporting emigrants. As cited above, Fürstenwärther had written: "It is usually Dutch, but occasionally also American, Swedish, Russian ships which transport emigrants to America. . . . The American ships are the best and deserve preference before all others."

From early on in his visit to America, Fürstenwärther apparently conceived the idea to stay in this country. After his 1817 meetings with John Quincy Adams, the two continued to correspond. In a 22 April 1819 letter, Fürstenwärther enclosed a copy of his report, and asked Adams if there was a possibility of obtaining a position in the U. S. State Department. In his 4 June response Adams stated:

> I regret that it is not in my power to add the inducement . . . of an offer under the government. All places in the department in which I belong . . . are filled, nor is there any prospect of an early vacancy in any of them. Whenever such vacancies occur . . . it would seldom be possible, if it would be just, to give a preference over them [native applicants] to foreigners.[48]

A later and more serious disappointment afflicted the young man. After completing his report, Fürstenwärther lingered on in the United States. His 1820 letter alluded to unresolved personal circumstances in his life that accounted for remaining here. Later, Gagern provided terse details concerning his nephew's "personal circumstances" and the resulting tragic outcome. "Impossiblities" associated with a love affair had plunged

Fürstenwärther into a disturbed mental state that, according to Gagern, "brought him to the brink of madness and shortened his life."[49] Since Gagern published the above account in 1830, Fürstenwärther must have died sometime during the 1820s.

Reading *The German in North America* informs in two ways: First, it lets us see the United States through the eyes of an outsider, a young European aristocrat, during the still formative years of the Republic. Although Fürstenwärther's remarks were sometimes unflattering, in hindsight, we perhaps can see they came closer to the mark than his contemporary U. S. critics could admit with their national pride at stake.

Second, the report illumines our historical perspective on German emigration to the United States, particularly the arduous conditions many German emigrants faced while making the journey and the range of their experiences upon arrival. For those of us with German forebears, some of whom may have been among this 1817-18 exodus from their European homeland, the report still carries a special poignancy.

Iowa City, Iowa

Notes

[1] Hans von Gagern, *Mein Antheil an der Politik*, vol. 3, *Der Bundestag* (Stuttgart and Tübingen: Cotta, 1830), 145-46; Mack Walker, *Germany and the Emigration 1816-1885* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), 30-31.

[2] Sources for Gagern's early life include: *Mein Antheil*, vol. 1, *Unter Napoleons Herrschaft* (Stuttgart and Tübingen: Cotta, 1823); Heinrich von Treitschke, *Historische und Politische Aufsätze*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1911); Hellmuth Rossler, *Zwischen Revolution und Reaktion* (Göttingen: Munsterschmidt, 1958).

[3] Gagern, *Antheil*, 3:146-48.

[4] Ibid., 151-53.

[5] Ibid., 153.

[6] *Der Deutsche in Nord-America* (Stuttgart and Tübingen: Cotta, 1818). Courtesy Josef Nadler Library, Rice University. Trans. by author. A copy of the German original and translation are on file in the Blegen Library, The German-American Collection, University of Cincinnati.

[7] Emma Gertrude Jaeck, *Madame De Staël and the Spread of German Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1915), 17; Günter Moltmann, *Ausbruch nach Amerika: Die Auswandersungwelle von 1816/17* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1989). The writer is grateful to the *Yearbook* reviewer for calling his attention to this valuable German source.

[8] *Der Deutsche*, 3; tr. 2 (First page no. refers to original text; second to my translation.)

[9] Ibid. 11-14; tr. 7-9.

[10] Ibid. 15-17; tr. 10-11; Edward Everett, "Review of 'The German in North America,'" *North American Review* 28, n.s. (July 1820): 4. Everett gives dollar equivalents at the time.

[11] *Der Deutsche*, 18; tr. 12.

[12] Ibid., 34; tr. 21.

[13] Ibid., 19; tr. 12-13.

[14] Ibid., 20; tr. 13.

[15] Ibid., 42, 101; tr. 24, 54.

[16] Ibid., 27-28; tr. 17. In his review of Fürstenwärther's report (see n. 10), Everett doubts the use of the term "white slave" for German redemptioners. He states: "We have observed our southern and western brethren to be very sparing of the use of 'slave,' even when applied to blacks" (7). However, this writer has a forebear who came to Maryland from England in the 17th-century and served as a redemptioner. An 1858 Maryland document reported: "Nihcolas Day, a grown man, sells himself into "slave bondage" for ship transportation to the New World."

[17] *Der Deutsche*, 61; tr. 29.

[18] Ibid., 65-67; tr. 36-37.

[19] Ibid., 80-81; tr. 43-45. Fürstenwärther described other settlements: Swiss in Indiana, French in the Alabama Territory, and George Rapp's German colony Harmonie in Pennsylvania and later, Indiana. He mentioned no Spanish settlements. Fürstenwärther's accounts were secondhand.

[20] Ibid. 55; tr. 31.

[21] Ibid. 28-29; tr. 17-18.

[22] Adams spent four years as ambassador to Prussia beginning 1797. During this time he translated Wieland's poem "Oberon."

[23] Fürstenwärther reported the existence of a Franklin essay concerning emigrants, but did not include it in his enclosures. The writer was unable to find such an essay. However, two letters by Franklin referring to German emigration appear in *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Leonard W. Larabee (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961); the first is dated 20 March 1751 (4:120-21); the second is cited in n. 24.

[24] *Papers*, letter of 9 May 1753 (4:483-84).

[25] *Der Deutsche*, 99; tr. 53. The Jefferson excerpt translated into German appeared in Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*, ed. William Peden, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955; originally published 1787), 85. Whether Fürstenwärther made the English translation not indicated.

[26] *Der Deutsche*, 72-73; tr. 39-41.

[27] Ibid., 78-79; tr. 42.

[28] Ibid., 75; tr. 41.

[29] Ibid., 68; tr. 37-38.

[30] Ibid., 22-23; tr. 14-15.

[31] Ibid. In 1743 Benjamin Franklin proposed: "That One Society be formed of Virtuosi of ingenious Men residing in the several Colonies, to be called the American Philosophical Society. . . . That Philadelphia be the Center of the Society." See Margaret B. Korty, "American Learned Societies," in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, pt. 9, 1965 (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1965), 47.

[32] *Der Deutsche*, 46; tr. 26.

[33] Ibid., 89-90; tr. 47-48.

[34] Ibid., 122-24; tr. 57-58.

[35] Gagern, *Antheil*, 3:150-51.

[36] Walker, *Germany*, 29-30.

[37] Gagern, *Antheil*, 3:155.

[38] Fürstenwärther, M. von, "Anticritik.," in *Amerikanische Ansichten*, no. 2 (Philadelphia, 1820), 15-16.

[39] Cited in Edward Everett, *The German*, 13 (see n. 10).

[40] Fürstenwärther, "Anticritik," 15-16.

[41] Ibid., 16.

[42] Everett, see n. 10, pp. 1-19.

[43] Ibid., 1.

[44] Ibid., 6.

[45] *Der Deutsche*, 22-23; tr.38.

[46] Ibid., 123; tr. 57.

[47] Everett cited an earlier article by himself (see note 10, p. 8) titled: "Mr. Welch's Appeal," that appeared in the *North American Review* 27, n.s. (April 1820): 342-43.

[48] Moltmann, *Ausbruch*, 243-46. Adam's letter provides a extensive view of official U. S. attitude toward European immigration. The letter was published in a Baltimore paper, the *Niles' Weekly Register*, 29 April 1820.

[49] Gagern, *Antheil*, 3:153.

Patrick Labriola

German Intellectual History and American Romanticism: Spirit, Nature Philosophy, and the Occult

When Theodore Parker wrote in 1841 that German writings are "the most religious literature the world has seen" ("German Literature," 327) since the days of ancient Greece, he was expressing a common belief among the Transcendentalists that German intellectual history is the documentation of spiritual thought. From the various publications of German horror stories in *Blackwood's Magazine*, German Romanticism also received the reputation of being an eerie and mysterious literature that probed into the dark side of nature and the human mind. One critic expressed this ambiguous attitude towards German writings by stating "there are those who associate with the German mind all that is pure and lofty, and others, all that is to be dreaded in infidelity and mystical atheism."[1] This difference in viewing German writings as religious and pagan, and inspiring and horrifying at the same time, is rooted in German intellectual history, which combines the ideas of mysticism, nature philosophy, and the occult in the writings of Romanticism.

In the 1830s and 1840s, writers such as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Edgar Allan Poe were attracted to a new kind of literature from Germany that provided a glimpse into man's involvement with the spiritual world. Although the religious and political life of America was founded on the empirical philosophy of Locke and the English Enlightenment, Romanticism drew its strength from the spiritual and metaphysical tradition of German Idealism, which had its roots in religious history. Emerson and the writers of Concord such as Theodore Parker, George Ripley, Margaret Fuller, James Freeman Clarke, Frederic Henry Hedge, James Elliot Cabot and Charles Sterns Wheeler generated the Transcendental movement from the German Idealist belief that the harmony of man and nature, spirit and substance, brought about a higher understanding of God. These authors were held together as a group through their appreciation of German writings and the belief that their lives contained a higher spiritual truth.

As a representative of the dark side of Romanticism, Poe drew inspiration from the German "schwarze Romantik," which investigated the belief that the interaction between man and spirit revealed the dark and mysterious side of the individual. Poe delved into man's connection to a spiritual world through the scientific and medical investigations of mesmerism, trance, sleepwalking, and metempsychosis. One can say

that for Emerson and the Transcendentalists the belief in spirit represented an upsurge of faith in mankind, while the emphasis on spiritual forces in Poe's writings signified the ominous presence of a supernatural world and the inexplicable dimensions of the human mind. What these authors shared was the conviction that man is connected to a higher spiritual force that is documented in the theological, philosophical, and literary writings of Germany.

The concept of "spirit" in German intellectual history has its roots in Mysticism, Pietism, philosophical Idealism, the scientific theories of the early nineteenth century, and Higher Biblical Criticism.[2] Although these influences were not incorporated into German Romanticism as one unified system, they were certainly contributing factors to the idea of an *unio mystica* at the center of German thought. As the foundation of German spiritual writings, Mysticism in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries emphasizes the belief that the spirit of God reveals itself to the human soul in order to provide life with meaning. As a collection of spiritual testimonies that were written by nuns in monasteries throughout Germany, early Mysticism proclaims a spiritual closeness to God through divine visions and revelations. In *Sci Vias* [know the ways] (1141-51), Hildegard von Bingen testifies that the light of God descended upon her "from the open heavens" (52) and flowed through her "heart and chest like a flame that did not burn, but rather warmed" (53). This same intimacy with the divine is found in Elisabeth von Schönau's prophetic work, *Visiones* (1152-60), in which a revelation from heaven enables her to witness "a light, endlessly brighter and more radiant than any light [she] was used to seeing, and in this light [she] saw many thousands of saints" (80). Mechthilde von Magdeburg in *Fließendes Licht* (1250-70) expresses an infinite longing of her soul to be with the spirit of God "so that after the death of this body" her soul "may remain unaffected and untarnished" (103) and her "enemies cannot cause [her] harm" (104). As the spiritual descendant of these early mystical visionaries, Meister Eckhart proclaims his intimacy with the divine through love and passion rather than prophetic visions. In the sermon of 1320, "Scitote, quia prope est regnum dei" [you should know the Kingdom of God is near], Meister Eckhart asserts that closeness to God results from surrendering one's identity to the spirit of God because "if one's soul is to recognize God, it must also lose and forget itself" (39). As part of his belief that God encompasses all things, Eckhart declares that communication with the divine can take place in church or in the fields "for God is in all things and in all places at the same time" (37).

In the realm of natural philosophy an important work that caught the imagination of the German Romantics is Theophrast von Hohenheim's treatise on elementary spirits entitled *De nymphis, sylphis, pygmaeis et salamandris et de caeteris spiritibus* (1530). In this mystical and scientific investigation that explores the existence of spiritual beings in the world, Paracelsus classifies elementary spirits into the four groups: undinae, sylvestres, gnomi, and vulcani which reside in the natural elements water, air, land and fire respectively. As human beings move about freely in the realm of air, these spirits live in their respective natural elements, experience day and night, and are in no danger of either "drowning, nor suffocating, nor burning" (126). Paracelsus explains that elementary spirits are both human and spiritual and embody the characteristics of

both: like spirits they wander freely "through solid walls" without "breaking anything" (120) and like human beings they bear "children and offspring, eat and talk, drink and walk, which are things that spirits do not do" (120). As the hybrid of both "spirits and human beings" (121), elementary spirits are "special creatures" (121) which have no human soul and are mortal. Since elementary spirits "do not have a soul" (123), they acquire spiritual life through marriage to human beings, just as mankind gains salvation through the spirit of God. Whereas vulcani are mostly seen as "burning lights in meadows and fields that run through and against one another" (135), and the gnomi remain in the mountains as visionaries and prophets, undinae "come out of the water, allow us to meet them, interact and walk with us, return to the water, and come back again" (132).

Although Poe never realized that Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué's *Undine* was derived from Paracelsus's work, he wrote an applauding review of the German fairy tale in Burton's *Gentleman's Magazine* in September 1839, calling it "the finest romance in existence" (173). In this review, Poe reiterates some of Paracelsus's important ideas by quoting from Fouqué's work. He writes that Undine belongs to a "race of water-spirits" that differ from mankind in that they possess no soul and "have no other means of obtaining a soul, than by forming, with an individual … the most intimate union of love" (171). However, without marriage to human beings, these elementary spirits "vanish into air at death, and go out of existence, spirit and body, so that no vestige" (171) of them remains. Burton R. Pollin argues that Poe's sonnet "The Island of the Fay" borrows heavily from Fouqué's *Undine* for its use of "the many atmospheric and descriptive touches, and the central theme – of the elementary beings whose soulless life and death arouse melancholy reflections in the mind of the observer" (72).

As the synthesis of the German mystical thinkers who paved the way for a spiritual relationship with the divine, and the natural philosophy of Paracelsus, Jakob Boehme maintains in his post-Reformation work *Aurora* (1612) that all of nature is part of one divine system "including all of creation, the heavens and the earth, as well as the stars, the natural elements, and the creatures" (1.1) and that within God Himself are the qualities of both good and evil. As part of a long tradition of spiritual nature philosophy that achieves its high point in German Idealism, Boehme asserts that each element of nature reveals the signature of God's greatness so that the "round sphere" (3.18) of the universe without beginning or end expresses the magnitude of God the Father, "the sun" (3.20) at its center signifies the love and joy of the Son, and the "moving spirit" (3.35) of nature represents the Holy Spirit. Boehme's writings are a theosophical approach to Christianity which attempt to reveal to man the creation of the universe, the existence of good and evil, and the possibility of the soul's rebirth through the light of God.

The American Transcendentalist Amos Bronson Alcott was greatly influenced by Boehme's writings and his "Boehmenist mysticism appears overtly in virtually all of [his] books" (Versluis, 155). Emerson's interest in Boehme's works stems from Alcott who encouraged him to read "the German mystic and also played a considerable role in promoting the popularity of Boehme's writings among the chief members of the

Transcendentalist movement" (Hurth, "Uses of a Mystic Prophet," 222). Emerson read Boehme's *Aurora* in English translation in 1835 and wrote in a journal entry in 1836 that the German mystic was one of the unprecedented thinkers of modern Germany. In another entry from 1835, Emerson wrote that "Swedenborg, Guyon, Fox, Luther & perhaps Bohmen [*sic*]" each show that the discovery of God "must be sought within, not without" and "each perceives the worthlessness of all instruction, & the infinity of wisdom that issues from meditation" (*Journals*, 5:5). Similar to Boehme who moved away from "closely-worded doctrines of faith" in "Protestant Orthodoxy" by searching for the meaning of "God within" (Hurth, "Uses of a Mystic Prophet," 227), Emerson was able to escape from the confines of traditional Unitarianism and a literal reading of the Bible through a personal relationship with God in nature itself.

The religious movement of Pietism, which extends from the late seventeenth century to the Enlightenment and includes authors such as Philipp Jacob Spener, August Hermann Francke and Graf Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, consciously draws on the tradition of German Mysticism that flows through the writings of Paracelsus and Boehme. As a response to the confines of orthodox Protestantism, Pietism stresses a personal experience with God through active devotion, the expression of one's inner self in the form of subjectivity, independence from the doctrines of the Church, and participation in the congregation as the spiritual body of Christ. In the central document of the movement, *Pia Desideria* [pious desires] (1675), Spener instructs his parishioners to know the word of Scripture for themselves, "to read from them openly, to instruct one another as brothers" (57), to practice the word of God through good deeds, and to extend "fervent love among Christians" (62). With these ambitions in mind, Spener encourages the establishment of "collegia pietatis" in order to study Scripture so that "everyone can express whatever seems important to him about each verse and how he believes he can apply these verses to himself and to others" (76). Although Emerson and the Transcendentalists were not directly affected by the reforms of German Pietism, these ideas certainly brought about reforms in the Church that later led to one's personal involvement in the ministry and the freedom to experience God for oneself in Transcendentalism.

The philosophical movement of German Idealism combines the ideas of mysticism and nature philosophy in one system as the basis of man's spiritual relationship with God. One can regard the development of philosophical thought in the writings of Immanuel Kant, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Friedrich Wilhelm Josef Schelling, and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel as the gradual realization that the divine spirit reveals itself to mankind through nature itself. While Kant argues that a priori ideas connect one to the essence of phenomena, and Fichte provides the ego with infinite moral and imaginative power in creating the world, Schelling and Hegel propose that nature possesses spirit that is analogous to the spirit of man. In "Ideen zu einer Philosophie der Nature" (1797), Schelling moves beyond the limitations of analytical science which investigates only the quantitative, qualitative, and mechanical movement of objects but not the essence of phenomena itself. He argues that while Newton examined the external motion of objects and Leibnitz regarded the spiritual aspect of phenomena, the two sides must be brought together in one system that combines both spirit and

substance (1:674-75). For this reason, Schelling draws upon the pantheistic philosophy of Spinoza and the principles of nature philosophy to show that man and nature originate from a common spiritual source that joins them in transcendental harmony. Schelling's belief that natural bodies are made of "matter and mutually attract one another" (679) and that a physical body "can move another body without being moved itself" (677), lead to later investigations in speculative science concerning the relationship of nature to the human mind.

The writings of Kant and Schelling enabled the Transcendentalists to liberate themselves from the confines of conservative Unitarian theology and showed them that "transcendental" knowledge allows one to move beyond mere sensory experience and provides a glimpse into nature itself. In *The Transcendentalist* (1842), Emerson clearly states that New England Transcendentalism received its name and philosophical basis from Kantian a priori philosophy over the empirical philosophy of Locke.[3] Emerson also received a great deal of information on Schelling's writings from Coleridge and Carlyle, which helped him to develop his own philosophy of nature. In *Nature* (1836), Emerson asserts that the spirit of man and the innate spirit of nature are joined in transcendental harmony when these two spiritual forces come together.[4] Other Transcendentalists such as Hedge, Clarke, and Cabot played an important role in the reception of German philosophical thought. In 1833, Hedge applauded Coleridge for his accomplishments as a philosopher and his interpretation of German philosophy in "Coleridge's Literary Character." Most importantly, Hedge provided the *Dial* in 1843 with an English translation of Schelling's introductory lectures in Berlin and outlined the writings of several prominent German writers and philosophers in his *Prose Writers of Germany* in 1848. Clarke paid tribute in 1838 to the work of the Scottish writer Carlyle in "Thomas Carlyle: The German Scholar" for having introduced the Transcendentalists to numerous German writers and philosophers. Cabot contributed to the Transcendentalists' understanding of Kant by writing "Immanual Kant" in 1844, outlining Kant's philosophical ideas for a New England audience. Cabot also translated sections of Kant's *Critique of Judgment* and Schelling's *On the Relationship of the Plastic Arts to Nature* in 1848.

German intellectual thought at the beginning of the nineteenth century also involved the scientific and medical theories that examined the relationship between natural forces and the human soul. In *Ansichten von der Nachtseite der Naturwissenschaft* (1808), Gotthilf Heinrich Schubert investigates how the phenomena of sleepwalking, clairvoyance, and animal magnetism connect the human spirit to a world-soul which extends from the planets to the smallest organisms. Schubert asserts that all elements of nature are part of a "world-soul" which makes possible "the transition from one existence to another and the eternally harmonious interaction of the universe in all its parts" (372). In this sense, the world-soul is continuously in the process of developing "new creations" (373) and bringing about the harmony of individual components of nature. Schubert explains that all elements of nature have a magnetic effect upon one another so that bodies nearest in proximity are most influenced by this natural power. Since the "spirit of life" is present in all living organisms, this magnetic force also has an influence on human beings especially in "such moments of mesmerized trance,

sleepwalking, insanity" (363) and similar conditions. Patients in a mesmeric trance have a heightened awareness of metals with magnetic power, share the sensations of other patients through telepathic communication, and even detect objects around them. Another aspect of animal magnetism is the relationship between the patient and mesmerist, which causes their minds and souls to merge and form a situation of dependency. In the state of mesmerism, patients are able to draw upon an "inner light" which flows through "their whole bodies" (357) and recognize individuals entering a room, to look inside their own bodies to detect internal disorders, and to come into contact with the spiritual forces of nature. These writings became the foundation of the German "schwarze Romantik" in dealing with the phenomena of sleepwalking, clairvoyance, telepathy, melancholy, psychopathology, premonitions, criminality, and the divided self.

As an investigator in the field of mesmerism, Poe attended lectures on the subject and even wrote a review of William Newnham's book, *Human Magnetism*, for *The Broadway Journal* in 1845. Although Poe disagreed with some of the "*curative* effects of magnetism" in Newnham's work, he claimed that "the prodigious importance of the mesmeric influence in surgical cases: – that limbs, for example, have been amputated without pain through such influence, is what we feel to be fact" (210, Poe's italics). The extensive use of mesmerism in his writings shows a profound influence of these German writings. Poe concentrates on the topic of mesmerism in his trilogy "A Tale of the Ragged Mountains" (1844), "Mesmeric Revelation" (1844) and "The Facts in the Case of Mr. Valdemar" (1845). In the first tale, Poe depicts the mesmerist as someone who exercises psychological control over his patient as a display of his own magnetic powers. Dr. Templeton forces his patient Bledloe to experience a strange vision from his own past in Calcutta during "the insurrection of Cheyte Sing, which took place in 1780" (*Collected Works*, 3:949) through a "water-colour drawing" (948). "Mesmeric Revelation" involves a discussion between the narrator and his mesmerized subject who dies while in a trance, and "The Facts in the Case of Mr. Valdemar" describes a patient in a mesmerized state, who according to the doctors, should already have died.

In "Berenice," (1835) the theme of mesmerism takes on an added dimension through the use of sleepwalking and trance. In this tale, the narrator is driven by the will of his subconscious to live out his "frenzied desire" (*Collected Works*, 2:215) to remove his wife's teeth in a trance. The narrator describes his illness as kind of "monomania" (211) and an "*intensity of interest*" (211, Poe's italics) that causes him to focus on objects and lose himself in their contemplation. Like the sleepwalker who carries out actions that are rooted in the subconscious, the narrator learns that his wife's grave has been desecrated, "the disfigured body enshrouded" (218), and her teeth removed. Worst of all is the fact that the woman was "still breathing – still palpitating, *still alive*" (218, Poe's italics) when the crime took place and that "some instruments of dental surgery, intermingled with thirty-two small, white, and ivory-looking substances" (219) are found scattered on the floor of his room.

In "The Tell-Tale Heart" (1843), the narrator commits murder because of his fixed idea about the old man's "pale blue eye, with a film over it" (*Collected Works*, 3:792). Although he cannot "say how first the idea" (792) entered his mind, the mere

sight of the eye causes his blood to run cold so that he "made up [his] mind to take the life of the old man, and thus rid [himself] of the eye forever" (792). During one of his nocturnal vigils at the threshold of the old man's bedroom, a "dim ray" (794) of light shoots from the crevice of the door onto the old man's "vulture eye" (794) and fills the narrator with uncontrollable rage that drives him to commit murder. "It was open – wide, wide open – and I grew furious as I gazed upon it. I saw it with perfect distinctness – all a dull blue, with a hideous veil over it that chilled the very marrow in my bones" (794). In "The Cask of Amontillado" (1846), the narrator carries out his fixed idea for revenge by luring his enemy, Fortunatus, into the catacombs of his estate and then burying him alive. Although the narrator never elaborates on "the thousand injuries" (*Collected Works*, 3:1256) that he suffered from Fortunatus, he carefully executes his revenge by informing him that he has purchased a shipment of Amontillado wine and is on the way to Luchesi to request his advice. "Luchesi cannot tell Amontillado from Sherry," Fortunatus replies, "come, let us go" (1258). The narrator craftily carries out his fixed idea for revenge by chaining Fortunatus to the walls of a recess in the catacombs and with "building stone and mortar" (1262) buries his enemy alive under ten tiers of masonry.

Another work in the field of natural science is Johann Heinrich Jung-Stilling's *Theorie der Geisterkunde* (1808), which provides a connection between the natural sciences and the occult by investigating the composition of the spiritual world through reports and documentation. Jung-Stilling asserts that the "material world consists largely of beings that are unknown to us" (468) and that we are unable to perceive them because we exist in time and space and our senses are limited to the surface of the material world. In the spiritual world there are good and bad spirits as well as "the souls of dead people" (657) which contact human beings through the spirit of God. These spirits are composed of a substance that resembles "light" and "electricity" and provides the sensation of "cool air" (657) when passing the human body. There are numerous ways in which the spiritual world comes into contact with human spirit such as through mesmerism, premonitions, prophecy, and witchcraft. Jung-Stilling argues that our connection to the spiritual world is through our souls, which radiate a "sky-blue shimmer of light" (488) and allow us to come into contact with the souls of both the living and the dead.

The theme of metempsychosis, or the transmigration of the soul, can be readily found in Poe's tales "Morella" (1835), "Metzengerstein" (1836), and "Ligeia" (1838). In the first tale, the narrator asserts that through his wife he became acquainted with a number of those mystical writings of early German literature and that the "wild Pantheism of Fichte" (*Collected Works*, 2:226) and "the doctrines of *Identity* as urged by Schelling" (226, Poe's italics) was "almost the sole conversation of Morella" (216) and himself. As the central theme of this story, the narrator is foremost interested in what happens to the soul (which he calls identity) "*which at death is* or *is not lost forever*" (226, Poe's italics). The narrator's wife, Morella, dies at an early age and leaves her husband with a child who is identical to the mother. After the death of his daughter, the narrator discovers that Morella's soul had been residing in his daughter throughout the years because his wife is missing from her tomb when he prepares his daughter's

enshrinement: "she died; and with my own hands I bore her to the tomb; and I laughed with a long and bitter laugh as I found no trace of the first, in the charnel where I laid the second—Morella" (236).

In a similar story about metempsychosis, the narrator in "Ligeia" experiences the death of his wife whom he met in a "large, old, decaying city near the Rhine" (*Collected Works*, 2:310) and who was well versed in "the many mysteries of transcendentalism" (316). Out of grief of losing her, the narrator marries Lady Rowena Tevanion of Tremaine, whom he grows to despise "with a hatred belonging more to a demon than a man" (323), and he hopes that Ligeia will return to "the pathway she had abandoned" (323). Immediately following Lady Rowena's death, the narrator detects "some palpable although invisible object" (325) that passes by his body, "a gentle foot-fall upon the carpet" (325), and a distinct "tremor upon the lips" (328) of the corpse. As Lady Rowena opens her eyes, the narrator recognizes "the full, and the black, and the wild eyes . . . of the Lady Ligeia" (330) whose spirit has returned to the body of his second wife.

An important spiritual influence on the New England Transcendentalists involves the so-called Higher Biblical Criticism of Johann Jakob Griesbach, Johann Gottfried Eichhorn, David Friedrich Strauß, Johann Gottfried von Herder, and Friedrich Schleiermacher. Like their religious predecessors in the tradition of Mysticism and Pietism who emphasized a personal relationship with the divine, these theologians attempted to establish an intuitive and spiritual connection with God by re-evaluating religion and the traditional reading of the Bible. For the Unitarian ministers Emerson, Parker, Ripley, Hedge and Clarke, these religious authors helped to liberate Transcendentalism from the confines of a literal interpretation of the Bible.[5] As the forerunner of the German historical speculators, Griesbach proposes a spiritual reading of the Bible by interpreting the New Testament as a single narrative that is shared by the apostles. In his 1776 "Commentatio qua Marci Evangelium totum e Matthaei et Lucae commentariis decerptum esse monstratur" [a study which shows that the entire Gospel of Mark was taken from the texts of Matthew and Luke], Griesbach offers a parallel reading of the gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke without interrupting the chronology of these stories. By using the tools of synoptic research and listing events from the gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke in columns next to one another, Griesbach shows that all three gospels are derived from a common source and that Mark borrowed heavily from both Matthew and Luke. Griesbach asserts that Mark retained the chronological order from Matthew and Luke while borrowing from both sources (108), that all of Mark's stories are found in the texts of the other two apostles (110), and that Mark is in alternating agreement with both Matthew and Luke (113). In a similar manner, Eichhorn attempts to prove in *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (1804) that the gospels of the New Testament are derived from a common source in Aramaic or vulgar Hebrew. Eichhorn asserts that the gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke were taken from a "common source" (155) which not only provided the story of Christ's life, but also served as a guideline for the translation of the gospels into Greek (182). Since the gospels of the three apostles often correspond word-for-word with one another, similarities in the gospels stem either from an original Aramaic text or

the congruity of a single Greek translation. Griesbach and Eichhorn did not attempt to disprove the historical existence of Christ's life, but rather to demonstrate that one should search for spirit beyond the literal word of the Bible.

The most extreme position of the historical speculators is presented by Strauß in *Das Leben Jesu* (1835) by asserting that the New Testament is comprised of a series of myths built on the prophesies of the Old Testament with no basis in fact. Strauß argues that since Christ was part human and part God one cannot hope to reconstruct his life according to chronological history. Instead he employs the tools of synoptic research along with the study of myths from the Hebraic tradition to illuminate the life of Jesus. The miracles of the New Testament are not to be understood in a literal sense but rather for their prophetic and symbolic worth. The curing of the blind is meant in the metaphorical sense of opening one's eyes to the Lord (138), being possessed by demons "has the same meaning as being insane or crazy" (168), touching Christ's garments to become cured has the same psychological power that is associated with sacred relics (172), the story of Jesus awakening the dead illustrates that he has the power to do so on judgment day (184), and the stories of calming the seas and walking on water have mythological worth that is derived from the Old Testament (216-17). Strauß's purpose is not to discredit the historical validity of Christ's life, which centers around the tradition of miracles and divinity, but rather to show that the New Testament is witness to the presence of spirit that exists beyond a literal reading of the Bible.

Higher Biblical Criticism was at the center of the controversy between the Transcendentalists and the Unitarian ministry and a contributing factor for Emerson's decision to leave the ministry on the issue of the Lord's Supper. Emerson was first introduced to writings of German biblical criticism through his brother William, who studied theology in Göttingen in 1824 and attended "Eichhorn's lectures on the first three evangelists" (Packer, 72). These writings had such a revolutionary impact on William that when he returned to New England "he defied family expectations, announcing that his ministerial ambitions had come to an end" (Hurth, "Historical Speculators," 192). These theological works also had great influence on Ralph Waldo Emerson's theological thinking since he resigned as a Unitarian minister in 1832 unable to serve the Lord's Supper in good conscience. Subsequent works such as *Nature* (1836) and *The Divinity School Address* (1838) bore the revolutionary spirit of these theological writings, challenging Unitarian authorities and spurring on the controversy with Andrews Norton on the question of "miracles" and "Christ's divinity."[6] In 1839 Norton accused the Transcendentalists of heresy in "A Discourse on the Latest Form of Infidelity," referring to them as "the German school of infidelity" (21-22).

Higher Biblical Criticism also had a profound effect on other Unitarian ministers such as Ripley and Parker. In 1835 Ripley wrote a review of Herder's *The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry* and an essay on Herder in 1840 entitled "Letter to a Theological Student," in which he recommended the writings of Herder as a means of reforming the Church. In 1836 Ripley also published "Schleiermacher as a Theologian," referring to him as the greatest thinker to fathom the philosophy of religion. He also responded directly to the Norton controversy in "'The Latest Form of Infidelity' Examined" (1839) by criticizing Norton for his "insistence that miracles are the only possible

proof of Christianity" (Hutchison 197). Parker defended this position in a review of Strauß's *Das Leben Jesu* in 1840, arguing that "miracles" and "Christ's divinity" are not necessary for true faith. He reinforced this opinion in 1841 in *A Discourse on the Transient and Permanent in Christianity*, claiming that the existence of "spirit" is more important than the religious institutions themselves.

Emerson and the Transcendentalists borrowed openly from the literary, philosophical, and theological writings associated with German intellectual history and witnessed in these documents an inherent spiritual truth. It was not uncommon for these theologians to perceive the writings of Boehme, Kant, Schelling, Schleiermacher, Herder, and Strauß as belonging to the same intellectual tradition that testified to the existence of a spiritual world. For this reason they called their religious and literary movement "Transcendentalism" for it proclaimed that knowledge exists beyond mere sensory experience and provides insight into a higher spiritual world. While Emerson and the Transcendentalists drew upon the tradition of spirit and nature philosophy that flowed through the writings of German intellectual history, Poe borrowed from motifs of the German "schwarze Romantik" that are found in the writings of Paracelsus, Boehme, Schubert, and Jung-Stilling. Although Poe strongly denied the influence of German Romanticism as a source of terror in his writings, the German motifs of the mesmerism, trance, metempsychosis, and fixed ideas in his tales point to an overwhelming affinity with these German writings.

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Notes

[1] "*Undine*, from the German of Baron de la Motte Fouque." *Christian Examiner* 27 (1840): 398.

[2] All translations in this article are my own and are based on the respective German texts in "Works Cited."

[3] "It is well known to most of my audience, that the Idealism of the present day acquired the name of Transcendental, from the use of that term by Immanuel Kant, of Konigsberg [sic], who replied to the skeptical philosophy of Locke, which insisted that there was nothing in the intellect which was not previously in the experience of the senses, by showing that there was a very important class of ideas, or imperative forms, which did not come by experience, but through which experience was acquired; that these were intuitions of the mind itself; and he denominated them *Transcendental* forms. The extraordinary profoundness and precision of that man's thinking have given vogue to his nomenclature, in Europe and America, to that extent, that whatever belongs to the class of intuitive thought, is popularly called at the present day *Transcendental*." (Emerson, *Collected Works*, 1: 206-7.)

[4] For Schelling's influence on Emerson's *Nature* see Patrick Labriola, "Ralph Waldo Emerson's *Nature*: Puritan Typology and German Idealism," *The Concord Saunterer* 10 (2002): 125-133.

[5] For the influence of German literary, philosophical, and theological writings on the American Transcendentalists see Patrick Labriola, "Germany and the American Transcendentalists: An Intellectual Bridge," *The Concord Saunterer* 6 (1998): 99-113.

[6] For a comprehensive investigation of the controversy between Andrews Norton and the Transcendentalists see Henry A. Pochmann, *German Culture in America*, 207-22.

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Linda Schelbitzki Pickle

Gender and Self-Representation in the Letters of Nineteenth-Century Rural German-Speakers[1]

The personal documents of German-speaking immigrants in rural areas of nineteenth-century America exhibit characteristics that are similar to and, in some ways, different from those of Anglo-Americans of the same time and place. Certain of these characteristics and the self-images the authors wished to project are related to their gender. In this study, I intend to explore the ways in which the immigrants represented themselves in letters written to their homeland and how gender roles may have influenced this.

This exploration is complicated by a variety of factors. Historical archives in the United States contain relatively few personal documents written by rural non-English-speakers. This is the result of many factors, not the least being the loss of foreign language ability on the part of their descendants and the consequent tendency to throw out old, indecipherable written texts. The letters that German-speaking immigrants wrote back home are among the best primary documents for insights into their experiences. But these resources also are scant. The director of the largest collection of emigrant letters in Germany has estimated that 100 million private letters were written from the United States to Germany in the nineteenth century. Yet that collection, the *Bochumer Auswandererbrief-Sammlung*, housed at the Ruhr University in Bochum, Germany, contains only about 6,000 letters.[2]

Social and demographic factors also had an influence on the small number of primary sources left by the immigrants. The nineteenth-century German-speakers who came to America and settled on farms were predominantly members of rural families and interrelated groups rather than individual immigrants. They wanted to continue the way of life they knew in the Old World but at the same time improve their chances for economic advancement for themselves and their children in America. They were relatively uneducated, pragmatic, hard-working people, with many demands on their time and little inclination to spend it on creating written documents that afford insights into their inner lives. This was especially true of the women among the immigrants. What Joan Jensen wrote about the paucity of first-person written records from nineteenth century rural English-speaking women in America was even more true, perhaps, of the women in these groups: "These factors then,—illiteracy, long and exhausting work hours, scarcity of uninterrupted leisure, and the absence of a

practical need for written communication—all affected the amount of written material that has come down to us." Nineteenth-century farmwomen worked very hard in the house, garden, and barnyard, but those from North and Central Europe may have also participated in fieldwork to a greater extent than did Anglo-American women. This was partly a factor of economic class, as scarce resources in many immigrant families dictated the participation of women in heavy labor, just as it did in other rural families with limited means. But rural traditions in German-speaking areas of Europe, where women routinely worked in the fields at times of peak labor needs, also contributed to the great demands on women's time and energy.[3]

Other ethnic factors helped to suppress the number of first-person testimonials by German-speaking immigrant women from peasant backgrounds. In such families, generally patriarchal in structure, the husband was more likely to be the "official" correspondent, even to his wife's relatives. Women from German-speaking lands were also more likely to be illiterate or semi-literate than were their English-speaking sisters. Of the 6,000 letters in the *Bochumer Auswandererbrief-Sammlung* (among which the documents used in this paper are found), only about 15 percent are by women, although women made up 40 percent of the nineteenth-century emigration.[4] Yet German-speaking female immigrants, like the men around them, also wanted to maintain bonds to family and friends left behind. It is due to this desire to keep up family ties, even over great distances, that we owe many of the primary sources written by nineteenth-century German-speaking rural women and men. In this study, I look at two collections of letters that such rural Midwestern immigrants wrote to family members in their homeland. Although these letters are only a small sampling of the immense transatlantic correspondence of that period, they have the virtue of offering fairly extensive evidence over time of typical ways in which both male and female immigrants represented their experiences.

Immigrants of all ethnic backgrounds and at all periods have probably had similar, interwoven purposes in writing letters to their homelands: to impart both personal and general information, to maintain contact with loved ones, and to use their letters as a forum for self-representation. Their letters have probably also always exhibited certain prevalent themes centering around the trauma and the outcomes of emigration: loneliness, cultural alienation, (mal)adjustment to new conditions, prosperity or the lack thereof, accomplishments (often associated with descriptions of hard work) and failures. The letters of men and women have many such elements in common, and yet the style and the content of their self-representation also reveal gender-related differences. The scope of this study is too limited to allow general conclusions about variances between the letters of all male and female immigrants in nineteenth-century America. But it is my belief that in the case of German-speakers from rural areas, some of the most marked differences can be attributed to inculcated expectations of men and women in regard to behavior, attitudes, and self-image.

The gender roles that nineteenth-century rural German-speakers were accustomed to were essentially those of an agrarian, pre-industrial society. In their European homelands, women did productive labor in and near the home. They raised, prepared, and stored foodstuffs, and they were in charge of the garden and of barnyard animals.

They were responsible for the clothing of the family and they supervised children and their labor in the home. The cooperative nature of family labor ensured that women's work was recognized and valued to some extent in their immediate environment. Their status as "the first workers in the household" gave them a certain degree of power and authority within the family. But it may also have led to their increasing legal and economic subordination in the 1700s and 1800s in German lands. As one researcher has noted, they were simply too valuable to be allowed autonomy. That is not to say that women always quietly accepted the nineteenth-century official rhetoric and policies that sought to reify a hierarchical, male-dominated control over them and the property they brought into marriage and that limited their control over income they directly produced. Bountiful evidence exists that in personal relationships as well as in court processes women asserted their autonomy and the value of their contributions to the family and family economic enterprises. Nonetheless, the private sphere circumscribed nineteenth-century rural German-speaking women's Old World gender roles, and legal restrictions reinforced those roles by limiting women's economic and personal independence.[5]

Men also worked hard in the Old World family farming enterprise. They were responsible for fields and pastures, for the supervision of hired and family labor in the fields, for the maintenance of farm equipment and buildings, and for the trade or sale of harvests and large animals. But in contrast to the women around them, rural German men also had important public roles. Some of these, like their formal roles as spokesperson for the family in communal meetings and the church council, for example, derived from long-held tradition. Other established patterns of male dominance gained legal underpinnings in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries through laws that sought to deprive women of economic independence. As the German-speaking lands moved into a market economy, men gained additional power and authority as the representatives of the farm family in commercial livestock and grain markets. Harder to document, but no less important, men played public roles in the social intercourse of the community, particularly that which took place in the village pub. The local *Gasthaus* was more than a place to drink beer. It was also the primary venue where information was exchanged, where business was conducted, where men contacted the wider world. In this male domain, a man's behavior, conversation, and display of prosperity (or betrayal of the lack thereof) cemented or called into question the social status of his family within the network of extended kin and village neighbors. In the pub men also exchanged information about conditions and events within and outside of the village, information that became increasingly important in the new market economy. The leisure time granted to men for these activities was not frivolous, but rather consequential for their personal standing and for the prestige and economic well being of their family. Women had no parallel role outside the home and family, and this contributed to a strong tradition of female subordination in Old World German-speaking communities, especially as the market economy grew. As was the case with other European peoples, public roles and economic forces influenced the power relationships between the sexes, and generally not to the advantage of rural women.[6]

The gender roles and relationships outlined above for German-speaking peasants in Europe were not very different from those typical of the American rural residents and communities that the immigrants joined. Nineteenth-century farm work, the division of labor according to gender, and the influence of the developing market economy on the relationships between farm men and women were similar across the United States, no matter what the ethnic background of rural residents. These parallels in daily routines and family relationships and the degree to which many rural immigrants could isolate themselves within family and ethnic enclaves made the adjustments to their new environment easier on the whole than it was for many of their compatriots who settled in urban settings. The potential to focus inward on family concerns and on the ethnic community also enabled them to retain traditional patterns of interaction and behavior. This, too, is revealed in their correspondence. In the present study, I explore how the immigrants' letters reflect the traditional gender-based differences in self-representation that they brought to America.[7]

To illustrate this, I use as representative case studies two collections of letters found in the *Bochumer Auswanderer-Briefsammlung*. The twenty-two extant letters sent by members of the interrelated Kessel and Rückels families date from 1859 to 1892. They were sent to the parents and sister of Regina (Rückels) Kessel and Gottfried Rückels. The Neumeier family collection contains ninety-two letters and fragments of letters that three sisters and their husbands wrote from Iowa between 1892 and 1915 to the women's parents and siblings in Germany. Although the letters of the two families were written during a period of more than half a century, they attest to a consistency in self-representation among rural German-speaking immigrants.

Several members of the Kessel and Rückels families, most of them in their twenties, emigrated in 1857 from Wiedenbrück, a small town between Bielefeld and Hamm in what is now the northeastern part of North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany. They seem to have gone first to St. Louis and then moved out onto farms that they bought or rented soon after their arrival. The two primary families represented in the letters were linked by blood and in at least two generations by intermarriage. Gottfried and Amalia (Schnutenhaus) Rückels had been married three years and had a three-year-old daughter and another child on the way when they left Germany. (Both children died either on the trip or soon after their arrival in St. Louis.) Gottfried's parents had given the family farm over to his older brother August, which probably meant that the latter had paid off his siblings for their share in the estate, thus enabling Gottfried, his brother Johann, and his sister Regina to emigrate. The Rückels family also included three sisters who stayed in Germany. It was to the home of the youngest of these, Mina, that Gottfried's and Regina's parents moved at the time when the extant correspondence begins. Regina's husband Fritz Kessel also came to America with several siblings, among them his brother Johann and his sister Johanna. The latter married Gottfried's and Regina's brother Johann and moved to Texas some time before 1859. The Kessels also brought their parents to America with them, indicating that the entire family emigrated, perhaps selling what family holdings they had before doing so. The elderly father died soon after arriving in America, but Gertrud Kessel lived for thirty-five more years, moving from one child's home to another. Her maiden name

was Schnutenhaus, the same as that of Gottfried Rückels's wife Amalia and also of his mother. The correspondence often makes reference to this close network of relatives of varying degrees of consanguinity located on both sides of the Atlantic. The Gottfried Rückels and Fritz Kessel families lived near each other on Mississippi bottomland farms in southern Illinois. Regina Kessel, Gottfried Rückels, or Amalia (Malchen) Rückels wrote all but two of the twenty-two letters in the collection. They are addressed to the Rückels parents and sister Mina and family in Wiedenbrück. Perhaps because Amalia (Malchen) Rückels's mother-in-law was also related to her by blood, she wrote lengthy letters to her husband's family, a rather unusual practice among rural German correspondents.

The Neumeier sisters, Wilhelmine, Christine, and Frederike, were born in Herbsen, a small village in the area of Waldeck, in the state of Hesse (now in the southern part of North Rhine-Westphalia). The daughters of a landowner with three other children, including two sons, they could not inherit the family farm and chose to emigrate, one after another. Like so many other immigrants, they traveled to the part of America where they already had relatives and friends from their Old World community. Herbsen villagers named Rock had gone to Davenport, Iowa, in the 1850s and then followed the railway west, buying and selling farms as they went. In the 1870s and 1880s others from Herbsen followed them, including one of the Neumeier sisters' paternal uncles, who joined the growing expatriot community sometime after members of the group located on inexpensive land in Woodbury County in far western Iowa. In 1882 or 1883, at the age of nineteen or twenty, Wilhelmine Neumeier emigrated there as well, along with or soon after fellow Herbsenite Wilhelm Herbold, whom she married in April 1883. About seven years later her sister Christine, twenty years old at the time, joined her there and worked for a time as a hired girl, as she had done in Hesse. In 1893 Christine married a grandson of the first immigrants from Herbsen, Fritz K. Rock, who spoke German at home but could not write it, having been born and schooled in America (Christine Rock, letter of 22 November 1893). The last sister to emigrate, Frederike, came to Woodbury County in 1900. She was twenty-seven years old and evidently unable to find a husband in Herbsen. A year and a half later Frederike married Heinrich (Henry) Hinkhaus, a North German neighbor of the Herbolds and Rocks in Woodbury County who had been in America for sixteen years and had visited Germany and Herbsen a few years earlier, probably on a wife-hunting trip (Wilhelm Herbold, letters of 20 December 1897, 3 February 1898, 18 April 1898).[8]

The two collections illustrate the importance of gender for the style and content of letters written by rural German-speakers. They are in some ways not typical collections, in that letters by women make up an unusually large proportion of each, but this is, of course, in part why they offer good material for the present study. That the women in these families wrote home more often than seems to have been typical of female German-speaking immigrants has various reasons. As stated above, Malchen Rückels's in-laws were related to her by blood, giving her additional cause to write. Regina Kessel did not have children for several years after immigrating and had her mother-in-law living with her, which gave her more leisure and incentive to write,

since her mother and mother-in-law were related (probably sisters or cousins). Christine Rock and Frederike Hinkhaus wrote home themselves because their husbands either could not write German (Fritz Rock) or were not members of the home community (Heinrich Hinkhaus). Their older sister Wilhelmine Herbold, on the other hand, wrote only two of the twenty-four extant letters she and her husband Wilhelm penned.

As noted earlier, one of the primary purposes of the letters written home was to inform those left behind about both personal and general matters of interest. Health, weather, crops, work, and social life are common topics in both men's and women's letters. This information was meant to reassure concerned parents about their distant children's lives, to seek or proffer sympathy, to inform siblings and others about life in America and about the potential for gains and losses that emigration entailed, and at times to boast about material progress the emigrants had achieved. The letters under consideration here contain all of these elements, but in varying degrees, depending on the author.

Christine Rock and Frederike Hinkhaus used their letters primarily to impart information about family events and the health and well being of themselves and others in the Iowa family and community. They also took pains to express concern for the same matters in the Old World family and village community. The two extant letters by Wilhelmine Herbold illustrate this as well. In the first (undated), written in the summer after Frederike arrived in March 1900, she wrote:

> Liebe Elter euren Brief haben wir erhalten und daraus gesehen das ihr noch alle gesund seid und ich kann euch miteihlen das wir auch noch alle gesund sind[.] Vile Lieben Elten iche har [=hätte] euch schon lann gescheieben aber [h]iehr hat aber kein zeit zu scheirben[.] iche bin ald mit den 5 Kinder und vilen Arbeiten[.] Uns[er] klein Herbert kannt bald sizt[en.] will will nur das bild schick[en] von Herbert[.] die Christine Neumeier [a cousin?] ist 3 Wohn [=Wochen] bei mir[.] Schwester [Frederike] weiß[t ihr] ist auch noch bei Uns[.] ich wieß aus [=auch] noch nicht wie lans sie bei uns [bleibt.] baltmiteihlen das wir ein gut Erent [=Ernte] hat aber sehr schlechten Preiß[.] die Widerunk [=Witterung] ist bis jäzt noch zimlich gut aber es fängt jäzt an zu Reggen[.]
> Liebe Eltern machen eu[ch] kein sorgen um Schwester Christine[.] was sie scheinbt [=schreibt] das ist die warheit [sie ist] sehr zufriden.
> Vielliebe ich weil meine Brif enden um [=und] wenn es Gott will ist den[n] we[rde] ich bald zu euch komn, ich denk noch vielen an Vater und Mutter wen[n] wir noch mal zusamen sind.
> Eine Gruß an Schwesten[,] Brüder und [sister-in-law] Eliißen
> Einen Gruß Schwager Kinde
> Einen Gruß Eltern
>
> Wilhelmine
>
> Das Geld hat Schwester[.] schreibt bald wieder[.][9]

Almost the entire letter addresses family and personal matters. Wilhelmine, who wrote home so rarely, took the trouble to do so on this occasion in order to reassure her parents that Frederike was doing fine, a concern they evidently expressed to her even after the second sister, Christine, had communicated the same information (Christine Rock, 18 April 1900). Wilhelmine also gave reasons for not having written that informed her family about her life in America. Her references to harvest and weather conditions are dryly informational and straightforward. These conditions were crucial for the family farming enterprise and it was natural that Wilhelmine should report on them. But in spite of the importance of the farm economy in her life, the manner in which Wilhelmine writes of the weather and harvest makes it clear that they were not her reason for writing.

Wilhelmine's other extant letter is very much the same in tone and content as the previous one cited, but is even more terse. She probably wrote this undated letter in July 1904:

> Liebe Mutter
> Ich fühle mich veranlaß Euch ein paar zeilen zu scheirben in hoffnung das Euch mein schreiben bie guter Gesundheit antrift was bei uns der Fall ist[.] das ist das beste[.]
> Vielgeliebte Mutter
> Es wer wolh ein groß F[r]eude wen[n] ich an den 70 jährigen Gebutztage kann bei dir
> dir Lieb Mutter [sein] aber der Wegt ist zu weit[.] aber ich denk in Himmel komn wir zusamn[.] Gott gebe das du liebe Mutter noch lang lebet[.] theile Euch mit daß wier das Jahr eine schlechter Frühjahr gehabt haben es hat bis gegt [=jetzt] festgeden [=fast jeden] Tage gerehnt[.] Weize ist gut das Korn ist schlecht[.]
> Herzlich gegrüßt Von allen un ich liebe Mutter[.]
> Glück und Sege an Begutztage von Tochter
> Wilhelmine

Again it was a special event that occasioned this letter: her mother's seventieth birthday. Wilhelmine's lack of letter-writing practice is evident in the awkward transition from her wish that her mother might live many more years to the cursory, but seemingly obligatory report on weather and crops. The main purpose for writing, however, is clear: a wish to express and consolidate personal and family connections.

The same can be said of the letters that Regina Kessel and Malchen Rückels wrote home from Illinois. The first extant letter written by Regina (2 October 1859) is a good example. It is much longer and more literate than the preceding by Wilhelmine Neumeier Herbold, which probably says something about the differences in education

between the two women, as well as about the amount of time each could dedicate to writing:

> Theuerste Eltern, Schwester und Schwager, so wie Kinder
> Endlichmal nimmt eure nachlässige Regina die Feder zur Hand, euer aus Liebe volles Briefchen zu beantworten. In Gedanken wandelte ich manchen Tag an eurer Seite, aber in der Wirklichkeit bleibt immer weite Ferne zwischen uns.
> An den Zeitungen hatten wir längst ersehen daß Kriegsunruhen vorhanden, und euer Brief bestätigte die Wahrheit. Dies tat uns recht leid für euch Ihr Lieben, dies wollte ich nicht gerne hören. Daß Du lieber Vater und Mutter noch einen schweren Krieg unterliegen müßtet, und das, liebe Schwester, daß schon zum zweitenmal der Mann von Deiner Seite geraubt. Dies ist hart, und noch härter das Wort zum Gedenken zu hegen müssen, daß zwei lieb und verbundene Herzen sich wohl nie wieder zu sehen bekommen. Aber Gott sei Dank, es ist wohl alles wieder still und ruhig eingeschlafen, dennoch müsset ihr dort immer wieder einer traurigen Zukunft entgegensehen, und Deutschlands Herrscher, wenn sie auch schlafen, wachen sie als immer in ihrem tobenden Geiste wieder auf.
> Ja liebe Schwester, Du schreibst: Hätten wir Flügel, wir flögen zu Euch, Ja hättet ihr das, und flöget bis zu Ende des Meeres, so würden wir Euch da selbst abholen und mit Freuden heimführen. Dieses Weges, glaube ich, würden wir uns am ersten in diesem Leben wiedersehen, wir befürchten aber, würdet Ihr lieber Vater und Mutter die Reise noch mit antreten, ohne Flügel, daß Euren Geist eher aufgeben müßtet ehe Ihr in unsere Arme eingeschlossen.
> Aber dies ist auch nicht gesagt, denn was Gott will erhalten, kann kein Sturm weder Wind noch Wogen des Meeres was tun. Einem jungen Menschen tut dies aber alles nichts so leicht, wer eine gute Reise trifft als wir, der ist nicht bang, ich würde mich nicht fürchten, morgen wieder so eine Reise anzutreten. Das in Eurem Brief befindliche Blatt haben wir mit Freuden genommen und gelesen, Mutter [Regina's mother-in-law] kann es schon lange auswendig, und sagte mannichmal: "Ich muß machen, daß ich es kann, daß wenn Du hin schreibst, schreiben kannst, daß ich es kann." Dies war mir immer eine herzliche Freude, wenn abends oder morgens ich auf der Küche Essen kochte, Mutter auf der Stube saß und an dem Lied lernte. Und so wurde auch noch immer ein wenig von Euch gesprochen, dies könnt Ihr Euch wohl denken, mit sprechen aus Deutschland verkürzen ich und Mutter uns manchmal die Zeit, denn der Schwager Johann und mein Fritz sind gewöhnlich im Feld oder Holz am arbeiten. Und so leben wir recht vergnügt und zufrieden.
> Liebe [sister] Mina, Du schreibst, Du hattest den Schwestern den Brief zugeschickt, und ihnen geschrieben, sie sollten selbst schreiben oder Dir einige Zeilen zuschicken, dieses aber alles tun sie aber nicht, welches mir recht leid tut. Ob sie unser ganz vergessen weiß ich nicht, oder ob die

schwesterliche Liebe ganz in ihnen erlöschen will, wie die Schwester Lottchen mal zu mir schrieb, als ich auf der Rose diente. Mutter sagte neulich auch noch, man sollte doch meinen, Euer Hanna [Regina's other sister] schrieb doch mal, ich sagte drauf, das sollte man auch meinen und Lottchen gewiß, denn die kann so gut schreiben. Nochmals viele herzliche Grüße an die beiden von uns alle und wir lebten in der Hoffnung, bald ein Briefchen von Ihnen zu erwarten.

In this first half of her letter, Regina, like Wilhelmine Herbold, is concerned with acknowledging and continuing family bonds, even as she concedes that she will never again see those she left in Europe. She expresses concern for her family's safety and gratitude for their thoughtfulness, and is at pains to show how strong her affection and that of her mother-in-law for them still is. She also indirectly chides her two sisters for not writing her (knowing that her letter will be forwarded to them), a complaint that is repeated in each of her letters, including the last one we have from her (22 May 1892).

In the second half of her letter on 2 October 1859, Regina brings her family up-to-date on the events in her life, including news of harvests, prices, and weather. This news, however, has a female flavor to it:

Wir hatten letzten Herbst 3 Acker Weizen gesät, wo wir 80 Büschel von geerntet haben, er war etwas zu geel, denn er hatte sich stellenweise gelegt, sonst hätte er noch besser gegeben, es war aber keiner hier im Boden (Tal), der so viel Büschel vom Acker bekommen hat. Unser Welschkorn steht auch gut, es ist so hoch, daß, wenn einer eine recht lange Harke hätte, so würde die Spitze nicht gut ausreichen können. Wir wollten Weizen ins Korn säen, da ist neulich paar mal etwas Windsturm gekommen, und es ist vieles umgefallen, und so geht das nicht, so müssen wir das Korn abhauen und denn den Weizen säen, dies macht viel Arbeit. Die 3 Acker, wo wir Weizen gehabt haben, hat mein Fritz letzte Woche in Gerste gesät. Den Weizen hatten wir mit der Maschine gedroschen, es sind hier nämlich Leut, die haben eine Maschine, gehen damit von Farmer zu Farmer, nehmen ihre Bezahlung demnach der Mann Büschel gekommt. Wir hatten 12 Mann Fremde, wohl einige die aus Freundschaft kamen und wollten mal gucken wie es ging. Mein Bruder [Gottfried Rückels] half uns und Schwiegerin Malchen war auch bei uns und half mir und Mutter etwas und freuten uns zusammen. Unsere Kartoffeln sind nicht so gut, als wir sie vor 2 Jahren hier gezogen haben, die Ellmen sind dran zu fressen. Bohnen sind sehr gut, zwei Fässer eingemacht und soviel trocken, daß wir sie den Winter lange nicht alle essen können. Kappes so gut wie in Deutschland nie gesehen, wir machen 3 Ohm ein. Ein Faß haben wir schon verkauft für 4 Dollar. Wir mußten ihn schon einmachen, weil er reif war und an zu faulen fing, denn dieses alles treibt sich hier sehr. Denn wo Hanna und Lottchen wohnen, können sie nicht mal einige gute Bohnen reif kriegen, und hier könnte man zweimal

welche pflanzen. Wir hatten ungefähr 500 Kappes gepflanzt, nun könnt Ihr denken wie gut er war, denn wir behalten doch noch welchen für diesen Winter frisch zu essen. Zwiebeln haben wir wohl 2 Büschel übrig. Mutter meinte neulich, wenn Du, Mina kommen wolltest und die Kappes und Zwiebeln holen, dies sähen wir lieber, als wenn wir sie verkaufen, gewiß. Unser Vieh wächst gut heran. Wir haben dieses Frühjahr 5 Säue melk bekommen. 37 Piks von den 5 Fesen, 36 sind jetzt noch am leben und sind recht quall und schön. 10 Schweine haben wir in der Mast liegen und eins geschlachtet, welches wir und der Bruder geteilt, denn ein ganzes verdirbt einem noch. Heute morgen kamen Johann und mein Fritz aus dem Holz, hatten eine andere von unseren jungen Sauen gesehen mit 6 Ferkeln. Letztes Jahr hatte uns Gott heimgesucht, aber dies Jahr streut er auch seine reiche Segenshand über uns aus, wo wir Ihn nicht genug für loben und danken können.

Regina's report is concrete and thorough, but colored by the kind of "human interest" and domestic details that she knew would be of special interest to her mother and sister: the food crops raised and preserved, growing conditions in field and garden, the communal aspects of threshing by machine and sharing a slaughtered animal with her brother's family. She also attempts to deflect any envy that her comments on the bounty of her garden might arouse by proposing to share it with her parents and family, if it were only possible. Although she may be proud and glad about the harvests they are enjoying, she also is anxious not to antagonize her audience by being perceived as boasting. So she "properly" acknowledges the hand of divine providence in her good fortune.

At the end of her letter, Regina turns again to personal comments addressed to the recipients:

Liebster Vater und Mutter, Euer Geburtstag ist entweder bald oder vorbei, welches ich nicht weiß. Wir alle wünschen Euch Gottes Segen, Frieden und daß Ihr derer noch viele in guter Gesundheit und Zufriedenheit zurücklegt, bis Ihr ein hohes Alter erreicht und der Herr eine viel bessere Stätte bereitet hat.

Ihr wißt ja wohl, daß der Schwager [Fritz Kessel's brother] Hermann eine Farm gerentet hat, und Albert und die kleine Malchen bei sich hat. Der Julius ist bei August , sie sind alle, so ich anders nicht weiß, recht gesund. Einen besonderen Gruß von Mutter an Euch Eltern. Wir grüßen Euch alle herzlich, und es küßt und umarmt im Geiste Eure Euch liebende Tochter und Schwester Regina Kessel.

Lieber Vater etwas an Dich: Wenn Du jetzt mal wieder nach Essen reist, so besuche aber auch mal den Schwager Wilhelm Kessel und Mina, die freuten sich recht, denn es regnet zu Hause ja nicht mehr in Weizen.

Liebe Mutter und Mina, etwas vergessen. Wir haben diesen Sommer so viel Äpfel von anderen Farmern geholt, denn sie waren hier so gut geraten, daß

die Leute, welche einen Obsthof hatten, keinen Pfennig nahmen, wer sich die aufsuchte, die auf den Boden gefallen. Wir haben bereits 10 Säcke voll geholt, welche uns bloß 20 Cents gekostet. Wir haben uns die Äpfel getrocknet, haben wohl 2 Säcke voll getrocknetes Obst, und essen grün, soviel uns lüst. Nochmals Ihr Lieben, lebet wohl.

Ihr schreibt uns, wir sollten die Briefe nicht immer freimachen, dies müssen wir hier. Alle Briefe müssen hier freigemacht werden. Wenn Du liebe Mutter nun nicht willst, daß, wir sie nicht all bezahlen sollen. so könnt Ihr Eure frei machen, wie Ihr wollt.

A concern for maintaining good relations is evident in Regina Kessel's letter and in the others she and her sister-in-law Malchen Rückels wrote from Illinois. They attempted to include the distant loved ones in their new life in America by describing that life in terms the Old World family could understand and appreciate and by using an inclusive, conciliatory tone. In this, their correspondence reveals gender-marked attitudes and behavior typical of nineteenth-century rural German-speaking women.

Christine Neumeier Rock and Frederike Neumeier Hinkhaus's letters home, although longer than their sister Wilhelmine's, exhibit the same general format and emphases as hers and parallel those of Regina Kessel as well. They regularly mention weather and crops and sometimes livestock and prices as well. But they never discuss these matters at great length or in a personal style. The letters always contain inquiries about the health of the family in Herbsen, especially of the parents, and report on the sisters' and their families' health. When Christine Rock became ill with an unspecified "female disease," she and her sister Frederike Hinkhaus related their concerns but also attempted to reassure their mother (letters of Christine Rock, 4 December 1904, 13 July 1905, 1 January 1909, 7 April 1909, 4 July 1909; letters of Frederike Hinkhaus, 13 December 1908, 29 March 1909, 3 July 1909). Christine eventually underwent treatments that took her away from home, first to Chicago for five weeks and then to Sioux City for daily doctor consultations and sitzbaths from Monday through Friday for several months (Frederike Hinkhaus, 13 December 1908; Christine Rock, 7 April 1909). This unusual situation indicates both the serious nature of her condition and the extent to which her family was able and willing to invest in improving it. Christine wrote: ". . . es ist sehr hart für meine Kinder, und kostet viel Geld, aber mein Mann ist immer zufriden er sagt nicht einmahl ein Wort das es zuviel kosten täht, er tuht ales was in seinen Kräften steht, das sagen ahle Leute" (7 April 1909). Both sisters wrote about how Christine's family coped with her ill-health: that her fourteen-year-old daughter Emilie was quite accomplished in housework, and that husband Fritz Rock "kann sich sehr gut in der Hausarbeit helfen" (Frederike, 13 December 1908) and was helpful and uncomplaining (Christine, 4 December 1904, 7 April 1909). Eventually Fritz Rock had hot running water installed in their farmhouse so that Christine could have her daily baths at home, an exceptional convenience and instance of male consideration (Christine, 4 July 1909). Frederike wrote: "hätte sie nicht so gute Pflege dann wäre sie gar nicht wieder besser geworden" (3 July 1909).

It is unfortunate that none of Wilhelm Herbold's letters from the period between 1904 and 1909 have survived. It would have been interesting to know if he referred to Christine's illness and related matters. Perhaps the nature of the illness would have made it improper for him, as a male not related by blood to Christine, to do so. However, we can only speculate. Wilhelm seems to have been the kind of person who downplays the health and emotional concerns of others. The only extended reference he made to the health of family members in America was to his own after his recovery from a serious lung infection (14 June [1900]). In the same letter, written about three months after Frederike arrived in Iowa, he countered his parents-in-law's concerns about her homesickness by saying: "Es sind Leute die Dumheiten nach Deutschland schreiben das Brauch Ihr Aber Nicht zu Glauben." He continued: "Fredrieke hatt es nicht anders gegangen wie Es meine Frau u[nd] Christine gegangen hatt Nehmlich die Erste Zeit, Etwas Heimwehe das hat sich schon gegeben." The person who had written "die Dummheiten" was probably Frederike herself. Wilhelm's impatience with what he perceived as weakness in others comes through here as elsewhere in his letters. Considerations for the feelings of family members seem not to have always weighed heavily with him.

Christine and Frederike wrote about the latter's initial homesickness in quite a different fashion. Frederike was the last sister to come to Iowa and the oldest at emigration among the three, and she seems to have been particularly conflicted about going to America and leaving her parents. Wilhelm Herbold reassured Frederike and her parents in the years before she left Germany that her life would be better in America and that he and Wilhelmine would help her adjust (letters of 29 February 1896, 2 August 1896, 28 January 1900). Once Frederike resided in Iowa, Christine and Wilhelmine both assured their parents that she was fine, as noted above, and Frederike herself tried to represent matters in the best possible light most of the time. But of the three sisters, Frederike wrote most frequently and hid her feelings the least. Especially in the letters she wrote in the first year and a half after emigrating, her strong bond to her mother is evident. Her age at emigration (she was twenty-seven) may also have contributed to a higher degree of difficulty in adjusting to America than had been the case with her sisters. She asked her brothers and sister-in-law to write her more often since her parents found writing difficult. She reminded them in every letter of their obligation to take care of their parents, and asked her mother not to weep for her. She became especially upset when they did not hire a girl to help her mother (probably to do the work that Frederike would have done, had she stayed in Germany). On this occasion, she wrote that she had "cried herself sick" about this and accused them of neglect. She concluded by addressing her sister-in-law and then her brothers with these reproachful words: "du hast wol so fiel nicht mehr für mich übrig und so auch du lieber Bruder Ludwig und lieber Christian es tuht mir sehr leid das ihr mich so gantz vergeßen hab da eir [wir] toch so lange Jahr zusammen gearbeitet haben oder seid ihr fro[h] das ich ford bin" (undated letter [probably January 1901]). Shortly after her wedding in October 1901, she admitted: ". . . an dem Tage wo wir Hochzeit feierte da war es mir so schwer um Herz euch meine liebe nicht in der Mite zu sehen" (undated letter [end of 1891 or early 1892]). Such emotional self-revelations are rare

in the correspondence, however, and otherwise appear only in responses to news of the death of the sisters' father and older sister in 1902 and of the latter's daughter in 1906. The Neumeier sisters were anxious to represent themselves as content with their lives, primarily, it seems, in order to assuage any worries their relatives (and especially their mother) might have had about them.

Excerpts from a letter written by Malchen Rückels to her husband's family illustrates much the same sort of desire to reassure the relatives of the immigrants' well being, while also sharing with them the difficulties they had had to overcome without the support of their family's physical presence. Malchen began her letter by commiserating with her mother-in-law, who had been having eye problems, and then wrote:

> Es vergeht fast keine Stunde wo ich nicht an Dir denke und manches erinre, daß Du stets für mich und meine kleine Auguste sorgtest, doch trotzdem das liebe Kind so früh hab entbehren müssen, welches mir jetzt noch manchmal Tränen auspreßt. Aber auf dessen Platz hab ich jetzt ein tüchtiger Bub, der den 10. dieses Monats 1 Jahr alt wird, er heißt Gustav und fängt nun allein an zu laufen. Er ist stehts gesund gewesen, und hoffe, Gott der Allmächtige wird auch ferner seinen Segen dazu geben. Mich freut sehr, liebe Schwiegerin, daß Du von einem tüchtigen Knaben glücklich entbunden. Küße Ihn in meinem Namen, und lasse Ihn gedeihen zu der Eltern Freude. Ja, liebe Mina, Ich wollt Ihr wärt mal alle hier bei uns. Vater u. Mutter, Schwestern und Brüder, daß Ihr mal sehet wo wir geblieben sind und wie es Euch hier gefiele. Aber, aber, es kann nicht gehen. Wir werden Vater und Mutter wohl nicht anders sehen als im Traume, doch wir wollen es dem Allerhöchsten überlassen, und Ich sage Euch liebe Eltern, schlaft nur ruhig und seid nicht besorgt um uns, denn wir leben hier gut und haben von allem genug. (4 February 1861)

After wishing the family good health and happiness in the new year, Malchen continued by saying that her family and Regina's "leben auch in Frieden miteinander" and see each other "fast jeden Tag, oder jede Woche." She went on to report on her relatives in Germany and then described how her own family was making money by selling corn, pigs, and wood from their farm. She also mentioned that she, unlike Regina, had not yet been able to make any money with butter or eggs, but that she did intend to sell 100 pounds of lard and had made a featherbed from her 30 geese. After listing all the livestock that the family owned, she concluded:

> Jetzt habe ich alles bemerkt was wir haben, und Schuld haben wir auch nicht viel. Darum liebe Eltern seid unbesort, wir kommen schon durch. Wenn wir nur gesund sind und arbeiten können, dann legen wir uns gewiß nicht auf die faule Haut. Regina das gute Kind schafft auch so hart [wie] sie es gelernt hat. Sie verkauft viel Butter und Eier. Ich denk sie hat auch alles von Ihrer Seite geschrieben, Ja liebe Eltern glaubt nicht, wie mein Vatter, wir wohnten

> in der Wildnis, nein, hier ist fast alles Land bewohnt, sodaß ein Farmer an den anderen grenzt. Nicht weit von hier ist Schul u. Kirch, aber alles englisch, wo ich nichts [da]von verstehe wenn der Pfaf thut predigen, darum gehe ich nicht hin.

This letter by Malchen Rückels is dated a day later than one from Regina Kessel. The two letters probably were sent together to the Rückelses in Germany. The closeness of the two women and their families is clear, and both express the same wish to convince those left behind that all was well and that Old World bonds continued strong in America.

In her New Year's letter a year later, Malchen reassured the family that they had not yet seen any of the disturbances due to the pre-Civil War conflicts across the river from them in Missouri. "Wir sind noch glücklich beisammen, und haben noch satt zu essen, und noch von allem zuviel, denn man kann kein bischen verkaufen..." (27 January 1862). But she also took care not to appear unduly confident of their good fortune: "Ja liebe Mina, du hast recht, man kann nichts entgehen, man mag auch hinziehen wo man will, was einem auferlegt ist findet einen doch, man mag sein in Ost oder West." This sort of pious comment is common in immigrants' letters. But Malchen was also answering concern expressed in her in-laws' earlier letter, and so it was proper for her to be modest in her response. She was aware that a too-self-assured tone might not sit well with the Old World family.

The Neumeier sisters also remained anxious to maintain good relationships with their family in Herbsen. Only rarely does a negative note enter the correspondence, as in Frederike's early letters from America when she scolded her siblings about not taking proper care of their mother. Similarly, on 13 July 1905, Christina chided Ludwig, the older of her two brothers, for not having written a few lines for their mother in answer to her last two letters. Christine also slipped in a rebuke to Ludwig's wife Elise in her letter of 20 November 1899, saying that an Iowa neighbor from Herbsen would soon visit the home village and that he could confirm that she and her husband "darben nicht," as her sister-in-law had evidently once indicated in a letter. Christine also adopted a sharp tone when asking for her inheritance after her mother's death, writing that she should have had it already and that she had worked hard at home before emigrating. She even went so far as to include a picture of her Iowa house and to say that her brothers would probably be amazed to see it (22 January 1911). Her motivations in doing the latter were perhaps two-fold: to show that her impatience did not stem from financial need and to assert her economic status and equality in the face of what her brothers might expect their sister, a woman, after all, to have attained. But she then added a postscript: "schreibt bald wider, seiht mir nicht böße, den[n] es ist nicht mehr wie mein recht um was ich schreibe." Christine evidently did not receive payment from her brother for three more years (1 January 1914), but continued to write him and his family regular, friendly letters in the interim. Generally the sisters presented themselves in a conciliatory manner and did not boast about their possessions, perhaps so as to maintain good relationships with their family in the homeland. An example is the appeal Frederike made to her brothers to write her: ". . . da wir doch so

lange zuschamen gewesen sind und nun so weit von einander getrennt sind werdet ihr doch wohl so einmahl schreiben und wir verbleiben uns getreue Geschwister" (25 April 1900).

The Neumeier sisters also represented themselves as part of a harmonious extended family in America, as did the Rückels and Kessel families in Illinois. Christine and Frederike Neumeier reported visits they exchanged and news of all three sisters' families. They seemed concerned to communicate that they were still bound by family ties of affection and that they continued to value this, even if they (particularly Frederike) lived some distance apart and only saw each other occasionally at church or on holidays. Only once does a hint of some envy among the sisters come through. Christine Rock wrote of the Herbolds' fine new house as having cost a lot, but, she added, "sie habens" (23 July 1899).

The sisters extended their effort at family harmony on both sides of the ocean to the men they married. Soon after arriving in Iowa, Frederike told her family that Wilhelm Herbold and Fritz Rock treated her like brothers (1 August 1900). Later she praised Fritz for his care of Christine in her illnesses (3 July 1909). In her letter of 9 December 1901 Frederike also made an effort to smooth over Wilhelm's abrasive comments in a letter (not extant) that he sent her family after returning from his visit to Herbsen in the spring of 1901. Wilhelmine's husband seems to have indicated that the gifts the sisters' parents sent back with him to America were not all they might have been. To judge from such references in the correspondence and from the general tone of his letters, Wilhelm must have posed challenges on occasion to the sisters' efforts to preserve family harmony. Before Frederike's future husband Heinrich Hinkhaus visited Herbsen in 1898, Wilhelm alerted his in-laws to Heinrich's visit, characterizing him as "Ziemlich Blöde" and hard to understand because of his Low German dialect (20 December 1897). It is unlikely that Wilhelm changed his opinion of Heinrich after the latter married Frederike and, to judge by his blunt style, it is equally unlikely that he hid his disdain very well.

Although Wilhelm was an energetic and personable correspondent who was eager to represent his own views and experiences, his letters do not say much about those of his wife. They do, however, offer insights into how male immigrants used letters to present their experiences in America. Probably the most successful of the three sisters' husbands in economic terms, Wilhelm Herbold accumulated 612 acres of land by 1904. In that year, he alone among the Neumeier sisters' husbands paid for an entry in the Woodbury County history, a compilation of pieces on prominent residents intended to showcase their accomplishments. Seemingly ever ready to turn a profit, in 1920 he subdivided part of his land adjoining Piersen for town lots. He also was one of the founding officers (in 1887) of the Lutheran country church all three families attended. In contrast to his sisters-in-law, Wilhelm included a great deal of information about farming conditions in his letters, and in doing so he usually placed himself and his accomplishments in a positive light. He could turn even the summer drought of 1894, which resulted in the loss of most of his crops, into an opportunity to boast about the wisdom of his having lived frugally and to mention that he had thirteen horses, 52 head of cattle, and 84 pigs to worry about in the dry spell (29 September

1894). Wilhelm's letters contain concrete and general information about himself and his family, but never include anything of a truly personal nature. He referred to his wife's subjective life only when he wrote that she did not want to return to Herbsen (2 April 1893), that she was too afraid of the ocean trip to go back for a visit (18 April 1898), and that she had been homesick for a while at first (14 June 1906 [1900?]).[10]

Unlike his sisters-in-law, Wilhelm Herbold was not always sensitive to the reception that his letters might have. Ten years after emigrating, he wrote a friend (perhaps his wife's brother-in-law) that he would only be interested in buying the ancestral Herbold farm in Hesse if it had at least 200 acres, since he already owned 320 acres in Iowa and so much livestock and machinery that the friend would not believe him if he itemized it all (2 April 1893). Not content with one such comment, he went on to say that he missed the congeniality of the village pub, but: "Dagegen führen wir hir eine Küchge Täglich die Du dich Höchstens die Feiertage Erlauben darfst. Den[n] Schwiegerin Christine hat schon oft zu Uns Gesagt wen[n] Die Bauren in Herbsen so eine Küchge führen wolten das könten Sie nicht Lange Aushalten." In the same letter Wilhelm went on to explain his material success in a way that smacks of self-importance, but that probably also accurately states the reasons for this success both in his own case and that of other immigrants who could boast of similar achievements. He wrote: "ich habe mich Ungewöhnlich schnell Enpo[r]geschwungen was nicht jeden Glückt. Das habe ich meine Überlegenheit [zu danken] auch Etwas Verstand und Riskant war dabei." Such statements are claims to communal status that Wilhelm's old neighbors could not ascertain for themselves at a distance of several thousand miles. When we remember that immigrant letters were passed around and their contents became common knowledge in the interrelated Old World community, we can view Wilhelm's correspondence as a forum for the kind of self-representation that he would have had in the village pub, had he not emigrated.

Even though Wilhelm knew that his letters would be circulated, he sometimes expressed his impatience with and criticism of other immigrants from Herbsen who had not experienced some success as he had in America, or of Herbsenites who did not have the courage to emigrate. In his letter of 3 February 1898, he wrote of an acquaintance, Carl Pusohhoff, who had also emigrated fifteen years earlier, but who failed to gain the same material status as Wilhelm. He ascribed that to Pusohhoff's lack of formal education, which made him an easy prey to deception, and said that although he had not seen Pusohhoff for fifteen years, the latter had not gotten much smarter. In this and other letters before 1900, Wilhelm urged Frederike and the younger Neumeier brother Christian to come to America and chided them for their lack of initiative and belief in the opportunities in his adopted land (for example, on 2 August 1896 and 28 January 1900). He was not totally disinterested in these urgings, however, as he was always looking for hard-working German immigrants as hired hands. In his letter of 28 January 1900, for instance, he asked his in-laws to give Christ[ian] Herbold, a relative in another village, a dollar to buy Christmas gifts for the latter's children. He added: "ich denke bei Ihn[en] geht Es Wohl ziemlich Knapp. Wen[n] Er blos seine Junges herschicken dät damir Sie nicht auch so Ein Karges Leben zufüren Brauchtet

wie Er[.] Aber der Ungläubige Tohmas Thut Es nicht[.] ich würde Ihnen Gerne das Reisegeld schicken."

As the last citation indicates, Wilhelm was sensitive to suspicions that his reports on conditions in America and on his own situation lacked accuracy. In the same letter of early 1900, written a few weeks before Frederike emigrated, he warned her that she, too, would not be believed when she came to America and then told others how good conditions were there. Even his in-laws, whom he generally treated with forbearance in his letters, had to be "set straight" on occasion:

> Lieber Schwiegervater Franz sagte Ihr hättet gesagt das ich dort auch mein Gutes Auskommen gehabt hätte wen[n] ich währ dort geblieben. Da würdet Ihr Bald Anders denken wen[n] Ihr mal Eine Stunde hier währt, ich bin kein Pralhans, aber ich sage Euch das ich keinen Schlag Arbeit mehr thun brauchget wen[n] ich nicht Will, so weit hätte ich Es doch wohl schwerlich in Deutschland gebracht (18 April 1898)

Wilhelm could not resist challenges to his self-image, perhaps especially from his wife's family. In part, this was probably due to the common desire of sons-in-law to prove their worth. I would maintain, however, that it was also natural for a man of his background to use the forum his letters afforded him to assert his merit, since the village pub was not available to him. Traditional gender roles encouraged him to represent himself as a man able to gain land and wealth and to provide well for his family. And in addition, Wilhelm may have seen himself as an example of the prototypical American self-made man. The language used in the 1904 Woodbury County history indicates this image when it speaks of Wilhelm's "extensive and valuable landed interests" and his "enterprising and progressive spirit." As an example of how a hard-working, intelligent, and entrepreneurial man could get ahead in America, he could feel added justification for proclaiming his personal and material accomplishments clearly and emphatically.[11]

Not all letters by male immigrants offer such clearly contrasting evidence of gender-related differences in self-representation. Several of Gottfried Rückels's letters are an interesting mix of personal and general news, with concern for the views of the recipients mingled in with assertions of self-worth. On 7 March 1875, a year after the death of his only son in a farming accident, Gottfried wrote:

> Lieber Schwager, wie Schwester, wie Kinder.
> Euren langen wie lieben Brief haben wir am 6. März erhalten, und uns, das heißt, meine Familie alle in einem Kreis gesetzt und denselben gelesen, denn wir waren alle neugierig wie es Euch Lieben dort ginge. Ja Ihr Lieben es hat uns Tränen des Mitleids ausgepresst als die Zeilen uns Euer Wohl und Wehe verkündeten, doch Gott sei Dank, daß die schwere Zeit an Dir, liebe Schwester vorüber ist, Deine Kinderlast hast Du getragen, und jetzt werden sie auch an dessen Statt Dir wieder so viel mehr Freude und Segen bringen, denn gute erzogene Kinder ist eine Freude und Trost der Eltern. Denn wenn man erst

selbst Kinder erziehen muß, lernt man erst kennen, was für Mühe und Sorgen wir unseren Eltern gemacht haben. Ja liebe Schwester, ein paar so starke Söhne wie Du jetzt hast, muß ja eine Zierde im Hause sein, und ein Trost der Eltern, den die Feder nicht beschreiben kann. Ja liebe Schwester, ich würde der glücklichste Mann der Erde sein, wenn ich meinen lieben Sohn an meiner Seite behalten hätte, der die Stütze meines Alters gewesen wäre, aber der Mensch denkt und Gott lenkt, alles ist eitel auf dieser Welt.
Es war den Tag wo das Unglück passierte als wenn ich es geahnt hätte. Ich wollte das Kind immer an meiner Seite haben, aber es war, als wenn mich immer etwas davon abgehalten hätte, immer wollte ich ihn rufen, aber habe es doch nicht getan, bis seine Stunde zum Unglück geschlagen hatte. Da war es zu spät, da sah ich, wo ich gefehlt hatte. Ja liebe Schwester, den 15. April 2 Uhr nachmittags war die Zeit, wo das Pferd ihn in den Ketten auf dem Hofe herum schleppte, bis sein gehirn ganz und gar zerschmettert war, 12 Stunden nachdem gab er seinen Geist auf. Ach liebe Schwester Du kannst es nicht glauben, wie mein Herz getroffen is von diesem Schlage. Tagtäglich entrollen Tränen meinen Augen, wenn ich an meinen lieben Sohn denke.

Gottfried went on to report the birth of a second son nine months before, gave his five daughters' ages and information about their schooling, and then, evidently in response to his sister's complaints about the difficulties of making a living in town, he asserted: ". . .auch das liebe Schwester ist mal gewiß, der Landmann ist unabhängig von jedem anderen Geschäft, ein Landmann der seine Sache zu lenken und zu regieren weiß und etwas weiter kann gucken wie ihm die Nase steht und dabei fleißig ist, das ist garkeine Hexerei gut ab zu werden, denn der Landmann ist immer der erste, der satt ist und dann verkauft, was übrig ist, dann nimmt es nicht mit Gewalt so viel Geld um das nötigste zu kaufen." Perhaps aware that this might be perceived as boastfulness, Gottfried continued with words intended to reconcile his sister to her harsher fate: "Doch liebe Schwester, wir können ja doch nicht alle Landleute sein, Stadtleute müssen auch sein, darum sei zufrieden und trage Deine Leiden mit Geduld, alles dauert seine Zeit, später wirds schöner, sagt Fritz Kessel. Auch wir alle liebe Schwester haben auf Dornenwegen gewandelt, wie wir amerikanischen Boden betreten hatten. Keine Sprache, keine Sitte, keine Freunde."

The content and tone of the letter thus far seems not much different from that of letters written by Gottfried's wife Malchen or sister Regina Kessel. Although Gottfried affirmed indirectly in the passage cited above that he was doing very well on his Illinois farm, he also softened that message by reminding his sister that hard times and difficult adjustments had accompanied the material success he had attained. In the remaining half of the same letter, however, his tone became less personal and attentive to his recipients' point of view. He expressed reluctance to finance the passage to America for two of his sisters' children and also refused to come fetch them, since he could not leave the farm for long. He chided her for not following his advice and using some of her inheritance money a few years earlier to send the children to him: "Die Kinder hätten das lange wieder zurückverdient, und auch sich selbst gekleidet, und Dir das

dreifache zugeschickt, als was sie jetzt in der Zeit in Deutschland verdient haben." He reminded her that hard work was necessary for success in America, that weather like the previous cold winter could prevent even the best-laid plans from coming to fruition. Then he went on to proclaim the wisdom of his and others' decision to emigrate:

> Doch liebe Schwester ich habe von allem genug, alles im Überfluß. Die Schwäger Schnutenhaus in Kalifornien machen glänzende Geschäfte, werden alle reich, wie wir von dort gehört haben, auch freuen sich der besten Gesundheit. Ob Du es weißt weiß ich nicht, vor zwei Jahren haben wir ein neues Haus gebaut, kostet zweitausend Dollar, dies hatten wir nötig, das alte wurde uns zu klein und die Familie immer größer.

At the end of his letter, perhaps feeling badly about his own good fortune in the light of his sister's difficulties, Gottfried promised to send her one hundred dollars in thanks for the good care she had given their parents. He then closed with the conciliatory phrase "Nichts für ungut."

But in the message Gottfried added after receiving the hundred dollar bank draft from St. Louis (4 April 1875), he again criticized his sister for not sending her children to him earlier and for mistrusting his assessment of opportunities for hard-working people in America. He gave proof of those opportunities from his own progress: "Ich habe diesen Frühjahr wieder 35 Morgen neues Land unter den Pflug gebracht, aber alle das tun andere Leute, die für mich arbeiten. Arbeiter im Überfluß. Auch habe ich wieder ein 160-Morgen-Landgut im Prozeß, ob ich es gewinne weiß ich nicht." Sympathetic though Gottfried was to his sister's straitened circumstances, he also could not resist representing himself as the one who "saw beyond his nose," was willing to work very hard to get ahead, and now had the material possessions to prove his wisdom and acumen.

In his next extant letter (9 March 1877), Gottfried returned to many of the same topics and themes as on 7 March and 4 April 1875. He began with thanking his sister for her letter and with news of his ten-year-old daughter Sophia's poor health and Malchen's having given birth to their tenth child. He went on to report on the bad floods along the Mississippi that cut his crops to a third or fourth of their usual yields and resulted in the loss of the majority of his pigs. But he also tempered this bad news with more positive information:

> Dies hält mich ein Jahr vom Geldauflegen zurück, denn es nimmt sehr viel Geld, um meine Farms zu bestreiten, da ist Steuern 200 Dollar, 400 für meine Arbeiter, die große Haushaltung, Schmied, Wagenmacher, Sattler, Schuhmacher, Doktor, Apotheker u.s.w. Ich habe vor acht Tagen 80 Acker oder Morgen Land gekauft zu 20 Dollar per Acker, alles urbar, gut für Mais. Das Land hier in der Gegend wo ich wohne, ist ausgezeichnet gut. Es bringt immer sozusagen doppelte Ernten, daß heißt, wenn man seine Arbeit gut und in der Zeit tut, als wenn man auf schlechtem Boden wohnte, was auch schon der Fall ist, in nicht weiter als zwei Stunden von uns entfernt, kommen

Leute hierher um Ihren Mais zu pflanzen, weil ihr eigener Boden zu schlecht ist, und der Weizen bloß von 20 bis 30 Büschel per Acker, ich habe mal 11 Acker Kleelandweizen gehabt, der hat 35 Büschel vom Acker gebracht, das war eine Ausnahme. Wir haben hier genug deutsche Farmers, gute, fleißige Leute, fangen sozusagen mit nichts an, werden aber alle gut ab. Auch haben wir hier eine deutsche Kirche. Nun, liebe Schwester, prahlen will ich nicht, nur der Wahrheit gemäß, und ich wette einen Tausenddollar, wer von dort hierher kommt und es nicht findet wie es meine Briefe austragen. Es hat wohl in aller Welt seine Plage, das weiß ich auch recht gut, auch ich liebe Schwester habe meine Plage, mehr wie recht ist, aber ich sehe nichts anderes nur, als daß Plagen und Sorgen in diesem Jammertal zu Hause sind, und wer da sein ehrliches Leben will machen, der muß sich schon etwas gefallen lassen, denn das Sprichwort sagt: "Fleißig sein bringt vieles ein, laß die Faulen träumen", und ein anderes sagt: "Früh zu Bett und früh wieder auf, macht gesund und reich im Kauf". Auch liebe Schwester, der Verstand kommt mit den Jahren, Du kennst mich noch von Vollmers her, wie früh ich des Morgens an Hand war, mich brauchte keiner zu rufen. So bin ich heute noch, liebe Schwester, ein Oekonom mit Fleiß und Energie und mein ehrlicher ausdauernder Fleiß und Sparsamkeit hat mir die rauhe Bahn für künftige Jahre gebahnt . . . .

Gottfried, like Wilhelm Herbold, clearly expressed confidence in his abilities to get ahead either in the Old World or the New. In this same letter, he asserted that, had he stayed at Vollmers, he might well have ended up "ein Kavalier. . ., stolz zu Roß über meine Güter reiten." (Perhaps by marrying the heiress to the Vollmer farmstead?) As it is, however, he had done very well, although his success had also brought challenges: "Ja, liebe Schwester, ich muß es mit Wahrheit gestehen, meine Farmen dehnen sich immer weiter aus, die Last auf meinen Schultern wird immer größer, aber nur Geduld und Mut bringt alles auf den rechten Platz, so lange wie ich lebe, geht alles wie am Schnur gezogen, jeder in meiner Umgebung weiß, daß er meinen Worten und Willen Folge leisten muß." Gottfried made it clear to his readers that he was master of a large and complex farming enterprise.

Gottfried concluded his letter of 9 March 1877 in this fashion:

Du schreibst, Du bist krank gewesen durch Erkältung und Gartenarbeit, ist es denn nicht anders möglich, Dein Leben zu machen als wie ein Esel zu arbeiten, was machen denn deine andere Umgebung und wo sorgen die für? Habt Ihr Euch nie einen Taler erspart in den ganzen 20 Jahren, daß ich Deutschland verlassen habe, und Ihr ruhig einer unverhofften Zeit könnt entgegensehen, sehr traurig wenn das der Fall ist. . . .

Perhaps feeling that he had gone too far in his criticism, he continued: ". . .doch liebe Schwester, ich meine es nicht bös mit Dir, ich würde Dir von St. Louis aus 50 Dollar geschickt haben, aber wie gesagt, die schlechte Ernte hat auch meine Taschen

leer gelassen, und denn das Land gekauft und 2 Maultiere gekauft. Kosten auch 260 Dollar, jetzt noch neues Pferdegeschirr u.s.w., mit alle dem geht das Geld leicht durch die Hände." Gottfried seems to have been oblivious to the irony of protesting his poverty and proclaiming his new purchases of land and livestock in the same sentence. The information about the constraints on his finances is intended first of all to notify his sister of the temporary complexities of his otherwise solid financial situation, and only secondarily to gain her understanding for his refusal to send her aid. In this letter, as elsewhere, Gottfried Rückels wanted to communicate the image of a strong, capable, and successful man, one who knew how to get ahead and who did not hesitate to criticize others less able than he.

The letters Gottfried Rückels wrote to his homeland illustrate that women's and men's correspondence could have many qualities in common. Gottfried could be thoughtful and considerate of the recipients' views and feelings, much like the women in his and other immigrant families. His sister Regina Kessel, like German-speaking rural farmers of both sexes, gave detailed factual information on farming conditions and named all of her family's possessions in a style reminiscent of male writers. But Gottfried Rückels also asserted himself as a spokesperson for the benefits of emigration and explicitly represented himself as a successful farmer, particularly in comparison to others, something his sister took some pains not to do. He may not have been as unabashedly self-aggrandizing in his self-representation as Wilhelm Herbold, but Gottfried Rückels also showed the same need to assert his worth in the public forum of the letter.

The pointed tone and content of Wilhelm Herbold's letters that contribute to his self-representation as successful entrepreneurial farmer were due in part to his particular personality. But they are also generally representative of the letters by rural nineteenth century male German-speaking immigrants that I have read, only in a somewhat sharper key. These men, if they were successful, found it important to tell others of that success in a manner that may seem overbearing to us today. This style also reveals something about the dynamics of Old World village life and men's public roles in it. Such self-assertion was no doubt important in order to maintain or gain status. It was perhaps even more necessary on the part of those who had broken out of the old social order and now lived too distant from the home village to show concrete proof of their success in the ordinary course of things.

Regina Kessel, Malchen Rückels, and the Neumeier sisters, on the other hand, wrote in a fashion typical of female immigrants. Their self-representation was primarily shaped by the desire to maintain positive contact with their family in Germany. They were sensitive to the ways in which they would be "read" by the recipients of their letters. Rural women had been bound by house and yard in Germany, and their concerns were with keeping harmony in that restricted domestic, familial sphere. The men of these households had been the public figures, the mediators to the outside world.

Men and women immigrants retained these traditional roles and self-images in America and expressed those patterns in the letters they wrote home.

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Notes

[1] Earlier versions of this paper were presented at the American Historical Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, 6-9 January 2000, and at the Rural Women's Studies Association Meeting, 22-25 June 2000, St. Paul, Minnesota.

[2] Wolfgang Helbich, "The Letters They Sent Home: The Subjective Perspective of German Immigrants in the Nineteenth Century," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 22 (1987): 11.

[3] Joan Jensen, *With These Hands: Women Working on the Land* (Old Westbury, NY: The Feminist Press, 1981), xviii; Heidi Rosenbaum, *Formen der Familie* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1982), 80-81; Joan W. Scott and Louise A. Tilly, "Women's Work and the Family in Nineteenth Century Europe," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17 (1975): 45. Sonya Salamon, citing a U.S. Industrial Commission *Report on Immigration* (no. 15 [Washington, DC: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1901]: 530), noted the difference between farmers of German ancestry and "Yankee" farmers in regard to the labor of women and children in the farm enterprise at the turn of the last century: *Prairie Patrimony: Family, Farming, and Community in the Midwest* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 20-21.

[4] Wolfgang Helbich, Walter D. Kamphoefner, and Ulrika Sommer, *Briefe aus Amerika: Auswanderer schreiben aus der Neuen Welt 1830-1930* (Munich: Beck, 1988), 38. A fuller discussion of sources on German-speaking immigrants may be found in Linda Schelbitzki Pickle, *Contented among Strangers: Rural German-Speaking Women and Their Families in the Nineteenth-Century Midwest* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), Appendix A, 201-8.

[5] Eda Sagarra, *A Social History of Germany, 1648-1914* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1977), 410-11. One of the most informative studies on this topic is that by David Sabean, *Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700-1870*, Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 88-146. Rosenbaum, *Formen der Familie*, 79-86; Reinhard Sieder, *Sozialgeschichte der Familie* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1987), 32-38.

[6] Utz Jeggle, "The Rules of the Village: On the Cultural History of the Peasant World in the Last 150 Years," in *The German Peasantry*, ed. Richard J. Evans and W. R. Lee (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986), 279; Robert Lee, "Family and 'Modernization': The Peasant Family and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century Bavaria," in *The German Family*, ed. Richard J. Evans and W. R. Lee (London: Croom Helm, 1981; Totowa, NJ: Barnes, 1981), 95; Sieder, *Sozialgeschichte der Familie*, 36; Rosenbaum, 84-5. Scott and Tilly note the disadvantages in public life for peasant women in nineteenth century England, France, and Italy ("Women's Work and the Family," 43).

[7] Many studies focus on matters that illustrate the similarities between Anglo-American and German-speaking immigrant populations in nineteenth century rural America. John Mack Faragher explored the gender roles and separate worlds of nineteenth century Midwest men and women in his study of *Women and Men on the Overland Trail* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979), 88-128. Salamon's *Prairie Patrimony* finds many similarities between patterns of farm life as led by the descendants of German immigrants and of Anglo-American settlers in twentieth-century central Illinois (40-42, 54-55, 120-21, et passim). Jane Adams noted the same for southern Illinois in her study *The Transformation of Rural Life: Southern Illinois, 1890-1990* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 84-100. On women's work on the agricultural frontier and in agriculture in general, see the following: John Mack Faragher's chapter "She Drained Herself to Give Them Life" in *Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), 110-18; Glenda Riley, *The Female Frontier: A Comparative View of Women on the Prairie and the Plains* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1988); Mary Neth, *Preserving the Family Farm: Women, Community, and the Foundations of Agribusiness in the Midwest, 1900-1940* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 17-39. On the effect of changes in agricultural economy and production on family relationships and gender-assigned labor in

farm families, see Dorothy Schwieder, "Labor and Economic Roles of Iowa Farm Wives, 1840-80," in *Farmers, Bureaucrats and Middlemen*, ed. Trudy Huskamp Peterson (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1980): 152-68; and Jensen, *With These Hands*, 36-37, 46-48, 81-85. The patterns of self-representation I explore in this study are also not unique to German-speaking immigrants. Women's focus on domestic issues and on personal relationships and men's on asserting a positive self-image and status in the community were typical of other nineteenth-century individuals and groups. See John Mack Faragher's comments on the overland dairies he studied (*Women and Men on the Oregon Trail*, 128-33). Other related studies include: Charlotte Erickson, *Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth Century America* (Coral Gables: University of Florida Press, 1972); Wolfgang Helbich and Ulrike Sommer, "Immigrant Letters as Sources," in *The Press of Labor Migrants in Europe and North America, 1880-1930*, ed. Christiane Harzig and Dirk Hoerder (Bremen: University of Bremen, 1985): 39-58. See Pickle on the persistence of traditional gender roles and patterns (*Contented among Strangers*, 89-90, 105-11, 179-80, et al.). Salamon also notes this among the descendants of German immigrants in late-twentieth century Illinois. See, for example, "Yeoman Husband and Wife as a Management Team," *Prairie Patrimony*, 125-31.

[8] Martha Kronenberg Polley. *Rock Family Tree* (Typescript, Iowa State Historical Department, Museum and Archives, Des Moines, IA), 34-35. Alice M. Flanders, comp., *Woodbury County, Iowa, Marriages*, vol. 1, 1881-99 (Sioux City, Iowa, n. d.), 23, 94. Except for these sources, the letters in the *Bochumer Auswandererbrief-Sammlung* are the primary source for the information on the Neumeier-Herbold-Rock-Hinkhaus and Kessel-Rückels family interconnections. Census documents in Illinois and Iowa provided no additional information.

[9] I have inserted punctuation, words, letters, or other clarifications in brackets where I felt they were needed to assist understanding but otherwise have not altered the misspellings and grammar errors of the original texts.

[10] Constant R. Marks, ed., *Past and Present of Sioux City and Woodbury County, Iowa* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1904), 511-12; Woodbury County Genealogical Society, comp., *The History of Woodbury County, Iowa* (Dallas, TX: National ShareGraphics [1984]), 90 and 149.

[11] Marks, *Past and Present*, 511-12.

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German-American Target Shooting Societies in Nineteenth-Century Illinois

Introduction

Germanic (German, Austrian, Swiss) immigrants to America in the 1800s came in sufficient numbers to be able to re-establish important European cultural institutions in America: societies for singing, debating, playing instrumental music, gymnastics, seeking political power, and target shooting, among others. Wherever Germanic communities were located, shooting societies (schuetzenvereins) commonly organized, secured shooting ranges, and staged schuetzenfests as re-creations of shooting competitions in Germanic lands held since the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Germanic communities in all parts of Illinois took part in this festive competition of arms. We describe the most well-known schuetzenvereins in Illinois, describing their history and shooting park locations. Suggestions are offered for future research addressing lesser known schuetzenvereins in Illinois.

European Origins of Schuetzenvereins

More than six centuries ago, in central and eastern Europe, citizens of various Germanic cultures organized themselves into citizen "militias" to offer protection from threats to towns and other settlements. These groups enrolled male citizens who were expected to take part in practices with weapons used in their protective functions: bows and arrows, crossbows, and firearms after about 1520. The genesis of the organizations varied from town fathers, local feudal lords, to tradesmen who feared internal and external threats to social order.[1] These civil protection clubs required members to attend regular weapons practice sessions, usually on Sunday afternoons at the local shooting grounds, often the city ditch (moat). The clubs engaged in public relations efforts with the general population by staging periodic shooting contests as part of public carnivals with all kinds of food, drink and other popular entertainments. These were family and community affairs, not just gatherings of keen-eyed marksmen eagerly striving for marksmanship prizes. Invitations to shooting clubs of other towns

were sent out and reciprocal invitations received in turn.[2] These clubs flourished in areas of Germanic culture: Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, Romania, among others. An important historian of shooting traditions succinctly summarizes their fates:

> Town shooting associations reached their peak in the 16th century and kept their military importance until the 17th century. During the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) many shooting clubs perished . . . and . . . after the Westphalian Treaty (1648) . . . they [were] brought to life again. But never did they reach the importance they had held in the 16th century. In the 17th and 18th centuries, governments no longer favored shooting associations as they were superfluous to the needs of the regular armies, which had been introduced by then. Thus, shooting became a symbol of the jealously guarded protected privilege of townsmen to use arms.[3]

Immigration to America

Substantial portions of Germanic immigrants to America in the nineteenth century were from urban areas of Europe and established themselves variously as professionals, craftsmen, or merchants in their new homes. Notable among them were the "Forty-eighters," refugees from the failed political revolutions of 1848-49. (Ironically, history records that shooting clubs took up arms on both sides of the political barricades.) Typically joining already established Germanic immigrant communities, they prospered and managed to recreate many salient cultural institutions they left behind. Shooting societies were one among many. Such societies were ubiquitous in Germanic communities in all states attracting Germanic immigrants: New York, New England, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, Kentucky, California, Texas, etc. We limit our discussion to Illinois because one of the authors lives there, although Illinois is no more important to the history of German-American schuetzenvereins than any other state where they were established.

What Is a Schuetzenfest?

Based on its European forebears, a schuetzenfest was a scheduled target shooting competition to which the host club invited surrounding clubs (regional, even national) to join in a program of 200-yard, off-hand target shooting with single-shot rifles. The event usually began with a parade of participating clubs marching to the shooting grounds, accompanied by an instrumental band. At the shooting grounds the host club officers welcomed the contestants in a short speech and wished all "good shooting." Some club or local or other dignitary would be invited to fire the first shot. Thereafter, the competition commenced with the orderly scheduling of various events using different targets during the course of the match. Cash and merchandise prizes for winners were both valuable and abundant. Food, drink, music, dancing, games for children and other amusements for non-shooters among families accompanying

contestants were typical and expected. The matches lasted at least several days and evenings offered banquets, distribution of prizes won during the day and dance balls. On the last day usually the schuetzen king was crowned. He was the shooter who had scored the highest on the king-honor target. He was crowned to reign for a year or until the next schuetzenfest and was given custody of the traveling shooting trophy (typically, a silver chain consisting of dated mementos selected and purchased by previous kings). The king was obligated to design, commission, or purchase the king-honor target for the next schuetzenfest. The crowning of the *Schützenkönig* and his selection of a queen from among the wives of the schuetzenverein members usually concluded the multi-day event.[4]

The First Schuetzenverein in Illinois

The first shooting club we know about was established at the Swiss immigrant colony in Highland, Illinois. First interest in a shooting society was shown by some of Highland's Swiss colonists in 1853-54 when a makeshift range was hacked out of the prairie thicket. The group got serious in 1860 when they formed themselves as the Helvetia Sharpshooters Association. The opening of the Civil War delayed the next step of their evolution until early 1863 when the organization obtained a state charter (16 February 1863) and the donation of 31 acres for a shooting park offered by the Koepfli brothers, Solomon and Joseph, early arrivals in Highland. The arrangement was that the land would remain the property of the shooting club as long as it remained organized. If it disbanded, the land was to revert to the city of Highland. The 31 acres could never be sold by either the club or the city and must be used for its intended purpose, shooting, and well as serving the public as a park facility. It was named "Lindendale" (Lindenthal) Park and remains a valued community recreational facility to this day.

In that busy year of 1863, the Helvetia shooting club invited regional shooting clubs to attend their first schuetzenfest on 4 July. The entire community was enlisted to finish work on the shooting park with fences, steps, a well, a cellar for cool storage of beverages, and local rooms for those attending.[5]

Midwestern Schuetzenvereins Form a *Bund*

The event was so successful that the next year, 1864, Highland was the site of an organizing meeting of the North American Schützenbund. Apparently, while the Helvetia club was first to organize in Illinois, it was soon followed by numerous others which suggests that the urge to organize target-shooting clubs among Germanic-American immigrants was being felt statewide. The following clubs were the original member organizations composing the North American Schützenbund (1865-72).

Chicago Schuetzen Verein, Chicago, Illinois
Bloomington Schuetzen Verein, Bloomington, Illinois
Dubuque Rifle Club, Dubuque, Iowa

Excelsior Rifle Club, Davenport, Iowa
Indianapolis Schuetzen Verein, Indianapolis, Indiana
Joliet Schuetzen Verein, Joliet, Illinois
Milwaukee Schuetzen Gesellschaft, Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Monroe Schuetzen Gesellschaft, Monroe, Wisconsin
New Ulm Schuetzen Verein, New Ulm, Minnesota
Peru Schuetzen Verein, Peru, Illinois
Princeton Schuetzen Gesellschaft, Princeton, Illinois
St. Paul Schuetzen Verein, St. Paul, Minnesota
Southwest Chicago Rifle Club, Chicago, Illinois
St. Louis Schuetzen Verein, St. Louis, Missouri
Helvetia Schuetzen Gesellschaft, Highland, Illinois[6]

Note that almost half (seven out of fifteen) of the founding clubs were from Illinois. Before we return to our history of Highland's Helvetia Schuetzen Gesellschaft, we must express our appreciation to the American Single Shot Rifle Association (ASSRA), which made available to us the contents of its journal and archives, composed of an ever-growing collection of documents concerning the schuetzen movement in America. One useful source retrieved from the Illinois section of the archives consists of a response sent by the archivist in 1986 to an inquiry to the membership of the ASSRA concerning the organizational structure of the Midwestern schuetzen movement. The archive revealed that the movement evolved through the following stages:

1. The North American Schützenbund was founded in 1864 and continued until 1872.
2. The eastern states formed their own Bund in 1872.
3. The Northwestern Schützenbund was founded in Chicago on 23 November 1878 and continued through 1883.
4. The Northwestern Schützenbund became the Western Schützenbund in 1884 and continued until 1896 under that label.
5. The Western Schützenbund joined with the Upper Mississippi Valley Schützenbund in 1896 (8 November) to form the Central Sharpshooters Union, which remained in existence until 1941.[7]

Back to Highland

In 1865, Highland was the site of the first schuetzenfest of the North American Schützenbund, 28-31 May. The magnitude of this festival cam only be imagined. Out-of-town participants took the train to within fifteen miles of Highland (station stop in Trenton, Illinois). Reports list 82 wagonloads of competitors making the overland trip from the rail station to Highland. Almost 40,000 (39,634) shots were fired at the targets of the local verein. Food and beverages consumed during the four-day event provide an idea of the large number of participants:

> . . . 10 calves, 1 steer, 4 sheep, 150 pounds of sausage, 44 hams, 72 smoked tongues, 3 large hoops of Swiss cheese, and 400 loaves of bread. Evidently it took a large quantity of liquid refreshment to wash this down. They consumed 62 barrels of beer, 372 cases of Sodawasser, and and 2,700 bottles of wine. . . .[8]

This inventory of consumables consumed reminds us that the shooting contests were accompanied by collateral activities for wives and children: food, drinks, music, games, dancing, etc. The presence of alcohol (beer and wine) was traditional at European schuetzenfests but aroused concerns among the temperance-minded neighbors of American schuetzenfests wherever they occurred.

Highland, Illinois, remained a leader in the schuetzenfest movement by example if not by membership numbers. The large cities soon eclipsed the membership totals of the Helvetia Schuetzen Gesellschaft. The club's abiding eminence in Midwestern schuetzen circles is shown in the regional Schützenbund tournaments it hosted periodically throughout the rest of the "golden age" of the schuetzen movement: 1865, 1867, 1872, 1883, 1909. Its state charter (1863) required yearly business meetings, which kept it active in order to retain control of Lindendale Park.

Other Illinois Schuetzenvereins of Note

Chicago hosted numerous German-American schuetzenvereins, as well as clubs organized by other immigrant communities (near Germanic in our opinion): Denmark and Norway, to be specific. One Chicago schuetzenverein's history, the Chicago Schuetzenverein, has been uncovered in a turn-of-the-century article of reminiscences by Albert Boese.[9] The author claims that in the 1850s a loose organization under the name of Bürger-Schützengesellschaft was formed but did not acquire a dedicated range as the lake shore north of Division Street, the city limits, was available for shooting and "on the west side, they could shoot in Luther's or Eich's Garden and in Schoch's Garden which was somewhat to the west of the old Bull's Head."[10]

After the Chicago Schuetzenverein officially incorporated in 1865, it bought 40 acres of land for a schuetzen park in Lakeview, on Evanston Avenue near Graceland Avenue. A wealthy member backed the formation of a joint stock company, which raised the $30,000 purchase price. The resulting shooting grounds were the host site for the second festival of the North American Schützenbund in 1866. This park served a typical multi-use function for Germanic families on weekend outings for a number of years. City residential growth, non-Germanic ire with Sunday consumption of alcohol and perhaps the inflation of the value of the property led the club in 1872 to seek other more remote grounds. A suitable property was purchased in Kensington, known at the turn of the century as West Pullman. Crocodile tears are owed to the memory of this club's displacement as they purchased one-eighth of a section (80 acres, 50 acres of prairie and 30 of woods) for $10,000. They had sold their former

park for $60,000. So, in their second venture of land acquisition, they secured twice as much land for one-third the previous price.[11]

The new schuetzen park also developed an enthusiastic constituency engaged in other recreational uses. Again city growth continued and led in 1893 to the sale of this second park for a tidy profit and the acquisition of about 30 acres in Palos Park, about 20 miles from the city. Regularly scheduled trains carried shooters and others to and from that park on weekends. In 1893 a great international shooting tournament took place from June to September in conjunction with the 1893 Columbus Exposition. However, this was staged on the old shooting grounds.[12]

The North-Chicago Schuetzenverein operated for many years and shot at the North Chicago Schuetzen's Park on Western Avenue, north of Belmont Avenue. These grounds were not owned by the club, however. When this club dissolved in 1895, many members joined the Chicago Schuetzenverein.[13]

The Joliet Schuetzen Verein was formed about 1864-65. Its club team won the team championship at the 1889 schuetzenfest of the Western Schützenbund held at Indianapolis, Indiana.[14]

Peru, Illinois, boasts the second oldest schuetzenverein in Illinois, its club organizing in 1861. A street, "Shooting Park Road," remains a reminder of its shooting past.

Princeton, Illinois was witness to schuetzen matches at the local brewery circa 1873. The Princeton Schuetzen Gesellschaft obtained a five-acre range west of the city and conducted matches until at least 1900.[15]

Other known Illinois Germanic-American shooting clubs await historical treatment. Many may have existed only briefly and/or registered but few members. Further research will answer those questions. The ones identified so far are:

1. Saline Schuetzenverein, Grant Fork, Illinois.
2. Det Norsk Skytterlag (Norwegian Sharp Shooters Association), Chicago, Illinois.
3. Turngemeinde (Sharpshooters), Chicago, Illinois.
4. Elgin Amateur Rifle Club, Elgin, Illinois.
5. Elgin National Rifle Club, Elgin, Illinois.
6. Schuetzenverein, Belleville, Illinois.
7. Bloomington Rifle Association, Bloomington, Illinois.
8. Rock Island Sharpshooters Society, Rock Island, Illinois.[16]

Additional Illinois shooting clubs formed before 1900 have been identified by the ASSRA archivist. While some are clearly German-American, others may have changed their names or adopted target-shooting programs other than the schuetzen tradition. Future research is necessary to locate and sift the evidence.

9. Aurora Sharp Shooters Society, Aurora, Illinois.
10. Brazilian Rifle Club, 5926 S. Halstead St., Chicago, Illinois.
11. Collinsville Schuetzenverein, Collinsville, Illinois.

12. Danish Rifle Association, Chicago, Illinois.
13. Dearborn Rifle Club, Chicago, Illinois.
14. East St. Louis Schuetzen Gesellschaft, East St. Louis, Illinois.
15. Evanston Prairie Shooting Club, Evanston, Illinois.
16. Lake View Rifle Club, Chicago, Illinois.
17. Manhattan Rifle Club, Chicago, Illinois.
18. Marlin Rifle Club, Rock Island, Illinois.
19. Morrison Rifle Club, Morrison, Illinois.
20. Mount Morris [Rifle Club?] Mount Morris, Illinois.
21. North Shore Rifle Club, Chicago, Illinois.
22. Peck's Rifle Club, Chicago, Illinois.
23. Peoria Rifle Club, Peoria, Illinois.
24. Piasa Rod and Rifle Club, Alton, Illinois.
25. Post 28 G.A.R. Rifle Club, Chicago, Illinois.
26. Sandwich [Rifle Club?], Sandwich, Illinois.
27. George H. Thomas Post (G.A.R.) Rifle Club, Chicago, Illinois.
28. Warren Rifle Club, Warren, Illinois.[17]

The *Amerikanische Jagd- und Schützen-Zeitung*

The *Amerikanische Jagd- und Schützen-Zeitung* was published 1886-96, appeared twice monthly, and served as the official voice of the Western Schützenbund. Its publication history corresponds almost perfectly with the organizational life of the Western Schützenbund, which formed out of the Northwestern Schützenbund in 1884. The Western Schützenbund joined with the Upper Mississippi Valley Schützenbund in 1896 to become the Central Sharpshooters Union, as noted earlier.

The newspaper is reported to have published 1,250 copies of each issue in 1890. Its office address was 14 and 16 Canal Street, Chicago, Illinois. This paper offers a treasure trove of information about schuetzenverein activities in the Midwest during these years. It offers a window into the schuetzen culture of the time and the issues deemed of interest to its German-language readers. The Chicago Historical Society library holds the first three years of the newspaper's issues. The ASSRA archivist generated translation notes while perusing the Chicago Historical Society library's holdings. A facsimile set of those holdings was produced and deposited in the ASSRA archives. The translation notes reveal the following topics covered in the newspaper:

1. Reports of match results from member schuetzenvereins.
2. Announcements of upcoming schuetzenfests and results after the events.
3. Lists of member schuetzenvereins and the numbers of members for whom they pay dues.
4. Hunting articles about North American and European hunting venues.

5. Reports of European shooting events.
6. Advertisements from businesses in the German-American community only remotely related to shooting or not at all.
7. Advertisements of products directly relevant to shooting, often from non-Germanic companies. [18]

A larger question is whether other German-language sources similar to this newspaper exist but remain undiscovered. As noted earlier, the Western Schützenbund evolved into the Central Sharpshooters Union in 1896. East coast and west coast schuetzenbunds may have published similar documents. The English-language sporting press reported on German-American schuetzenfests, but not from the inside. Some hostility and marginalization are apparent in English-language accounts. The restriction of schuetzenfests to 200-yard offhand shooting distinguished them from the target matches conducted by the National Rifle Association at longer ranges and from three or more shooting positions.

Where Are They Now?

Although this paper addresses the nineteenth-century target-shooting clubs primarily in Illinois, it is instructive to note the demise of these Germanic-American shooting clubs in virtually all parts of the United States. The salient cause of their termination was World War I and the anti-German hysteria that erupted among the mass media and politicians. The Germanic-American community had maintained dual "cultural citizenship" more than any other immigrant group. Germanic institutions continued to flourish up to World War I and presented visible symbols to be attacked by patriotic forces venting their superheated paranoia. German-language publications of all kinds ceased production. German-language classes were withdrawn from secondary school and university course offerings. Germanic classical music disappeared from concert programs. Financial and business institutions with Germanic labels anglicized their logos. The shooting clubs were caught up in this rush to abandon provocative elements in their public persona. Very few survived the war intact, and where they survived, they earnestly shed their Germanic labels.

Revival of interest in Germanic-American schuetzen target matches achieved critical mass in 1948 with the formation of an organization of collectors and shooters of schuetzen-style target rifles used during its golden age, 1865-1914. This organization, the American Single Shot Rifle Association, continues to support the study of Germanic-American schuetzen traditions and the use of traditional (original and reproduction) target arms in target shooting tournaments staged at its national range in Warsaw and Etna Green, Indiana. As noted earlier, the archives of the association are the premier source of information about this neglected topic within German-American Studies. Those archives welcome requests for information from researchers on this topic. Information is organized by state and awaits refinement and crafting

into additional pieces of the whole picture of Germanic-American schuetzenvereins in nineteenth-century America.

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Notes

[1] Richard L. Hummel and Gary S. Foster,"Germanic/American Shooting Societies: Continuities and Change of Schuetzenvereins, *International Journal of the History of Sport* 15,2 (August 1998): 186-93.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Jaroslav Lugs,*A History of Shootin*g (Feltham, Middelsex, UK: Spring Books, 1968), 47.

[4] *Schuetzenfest: A German-American Tradition,* Museum of Our National Heritage: Exhibition Catalogue (Lexington, MA: Scottish Rite Masonic Museum and Library Inc., 1991), 3-6.

[5] *Centennial History* (Highland, IL, n.d.), 91-100.

[6] Chris Westergaard, "The Century-Old Schuetzenfest," *American Single Shot Rifle News* 41, 4 (July-August 1987): 1-2.

[7] Rudi Prusok. Letter to "Mr. Henry," 8 March 1986, ASSRA archives.

[8] Westergaard. "The Century-Old," 2.

[9] Albert Boese "The Evolution of Schuetzenvereins in Illinois," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblatter* 1, 2 (1901): 48-51. Cited here in the translation by Eric Stahl published in *ASSRA Newsletter* 34,1: 5-7.

[10] Boese. "The Evolution," 6.

[11] Ibid., 6.

[12] Ibid., 6.

[13] Ibid., 6.

[14] Curt Johnson, *Gunmakers of Illinois* (Shumway. York, PA: Shumway, 1997), 1:20.

[15] Ibid., 21.

[16] Ibid., 22-23.

[17] Rudi Prusok, notes on contents of "Illinois" file in ASSRA archives (n.d.).

[18] Rudi Prusok, translation notes concerning copies of *Amerikanische Jagd und Schuetzen Zeitung* in ASSRA files (n.d.).

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Eric Jarosinski

"Der unrealistische Genosse": Heinrich Bartel and Milwaukee Socialism

Most accounts of Milwaukee's socialist municipal administrations and their ties to the city's German immigrant population duly emphasize the reformist pragmatism of the movement. Known as "the sewer socialists," the Milwaukee Social Democratic Party rose to power in the first half of the twentieth century pushing a platform of clean government, efficient city services, and common-sense civic reform. [1] By bringing German and Austrian socialist principles such as broader access to public education and health care into the American political mainstream, the party made steady, incremental advances and was able to hold city hall for some three decades. Still, no matter how successful the strategy might have been at the ballot box, not every Milwaukee socialist corresponded to the image of the pragmatic reformer. Some took a fierce, and perhaps also fatal pride in refusing to relinquish a less acculturated socialist vision informed more by the movement's European radical intellectual origins than by its translation into the more pedestrian vernacular of Midwestern American politics.

Heinrich Bartel was one such outsider. An Austrian immigrant, he arrived in Milwaukee in 1911 as a published poet and composer, experienced journalist and seasoned radical. Though frequently overlooked in histories of the period, he served as editor of the German-language party newspaper *Vorwärts* and has been dubbed one of the party's greatest thinkers. [2] Yet this was a distinction that brought him considerably more lament than influence. Bartel was deeply committed to the subversive political potential he found in German high culture, especially lyric poetry and classical music, and just as profoundly frustrated by what he perceived as a lack of a firm intellectual, cultural, and ideological basis for Milwaukee socialism. When *Vorwärts* failed in 1932, he even felt bitterly betrayed by a movement he feared had lost its way, having long since traded traditional German *Bildung* for an American-style obsession with ballots.

It is difficult to assess what influence Bartel might have had on the direction the Milwaukee socialists took, but by all indications it could only have been negligible. If he had much of an effect at all, it was in private conversations with party leaders such as Victor Berger, his fellow Austrian friend and the movement's most dominant figure. Still, the life of this "unrealistischer Genosse," as Bartel called himself, tells us a great deal about Milwaukee socialism and its evolution from its European origins, especially relating to the party's most serious struggles during World War I, its internal division

and debate, and eventual exhaustion in the thirties and forties. A life-long reader of Goethe, Bartel offers an account of the party's fate as a Faustian bargain in which short-term electoral success came at the cost of long-term political failure. Despite his own disappointment and the obvious souring of socialism's prospects in the city and nationwide, he went on to spend the last decades of his life true to the socialist cause, and perhaps even more so, to the classical German culture he so revered. If as a result of anti-German sentiment during World War I the movement had Americanized itself so much as to lose its soul, Bartel would live out his days clinging to his own.

Bartel was born in Reichenberg, Bohemia, on 9 October 1874. His mother was a maid and his father, a shoemaker, died when he was just three years old. Poverty forced Bartel to give up school after the sixth grade in exchange for a low-paying job in a textile factory. The premature end of his formal schooling, however, did not mean the conclusion of his education. While working seventy-two hours per week in the factory, "Herr Professor," as his co-workers called the studious young man, filled his remaining time with books, with his interest in literature and history fueling study of the German classics, the philosophy of Nietzsche, and Darwin's scientific theories. No stranger to long days and low pay, Bartel was quick to join the growing socialist movement in hopes of improving working conditions. At age sixteen he became a member of the Socialist party, joined the newly formed textile workers union, and in 1891 founded his own radical, and likewise illegal, youth organization. Bartel was quickly recognized as a persuasive socialist orator thanks to his booming voice and good sense of humor. In addition to speaking frequently at political gatherings, Bartel also wrote numerous articles and poems for workers' publications. In these early writings, the author is extremely idealistic, seeing an almost limitless potential for a well-delivered speech, an inspiring song or the written word to effect change. They demonstrate Bartel's life-long adherence to two key distinguishing aspects of Austrian socialism at the time: a strong belief in political change through culture and education and an equally pronounced anticlericalism.[3]

Among Bartel's best-known works were the political songs he wrote and set to the tune of popular melodies. Printed and sold as cheaply as possible, these labor anthems circulated widely. Decades later, Bartel would live to hear many sung at socialist gatherings in Milwaukee. Writing as much to educate as to inspire, his words are unadorned, yet invective in application. The works attempt to combine the aesthetic with the didactic, characterized as much by rousing slogans as by highly allegorical references to history and mythology. His themes are those one might expect of the young socialist firebrand: the injustice of poverty, the necessity of international solidarity, and preparation for the coming revolution.[4] Bartel's words were dangerous, catching not only the attention of his socialist comrades, but also that of Austria's monarchy. From 1894 on, Bartel estimated that his socialist campaigning had landed him behind bars at least twelve times. He served sentences that typically lasted for only a few days or weeks, but had once stretched into two months. Despite his frequent clashes with the law, Bartel continued to advance his career and standing in the party as he obtained posts at several party newspapers and participated as an outspoken delegate in national party conventions from 1897 until 1904. His speeches meeting with frequent applause,

Bartel made constant appeals for party unity and an internal coherence based on education and dedication to party principles. "We don't need a broader party," he would frequently pronounce. "We need better educated comrades." [5]

Upon the urging of Austria's socialist party leadership, Bartel left for the United States in 1904 to do what he called "missionary work" for the socialist movement, first finding work in Sheboygan, Wisconsin at the *Volksblatt* and then moving on to the *New England Staaten Volkszeitung* in Lawrence, Massachusetts. Both posts proved to be ill-fated, as Bartel was much better at offending his often conservative readership than boosting circulation figures. These early positions did increase his profile in the radical German-language press, however, and in 1906 he became a city news editor for the *Chicago Arbeiter-Zeitung*, an anarchist paper that during Bartel's tenure would become more closely affiliated with the Social-Democratic Party. It was while in Chicago that Bartel's political philosophy began to take on sharper focus, at the same time that it was running ever further afield from contemporary political and cultural realities. As Heinz Ickstadt has written in his extensive studies of German-American workers' culture in Chicago, Bartel and his well-read German colleagues at the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* considered themselves the legitimate heirs of the cultural traditions of the Enlightenment, and as such, the vanguard of a new society. They adhered to a form of radicalism mixed with cultural idealism that Ickstadt terms "aesthetic anarchism," in which "the 'ennobling effect of art,' as much as the political battle, ensured the coming of the 'new race.'"[6] This species was to be that of the "whole human being," an Enlightenment ideal of the individual whose work and creativity are united in a society that melds a love of beauty with its desire for material well-being. Yet, if anything, Bartel's position portended more splintering than harmony within the increasingly assimilated German-American community. Ironically, what Bartel saw as the emancipatory potential of high culture and learning for the masses, became the province of an increasingly irrelevant elite. As Ickstadt writes: "To maintain the Utopian ideal of the 'whole human being' as the only true alternative to existing (i.e., American) conditions implied loyalty to a specific form of ethnic cultural idealism and the identification of true socialism with German socialism."[7] Nowhere is this clearer than in a 1907 speech he gave at the twentieth anniversary ceremony of the execution of the Haymarket anarchists. "People's horizons here stop short at their stomach, a feed trough, a bankbook, a house being their highest ideals," Bartel declared, beginning an attack on the materialism of unions. [F]or most workers, the labor question is one which ultimately boils down to the question of knife and fork." He then went on to spell out his own vision:

> The labor question is a cultural question, in the largest sense of the word. From the depths of their misery, countless people direct their yearning and their prayers to the most eternal of the goddesses, to Aphrodite and in her unclad beauty, to Athena, the embodiment of wisdom and strength. Here lies one the worthiest tasks of the working-class movement. Besides struggling for the material, we mustn't lose sight of the ideal for a single instant. It is

also our duty to capture art and science. We want to change the world and to appropriate everything which makes life magnificent.

Changing the world is of course no small order, and Bartel prefaced his rousing appeal with a more sober note. Again showing signs of his peculiar form of pragmatic idealism, he warned: "The present does not call for unbounded dreams, no, but rather practical agitational and organizational work."[8]

As unlikely as the combination of "practical agitation" with the ethos of Aphrodite and Athena may sound, for Bartel this was the true nature of radical politics and its best hope for unity. He spelled out his vision in a 1909 essay in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* entitled "Radicalism."[9] The piece might well be seen as his life-long political manifesto, as he had it reprinted several times, from the twenties until as late as the fifties. In it he dismisses those "radicals" and "revolutionaries" of the movement whose subversiveness consisted in name only. While their rhetoric is incendiary, they fail to stoke the fire with any real plans, he writes, leading to empty slogans that only serve to dampen any truly revolutionary spark. "Words alone are but ringing brass and pealing bells. It is only clear thought which brings them to life. And thought must give birth to deed, or at least an earnestness to act." Lacking this, such "radicals" are governed by emotion rather than reason and are doomed to disappointment, pessimism, and nostalgic stagnation. Bartel likewise scorns those "busy radicals," who under smiling faces and lip service to the cause mask a greedy opportunism. For him the "true radical" is idealistic and has solid convictions, yet proceeds undogmatically. "He takes people and things for what they are and tries to make of them what he can. He does not dismiss out of hand any morally acceptable means, but neither does he adhere solely to any one in particular." This is the truly free radical, and due to his revolutionary patience, also the most dangerous to the existing order. In conclusion Bartel calls for unity and healthy debate among comrades of all stripes, expressing an idealistic hope that truth and conviction will triumph: "Let everyone openly give voice to their doubts. For out of doubt grows clarity, and from clarity springs strength. This power grants the cause the certainty of victory."

At the time, however, any certainty among the ever-divided socialists was still quite distant, let alone their victorious establishment of the "cooperative commonwealth." Competing visions and tactical debates—especially among orthodox, economically minded Marxist "revolutionaries" and more politically oriented "reformers" in the spirit of Eduard Bernstein— wracked the movement nationally. These divisions would continue to intensify, especially with the coming crisis of World War I and the changing ethnic make-up of American society, both developments that threatened Bartel's own brand of socialism based on German high culture. As Ickstadt wonders in his study of Bartel and his Chicago comrades: "Whether this cultural idealism eventually isolated these intellectuals from a new generation of Germans born in America and from a working class that grew in cultural heterogeneity is open to speculation."[10] After moving to Milwaukee, a city where socialism had achieved its most important stronghold and party radicals and reformists were at an uneasy peace under Victor Berger, Bartel's experience tends to support Ickstadt's suspicions.

He came to Milwaukee to edit the Milwaukee Social-Democratic party's German-language newspaper *Vorwärts* in early October 1911, just days after Victor Berger left it for its new English-language daily, the *Milwaukee Leader*. At the peak of its power, the party had just scored major election victories and was working hard to expand its appeal and "Americanize" the movement. As the Milwaukee socialists saw it, *Vorwärts* and other socialist papers were largely responsible for the electoral success of the party, whose first great victory came in 1910, when it captured the mayor's office, gained a majority on the city council, and sent Victor Berger to Washington as the nation's first socialist in the House of Representatives.

Among the shrewd politicians that the Milwaukee socialists had become, Bartel stood out. He was an extremely cultivated figure, with his knowledge of literature, philosophy, and politics far outpacing his peers' in the city's socialist movement. He was respected for his eloquence in matters of socialist theory, music, theater and the arts. He looked the part of the European intellectual as well. As Former Milwaukee Socialist mayor Frank Zeidler describes him: "His glasses on a chain, his long hair and mustache and his rakish set of his hat distinguished him as a true intellectual in appearance." [11] His home had a bookcase in every room, holding some 3,000 volumes in all, which he proudly displayed to visitors.[12] Opera and classical music were his other passion, often played on his phonograph at window-rattling volume. Bartel served on the board of the Pabst Theater, wrote opera reviews, sang in German choirs, and was active in the city's Free-Thinker Society as well as the Milwaukee branch of the national Workmen's Sick and Benefit Fund. His heroes were Thomas Paine and the German authors Heinrich Heine and Johann Wolfgang Goethe. "The first thing I got is *Faust*, and I'm still reading *Faust*. One finds always in it something new," he once said in a newspaper interview later in life, calling Goethe a "patrician with a deep sense of social consciousness."[13]

The description fits Bartel as well, according to Irene Gutowsky, wife of his grandson Roland.[14] The couple and their parents shared a three-story flat with Bartel, known at home as "Opa," at 3034 North 9th Street for almost 30 years. Gutowsky remembers him as congenial and having a good sense of humor, though she admits Bartel could also be a strict landlord and liked to play the boss. Bartel's grandson Bert Bartel, a retired police officer, agrees, but adds that Bartel was also a good listener. One of Bert's favorite memories of "Opa" is when Bartel insisted that the Boy Scouts were nothing more than training for the army, and the young scout disagreed and reached for his Handbook. "I explained it to him for about two hours and managed to change his outlook on that. That was great."[15]

Bartel was a small man, Gutowsky recalls, but in very good shape. He used to take long walks every day, even until he was very old. She reports that Bartel and his wife were not rich but also never had problems making ends meet, though it appears the couple's only income was from Bartel's modest newspaper salary and speaking fees.[16] They had two children, Minerva and Berthold, and enjoyed moving in Milwaukee's intellectual and cultural circles, frequently entertaining party officials and performers from the Pabst Theater. Bartel spoke German at home with his wife and friends, but his English was quite good, though heavily accented at times. Bartel

never talked about the "old country," she recalls, and there was a clear understanding that the subject was *verboten*. "You couldn't talk about anything German. Everything was America," she says. "He was quite loyal, especially to Milwaukee."

Apart from occasional trips to a summer home, she cannot remember what Bartel did for relaxation. "All he went for was reading and speaking, reading and speaking. That was his only fun." Along with his books (Gutowsky remembers them spilling over into the dining room) Bartel also brought his principles home with him, pushing his family to vote socialist and not willingly celebrating holidays or giving presents. According to her, he once told the grandchildren, "You know, there really isn't a Santa Claus." Bartel was not one to fit in, she says, and people knew it. "He wore spats, a long, flowing scarf, and his hair was down to his shoulders. He was the talk of the neighborhood. They called him eccentric, but he didn't care." Bartel would need his convictions most during World War I, a time when nonconformity on the part of a German-speaking socialist could draw the attention of more than just the neighborhood.

With the outbreak of World War I Bartel would face the challenge of defending the German cultural tradition he so revered, while attacking what he saw as the grounds for the war: capitalist greed, on the side of the Germans as well as the allies. Under Bartel's leadership, *Vorwärts* was a strong voice in opposition to the fighting. This war, it declared, was not a battle to make the world safe for democracy, as it was called. Instead, it was a war for markets, for raw materials, and for profit. It fought hard to bring the broad masses of newspaper readers into the party ranks by appealing to their German ethnicity, their perceived class interests, and their hopes and fears. Like all effective opinion-makers, Bartel and his staff knew that the repetition and tailoring of their message was crucial to winning support for the cause. Thus, almost all aspects of the war, from conscription to the latest military offensive, were portrayed in print as so many ugly manifestations of a self-destructive capitalist system spiraling into chaos at the expense of working people.

As the European fighting continued into 1915, so too did the paper's now familiar condemnations. "The World War for Profit" is how *Vorwärts* described the bloody conflict in January 1915, as a tangle of European military alliances caused the war to spread throughout Italy and the Balkans. "In reality this is a capitalist war, brought about by fear of competition on the world market," it railed. "This is a war for customers! A war for raw materials! A war for greater profits! That's what this war is. Innumerable victims on all sides, destroyed lives, murdered progress, tens of thousands of fatalities – all this for greater profits!" [17] The paper demanded neutrality, but not the brand of non-alignment they saw furthered by President Wilson. It maintained that his pro-ally sympathies had rendered "Neutrality" a meaningless, deceptive concept.

Bartel's condemnations of the war generated great interest among Milwaukee's German-Americans. One of the largest audiences ever to assemble in the lecture hall of Milwaukee's Free-Thinkers' Society came together in late February 1915 to hear him speak about "The World War, Anti-German Sentiment, and Nationalism." Bartel told his audience that economic imperatives were driving the war in Europe and had far outweighed nationalism in bringing about the fighting. "The world is not ruled by

thoughts and feelings, but by influence and power," he told the crowd. "These two factors are what have an impact. Looking deeper, this has been the case even in situations which one likes to describe as purely motivated." [18] Bartel's speech that evening was not a rare appearance. As he had done before the war, the editor and orator traveled almost every weekend throughout the country to agitate for socialism and decry the fighting. In articulating his own position regarding the war, Bartel appears to have been saddled with a problem facing many American socialists during the war: explaining why so many of their European comrades had broken from the socialist ranks of international brotherhood to support their own nations' efforts in the war. As he saw it, Germany's actions in the war were far from blameless. Yet, he said, they were the will of its ruler and influential classes, not of its people.

Bartel's outspokenness did not go unnoticed, especially by nervous authorities eager to root out oppositional voices in the nation's German-American press. After passage of the Trading-with-the-Enemy Act in October 1917, *Vorwärts* was required to print an inscription on the top of the front page stating that a true translation of all articles dealing with the war had been filed with the Postmaster. Other Milwaukee German-language papers that either supported the war or stopped writing about it were freed from the provision, leading Bartel to see the law as an unfair measure that made a mockery of freedom of the press. "The consequences will be that the Milwaukee '*Vorwärts*' and all Socialist newspapers will be oppressed," he charged, adding the lament, "This, now, is how far we have happily come in free America." [19] Bartel rightly foresaw what was to come. In September 1918, almost one year after the *Leader* had lost its second-class mailing rights, *Vorwärts* also felt the sting of the Espionage Act.[20] *Vorwärts*, he told his readers, would be delivered in Milwaukee by newspaper carriers and sent to its out-of-town subscribers by third-class mail at a considerably higher cost to the paper. Mindful of the dire financial consequences, *Vorwärts* took on the motto "Persevere" and pledged to keep the paper alive through whatever means it could muster. "One day things must change," it told readers. "It can't stay this way forever." [21] To get out of the red it raised subscription rates, sponsored bazaars and picnics, sold cigars and coal, borrowed money, and sold more shares in its ownership. "Comrades, friends!" Bartel implored, "If you don't want to become traitors to your own cause, you must remain loyal to the '*Vorwärts*.'" [22] Despite increased costs and the threat of federal prosecution for its criticism of the war, *Vorwärts* did manage to survive, albeit with decreased circulation and increased debts.[23]

After the war had ended, however, a new battle was to begin. This war, the fight for a German-American readership in an increasingly assimilated community with ever less commitment to the Socialist Party and less knowledge of the cultural heritage Bartel continued to cling to, was to prove much more difficult, and in 1932 the paper was forced out of business. Left without his newspaper, in 1933 Bartel began editing *Das Freie Wort / Voice of Freedom*, the bilingual monthly publication of the Milwaukee Freie Gemeinde, or Free-Thinkers' Society.[24] Even into his later years, Bartel was a determined and energetic speaker, especially on his favorite subjects: socialism, literature, and music. He had acquired such prominence among the society's "Old Timers" that some would complain to the society if they missed a lecture because of inadequate

notice. Despite his standing, however, Bartel would still frequently complain that readers did not pay their subscriptions on time. Numerous appeals during his years as editor attested to a frustration with waning financial support for what could only have been a labor of love.

Bartel went on editing *Das Freie Wort* until 1961, and died seven years later on 27 June 1968. As Paul A. Kaufmann, his successor at the publication, wrote upon Bartel's death: "The Freie Gemeinde of Milwaukee lost one of its oldest members, and the liberal movement of our country one of the few remaining members of the Old Guard." [25] He was 93 years old. Bartel, who had grown up as a rabble-rousing poet and intellectual, died an "old-time Milwaukee Socialist," as *The Milwaukee Journal* called him in its obituary. [26] Placed just one column over from a news item about then Governor Ronald Reagan's purchase of a California ranch and the Veterans of Foreign Wars' calls for increased support of the war in Vietnam, Bartel's death notice in the *Milwaukee Sentinel* signaled more than just his own passing. It also confirmed the end of Bartel's brand of radical politics inspired by Enlightenment idealism and expounded in citations of Goethe and Heine. For the American Left, the fight would continue, but by truly different means.

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Notes

[1] *See Elmer A Beck,* The Sewer Socialists *(Fennimore, WI: Westburg Associates, 1982); Sally Miller,* Victor Berger and the Promise of Constructive Socialism, 1910-1920 *(Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1973); Frederick I Olson, "The Milwaukee Socialists, 1897-1941" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1952); and Michael E. Stevens, introduction to* The Family Letters of Victor and Meta Berger, 1894-1929 *(Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1995).*

[2] The only studies of Bartel to date are a brief, unpublished conference paper "Heinrich Bartel and the Socialist Movement," 1980, by Joseph Hahn in the Bartel collection, Milwaukee County Historical Society and "'The Workers' Best Weapon': The Milwaukee *Vorwärts* and World War I," an unpublished senior thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, by Eric Jarosinski. Bartel himself offers a detailed account of his life in a three-part series, "'Unrealistische' Genossen, Autobiographische Skizzen von Mitgliedern der Krankenkasse: Heinrich Bartel," in *Solidarität/Solidarity* 41,7 (1946): 127-28; 41,9 (1946): 165-66.; and 41,10 (1946), 183-84. (Very rare source, located at the Minnesota Historical Society, St.Paul.)

[3] See Anson Rabinbach, *The Crisis of Austrian Socialism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); and G. D. H. Cole, *A History of Socialist Thought: Vol. 3, Part 2: The Second International, 1889-1914* (London: Macmillan, 1956). The most extensive history of the movement in Bartel's native Bohemia is by Emil Strauß, *Die Entstehung der deutschböhmischen Arbeiterbewegung: Geschichte der deutschen Sozialdemokratie Böhmens bis 1888* (Prague: Verlag des Parteivorstandes der Deutschen Sozialdemokratischen Arbeiterpartei in der Tschechoslowakischen Republik, 1925).

[4] Bartel's poems are collected in Konrad Beißwanger, *Stimmen der Freiheit* (Nuremberg: Konrad Beißwanger Verlag, 1914), as well as the self-published volume *Gereimtes: Couplets und Lieder* (Teplitz, 1898) and an anthology of workers' poems Bartel edited, *Nordböhmische Klänge: Eine Sammlung von Arbeiterdichtungen* (Chemnitz: Albin Langer, 1898). These rare publications are housed in the papers of the Seliger Gemeinde, administered by the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung's Archiv der Sozialdemokratie in Bonn, Germany.

[5] *Protokoll über die Verhandlungen des Parteitages der deutschen Socialdemokratischen Arbeiterpartei in Oesterreich* (Vienna: L. A. Bretschneider,1902), 100.

[6] Heinz Ickstadt, "German Workers' Literature in Chicago – Old Forms in New Contexts" in *German Workers' Culture in the United States*, ed. Hartmut Keil (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 209-18.

[7] Ibid., 209-10.

[8] Quoted in Hartmut Keil and John B. Jentz, *German Workers in Chicago* (Urbana: Illinois University Press, 1988), 274-75.

[9] *Chicago Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 23 May 1909; *Buchdrucker-Zeitung*, 1928; *Solidarität*, August 1951.

[10] Heinz Ickstadt, "A Tale of Two Cities: Culture and its Social Function in Chicago During the Progressive Period" in *German Workers' Culture in the United States,* ed. Hartmut Keil (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 301.

[11] Frank Zeidler to Joseph Hahn, 17 February 1980. Bartel collection, Milwaukee County Historical Society.

[12] Bartel duly recorded his massive holdings in a thick ledger book on file in the Heinrich Bartel Collection at the Milwaukee County Historical Society, which also houses the bulk of his library. Also in the collection is an equally weighty scrapbook in which Bartel collected reviews of German and American theatrical productions clipped from German-language newspapers.

[13] *Milwaukee Journal*, 22 September 1949.

[14] Irene Gutowsky, interview with author, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 15 October 1999.

[15] Bert Bartel, interview with author, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 2 November 1999.

[16] Records available at the Milwaukee County Office of Register in Probate, file 433-686 R3156 F0536. Bartel died with a little over $27,000 in investments and savings accounts, most at local savings and loan associations.

[17] *Vorwärts*, 16 January 1915. This and all following translations by the author.

[18] *Vorwärts*, 6 March 1915.

[19] *Vorwärts*, 6 October 1917.

[20] Here it should be noted that historians have widely erred in writing that *Vorwärts* retained its mailing rights even though the *Leader's* were withdrawn. This was the case, but holds true for only one year. In September 1918, almost one year after the *Leader* lost its mailing rights, the *Vorwärts* was likewise barred from using the second-class mails until 1921.

[21] *Vorwärts*, 7 September 1918.

[22] *Vorwärts*, 14 September 1918.

[23] Fragmentary financial data is available in the minutes of the *Vorwärts* Publishing Company 1906-1909 and of the Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Company, 1905-1935, both at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The most complete collection of annual reports is in the Victor Berger Papers, roll 31, also at the SHSW. For circulation figures, see Karl J.R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732-1955* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1961), 697; See also *Ayer and Son's Newspaper Annual and Directory*, which provides circulation figures up to 1918. Both sources, and the many that quote from them, list an estimated circulation of 38,000 for the year 1915, an implausible figure given its circulation of about 4,300 in the immediate years prior and thereafter, as well as Bartel's own commentary on sinking circulation in the paper itself. It is most likely a mistaken rendering of 3,800.

[24] For a detailed analysis of the Milwaukee Free-Thinkers see Bettina Goldberg, "Radical German-American Freethinkers and the Socialist Labor Movement: The *Freie Gemeinde* in Milwaukee, Wisconsin," in *German Workers' Culture in the United States* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988).

[25] *Das Freie Wort*, August 1968.

[26] *The Milwaukee Journal*, 28 June 1968.

Angelika Arend

"Es tut so gut zu lieben und ganz wieder Mensch zu sein!": Some Comments on Else Seel's Love Poetry

What prompted Else Lübcke (1894-1974), a spirited young woman in her early thirties, to turn her back on Berlin's effervescent cultural scene and plunge into the isolation and unimaginable loneliness of a log cabin in the backwoods of British Columbia? After the devastation of the war years she had managed to secure employment and earn a livelihood for herself, her widowed mother and an elderly aunt. She was able to take university courses and satisfy her intellectual hunger. She enjoyed the friendship of like-minded young people—students, artists, co-workers—going to the theatre, to concerts and art exhibitions; hiking through various parts of Europe, reading, writing, debating. She even had a first taste of literary success when some of her poems and short stories began to be published in 1921. Why then did she, in August 1927, surprise and surely shock her own mother by placing on the table her hair, cut off and wrapped in tissue paper, together with a ticket to Canada, announcing curtly: "Mutter, kein Lamentieren; hilf mir schnell packen, denn in einer Woche muß ich von Hamburg mit der 'Empress of Australia' nach Quebec fahren" ("Letzte Pionierin" [1960], UM 13)?

Rodney Symington, who has given us an insightful first account of the life and work of this extraordinary woman, suggests that she was one of numerous "Europamüde" —European writers and artists plagued by scepticism about the value of their civilization (1984, 17). Much as Else Lübcke may have shared current Rousseauistic notions about the purity and freedom to be found in the New World, and much as "she seems to have associated in these years with artists and writers who shared a radical, antibourgeois bias" (Symington 1984, 19), there is insufficient evidence in her own writings that this translated into a disappointment deep enough to prompt her fateful step. On the contrary, her own—albeit retrospective—accounts of her last years in Berlin speak of her happy participation in the *Jugendbewegung* of the early 1900s and the bustling cultural scene of Berlin, and of the hope for a "Pan Europa" she shared with her friends. Here is one telling excerpt:

Kunst löst sich auf in Kreisen und Körpern,
Dichtung bricht sich in freien Worten Bahn.
Studenten sind wir und wollen
Pan Europa und 2 Dutzend Parteien rufen
zum Wählen. Neue Prediger predigen,
neue Maler malen und die
Theater erbeben in Dramen und Musik.
Wir kommen zusammen und teilen
das trockene Brot und einige Äpfel,
wir tanzen und lieben und ziehen
am Wochenende hinaus vor die Stadt,
in Ferien hinaus in die Berge. Junge
Männer und Mädchen, ein freies anständiges
Geschlecht . . .
Freunde sind da. Aus Hörsaal, von Reisen
aus den Konzerten und dem Büro der
Rentenbank. Hier arbeite ich im Archiv
und wir hoffen, die Rentenmark [wird]
der Inflation Einhalt gebieten.
("Voller Glanz war die Kindheit" [1956], UM 3/5/3)

As the text continues, it points strongly to primarily personal reasons for her decision to leave Berlin:

Immer noch lebe ich mit den Alten
und kann mich zu keiner Heirat entschließen.

Jupiter kommt von Norden, Thor
mit Donner und Blitz und führt mich
hinauf in die Sterne. Europa
liegt ihm zu Füßen und er liegt
mir zu Füßen. Feuer und Schwert
teilen mir Herz und Blut,
und mein Blut: es dünget die Erde.
Lächelnd trägt er meine Worte in
ein kleines Buch meiner Gedichte
an denen ich fast gestorben wär.

Da schneid ich die Haare ab, da gehe ich fort.

There is evidence in her poetry and prose that for some time she may have felt trapped by her obligation to care for "[die] Alten" referred to in the lines above.[1] Furthermore, the excerpted lines identify—as explicitly as Else Seel ever allowed herself to write about this all too personal matter—the factor which in all likelihood triggered her

drastic move. It was the trauma she experienced in the wake of her disappointed love for the Danish writer Martin Andersen Nexø. Symington does make reference to this fateful affair, but by saying that "he [Nexø] seems to have treated her somewhat callously" (1984, 20), he chose to understate politely the catastrophic dimensions of the wound inflicted on this spirited thirty-two-year-old woman.[2] To put it a little more bluntly, she was struck to the core by the hurt and humiliation of having been used for a pleasant diversion by a man—her senior by twenty-five years—whom she admired and loved, and driven to utter despair over the abortion of his child.[3] It is fair to assume that this radical break was a desperate attempt to create a clean slate that would enable her to make a fresh start and go on living. Romantic notions about the New World, "growing disenchantment" with the Old, "the narrow confines of her domestic and professional situation, her advancing years, . . . and her independence of spirit" (Symington 1984, 20) may well have added fuel to the fire. A fitting part of this drastic method of turning things around was her marriage, on arrival in Vancouver, to the prospector and trapper George Seel, a farmer's son from Bavaria who had left his father's farm at age fifteen and eventually made his way to British Columbia where he enjoyed a life of freedom, challenge and adventure.[4]

One cannot but marvel at Else Seel's strength of mind and body that carried her through hardships we cannot even begin to imagine: a marriage to a mostly absent husband who, when present, tolerated her reading and writing with a smile and never showered her with signs of his love; a life of household chores infinitely more demanding than those she never even had to do in the gentle conditions of a European city; a social setting—or what social life existed among the settlers—totally uncongenial to a person with intellectual and creative interests and aspirations. How did she manage to survive?

First, at one point Else Seel mustered her considerable powers of will and determination to make a fundamental decision which helped her not only to go on, but to appreciate and even love her difficult life. Here, in poetic guise, is her own explanation:

> Tief wie Ackerfurchen schnitten
> Kummer, Sorge, Einsamkeit
> durch des Herzens Mitten,
> furchend meine Wesenheit. (St. 1)
>
> (. . .)
>
> Aber wie die liebe Sonne
> leuchtend über Berge steigt,
> habe ich siegend mich der Wonne
> und der Liebe zugeneigt. (St. 3)
>
> (. . .)

Meine Glieder wurden freier,
und des Herzens Stimme schwang
jubelnd, frisch und neuer
mit dem Menschheitssang. (St. 5)

Scheu und Kargheit überwindend
bot ich brüderlich die Hand,
und mich selbst verbindend
fand ich das gelobte Land! (St. 6; *AW* 37)

What she had demanded of her mother she now decided to practice herself: to stop lamenting, to accept the facts and get going. This meant changing her own attitude and opening her mind, heart and hand to her new surroundings; it meant accepting people and things as they were and learning to "love" them. As a result, an invigorating sense of freedom was gained—a freedom from imported ways of looking at the world that were no longer valid in the new context; a freedom that opened her eyes to the presence of human qualities and values about which she may have known little or nothing before. The poem "Haus im Urwald" spells it out:

Haus im Urwald, Stamm an Stamm,
Sonne, Mond und alle Sterne
wölben einen Himmelskuppeldamm
bis zum Nordlicht in die Ferne.

Erde spinnet ab die Jahreszeiten,
Kriege kommen und vergehn;
hier im Raum, in kleinen Weiten
bleibt die Menschlichkeit bestehn.

Einfach Leben, Haus und Sein,
Du kannst keine Dinge größer machen,
Menschenlust und Menschenpein
wachsen nur aus Weinen und aus Lachen.

Hier wirst Du mit Freud empfangen,
ein geehrter Gast, tritt ein.
Wohin immer Du gegangen,
hier wirst Du willkommen sein. (*AW* 26)

Life in the wilderness is lived in a natural enclosure that reaches from the earth to the sky. Its rhythm is regulated by the alternation of day and night ("Sonne, Mond" 1,2) and the change of the seasons "spun by the earth" (2,1). While here, at the behest of cyclical nature, the distant skies will be lit by the dancing flames of the northern lights, in the world at large similar spectacles are caused by recurring conflagrations of

uncontrolled emotions ("Kriege" 2,2). Living in the bush, however, leaves no room for inflated emotions or undue aggrandizement ("Du kannst keine Dinge größer machen" 3,2). The happiness and the sorrow people do, of course, experience, are of natural "human" proportions ("Weinen und . . . Lachen" 3,4). As a result, the "Haus im Urwald" has remained home to unmarred humaneness ("Menschlichkeit" 2,4) which manifests itself in the fellowship and respect that are joyfully extended to anyone who may step under its roof. In Symington's cogent words, "in the backwoods of Canada, stripped of sophistication and superficiality, life is more real, more immediate, more sharply defined" (1984, 24). Such insight and experience surely helped Else Seel to adjust to her new life and even to learn to "love" it.

Second, and somewhat ironically, the extended periods of solitude she had to endure gave her time for reading, reflecting and writing—certainly more than she would have had in her husband's continual presence. His side of their marital bed was usually packed with reading matter that was only removed for the short periods of time he spent at home. In addition to the books she had brought with her, "she read avidly anything that came her way: Canadian newspapers, American magazines, English-language books, German publications sent to her by friends in Germany. She wrote poetry and prose, including articles for German newspapers" (Neering, 228); she kept a diary and, of course, wrote letters to various correspondents—the most notable among them being Ezra Pound (Symington 1986; 1989). Needless to point out the therapeutic value of writing—channelling emotional and intellectual energies into the effort of verbalizing and, hopefully, communicating extraordinary experiences and observations

Else Seel, then, managed to make her peace with her life as a settlerwoman and to continue pursuing her intellectual and creative aspirations. As a result, she wrote an impressive body of poetry and prose, much of it offering a valuable firsthand account of the life of one group of Canada's early settlers. As Symington explains, Seel's pioneer literature successfully "capture[s] in diary, in poems, and in short stories the nature of pioneer life, and also . . . distil[s] out of it its universal significance" (1984, 30), thereby offering more than mere documentation of social history (34).

Another sizable part of her writings, particularly of her poetry, transcends the confines of pioneer life and deals with universal experiences, such as love, aging, transience, death. The dominant theme clearly is love: one third of Seel's entire poetic output (64 poems out of 181) consists of love poems. We remember that it was "love" which precipitated her decision to cut herself off from the cultural stimulation Berlin had to offer; and it was the determination to "love" which facilitated her assimilation into the cultural void of Wistaria, British Columbia. Love clearly was central to her very existence: "Süße Liebe, tausendmal / halt ich dich umfangen, (. . .) Süße Liebe—ohne Dich / Leben ist nichts mehr für mich!" exclaimed the septuagenarian ("Süße Liebe" [1970], UM 3/6/16). It can be no surprise that in her poetic production she returned time and again to the theme of love, reflecting on its many different faces, and casting them into a variety of poetic forms.

Examining a few of these love poems, this essay will seek to determine whether Else Seel's love poetry measures up to the standard set by her pioneer poetry. Specifically,

the question to be addressed is this: Did this poet in her self-imposed isolation from cultural influences and creative interchange, in dealing with a topic close to her heart, create verbal artifacts of lasting value—poems that contain, each in its own way, what Symington (1984, 27) has called "a small but priceless gem of human significance"?

As indicated above, thematically Seel's love poems span a wide spectrum of kinds and facets of love. It is seen as a fundamental human emotion which no cleverness or worldly wisdom can suppress or satisfy: "keine Erdenweisheit stillt / unser Lieben und Bemühn" ("Iris," UM 13). In its purest form, it is the motive-force of such archetypes as the loyal wife ("Ich bin Dein Weib," UM 13) and dedicated mother ("Mutter und Kind," UM 13). In its more widely defined understanding as erotic attraction between a man and a woman, it is marked by an ever-present tension between its physical and its spiritual side: "Und wie soll ich mich denn wehren / gegen dies Hinab, Hinan? / Bet ich doch an zwei Altären / Liebe himmlisch-irdisch an" ("Himmlisch-irdische Liebe," *AW* 41). This complex emotion may bring or entail various experiences: first love - never forgotten; falling in love—the sweetness, the tension, the pain; the excitement of fulfilled physical love; the near impossibility of complete oneness; the transience of love; the many farewells; the many new attempts; the irrelevance of age; disappointment, betrayal, venality; and, coming back full circle, the redeeming power of love. In the following pages a small selection of poetic texts dealing with some of these issues will serve to illustrate.

Let us begin by taking a look at what Else Seel has to say about the archetypal loyal wife: "Ich bin Dein Weib" (UM 13). The very word "Weib," rather than "Frau," has an archetypal ring to it, laying the groundwork for an understanding of the poem that goes well beyond the personal.[5] Secondly, Seel's "Weib" seems, at first glance, to be a classic example of interlingual contamination caused by the English cognate "wife," denoting "married woman." In German, a woman declaring herself to be "your wife" would normally use the epithet "Frau." Etymologically, the word "Weib" carries the basic meaning of "being other than male" and has in the course of its long history been charged with a host of progressively contemptuous denotations and connotations, ranging from "servant" to "bitch." Reading Seel's poem carefully, one cannot but conclude that she used "Weib" instead of "Frau" quite deliberately, thereby creating a powerful subtext.

The poem begins with the affirmation, "Ich bin Dein Weib" (1,1) and continues with a description of the speaker going out early in the morning to collect cedar branches "um Deine Peitsche zu flechten" (1,3). Surely, Else Seel had read her Nietzsche and knew about Zarathustra's advice, "So du zum Weibe gehst, vergiß die Peitsche nicht!" Indeed, the second stanza dwells on the "gnashing" sound caused by the knife cutting the strips of cedar to make strips for the "whip":

"Ich hörte keinen Laut
nur das Knirschen des Messers,
(. . .)

Es knirschte zwischen weißen Zedersträhnen;
es knirschte beim Zerteilen
der weißen Strähnen für Deine Peitsche. (2,2-7)

These lines strongly suggest a gnashing of teeth associated with pain caused, conceivably, by the whip, mentioned here for the second time. The third stanza goes on to speak of tears—tears incapable of washing off the sweet smell of the cedar branches on her hands whose duty and pleasure it is to serve:

Am frühen Morgen sammelte ich Zedernzweige:
süß, süß war ihr Geruch,
sie waren naß mit Tränen.
Die Süße will nicht von meinen Händen weichen,
(. . .)
Tränen waschen nicht die Süße fort -
ich habe wohlriechende Hände für Deinen Dienst. (St. 3)

The straw of solace the speaker appears to cling to is that "ah, manchmal wirst du sanft sein . . ." (4,1)—there will be occasional moments of gentleness. But ever since she met him, she has experienced deeply rooted pain ("Kleine Wurzeln des Schmerzes sind tief in mir / seitdem ich Dich in meiner Türe stehen sah" [4,2-3])—yet she has done her duty, night and day:

Ich löschte Deine Fackel,
ich flocht Deine Peitsche,
ich bin Dein Weib! (4,4-6)

In 1921, the young Else Lübcke had written:

Mein Vater war Landwirt und trank Schnaps und las Reisebeschreibungen um das Leben auszuhalten. Meine Mutter war sein bestes Dienstmädchen und verlor unter ihm den Stolz und die Fähigkeiten einer alten Familie. Ich trinke keinen Schnaps und beschreibe meine eigenen Reisen aber Stolz und Fähigkeiten sind in mir wie junge Hunde und halten jedes Leben aus.
("Abziehbilder," UM 10)[6]

Given the fact that Lübcke-Seel's writings, with very few exceptions, are all based on autobiography, one wonders what happened to the "pride" the young woman flaunted as one of her inalienable qualities. But her "abilities" to "endure any life" surely stayed with her and helped her to even find sweetness in the difficult service she had taken upon herself. Also in the early twenties, on the back of an (undated) Easter greeting from her Berlin address at Birkbuschstr. 85, Else Lübcke had presented herself as "Die Schnecke" (UM 13): of noble birth and moral integrity, serious, distinguished, and, as the last of the three stanzas tells us, steadfast in her love:

Wie alle Wesen, schwer von Art,
ist sie für Liebe sehr empfänglich;
und hat sie einmal sich gepaart
bleibt ihre Neigung unvergänglich.

We may conclude that the poem "Ich bin Dein Weib," first of all, is a personal document of one woman's pained perseverance and strength. It also serves to draw attention to generations of wives who similarly suffered and persevered. Over and above, it is comment on ethical norms and related social practices. In its ambivalence, this poetically and autobiographically disguised social-historical comment allows and invites the reader to form his or her own judgment. Thanks to its simple language—cast in pleasantly flowing unrhymed lines of irregular length and intensified only through repetition and concluding laconic summation—and thanks to its thought-provoking implication, this poem remains eminently readable even to the reader today.

Entirely different in tone and message are Seel's numerous poems celebrating the joy and exuberance of physical love. The poetic quality of these pieces varies greatly. The explicitness found in some, coupled with occasional clichés, are not likely to stand the test of universal taste. However, some of these poems are cast in folksong-like simplicity and lightness. Their charming naiveté of tone and imagery serves well to create some very attractive "Liebeslieder."[7] "Das Feuer" is one such "song":

Und wenn Du nicht ein Feuerlein
mir liebevoll gegeben,
so wär ich wohl ein Kieselstein
geblieben für mein Leben.

Nun brennen meine Wangen,
es brennen Aug und Mund,
sie brennen vor Verlangen
nach einer Liebesstund.

Und wenn wir sind beisammen,
mein Feuer brennt so froh,
dann gehst Du auf in Flammen
und brennst auch lichterloh! (*AW* 39)

These happy sounds, however, do not drown out sobering notes that give expression to an awareness of the fragile nature of love, no matter how eagerly embraced. Under the deceptive title "Einssein" (UM 3/6/1; *AW* 44: "Wenn Deine Augen . . .") the young poet (in 1924) remembers many occasions where either partner, through silence or sleeping, refused access to her or his innermost self when it was sought by the other. This is her conclusion:

Da hab ich wohl empfunden
wie selten sich das Einssein zeigt,
daß nur in tief erfüllten Stunden
sich eine Seele zu der andern neigt. (St. 3)

The wedge of apartness in spite of shared physical love is, of course, driven deeper and deeper through differences in convictions held and ideals aspired to. Seel has rendered a variety of responses to this ever-recurring human problem. The poem "Worte" (*AW* 48), for example, gives voice to a naive but surely understandable hope that hugging and kissing might help to bridge over the gulf created by "words":

Wie kann ich denn in Lieb entflammen
wenn Deine Worte mich verdammen? (St. 1)

(. . .)

Sieh doch, Du löschst die Spur,
Du tötest die Natur,
denn Worte tun nicht gut. (St. 4)

In jeder Nacht mein Mund,
der machet Dich gesund:
er herzt und scherzt und küßt -
kein Wort vonnöten ist. (St. 5)

Whether or not these lines spring from personal experience,[8] as a poetic text they render, and submit to the reader's judgment, explanations and hopes which people will resort to in an attempt to save a sinking ship. Using a different image, the poem "Der Himmel war . . ." (*AW* 44) describes graphically what actually happens in such a situation, and what its end result inevitably is:

Der Himmel war ein blaues Meer,
die Erde war ein grünes Feld:
o Herz, wir liebten uns so sehr
und einer war des andern Welt.

Doch als wir flogen zu den Sternen,
kam jeder, ach, zum andern Stern.
Ich glaube, daß wir uns entfernen,
und einer hat den andern nur noch gern.

Lovers, who once thought they were each other's "world," find themselves living on different planets and will, at best, continue to like each other. In a less romantic vein,

the poem "Wie schnell vertausch" (UM 3/5/2) expresse plain disappointment, even a measure of disgust:

Wie schnell vertauscht [*sic*]
Du die Gedanken,
geh bis vors Haus;
sieh doch, ich führe
Dich noch hinaus. (St. 1)

Und durch den Tunnel
der Gufühle
ziehst Du im Narrenreigen
und alle meine Kühle
wird höfliches Verneigen. (St. 2)

Logically, Seel has written a good number of poems dealing with leave-taking and separation. The dominant tone is one of composed acceptance, probably informed by the experience and knowledge that love will come again. The poem "Abschied" (UM 13) will serve to illustrate:

Gehe zur Türe,
geh bis vors Haus;
sieh doch, ich führe
Dich noch hinaus. (St. 1)

Hände noch pressen,
Mund ist schon stumm,
bald wirst Du vergessen –
sieh Dich nicht um. (St. 2)

(. . .)

Jahre verschwanden
in Wollust und Schlaf;
Liebe wir fanden
als ich Dich traf. (St. 5)

Herz war die Scheuer,
Ernte so schwer;
und wieder neuer
kommt Liebe daher. (St. 6)

What with the "heavy harvest" of a disappointed love receding into the past, Love will return, new and refreshed. This has nothing to do with the cynical humour of Marlene

Dietrich's song, "Wer wird denn weinen, wenn man auseinandergeht, wenn an der nächsten Ecke schon ein andrer steht . . ," which Seel cites in the autobiographical poem "Pionierin" (UM 1/7/6) as part of her comments on the disintegration of values after the First World War. It is, rather, a level-headed statement of the fact that human beings, in their rightful pursuit of happiness and meaning, will lose one love and embrace another. It is important to realize, however, that this statement does not negate the value of marital loyalty, which the poems "Ich bin Dein Weib" and "Die Schnecke" so strongly affirm. Significantly, the speaker in the poem "Freudlose Witwe" (UM 13; also titled "Unselges Jahr" *AW* 56), at the end of her crushing first year of widowhood, prays for "days" and "nights" of "pleasure," and draws hope and reassurance from the renewal she observes in the natural scene around her. First her emotional death:

> Unselges Jahr! Langsam schlichst Du zuende,
> verzehrtest feuergleich mir Fleisch und Blut. (1,1-2)
> (. . .)
>
> . . . Mir schmolzen
> Lust und Liebe in der Gedanken Höllenglut.
> Mich wärmen keine Worte mehr -
> freudlose Witwe, freudlose Tage. (2,9-12)

Then her prayer:

> . . . Schenk Tage mir und Nächte,
> sieh mich doch freundlich an, Geschick,
> denn Leben ohne Lust verbracht ist nichts,
> ist nichts als trockner Sand am Ufer. (3,3-6)

Finally her confidence that a new beginning is at hand:

> Krokus sticht farbenfroh aus diesem Rasen;
> Narzissen wiegen hin und her.
> Magnolien öffnen große Tulpenkelche
> und spenden neue Götterkraft.
> Nichts ist zu Ende. Alles erhebt sich wieder.
> Leben ist Ebbe und Flut.
> Ich höre eine Stimme und alles ist gut. (St. 4)

Life in nature proceeds in regular cycles (seasons) and constant alternation (tides) — and so does human life. The "Götterkraft" (4,4) emanating from the harbingers of spring will re-awaken both nature and wo/man: "Alles erhebt sich wieder" (4,5). The fact that the "freudlose Witwe" now hears a "voice" (4,7) indicates that she is ready to re-enter the arena of human relationships—which is why to her "all is well" (4,7)

again. The tide-metaphor (4,6), of course, is there to signal to the reader that all will not be well forever.

The poems discussed in the preceding pages call to mind some long established poetic traditions. First, the notion of love as being inherently infused with pain, which goes back to the very beginning of recorded German love poetry—to the *Minnesang* of the early thirteenth century and its precursors collected under the title *Minnesang's Frühling*. It is a curious fact that in the cradle of German poetry we find "Frauenklagen"—poems featuring a woman complaining and grieving over the absence or loss of her beloved man. And even though the *Minnesang* proper is characterized by a purely male perspective, its thematic concerns revolve around the essential link between "liebe" and "leit" and the sweetness of suffering that stems from loyal service and intrepid steadfastness in the face of love withheld. Centuries have gone by and brought profound changes in ethos and attendant poetic sensibility and social practice, yet Seel's poem "Ich bin Dein Weib" signals to us that the "virtues" touted then are still in circulation today, be it under the umbrella of affirmation or that of criticism. In this latter regard, true to modern sensibility, Seel's text remains provocatively ambivalent.

Secondly, her poems dealing with the death of love, gradual or otherwise, pick up a thematic thread spun since the time of the German Baroque: the idea of the transience of all things. Nothing will last, and even the sincerest of love may fall victim to the ravishes of time and the changes it brings. Seel, a citizen of the mid-twentieth century, clearly dissociates herself from any romantic notion of "true" love by definition lasting forever—a notion which for sound social reasons has been upheld by religious institutions and state government, and which many would dearly like to see remaining in force. Acknowledging the mutability of even love, Seel does not hold up the banner of erotic pluralism; she is simply taking stock of reality.

Thirdly, the reverse side of the time-honoured notion of transience has been the twin concept of *carpe-diem*: the call to enjoy to the full what good things the day may offer before the day is over and the good things are gone. Surely, this idea has not lost, and will never lose, its validity. Seen in its light, Seel's poems dwelling on the joy and excitement of physical love, take on a deeper meaning and wider significance.

Finally, as indicated in the relevant discussion above, Seel's poems proceeding beyond love lost to love newly found, have as their philosophical ally the notion of "recurrence" coined by Nietzsche ("ewige Wiederkehr des Gleichen"). Well before him, Goethe had spoken of "constancy within change" ("Dauer im Wechsel"), interpreting for future generations the age-old idea of constant change. Whether in the guise of constant change, or constancy within change, or recurrence of the same, this idea provides an important depth dimension to Seel's love poetry. It warns us to think twice before dismissing these poems as unreflected paeans to uncontrolled eroticism.

These comments are in no way intended to establish any direct links of borrowing or influence. They are to call attention to the fact that Else Seel's love poetry touches on, and is informed by, ideas that have exercised the minds of philosophers and poets throughout history. As an educated woman, she surely knew about the traditions

referred to. It is, however, important to realize that the connections are inherently embedded in the universality of her topic, love—the force that gives and sustains life. Reflecting on her own observations and experiences of this universal force as honestly and sensitively as she recorded her observations and experiences of pioneer life, she wrote poems that offer authentic samples of human life-experience which philosophical and poetic discourse have endeavoured to probe. Of course, writing about love in the twentiethth century requires courage—a quality which Else Seel possessed in abundance. Her isolation from literary and critical trends may have helped her to focus on a subject-matter of her own choosing without regard to any current ideas of what is, or is not, appropriate. In her "Haus im Urwald," where "Menschlichkeit" had remained intact, she obeyed her own pure creative impulse and, as a result, wrote love poems in which we do indeed find "gems of human significance."

It has yet to be determined—in greater detail than this first examination of some of her love poems could do—whether these gems are presented to us in "well-wrought urns" (to borrow the New Critic's pertinent metaphor). Such determination, of course, is a difficult task. In the absence of any normative consensus, and of any will to have one, the "quality" of a given text can only be gauged by a careful analysis of the manner in which its expressive means do, or do not, serve as effective vehicles for the experiences or observations they are to convey. By the evidence of her manuscripts, Else Seel took great care to fashion and fine-tune her verbal structures. A thorough examination of the variety of poetic forms and devices she employed might prove to be an interesting and worthwhile undertaking.

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Notes

[1] "Die Unken" is the title of a lengthy poem in which the speaker, a young adult female, lashes out against "Unke Nora" and "Unke Nana," two yellow-eyed, contemptible old "toads" whose oppressive grip the young woman cannot escape, in spite of her desperate desire, and hopeless effort, to do so. This text (UM 13) is a literal "poetic" version of an earlier prose text (UM 12), broken up into unrhymed verses, with only a few minor simplifications and changes of syntax and vocabulary.

[2] In his German introduction to Seel's *Ausgewählte Werke*, Symington provides more detail: "Leider ging das Verhältnis nicht gut aus und wurde für Else Seel ein Erlebnis, aus dem sie pessimistische Konsequenzen zog - . . . Ihre Erfahrungen wurden dann die unmittelbare Ursache für ihre Auswanderung nach Kanada" (*AW* 11).

[3] The poem "An ein Ungeborenes" (UM 13), complete with the corrections administered, is telling evidence. Just how deeply Else Lübcke-Seel was affected by this traumatic experience may be gauged by the fact that when her son Rupert Seel was born, she immediately saw the other child and thought of the other father ("Geheimnisvolles Band" *AW* 38).

[4] The poem "Letzter Pionier" (UM 13) tells his story.

[5] A similar strategy has been employed in the poem "Geheimnisvolles Band" (*AW* 38), where "der Mann" and "das Weib" are used to transcend the very private range of the experience rendered.

[6] For further comment on this "transfer picture" see Symington, 1984, 19-20.

[7] There is a group of nine love poems that have been gathered under the title "Liebeslieder" (UM 13). Seven of these are found in Symington's *Ausgewählte Werke*: "Wenn Deine Augen . . ." (44), "Das Feuer" (39), "Eine weiß und rote Blume" (42), "Nur einen kleinen Tag" (42), "Ich tauche auf" (43), "Es singt und

klingt . . ." (43), "Der Himmel war . . ." (44). Three have been set to music: "Die liebe Fraue mein" (UM 3/8/4, 6-8), "Eine weiß und rote Blume" (UM 3/8/5), and "Nur einen kleinen Tag" (UM 3/8/10-11).

[8] There is a date and name attached to the unpublished first version of this text: "Am 6. Oktober 1954 (K. W. Maurer)" (UM 3/6/1).

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Elfe Vallaster-Dona

German-American Poetry Review

Bach, dreifach.
By Peter Beicken. Wuppertal: Nordpark, 2001. 12 pages. Limited edition of 100 copies. EUR 5.70.

Oden auf Oboen.
By Peter Beicken. University Park, MD: pub, 2002. 24 pages. Limited edition of 25 copies.

A Bluebonnet Trail of Verses.
By Lisa Kahn. Photography by Anna Rodewald. Austin, TX: Sunbelt Eakin, 2002. 23 pages. $13.95.

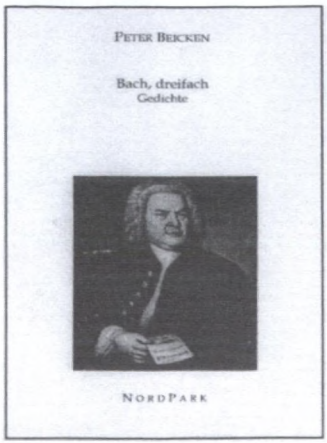
Aus dem Herzen gesprochen.
By Catherine Filippi Grosskopf. Chicago, IL: Eigenverlag der Verfasserin, 2000. 52 pages.

All Christmas.
By Ingeborg Carsten-Miller. Silver Spring, MD: Carmill, 2001. 40 pages.

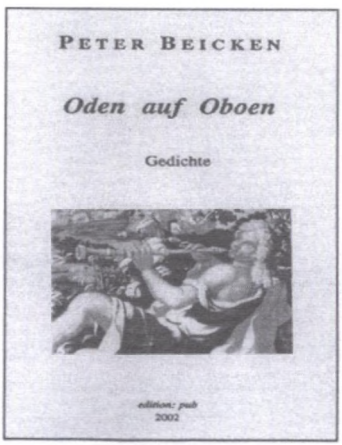
These five new poetry editions remind us that German-American poetry is not passé, but is as vibrant as ever. Artistic ingenuity abounds and some of the poems are presented bilingually, translated by the author from the original German, allowing even readers with minor knowledge of German to appreciate its music and rhythm without having to know the syntactical complexity of the language.

Peter Beicken, a well-known literary critic and professor of German at the University of Maryland, who was born in 1943 in Wuppertal, has published two small volumes of poetry that both have music as their theme: *Bach, dreifach* (2001) which was first published in *Monatshefte* (Winter 2000) and *Oden auf Oboen* (2002). Both volumes, though small in the number of poems included (3 poems in *Bach, dreifach* and 11 poems in *Oden auf Oboen*) require the reader to spend much time with reading them. Partly because both volumes contain black-and-white illustrations

of portraits, manuscripts, geographical locations (Thomaskirche and Thomasschule in Leipzig, where Bach lived and worked), segments of famous art works depicting musical instruments, the reader of Peter Beicken's poems is both intrigued and puzzled by the accompanying pictures. The first hundred copies of *Bach, dreifach* and all twenty-five copies of *Oden auf Oboen* are signed by the author.



One poem in *Bach, dreifach*[1] serves as a characteristic example of the puzzling effect. The poem "Bach I" is paired up with a partial view of Johannes Vermeer's Viola da Gamba player (the actual title of the picture is "Lady Seated at the Virginals"). The reference of the picture to the poem seems obvious since it mentions the sound of a viola da gamba ("Im Radio eine Gambe, zart, tief, tänzerisch / mit dem obligaten Plim Plim des Cembalos / im Andante.") The reader is intrigued because the first three lines of the poem seem to refer to something else: "Der Flieder flammt hier nicht. / Eine ganz gewöhnliche Dürre / seit Wochen schon." Could the poet have combined the two meanings of the Italian word "viola" which refers to a stringed musical instrument similar to a cello, but can also mean purple or violet? What one can conclude is that both readers, the visually attuned and the reader who best responds to sound, are satisfied with this poem. The alliterations that start the poem with "Flieder flammt," are picked up at the end of the poem in the "Plim Plim des Cembalos." Pairing the German musical genius Johann Sebastian Bach with Dutch painter Vermeer who frequently used musical themes in his works of art was well done. The other two poems simply entitled *Bach II* and *Bach III* refer specifically to Bach's "Messe in H-Moll," which we learn was never performed during Bach's lifetime, and to the "Weihnachtsoratorium."



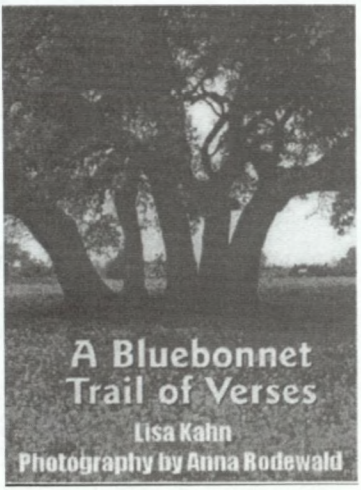
Peter Beicken's latest volume of German poems, *Oden auf Oboe* (2002), offers more variations on the same theme of music and contains various illustrations of oboes and earlier version of Greek woodwind instruments, and flutes. The special, limited edition of twenty-five copies is signed by the author and is handsomely bound with a color cover and back. All eleven poems reflect a universal experience. They speak of a never-ending love and admiration, but not of a person but of an instrument and its sound. Beicken's lyrics are filled with a number of musical references: "Sphärenmusik./ Der O-Ton im Raum" (7), "sanfte Lautschmeichelei" (9), "So bläst du mir

die Zungensprache" (9), "die langen Segelflüge einer Melodie" (11), "Lauschen, Hören, Zauber" (17). The superb combination of rhythm and the choice of passionate words to describe an instrument is best exemplified in:

Komm,
blas mir was,
nein, keinen Marsch,
kein militärisch-zackiges Ohrenstück,
blas mir die Seele voll
mit Lippenkünsten,
Fingerfertigkeiten,
Atemakrobatik,
mit Herztönen
Engelszungen,
Himmelsklängen.
Solo Oboe d'amore. (16)

The Oboe d'amore (literally: the oboe of love) is defined by Webster as an "alto oboe, now obsolete," meaning that the sound is gentler and its lower and more mellow tones are darker and fuller than the common oboe. Faithful to its title *Ode to Oboes*, this poem is truly a poem of praise and glorification, but the rigid structure of the classical ode is replaced with a much freer form which fits the subject matter of music better culminating in the unique last line: "Solo Oboe d'amore."

Although Peter Beicken's two volumes of poetry have nothing to do with the German-American experience, he has chosen music as his unifying theme and has created some visually pleasing and intellectually stimulating poems that have universal appeal on both sides of the Atlantic.



Lisa Kahn, a prominent author who lives in Texas but still writes in German, has published yet another volume of poetry entitled *A Bluebonnet Trail of Verse* (2002). Lisa Kahn has long made a name for herself as a literary scholar, editor and co-editor of anthologies and author of sixteen volumes of poetry and two collections of fairy tales (the latest, *Kälbchen-Geschichten, was* reviewed in the SGAS *Yearbook* in 1997). Although retired from her active teaching position at the Texas Southern University, she is actively participating in poetry readings, lectures and conferences to promote German-American literature and its visibility. In honor of her activity in this field, she recently received the SGAS Outstanding Achievement Award for her contributions to German-American literature (2001).

With her latest volume of poetry, *A Bluebonnet Trail of Verse*, Lisa Kahn once again uses her Texas landscape as inspiration for her poems. Many lovers of flowers know that a Bluebonnet refers to a purple-bluish flower of the Lupin family and it stands for "imagination" (www.bluebonnetvillage.com); fewer might know that the Bluebonnet is the state flower of Texas. Lisa Kahn's fondness of the color purple is displayed in the lilac pages on which we find her poems surrounded by wildflowers printed in colors and on high-quality paper. The colorful pictures of wildflowers that adorn each page of the book were provided by Anna Rodewald Kahn who previously supplied pictures to Lisa Kahn's *Uthas Geheimnisse* (1982*)*. Visually pleasing, *A Bluebonnet Trail of Verses*, aptly chooses the state flower of Texas where some varieties are found growing naturally only in Texas, Lisa Kahn's home since shortly after coming to America as a Fulbright student. Hubert Heinen, Emeritus Professor of German at the University of Texas, summarized the impact of those bi-lingual poems in the back of the book: "With these lapidary poems, in both German and English, meditations on and conversations with the Texas wildflowers strikingly represented, she and photographer delight both eye and ear and guide us to reflect on our own about the world around us (n.p.)."

It is significant to mention that Lisa Kahn is inspired by the flowers of her home of many years in Texas to write poetry. A strong sense of place, landscape and observations how we as people behave in such a world is predominant. The German reader is transported into a foreign world with "scorpion / fire ant / copperheads" (5) and "cowboy settlers" (9) "our Texan / spring meadows" (11), "this region of extended / zenith heat" (12), "Comanches / who smoked their peace pipe here" (15), "Here / jungle confronts you" (20), but usually in the last few lines the poetic voice is heard and leads our focus away from the pure nature observation. Her choices of words specific to flowers are impressive and some poems manage to engage our sense of hearing - "it seems to me / the tree is starting a / little song" (12), "the entire field sings / and rings in my ears!" (13) - smell and sometimes even taste ("Yet cows bulls and calves / would find you tasty too!" (1), "it seems to me you offer / nectar" (3).

A common thread going through some of those Texas wild-flower poems, however, is the reference to German poets (Goethe), German fairy tales (Goldmarie in Frau Holle), German and Dutch painters (Emil Nolde, van Gogh), the native inhabitants (Comanches), Greek mythology (Sisyphos, Daphne) and German immigrants ("Siedler aus der alten Heimat / angelockt um ihr eigenes / ihr 'goldenes' Land zu besitzen," Otto von Meusebach). Interesting for people, familiar with German-American immigration, is the German Baron Otto von Meusebach, who is specifically mentioned in the poem "Indianische Pinselblume." After settling in Texas, he never returned to Germany and even managed to make peace with the Comanches. By weaving these references to her German home and European tradition into the Texan landscape, the poems are elevated to a new level.

The German-English edition allows even readers who are not so fluent in German to enjoy these poems. All of the poems are presented bilingually, translated from the original German or vice versa, sometimes literally translated, sometimes freely. For readers equally versed in English and German, a comparison of the German original

to the English self-translations by the author, adds an additional dimension and often a surprising element. The two texts complete and sometimes complement each other. Interestingly enough sometimes only the combination of the German and its English alternate version seems to make some poems more complete. This was probably not intended by the author. Her bilingual poems reveal her as being equally at home in the English and German language – something that not many immigrant writers have achieved.

Lisa Kahn created the type of book one likes to return to, a thought which is also expressed by Friedericke Mayröcker who was quoted on the bookcover: "Ich habe immer wieder Lisa Kahns schöne Gedichte gelesen. Ich nehme sie auch mit aufs Land, um sie wieder – und wiederzulesen." Kahn offered the reader an additional layer of meaning and nuances by adding the self-translations, which enriched the original German by employing a different rhythm, metaphor and syntactical structure. The only thing lacking in this volume, to truly offer a multi-sensory experience, is the opportunity to hear the actual voice of the author reading her poems in German. There is always the hope that some of these poems will be made available on the Internet in form of soundfiles.

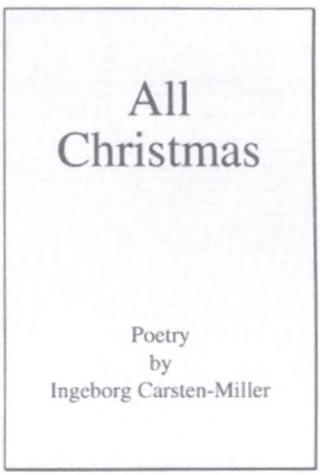
As with Kahn's poetry, **Catherine Filippi Grosskopf**'s volume of poetry entitled *Aus dem Herzen gesprochen* (2000) takes nature and 'America, the new homeland' as one of her major themes. Both volumes, Kahn's and Grosskopf's, were dedicated to their grandchildren, and contain reflections on nature and every day life in particular. Grosskopf has already published *Ähren des Lebens* (1993) followed by *Im Auf und Ab der Jahre* (1997) four years later for which she received an honorary letter of the "Landsmannschaft der Banater Schwaben" in Germany.

As implied in the title, *Aus dem Herzen gesprochen,* Grosskopf's poems are personal and she has chosen her words carefully and wisely speaking with a heartfelt and soft-spoken voice. As Grosskopf points out in the introduction to the book, ". . . the purpose of this book is to preserve and promote the German language, here in the USA and wherever it is spoken" (v). Of the fifty-one poems of the collection, only very few references are made to the German language directly. One example of such a reference is in the poem "Das deutsche Wort": "Alles was ich bin und habe, / ist mein trautes, deutsches Wort" *(2)* referring to her native German. Her dedication to preserve the German language is exemplified by writing in German. Two poems are included at the end of the volume that are written by Vanessa and Natasha Grosskopf.

Only the last six poems are in English and the poets' voices are so intensely personal that one has to turn to the biographical notes at the back of the book after one has

read each poem. Catherine Filippi Grosskopf was born in 1930 in Kleinbetschkerek, Romania Banat, and immigrated to the United States from Germany in 1951. She belongs to the group of German-American writers that started their creative writing relatively late in life such as Dolores Hornbach Whelan, Hans Eichner, Kaye Voigt Abikhaled. Two of the English poems at the end of *Aus dem Herzen gesprochen* were written by her eleven and eight-year-old granddaughters. Grosskopf's poems speak of freedom, immigration, losses (of people and places), memories, loneliness, old age, laughter, and hope. And although these poems are quite diverse in subject matter, they all speak to our experiences at different stages in our lives. The central sense that emerges from the whole is that Grosskopf wanted to create an awareness of herself and her German heritage by writing in German, traditional, formal, confessional and inspirational poems.

Ingeborg Carsten-Miller, a native of Pomerania and presently living in Maryland, published *All Christmas* (2001), twenty-nine poems around her reflections on Christmas and Advent. This is her fifth publication of poetry that started in 1994 with *Northern Lights*. One of her poems, "Mourning the Fraternity Brother Who Did Not Leave the 95th Floor," was recently exhibited at the Executive Office Building of Montgomery County, Maryland.



Twenty-two poems are written in English, three poems ("Christmas 2000," "In front of the Christmas Tree," "And Tomorrow All is Gone") are provided in English and German, and one tale is translated from the Brothers Grimm ("The Star Dollars"). The plain red cover of the booklet and its title make it abundantly clear what the main topic is. Christmas as seen through the eyes of a child seems most authentic ("A Million Wishes," "Children's Christmas," "Advent Morning," "In front of the Christmas Tree," "Christmas is For Children") while the commercial Christmas ("the tinsel / of materialism, / blatant commercialism / wrapped in holiness!") with all its hectic preparations for shopping ("...the budget trip / to the store") distract us from the real meaning. The first poem sets the tone: "Long / ago / a light / lit / darkness / smiled / and / the world / became / rich" (5). The standard light imagery (candles, light, dark) is employed throughout the collection with a few surprising twists, when light refers to a child's smile in "Your smile / lights / my day!" (8).

The German-American experience of a German-language author in America is not a theme, but a few poems, even when written in English, give away the author's German background. In "Tell me, what you think of Christmas!" we hear of "church bells / in a cold winter night" (18) and in another poem references are made to the real candles on a Christmas tree ("Soon / the candles / will glow on / the Christmas tree" 20) and the Grimm Brothers' "Die Sterntaler" is a most familiar Christmas fairy tale

for German children. Sterntaler was interestingly enough not translated as Star-Money but "The Star Dollars" (23-25). One of the concluding poems uses the familiar "Ho! Ho!" of the American Santa Claus to remind us of Christmas and the American traditions of "hang up your Christmas light / Let colors sparkle / in the night" and "Fill stockings to the top" (35). German or American Christmas, the positive message is clear: "a child was born / many a year ago / to save the world - / remember - / for you & me. / Be grateful!" (32).

You won't be sorry if you add any of the five collections of poetry to your library. If you are interested in music, choose one of the limited editions of Beicken's poetry; flower lovers will enjoy Lisa Kahn's richly-bound and colorful new poetry collection; for a wonderful assortment of poems that express universal themes personally, Catherine Filippi Grosskopf's poems will delight you and Ingeborg Carsten-Miller's reflections on Christmas offer some exciting contributions and memorable words.

Wright State University
Dayton, Ohio

Notes

[1]*Bach, dreifach (*3 CDs, German, English; ADERA-Nr. 82005, ISBN 3-931149-11-0; 20,40 Euro) is also the title of 3 audio CDs featuring Austrian pianist Rudi Spring. As we learn from the pianist's introduction, he refers with this title to Johann Sebastian Bach and his two sons, Carl Phillip Emanuel Bach and Wilhelm Friedemann Bach, who were both artists and composers at the same time as their father lived.

Book Reviews

Edited by Timothy J. Holian
Missouri Western State College

Ideology, Mimesis, Fantasy: Charles Sealsfield, Friedrich Gerstäcker, Karl May, and Other German Novelists of America.
By Jeffrey L. Sammons. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998. 342 pages. $55.00.

As literary studies have followed its preoccupation with inventing and adopting new theories and devising new methodologies, the result has also been the creation of a new language. Literary analysis has become the child of Hermes. Literary scholars are more frequently self-conscious than conscious. One's own approach becomes as much the object of study as the subject in question. In every text there is the discovery of angst, ambivalence and oppression. Every text harbors deep secrets about the underlying workings of identity and society. Analyses are replete with arcane pronouncements that promise to reveal important truths if one only knows how to interpret them.

Against this background, Jeffrey L. Sammons's most recent book seems almost heretical. As he himself states in the preface, perhaps already anticipating the condescension of his colleagues, "The approach here is not postanything. My instinct is to bring an initial respect to the integrity of texts and to authorial intention without fetishizing either" (xi). This reads like nothing short of a provocation. Texts have an essential wholeness that does not immediately require their decoding. Authors are alive and well and actually uniquely mark their own work. However, as Sammons implies in the concluding prepositional phrase of his statement of approach, he does not desire to be a prophet or seer. His voice is invariably moderate, skeptical, occasionally acerbic, but always self-critical, wary of generalizations and always exploring alternative opinions and approaches. Perhaps there is less drama in his writing than we have come to expect, but always more wisdom and, yes, common sense. And while some may demur that the categories—ideology, mimesis, fantasy—Sammons employs to explore his writers' contributions and sensibilities are too constricting and even naïve, there is, nonetheless, the shock of recognition in many of his insights.

In his opening chapter on Charles Sealsfield, aptly entitled "The Sealsfield Riddle," he argues: "Nevertheless, in some ways our understanding of him remains in a relatively primitive state" (3). Sammons attempts to remedy this deficiency by expanding the

context of Sealsfield and other German writers on America. Since these writers were by choice of theme intercultural, it would *perforce* require an intercultural perspective to assess them and their work adequately. The great strength of this study is that Sammons is not only a highly conscientious scholar in his chosen field—German literature and culture—but also a deeply perceptive student of his own culture and literature. If it is regrettable that the writers in this study have hitherto been Germanized and then, with a few notable exceptions, summarily relegated, it is Sammons who attempts to elevate them to a new understanding. One example will suffice. The great literary historian Friedrich Sengle has labeled Sealsfield's sensibility as "Dionysian." This is doubtless a seminal insight, but Sammons goes a step further, referring to Sealsfield as a "redskin," citing the influential American literary critic Philip Rahv, who distinguishes between "redskins" and "palefaces" in American literature, which is a further borrowing from D. H. Lawrence's *Studies in Classic American Literature* (1922). Hence by expanding the context to include an intimate knowledge of the literature and cultural discourses of the United States, Sammons can argue more forcefully his central thesis: Sealsfield employed realistic devices to advance his own ideological vision, which exercised such a hold on him that he ultimately fell victim to its dictates and could no longer sustain his creative vocation.

Perhaps the most significant achievement of this study is Sammons's comprehensive treatment of Friedrich Gerstäcker, including a discussion not only of his novels on America, but also his novels on Latin America, his social novels as well his novels of the supernatural. Gerstäcker emerges as the hero of this study, one who is less prone to rigid ideological paradigms than Sealsfield and above what Sammons believes are the jejune fantasies of Karl May. Furthermore, he argues in a perceptive examination of Gerstäcker's life that Gerstäcker's choice of becoming a writer, unlike other German writers on America, was part of a process of self-discovery—that he found his calling amid his perpetual *Wanderlust* as a result of his own proclivities and innermost wish to become a writer. More important for Sammons's own reassessment of Gerstäcker's achievement is the relative freedom of Gerstäcker's angle of vision:

To claim for Gerstäcker relatively unmediated mimesis is not to make a claim for "objectivity," whatever that might be. It means, rather, that his perceptions were not organized by a predetermined agenda. He had prejudices and unarticulated determinants of consciousness like anyone else, but he was not fanatically attached to them, so that they were subject to modification by experience, while maintaining a certain recognizable continuity, with the result that his perceptions are not chaotic or aleatory (151). This is a revealing example of Sammons's powers of analysis. Beginning with a dangerously simplistic thesis, he consistently refines it, until it becomes an argument of subtlety.

If Sammons, on the one hand, attempts to revive and in some sense establish Gerstäcker's literary credentials, he harbors, on the other hand, a profound animus for Karl May and his work. The Karl May devotees will not be happy about this, but once again it is Sammons's common sense and deep understanding of the American cultural context that makes him appreciate Gerstäcker and unable to tolerate May. Initially, however, Sammons's skeptical tone threatens to disintegrate into unbridled hostility:

> In this condition I have felt long hesitant about attempting to engage Karl May, for, although there has been a vast amount of analysis of the phenomenon, I still do not fully understand how an evidently meretricious and, as it seems to me as it eventually did to May himself, psychopathological writer could achieve such a commanding presence among the *Volk der Dichter und Denker*. (229)

What follows is a surprisingly long and introspective account of why he is so resistant to May, as if he himself is uncomfortable with such a heretical stance. However not only does May cause Sammons discomfiture, but in some way much of the fiction written about America arouses his critical ire. Balduin Möllhausen, Friedrich Strubberg, Talvy, Ferdinand Kürnberger, Reinhold Solger—all these writers are being stripped of any claims to having written serious fiction—even if Sammons provides various reasons as to why. This is another example of Sammons's reluctance to conform to established approaches and canons of taste. One of the regnant dogmas in contemporary literary studies is that every text, regardless of how trivial, has an intrinsic value and significance. Sammons seems to almost summarily dismiss such a thesis: "For the present, however, we must be content to say that Möllhausen and Strubberg are writers of historical, anthropological, and perhaps sociological interest who should not be elevated into a literary standing they cannot sustain, lest we come to be unable to recognize literary excellence when we encounter it" (110). In the case of Kürnberger's *Der Amerikamüde* (1855), Sammons actually leaves for a brief moment his bastion of common sense and good judgment and almost launches into a diatribe: "I have occasionally been chided for taking too censorious a view of that novel, of not appreciating its wit and satire. But I do not think I have been mistaken. A book like this pollutes the discourse, reinforcing prejudices and ill will for decades" (219).

This is essentially the underlying reason for Sammons's repudiation of May. May's novels on America, Sammons argues, have virtually nothing to do with America. They are a reproduction of German sources, coupled with May's curious blend of conservative Wilhelminian values and his rather vacuous mysticism. Once again, we note Sammons's penchant for mimesis. May's work is insignificant and devoid of value, Sammons maintains, because his America "exists only in his imagination" (253). The emphasis on mimesis is important because only then can discourses be created that can be dialogic in nature. May's work fails because it creates a one-sided or spurious discourse:

> That problem, like the Jewish problem, is one of an absence rather than a presence, an absence of any sense of what makes America significant in the course of human affairs: the great experiments in creating a democracy, in balancing the often conflicting claims of liberty, equality, and justice, an effort often frustrated, distracted, tarnished, yet taken up ever again in theory and practice (254). This is not mere Turnerian rhapsodizing on the singularity of America and its contributions; its underlying argument is that the closer we adhere to reality, the more likely we can create more accurate and humane discourses and hence contribute to a greater knowledge and empathy between cultures.

Such is essentially the nub of Sammons's concluding chapter on present-day representations of America in German fiction. Sammons notes ruefully that since the post-World War II era German novelists, with few exceptions, have shifted from Gerstäcker's "empiricism" to May's fantasies, either writing about an America devoid of Americans or rendering an America that reflects their preconceived notions rather than any genuine encounter with America: "The knowledge that there was no culture naturally preserved the strangers from encountering any; it is curious, for example, how far one has to seek for an awareness of the vigor and qualitative level of the contemporary American literary scene" (262). Ultimately Sammons's study is didactic: it sees literature as making a fundamental contribution to political and social life. In approach he is clearly a disciple of Erich Auerbach, defending mimesis as the pinnacle of literary endeavor. We can only hope that such a work, with all its erudition and good sense, will also receive a hearing on the part of German-speaking scholars. If it doesn't, then Sammons's principal argument will be sadly confirmed.

University of Turku *Jerry Schuchalter*

Documents of Protest and Compassion: The Poetry of Walter Bauer.
By Angelika Arend. Montreal & Kingston, etc.: McGill-Queens's University Press, 1999. 152 pages. $55.00.

Walter Bauer was born in 1904 in Merseburg an der Saale. By the early 1930s he had established himself as a promising young writer, but his identification with the proletariat led Nazi authorities to ban his early works. During the National Socialist era his writings took an apolitical turn, and after being drafted in 1940 he achieved popular success as a poet with the publication of *Tagebuchblätter aus Frankreich* (1941). Following the war, however, his disillusionment if not disgust with not only Germany's recent past but also West German society and the growing commercialism of the book market led him to emigrate to Canada in 1952. Although virtually unknown in Canada and forgotten in his homeland, he continued to write in German and published a variety of works including biographies, artist portraits, autobiographical short stories, diary entries, and poetry until his death in 1976. With the publication of *Documents of Protest and Compassion*, Angelika Arend provides the first book-length critical analysis of Bauer's poetic oeuvre and offers the thesis that the essence of his poetry is a profound sense of humanism.

In her introduction Arend divides Bauer's poetic career in two, before and after emigration. Chapter one establishes Bauer's poetic creed, specifically his straightforward humanism, and chapter two follows with a look at the young poet mastering his craft in the form of "Bericht" poems. Chapter three, however, takes a unique slant in assessing the critical strategies at work in Bauer's poetry written during the Nazi years and World War II. With chapter four Arend marks the beginning of the second half of Bauer's literary life, the Canadian half. Accordingly, chapters five and six consider the

autobiographical aspects of Bauer's poetry written during his years in Canada, while chapter seven focuses on the social criticism found in his mature work. In summary fashion, chapter eight and the postscript look at Bauer's final years and present a retrospective view of his entire career with a discussion of his last published book, *Lebenslauf: Gedichte 1929 bis 1974*.

The Canadian chapters show the author at her best. Arend's readings of Bauer's autobiographical poetry are the strength of this book, in particular her analyses of poems documenting Bauer in a variety of roles: as writer, teacher or university professor, and German. Although Bauer's humanism is undeniable, this reviewer questions whether it is most clearly and directly stated in his poetry. Indeed, one could argue that selected prose works, for example his various artist portraits and especially his diary entries, provide a more straightforward expression of Bauer's humanism. Unfortunately his poetry far too often depends on rhetoric device or poetic artifice.

Documents of Protest and Compassion both draws from and furthers the Bauer scholarship collected in the 1994 publication *Der Wanderer: Aufsätze zum Leben und Werk von Walter Bauer*, edited by Walter Riedel and Rodney Symington (see review in *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 30 [1995]). Arend's analyses are sharp, her observations insightful; moreover, her clear and precise prose style along with a helpful index make *Documents of Protest and Compassion* a must read for future scholars and students of Walter Bauer's poetry.

St. Louis, Missouri *Gregory Divers*

Charles Sealsfield: Dokumente zur Rezeptionsgeschichte, Teil 1: Die zeitgenössische Rezeption in Europa.
Ed. Primus-Heinz Kucher. Hildesheim: Olms Presse, 2002. 476 pages. €84.00.

This supplementary volume to the complete works of Charles Sealsfield provides a welcome and necessary addition to our understanding of an author who has engendered a renewed interest on the part of scholars both in Europe and in America in recent years. The most obvious contribution of the work under review is the discovery and collation of additional sources to those already compiled by Reinhard F. Spieß in his seminal contribution to Sealsfield scholarship. The additional source material not only includes newly discovered reviews and letters in German, but also much hitherto unpublished and unknown material in English and French.

The accompanying essays to the source material are of varying interest. Primus Kucher announces in his introduction that the approach to this volume "konzentriert sich jedenfalls weniger auf die Text-(implizierte) Leser Interaktion im Umfeld der Sinnpotential, sondern sie versteht sich stärker als Bausteine zu einer empirischen Rezeptionsforschung" (8). Consonant with this approach, the first three essays dutifully illuminate the institutionalized reception of Sealsfield's works in leading literary journals.

Primus Kucher initiates the discussion of Sealsfield's reception with a trenchant thesis posed as a question: "Rezeptionsgeschichte als Geschichte von Konstrukten?" Kucher carefully puts a question mark at the end of this sentence, encouraging the reader to infer that he will either attempt to substantiate or refute this thesis. Instead, Kucher argues that this thesis leads to further questions, all of which suggest that the reception of Sealsfield's achievement is still couched in mystery: "Gemessen am innovatorischen ästhetischen Charakter und am Provokationspotential einzelner Texte, gemessen auch am Umfang seines Werkes, gestaltet sich die Rezeption über die unmittelbare Aufnahme in Form von Besprechungen hinaus atypisch und ziemlich diskontinuierlich" (12). Of course, we may ask at this point whether this state of affairs is really as "atypical" as Kucher asserts. Have other writers experienced similar fates? Does, in fact, Kucher answer his own question by suggesting that a literary work itself is a numinous entity never fully grasped, but part of a complex network of political and social relations?

The other source of bemusement—that Sealsfield was at times more positively received in England and France than in Germany and Austria—is hardly a singular case: the history of reception points to the fact that the reception of an author is a historical phenomenon that is subject to the same mysterious movements as other historical phenomena in general. The fact that Sealsfield was eccentric or naïve and did not understand publishing trends or did not cooperate with his publishers may explain only a small part of why his work has been so scantily received after the initial euphoria of the pre-1848 period. The other issue of why Sealsfield, in contrast to the classical authors of the Weimar period, was not accepted into the literary canon in either Germany or Austria, is stated by Kucher as a surprising fact defying any explanation. One explanation perhaps is to relate this to the complex history of Germany and nation-building in the nineteenth century and the equally intricate problems facing the Habsburg monarchy and its struggle to consolidate its power over its diverse ethnic population.

The following essay by Helen Chambers on Sealsfield's reception in England reveals the different approaches to the novel in both countries. Sealsfield's success in England was hampered, according to contemporary reviews, by the fact that his novels were perceived as too idiosyncratic, deviating too dramatically from established norms of plot and characterization. Because Sealsfield's works were perceived as markedly deviant in form, they were often truncated in translation, thus enabling them to conform more easily to popular expectations and taste about what constituted a well-made novel in the nineteenth century. This may also account for the reason why Sealsfield's novels became relegated to adventure stories and exotica, never finding a serious hearing among the educated reading public.

Chambers's essay seems to center around the achievement of Frederick Hardman, who appears to be the only reviewer and translator (with the exception of one volume—*Das Kajütenbuch* (1841)—by Sarah Powell) of Sealsfield's works in England. Chambers shows convincingly how Hardman's literary interests and literary career defined Charles Sealsfield's works for the reading public in the nineteenth century. Simply stated, through Hardman's mediation, Sealsfield became a more conventional and more

palatable author for English readers. As a result of Hardman's influence, the reading public never experienced Sealsfield as the progenitor of a new type of novel, or as an experimenter in radical fictional techniques. Nor did they experience him as the ideologue, the proponent of an urgent utopian vision. Sealsfield's reputation, Chambers argues, ultimately foundered on the resistance of his work to be placed in a convenient literary slot.

In France the official Sealsfield reception was even more problematic, since the leading reviews were for the most part translations from reviews appearing in English journals. Thus, as Stéphane Gödicke shows in her essay, "Die Präsenz Sealsfield in der *Revue Britannique* ist ein Sonderfall, als es sich um eine Rezeption aus dritter Hand handelt" (82). This of course led to Sealsfield's texts being radically altered to meet the demands of the journal and its readers. The Sealsfield reception in France in official journals was variegated. Sealsfield's political vision was more easily embraced in some journals than in others; however, for obvious reasons, larger sections of the French reading public were more open in the first half of the nineteenth century to Sealsfield's interest in republicanism and Jacksonianism than their counterpart in England. As Gödicke shows, in the second half of the nineteenth century the reception of Sealsfield's works was increasingly molded by conservative reviewers.

Sealsfield surprisingly was also included in the academic curriculum in German literature in French universities (*Agrégation*) at the end of the nineteenth century alongside Goethe and Heine. More interesting is Gödicke's discussion of the only complete treatment of Sealsfield's work by Paul Bordier before Peter Krauss's dissertation, published in 1980. Published in 1909, Bordier's essay ascertains something very crucial about Sealsfield's work—its proximity to Nietzsche. Basing his thesis on *Das Kajütenbuch*, Bordier, however, unfortunately transforms Sealsfield and Nietzsche into ideologues of scientific racism and social Darwinism—an approach that would later reappear in the literary assessment of both writers in the Third Reich, as Walter Grünzweig trenchantly shows.

The final essay by Alexander Ritter refers to the study of Sealsfield and his achievement as "sperrige Materie" (107). That Ritter helps to unravel some of these issues is his primary contribution. Ritter attempts to explain Sealsfield's enigmatic reception by means of a psycho-biographical approach. He is especially perceptive when analyzing Sealsfield's position as an exile: "Die existentielle Grunddisposition bleibt somit das lebenslange Trauma einer Enttarnung..." (116). On the other hand, Ritter frequently leaves the domain of existential psychology and looks for an explanation in Sealsfield's personal failings—his "verstellte Biographie," his "realitätsferne Gebärde," "weltfremde Umgang mit der Öffentlichkeit" (117), the obvious implication being that if Sealsfield had been a less divided individual, his literary reputation would not have not suffered the same trials and tribulations. The underlying assumption here is somewhat questionable. How many authors are capable of managing their own careers effectively and at the same time capable of accurately reading the new, emerging *Zeitgeist*, with changes not only in its poetics, but also in its reading habits, tastes, profitability charts, not to mention the other vicissitudes of the literary marketplace?

Ritter, to his credit, attempts to substantiate his argument by examining the correspondences between Sealsfield and his principal publishers—Cotta of Stuttgart and John Murray of London. Here he delineates a picture of Sealsfield as a bungler, making unrealistic demands on the one hand and not grasping the changing literary situation on the other. The result is that Sealsfield was mainly responsible for what Ritter calls the "Rezeptionsbruch" after 1848, despite the previous publication of his collected works (1845–47).

This is in some way a bold thesis, and in all fairness to Ritter he does mention the so-called "Definitionswechsel der Literatur" after 1848—a change that ultimately led to Sealsfield's marginalization and relegation. What we are forced to consider here is both the macro and micro view of the history of Sealsfield's reception. Perhaps Ritter emphasizes too cogently the individualist view of the rise and fall of a writer's fortunes.

What we are left with in such a work is that Sealsfield is still a challenging figure for literary scholars. If he has not found favor with the wider reading public, Sealsfield has certainly found a dedicated coterie of scholars on both sides of the Atlantic writing about him in many different languages, scholars who are willing to devote their lives and careers to studying his work. In addition, there are two literary societies dedicated to his achievement, plus a new edition of his complete works, more scholarly and complete than the previous two editions, not to mention, frequent conferences elaborating on the continued fascination of his work. This monograph is a valuable addition to the complete works, which in the case of Sealsfield will never really become fully complete.

University of Turku *Jerry Schuchalter*

Hidden Worlds. Revisiting the Mennonite Migrants of the 1870s.
By Royden Loewen. North Newton, Kansas: Bethel College, 2001 (copublished with University of Manitoba Press). 139 pages. $22.95.

Royden Loewen's *Hidden Worlds. Revisiting the Mennonite Migrants of the 1870s* is a fascinating study of the group emigration of Russian Mennonites from Imperial Russia to the United States and Canada. Challenging the notion that Russian Mennonites simply transplanted their culture to the North American plains, leaving Russia to preserve their society rather than to build anew, Loewen explores diaries, travelogues, newspaper accounts, inheritance practices, census reports, and recent studies of rural immigrant society in the United States to argue that every day Mennonite culture—the hidden world of social relationships under girded by religious belief, family, community, and tradition—gave meaning to the migration and guided the integration of Russian Mennonites into North American society. In the course of this work, Loewen explores the nature of historical research itself, drawing on various methodologies, from literary criticism to microanalysis of social networks to comparative analysis of farm families, in his attempt to, as he puts it, "to interpret the past with the questions relevant now" (8). Focusing on the lives of ordinary migrants,

Loewen sheds new light on the way in which these newcomers to North America maintained key elements of their Mennonite faith and culture while adapting social and community structures to the demands of their new world.

In the first chapter, "Wonders and Drudgery: The Diaries of Mennonite Migrants, 1857-1879," Loewen draws on daily diaries kept by Mennonite men (no diaries maintained by women were available) in the period leading up to emigration from Russia and on travel diaries kept by men and women during migration to understand both Russian Mennonite social life and the upheaval of the move to North America. The two sets of diaries are a study in contrast. While the pre-migration diaries focus on weather, economy, and mundane, predictable social routines, thus marking the limitations of human agency, the boundaries of the community, ordered social interaction, and the subordination of the individual to the community whole, the travelogues are reflective and emotional. Loewen argues convincingly that the travelogues, in attempting to impose order on the chaos of the move, reinforced social boundaries and the bonds of social relationships and legitimized the pain of upheaval through reference to religious teachings and church and community values. As Loewen demonstrates, the travel diaries represent the passage between old world and new and reflect both the wonder of the writer at the experience and the determination to maintain order in the face of the unknown.

In chapter two, "'If Joint Heirs of Grace, How Much More of Temporal Goods?': Inheritance and Community Formation," Loewen suggests that much of the success of the new Russian Mennonite settlements was due to particular economic practices, notably the Russian Mennonite practice of bilateral partible inheritance. Bilateral partible inheritance, he argues, ensured a degree of social equality between men and women, emphasized the maintenance of an agrarian lifestyle, and provided for greater community cohesiveness. Moreover, as Loewen points out, the need for land to bequeath to the next generation motivated periodic migrations to new areas. Thus, according to Loewen, the Russian Mennonite culture was already open to mass migration. Drawing on research of Russian Mennonite inheritance procedures and inheritance practices as they were adapted to meet the demands of North American governments, Loewen demonstrates the strong link between religious belief, economic practices, and social order in Russian Mennonite society and convincingly argues that the inheritance system and the emphasis it placed on landed wealth prepared the Mennonites for migration, and, in uncertain times, reinforced the authority of community institutions and created strong social bonds between community members.

Loewen focuses on the experience of Russian Mennonite women in "Potato Patch in a Cornfield: The Worlds of Mennonite Immigrant Women, 1881-1906." Drawing on literary analysis of women's letters to the immigrant newspaper *The Mennonitische Rundschau,* he demonstrates convincingly that the Russian Mennonite women were neither the strange, dour, silent beings described by American newspaper reporters, nor the weaker and easily victimized beings described by Mennonite men; instead, Mennonite women, through their letters, centered themselves in their domestic sphere and, from this position of power and respect, reached out confidently across the Russian Mennonite Diaspora in a way that strengthened bonds of family and community.

In chapter four, "Mr. Plett and Mr. Bergey: Land and Social Practice in Two Canadian Mennonite Communities, 1890s," Loewen again turns to diaries to present a comparative study of two Mennonite farmers, one, David Bergey, a third generation Swiss Mennonite in Waterloo County, Ontario, and the other, Cornelius Plett, a Russian Mennonite immigrant in Hanover in Manitoba. Different in the German dialect they spoke, in their knowledge of English and their relationships with the outside, non-Mennonite community, in their access to urban markets, and their farming practices, the lifestyles of Bergey and Plett nevertheless demonstrate, according to Loewen, a common adherence to established Mennonite values. In other words, Loewen argues, historically separated Mennonite groups evolved common social practices despite the different situations of their respective settlement, thus revealing the role of religious-based community values in shaping the response to widely varying regional conditions.

In the fifth chapter, "Neighbors: Mennonites and Other Rural Folks in the American Midwest," Loewen draws on four studies of rural immigrant society to demonstrate that the Mennonite immigrant experience was not unique. In common with the Dutch farmer of Brian Beltman's *Dutch Farmer in the Missouri Valley: The Life and Letters of Ulbe Eringa, 1866-1950* (1996), the German-speaking immigrant women of Linda Schelbitzki Pickle's *Contented Among Strangers: Rural German-Speaking Women and Their Families in the Nineteenth-Century Midwest* (1996), the settlers on the American frontier studied in Jon Gjerde's *Minds of the West: Ethnocultural Evolution in the Rural Middle West* (1997), and the Midwestern farm families that are the focus of Mary Neth's *Preserving the Family Farm: Women, Community and the Foundations of Agribusiness in the Midwest, 1900-1940* (1995), Russian Mennonite immigrants had to adapt to social and economic conditions that were quite different from those they had left behind in Europe. Understanding the shared experience of these groups as they encountered the American frontier can help one understand better what is uniquely Mennonite about the Russian immigrant settlement.

Based on Loewen's Menno Simons Lectures given at Bethel College in North Newton, Kansas (1999), *Hidden Worlds* probes the process by which Russian Mennonites established an ethnoreligious culture in North America, concluding that it was largely hidden from public gaze. We must, asserts Loewen, look to "the every day worlds" of personal imagination, gender relationships, family and community social networks, household tasks, and parental concern for the economic well being of future generations to understand how these immigrant communities were grounded socially and culturally. The process of transplanting communities succeeded, according to Loewen, because Mennonite immigrants re-imagined and reshaped their every day lives. It was, he asserts, the every day adaptation that made possible what outsiders saw as the simple transplantation of whole communities and their institutions. The new world communities did not simply preserve old ways in new settings; rather they realized dynamically deeply held, religiously-based social values and commitments that received their most profound expression in the every day lives of the farmer immigrants.

Engaging and accessible, this is a valuable book for scholars of Mennonite history, immigration history, gender history and rural/social/agricultural history, as well as for those who explore the construction of social, ethnic, gender, and/or cultural identity. In *Hidden Worlds*, Loewen identifies convincingly the social, institutional, and cultural aspects of Mennonite life that allowed Mennonites to evolve and prosper as a distinct ethnoreligious group and outlines the process through which the hidden world of social relationships and cultural understandings supported their flourishing in the new world. In so doing, he makes it possible for us to appreciate the true strength of these immigrants.

SUNY Potsdam *Karen M. Johnson-Weiner*

Die Auswanderung aus dem Herzogtum Braunschweig im Kräftespiel staatlicher Einflussnahme und öffentlicher Resonanz 1720-1897.
By Cornelia Pohlmann. Beiträge zur Kolonial- und Überseegeschichte, vol. 84. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2002. 373 pages. €76.00.

Pohlmann's detailed analysis of official emigration policies and how individuals and groups reacted to those policies, whether they were emigrants themselves or those seeking to solicit or support the emigrants, focusing on the small duchy of Braunschweig during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, follows in the tradition of Walter Kamphoefner's now classic detailed regional study *Westfalen in der neuen Welt* (1982). Through careful examination of local and regional archival materials, largely held in the Niedersächisches Staatsarchiv in Wolfenbüttel, Pohlmann is able to provide a number of insights into the evolution of emigration from a relatively small area of German-speaking Europe, which can serve as a case study for the large-scale emigration from all areas of Central Europe during this time period.

The book is the publication of her 2001 dissertation at the University of Bamberg. Divided into two main parts, the study focuses first on the eighteenth century, beginning with the first documented official reaction to the departure of emigrants from Braunschweig for the New World in 1720. While most of Pohlmann's attention is devoted to emigration to North America, emigration to Russia, South America and elsewhere is not neglected. She notes that the official position of the duchy during this period was to prevent large numbers of economically significant members of the population from departing, undesired elements of the population, especially the destitute, were often encouraged or forced to participate in "emigration."

Especially of interest are the concluding sections of the first part, which treat policies regarding soldiers recruited for the British army during the American Revolutionary War. The Duchy of Braunschweig together with the governments of Hessen-Kassel, Hessen-Hanau, Waldeck, Anhalt-Zerbst and Ansbach-Bayreuth had concluded subsidy treaties with Great Britain that resulted in some 30,000 German soldiers being shipped to America to fight against the Colonials. Of that number

approximately 5,700 were supplied by Braunschweig. Pohlmann concludes that some 2,910 of the Braunschweig contingent did not return to Europe. She assumes approximately 2,000 settled in either Canada or the United States, since records indicate 150 fell in battle and 850 died from other causes. Some 850 deserters are included in her figure of 2,000. She notes that the government in Braunschweig made attempts to dissuade those veterans who might become a financial burden to the state from returning. This played into the desires of the British to add population to the Canadian provinces and even to those such as Benjamin Franklin, who had gone to considerable lengths to encourage the German soldiers serving in the British army to desert and settle among fellow Germans already living in the thirteen colonies.

The second, considerably longer part commences with the gradual renewal of emigration following the Wars of Liberation at the end of the Napoleonic Era and concludes with the Imperial Emigration Law of 1897, which effectively removed the individual German principalities from formulating their own peculiar policies on emigration. Pohlmann discusses in turn the legalities of emigration in Germany during the century, governmental financial support of emigrants, the influence of colonization societies, and shipping companies and their agents. She concludes this part with a discussion of the recruitment of emigrants by individual U.S. states as well as governments in Central and South America, South Africa, Australia, as well as Russian and Polis mining concerns and even the Dutch colonial army in the East Indies.

In her concluding remarks, Pohlmann returns to the impact of the emigrants themselves on the process of emigration, particularly to the United States. She argues that despite all of the official policies and programs, whether in support of or in an attempt to suppress emigration, the most significant impact on emigration was the presence of friends and relatives in the new location. Positive letters sent back to family members or associates in Braunschweig encouraged those left behind to join those who had already emigrated. And, those who had already established themselves in the United States provided a support group to aid any newcomers from Old Europe. Time and again, we find evidence of this so-called "chain migration" confirming that personal ties played a much larger role in the emigration process than did any official proclamation.

University of Kansas *William D. Keel*

German? American? Literature?: New Directions in German-American Studies. Edited by Winfried Fluck and Werner Sollors. New Directions in German-American Studies, vol. 2. New York: Peter Lang, 2002. ix + 419 pages. $72.95.

This is the prototypical book that is impossible to review: twenty-one substantial essays by an international cast of authors divided into a general introductory section and four sections on specific topics, "From Franz Daniel Pastorius to the Forty-Eighters," "Mysteries of the West," "From 1848 to 1917," and "Twentieth-Century

Exiles and Immigrants." There is no index, an especially disturbing omission in a book of this scope.

The title is taken from one of the introductory studies, Sander Gilman's keynote address. However enthusiastically one must greet Gilman's interest in the field, his contribution is not without flaws that suggest a certain lack of familiarity with aspects of German-American studies. For example (a couple of details), he assigns Don Tolzmann the title of "editor" of the "*German-American Yearbook*" (12). More significantly—and central to his argument—he states: "Recently, the Department of Germanic Studies [at the University of Chicago] has expanded its field of interest to develop the examination of a new model for 'German American writing' which would include Jewish writing in German in North America (which had always been seen quite separately as 'exile' writing)" (23). This is simply not the case. Robert Ward's pioneering anthology *Deutsche Lyrik aus Amerika: Eine Auswahl* (1969) contains numerous Jewish writers, as does Lisa Kahn's *Reisegepäck Sprache* (1979); the first scholarly study of Rose Ausländer, whose works now belong to the canon of German literature, was an article by Jacob Erhardt published in the *Journal of German-American Studies* in 1970—and the list could go on and on.

The specialized studies offer a wide range of topics and are for the most part interesting, carefully researched, and well written. Subjects include Pastorius, the Moravian autobiography, immigrant letters, Gerstäcker's novels, Kürnberger's *Der Amerika-Müde*, the anonymous drama *Die Emigranten*, and the Yiddish poetry of Troim Katz Handler (indeed a new direction in German-American studies). Some discuss collective topics—Texas Germans, Austrian immigrant/exile publishers after 1938. Two offer noteworthy variations: on a German-language work written by an American, Du Bois' "Die Negerfrage in den Vereinigten Staaten"; and the interesting personal account, by Norbert Krapf, of an English-language poet of German descent ("The Complications in Making an American Book of Poems about Germany"). The concluding essay, by Gert Niers, is a combination of personal reflection by a German-American poet and critic, very brief history of German-American literature, and more detailed comments on three American-born poets who write in German; Stuart Friebert, especially, deserves increased attention. If I single out Frauke Lenckos's "'Homeless': The Poetry of Anna Krommer" as one of my favorite articles, my own scholarly interests must be held at least partially responsible. Nonetheless, this is an outstanding study, one that introduces us in exemplary fashion to yet another of the heretofore neglected authors of the exile generation.

University of Cincinnati *Jerry Glenn*

A German Tale: A Girl Surviving Hitler's Legacy.
By Erika V. Shearin Karres. Fort Lee, NJ: Barricade Books, Inc., 2001. 303 pages. $22.00.

Heroes from the Attic: A Gripping Story of Triumph.
By Herman I. Neumann. Lincoln, NE: Writers Club Press, 2002. 393 pages. $20.95.

Erika Karres and Herman Neumann happened to be born in Germany in 1939 and lived there until about 1960, when they immigrated independently to the United States. Both survived dysfunctional family situations rooted only tangentially in horrific external events (Neumann ends the war on page 19). Both books are additional testaments to human endurance. Both are eminently readable—pleasurable, in fact—but employ quite different prose styles. And both accounts are highly personal. As with any memoir, there is a temptation to generalize about a whole based on particular experience. Should we do so, in this case—considering the parallels noted above—even though that is neither author's intent?

Indeed, it's likely that Karres's account is fictional, at least in part, although that does not lessen its haunting literary power (she uses mostly sentence fragments) or prevent readers imagining that it is real. Karres ("Eri") was the middle child (more or less) of ten. From the beginning—apparently before the age of six—she seeks the deeper meaning of the Nazi years (72). Like the novelist Ursula Hegi, most notably in her work of non-fiction, *Tearing the Silence*, our "memoirist" wants to know what her parents and countrymen and women knew about the Holocaust, and, like herself, why they didn't ask questions. (Karres doesn't dwell on the Holocaust, however; she only returns to it as a serious topic after 200 pages.) She decides that their silence made all of them cowards. Eri feels particularly betrayed by her father ("Vati"), whom she admires above all others, and who is smart enough and connected enough, she's sure, to know *something*. But he, too, remains silent.

Her book is also laden with symbolism, as no memoir could be. Vati represents everything she feels about Germany. When her stepmother dies mysteriously, Eri concludes that her father's evasiveness makes him a murderer who, like Germany, can't face his crime honestly: "Our father and our mother survived the war only to be wiped out in the aftermath.... Is this the punishment for Vati, because he kept his eyes shut to the killing ovens when he should've kept them open" (287)? There are even hints of her Vati's sexual abuse of Eri (66, 82, 220). At the conclusion of the book, as she departs for America with her serviceman-husband, Karres pointedly mentions a farewell gift to her of "white roses," which happened to be the name of a group of devout anti-Hitler moralists who were martyred by the Gestapo. Coincidence? Does she see herself as the new, anti-Nazi torchbearer? Perhaps. Although Eri describes the death of her biological mother with the wonderment of a child, which makes the episode credible as reminiscence, she approaches the Holocaust with a mature, sophisticated intellect.

Whether Karres's account is fact or fiction forces us to ask whether it is representative of conditions in wartime and postwar Germany. Was every family as

deprived as hers? Was every family as hungry as hers? That people starved during and after the war is not a revelation. How many small children wondered about Dachau, or had ever heard of it? She mentions no diary, but how could someone remember such exquisite detail and conversations? Karres's use of symbolism and the issue of *Tale's* typicality bring to mind similar unease with Jerzy Kosinski's classic wartime novel, *The Painted Bird*: Is it autobiographical? Is it fiction based on fragmentary memories and others' experiences? Or is it pure invention? Karres's publisher calls the book a "memoir." So I looked up "tale" in my dictionary, thinking her choice of that word might be a clue. But it wasn't. A tale can be real or imaginary. If *A German Tale* includes any American aspect, it is only to the degree that Karres's "memory" of her miserable existence in Germany has passed through the broader, reflective prism of the last 40 years spent in the United States.

Herman ("Ami") Neumann came from a much smaller family than Eri's; he had only a younger brother, Siggi (Siegfried?), whose arrival, he explains in a style typical of the book, satisfied two needs: "Sensible people don't make wars, or babies during wars, but the *Fuehrer* paid to produce, to produce cannon fodder. Pa needed relief; the *Fuehrer* needed fodder. That's why we have Siggi" (3). His tone is facetious and a bit overdone at times. But despite the hardships, the mood of *Heroes*, quite unlike that of the melancholy and self-pitying Karres, is light. Our "heroic" brothers face down their misery with humor and a wonderful sense of irony (85). Neumann does not raise the large questions that haunt Karres, but he does make us care about his characters and what happens to them. And Neumann's more traditionally styled, picaresque story is devoid of symbolism.

The pathology of Neumann's family was quite different than Eri's, and that, too, had little to do with general conditions in Germany. Ami's father, a gross philanderer who made good money, had a trifling interest in his family, emotionally or financially. It is Ami's mother who is the center of our protagonist's universe. After epic battles over his parental responsibilities—the lack thereof—Pa abandons Ma and the boys to their fate: homelessness (they squatted in various attics) and impoverishment (99-115). How this internal feud achieves climax is the central dynamic of the narrative. Of course, one of the "triumphs" to which Neumann alludes in his subtitle is how the threesome managed to carry on. In the attics, Neumann brags, the brothers earned their "doctorates in heroism" (118). Again, how typical were the Neumanns, either of German or, later, German American families?

When Ami was sixteen, an aunt and uncle in the state of Washington sponsored the brothers, and they emigrated. The result, Ami believes, was their virtual enslavement by exploitative uncles. Life is worse than in Germany, he writes. But they conquer adversity once more, finish college, become American citizens, get good jobs, and marry. In Washington, Ami also has largely forgotten his mother (does he feel betrayed as well?). Later he admits that there had been only a one-way correspondence between them. Nevertheless, Ami is drawn again and again to his homeland (does he feel guilt for having abandoned it?), where he marvels that a Platonic reconciliation has taken place between his parents, lasting until his father's death.

There are additional points of contrast between the two narratives. Karres appears to want readers to feel sorry for her. Others somehow manage to get by, but not Eri's family. Example: At school one day, she is the only pupil with no paper bag (one is fashioned instead from newspaper) for the goodies being handed out (130-31). Neumann, on the other hand, seduces his audience with a delightful, self-deprecating humor (he calls it satirical and corrosive). He does admit becoming obsessed with Germany after his marriage: "We could not leave the place that oppressed us, the grave of our souls" (374). This is virtually the only morose thought in the entire book. Rather than worrying, or bothering, about the big questions, Ami confesses that he has "banished most of the ghosts from my soul, and...have built a fantastic life" (xi). And, in contrast to Karres's mysterious methodology, he admits that he learned much about his past from hundreds of his parents' letters. His is more obviously than Karres's a story of triumph, but it is not heroics, as his title proclaims. True heroes are those who sacrifice themselves for others, which cannot be said, even of the determined and intrepid Neumann brothers. A good editor would have served Neumann well, especially regarding the unnecessarily detailed (pointless?) travelogues at the end of the book.

Ultimately, the value of these narratives is that both authors are provocative and entertaining storytellers, and I recommend them. But don't expect new insights into Germany or America. These "reminiscences" have too many unique qualities to be considered representative of a generational experience.

McKinleyville, California *Stephen Fox*

Aufstieg und Niedergang des deutschen Turnens in den USA.
By Annette R. Hofmann. Reihe Sportwissenschaft, vol. 28. Schorndorf: Hofmann, 2001. 335 pages. €45.00.

Are societies once founded by immigrant groups in the United States still aware of their ethnic heritage? Do these historic ethnic roots still reflect on the membership and activities today? Annette Hofmann has looked at these questions with regard to the German-American Turner movement. In her study *Aufstieg und Niedergang des deutschen Turnens in den USA* she explores whether present Turner societies in the United States have shed their German past to become "all American" organizations, even if the German heritage is still important in Turner societies in the United States today.

The German-American Turner movement has attracted the attention of many scholars since its beginning in the nineteenth century. Its history is long and vivid, and reflects like no other German organization in the United States the problems of migration, assimilation, and acculturation. The first studies on the movement, which were not written by Turners themselves, already began appearing in the 1950s. Among the most prominent pieces of this period is August Prahl's chapter on the Turners in Adolf Zucker's *The Forty-Eighters*, published in 1950. More comprehensive studies

began to be published in the 1970s by German sport historian Horst Überhorst and Canadian Robert Knight Barney. The 1980s and 1990s were marked by studies on individual Turner societies in St. Louis, Chicago, Milwaukee, and Indianapolis that explored their specific structures and impact on the local environments. Now Hofmann comes back with an overview of the rise and decline of the movement in its over 150-year history. But unlike any other study she takes the reader right up to the turn of the twenty-first century. Although most previous works focused on the historical and political processes that have shaped the organization, Hofmann explores it from a cultural-sociological point of view.

Although the book is presented in five chapters, the reader perceives it as divided into three parts. It begins with a general introduction to the history of German migration to the United States, followed by an explanation of the concepts of assimilation, acculturation, and ethnicity. More time is spent on the exploration of Richard Alba's theory on "Ethnic Identity" (1990) that serves Hofmann as her theoretical framework. To lay the groundwork for her later interpretations, she summarizes the development of an ethnic identity by German immigrants in the nineteenth century. As expressions of this specific German identity Hofmann identifies the following cornerstones: the building of German neighborhoods or "Little Germanies," and the establishment of a German-language culture in the United States evident in the German-language press, the foundation a wide range of societies, the implementation of a distinct "Fest"-culture, and its sharp interruption during World War I.

In the second part Hofmann outlines the movement's history in the nineteenth century until the onset of the twentieth century, including the very first attempts in the 1830s to introduce "Turnen" in the United States by Beck, Follen and Lieber; the foundation of the first Turner societies after 1848; the movement's rise in the nineteenth century, and their political, social, and pedagogical activities. In this part Hofmann keeps very much to Horst Überhorst's structure that he presented in his major study *Turner unterm Sternenbanner* in 1978. However, apart from him she elaborates on less known aspects, such as the role of women in the movement, the political attitudes toward World War I and World War II, and the integration of the Normal College into Indiana University. On top of that she illustrates the text with numerous statistics, graphs, and diagrams.

The third part, however, is absolutely new and innovative. Here Hofmann presents for the very first time a complete picture of the most recent history of the movement from World War II to 1999. All previous studies had ended with the First or Second World Wars. Hofmann, however, goes beyond and follows the movement well into the twentieth century. In this third part she portrays the lively discussions on the future within the movement in the 1940s and 1950s, the development from the German-American Turner movement into the American Turners, and their relationship to the American organization "USA Gymnastics." A larger part is spent on an analysis of Turner activities today. In an empirical study in which she uses two questionnaires, as well as personal interviews with society members and national officers, the author gives a detailed account of the present situation in societies. The chapter "The American

Turners: End of the 20th Century" offers a fascinating illustration of the present structure of societies, their membership, as well as the range of activities. In many tables and statistics the reader finds information on the size of present societies, regional concentration, athletic, cultural and social programs that is usually hidden in annual reports. The information is carefully evaluated and interpreted.

Also in this final part Hofmann returns to the question of ethnic identification in Turner societies today. The results reveal that the German tradition still plays a role in about 30% of all societies, especially those that lack all sports activities and primarily define themselves as social societies. However, the study also makes clear that for the majority of members the ethnic roots are largely unimportant. In a closer look at the past fifty years Hofmann identifies several factors that have aided in this process. Among them are: 1) the growing influence in societies of second-generation German immigrants with declining interest in their ethnic heritage; 2) absence of political interests that were a trademark of the Turners until the 1930s, and clearly removed from their former radical positions; and 3) replacement of old Turner symbols and introduction of new symbols, rituals, celebrations, and American sports. Especially over the last half-century an increasing wish to "Americanize" has lead to the acculturation of societies. The study also points out that Turners have not succeeded in attracting members of other ethnic groups besides European-American. African-American, Asian, or Puerto Rican members are hardly represented. Hofmann concludes that a decline in membership is therefore the only logical consequence.

The book closes with a very convincing analysis of present Turner societies in the United States. Although prominent in the nineteenth century, their importance has faded mainly during the past fifty years. Even though Turner societies today still remain institutions that offer sports and social activities, they do not serve as places where a German identity is formed any more.

Hofmann has used a wide range of relevant historical resources available in the United States including archival materials, secondary literature, and interviews with Turners themselves. In this most recent book on Turners in the United States, the reader finds a comprehensive study that incorporates the research results of most previous works. Unfortunately, the book lacks a name and place index.

This well-written study has come at a time when research on the remaining Turner movement in the United States is still possible and sources are still available. But continuing pressing financial concerns, declining membership, and the lack of interesting programs in most societies might mean the end for the movement in the future.

Bonn, Germany *Katja Rampelmann*

Language and Language Use of the Amish and Mennonite Groups of Swiss-German Origin: An Annotated Bibliography.
By Werner Enninger et al. Essen: The author, 2002. 189 pages.

For students and researchers of the languages spoken by Amish and Mennonites with origins in German-speaking Switzerland, Enninger's annotated bibliography is a treasure trove of information. With over 260 abstracts of books, journal articles, master's theses, doctoral dissertations and unpublished papers and the like, Enninger's team at the University of Essen has chronicled the scholarship of many of the most significant figures in linguistic and sociolinguistic research on the languages of these groups. The exclusive focus on Amish and Mennonite groups of Swiss-German origin may have led to the absence of any mention of the significant scholarly contributions to the study of Pennsylvania German of Carroll Reed and Lester W. J. Seifert. Nor will one find many of the names associated with traditional Pennsylvania German research such as Barba, Buffington, and Beam (with one exception).

With over fifty entries, work by Enninger himself and in collaboration with others comprises nearly one-fourth of the volume. Also very prominently represented is Marion Lois Huffines (Bucknell University) with some 26 entries. Major contributors also include Joachim Raith (University of Essen) and Kate Burridge (La Trobe University) each with 14 entries, as well as Mark Louden (University of Wisconsin) and Silke Van Ness (University at Albany [SUNY]) with ten entries each. Well represented in the bibliography are other scholars ranging from the relatively young (Achim Kopp [Mercer University] and Steve Hartmann Keiser [Marquette University]) to those no longer living (Heinz Kloss). All in all, we are provided with not only an overview of much of the scholarship but also of the scholarly production of a wide-range of individuals during the last fifty to sixty years on Pennsylvania German, primarily, and on the languages of ethnically-related groups such as that of the Swiss Volhynian Mennonites, who speak a Palatine-type variety, or Amish or Mennonites speaking a variety of Swiss-German.

Arranged alphabetically by author's last name and in reverse chronological order for authors with multiple entries, each abstract offers a concise overview of the contents without critical comment. Using the standard bibliographic form as a heading, the summary of the item is followed by a list of "key words" to provide additional insight into the topics covered in the particular piece. For instance, an abstract of the article on verbal aspect in Pennsylvania German by Marion Lois Huffines in the 1986 *Yearbook of German-American Studies* concludes with the "key words": "Northumberland, Dauphin and Schulkyll counties, PA; sectarians, nonsectarians; OOM, NOA, OOA; PG; verbal aspects, distribution of preferences, convergence toward AE." The researcher can tell at a glance whether a particular abstract fits geographically, or by religious denomination or by linguistic topic with his or her research focus.

Enninger himself recognizes that his bibliography is only a beginning and requests corrections and additions be sent to him via e-mail: *wernerenninger@yahoo.com*. Indeed, the bibliography is only a beginning, but those of us engaged in linguistic and

sociolinguistic research involving the languages of Anabaptist groups of Swiss-German origin are truly grateful for this, as Enninger calls it in Pennsylvania German, *Aafang*.

University of Kansas *William D. Keel*

No Such Country: Essays Toward Home.
By Elmar Lueth. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2002. 178 pages. $22.95.

Elmar Lueth's introductory remarks describe how he and his American wife Karen have begun a new life in Hamburg, Germany. The ten essays that follow are essentially the back-story, tracing Lueth's journey of discovery from his native Hamburg and back again, via various locations in America and side excursions to the former East Germany. Viewed individually, the essays can be seen as Lueth's contribution to the German tradition of *Reisebeschreibung*, or travelogue. As a whole, however, they reveal a kinship with another particularly German genre, the *Bildungsroman*. During his travels, Lueth uses unfamiliar locales as sounding boards for personal reflection, gaining insight into himself with each stop along the way. What emerges is a curious and successful mix of texts that will resonate with those readers who sometimes find themselves astride two cultures.

Lueth begins, quite reasonably, at the beginning: in "Kirchhoff & Sons" he reflects on the generations of men who built and ran the family business (a beverage distributorship) in various incarnations and through two world wars. He explores his relationship with his father and reveals his decision to leave the business in the hands of his brother while he himself would pursue the life of the mind. A work experience also forms the core of "Field Work," an essay about a few teenage months Lueth spent working as a field hand on a cotton farm in California in 1984. In his desire to turn an imagined place into something real, Lueth participates in important rituals of American life and gains access to a world that increasingly fewer Americans know first-hand. His host Don Brown also begins to look at his own world differently as he opens it up to Lueth. This give-and-take of cultural awareness is why we read essayistic reflections like these with such interest: objectivity and subjectivity collide, and ultimately both observer and observed have learned something about themselves and the places they call home.

From time to time Lueth finds himself fascinated with language and its role in identity formation. The essay "Word Choices" speculates on what it means to be bilingual, to have two "language homes." Lueth discovers that his knowledge of English and residency in America has challenged the primacy of German to the point where he is not really sure anymore where his language home lies. In one particularly charming passage, Lueth compares and contrasts the words *pumpkin* with *Kürbis* and *gemütlich* with *cozy*; while the English word pumpkin conjures jack-o-lanterns and pies and all that is good about harvest time in America, its German counterpart offers no equivalent images. "It happens in the other direction too," writes Lueth. "If I take *gemütlich* with

me across the language line, I end up with *cozy*. But a house that is cozy is not the same as a house that is *gemütlich*. Some things I am likely to find in both places: an armchair that fits the curve of my back, a fire that chases shadows across the walls, the smell of tea with a shot of rum, and maybe the shameless yawn of a beagle. And yet, *gemütlich* reaches beyond *cozy*; it isn't satisfied with describing the pleasant atmosphere created by the right combination of external objects. *Gemütlich* wants more; it wants to take the armchair, the fire, the beagle and weave them into my *Gemüt*, my mind, my feeling, my temper. *Gemütlich* takes the room and me, slides us into a blender, and whirls us around until we are one—a feat that *cozy* can only dream about" (45).

The final essay closes the circle. "Apprenticeship" recounts Lueth's wedding in Iowa and the tense preparations leading up to it. The wedding would bring together not just a German man and an American woman, but also their families, friends, and prior life experiences. Lueth ponders the implications: "If Karen and I got married, we would make a commitment to pull together not only the strands of two lives, but also those of two countries, Germany and America—two sets of coordinates that might never add up to a single map" (152). One issue to resolve would be where they couple would live. Lueth had spent eight of the previous ten years in America. It was no longer an imagined place—it had become real and Lueth's place in it was "no longer arbitrary" (152). And now he desired to return to a Germany that he had perhaps mythologized in his absence, to make sure that it is real in the ways he remembered. The wedding ultimately takes place with only minor hitches, and the two plan the next chapter of their lives in Hamburg, where we first met them in the introduction.

Wabash College *J. Gregory Redding*

Kulturelle Repräsentationen des Holocaust in Deutschland und den Vereinigten Staaten.
Ed. by Klaus L. Berghahn, Jürgen Fohrmann and Helmut J. Schneider. German Life and Civilization, vol. 38. New York: Peter Lang, 2002. 253 pages. $56.95.

"Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Dachau, Treblinka . . . six million Jews, 95% of the Roma and Sinte living in Germany, 120,000 mentally and physically handicapped, two million Soviet prisoners of war, three million Soviet civil personnel, tens of thousands of German Communists, Social Democrats, members of religious sects, homosexuals - everyone against the system . . ." (252). The atrocities of World War II are uncountable and beyond comprehension. Nevertheless, they have to be told and listened to. What forms of artistic representation of the Holocaust experience have artists, writers, filmmakers, and museum planners found to remember it today? How can the unthinkable, the unimaginable, the untold, lacking all comprehension or final explanation, find an aesthetic expression that does not simplify or distort the events? These are the questions to which the participants of two workshops on the

"Representation of the Holocaust in Film" (Madison, WI, 1996) and "The American Reception of the Holocaust" (Bonn, 1997), and a symposium on "The Holocaust-Debate in Research and Teaching" have turned. The book *Kulturelle Repräsentationen des Holocaust in Deutschland und den Vereinigten Staaten* is a collection of thirteen essays that discuss the forms of cultural representations of the Holocaust in the United States and Germany.

Nearly half of the papers (six out of thirteen) focus on the study of Holocaust films. Although the reader might expect an analysis of a number of movies of the past fifty years, the articles largely focus on one film: *Schindler's List*. This, however, we get in detail: a comparison of the film script with the original novel by Thomas Keneally to illustrate Spielberg's fabrication of fiction, the calculated role of the spectator, the use and effects of music, camera techniques, and close-ups are all examined in five of the six articles. The emphasis on one film is rather unfortunate. Kathrin Bower seems to be the only one who has looked at movies produced outside the United States. She compares the representation of Jews and Nazis in the films *Der Ewige Jude* (1940) by Fritz Hippler, director of the film section in Hitler's propaganda department; *Hitlerjunge Salomon*, filmed in 1990 by Agniezka Holland; and Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List*, released in 1993. In her discussion Bower points out that films which draw a clear line between the two groups (Nazis and Jews in *Der Ewige Jude* and *Schindler's List*) seem to find larger acceptance than those that present a more complicated situation. When, in *Hitlerjunge Salomon*, Salomon becomes part of the Nazi system in order to survive, the lines are blurred and the victim becomes the perpetratora concept that spectators find much more difficult to handle.

The articles on the "American Reception of the Holocaust" have a much larger scope. Jolanda Vanderwal Taylor explores why Anne Frank's book is still fascinating for readers today, although we do not find details on the horrors of a concentration camp in it. She takes a close look at the new edition of *Anne Frank's Diary* that offers a comparative view of different manuscript versions. Taylor concludes that the reader finds three levels of identification in Anne's different roles: 1) Anne as a young adult; 2) Anne as a writer; and 3) Anne as a Holocaust victim. These facets offer the reader much room for identification and empathy so that the book remains captivating for readers today.

Gerhard Richter presents a study on Art Spiegelman's comic *Maus: A Survivors's Tale*. The comic is probably the most daring form of representation since most readers connect with this genre Mickey Mouse or Superman. However, Richter draws a very convincing picture of Spiegelman's cleverly and carefully assembled work that does not only play on the Nazi metaphors (mice, rats, fire, smoke, ashes), but also includes a meta-discourse on the genre itself. In a constant self-reflection Spiegelman discusses if a comic is a suitable form of presentation for the Holocaust experience. In contrast to the "monumentalization" (139) of the Holocaust, the comic calls in question the traditional paradigm of "acceptable" representations.

In his essay "Ringelblums Milchkanne" Klaus Berghahn looks at the question of how the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington DC succeeds in presenting what many had thought could not be exhibited. He gives an overview of

the historical debate about the museum's concept, the controversies on the problems of aesthetic presentation, reconstruction of reality and illusion, and narration connected with the construction of the museum.

Furthermore, we find two articles that treat the teaching of the Holocaust in American college courses. In her essay "Germans = Nazis" Jennifer Redmann points out that since the stereotype of the Nazi is still closely associated with Germany, questions about the Holocaust need to be integrated into German college courses. The revealing of the processes in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that led to the Third Reich might give students valuable insights which allow them to look beyond the stereotype and become more interested in Germany and German Studies. Rachel Brenner suggests that Holocaust texts should be analyzed in relationship to their producer. Readers might find more access to Holocaust texts when they are aware of the construction of the narrative.

Even though the two papers by Thomas Jung and Jost Hermand do not quite seem to fit into the three workshops, the book would be much less interesting without them. Jung presents the only article that looks at the Holocaust from an exclusively German perspective. He draws a fascinating picture on how East Germany dealt with the Holocaust past from the 1940s until the fall of the Berlin Wall. Although Jewish victims were represented in the "Vereinigung der Verfolgten des Naziregimes" until 1953 the SED's political interests shaped the memorial culture until the 1980s. The book closes with an article by Jost Hermand, "Auschwitz und anderswo," demanding to break up the hierarchy among Nazi victims: "Victims are victims" (253). Since all suffered equally, the classification of victims often fostered by political interests causes even more pain and suffrage among the survivors who still fight for their recognition today.

This collection of essays certainly presents interesting and thought-provoking aspects of the Holocaust remembrance culture today. All essays are well written and illustrate challenging discussions. In this respect the book is a valuable addition to today's Holocaust debate. However, the title is ill chosen because it suggests an equal presentation of US and German topics. Instead the reader finds nearly an exclusive look at Holocaust representation in the United States. The titles of the workshops are much clearer about this. It is unfortunate that the book misses out on the opportunity to truly present both worlds. It seems that the German side also could have much to offer: an analysis of the German discussion of the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin or essays on the questions of how research on the Holocaust affects German university teaching.

The reader finds no hint to the general purpose of the book and the questions addressed at the workshops within the book. Instead we find half a paragraph on the back of the book—not in an introduction—that gives us a rough idea. The half page that the editors call a "foreword" is in reality nothing more than a few words of thanks. To make this a book and not just a collection of essays, the editors should have included a comprehensive introduction that gives insight into the problems they tried to address. Or they could have concluded the book with an essay that tied the various forms of

cultural representations together. Additionally, there is no comprehensive bibliography or index, which is unfortunate.

Finally, the "Germanists" remain in their own world again. Why is a book that is published in an American series, with a majority of articles published on American topics, published in German? Articles are even translated from English into German. A book that is rather interdisciplinary in its scope does not find a wide, international reception if published in German. The essays on film clearly also put it in the realm of film-, communication-, and media studies—the German language excludes it again from an interdisciplinary, international reception. The interesting articles and fine studies demand a much larger readership than the German language can offer.

Bonn, Germany *Katja Rampelmann*

Dictionary of German Names.
By Hans Bahlow. Translated and revised by Edda Gentry with an introduction by Henry Geitz, 2d ed. Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, 2002. xl + 579 pages. $39.95 (cloth); $24.95 (paper).

This second, extensively revised and updated edition of Edda Gentry's English translation of Hans Bahlow's *Deutsches Namenlexikon* (1967) is aptly described as a "boon for genealogical research and an interesting browse for the merely curious." The family researcher seeking information on German ancestors will find this reference work an indispensable tool. For the generalist, there is a wealth of material on the origins and derivations of all types of baptismal names and surnames in the German-speaking world, offering insight into the rich variety of geographical and dialectological as well as occupational aspects of naming.

Bahlow's dictionary contains more than 15,000 German family names, including variant spellings. Each entry provides information on the meaning of the name as well as possible origins of the name and historical figures by that particular name. Bahlow's introductory remarks offer an overview of family name creation in German-speaking Europe. Gentry includes in her preface to her English version of the lexicon a guide to understanding the specialized abbreviations and telegram-style utilized in the actual entries, followed by several interpretive examples. If there is any shortcoming in the work, it is the tangle of variants, abbreviations and other information that must be deciphered and interpreted by the reader to fully understand the more detailed entries.

The origins of such common names such as *Meyer, Schmidt, Braun, Schneider, Müller* or *Fischer* can be explored with relative ease. In some instances, the information provided on less common names is also surprisingly straightforward and clear. For instance, the surname *Stulz* is characterized as Upper German (southern) and having the meaning of "spindle." *Bodenschatz* is traced to either Franconia or Saxony with a meaning of "land tax." *Kersten* (common in Hamburg) is derived from "Christian"

and connected to variants such as *Karsten, Kirsten* and a number of related forms. St. Erhard of Regensburg (ca. 700 A.D.) gave rise to the family name *E(h)rhard(t)* found in Bavaria as well as *Ehret* in Baden.

To find information on a rare name such as *Wrocklage*, however, took some detective work. Via the entry for *Wrochem*, the reader is eventually led to a note about the Low German form *Wrok* which means "bog" or "swamp" and then on to the end of the entry with the remark that the family name *Wrocklage* is Westphalian and means "moist lowlands." While the name *Oberhaus* is not specifically listed as a main entry or variant within an entry, enough information is provided about the prefix *Ober-* and the form *Haus* for the reader to put two and two together and determine the probable meaning of the name.

Longer entries are often quite frustrating, being replete with numerous abbreviations and variant forms. And, as both Bahlow and Gentry note, not all names are catalogued, even in this extensive volume. My search for any insight on the family name *Eulenstein* proved fruitless. And, try as I might, I could not find any reference to the surname *Bührle*. No entry beginning with *Bu-/Bü-* provided any leads. Under *Bauer* I did find the Swabian variants *Bäuerle, Beuerle,* and *Beyerle.* These would be essentially the same as the name *Bührle* in Baden, where the long /u/ of medieval German does not diphthongize. Of course, the reader would have to have some knowledge of dialect variation or phonological history in German to even think of looking for this name under *Bauer.* But despite such limitations, *German Names* belongs on the reference shelf of every German genealogist and researcher of German names.

University of Kansas *William D. Keel*

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.

Co-Chairs: Dolores J.Hoyt and Giles R. Hoyt Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI)
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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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III. Topical Index

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 Mermbership 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 out standing 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 form 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

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.

Adopted: 21 October 2000, Frankenmuth, Michigan

Effective Date: 1 January 2001

SGAS Research Committee

Chair: La Vern Rippley, St. Olaf College
Gerhard Weiss, University of Minnesota-Twin Cities
Adolf Schroeder, University of Missouri