

YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Volume 38

2003



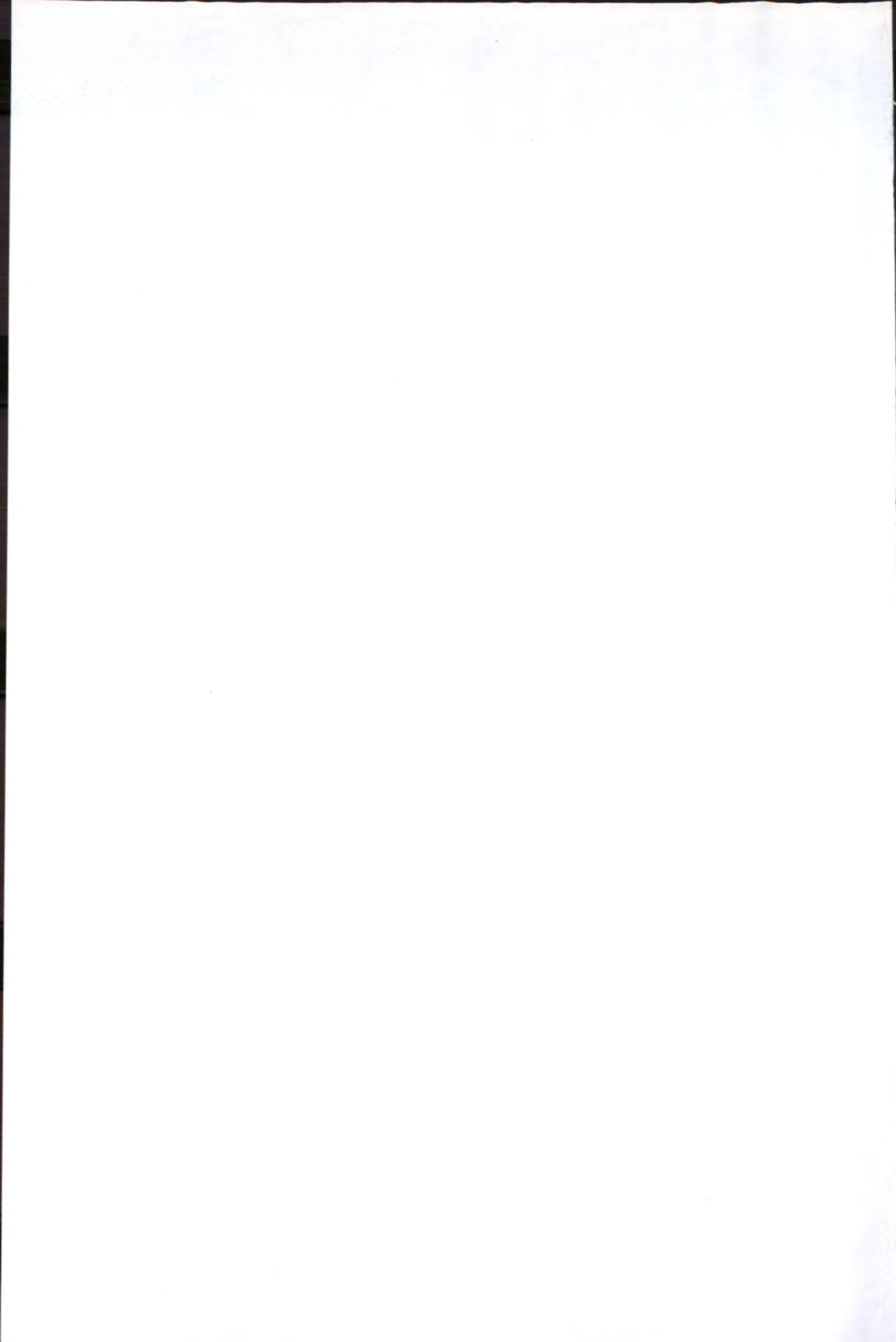
The Society for

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





YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Volume 38

2003

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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 William Keel, 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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YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

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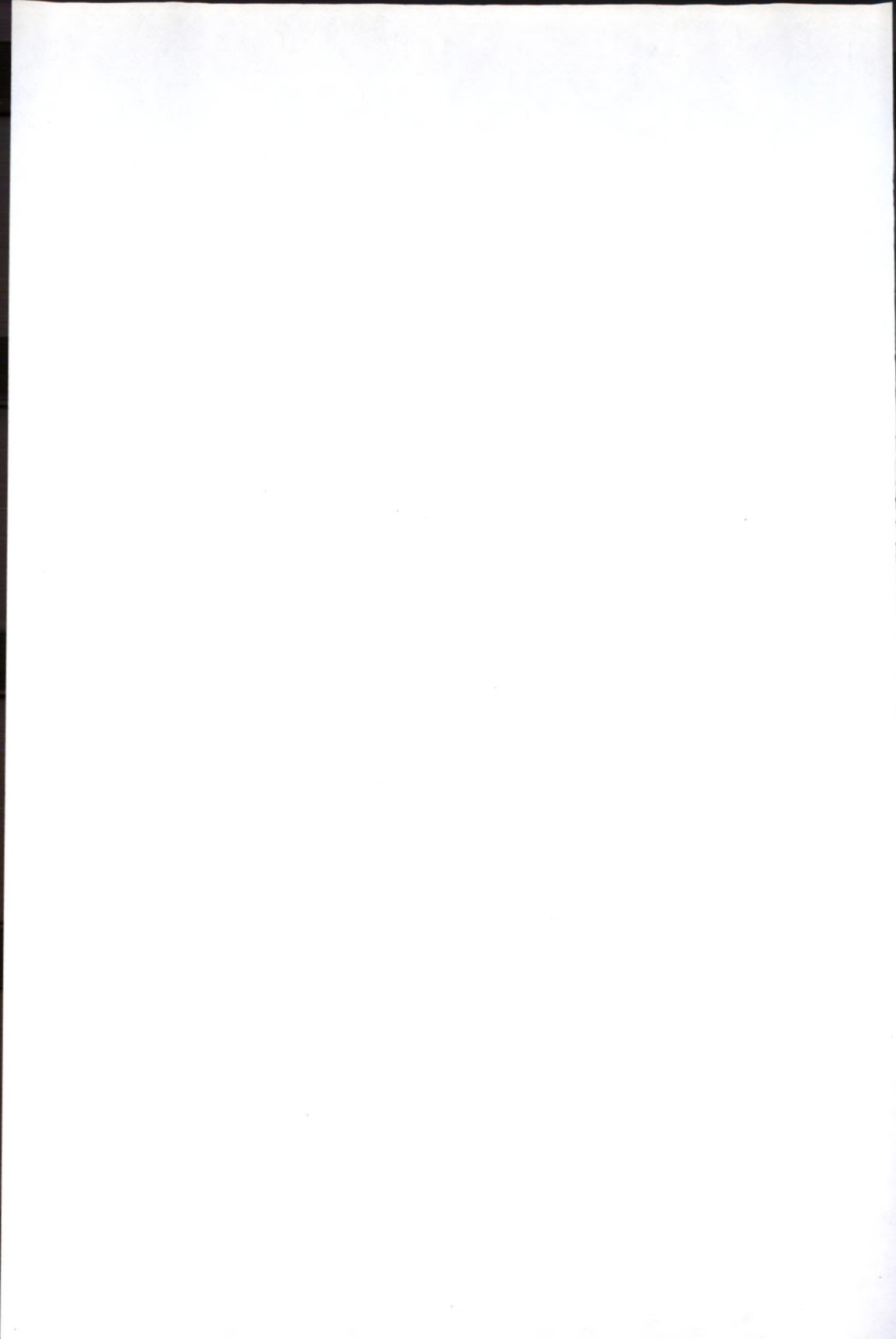


TABLE OF CONTENTS

From the Editor vii

ARTICLES

Don Heinrich Tolzmann

*Thirty-Five Years of the Society for German-American Studies:
A Chronology, 1968-2003* 1

Christoph E. Schweitzer

*Goethe's Werther and the First American Novel,
William Hill Brown's The Power of Sympathy* 21

Alexander Ritter

*"Where Have All the Germans Gone?": Literatur deutscher
Sprachminderheiten und Diskursaspekte der Literaturwissenschaft* 29

Donald F. Durnbaugh

The Salas: A German-American Printing Family 43

Don Heinrich Tolzmann

*Exploring Eighteenth Century German-Americana
with the Tools of the Twenty-First Century* 59

Gerhard J. Bassler

German Culture and the Inuit: The Moravian Mission in Labrador 73

William Roba

Forgotten German-Iowan Alternatives 99

Giles R. Hoyt

*Hermann Zagel's Jack Roostand:
A German-American View of Prairie Life* 113

Walter D. Kamphoefner

German Texans: In the Mainstream or Backwaters of Lone Star Society? 119

La Vern J. Rippley

*Monumentality: How Post-1871 Germans in the United States
Expressed their Ethnicity* 139

Christiane Hertel
*The Nineteenth-Century Schiller Cult:
 Centennials, Monuments, and Tableaux Vivants* 155

Timothy J. Holian
 "Des Arbeiters Stärke": *German-American
 Brewery Owner-Labor Relations, 1860-1920* 205

William D. Keel
A German-American Cultural Icon: O, du schöne Schnitzelbank! 221

C. Richard Beam
Pennsylvania German Lexicography: Past and Present 255

Leo Schelbert
*The Reactivated Swiss American Historical Society at Forty:
 A Retrospective* 293

REVIEW ESSAY

Elfe Vallaster-Dona
German-American Literary Reviews 307

BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by Timothy J. Holian

My Farm on the Mississippi: The Story of a German in Missouri, 1945-1948
Reviewed by Tom R. Schultz 313

**The Last Generation Forgotten and Left To Die/ *Die letzte Generation
 vergessen und dem Tod überlassen: The History of the Danube Swabians***
Reviewed by Robert E. Ward 315

Heads or Tails: The Poetics of Money
Reviewed by Geoffrey Clark 316

Thomas Mann's Addresses Delivered at the Library of Congress
Reviewed by Tom R. Schultz 318

**"Like a Sponge Thrown into Water":
 Francis Lieber's European Travel Journal of 1844-1845**
Reviewed by Gregory H. Wolf 320

Deutsche Lieder für Jung und Alt <i>Reviewed by Tom R. Schultz</i>	321
Pennsylvania German Words in Context, second edition <i>Reviewed by Michael T. Putnam</i>	323
"Dennoch!" A Biography of Pastor John Haefner <i>Reviewed by Robert W. Frizzell</i>	325
Letters of a German American Farmer: Jürnjakob Swehn Travels to America <i>Reviewed by Robert W. Frizzell</i>	326
Adolf Douai, 1819-1888: The Turbulent Life of a German Forty-Eighter in the Homeland and in the United States <i>Reviewed by Katja Rampelmann</i>	327
Land without Nightingales: Music in the Making of German-America <i>Reviewed by Katja Rampelmann</i>	330
German-American Studies: Selected Essays <i>Reviewed by Ryan Rumpf</i>	332
The Gág Family: German-Bohemian Artists in America <i>Reviewed by Timothy J. Holian</i>	333
The Literary Legacy of a "Poor Devil": The Life and Work of Robert Reitzel (1849-1898) <i>Reviewed by Jake Erhardt</i>	335
Heimat: A Critical Theory of the German Idea of Homeland <i>Reviewed by J. Gregory Redding</i>	337
German Heritage Guide to the Greater Cincinnati Area <i>Reviewed by J. Gregory Redding</i>	338
Der rothe Doktor von Chicago: Ein deutsch-amerikanisches Auswandererschicksal <i>Reviewed by Jerry Schuchalter</i>	339
New Ulm, Minnesota: J. H. Strasser's History & Chronology <i>Reviewed by Timothy J. Holian</i>	342
History of a Family Bible, 1685-2000: A Quest for the Missing Link <i>Reviewed by Bethany M. Usher</i>	344
German-American Urban Culture: Writers & Theaters in Early Milwaukee <i>Reviewed by Randall P. Donaldson</i>	345

Pickled Herring and Pumpkin Pie: A Nineteenth-Century Cookbook for German Immigrants to America	346
<i>Reviewed by Karen M. Johnson-Weiner</i>	
Goethe im Exil: Deutsch-Amerikanische Perspektiven	348
<i>Reviewed by Gabrielle Bersier</i>	
Im Licht der Vernunft: Der deutsch-amerikanische Freidenker-Almanach von 1878-1901	351
<i>Reviewed by Claudia Grossmann</i>	
Don Heinrich Tolzmann	355
<i>The Martin Waldseemüller World Map of 1507</i>	
SGAS Bylaws	363
SGAS Publication Fund Policy	369
SGAS Research Fund Policy	371

From the Editor

The Society for German-American Studies, founded under the leadership of Robert Ward in 1968, celebrated its thirty-fifth year of existence in 2003. To commemorate this milestone in the history of the Society, the Executive Committee decided that the volume of the Yearbook of German-American Studies that bears the year 2003 should be a special issue and focus on the research of those members of the Society who have been longstanding members of the Executive Committee and the Editorial Board for the *Yearbook*. A general invitation to contribute to this commemorative volume was issued a year ago. The response from both members of the Executive Committee as well as members of the Editorial Board has been most gratifying.

As befits such an issue, the president of the Society, Don Heinrich Tolzmann provides a chronological overview of the organization, its leadership and publications. Tolzmann also contributed an essay on the possibilities of researching eighteenth-century German-American imprints digitally as well as several images of the Waldseemüller World Map of 1507 for inclusion at the end of the issue. SGAS member Margrit Krewson was instrumental in obtaining this valuable map for the Library of Congress in Washington, DC.

The richness of German-American studies is brought into focus by the variety of topics. Leo Schelbert uses this opportunity to showcase the achievements of the Swiss American Historical Society, celebrating its fortieth anniversary. Alexander Ritter examines the literature of German minorities in Alsace, South Tyrol, Rumania and the former Soviet Union. Walter Kamphoefner explores the significance of German Texans as a group in Texas society.

The earliest period of German-American interaction is exemplified by three contributions. Gerhard Bassler charts the attempts of the Moravian missionaries to work with the Inuit of Canada. Donald Durnbaugh offers a biographical overview of the Sala family of Pennsylvania and Ohio who played a major role in the printing trade in the early nineteenth century. Christoph Schweitzer compares Goethe's *Werther* with the first American Novel, Brown's *The Power of Sympathy*.

The heyday of German-Americana is portrayed in several essays. La Vern Rippley elucidates the expression of ethnicity of German-American in the buildings and monuments they produced following the creation of the Second German Empire in 1871. Christiane Hertel, on the other hand, chronicles the rise and fall of the "Schiller

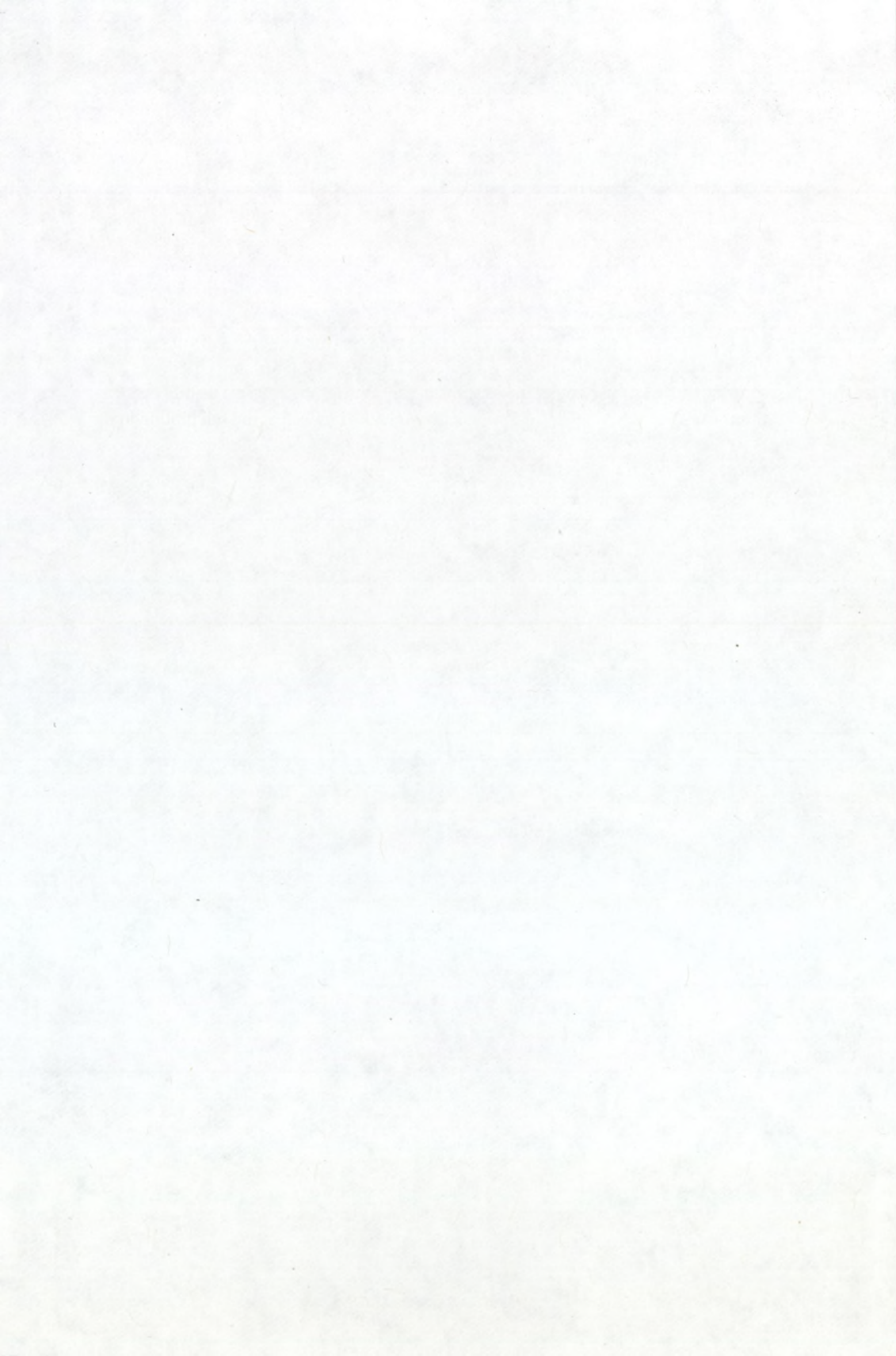
Cult" with a gallery of images. Timothy Holian examines labor relations in the German-American brewing industry prior to 1920. William Roba and Giles Hoyt take a more personal perspective by writing bio-analytical sketches of two largely unknown authors of the period around 1900, Emil Geisler of Iowa and Herman Zigel of Indiana, both of whom also apparently wrote some of their works in Low German (*Plattdüütsch*).

Linguistic studies by C. Richard "Dick" Beam on the history of Pennsylvania German dictionaries as well as an introduction to the history and unending variations of the infamous *Schnitzelbank* song by William Keel round out the articles of this volume. Elfe Vallaster-Dona's review essay of German-American literary production and twenty-three book reviews edited by Timothy Holian complete this issue.

The reader will quickly note the absence of the "Annual Bibliography of German-Americana." The Bibliographic Committee headed by Dolores and Giles Hoyt are preparing the full bibliography for continuance in volume 39 (2004). The bibliography in the next volume will include supplements from 2001 as well as the full bibliography for 2002 and 2003. The Executive Committee decided to publish this commemorative *Yearbook* without the bibliography, largely due to time constraints and the extra length of the essay section. We ask the understanding of the readership in this matter.

Another obvious change is the decision to bind the *Yearbook* in hard cover. Technical problems with the old binding finally led the Executive Committee to experiment with a sturdier cover. And, at the request of several members, we have decided to include the title of each book reviewed with the name of the reviewer in the "Table of Contents." We trust this will facilitate finding a particular book of interest or those books reviewed by a particular scholar. Finally, the editor would like to thank all contributors to this volume as well as the members of the Editorial Board who continue to evaluate submitted manuscripts in preparation for the next issue.

Max Kade Center for German-American Studies
at the University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas
May 2004



Don Heinrich Tolzmann

**Thirty-Five Years of the
Society for German-American Studies:
A Chronology, 1968-2003**

Introduction

Since its founding in 1968, the Society for German-American Studies (SGAS) has made substantial contributions to the growth and development of the field of German-American Studies as the major scholarly organization in the field, especially by means of its publications, annual meetings and symposia. This chronology provides a guide to the history of the SGAS from its beginnings to the present time, and updates a history published on the occasion of the Society's twentieth anniversary.¹ Those interested in more information than that provided by the dates, facts, and events outlined here may want to consult the files of the *Society for German-American Studies Newsletter*, the archival records of the SGAS in the German-Americana Collection at the University of Cincinnati, as well as the sources noted here. As can readily be seen, a great deal has been accomplished since the SGAS was founded thirty-five years ago.

Chronology

1968

Robert E. Ward, Head of the Modern Languages and Literatures Department, Youngstown State University, established the SGAS, and commenced publication of a *Newsletter*, which appeared occasionally until 1977. Several factors led to the founding of the Society but two stand forth:

First, the 1960s were marked by the ethnic heritage revival, which has been described as the new "Age of Ethnicity." Ethnic groups began to assert themselves, and ethnic studies programs came into being, thereby reflecting the increased interest in ethnic studies in general, as well as German-American Studies in particular. The ethnic heritage revival went hand in hand with the interest in "roots," heritage, and family history that swept the country in the 1970s.

Second, by this time those interested in German-American Studies clearly felt that there was a definite need for the formation of a special interest group. This need was accentuated by the fact that the well-known journal, *The American-German Review*,

had been moving steadily away from German-Americana in its pages, and increasingly began to concentrate solely on the German-speaking countries of Europe. The first indication of this shift in editorial focus and policy came in 1966 when the last installment of the annual bibliography of German-Americana appeared in the journal, and then finally in 1968 when the journal stated explicitly: "We are now steering away from German-American history except for articles of very unusual interest and pertinence."²

These factors taken together illuminate the time period when the SGAS came into being, and help us understand why a need was felt for the creation of a society devoted to the field of German-American Studies.

1969

The journal, *German-American Studies*, edited by Ward, appeared as the organ of publication of the fledgling society for articles, essays, and reviews dealing with German-American history, literature, and culture. Although the circulation was small at first, it continued to grow, and reflect the increased interest.

1973

SGAS president Ward published a programmatic statement, *A Proposal on Behalf of the Preservation of German Culture in the U.S.A.*, calling for the establishment of research institutes for German-American Studies, and for foundational support of such centers. This built on earlier proposals in the earlier part of the century, and harkened back to the founding of the Germanic Museum at Harvard.³

In October, 1973, a "Symposium on German Culture in America and Ohio," organized by Ward in Cleveland, was important for the SGAS due to the fact that it "offered the first real opportunity for Society members to gather and discuss the general and specific issues facing the field." Speakers at this meeting included: LaVern J. Rippley, William I. Schreiber, John R. Sinnema, and Robert E. Ward.⁴ At this meeting, plans were discussed for future conferences and symposia scheduled for 1976 for the celebration of the American Bicentennial. Two conferences held that year were especially important for the SGAS.

1976

In October, the "Symposium on German-American Literature and Culture" was held at the University of Kansas, coordinated by Erich A. Albrecht and J. Anthony Burzle. Discussion there centered on the need for a more formal organizational structure, as well as a regular schedule of annual meetings for the Society.⁵ This discussion continued at a conference held the next month, in November, at the University of Cincinnati, the "Symposium on German-Americana," which was coordinated by Don Heinrich Tolzmann, Curator of the German-Americana Collection, and Jerry Glenn, Professor of German.⁶

At the Cincinnati meeting the SGAS was re-organized as it exists today, including its registration as a non-profit organization in the state of Ohio. It was also decided to schedule regular annual meetings and symposia and to publish a more substantial newsletter on a quarterly basis. The journal, *German-American Studies*, edited by Ward, changed its name to the *Journal of German-American Studies*, and at the same time, absorbed another publication, the *German-American Genealogist*, which had been published by Ward from March 1976 to May 1976.

Throughout the entire year of 1976, the American Bicentennial was celebrated, and many conferences, programs, symposia, and exhibits included coverage of the role played by German-Americans in American history, especially during the American Revolution. During the Bicentennial year, SGAS President, Robert E. Ward and Don Heinrich Tolzmann, attended the White House Conference on Ethnicity, and along with representatives of other ethnic groups and organizations, called for the U.S. Census to collect and record statistics that would register ethnic heritage. As a result, the U.S. Census in 1980 issued statistics relating to ethnic heritage, whereas in the past it had only reported on the statistics relating to immigrants, and the children of immigrants.⁷

1977

The Society's first regular annual meeting and symposium was held at Baldwin-Wallace College in Berea, Ohio, and coordinated by John R. Sinnema, Professor of German at Baldwin-Wallace College. Plans were also made for forthcoming symposia at this meeting. The occasional *Newsletter*, edited by Ward since 1968, was superseded by the *Bulletin of the Society for German-American Studies*, edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann.

1978

The second annual symposium was held also held at Baldwin-Wallace College, and coordinated by John R. Sinnema. The Bylaws of the SGAS were discussed, and unanimously approved by the membership. They stipulated the following as purposes of the Society:

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. (Note that the German element is defined in the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* as including "immigrants and their descendants from Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and other German-speaking areas of Europe.")

To publish, produce, and present research findings and educational materials of the same as a public service.

To assist researchers, teachers, and students.

To improve cross-cultural relations between the German-speaking countries and the Americas.

1979

The third annual symposium, held at St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota, was coordinated by LaVern J. Rippley, Professor German at St. Olaf College. After eleven years service, Ward retired as president, and Rippley was elected to that office. A major accomplishment during his term was his focus on pushing for the publication of an SGAS yearbook, and in winning the support of J. Anthony Burzle, University of Kansas, as editor of the new publication.⁸

Also, to promote national interest in the forthcoming German-American Tricentennial (1983), Don Heinrich Tolzmann was appointed chair of the SGAS Tricentennial Committee, and the SGAS issued the call for the nationwide celebration of the Tricentennial. Plans were also made to hold the 1983 SGAS symposium in Philadelphia during the Tricentennial celebration to be held there in October of that year.⁹

1980

The fourth annual Symposium of the SGAS was held at the University of Missouri-Columbia, and coordinated by Adolf E. Schroeder. At this meeting, the SGAS presented its first award, an Award for Meritorious Achievement to Robert E. Ward for his accomplishments on behalf of the field of German-American Studies in general, and the SGAS in particular.

The *Journal of German-American Studies*, ceased publication with volume 15, as it was scheduled to be succeeded by the forthcoming yearbook. The final issue of the *Journal* contained a comprehensive index, which listed close to four hundred items that had appeared in it since 1969. As a result of the U.S. Census, German-Americans were declared to be the nation's largest ethnic group, with statistics numbering one-fourth of the population.¹⁰

1981

The fifth annual symposium was held at San Antonio, Texas, and coordinated by Glen Lich. The first SGAS Awards for Outstanding Achievement in the field of German-American Studies were presented at this meeting to Adolf E. Schroeder and LaVern J. Rippley. At this meeting, Rippley retired as president, and was succeeded by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. The Society's *Bulletin*, edited by Tolzmann, was then superceded by the quarterly *Society for German-American Studies Newsletter*, and LaVern J. Rippley took on the responsibility of serving as its editor.

The first volume of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, edited by Burzle, appeared as volume 16, thus continuing the volume numbering of the *Journal of*

German-American Studies. Other initiatives begun that year were: First, the Yearbook Fund Drive was begun with the goal of raising \$100,000 for an endowment fund to support the new yearbook. Second, a membership drive was begun by Secretary and Membership Chairman, Robert E. Coley, for the purpose of attracting new members, as well as affiliated organizations and institutes.

1982

The sixth annual symposium of the SGAS was held at Fort Hays State University at Hays, Kansas, and coordinated by Helmut Schmeller. The meeting was held in conjunction with the international board meeting of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia.

1983

The seventh annual symposium was held 3-6 October at Philadelphia as the Tricentennial Conference of German-American History, Politics, and Culture. In 1979, the SGAS had been the first national organization to begin to promote and publicize the 1983 Tricentennial.¹¹ The celebration of the 300th anniversary of the founding of the first permanent all-German settlement in America at Germantown, Pennsylvania, on 6 October 1683 laid the groundwork for the establishment of German-American Day in 1987 by focusing on the significance of the 6th of October in German-American history.

1984

The eighth annual symposium was held at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, and coordinated by Jürgen Eichhoff, and included an excursion to Old World Wisconsin to visit the Pomeranian style homes there.

1985

The ninth annual symposium was held at the University of Nebraska at Lincoln, Nebraska, and coordinated by Paul Schach. A leather-bound copy of the *Yearbook* was presented to J. Anthony Burzle in honor of his service as editor. The *Yearbook* for this year contained a five year index covering 1981-1985. Thereafter, the *Yearbook* was co-edited by Helmut Huelsbergen and William D. Keel, who had served with Burzle as associate editors since 1981.

1986

The tenth annual symposium was held at the University of Cincinnati in Cincinnati, Ohio, and coordinated by Don Heinrich Tolzmann and Jerry Glenn. The SGAS Outstanding Achievement Award was presented to Adolf E. Schroeder. The

SGAS Minutes of the 1986 Meeting record that: "Ruth Reichmann noted that October 6, 1983, was proclaimed German-American Day in recognition of the German-American Tricentennial and that something similar should be done to recognize the continuing contributions of German immigrants to American culture."

After discussion, the membership passed the following resolution: "The membership authorized the president of the Society to prepare a resolution calling for the President of the United States to proclaim October 6, 1986, German-American Day to call attention to the contributions German immigrants have made to the United States."¹² In addition, the SGAS German-American Day Committee was organized and chaired by SGAS President, Don Heinrich Tolzmann, and which included the following members: Ruth Reichmann, Nancy Pierce, and Marianne Bouvier. The committee successfully led the campaign to have the 6th of October declared as German-American Day, and this day has been commemorated ever since.¹³

1987

The eleventh annual symposium was held at the University of Kansas, and coordinated by Helmut Huelsbergen and William Keel. The SGAS Outstanding Achievement Award was presented to Lester J. Seifert. As a result of the efforts of the SGAS, its proclamation regarding the establishment of German-American Day of the previous year was passed by Congress and signed into law by President Ronald Reagan, and a signing ceremony was held at the White House Rose Garden.¹⁴

1988

The twelfth annual symposium was held at Millersville University at Millersville, Pennsylvania, and coordinated by C. Richard Beam and Robert E. Coley, and focused on the 300th anniversary of the first protest against slavery in America at Germantown, Pennsylvania in 1688. The SGAS Outstanding Achievement Award was presented to Don Yoder, who presented the keynote address at the symposium.

The SGAS Educational Task Force, chaired by Ruth Reichmann, completed guidelines for the introduction of German-American Studies into the curriculum at all educational levels. Copies of this were printed in the *SGAS Newsletter*, as well as in the *AATG Newsletter*, so that the combined distribution to individuals and institutions numbered close to 10,000. This exerted great influence in encouraging the introduction of German-American Studies into the curriculum at all levels.¹⁵

1989

The thirteenth annual symposium was held in Chicago, sponsored by Northeastern Illinois University, and coordinated by Charles Barber. The SGAS Outstanding Achievement Award was presented to Paul Schach, University of Nebraska.

1990

The fourteenth annual symposium was held at Indiana University-Purdue University, and coordinated by Giles R. Hoyt and Ruth and Eberhard Reichmann. The SGAS Outstanding Achievement Award was presented to John A. Hostetler.

1991

The fifteenth annual symposium was held at Georgetown University in Washington, D. C. , sponsored by the German Heritage Society of Greater Washington, D.C., an SGAS affiliate, and coordinated by Alfred Obernberger. The SGAS Outstanding Achievement Award was presented to Günther Moltmann.

1992

The sixteenth annual symposium was held at the University of Kansas, and coordinated by Helmut Huelsbergen and William Keel. The SGAS Outstanding Achievement Awards was presented to Hildegard Binder-Johnson.

1993

The seventeenth annual symposium was held Austin, Texas, sponsored by the German-Texan Heritage Society, an SGAS affiliate, and coordinated by Mary El-Beheri and Anna Thompson. A special award, the SGAS Founding Father Award, was presented to Robert E. Ward in recognition of his contributions to the SGAS in having founded the Society, and having issued its first newsletter, as well as editing the *Journal of German-American Studies*, and in organizing the 1973 symposium in Cleveland.¹⁶

The 1993 *Yearbook of German-American Studies* featured two important contributions that highlight the status of field of German-American Studies in general, and the SGAS in particular, by the 1990s. LaVern J. Ripple's essay "Toward a 1993 Definition of German-American Studies" clearly demonstrated the growth and development of the field and the SGAS, and his "Bibliography for the Teaching of German-Americana," provided an annotated guide to the basic sources necessary for the introduction of courses in German-American Studies. The materials and sources were, therefore, now readily available not only for research and study, but for the introduction of courses.

1994

The eighteenth annual symposium was held at Pennsylvania State University, and coordinated by Jürgen Eichhoff. The SGAS Outstanding Achievement Award was presented to C. Richard Beam. The SGAS calls for plans to made for the celebration of the 400th anniversary in 2008 of the arrival of the first Germans in America at Jamestown in 1608.¹⁷

1995

The nineteenth annual symposium was held at Louisville, Kentucky, sponsored by the Kentuckiana German Heritage Society, and coordinated by J. William Klapper. The SGAS Outstanding Achievement Award was presented to Ruth and Eberhard Reichmann.

1996

The twentieth annual symposium was held at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, and coordinated by Henry Geitz. The SGAS Outstanding Achievement Award was presented to Willi Paul Adams. Helmut Huelsbergen retired as Co-Editor of the *Yearbook* with William D. Keel, who now took on the responsibility of serving as sole Editor.

1997

The twenty-first annual symposium was held in St. Louis, Missouri, sponsored by the University of Missouri-St. Louis, and coordinated by Steven Rowan. The SGAS Outstanding Achievement Award was presented to Helmut Huelsbergen for his service editing the *Yearbook*. SGAS members Brad Miller and Gary Grassl obtained an historical marker in honor of the arrival of the first Germans in America at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1608.¹⁸

1998

The twenth-second annual symposium was held at Indiana University-Purdue University, and coordinated by Giles R. Hoy and Ruth and Eberhard Reichmann, and focused on the 150th anniversary of the 1848 Revolution. The SGAS Outstanding Achievement Award was presented to Robert E. Cazden.

1999

The twenty-third annual symposium was held at New Ulm, Minnesota, and coordinated by LaVern J. Rippley. The SGAS Outstanding Achievement Award was presented to Brad Miller and Gary Grassl.

2000

The twenty-fourth annual symposium was held at Bremerhaven, Germany, sponsored by the Förderverein Deutsches Auswanderermuseum, and coordinated by Don Heinrich Tolzmann and Horst Rössler.¹⁹ The SGAS Outstanding Achievement Award was presented to Antonius Holtmann, and an SGAS Special Award for

Meritorious Achievement Award to Dirk Schroeder. The *Yearbook* contained a comprehensive index covering the years from 1981 through 2000.

2001

The twenty-fifth annual symposium was held at Grand Rapids State University, Grand Rapids, Michigan, and coordinated by Mary and Wilhelm Seeger. The SGAS Outstanding Achievement Award was presented to Lisa Kahn, and an SGAS Special Award for Meritorious Achievement was presented to Ilse Hoffmann.

Two new committees were appointed: The SGAS Publication Fund Committee and the SGAS Research Fund Committee. The following members were appointed to serve on the former: William Keel, Chair; Helmut J. Schmeller; and Jerry Glenn; and, the following were appointed to serve on the latter: LaVern J. Rippley, Chair; Adolf Schroeder; and Gerhard Weiss.

2002

The twenty-sixth annual symposium was held at the Amana Colonies, Iowa, sponsored by the Amana Heritage Society, and coordinated by William Roba. The SGAS Outstanding Achievement Award was presented to Guy Stern.

The "Annual Bibliography of German-Americana," published annually in the *Yearbook*, and edited by Dolores J. Hoyt and Giles R. Hoyt in collaboration with the Bibliographic Committee, contains for this year a total of 966 entries, an indication of the degree of publication in the field. The *Yearbook* was also well known by this time for its "Book Review Section," edited by Timothy J. Holian, as well as its Literary Review Essay, edited by Elfe Vallaster-Dona, who joined the editorial team this year, succeeding Jerry Glenn, who had pioneered that section.

2003

The twenty-seventh annual symposium, which marked the thirty-fifth anniversary of the SGAS, was held at Loyola College, Baltimore, Maryland, and coordinated by Randall Donaldson. The SGAS Outstanding Achievement Award was presented to Steven Rowan, and an SGAS Special Award for Meritorious Achievement to Margrit B. Krewson. The first supplemental issue of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* appeared.²⁰ According to SGAS Treasurer and Membership Chair, William H. Roba, the SGAS had a total of twenty-one affiliated organizations by the time of its thirty-fifth anniversary.

At this time, the SGAS was well served by the following Regional Representatives: Washington, D. C. Representative: Margrit B. Krewson; National Affairs: Volker Schmeissner; Midwestern Representative: J. Gregory Redding; and, European Representative: Dirk Schroeder. Other SGAS representatives are: LaVern J. Rippley and Manfred Zimmermann who serve as SGAS Representatives on the Friends Executive Committee of the German Historical Institute, Washington, D. C.

First Vice President Manfred Zimmermann, reported that the future symposium schedule stood as follows: New Ulm, Minnesota (2004); Grand Rapids, Michigan (2005); Manning, Iowa (2006); Lawrence, Kansas (2007); and, Washington, D. C. (2008), with the latter to focus on the German-American Quadricentennial, the 400th anniversary of the arrival of the first Germans in America at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1608.

SGAS Publications and Records

Newsletters

SGAS Newsletter (1968-77), edited by Robert E. Ward.

Bulletin of the Society for German-American Studies (1977-81), edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann.

Society for German-American Studies Newsletter (1981-to date), edited by LaVern J. Rippley.

Journals/Yearbook

German-American Studies (1969-76), edited by Robert E. Ward.

Journal of German-American Studies (1977-80), edited by Robert E. Ward.

Yearbook of German-American Studies (1981-85), edited by J. Anthony Burzle with Helmut E. Huelsbergen and William D. Keel; (1986-96), edited by Helmut E. Huelsbergen and William D. Keel; and (1997-to date), edited by William D. Keel.

Yearbook of German-American Studies: Supplemental Issue (2003-to date), edited by William D. Keel.

Special Reports

Robert E. Ward, *A Proposal on Behalf of the Preservation of German Culture in the U.S.* (Cleveland: SGAS, 1973).

Franziska C. Ott, ed., *SGAS in Bremerhaven: the 24th Annual Symposium of the Society for German-American Studies, June 2000* (Cincinnati: The Society for German-American Studies, 2000).

Indexes

Don Heinrich Tolzmann, "The Journal of German-American Studies, 1969-80: An Index," *Journal of German-American Studies*. 15:3-4 (1980): 75-94.

J. Anthony Buzle, "The Yearbook of German-American Studies, 1981-85: An Index," *Yearbook of German-American Studies*. 20 (1985): 199-203.

Helmut E. Huelsbergen and William D. Keel, "Yearbook of German-American Studies, Volumes 21-27 (1986-92): Index of Articles and Reviews," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 27 (1992): 229-40.

William D. Keel, "The Yearbook of German-American Studies: Twenty-Year Index: Volumes 16-35 (1981-2000): Articles, Review Essays, and Book Reviews," *Yearbook of German-American Studies*. 35 (2000): 265-303.

SGAS Records

The archival records of the SGAS are on file at the German-Americana Collection, University of Cincinnati.

SGAS Website

The SGAS website is sponsored and maintained by Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis University Libraries, and administered by Dolores J. Hoyt, and is located at: <<http://www-libiupui.edu/kade/sgasin.html>>

University of Cincinnati
Cincinnati, Ohio

Notes

¹ See Don Heinrich Tolzmann, "The Society for German-American Studies: The First Twenty-Five Years," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 23 (1988): 165-71.

² Ibid, 166.

³ See Robert E. Ward, *A Proposal on Behalf of the Preservation of German Culture in the U.S.A.* (Cleveland: Society for German-American Studies, 1973), which provides a review of the status of the field of German-American Studies at the time it was written. Also, see Heinz Kloss, *Research Possibilities in the German-American Field*, edited with Introduction and Bibliography by LaVern J. Rippley (Hamburg: Buske, 1980). Rippley notes in his Introduction that the Kloss report "is now a historical document giving some insight, as well as in-depth information into the state of the art which prevailed in the field of German-American Studies some forty-odd years ago" (p. viii). Together both of these reports provide insight into the status of the field up to the time of the founding of the SGAS. For a recent survey and discussion of the definition of the field, see LaVern J. Rippley, "Towards a 1993 Definition of German-American Studies," *Yearbook* 28 (1993): 1-11.

⁴ Tolzmann, "The Society for German-American Studies..." p. 168. For the program of the 1973 meeting that Ward organized, see *Symposium on German Culture in America and Ohio: Saturday, October 13, 1973 at the German Central, Sponsored by the Cleveland Chapter of D.A.N.K. (German-American National*

Congress)/Symposium ueber deutsche Kultur in Amerika und Ohio, Samstag, den 13. Oktober 1973 auf der Deutschen Zentrale veranstaltet von der D.A.N.K. Gruppe Cleveland (Deutsch-Amerikanischer Kongress) (Cleveland, 1973).

⁵ See the conference proceedings published after the Kansas meeting, Erich A. Albrecht and J. Anthony Burzle, eds., *German-Americana, 1976: Symposium on German-American Literature and Culture at the University of Kansas, October 8-9, 1976, Under the Auspices of the Max Kade German-American Document and Research Center of the University of Kansas in Cooperation with the Department of German* (Lawrence, Kansas: The Max Kade German-American Document and Research Center, 1977).

⁶ For a report of the Cincinnati symposium, see Gert Niers, "Deutschamerika-Forschung jetzt zentral gesteuert," *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung und Herold* (18-19 December 1976). Among the members present at this organizational meeting were the following (in alphabetical order): Karl J. R. Arndt, Franzi Ascher-Nash, Robert E. Cazden, Jerry Glenn, Edward P. Harris, Gert Niers, LaVern J. Rippley, Walter L. Robbins, John R. Sinnema, Don Heinrich Tolzmann, and Robert E. Ward.

⁷ Regarding the Census in general, and the 1976 White House Conference on Ethnicity, see Don Heinrich Tolzmann, "The U.S. Census and German-Americans," *SGAS Newsletter* 23, 3 (2002): 17.

⁸ See "The Society for German-American Studies Announces the Publication of a Yearbook," *SGAS Newsletter* 2, 3 (1980-81): 1, and also, J. Anthony Burzle, "Editorial Background: Yearbook of German-American Studies," *SGAS Newsletter* 2, 5 (1981): 9-10.

⁹ Regarding the SGAS German-American Tricentennial Committee, see "German-American Tricentennial Committee," *SGAS Newsletter* 1, 4 (1979-80): 7.

¹⁰ For coverage of the results of the U.S. Census, see "Majority of Americans Owe German Ancestry to Germany," *SGAS Newsletter* 3, 3 (1982):4; "America's Melting Pot: Who's In It?," *SGAS Newsletter* 4, 3 (1983): 5; and "United States: 52,000,000 of German Heritage," *SGAS Newsletter* 8, 1 (1987): 3.

¹¹ Regarding the Tricentennial, see LaVern J. Rippley, "Toward a 1993 Definition of German-American Studies," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 28 (1993): 4.

¹² See Robert E. Coley, SGAS Secretary, Society for German-American Studies, Minutes of the Tenth Annual Meeting, Cincinnati, Ohio, 26 April, 1986, p. 2. German-Americana Collection, SGAS Records, Box 141, File No. 2.

¹³ Regarding the SGAS German-American Day Committee, see "German-American Day Committee," *SGAS Newsletter* 7, 4 (1986): 25. The *Newsletter* reported as follows: "A SGAS German-American Day Committee has been appointed to help in the effort to establish Oct. 6, 1987, as German-American Day. The Committee is chaired by Don Heinrich Tolzmann, and the members include: Ruth Reichmann, President of the Indiana German Heritage Society; Nancy Pierce, President of the German Heritage Society of Greater Washington, D.C.; and, Marianne Bouvier, Vice-President of the German-American National Congress. Please support the Society's work in obtaining the proclamation for a 1987 German-American Day."

¹⁴ For reports on the White House signing ceremony, see "German-American Day 1987," *SGAS Newsletter* 8, 4 (1987): 25, 27. Also, see: Don Heinrich Tolzmann, "The Origins of German-American Day," *The Steuben News* (November/December 2002), and my essay on the same topic in: *German-American Studies: Selected Essays* (New York: Peter Lang Pub. Co., 2001), 41-44.

¹⁵ For further information on the efforts of the SGAS in the direction of encouraging the introduction of German-American Studies into the curriculum, see LaVern J. Rippley, "Bibliography for the Teaching of German-Americana," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 28 (1993): 119-42.

¹⁶ Regarding Ward, see: Tolzmann, *German-American Studies: Selected Essays*, 27-29.

¹⁷ For information on the 400th anniversary of the arrival of the first Germans in America at Jamestown, see Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *German-American Studies: Selected Essays*, 47-49.

¹⁸ Regarding the historical marker at Jamestown, see: German Heritage Society of Greater Washington, D.C., Inc., *First Germans At Jamestown, A Commemoration: The German Heritage Society of Greater Washington, D.C., Inc., Washington, D.C., 31 May 1997* (Washington, D.C.: The Society, 1997). This consists of the commemorative program for the unveiling of the historical marker for the "First Germans at Jamestown," at Jamestown, Virginia.

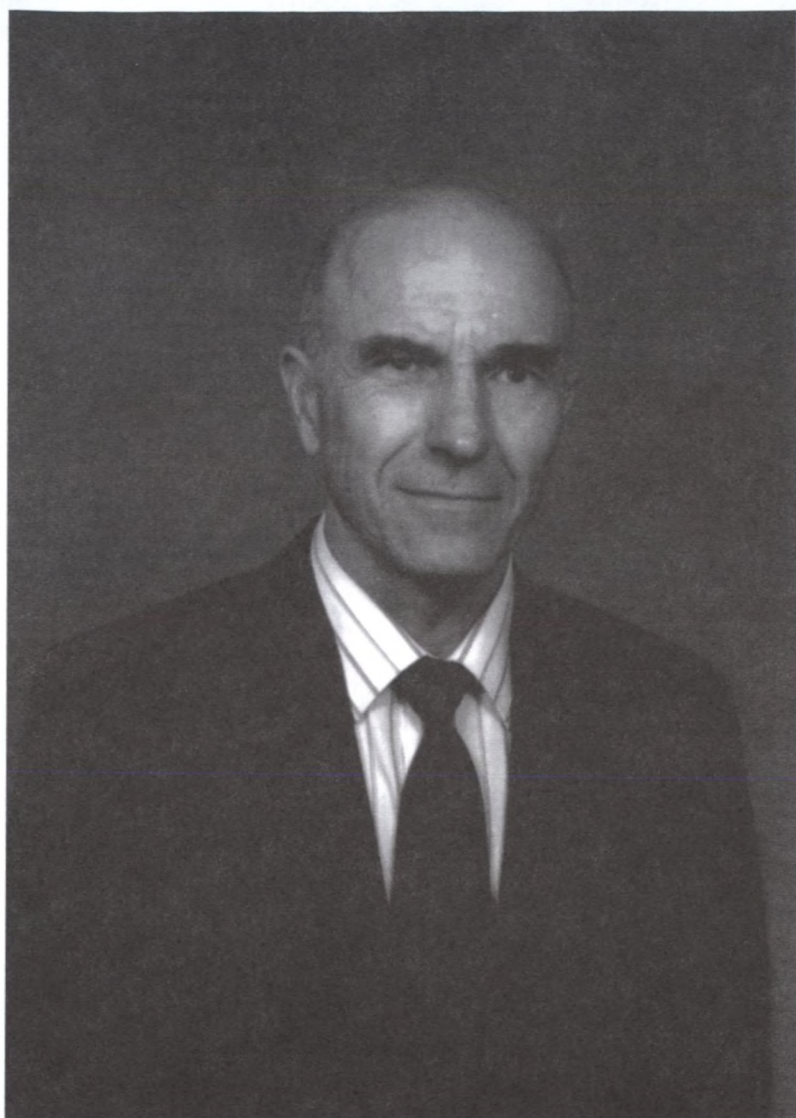
¹⁹ A description of plans for the SGAS symposium in Bremerhaven can be found in Horst Rössler, *Jahrestagung der Society for German-American Studies, Juni 2000, Bremerhaven: Deutsche Auswanderung in die USA (über Bremerhaven), Update Oktober 1999* (Bremerhaven: Förderverein Deutsches Auswanderermuseum e.V., 1999), as well as the final program, *The Society for German-American Studies Twenty-Fourth Annual Symposium, Bremerhaven, Germany, 11-17 June 2000* (Cincinnati: The Society for

German-American Studies, 2000). Also, see the collection of articles about the symposium by Franziska C. Ott, ed., *SGAS in Bremerhaven: the 24th Annual Symposium of the Society for German-American Studies, June 2000* (Cincinnati: The Society for German-American Studies, 2000).

²⁰ See Karl Friedrich Führer, *Wahrheit und Guter Rath, an die Einwohner Deutschlands, besonders in Hessen 1783* / *Truth and Good Advice, to the Inhabitants of Germany, Especially in Hesse*. Edited and translated by Christoph E. Schweitzer. Yearbook of German-American Studies, Supplemental Issue, Volume 1 (Lawrence, Kansas: The Society for German-American Studies, 2003).



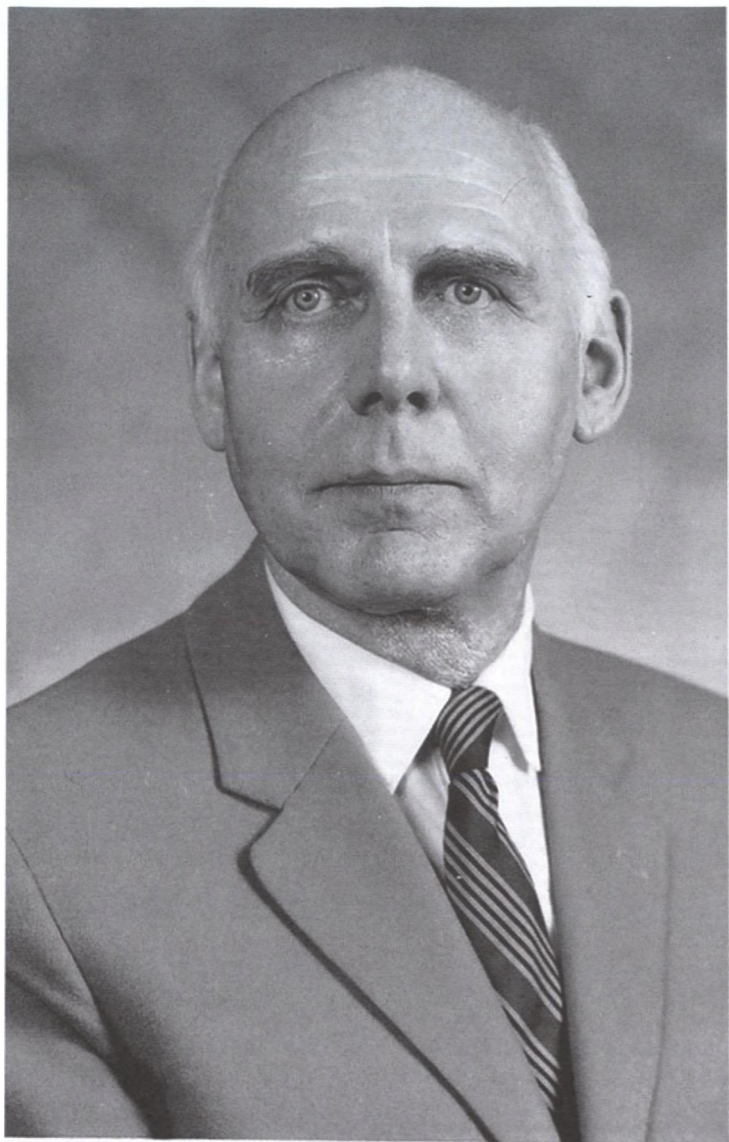
Robert E. Ward
Founder and First SGAS President
Editor of *German-American Studies*,
(lc) *Journal of German-American Studies*



LaVern J. Rippley
Second SGAS President
Editor of *The Society for German-American Studies Newsletter*



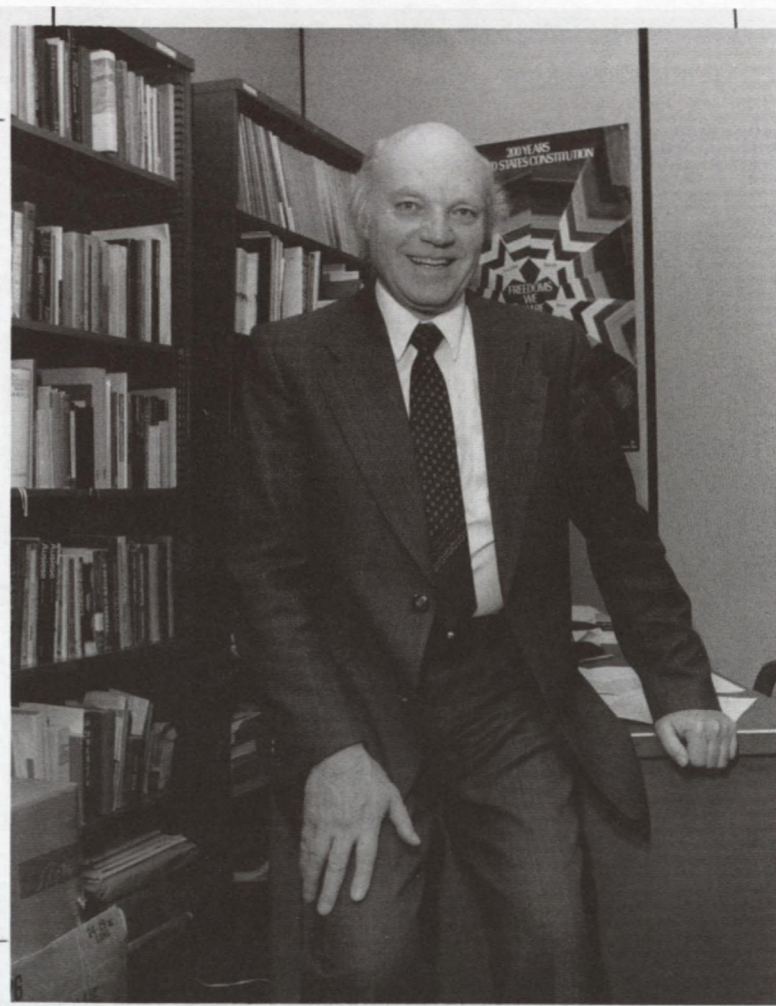
Don Heinrich Tolzmann
Third SGAS President,
With President Reagan at the 1987 Signing Ceremony
for the Proclamation of German-American Day



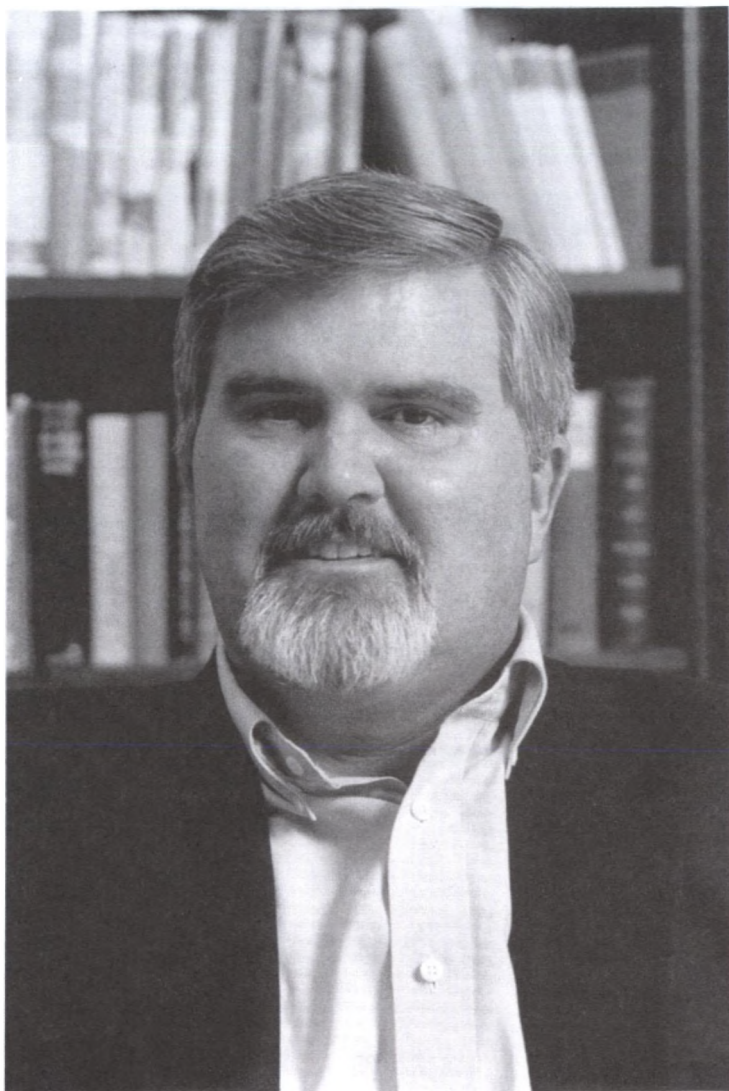
J. Anthony Burzle

First Editor of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies*

Photo courtesy of University Archives, Spencer Research Library,
University of Kansas Libraries



Helmut Huelsbergen
Co-Editor, with William D. Keel
Yearbook of German-American Studies
Photo courtesy of University Archives, Spencer Research Library,
University of Kansas Libraries



William D. Keel

Co-Editor, with Helmut Huelsbergen and Third Editor
Yearbook of German-American Studies

Photo courtesy of University Relations, University of Kansas



Home of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies*
Max Kade Center for German-American Studies, University of Kansas
Photo courtesy of University Relations, University of Kansas



Executive Committee of the SGAS in Oldenburg, Indiana, in Fall 2003; front row: Gregory Redding, Timothy Holian, Volker Schmeissner; middle row: Barbara Rippley, Frances Ott Allen, Elfe Vallaster-Dona, Dolores Hoyt; back row: Manfred Zimmermann, Giles Hoyt, William Keel, William Roba, and Don Heinrich Tolzmann

Christoph E. Schweitzer

Goethe's *Werther* and the First American Novel, William Hill Brown's *The Power of Sympathy*

It is obvious that William Hill Brown (1765-93) knew Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werther* (1774) when he wrote what is considered to be the first American novel, *The Power of Sympathy or, The Triumph of Nature* (1789). In a description of the room in which Harrington, the protagonist, had committed suicide, Worthy, Harrington's friend, sees a "table, and *The Sorrows of Werter* was found lying by its side" (LXIII).¹ In addition, an Ossian quotation that critics have also related to Goethe's novel rather than to the original, comes up in one of Harrington's letters. The quotation is from *Songs of Selma*, the final passage from the Ossian of James Macpherson (1736-96) that Werther read to Charlotte:²

The time of my fading is near, and the blast that shall scatter my leaves.
Tomorrow shall the traveller come, he that saw me in my beauty shall come;
his eyes will search the field, but they will not find me. (LXII, 65)³

These sentiments caused Werther and Charlotte to be overcome by emotion, which led to the fateful kiss. In *The Power of Sympathy* these words mirror Harrington's resolution to commit suicide.

It has, then, been generally acknowledged by critics that Brown knew the English version of *Die Leiden des jungen Werther*, but that acknowledgment has not gone beyond the two aspects mentioned, except for an occasional assertion to which I will refer below.⁴ My contention is that additional echoes of *Werther* in *The Power of Sympathy* are rather striking. These echoes pertain to those sections of Brown's novel that are most successful, i.e., to the ill-fated love between Harrington and Harriot that leads to her death and his suicide.

Brown was born in Boston to a prosperous clockmaker and developed early on an interest in literary affairs. *The Power of Sympathy*, his most significant work, gives evidence of his wide reading in a great number of European, mostly English, authors. In 1792 at age twenty-seven he moved to Murfreesborough, North Carolina, to join his younger sister and her husband. He died there the next year, probably of malaria.

By the time Brown wrote his novel in 1789 a good number of editions of the first English translation of *Werther* (London, 1779) had appeared. They were published in

London, Dublin, and Philadelphia. The Philadelphia edition came out in 1784, that is five years before *The Power of Sympathy*, and is the only one whose title is not *The Sorrows of Werther* but *The Sorrows and Sympathetic Attachments of Werther*. It is reasonable to think that Brown took the idea of "Sympathy" in his title from the Philadelphia edition.

The stated purpose of the author of *The Power of Sympathy* is to warn against seduction, a warning that is first given in the dedication and the preface, repeated by various letter writers, and is finally mentioned in the "Monumental Inscription," a poem that concludes the novel. And as if that were not enough, there are several interspersed stories that deal with the disastrous consequences of women being seduced and then abandoned. The frontispiece, too, refers to this theme as it depicts the suicide of Ophelia, the victim of seduction and abandonment. Seduction and abandonment is also the background of Harriot, Harrington's beloved. Harrington senior had seduced his sister-in-law who then was abandoned by him and ultimately died, leaving behind their daughter Harriot. She is thus the young Harrington's half sister, a fact they are unaware of when they first meet.⁵ At the very beginning of the novel, when Harrington falls in love with Harriot, he tells his friend Worthy that he plans to seduce her and set her up as his mistress in an apartment. After all, she did not have known parents and made a living as a lady's companion and was therefore beneath his station. But soon love triumphs and his attitude toward Harriot changes to adoration and the intention of marriage. Their love remains as pure as the love between Werther and Charlotte: seduction is no longer an issue in what happens to Harrington and Harriot. It seems that Brown wanted the reader to understand that the seduction of Harrington's aunt by his father and the subsequent birth of Harriot is to be seen as the sin of the father that would have fatal consequences in the next generation. Also, he might have considered the love between closely related people as one showing special "Power of Sympathy," a love in which "The Triumph of Nature," the second part of the title of the novel, prevails over reason. Still, for the reader, the issue of seduction does not play a role in the development of the relationship between Harrington and Harriot. Thus, the many warnings against seduction found in the novel, are not relevant to its main story, the ill-fated love of the protagonists. This structural dichotomy might at least in part be explained by the impact Brown's reading of *Werther* had on his writing *The Power of Sympathy*.⁶

I will first discuss Harrington and in so doing foreground those aspects of his story that show parallels in *Werther*. As both Harrington and Werther are men in whom feeling predominates, it comes as no surprise that joy, enthusiasm, and rapture are among the emotions they experience when they first fall in love. As Werther assures himself again and again of Charlotte's love, so does Harrington when he writes to Worthy:

AM I to believe my eyes—my ears—my heart!—and yet I cannot be deceived
 . . . She loves!—I say to myself, *Harriot* loves me, and I reverence myself.
 (XV)

Such a boost in one's own worth is also felt by Werther who tells his friend Wilhelm in a similar staccato style:

NO, I am not mistaken—I read in her eyes that she is interested for me; I feel it. And I may believe my own heart, which tells me that she—dare I say it?—Can I pronounce the divine words?—she loves me.
That she loves me! Oh! how the idea exalts me in my own eyes! —. . .
How I honour myself since I have been beloved by her? (21)⁷

Both Harrington and Werther have to convince themselves first that, indeed, their Harriot and Charlotte love them and then feel the effect of that certainty on their self-esteem.

In the next letter Harrington tells Worthy that Harriot has reprimanded him for his quick passion and at times obstinate prejudices.

This gentle reprimand is so tempered with love that I think she commends me. I however promise a reform, and am much pleased with my improvement.
Harriot moulds my heart into what form she chooses. (XVI)

In the same vein Werther writes to Wilhelm that

CHARLOTTE has reproved me for my excesses, with so much tenderness and goodness! . . . My dear friend, I am no longer any thing, She makes me just what she pleases. (53-54)

At the beginning of Harrington's courtship of Harriot he is not enough of a "republican" to consider her a person he could marry, but then, under the influence of love, he disregards differences of class and is annoyed when, at a social gathering, people object to the presence of a "mechanick's daughter . . . and the amusement was put an end to for the evening" (XVII). Werther, too, criticizes the "paltry distinctions between the inhabitants of the same town" (37) and relates an incident during a social gathering when a dispute over precedence caused the party to break up, calling the people involved "idiots" (38). Harrington even expresses himself against slavery, but neither he nor Werther can in any way be considered social reformers. They both put their own interests, their hearts, in the first place and make life dependent on their emotional welfare.

When they feel that there is no future for them,—in Harrington's case when he finds out that he cannot marry Harriot, in Werther's case when he knows there is no future for him in the triangle made up of Charlotte, her husband Albert, and himself,—they decide to commit suicide. During the time Harrington is struggling with the idea of ending his life, "society is distateful" to him (XLVII) and every day he is becoming "more of a misanthrope" (LIII). The Editor, who reports on Werther's last days, says that "in society he appeared joyless and flat" (59). Both Harrington and Werther are prone to pace back and forth when agitated. (LXIII, 25 and 62)⁸ While Werther

repeats his need to depart, i.e., to commit suicide, three times in his letters to Wilhelm, Harrington uses phrases like "I must go" and "I must depart" seven times in his letters to Worthy. As Harrington tries to assure himself that "there [i.e., in heaven] shall I meet her" (LII) and that "I will fly to the place where she is gone" (LVI), so does Werther when he tells Charlotte "We shall again see one another here and hereafter" (33) and "I will fly to meet you" (67). Both hope that God somehow will forgive them in spite of their terrible deed. (LIV, 67) And while neither Harrington nor Werther had always been happy with what Worthy and Wilhelm told them, at the end they both thank their friends "for all your good advice" (LXIV), "for the good advice you give" (54).

Another striking similarity between the two novels is the way in which Harrington and Werther plan their suicide. Harrington tells Worthy that "The step [i.e., suicide] must not be taken with rashness. I must be steady—calm—collected" (LVI). Werther, according to the Editor, "would not commit such an action with precipitation and rashness; he was determined to take this step like a man who knows what he is doing, and is resolved and firm, but calm and tranquil" (60). But in spite of such preparation neither one dies instantly when he shoots himself in the head. Each one is found "weltering in his blood" (LXIII, 71) and in neither case can the surgeon save the victim. Harrington's wish to be buried next to Harriot—she had died soon after learning that they could not marry—is fulfilled since "The rigour of the law was not executed—the body was privately taken away" (LXV). In Werther's case the intervention of Charlotte's father makes it possible that he is buried at the place he had selected. I had already mentioned that in *The Power of Sympathy* Worthy reports that *The Sorrows of Werter* was lying on a table next to the dead Harrington. Also on it was a letter by Harrington to Worthy that had "been written at intervals" (LXIII). Its contents form part of the novel. Goethe has Werther read *Emilia Galotti*, Lessing's famous tragedy, before committing suicide. The book was lying on a bureau in his room. Also, similar to Brown's novel, letters by Werther were found in the room, letters that he had written at intervals and that the Editor uses for his report on the protagonist's last days.

I believe that Brown's reading of Goethe's *Werther* impressed him to such a degree that his initial plan to write a novel in which seduction played a central role was thwarted and the tragedy of unfulfillable love became the focus of the story. But rather than discarding the many and often tedious passages in which the author through several of his characters inveighs against the disastrous consequences of seduction, he kept them as well as discussions of various educational and behavioral issues. It could be, as I mentioned above, that he wants the reader to realize that seduction is punished in the next generation. But we are not mindful of that connection when we follow with empathy the doomed love of the protagonists, a love that clearly has Brown's sympathy. He is much more distant when it comes to the didactic passages of Worthy, Mrs. Holmes, and her father-in-law. A few of these passages, as Cathy N. Davidson has pointed out, show that Brown treated those persons with irony.⁹ Thus, when Mr. Holmes is holding forth for a long time and finally turns to "proving the eligibility of reading satire," two in his small audience decide to pursue matters of more interest to

them (XII). There is more irony and also criticism in the case of Worthy as I will show below.

There are three more aspects of *The Power of Sympathy* that have parallels in *Werther*. When Werther takes a walk in the woods one winter's day, he sees a man trying to find flowers. He answers Werther's query about what he is doing with "I have promised my mistress a nosegay" (65). It turns out that the man is a former admirer of Charlotte who, having been rejected by her, went insane and, after a period of violent behavior in a madhouse, is now harmless. In one of the interspersed stories of *The Power of Sympathy*, Fidelia, the girl who just before marriage was abducted and whose fiancé had drowned himself, is found in the woods picking wild flowers. "These," she cried, "are to make a nosegay for my love." Werther, while on a walk with Albert who keeps praising Charlotte, picks up flowers and then throws them into a brook. (25) Fidelia throws her flowers "into the river, and they will swim to him" (XXVII). Like the young man rejected by Charlotte in *Werther*, Fidelia raved for a while but now "the poor maniac strays about the fields harmless and inoffensive" (XXVIII).

Another parallel between *The Power of Sympathy* and *Werther* is the relationship between Harrington and his best, and apparently only, friend Worthy and that between Werther and his best and only friend Wilhelm. Worthy and Wilhelm are the recipients of most of the letters Harrington and Werther write. While Worthy's replies are also given, we have to infer from Werther's letters and the last part of the novel, which is no longer in letter form, what Wilhelm wrote and what he was like. In the very first letter in *The Power of Sympathy*, Worthy's character is brought out. According to Harrington, Worthy would have been thoughtful and circumspect and "would have considered the consequences" before falling madly in love with Harriot. And in his next letter to his friend he "CANNOT but laugh at your [Worthy's] dull sermons" and refers to his letters as "monitorial correspondence" (III). Worthy boasts to Harrington "I have seen many juvenile heroes, during my pilgrimage of two and twenty years" (II) and reveals himself throughout the novel as a moralist for whom reason is the highest virtue. Worthy, the "sententious friend" according to Harrington (III), gives the latter constant advice that is rarely appropriate, often besides the point, and frequently completely out of place. One can understand that he would tell Harrington, who had just written that life is intolerable "Let your mind be employed" (LVIII). One is less impressed by his telling Harrington in the same letter "YOU argue as if your reason were perverted" and "*the love of life increases with age*" (as a rejoinder to Harrington's "we increase in misery as we increase in age" [XLVI]). But for Worthy, still in the same letter, to state that "Our prison grows familiar—we contemplate its horrors . . . how few are they who are hardy enough to break their prison? LET us watch over all we do with an eye of scrutiny" is suggesting to his friend exactly what he should not do. To tell Harrington, who had just written his friend that "I AM determined to quit this life" (LVI) that only "few are . . . hardy enough to break their prison" shows insensitivity to someone else's state of mind. Werther had early on in the story, before meeting Charlotte, remarked, "that he has it in his power to quit his prison" (8), a sentiment both Harrington and Werther turn into reality by committing suicide.

Soon after the beginning of the novel Worthy goes to stay at Bellevue, the country home of Mrs. Holmes who is a friend of his and who is just as sanctimonious as he is. Worthy is to marry Myra, Harrington's sister, in a few months. At Bellevue he admires a piece of embroidery but has forgotten that it was made by Myra. There is complete absence of passion between the two, in contrast to the Harrington/Harriot relationship, and somewhat comparable to that between Albert and Charlotte in *Werther*. When Myra is in obvious distress because of her brother's suicidal state of mind and their half sister Harriot's death, Worthy does not rush to help her but waits at Bellevue until the last minute to see his fiancée. His behavior toward Harrington is equally remiss. Harrington had early on expressed his "great desire to see you," i.e., Worthy (XLVIII), and had indicated again and again that he was about to end his life. Worthy, though, waits and waits before going to see his friend, and when he finally gets there, is asked by the family to wait until the next day since Harrington was asleep. During the night Harrington kills himself. Of course, Harrington knew that his own impulsiveness needed to be balanced by someone who was sober and who could give him advice. However, Worthy's various pieces of advice and his much delayed efforts to talk to his friend in a period of crisis make him less than an ideal friend, not a person to be admired. Davidson presents a careful assessment of Worthy's character and actions, including his insensitivity to the plight both Myra and Harrington are facing. She also compares Worthy's attempts to dissuade Harrington from committing suicide to those by Albert when he and Werther discuss that issue.¹⁰ Werther's friend Wilhelm, like Worthy, seems to be the older of the two. Also, Wilhelm is clearly the sober and steady one in contrast to Werther's emotionally unstable personality. While we do not hear of any woman in Wilhelm's life—and that in itself is an indication of his personality—we know through Werther's reaction to his friend's letters that Wilhelm is a well-meaning person who advises Werther, among other things, to be factual in his reports, not to neglect his sketching, and to either seriously pursue Charlotte's love or give her up, the well-known either/or advice. Wilhelm's suggestions must be considered superior to those of Worthy but Wilhelm, too, delays talking to Werther far too long. When he finally gets to the place where Werther is staying, it is too late.¹¹

There is a final aspect of the two novels where I detect a parallel. It has often been pointed out how in *Werther* nature shows a benign face in the beginning only to turn into a violent, destructive force toward the end. Places where Werther and Charlotte loved to walk in the beauty of spring are devastated by the winter storms. In *The Power of Sympathy* there is Bellevue, the country place of Mrs. Holmes where she and other rational people spend their time away from the city in harmony with nature. For Leslie A. Fiedler, Bellevue is the center of the novel. He concludes that "the utopian dream of 'rational love' proves to be an illusion."¹² Nature triumphs, be that in the form of seduction or of adultery or would-be incest as in the case of Harrington and Harriot. In both novels, then, nature has two faces, one benign and one uncontrollable and destructive. Nature also manifests itself in the power of human attractions. As Harriot tells Harrington, "when Nature pleads, how feeble is the voice of Reason? Yet, when Reason is heard in her turn, how criminal appears every wish of my heart?" (L) No amount of reason and good advice can keep Harrington and Harriot and also

Werther from their paths toward death. All three remain true to their love and to themselves and thus both novels leave the reader with an unsettled view of the world since the authors do not provide easy answers to the enigma of existence.

This is not the place to evaluate *The Power of Sympathy* as a work of art. But it should be mentioned that the novel shows serious flaws that have been pointed out by a number of critics. When compared to Goethe's *Werther* it becomes evident how superior this novel is to the American one. As Fiedler has observed, there is little or no indication in *The Power of Sympathy* as to where the Harrington/Harriot story takes place.¹³ In *Werther*, on the other hand, there is scene after scene where the reader visualizes the interaction of the protagonist with others and his environment in a great variety of locations. Also, to mention one more contrast, in *Werther* the protagonist's voice is heard exclusively during the greatest part of the novel. As a consequence we are in complete empathy with his feelings and his view of the world. Many readers never realize that Werther's assessments are often less than accurate and his actions, especially toward the end of his life, less than exemplary. In *The Power of Sympathy* Harrington's letters are interspersed not only with those of Worthly but also with the letters of several other people who write about many issues not related to the Harrington/Harriot story. The result is confusion in the reader's mind as to the direction of the story. No wonder then, that Brown's novel was limited to one edition until it was printed again in 1894, while *Werther* was an instant international best seller.

Actually, the Harrington/Harriot story forms only a part of *The Power of Sympathy*, but, as I stated before, it is the part that surpasses the rest of the text since it deals with love, despair, and death rather than superficial moralizing. My conclusion is that Brown was so taken by his reading of *Werther* that he was inspired to write a novel in which the intensity of Werther's and Charlotte's love and agony would be duplicated in the love and agony of Harrington and Harriot. In so doing he added the most impressive part to his original idea of writing a story about the disastrous consequences of seduction. One must admire the way Brown absorbed essential aspects of Goethe's novel to create his own love story *The Power of Sympathy*.

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Notes

¹ All references to *The Power of Sympathy* are to the Roman number of the letter in the edition by William S. Kable (n. p., Ohio State UP, 1969).

² I refer to Werther's beloved as Charlotte in accordance with the English translation available to Brown.

³ The page number refers to the English translation of Goethe's *Werther*, entitled *The Sorrows and Sympathetic Attachments of Werter* (Philadelphia: R. Bell, 1784). The text is number 18501 in Charles Evans' *American Bibliography* (Chicago: Privately Printed, 1903-55). This item is available in the Readex Microprint edition of Early American Imprints published by the American Antiquarian Society. The only difference between the 1784 Philadelphia edition and the Ossian passage in *The Power of Sympathy* reproduced here is that the Philadelphia text has "To-morrow."

⁴ The two major interpretations of *The Power of Sympathy* are by Leslie A. Fiedler and Cathy N. Davidson. I use the revised, second edition of Fiedler's *Love and Death in the American Novel* (first edition New York, NY: Criterion Books, 1960; second edition New York, NY: Stein and Day, 1966). Davidson's pioneering article "The Power of Sympathy Reconsidered: William Hill Brown as Literary Craftsman" (*Early American Literature* 10 [1965]: 14-29) and the fifth chapter, which is devoted to Brown's novel, of her *Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America* (New York, NY: Oxford UP, 1986) helped me greatly in my approach to *The Power of Sympathy*. I will refer to the two critics at the appropriate places. They point out only a couple of parallels of minor significance between the two novels.

⁵ The similarity of the two names brings out the consanguinity of the lovers, just as Ekbert shares part of his name with his half sister and wife Berta in Ludwig Tieck's novella *Der blonde Ekbert* (1797). Other persons in Brown's novel are named so as to recall actual people as Mr. Martin who is modelled on a Mr. Morton. Some names have literary and religious associations. A girl who was seduced and then committed suicide is named Ophelia, her caring father Shepherd, and another woman is named Maria who is as innocent as "a lily of the valley" and says before dying "Heaven opens on my soul" (XXXIX). With obvious irony, an unfaithful lover is called Fidelio, and Worthy, as I will try to show, following Davidson, is not a friend worth having.

⁶ One of the sections of chapter 5 in Davidson's *Revolution and the Word* has as its heading "A Novel Divided Against Itself" (98).

⁷ The advice "Reverence Thyself" is quoted by Mrs. Holmes as coming from a "celebrated European wit" (XXX). Carla Mulford in her edition of *The Power of Sympathy* (New York, etc.: Penguin Books, 1996, 251-52) suggests several English authors as the source of the quotation. However none of them juxtaposes self-reverence with being loved as Harrington and Werther do.

⁸ Henri Petter points out this similarity in *The Early American Novel* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State UP, 1971), 246.

⁹ Davidson, 1965, 14-19; 1986, 103-6.

¹⁰ Davidson, 1965, 18.

¹¹ Christian Friedrich Blanckenburg was the first to observe in his 1775 review of *Werther* the extreme tardiness of Wilhelm's going to help his friend. Blanckenburg finds that tardiness an improbability in an otherwise perfectly constructed novel. His essay is available in Karl Robert Mandelkow, ed., *Goethe im Urteil seiner Kritiker*, volume 1 (München: Beck, 1975), 65-86, here 85.

¹² Fiedler, when pointing out the ambiguity of nature in Brown's novel, refers to Goethe's *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* (1809) which, like *The Power of Sympathy*, "studies the strange, sometimes fatal attractions which move us beyond the power of will to resist or reason to control" (*Love and Death*, 123).

¹³ Fiedler, *Love and Death*, 124.

Alexander Ritter

***“Where Have All the Germans Gone?”:
Literatur deutscher Sprachminderheiten und
Diskursaspekte der Literaturwissenschaft***

I

Die Angestellten des renommierten “Leseinstituts »Legissima«” muss es in schiere Verzweiflung getrieben haben.¹ Während sie dazu ansetzen, beflissen Ihrem Auftrag nachzugehen, “alte Bücher mit ihren Augen aufzufrischen und die neuen Bücher zu lesen,” Ordnung “nach der neuesten Epocheneinteilung der Literaturgeschichten” in die private Bibliothek zu bringen, stellen sie fest, dass es für bestimmte Buchgruppen fast keinen Nachschub zu verzeichnen gibt. Es sind so gut wie kaum noch Eingänge von Literatur in deutscher Sprache aus dem Ausland vorzufinden. Wiederholtes Nachprüfen bestätigt die Beobachtung. Ratlos blicken sie auf den vorgesetzten Oberleser. Der schaut irritiert auf den “Hausherrn.” Dieser, professioneller Nichtleser und Auftraggeber, reagiert mit hilflosem Schulterheben.

So könnte man es sich vorstellen, erweiterte man selbstherrlich Hermann Burgers Satire “Die Leser auf der Stör,” gemeint ist: die Leser bei der Arbeit.² In deren Welt der überzeichnenden Satire geht es um die ad absurdum geführte Lesekultur. Der sich selbst entmündigende Leser delegiert das Lesen von Büchern an berufsmäßige Lektoren. Buchbesitz degeneriert zu dekorativem Bestandteil des Wohnungsinterieurs und gesellschaftlichen Status. Professionelle Bibliotheksordnung und aktuelle Bestandsvollständigkeit werden statt dessen zu maßgeblichen Kriterien. Der Zweck des Buches erfüllt sich im Selbstzweck. Dem Besitzer, dem vormals eigentlichen Lesepublikum, fiel es darum gar nicht auf, wenn Bücher aus nahen oder fernen Regionen ausblieben. Und die »Legissima«-Angehörigen beurteilten entstandene Lücken lediglich als lästigen ordnungsbibliothekarischen Umstand.

Aber so ähnlich ist wohl die Situation der deutschsprachigen Literatur aus dem Ausland im hiesigen Literatursystem und Forschungsgang beschaffen. Die Wirklichkeit scheint die Satire eingeholt zu haben. Jene Offerten muttersprachlich deutscher Literatur und literarkritischer Beschreibung aus Bukarest und Moskau, aus Ungarn, Italien, Frankreich und aus Übersee sind deutlich schmaler geworden. Viele Autoren und Verlage haben aufgegeben. Die Leserklientel schrumpft und räumt das Bücherfeld den Archivaren und Literaturwissenschaftlern.

Den ethnisch sich definierenden deutschen Sprachminderheiten beginnt die literarische Luft auszugehen. Die siebziger und achtziger Jahre des vergangenen Jahrhunderts bereiten das vor, was in dieser Weise heute gilt. Innerhalb zweier Jahrzehnte vollzieht sich "The Rise and Fall of the Ethnic Revival."³ Diese Entwicklung ist die Konsequenz aus labiler Minderheitenexistenz. Mit den Bedingungen von dauernder Identitätskrise, einer Folge interkultureller Spannungen, und dauernd unsicherer politischer Respektierung durch den Heimatstaat, einer Folge regierungsabhängiger nationaler Politikprimate, sind die Ursachen dafür festgelegt.⁴ Selbst in den minderheitengeschichtlichen Fällen weitgehend konzederter Autonomie wird damit keine wirkungsvolle Absicherung regionalkultureller Umstände erreicht.

Für die ungarndeutsche Literaturentwicklung haben staatlich garantierter Minderheitenstatus und organisatorische wie finanzielle Zuwendungen für die Kultur keine Folgen für eine bemerkenswerte Entfaltung der schmalen Literaturszene, der ein breiter Fundes muttersprachlich deutscher Kompetenz fehlt. In Südtirol ist es bei einer Zweiteilung der Literatur geblieben, bei einer kleinen Gruppe von Autoren, deren Literatur Verbreitung im gesamtdeutschen Literaturraum erreicht—u.a. Norbert C. Kaser und Franz Zoderer—, bei einem größeren Teil, der den Bedarf an heimatlich-sentimentalen Texten eines folkloristisch, touristischen Verständnisses der Region bedient. In Dänemark fördert reibungslose Autonomiepolitik den Assimilationsprozess, in Belgien suchen die Politiker der ökonomisch prosperierenden Deutschsprachigen Gemeinschaft den Anspruch ethnischer Identität für mehr Autonomie im föderalen belgischen Staat zu instrumentalisieren.⁵

Auch der geschichtspolitische, kulturanthropologische Diskurs während der letzten zwei Jahrzehnte des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts über Volk, Nation und Nationalismus, Ethnie und Staat,⁶ über Region, Territorium und Provinz, Heimat, Identität und Kulturautonomie, Multikulturalität, mehrkulturelle Literatur⁷ und Minderheitenrechte⁸ vermag diese Entwicklung nicht zu verhindern. Industriegesellschaftliche Angleichung, zunehmende Migration und eine allgemeine Mobilität gefährden gewachsene Strukturen, nationalkulturelle Rückbindung und Beharrungsbereitschaft der Minderheiten, fördern Abwanderung und Assimilationsneigung, stören Kommunikationssysteme. Die amerikanische Verkündung der 'ethnicity' (1976ff.),⁹ die sowjetische der 'Nationalitätenpolitik' (1917ff.)¹⁰ und die europäische Idee von der 'Kultur der Regionen' aus den 1970er Jahren etikettieren zumeist nur deklamatorisch das, was im günstigsten Fall bis heute als halbherziger Kulturföderalismus angeboten wird.

Das Dilemma regionalsprachlicher, in diesem Fall deutscher Minderheitenliteraturen ist offenkundig, auch wenn es hinsichtlich der Voraussetzungen literarischer Entwicklung im Prinzip keinen Dissens gibt. Unabhängig von der räumlichen Distanz zum binnendeutschen Sprachraum, von ihrer kulturgeschichtlichen Tradition, Siedlungsdichte, dem Bildungsstand und vom Grad der politischen wie kulturellen Eigenständigkeit ist Sprache als Muttersprache, auch als geförderte Fremdsprache die Identitätsbedingung multilingualer Minderheiten. Sprache ist geistige Heimat, Literatur in dieser Sprache die schriftliche Demonstration

eigener Kultur, zugleich Gedächtnis kultureller Herkunft und Voraussetzung einer kulturell eigenständigen Zukunft, existentiell unverzichtbar.

Dieses Gefüge aber beschreibt lediglich die Koordinaten, welche im grundsätzlichen gelten, die aber von den Variablen der wirklichen regional und geschichtlich wechselnden Verhältnisse jeweils verschoben und in Bewegung gehalten werden: die ethnisch orientierte Identität und der davon gespeiste kulturelle Widerstand, die soziokulturelle Herkunft und kulturelle Selbstorganisation, die intrakulturelle, interkulturelle und überregionale literarischen Verbindungen, die zeitgeschichtlich wechselnden Vorgaben der politischen Machtverhältnisse.

Nun mag man einwenden, das alles gelte keinesfalls für jede zwischenkulturelle Entwicklung, an der deutsche Sprachminderheiten bei unterschiedlich regionalen Existenzbedingungen beteiligt sind. Dort nämlich, wo es gelänge, ethnisch angeblich beengendes Selbstverständnis zu überwinden, regionale Kultur für überregionalen kulturellen Zusammenhang zu öffnen, sich von politischen Implikationen zu befreien, wandelten sich auch Sprach- und Literaturentwicklung und gewannen Zukunft. Diese literarkulturelle Zukunft ist vor Jahren auch denjenigen 'minorities' in den USA mit der fragwürdigen These verheißen worden, selbst noch bei völligem Verlust der Muttersprache einer Ethnie könne Literatur als spezifische Minderheitenliteratur überdauern, wenn die Autoren in der dominanten Staatsprache, hier dem Anglo-Amerikanischen, weiterschrieben und minderheitenkulturell spezifische Themen, Stoffe und Perspektiven behandelten. Beide Annahmen, die eine zur Rettung der literarischen Kunst und die andere zur Rettung von literarische Minderheitenkultur, verkennen die komplexen Verhältnisse minderheitenliterarischer Entwicklungen und kündigen letztlich deren Existenz auf. Werfen wir einen Blick auf die näheren Umstände von Literaturentwicklung und Forschungsdiskurs.

II

Für die Beobachtungen zur Literaturentwicklung berücksichtigen wir aus den vier literarkulturell wichtigsten Literaturszenen deutscher Minderheiten in der UdSSR,¹¹ in Rumänien, Frankreich (Elsass) und Italien (Südtirol) die ersten drei als Beispiele für einen charakteristischen Status, der zum einen auf die literarkulturelle Erosion vorausweist, zum andern auf die scheinbare Möglichkeit des literarkulturellen Aufbruchs, signifikant für die Zeit um 1981, einem politischen Schwellenjahr.

In der Phase verschärfter Ideologisierung der 'Nationalitätenpolitik' einer 'multinationalen Sowjetgesellschaft' erscheint die umfangreichste Publikation literarischer Texte der 'sowjetdeutschen'/russlanddeutschen 'Nationalität,' die "Anthologie der sowjetdeutschen Literatur" (1981/82).¹² In drei Bänden, auf über tausend Seiten, bemüht sich eine große Zahl von Autoren der 'sowjetdeutschen' Minderheit, geführt am kurzen Zügel ideologisierte Literaturpolitik, kulturelle Eigenart zu demonstrieren. Auch wenn Fremd- und Selbstzensur ein ausschließlich parteiamtlich genehmes Schreiben erzwingen, die ästhetische Qualität schlicht ist, das Selbstverständnis von Autoren weltanschaulichen Prämissen folgt, abgekoppelt von moderner Literaturentwicklung und der Bedingung freier Kunst, die schiere

Quantität der publizistischen Geste beeindruckt. Das ist auch der politische Sinn des literarischen Großunternehmens, zielt es doch nach innen auf eine Bindung der deutschen Minderheit an den Sowjetstaat, staatsweit und außenpolitisch auf nationalitätenpolitisch scheinbar garantierte kulturelle Pluralität, dabei zynischerweise mit falscher Etikettierung hantierend.

Für die deutschen Autoren, ob tatsächlich ideologiegläubig handelnd oder als zuverlässig alimentierte Mitläufer der Diktatur taktierend, geht es um den literarkulturellen Existenznachweis, um Identitätsstärkung und Spracherhalt. Sowohl die trivialromantische Natur- und Liebeslyrik als auch die parteilich bekennenden, betont patriotisch eingefärbten Texte über das "Wunder Heimat" und "Der Heimat Wärme," gewährleistet von "Mutter Russland," "Mein Kasachstan" und den "Zwei Muttersprachen," sprechen dazu über den Zusammenhang von Literatur und besonderer Minderheitenexistenz im sozialistischen Einheitsstaat.¹³ Ob politisches Glaubensbekenntnis, gezielt pragmatische Leistung des Kulturerhalts, Textproduktion der unpolitisch reimenden, aber politisch geförderten Dilettanten oder diffus empfundener Schreibauftrag des Begabten: der Staat als Zensor korrumpiert den Autor, der sich zur künstlerischen Selbstaufgabe genötigt sieht, wenn ihm die Verbindung von existentieller Erfahrung seiner Welt, seiner gruppenspezifischen Sprach- und Textkultur mit den Forderungen staatlicher Ideologie und der Not eigener kulturpolitischer Existenzsicherung abverlangt wird. Die Fragilität und das dubiose Kunstverständnis entlarvt der Zusammenbruch des sozialistischen Regimes, der zugleich der Wegfall eines scheinbar geschlossenen deutschen Literatursystems ist.

Es zeigt sich an diesem Beispiel: Minderheitenliteratur ist nicht existenzfähig, wenn es zum einen keinerlei Rückkopplung mit der modernen muttersprachlichen Literaturentwicklung in Mitteleuropa gibt und wenn das ethnische Selbstverständnis dem Zugriff einem vereinheitlichenden, ideologisch gesteuerten Verständnis *eines* sowjetischen Staatsvolkes zwangsweise und freiwillig überantwortet wird.

Unter der Herrschaft des rumänischen Diktators Nicolae Ceaușescu ergeben sich für die rumäniendeutschen Autoren im sozialistischen Balkanstaat andere Bedingungen. Die historisch gewachsenen Gunstumstände von relativ geschlossenem Siedlungsgebiet und funktionierendem Bildungssystem, die Nähe zum deutschsprachigem Literaturraum Mitteleuropas fördern eine differenzierte Publizistikszone, die—darin ähnlich den Verhältnissen in der Sowjetunion—den Autoren drei literarkünstlerisch kompromittierende, politisch risikolose, für die allgemeine Öffentlichkeit der ethnisch geprägten Minderheitenprovinz akzeptierbare Schriftstellerrollen anbietet: "die des Parteidichters, die des Heimatdichters und [die] des Epigonen." Weil aber künstlerische Begabung die Unabhängigkeit in publizistischer Freiheit sucht, sind es in den 1970er, 80er Jahren "die jungen Autoren," die unter diesen einengenden Umständen "literarisch hochwertige Texte . . . schreiben, die einerseits die Zensur passieren konnten, andererseits keinerlei Zugeständnisse enthielten."¹⁴ Ihre Texte bleiben stoffgeschichtlich und thematisch den regionalen historisch-politischen und kulturellen Bedingungen verpflichtet, verlagsorganisatorisch Teil des Literatursystems, entfernen sich aber zugleich aber von diesem durch den intellektuellen und künstlerischen Anspruch.

Die Verschärfung der restriktiven Minderheitenpolitik und ideologischen Nötigungen von 1981 an unterlaufen diese Literaten und auch die "Neue Literatur," die "Zeitschrift des Schriftstellerverbandes der SR Rumänien," mit bewährter publizistischer Taktik. Den jeweiligen politischen Ergebnisadressen an das Zentralkomitee der RKP und an den Genossen Ceaușescu, folgen regimekonforme Texte, um dann Literatur anzuschließen, die modernen literarästhetischen Ansprüchen genügt, und Nachdrucke sowie kritische Berichte über die vor allem westliche Literaturentwicklung. Solch Autorenwiderstand gegen Zensur, Ideologie und Provinzialismus nimmt Einfluss auf die literarische Arbeit, befördert den künstlerischen Anspruch auf das Bemühen um universale Aussagen und angemessene Form, mit modernen Mitteln von Motivverflechtungen, metaphorischer Verdichtung und aufgebrochener Syntax kritische Sicht, authentische Erfahrung zu chiffrieren und der aktuellen Literaturentwicklung zu folgen.¹⁵ Es ist eine schriftstellerische Gratwanderung, die von den Autoren gewagt wird, nämlich mit künstlerische Redlichkeit sich selbst gegenüber und mit Texten von Rang dem Dilemma standzuhalten, Kunst leisten zu wollen, kulturpolitisch durchzusetzen, in der deutschen Gegenwartsliteratur zu bestehen, Zensur abzuwehren, kulturelles Gedächtnis zu pflegen und Wahrheitsfindung zu versuchen, Sachwalter von Sprache und Literatur zu sein, die Identität und Heimat bedeuten. Die programmatische Konsequenz, die Konflikte mit lapidaren Worten verstellend, zieht Rolf Bossert 1979 in seinem vielzitierten Gedicht: "wir kämpfen / gegen schablonen und losungen' // nach dieser schablone / werden wir all unsere / losungen prägen."¹⁶

Wirtschaftlich-politisch motivierte Abwanderung während der folgenden Jahre lösen das ethnisch getragene Selbstverständnis einer kulturell eigenständigen Bevölkerungsgruppe und ihrer literarischen Selbstbehauptung auf. Die regionale Literaturszene zerfällt, und die Autoren, Heimat als Erfahrungsraum verlassen habend, publizieren im deutschen Literaturbetrieb, die wenigsten ins literarische Bewusstsein einer weiteren deutschen Öffentlichkeit gelangend, unter den Erfolgreichen Franz Hodjak, Herta Müller, Richard Wagner. Ernest Wichner meint bereits 1987 resümierend, alles sei nur eine Illusion gewesen, das nie existente "Rumäniendeutschland, . . . jene nebulös-imaginäre Kopf-Landschaft, die den Ort einer spezifischen Literatur markierte," eine "deutsche Literatur und *eine* deutsche Literatur: die rumäniendeutsche."¹⁷

Und es sind diese wenigen, die auch heute noch als "die eigentlichen Repräsentanten der rumäniendeutschen Literatur"¹⁸ verstanden werden, was faktisch unzutreffend und philologisch fehlerhaft ist. Das Missverständnis hängt mit dem alleinigen Maßstab der literarkritisch zugebilligten ästhetischen Relevanz zusammen, der einzelne innovative Schriftsteller zu Recht hervorhebt, aber das auch diesen zugehörige Literatursystem ihrer Herkunft zu Unrecht als philologisch relativ irrelevant taxiert. Dem literarhistorischen Prozess geben überragende Begabungen die Richtung an, bleiben aber zugleich integrativer Teil der allgemeinen Entwicklung. Herta Müller beispielsweise zählt zu der kleinen Gruppe von Schriftstellern, der es gelungen ist, in der deutschen Literatur erfolgreich zu reüssieren. Ihre schriftstellerische immer "auch politische und politisch strukturierte Wahrnehmung" ist von der 'rumäniendeutschen'

„Erfahrungsbildung“ vorgeprägt,¹⁹ die ihren besonders eingerichteten kritisch distanzierenden „fremden Blick“ als zentralen Affinität zur Welt geprägt hat.²⁰ Norbert Eke ist in seinem Urteil über die literarisch bemerkenswerte Leistung von Herta Müller zuzustimmen, weil diese sich daraus ergibt, was literarische Leistung grundsätzlich ausmacht. Die „authentische Erlebnisstruktur,“ der subjektive Erfahrungsraum Rumänien, führt sie „im Prozess der ästhetischen Umformung über die autobiographischen Momente [. . .], die ihr zugrunde liegen“ hinaus und durch „Übersetzung von ‘empirischer’ Realität in dichtungsautonome ‘ästhetische’ Realität“ wird die subjektive Erfahrung ins Modellhafte eines so oder ähnlich immer wieder funktionierenden Zustands der Entmenschlichung ausgeweitet, ohne dass dessen gesellschaftliche Entstehungsbedingungen damit verloren gingen.“²¹ Ob diese ‚Erfahrungsrücklage‘ ein Schriftstellerleben lang zureichend sein wird, ihre moralische Vision von einer gerechteren Welt von dieser abzusichern, darüber werden zukünftige Texte und die Zuwendung der Leser entscheiden.

Es ist die „Erfahrungsbildung“ nicht nur dieser Schriftstellerin, die sich innerhalb der rumänischen gesellschaftspolitischen und soziokulturellen Gegebenheiten subjektiv vollzogen hat, für deren Erläuterung die rumäniendeutsche Welt in ihrem überaus komplexen politisch-kulturellen Kontext in den Blick zu nehmen ist, weil die Autorin immer ein Teil davon bleiben wird. Und diese Zuwendung hat direkt zu erfolgen, ist nicht ausschließlich über die von ihr selbst sortierten und ausgedeuteten, ihre Schreibsituation ausdeutenden Erklärungen zu beziehen. Es ist mühsam für die deutschen Philologen, jene exotisch schwierige interkulturelle Situation einzubeziehen, und es sind auch die verbreiteten Vorbehalte, man könne sich dabei dem Stallgeruch des Provinzialismus minderheitenliterarischer Szenen nicht völlig entziehen, zusätzlich kollegiales Kopfschütteln angesichts eines für die Literaturwissenschaft als weithin unerheblich bezeichneten Gegenstandes einhandeln.

Schauen wir auf das dritte Beispiel. Die für beide erläuterten Fälle wohl zutreffende Einschätzung literarkultureller Auflösung lässt sich mit dem Beispiel der elsässischen Literatur und dem erhobenen Anspruch auf Dreisprachigkeit, literarische Interkulturalität und internationale Regionalität in gewisser Weise konterkarieren. Moderne literarische Entwicklung in sprachkulturell besonders geprägten Regionen erweist sich fürs Elsass nicht als Frage des ethnischen Selbstverständnisses und dessen Verlustes, des Vorhandenseins von politischer Autonomie, eines geschlossenen Literatursystems. Der Erfolg elsässischer Autoren heute beruht auf den Bedingungen kulturpolitisch relativ stabilisierter Verhältnisse in der Region, dem künstlerischen Potentials, auf der Vision von einer kulturenübergreifenden Mehrsprachigkeit und einem grenzüberschreitenden Literaturraum, ethnisches und minderheitennationales Selbstverständnis ausklammernd. Insofern ist die aktuelle Erkundigung für den US-Staat Wisconsin, „Where have all the Germans gone?“ (2002)²², statistisch, ethno- und assimilationsgeschichtlich relevant, literarkulturell nur bedingt interessant.

Im Elsass haben sich die Dinge anders entwickelt. Die historisch-politischen Verwerfungen in der Region²³ und die kulturpolitischen wie kulturellen Aktivitäten seit den siebziger, achtziger Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts haben das gegenwärtige regionale Kulturverständnis von längst brüchig gewordener ethnischer Bindung im

Sinne ethno-politischer Abgrenzung befreit. Den regional führenden Intellektuellen, den Literaten und Politikern, ist es gelungen, ein Konzept der grenzüberschreitenden Kultur zu entwerfen. Und dieses Konzept zu minderheitenliterarischem Provinzialismus und literarkultureller Relevanz verfolgt jene kulturelle Öffnung, die der Südtiroler Autor Norbert C. Kaser 1970 in seiner brisanten kulturkritischen „Brixener Rede“ zum Provinzialismus des deutschen Literaturbetriebs südlich der Alpen schon zehn Jahre zuvor, verpackt in deftiger Metaphorik, eingefordert hat: „Langsam brechen die Vorurteile gegenüber über uns ein. Wir haben als Literaten die Pflicht, sie weiter einzureißen. Uns gehört das Wort. Bei uns stehn noch so viele heilige Kühe herum, dass man vor lauter Kühen nichts mehr sieht. Das Schlachtfest wird grandios werden. Die Messer werden schon die ganze Zeit über gewetzt. Und unter den Schlächtern sind sicher zwei, drei Leute, die beim Beruf bleiben, denen es gefällt, den Tiroler Adler wie einen Gigger zu rupfen und ihn schön langsam über dem Feuer zu drehen. . . . Manche können kein Blut sehen, aber das macht nichts. Südtirol wird eine Literatur haben, wie gut dass es niemand weiß. Amen.“²⁴ Kasers Text ist dauerhaft ein wichtiges Dokument, das die Problematik minderheitenliterarischer Theorie und Schreibpraxis pointiert analysiert und bewertet, von der Forschung jedoch in seiner grundsätzlich gültigen Aussage noch immer zu wenig beachtet wird.

Was Kaser polemisch anspricht, kehrt in der visionären Programmatik wieder, die André Weckmann entwirft. Der elsässische Lyriker und Romancier definiert, was der elsässischen Literatur den Weg weisen soll. „Dichter sein im Elsass“ (1976) heiße, literarische Mündigkeit zu beweisen, „sprachliche und kulturelle Bivalenz“ zwischen Deutschland und Frankreich zu pflegen, dem historisch mehrfach erlittenen zentralstaatlichen Herrschaftsanspruch protestierend zu widerstehen, trilinguale Literatur von Bedeutung für regionale Identität anzubieten, am aktuellen Diskurs über die Gegenwartsdichtung teilzuhaben. Dazu sei es unabdingbar, die Mundart für das poetische Wort nicht nur zu bewahren, sondern zu vitalisieren, den Wechsel in die kleine folkloristisch Münze zu verhindern, um den „Dialekt als Waffe“ (1977) für eine „alemannische Internationale“ (1977) der Sprachkultur zu schärfen und, wie Finck ergänzt, die „Mundart“ für den regionalkulturellen „Protest“ fähig zu machen (1978).²⁵

Markantes Dokument der neuen Entwicklung elsässischer Literatur ist die von Adrien Finck edierte Anthologie „In dieser Sprache,“ erschienen 1981, im Jahr des politischen Wechsels zur V. Republik mit sozialistischem Programm. Der Herausgeber, André Weckmann und Conrad Winter gestalten in ihren Gedichten jene „Grenzsituation“ (Weckmann), die—ausgehend von elsässischer kulturhistorischer Besonderheit—die Bedingungen regionalliterarischer Kunst und ihre überregional gültige Transformationsleistung ansprechen, mit der die existentielle Grundbefindlichkeit des modernen Menschen artikuliert wird. Wegweisend ist dieser Band auch deswegen, weil mit den Texten eine Erneuerung der alemannischen Mundartpoesie gelingt, verbunden mit einer Weiterentwicklung der Lyrik in hochdeutscher Sprache, zugleich über die Verbindung von Dialekt und den beiden nationalen Hochsprachen neue Möglichkeiten der künstlerischen Gestaltung und der die Sprachgrenzen überschreitenden Verständigung durch die Literatur vorführend. Das Buch signalisiert zugleich den Aufbruch aus der Enge einer Region für einen

überregionalen Anspruch auf Geltung, aus den literarästhetischen Fähnissen der Provinzialität und einer begrenzten Weltsicht.

Für diesen Aufbruch spricht Finck die wichtigen Facetten an. Die Identität des Einzelnen —unverzichtbare Lebensgrundlage— ergebe sich aus dem Wiedererkennen seiner selbst in der Region als Heimat, die Erinnerung gespeichert hat, wie die Sprache, die man spreche und die Literatur, die in ihr geschrieben sei. Für den Autor, provinzielles und politisch affirmatives Sprechen vermeidend, bedürfe es dazu einer geistigen Heimat und des Freiseins von sprachpolitischer und staatspoetologischer Gängelung, des Begreifens, zwischen Kunstanspruch und Lesererwartung vermittelnd zu schreiben.

Seine Texte wie die der anderen sind Texte des literarästhetischen Widerstandes gegen den Verlust von Muttersprache als "Fremdsprache," den von Heimat als übergeordnetem "Nirgendheim," den von literargeschichtlicher Tradition als keineswegs "Letzte[r] elsässische[r] Deutschstunde." Sie leisten Widerstand gegen kultur- und sprachpolitische Bevormundung, dokumentiert in der elsässischen Geschichte zwischen Deutschland und Frankreich, besonders drastisch erfahren während der deutschen Besetzung 1941-45, in einer Zeit, als die NS-Ideologie die 'Auslandsdeutschen' als 'ethnische Vorposten deutscher Kultur' verstanden und deutsche Autoren aus den Minderheiten als Propagandisten 'reinen Deutschtums' funktionalisiert hat.²⁶ Adolf Meschendörfer, rumäniendeutscher Romancier, verkörpert diese Entgleisung. Mit den Erläuterungen seiner hypertroph germanisierten Goetheverehrung pervertiert der Goethe-Medaillen-Träger eine geistige Tradition und desavouiert regionalliterarisches Kunstverständnis, auch als er 1942 auf einer Lesereise in Straßburg vorträgt—'seit Karl dem Großen noch nie so deutsch'—, im "Kameradschaftshaus der Künstler," einer "großen Villa, die zuletzt dem reichen Mühlenbesitzer Levy gehörte."²⁷

Die Entwicklung elsässischer Literatur bestätigt die literarkulturelle Möglichkeit, Literatur aus regionalen Traditionen nicht nur für die Region zu schreiben, sondern als Autor am überregionalen Zusammenhang der literargeschichtlichen Entwicklung erfolgreich teilzuhaben. Den führenden Autoren Adrien Finck, André Weckmann, Claude Vigée, Conrad Winter u.a. ist es gelungen, ein regionales Identitätsbewusstsein zu artikulieren und öffentlich zu fördern, eingerichtet im Geiste des europäischen Literaten René Schickele.²⁸ Und an diesem "geistige[n] Elsässertum"²⁹ hat sich das konsequent verfolgte Etablieren eines differenzierten Literatursystems orientiert, mit der Grundlage einer Wiederbelebung der modernen alemannischen Dialektliteratur, maßgeblich geleistet von Finck, Vigée und Weckmann. Kontinuierlich erscheinen in französischen, vor allem in deutschen Verlagen die Arbeiten der Literaten, als Einzelausgaben, als Anthologien, deren Titel, nacheinander gelesen, zum Programm werden. Ihre Aktivitäten greifen in den alltäglichen Diskurs von kulturellen Veranstaltungen im Elsass ein und intensivieren die deutsch-französischen Kulturbeziehungen. Sie nehmen erfolgreich Einfluss auf schulpolitische Entscheidungen zu Gunsten des verbesserten und stundenmäßig vermehrten Sprachunterrichts in Mundart und hochdeutscher Sprache. Literaturgeschichten für den Wissenschaftsbetrieb und die Schule liegen vor (Finck, 1987, 1990). Die Literaturzeitschrift "Revue Alsacienne de Littérature" erscheint in der 76. Ausgabe. Verleihe Literaturpreise—der Johann-Peter-Hebel-Preis, Elisabeth-Langgässer-Preis

und der Europäische Würth-Preis für Literatur—würdigen die Autorenleistungen. Ob mit dieser Entwicklung das "Schicksal Elsass" nicht länger die beispielhafte "Krise einer Kultur und einer Sprache" ist, wie es Eugène Philipps 1980 eingeschätzt hat,³⁰—ein rasch gesprochenes Dementi könnte später als zu voreilig getroffen verstanden werden.

III

Im Jahre 2000 haben sich Germanisten aus zahlreichen Ländern zum IVG-Kongress in Wien versammelt. Die Veranstaltung überlagerte ein wissenschaftsethischer Konflikt. Es ist dabei um den Zusammenhang von Selbstverständnis der Disziplin gegangen, um nationalphilologische Gestrigkeit, politisches Engagement und aktuelle innenpolitische Situation im gastgebenden Land Österreich mit der neuen Mitterrechtsregierung.³¹

Unabhängig vom Gegenstand des innerdisziplinären Kongressdissens gilt die Feststellung des französischen Publizisten Jacques Le Rider: "Die Germanistik als Nationalliteratur-Forschung ist eine gestrige Wissenschaft geworden."³² Und—so ist zu ergänzen—auch Literatur ist im grundsätzlichen übernational. Wenn also von der Übereinstimmung ausgegangen werden kann, es gebe nur eine post- und transnationale germanistische Literaturwissenschaft und ihren entsprechend bedingten Gegenstand, dann signalisiert der Warschauer Germanist Karol Sauerland mit seinem Hinweis, Literatur "ist ja prinzipiell eine übernationale Erscheinung, wenngleich mit gewissen nationalen und regionalen Besonderheiten,"³³ dass die rigorosen Definitionen zwar Fachkonsens sind, die allgemeine literarische Entwicklung und—so muss man ergänzen—die Wirklichkeit der Philologien national- und regionalkulturelle Umstände kennen, in unterschiedlicher Funktionalisierung und Intensität wahrnehmen und zum Bestandteil der eigenen Perspektive machen.

Sauerlands Relativierung ist für unseren thematischen Zusammenhang interessant. Fraglos gilt: Literatur sucht generell nach einer ästhetisch reflektierten und sublimierten Wahrheit, zu gewinnen aus dem kritischen Widerstand gegenüber der besonderen Wirklichkeit des Alltags. Literatur von Sprachminderheiten nimmt aber den zusätzlichen Auftrag an, literarkulturelle Eigenart zu behaupten und regionale Identität zu bewahren. Die Umstände von Literatur im Zusammenhang mit dem Literatur- und Sprachraum eines Staates, einer Nation, mit dem auch daran gebundenen nationalen Selbstverständnis, dem ethnisch orientierten Identitätsbewusstsein von Sprachminderheiten auf dem jeweiligen anderen nationalen Territorium birgt für Literatur und ihrer Wissenschaft immer das Spannungsverhältnis von national beanspruchter und übernationaler Entwicklung. Minderheitenkultur bezieht ihre Identität aus ethnischer Rückbindung und Selbstvergewisserung, aus dem kulturellen Selbstverständnis im Kontrast und Widerstand zu Nachbarkulturen, zu Assimilation und Migration. Ein Blick auf die weltweite politische Entwicklung bestätigt die Bedeutung von Kultur im Zusammenhang von Nation und Nationalitätenanspruch ethnischer Minderheiten.

In der Auseinandersetzung mit deutschen Sprachminderheitenliteraturen steht die Germanistik sich daher häufig selbst im Wege. Die Distanz der Germanistik zu solchen gegebenen Implikationen ist eine Folge der hemmungslosen Ideologisierung des Faches und der deutschen Sprachminderheiten durch den Nationalsozialismus. Das ist begreiflich. Aber der verbreitete Reflex, dass alles das, was sich in ethnisch-nationalen Zusammenhängen als Literatur und wissenschaftliche Zuwendung entwickelt, ideologisch suspekt sei, darum wissenschaftsethisch höchst problematisch, nebenbei erkenntnispraktisch unerheblich, misstraut der Fachkompetenz und nimmt dem Fach einen seinem Auftrag gemäßen Gegenstand.

Ein weiterer Aspekt der Selbstbehinderung ist die Neigung zur fortgesetzten Dichotomisierung der Literatur in einen Teil der literarästhetisch dominanten 'Höhenkammliteratur' und einen der trivialen Gebrauchsliteratur. Das führt immer wieder zu einer von der gesamten Literaturentwicklung relativ isolierten Betrachtung zweifelsfrei herausragender Autoren aus den Minderheitenregionen, mit der Neigung zu philologisch kaprizierter Subtilität und zur Vernachlässigung des regionenbezogenen Kontextes, der unverzichtbaren Bedingung literarkultureller Autorherkunft. Zu diesem Kontext gehört, wie bereits erwähnt, die komplexe Problematik von Minderheitenliteratur als politisch-ideologisch funktionalisierbare und funktionalisierte 'auslandsdeutsche' Literatur seit dem Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts, besonders während der NS-Zeit im Zusammenhang mit der Volkstumsideologie, dem NS-Imperialismus und dem Vorwurf einer 'fünften Kolonne' sowie die nationalistisch und ethnisch Funktionalisierung durch die Minderheiten selbst und den jeweiligen heimatlichen Nationalstaat, andauernd bis in die Gegenwart. Die daraus als negativ eingeschätzte semantische Belastung von 'Minderheitenliteratur' ist zusätzlicher Teil der Literaturentwicklung, ihrer Selbstdarstellung, ihrer Rezeption in bestimmten Regionen und zu bestimmten Zeiten, damit keine verhindernde Belastung der wissenschaftlichen Beachtung, sondern ein weiterer Aspekt des ideologiekritisch durchzuführenden Auftrages.

Folgt man den hier vorgestellten Erläuterungen, dann ergeben sich daraus Konsequenzen für den Forschungsgang. So wie es vom Verfasser wiederholt angesprochen worden ist, in derselben Weise formuliert René Kegelmann die Ansprüche an die Auseinandersetzung mit Autoren in und aus den Minderheitenkulturen.³⁴ Diese Literatur und ihre Literaten stünden "im Spannungsverhältnis verschiedener Einflüsse sprachlicher, kultureller und politischer Art," denen man philologisch nur gerecht werden könne, wenn die "Bestimmung der Eigenheiten und der Einbindung in größere Zusammenhänge," die Beachtung der literargeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen, der "Vergleich mit Vertretern anderer Minderheitenliteraturen" gewährleistet sei. Erst dann ließen sich Minderheitenliteraturen "als Teil eines viel weiter gespannten Komplexes deutschsprachiger Literatur des 20. Jahrhunderts ... verstehen, deren Wesensmerkmale mit Minderheitenproblematik, Exil und Emigration untrennbar verknüpft sind."

Völlig richtig, aber zu allgemein angesprochen. Es ist offenkundig, dass hinsichtlich der Minderheitenliteraturen die Forschung sich auf mehreren parallel verlaufenden Diskursschienen bewegt, deren Konvergenz aus Mangel an verbindenden Weichenstellungen selten gelingt. Da gibt es zu einen die spezifisch deutsche Situation,

für die Nenad Popovic³⁵ von einer allgemeinen "Biedermeierisierung" der deutschen Literatur während der letzten Jahrzehnte spricht. Diese habe offenkundig etwas mit der perspektivischen Identitätssuche der Deutschen seit 1989/90 zu tun hat und mit der retrospektiven 'Verarbeitung' der "Naziverbrechen." Ist es so, dann gibt es zwischen beiden Bedingungen keinen Platz für die deutschen Minderheitenliteraturen, weil beides die negativen Stigmata der deutschen Minderheiten sind: Identität in ethnisch-nationaler Bindung an Deutschland, willfährige 'frontier'-Gesellschaft der nationalsozialistischen Terrorherrschaft.

Dann gibt es zum andern den vielstimmig betonten Anspruch, die germanistische Forschung habe interkulturell zu sein. Diese Forderung hat die philologische Neigung kaum darin bestärkt, dem Zusammenhang von interliterarischen Entwicklung zwischen verschiedensprachigen Literaturen und Minderheitenliteraturen nachzugehen, deutschen Minderheitenliteraturen als Teil der deutschsprachigen Literaturgeschichte zu begreifen, die literarkulturelle Verzahnung mit anderssprachigen Literaturen an den Rändern ihrer regionalen Verbreitung als überschaubare Modellfälle der übernationalen Literaturentwicklung zu akzeptieren. Es ist durchaus verständlich, dass sich die Forschung im deutschen Sprachraum vorrangig der Entstehung einer mehrkulturellen Literaturentwicklung im mitteleuropäischen deutschen Literaturraum zugewandt hat, weil das Phänomen der Immigrantenkultur unmittelbar erlebbar und praktikabel handhabbar ist. Im Unterschied dazu wird die Beteiligung deutscher Autoren an der mehrkulturellen Literaturentstehung außerhalb des deutschen Sprachraums als marginal, daher unerheblich für den germanistischen Erkenntnisgewinn abgetan, mit dieser Einschätzung wohl eher die gescheute Mühseligkeit in der Auseinandersetzung mit den 'fremden' sprach- und literarkulturellen Verhältnissen in anderssprachigen Staaten und Regionen verschleiern. Zusammengefasst lässt sich dazu sagen: Es sind die regionale Ferne dieser Minderheitenliteraturen, die ideologiegeschichtliche Hypothek und die Distanz zu den nichtdeutschen Literaturentwicklungen, die literaturwissenschaftliche Schwellenängste, Desinteresse und Gleichgültigkeit zur Folge haben.

Mit dem literarkulturellen Niedergang setzen die Aktivitäten der wissenschaftlichen Sichtung ein. Literatur aus den Sprachminderheiten wird zum Objekt der Regionalforschung, erzählende Provinz und "erzählte Provinz" Teil des philologischen Programms zur literarischen Regionalität.³⁶ Monographien und Literaturgeschichten erfassen und sichten, Aufsätze analysieren und bewerten, Anthologien kompilieren und stellen vor.³⁷ Es geht kaum noch um literarische Perspektiven, sondern um wissenschaftliche Retrospektiven, institutionell vorrangig in gesonderten wissenschaftlichen Einrichtungen verankert, deren besonderer Auftrag besonders zu bleiben scheint, auch wenn sinnvollerweise versucht wird, über Statusaufwertungen zu Hochschulinstituten und damit verbundenen organisatorischen Assoziierungen mit nahen Hochschulen die wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit aus ihrer 'Besonderheit' zu holen und in den allgemeinen Gang von Forschung und Lehre zu integrieren. Es ist abzuwarten, ob die räumlich und literargeschichtlich 'marginalen' Literaturen in den deutschen Sprachprovinzen lesegeschichtlich und philologisch weiterhin marginalisiert bleiben; denn trotz aller zuversichtlich stimmenden

Bemühungen verschwimmen ihre Konturen im öffentlichen Interesse von Politik und Kultur und Wissenschaft. Begrenztes kulturpolitisches und wissenschaftliches Interesse sowie ein diffuser Paradigmawechsel bei den Bildungszielen harmonisieren mit postmoderner Beliebtheit. Auch aktuelle Plädoyers für einen europäischen Kulturföderalismus offenbaren es. Sie unterschlagen die minderheitenkulturellen Verluste.³⁸

Im Jahre 1774 entwirft der Hamburger Dichter Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock die ideellen und praktischen Organisationsstrukturen einer universalen 'Gelehrtenrepublik'.³⁹ In der aufklärerischen Tradition einer Utopie vom universalen Gelehrtenstaat wird über zweihundert Jahre später ein dieser Idee vergleichbarer Text vorgestellt. Führende Literaten der Weltliteratur beschließen 1993 in Straßburg, ein Internationales Schriftstellerparlament einberufen. Als Präsident wird Salman Rushdie gewählt. Sein erster Erlass ist ein bemerkenswertes Dokument zur Freiheit von Geist und Wort. "Schriftsteller sind Bürger vieler Länder: des endlichen umgrenzten Landes der sichtbaren Wirklichkeit und des täglichen Lebens; des unendlichen Königreichs der Phantasie; des halbverlorenen Landes der Erinnerung; . . . der Vereinigten Staaten des Geistes, die ruhig sind und aufgewühlt, weit und eng, geordnet und chaotisch; . . . und—vielleicht der wichtigsten aller unserer Wohnorte—der unbeschränkten Republik der Sprache."⁴⁰

Ideale verlangen angemessenerweise nach hehren Worten und Pathos. Schriftsteller aus den deutschen Sprachminderheiten werden den Signalen nur bedingt trauen, genauso wenig wie denen einer transnationalen Germanistik. Sie haben längst das Nachsehen, wie die Elsässer: "aller guten dinge sind drei: / de barisser het d macht / de schwob het a gald / un s elsass het a nôchsahn."⁴¹ Die noch bei Elias Canetti "gerettete Zunge"⁴² scheint vor der zuschneidenden Schere nicht mehr bewahrt werden zu können.

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Anmerkungen

¹ Hermann Burger, *Als Autor auf der Stör*, Collection SFischer 53 (Frankfurt am Main, 1987), S. 31-34.

² *die Stör*: südd., österr., schweiz.: Arbeit, die ein Gewerbetreibender im Hause des Kunden verrichtet.

³ Joshua A. Fishman u.a., *The Rise and Fall of the Ethnic Revival: Perspectives on Language and Ethnicity*, Contributions to the Sociology of Language 37 (Berlin, 1985).

⁴ Zu diesen Faktoren der labilen politischen wie kulturellen Entwicklung vgl. deren Spiegelung in den Printmedien: Alexander Ritter, "Deutsche Minderheiten in der politischen Karikatur: Zum konfliktreichen Dilemma von Identität und Loyalität in Zeichnungen aus dem 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," in *Deutsche Studien* 38, 147-48 (2002): 49-71.

⁵ Peter Hort, "In Belgiens Musterländchen ist es mit der Ruhe vorbei: Die deutschen Politiker in Eupen rufen nach mehr Autonomie / Die Frage der Identität," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 16.9.2002.

⁶ Im Zusammenhang mit der Diskussion über Totalitarismus im 20. Jahrhundert, deutsche Geschichte und Nationalsozialismus ist auch über die ideologische Verführung und Verführbarkeit deutscher

Minderheiten nachzudenken und die desaströsen Folgen für deren politische wie kulturelle Stabilität: Alexander Ritter, "Der Peipusse, 'literarischer Volkstumskampf' und die philologische Kritik: Überlegungen zur Rezeption 'Auslanddeutscher Literatur' im Kontext der NS-Ideologie," in *Deutsche Literatur in Rumänien und das "Dritte Reich": Vereinnahmung – Verstrickung – Ausgrenzung*, hrsg. von Michael Markel und Peter Morzan, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für deutsche Kultur und Geschichte Südosteuropas (IKGS), Wissenschaftliche Reihe (Literatur und Sprachgeschichte) 94 (München, 2003), S. 13-55.

⁷ Zuletzt: *Fremde Augenblicke: Mehrkulturelle Literatur in Deutschland*, hrsg. von Irmgard Ackermann (Bonn, 1996); *Interkulturelle Literatur in Deutschland: Ein Handbuch*, hrsg. von Carmine Chiellino (Stuttgart, 2000).

⁸ Zur Rechtslage vgl. *Das Minderheitenrecht europäischer Staaten*, hrsg. von Jochen Abr. Frowein, Rainer Hofmann und Stefan Oeter, 2 Bde., Beiträge zum ausländischen öffentlichen Recht und Völkerrecht 108 u. 109 (Berlin, 1993 und 1994)); Christoph Pan und Beate Sibylle Pfeil, *Die Volksgruppen in Europa: Ein Handbuch*, Ethnos 56 (Wien, 2000).

⁹ Ethnic Heritage Studies Programs Act (1972). Vgl. hierzu *Ethnic Literatures since 1776: The many voices of America*, 2 Bde., hrsg. von Wolodmyr T. Zyla und Wendell M. Aycock (Lubbock, TX 1978).

¹⁰ Vom ersten Zeitpunkt der politisch praktischen Formulierung einer staatlichen Nationalitätenpolitik, institutionalisiert durch das "Volkskommissariat für die Nationalitäten" (1917-23), über die Funktion des Nationalitätensowjet (1924-36) bis in die "Taufwetter"-Perioden unter Chruschtschow (1956, 1958ff.) und dann Gorbatschow (1977ff.) hat für die ethnischen Minderheiten (Nationalitäten) kontinuierlich der Primat von Ideologie und Staatsinteresse gegolten.

¹¹ Die Erläuterungen beziehen sich ausdrücklich auf die literarkulturellen Verhältnisse deutscher Sprache, bestimmt von der zentralistisch organisierten sowjetischen Literaturpolitik bis zum Ende der Herrschaftsstrukturen innerhalb der UdSSR. Deren ideologisch begründeter und staatlich gewollter etablierter Pluralismus eigenständiger nationaler Literaturen generiert zugleich das Phantom einer deutschen Literatur und deren Verhinderung.

¹² *Anthologie der sowjetdeutschen Literatur*, 3 Bde. (Alma-Ata, 1.-2. Bd., 1981; 3. Bd., 1982).

¹³ *Anthologie* (Anm. 10), Bd. 2: Edmund Günther, "Mutter Russland" (S. 57); Karl Welz, "Mein Kasachstan" (S. 254); Nelly Wacker, "Zwei Muttersprachen" (S. 220); Woldemar Herdt, "Der Heimat Wärme" (S. 79); Ewald Katzenstein, "Wunder Heimat" (S. 113).

¹⁴ Wilhelm Solms, "Nachruf auf die rumäniendeutsche Literatur," in *Nachruf auf die rumäniendeutsche Literatur*, hrsg. von Wilhelm Solms (Marburg, 1990), S. 16.

¹⁵ Natürlich ist es ein simplifizierender "Trugschluss", "gute Literatur sei ein Produkt der Diktatur" (Solms, S. 15), aber Diktatur kann intellektuellen, ästhetischen Widerstand stimulieren, wenn potentiell widerstandsfähige Begabungen Widerstand leisten, zu was die deutschen Autoren in der Sowjetunion auf Grund ihrer kulturgeschichtlichen Entwicklung nicht in der Lage waren.

¹⁶ Rolf Bossert, "Erklärung," in *siebensachen: Gedichte* (Bukarest, 1979), S. 5.

¹⁷ "Das Wohnen ist kein Ort: Texte & Zeichen aus Siebenbürgen, dem Banat – und den Gegenden versuchter Ankunft," hrsg. von Ernest Wichner, *die horen* 32, 147 (1987): 5.

¹⁸ Solms 1990, vgl. Anm. 12, S. 13.

¹⁹ Norbert Otto Eke, "Sein Leben machen / ist nicht, / sein Glückmachen / mein Herr': Zum Verhältnis von Ästhetik und Politik in Herta Müllers Nachrichten aus Rumänien," *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Schillergesellschaft* 61 (1997): 481-509; hier S. 499.

²⁰ Herta Müller, *Der Fremde Blick oder Das Leben ist ein Furz in der Laterne*, Göttinger Sudelblätter (Göttingen, 1999), S. 26.

²¹ Eke 1997, vgl. Anm. 17, S. 499f.

²² Marc Balousek und Andy Hall, "Where have all the Germans gone?: The Old World is losing its grip on Wisconsin," *Society for German-American Studies - Newsletter* 23,3 (2002): 18.

²³ Die mehrfach wechselnde nationale Zugehörigkeit des Elsass', auch Lothringens, und der jeweils damit verbundene staatliche Eingriff vor allem in die sprachkulturellen Verhältnisse ('Germanisierung'/'Französisierung') haben die Entstehung eines regional spezifisches, ethnisch orientiertes Identitätsbewusstsein verhindert, dadurch die kulturelle Öffnung während der letzten Jahrzehnte ermöglicht. Zur Geschichte der Region zuletzt Stefan Fisch, "Nation, 'Heimat' und 'petit patrie' im Elsass unter deutscher Herrschaft 1870/71 bis 1918," in *Identità territoriali e cultura politica nella prima età moderna / Territoriale Identität und politische Kultur in der Frühen Neuzeit*, hrsg. von Marco Bellabarba und Reinhard Stauber (Bologna

und Berlin, 1998), S. 359-73. und politische Kultur in der Frühen Neuzeit. Hrsg. von Marco Bellabarba und Reinhard Stauber. Bologna und Berlin 1998, S. 359-73.

²⁴ Norbert C. Kaser, "Südtirols Literatur der Zukunft und der letzten zwanzig Jahre," in Norbert C. Kaser, *Prosa: Geschichten – Schultexte; Stadstiche; Glossen – Kritik*, Bd. 2., *Gesammelte Werke*, hrsg. von Benedikt Sauer und Erika Wimmer-Webhofer (Innsbruck, 1988), S. 111-18; hier S. 117f.

²⁵ André Weckmann, Dichter sein im Elsass, in "Mundart und Protest," *Nachrichten aus dem Elsass: Deutschsprachige Literatur in Frankreich*, hrsg. von Adrien Finck, *Auslandsdeutsche Literatur der Gegenwart* 3,2, (Hildesheim, 1978), 2:26-30. [Rede bei der Verleihung des Hebel-Preises 1976]; Ders., "Dialekt als Waffe: Dialekt und Progressismus," in Ebd., S. 31-34, zuerst in *Land und Sproch* (1977), H. 1; Ders., "Die alemannische Internationale: Eine Idee," in Ebd., S. 35-38, zuerst in *De Butterflade* (1977), Nr. 8; Adrien Finck, "Mundart und Protest. Zur neuen Mundartliteratur im Elsass," in Ebd., S. 1-25.

²⁶ Trotz zahlreicher neuerer Beiträge zu diversen Aspekten der NS-Politik im Elsass bleibt die folgende Publikation weiterhin grundlegend: Lothar Kettenacker, *Nationalsozialistische Volkstumspolitik im Elsass* (Stuttgart, 1973).

²⁷ Adolf Meschendörfer, "Goethe in meinem Leben," *Straßburger Monatshefte* 7 (1943): 139-48; zu Meschendörfers Roman *Der Büffelbrunnen* und die Rolle des rumäniendeutschen Autors im Kontext der propagandistischen Literaturpolitik des Nationalsozialismus vgl. die Studie Alexander Ritter, "Auslandsdeutsche Literatur" und nationalsozialistische Literaturpolitik: Adolf Meschendörfers Roman *Der Büffelbrunnen* (1935), in *Brücken schlagen: Festschrift für George Gutu*, hrsg. von Anton Schwob, Stefan Sienerth und Andrei Corbea, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für deutsche Kultur und Geschichte Südosteuropas (IKGS), Wissenschaftliche Reihe (München, 2004).

²⁸ Vgl. hierzu den Forschungsband *René Schickele aus neuer Sicht: Beiträge zur deutsch-französischen Kultur*, hrsg. von Adrien Finck, Alexander Ritter und Maryse Staiber, *Auslandsdeutsche Literatur der Gegenwart* 24 (Hildesheim, 1991).

²⁹ Adrien Finck, "Geistiges Elssertum," *Beiträge zur deutsch-französischen Kultur* (Landau/Pfalz, 1992).

³⁰ Eugène Philipps, *Schicksal Elsass: Krise einer Kultur und einer Sprache* (Karlsruhe, 1980).

³¹ Vgl. die Dokumentation *Germanistik – eine politische Wissenschaft: Ein Kolloquium im Jüdischen Museum Wien am 11. September 2000*, hrsg. von Christoph König, Klaus-Michael Bogdal und Hans-Harald Müller, in *Mitteilungen des Marbacher Arbeitskreises für Geschichte der Germanistik* (2002), H. 21/22.

³² Jacques Le Rider, "Gegen einen austriakischen Autismus," *Germanistik* (2002), vgl. Anm. 29, S. 41.

³³ Karol Sauerland, "Die Ideologie der vier deutschen Literaturen im Ostblock," *Germanistik*, vgl. Anm. 29, S.41.

³⁴ René Kegelmann, "Die ausgereiste Literatur: Selbst- und Fremdbilder zur jüngsten Generation 'rumäniendeutscher Literatur' in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland," in *Das Bild des Anderen in Siebenbürgen*, hrsg. von Konrad Gündisch, Wolfgang Höpken und Michael Markel, *Siebenbürgisches Archiv*; Folge 3.33 (Köln, 1998), S. 317-30; hier S. 329f.

³⁵ Nenad Popovic, "Biedermeierisierung statt New Generation," *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch* 52,3 (2002): 10-12; hier S. 12.

³⁶ Norbert Mecklenburg, *Erzählte Provinz: Regionalismus und Moderne im Roman* (Königstein/Ts., 1982); ders., *Die grünen Inseln: Zur Kritik des literarischen Heimatkomplexes* (München, 1986).

³⁷ Alexander Ritter, *Deutsche Minderheitenliteraturen: Regionalliterarische und interkulturelle Perspektiven der Kritik; Mit einer Bibliographie zur Forschung 1970-2000*, Veröffentlichungen des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerks, Reihe B: Wissenschaftliche Arbeiten 88 (München, 2001), S. 407-28.

³⁸ Peter Häberle, "Provinziell ist nur der Bundeskulturminister: Dem Föderalismus gehört in Europa die Zukunft," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 31.8.2002.

³⁹ Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, "Die deutsche Gelehrtenrepublik, ihre Einrichtung, ihre Gesetze. Geschichte des letzten Landtags" (1774), in Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, *Ausgewählte Werke*, hrsg. von Karl August Schleiden (München, 1962), S. 875-929.

⁴⁰ [Salman Rushdie], "Republik der Sprache: Salman Rushdies Unabhängigkeitserklärung der Literatur" (1994), *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 10.2.1994.

⁴¹ André Weckmann "aller guten Dinge," in *Neue Nachrichten aus dem Elsass*, hrsg. von Adrien Finck, *Auslandsdeutsche Literatur der Gegenwart* 17 (Hildesheim, 1985), S. 131.

⁴² Elias Canetti, *Die gerettete Zunge: Geschichte einer Jugend* (München, 1977).

Donald F. Durnbaugh

The Salas: A German-American Printing Family

The German-born Jakob Sala and his two sons, Salomon and Johann (both born in North America), were active printer-publishers in western Pennsylvania and northeastern Ohio in the early nineteenth century. (Although they often used the Germanic spelling of their first names in the USA, especially in their German-language imprints, they ordinarily used the Americanized versions — Jacob, Solomon, and John.) Though thus far little studied, their publishing activities were related to a wide diversity of themes—medical advice and practice, hymnody, devotional literature, newspapers, *Fraktur* certificates, innovative religious denominations, and ambitious but basically abortive communitarian ventures. The quantity of their imprints was not as extensive as some of their Eastern contemporaries, but, nevertheless, they are avidly sought after by collectors because of their relative rarity. They pose, however, formidable puzzles for bibliographers.

Jacob Sala

The progenitor of this line of printers, Jacob Otto Sala (1770-1858) was born in Germany, according to family tradition near Worms, and stemmed from a family of apothecaries—a trade which he followed in the USA. In 1774 he accompanied his family as a child to North America, shortly before the outbreak of the American Revolution, but exact information on arrival or ship's list has remained undiscovered. The first documentary evidence is of his marriage to Magdalena Mack (or Mark) on September 23, 1798, in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, at the Trinity Lutheran Church. According to family tradition, his bride was related to the well-known military figure, Gen. Daniel Morgan (1736-1802). Their oldest child, Solomon, was born in 1800. In the census of that year Jacob Sala was listed as a resident of York Borough, York County, Pennsylvania. It is thought that he affiliated himself with the Brethren (Dunkers) at this time.¹

Sala was evidently living in Frederick, Maryland (Friedrichstaun) by 1803 when he had printed for him in Hagerstown, Maryland, an edition of a much-published German-language booklet of medical advice "for humans and animals." Its title was *Kurtzgefaßtes Arzney-Büchlein für Menschen und Vieh*; first issued in America by the

Ephrata Society press in 1790 or 1791, the Hagerstown edition was the ninth in the series.²

In 1810 Sala and his family resided in Rockingham County, Virginia; the census listing places him there with a wife, three sons and three daughters. He seems to have been active as an apothecary; in any case the label on a bottle of tincture of his concoction has been preserved, printed in Harrisonburg, Virginia, during this period.³

He must have moved north to Western Pennsylvania soon after 1810 because in 1812 he arranged there for another (tenth) edition of the booklet of medical advice. This time the printer was Friedrich Goeb (1782-1829) of Somerset, Pennsylvania, best known for his release in 1813 of a German-language Bible, the first published west of the Allegheny Mountains.⁴

In that same year, 1813, Goeb printed for Sala another previously much-published booklet of medical advice, in this case one dedicated specifically to women and midwives. Its short title was the *Kurtzgefaßtes Weiber-Büchlein*; this Somerset edition listed no edition number, but the booklet had already reached the tenth (American) edition in 1799. The last page of this 1813 edition contains a brief advertisement for a "complete assortment of good medicines" which were available for inexpensive prices from Sala in Somerset.⁵

The eminent scholar of science George Sarton (1884-1956) came upon this "mean little book" in Harvard University's Houghton Library and published a query in the magazine *Isis* seeking assistance in identifying the book. His assessment was that it "was poorly composed, as by a man of little education." The presence in the text of the square "ROTAS/SATOR" palindrome indicated to him that it was largely based on folklore. This palindrome was often used in faith healing, known among German-Americans as *Brauche* or *Braucherei* (also as *powwowing*). Two scholars subsequently answered Sarton's query without providing substantial additional information.⁶

Another scholar credits Sala and Goeb with a subsequent edition of the *Weiber-Büchlein* in 1814, but that is unknown to bibliographers. The two are known to have issued the booklet again in 1818. As late as 1831 Sala had yet another edition printed for him in Ohio.⁷

Some accounts relate that Jacob Sala moved to Canton, Stark County, Ohio, in 1819 with his family, now composed of his wife, six boys, and three girls. However, the 1820 federal census placed the family in Summerhill Township, Cambria County, Pennsylvania. It may be that the relocation took place in 1820 after the census was taken, because by late 1820, Sala had secured housing at Seventh St. and the Public Square in Canton, and soon became a partner of the printer Eduard Schäffer (Shaeffer) in publishing a newspaper, *Der Westliche Beobachter*. Sala would remain connected with newspaper publishing for more than a decade. In December 1820 he announced to the public the opening of an apothecary shop and book store, sited on the southeast corner of Market Square; he also reported his intention to initiate a German-language newspaper in March 1821. Previously, in February 1820, the editor of *The Ohio Spectator* of Wooster, Ohio, had announced the sale of his Ramage press, related fonts, and other equipment, possibly the source of Sala's printing establishment.⁸

During the 1820s Jacob Sala printed in Canton a number of birth certificates in *Fraktur*, as did his sons Solomon and Johann (in Wooster and Canton). As was customary with this genre of printing, spaces were left on the broadsides for later written insertion of names and dates. This practice also makes difficult the precise dating of the initial printing of the broadsides.⁹ Soon after arriving in Canton, Jacob Sala published, along with a son (evidently Solomon), a book of prayers and hymns for youth, *Das kleine Lust-Gärtlein* (1821), which he reprinted in a slightly expanded version in 1824. Also in 1821, Sala co-published with his partner in Canton, Eduard Schäffer, two Lutheran imprints: *Der Psalter des Königs und Prophet Davids* (1821) and *Das neu eingerichtete Evangelisch-Lutherische Gesangbuch* (1821); then, in the following year, they issued *Der kleine Catechismus des seligen D. Martin Luthers* (1822).¹⁰

In that same year, Jacob Sala and his son Solomon published an extensive and important English-language hymnal for the Brethren (Dunkers)—*The Christian's Duty* (1822). This was the fourth “improved” edition of the first hymnal in English issued by the Brethren (printed in Germantown in 1791, with 352 hymns). According to its title-page, it was “recommended to the serious of all denominations by the Fraternity of [German] Baptists.” A Brethren congregation was organized in Stark County soon after 1804, a branch of which was created at Canton in 1825; there is no extant record, however, of direct connection of the Salas with this body. Because both Solomon and Johann Sala were active in the Masons, it is unlikely that the sons became Brethren, unlike their father, because its strict discipline forbade membership in “secret societies.”¹¹ The Sala press was probably involved in the publication of another Dunker hymnal, this one a pocket-sized compilation (“for the convenience of travelers”) that went through a confusingly large number of editions—*Die kleine Liedersammlung* (1826). The publisher was Heinrich Kurtz (1796-1874), who had a long association with the Salas and later, evidently with their assistance, became himself a printer/publisher in the wider Canton area. Solomon Sala reissued an expanded version of the small hymnbook in 1829. His foreword reads:

The first two editions of this popular little hymnbook went out of print so quickly that it has become necessary to print it again in order to satisfy the still-continuing demand. We have tried to fulfill the often repeated request to improve it by the addition of various songs and a new subject-index without making the book much larger or more expensive.¹²

Solomon Sala

Earlier in 1822 Solomon Sala (1800-66), along with his father, attempted the publication of a newspaper, *The Canton Gazette*, but it died after the first issue. The demise may have been abetted by the criticism of the established Canton newspaper, *The Ohio Repository*, whose editor had this comment about the new periodical: “It is submitted to the people for their approbation—and if it is sufficiently supported, is intended to put down the ‘*Repository*,’ and to do divers other great things. The general appearance and execution of this number, is such as might have been expected from

the persons engaged in it. On reading it over, we discovered no less than *three hundred and sixty-seven errors*—a vast proportion of which, exhibit an unparalleled degree of ignorance, and would disgrace a school boy of 12 years of age.”¹³

Solomon Sala's subsequent printing activity took place in the western part of Virginia, at Buffaloe Creek, Brooke County, in what is now Bethany, West Virginia. He was called there as a master printer by the innovative clergyman, Alexander Campbell (1788-1866), co-founder of the Disciples of Christ. (According to family and college traditions, Sala established his press in “Old Bleak House,” still standing near the campus of Bethany College.) At this point, Solomon Sala and his wife Delila Rittenhouse Sala, who were married in Canton in late 1820, were members of the Brush Run Baptists, and later, of the Wellsburgh congregation.

In 1823 Sala, at Campbell's urging, began an ambitious publishing program of secular and sacred works in English, continuing until 1825 when the two men parted company. Among Sala's Virginia imprints, which listed both Sala and Campbell as publishers during this brief but intense period, were J. Heyworth, *Observations on the Principles of Correct Education*, second edition (1823), and the fictional effort by Joseph Doddridge, *Logan, the Last of the Race of Shikellimus, Chief of the Cayuga Nation, a Dramatic Piece . . .* (1823).¹⁴

During the same period, Solomon Sala began publishing Campbell's periodical for Disciples, *The Christian Baptist* (1823ff.), a prospectus (printed by Sala) for which was circulated prior to Volume I, Issue 1. Before the year was out, demand was so great for the journal that Sala published for Campbell a second edition of the first volume, released in 1824. One of their best-known printed efforts was the much-cited and controversial record of a widely-publicized debate between Campbell and the Rev. W. I. M'Calla, a “Presbyterian teacher,” entitled *Debate on Christian Baptism* (1824). (Campbell's most famous debate was with the reformer and free thinker, Robert Owen, who will be mentioned later.) Appended to the printed debate remarks were “Animadversions” by six scholars on the same theme—contention about the validity of infant baptism as opposed to “believer's (adult) baptism.” The publishing team of Campbell and Sala also released the second edition of Joseph Shreeve's textbook, *The Speller's Guide, A Spelling Book on a New Plan* (1824); this was perhaps meant to be used in the school that Campbell erected. In addition, Sala published under his own imprint the *Minutes of the Mahoning Baptist Association, Convened at Hubbard, Trumbull County, Ohio* (1824).¹⁵

After leaving his association with Campbell, Solomon Sala remained in the same western provinces of Virginia, doing job printing and attempting to establish other journals in nearby Wellsburgh, Virginia (later West Virginia), including *The True Republican and Wellsburgh Advertiser* (1825ff.) and *The Brooke Republican* (1825ff.). The Wellsburgh office was located on Water Street (now Main Street).¹⁶ During this same period, back in Canton, Ohio, Jacob Sala was continuing to issue imprints in irregular rhythm, in particular, the primer, *Das Hoch-Deutsche ABC* (c. 1824) and another edition of the devotional book, *Das Kleine Lust-Gärtlein* (1824). In 1826 he advertised that he had German books for sale in his apothecary shop, primarily imported literature. A letter has been preserved written to Sala by a publisher of religious materials

in Nuremberg, Bavaria, dated August 2, 1828; it described the contents of two crates of books which he had sent to Sala by way of a merchant firm in the port of Altona, Germany, and a book dealer in Philadelphia. Twenty different titles, ranging from five to fifteen copies each, were included in the shipment. These represented the first installment of what the Nuremberg publisher hoped would become a flourishing business connection.¹⁷

Johann Sala

As did his father, Johann Sala (c. 1801-50), engaged in commercial affairs as well as in printing in Canton and its environs. Soon after arriving he opened a confection and variety store in Canton and began to establish a family. His wife Margaret, whom he married in October 1821, was a daughter of the substantial local citizen George Dunbar, Sr.; Johann and Margaret had four children. He printed a number of items, including *Fraktur* broadsides, with both Canton and Wooster listed as the places of printing. For the Mennonites he printed the classic and much-published prayer book, *Die Ernsthafte Christenpflicht* (1826). Between 1745 and 1955 some thirty-two editions of this work were published in North America alone, following many editions in Europe after its first appearance in 1739.¹⁸

According to a history of Wayne County, Ohio, Johann Sala attempted to publish a German newspaper in the mid-1820s, the *Wooster Correspondent*, but it "died in the very agonies of its birth." Evidently not discouraged, in 1827 he announced in English the initiation of a German-language newspaper, *The Western Observer*, obviously a revival of his father's paper, *Der Westliche Beobachter*. Its continuations included *Der Westliche Beobachter und Stark und Wayne Caunties Anzeiger*, *Der Vaterlandsfreund und Westliche Beobachter*, and, finally, *Der Vaterlandsfreund und Geist der Zeit*. (There is some indication that the *Vaterlandsfreund* was first referred to as *Der Patriot*). In 1828 Johann Sala announced that he intended to sell the newspaper, but instead of this action he then decided to take on his brother Solomon as a partner and to continue to publish it. When Johann developed other interests, Solomon Sala took over its sole publication.¹⁹

In addition to his journalistic endeavors at this time Solomon Sala used his press to release sought-after imprints. These included *Fraktur* birth certificates, the much-published *Evangelium Nicodemi* (1830) and the *Kurtzgefaßtes Weiber Büchlein* (1831); the number of the edition of the latter work is unknown. He published this edition for his father Jacob, who, it will be recalled, had begun his publishing interests in 1813 in Pennsylvania with the same booklet of medical advice.²⁰

Communitarian Ventures

It was in the late 1820s that the younger Salas, Johann and Solomon, became actively involved in several communitarian ventures. These were more obscure and not nearly as successful, though related to the well-known Harmony Society, led by "Father" Johann Georg Rapp (1757-1847) and to the Separatist Society of Zoar, led

by Joseph Michael Bimeler (1778-1853). Both of these spiritually and economically prosperous colonies emerged from the Radical Pietist movement in the duchy of Württemberg in the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century. Members of both groups had been suppressed in their homeland because of their stubborn refusal to attend the state-sponsored Protestant church and take communion, to baptize their children and send them to church-sponsored schools, and (for male members) to serve in the military. They sought (after 1803 for the Harmonists and after 1817 for the Separatists) and found shelter in the new American republic as they awaited the imminent, as they saw it, Second Coming of Jesus Christ.²¹

Heinrich Kurtz, mentioned above in connection with the printing endeavors of the Salas, was the protagonist of the first of the abortive American experiments in the later 1820s. After arriving as a young man in Pennsylvania in 1817 as an immigrant from Württemberg, Kurtz became a Lutheran pastor in Eastern Pennsylvania, where he showed such promise that he was called in 1823 to a large, if troubled, parish in Pittsburgh of mixed Reformed and Lutheran membership. He began his tenure with great energy and early success, only to run into militant opposition from influential and wealthy members of the church council. This was occasioned by his zealous attempts to introduce meaningful church discipline into parish life.²²

These troubles were enlarged by Kurtz's growing enchantment with the principles of communalism, sparked by a visit to Pittsburgh by the acclaimed social reformer from New Lanark, Scotland, the Welshman Robert Owen (1771-1858); Kurtz attended Owen's lecture in Pittsburgh, the first of many in the United States by the charismatic speaker. Encouraged by Owen in private conversation, Kurtz and some colleagues visited the nearby Harmonist colony of Economy (present-day Ambridge), where they were impressed by the spirituality and orderly community life flourishing there.

After 1825 Kurtz threw his abundant energies into promoting the creation of a religious community for German-Americans, which he referred to as the "German Christian Industrial Community," and later as "Concordia." Although turned on by the Owenite gospel of co-operative economic organization, Kurtz had been turned off by Owen's thorough-going critique of organized religion. The pastor began to itinerate among German populations in the Eastern states; to further propagate his cause, he introduced in September, 1825, a monthly periodical, *Das Wiedergefundene Paradies*. His aims for the journal, though never fully realized, were two-fold: to recruit potential communarians and to raise money for the cause. Nonetheless, he did attract some fifty families who expressed their willingness to join the projected community and collected nearly four hundred dollars.²³

In the meantime, his position in the Pittsburgh parish became untenable, and in the early fall of 1826 he resigned and moved his family to Stark County in northeastern Ohio, near the projected site of his new community. He continued his journal, now in its second volume; he re-titled it *Der Friedensbote von Concordia* (1827) and engaged Johann Sala in Canton as printer. Among the subscribers to the periodical were listed Jacob Sala and Samuel Sala (1806-66), another of Jacob's sons.

The periodical and Kurtz's communal project caught the attention of Alexander Campbell, who published this favorable reaction in September, 1827: "I receive a

German paper, edited by Henry Kurtz, a teacher of christianity, in Canton, Ohio, denominated "*The Messenger of Concord*," devoted to primitive christianity An infant association of some pious and intelligent Germans already exists, whose constitution contemplates a community perfectly social, and devoted to the religion of the first congregation in Jerusalem. As far as I understand the genius and spirit of their system of co-operation and their views of christianity, I can cheerfully bid them *God Speed*." Campbell appended a contrasting critique of Owen's society in southern Indiana: "But not so our friends at New Harmony. Their system of skepticism must inevitably render their co-operative system a system of disorder."²⁴

Despite this praise, as one reads through the monthly episodes of *Der Friedensbote*, it becomes clear that Kurtz was slowly recognizing that his communal dream was unrealistic. In the last issue (December 1827), Kurtz reported that all of the books and funds that he had collected for Concordia were being turned over to another community in process of formation named "Teutonia." He was eager to dispel any thought that he had ever sought personal profit from the communal venture, despite his own straitened circumstances.²⁵

Kurtz remained close to members of the Sala family and most probably was aided in his own incipient publishing activities by them. After several unsuccessful attempts, in 1851 he became the pioneer periodical publisher for the Brethren with his *Gospel Visiter* (an acceptable spelling of the time but it was soon altered to *Visitor*), along with its German-language counterpart, *Der Evangelische Besuch*. Despite early resistance from some church leaders, the journal later became the official mouthpiece for the Brethren, and continues today under the title *Messenger*.²⁶

Teutonia was the brainchild of the fascinating figure Peter Kaufmann (1800-69), another German immigrant, in his case in 1820. He quickly found benefactors, allowing him to begin active business enterprises, first in Philadelphia and then in Reading, Pennsylvania. A hugely talented man, Kaufman eventually emerged as a power in Ohio and national politics; he became a confidant of Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-82) because of his prolific and popular writings on natural philosophy and attracted the attention and friendship of William H. McGuffey (1800-83) with his treatises on education. (Kaufmann had functioned for a time as a teacher in the Rappite colony of Economy.)

The foundational tenets of Teutonia can be traced in a number of broadsides, all published in 1827 for Kaufmann by Johann Sala in Canton, Ohio. These include (in German and English) the *Proposals for Publishing a Weekly Periodical, entitled: 'The Herald of a Better Time'*; the bilingual *Constitution der Gesellschaft der 'Vereinigten Deutschen' zu Teutonia*; and the proceedings, *Circular. Bei einer Versammlung der Vereinigten Deutschen zu Teutonia*. . . . It is not clear if *The Herald* ever actually appeared in print; there are no known extant issues.²⁷

Participants in Teutonia included former members of the Harmonist colony of Economy and some who had been attracted to Kurtz's venture. Although an actual start was made for Teutonia in Springfield Township, Columbiana (later Mahoning) County, it never flourished, despite the eloquent and detailed published announcements and energetic promotion by Kaufmann. This was largely because he had so many

continuing business interests in the East, in Philadelphia and elsewhere, and because he itinerated so often to further the Teutonia cause, that he was scarcely ever on the scene in Ohio in order to give direction to the pioneer venture. (This failure reminds one of the fate of Robert Owen's New Harmony, Indiana, for some of the same reasons.) Kaufmann did, however, place his wife and children in that setting, and rather neglected them. Some surviving correspondence from his wife with him reveals the struggles that she faced in trying to wrest a livelihood from the heavily forested area in the absence of her husband. The foundation of the community was also intertwined with an attempt by former members of the Harmony Society to win a financial judgment against it by petitions to the Pennsylvania Assembly, but this failed. Teutonia was amicably dissolved in 1831 with community assets divided among its members.²⁸

Solomon Sala was a leading figure in the failed attempt to found a viable German colony at Teutonia, as is evident from both the remaining published sources and Kaufmann's correspondence. At the same time, Sala continued to be active as a printer and publisher of the German language paper, *Der Vaterlandsfreund und Westliche Beobachter* in Canton. When in the early 1830s he published in it materials critical of Rapp's community at Economy written by a former member, Sala was taken to task by Rapp's lieutenant, Frederick Reichert Rapp (1775-1834), Economy's business manager and main liaison with the outside world. Despite Frederick Rapp's complaints and demands for corrections, Sala staunchly maintained his principle of editorial independence.²⁹

In 1831 Solomon Sala contracted with Peter Kaufmann to take over the editorial and translating responsibilities of the *Beobachter* for one year. Late spring of that year found the two in a bitter dispute carried out in the columns of regional newspapers. The June 24 issue of *The Ohio Repository* carried a malicious and violently-worded critique of Sala and Kaufmann signed by a "Censor." This may have been penned by the newspaper's editor, John Saxton, who had written so scathingly of the Sala's first attempt in journalism nearly a decade previously. This antagonism may have been based on political differences, for in September 1831 Sala was announced as a candidate for the office of county recorder; election results published in October listed him as placing fourth in a field of five with some 200 votes.³⁰

In September 1831 Kaufmann purchased the journal and print shop from Sala. In the latter's valedictory comment to his readers (September 21, 1831), he apologized to them for his inadequate German, explaining that he had always needed the services of an editor with skills in the German language to publish the journal. (It was said that Sala had been educated by his mother, who knew no German but spoke only English.) Once Kaufmann had full possession of *Der Vaterlandsfreund* and the print shop, he made them the foundation of his political influence, which, as already stated, became major among the very numerous German residents of Ohio and even attained national significance. A particular success was his German almanac, of which he published as many as 80,000 dozen annually.³¹

Despite Solomon Sala's disappointments with Teutonia, he continued his interest in communal life. This he soon evidenced later in 1831 by his relocation with his family to Zoar (in Tuscarawas County) to associate himself with the Society of

Separatists. He was received in late December 1831, as a probationary member. His abilities soon brought him to a leadership position, demonstrated by the fact that during the next year, 1832, he was one of the signatories to Zoar's act of incorporation under Ohio state law.³²

This notwithstanding, Solomon Sala's stay at Zoar was short-lived. Already in November 1834, Sala sent a letter of resignation to the Zoar leadership, after physically removing himself from the Separatist locale and arranging for his family to leave. He gave as his reasons for leaving his own bad health and the dissatisfaction of his wife. The sojourn of the Sala family at Zoar had unfortunately coincided with an outbreak of cholera, which led to extensive loss of life among the membership. It was reported that three of the Sala children were among those who died during the epidemic. The outbreak was connected with the involvement by Zoar members in the construction of the Sandy and Beaver Canal, the course of which passed by the colony, and the increased contact this brought with canal passengers. Work on the canal had provided much-needed income for the colony but the epidemic and subsequent tragic loss of life was caused by an ill passenger cared for by colonists.³³

A committee resolution to the Ohio legislature published in *The Ohio Repository* of Canton in January 1834, had petitioned for permission to establish a stock company with the objective of completing the canal; it listed Sala as a member of the committee and as a co-secretary for the venture. In September 1834 Sala published a clarification in the same periodical "to avoid misrepresentations" concerning the extent of deaths involved in the epidemic. He reported 35 deaths in Zoar itself and 15 among residents on the other side of the canal. Fourteen of the deaths were of children, all but one under the age of five.³⁴

Later Events

It is reported that Solomon Sala attempted to publish another newspaper, *The Buckeye* in Dover Township, Tuscarawas County, in the mid-1830s, but it failed after a brief existence. He seems to have remained interested in politics, because in an appeal published in the Canton, Ohio, newspaper for a meeting of those desiring to support the nomination of William Henry Harrison as the Republican Democrat candidate for the US presidency, Sala was one of those invited to attend. Perhaps in the 1840s, Solomon Sala moved to the Pittsburgh, PA, area, where he died on November 5, 1866.³⁵

As for the other members of the Jacob Sala family, some records have been preserved. Using a recipe derived from an old medical book of his father, Johann Sala developed a patent medicine in the 1830s—"Sala's Vegetable Elixir"—and became wealthy as "Dr. John Sala." He died in the mid-1850s in Western Star, Medina County, Ohio.

Jacob Sala continued his activities as a merchant in the 1830s, advertising extensively in the local newspaper. Goods offered ranged from drugs and medicines ("Anti-billious Ague Drops"), to tobacco and snuff, rum and whiskey, paints and putty, powder and shot, and German and English books. He gave up his apothecary business

in 1837. Later in life Jacob Sala moved to West Point, Iowa, where he died in 1858 "in the 89th year of his age" at the home of his son, Eli, a physician. Quite a few members of the wider Sala family were connected with the Brethren in the Midwest in the nineteenth century.³⁶

While still in Canton, Jacob Sala figured in a very obscure yet intriguing event. In 1835 he published in German a booklet entitled *Ein Brief aus der Schweiz an einen Freund [Jacob Sala] in Canton, Ohio* on millennial themes. His correspondent was a noted Swiss scholar from Basel, Prof. Dr. Friedrich Lachenal (1772-1854). He is noted in Swiss academic and religious history as a well-placed and respected academic and clergyman who gave up his prestigious positions to become a follower of the charismatic figure, Barbara Juliana, Baroness von Krüdener (1764-1824).³⁷

Born in the Baltic area, then under Russian sovereignty, the mystic and chiliast is known in general world history for her powerful influence upon the Russian Czar Alexander I (reigned 1801-25). She is credited with influencing his initiative in forming the so-called Holy Alliance of 1815; the unusual pact condemned violence, upheld international order, and bound its signatories to uphold the Christian qualities of charity and peace. (Both the Sultan and the Pope refused to sign.) The Holy Alliance became notorious as the grand alliance of conservative European powers dedicated to the suppression of any and all revolutionary tendencies. In addition to her impact on the highest political levels, Baroness von Krüdener preached her millennial gospel widely, after being converted to this view by a Moravian shoemaker.³⁸

The booklet containing Lachenal's extensive letter is better known among Brethren scholars for an appended letter in English written by Sarah Righter Major (1808-84), the first woman among the Dunkers to become active as a preacher. Her letter to Sala is a spirited defense of the rights of women to speak in public. At a later date, the Brethren leadership sent a committee to Major asking her to cease and desist from her preaching, which, however, failed in its purpose. When a committee member was later asked why the committee did not enforce the church's ruling, he wryly admitted: "I could not give my voice to silence someone who can out preach me."³⁹

Conclusion

Although many aspects of their lives and activities are left in obscurity, enough is known about the Salas, father and sons, to justify their recognition as significant players in the publishing history among German-Americans in Pennsylvania and especially in Ohio in the early nineteenth century. Of especial interest was the close involvement of family members in the burgeoning communitarian movement among German-speaking residents of the USA during this period. The intent of this essay is to bring into focus scattered data on the family, so that their undeniable contributions can be better known.

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Notes

¹ A brief obituary notice was published in the Brethren periodical, *The Gospel Visitor* 9 (July, 1859): 224; it read: "Died at the residence of his son, Dr. E[li] M. Sala in West point, Lee co., Iowa some time ago Brother JACOB SALA, formerly of Rockingham co. Va. and later for many years of Canton, O. He was a native of Germany, but his father migrated to America, when he was only 4 years old, two years before the declaration of Independence. He was a brother known by a great many members, to which it may be a satisfaction to know that his long and weary pilgrimage is ended, after living to an age of 88 years and 2 months." His gravestone gives the date of death as September 26, 1858.

There are only scattered published references to members of the Sala family. Among the most informative are: Lew Slusser, "A Once Prominent Family of Canton," in *Old Landmarks of Canton and Stark County, Ohio*, ed. John Danner (Logansport, IN: B. F. Bowen, 1904), 149-51; Johann Räber, "Rückerinnerungen an die frühe Ge[s]chichte von Stark County und seine ältesten grösseren Städte," *Der deutsche Pionier* 3 (September, 1871), and Robert E. Cazden, "The German Book Trade in Ohio Before 1848," *Ohio History* 84 (Winter/Spring, 1975): 57-77. See also D. F. Durnbaugh, "Sala, Jakob," "Sala, Johann," and "Sala, Solomon," *The Brethren Encyclopedia* (Oak Brook, IL: Brethren Encyclopedia Inc., 1983-1984), 2:1136; Nancy Beaumont, "Jacob Sala of York County, PA," *Fellowship of Brethren Genealogists Newsletter* 27 (Winter, 1995): 79; and William R. Eberly, "The Printing and Publishing Activities of Henry Kurtz," *Brethren Life and Thought* 8 (Winter, 1963): 19-34.

Bibliographical data on Sala imprints are found in: Karl J. R. Arndt and Reimer C. Eck, eds., *The First Century of German Language Printing in the United States of America: Volume 2 (1808-1830)*, comps. G.-J. Bötte and W. Tannhoff (Göttingen: Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 1989), which replaces in most respects Oswald Seidensticker, *The First Century of German Printing in America, 1728-1930* (Philadelphia: Schaefer & Koradi, 1893); Charles Evans, *American Bibliography: A Chronological Dictionary . . . 1639 - 1820* (New York: Peter Smith, 1941-1959); Roger P. Bristol, *Supplement to Charles Evans' American Bibliography* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1970); Ralph R. Shaw and Richard H. Shoemaker, *American Bibliography: A Preliminary Checklist, 1801-1819* (New York: Scarecrow Press, 1958); Richard H. Shoemaker and others, *A Checklist of American Imprints, 1820-1829* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1967); Clifford K. Shipton and James E. Mooney, *National Index of American Imprints Through 1800: The Short-Title Evans*, two vols. (Worcester, MA: American Antiquarian Society, 1969); Charles David Missar, "A Checklist of Ohio Imprints from 1821 to 1825 with a Historical Introduction," (MS thesis, Catholic University, 1960); and D. F. Durnbaugh and L. W. Shultz, eds., "A Brethren Bibliography, 1713-1963," *Brethren Life and Thought* 9 (Winter/Spring, 1974): 3-177.

There is some uncertainty on the birth dates of Solomon and Johann; some accounts place Johann as the oldest son, born in 1799. Because Jacob Sala first employed Solomon in his print shop, it seems a fair assumption that Solomon was the first born; a Sala family tree compiled by descendants also places Solomon first. Census listings are conveniently seen at the website, Ancestry.com.

² The first American edition has been attributed to the press of the Ephrata Society in 1791; some bibliographers assert that the year of the first imprint was 1790, but no copy is extant. The location on the title-page of the earliest extant edition reads "Wien, gedruckt, Ephrata nachgedruckt, Im Jahr 1791." There were two versions of the 1791 imprint, differing only in that in one case the number of recipes is printed in Roman numerals on the title-page, in the other in Arabic numerals. For bibliographic references and imprint date, see: Arndt/Eck #794, #795 (1791); Evans #22604 (1790), #23483 (1791); Seidensticker, p. 125 (1790); Bristol #B7738 (1791), #B7739 (1791); Shipton/Mooney #22604 (1790), #23483 (1791). The ninth Gruber edition is listed in Arndt/Eck #1343; Shaw/Shoemaker #4496.

³ The label read: "Brust=Elixir oder Elixir Penegoric. DIESES Elixir ist die beste Arznei für alle Brustbeschwerung in Aufzehrung oder Lungen=Sucht, wie auch in Verkältung und Husten. Wird verfertigt bey Jacob Sala in Harrisonburg, Rockingham Caunt, Virginia." It is found in the archives of Eastern Mennonite University, Harrisonburg, VA.

⁴ *Kurtzgefaßtes Arznei-Büchlein*, tenth edition (Somerset [PA]: Gedruckt bey Friedrich Goeb, für Jacob Sala, 1812); see Arndt/Eck #1941. Information on Goeb is found in Gerald C. Studer, *Friedrich Goeb, Master Printer* (Somerset, PA: Goeb Bible Sesquicentennial, 1963).

⁵ *Kurtzgefasstes Weiber-Büchlein* (Somerset, [PA]: Gedruckt [bey Friedrich Goeb] für Jacob Sala, 1813); see Arndt/Eck #2006; Shaw/Shoemaker #28896.

⁶ See George Sarton, "Query No. 107: Jacob Sala of Somerset, 1813?" *Isis* 35.2 (1944): 177-78; Conway Zirkle, "Answer to Query No. 107," *Isis* 35.4 (1945-46): 331; Genevieve Miller, "Answer to No. 107," *Isis* 35.4 (1945-46): 331. See also H. Austin Cooper, *Two Centuries of Brothersvalley Church of the Brethren, 1762-1962* (Westminster, MD: The Times, Inc., for the author, 1962), 250-51. Cooper claimed, inaccurately, that Sala and his sons moved to Pittsburgh in mid-century, where he continued his pharmacy practice and publishing of medical books. Solomon Sala did move to that area about that time, but his activities are unknown. Cooper provided English translations for a few of the book's recipes (pp. 437-38).

A recent article on powwowing, with a selective bibliography, is David W. Kriebel, "Powwowing: A Persistent Healing Tradition," *Pennsylvania German Review* 1 (Fall, 2001): 14-24, derived from his "Belief, Power, and Identity in Pennsylvania Dutch Brauche, or Powwowing," PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2000. See also Graydon F. Snyder, *Health and Medicine in the Anabaptist Tradition* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1995), 22-26, and Richard E. Wentz, ed., *Pennsylvania Dutch Folk Spirituality* (New York: Paulist Press, 1993), 16-17, 109-10, 149.

⁷ The 1814 edition is listed in Studer, *Goeb* (1963), [6]. Goeb's 1818 imprint was (Somerset, PA: [Friedrich Goeb für Jacob Sala], 1818); Shaw/Shoemaker #44532, not in Arndt/Eck; these bibliographers also list an 1818 imprint as probably issued at Ephrata for the same year — Shaw/Shoemaker #44531, but this is no doubt better attributed to Reading = ([Reading, PA: Heinrich B. Sage], 1818); Arndt/Eck #2318.

⁸ Information on the Salas in Canton is found in Danner, *Old Landmarks* (1904), 149-51, and Räber, "Rückerrinnerungen" (1871): 219. See issues of *The [Canton] Ohio Repository* (March 8, 1820), (December 8, 1820). Cazden, "Geman Book Trade," (1975) 63, has Sala in Canton as a bookbinder already in 1812 or 1813, but that is much too early.

⁹ Information and illustrations of the Salas' production of *Fraktur* certificates (*Taufscheine*) are found in Klaus Stopp, *The Printed Birth and Baptismal Certificates of the German Americans: Volume V* (Mainz/East Berlin, PA: the author, 1999), 112-25 (#845-849), 200 (#897). See also Donald A. Shelley, *The Fraktur-Writings or Illuminated Manuscripts of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Allentown, PA: Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, 1961), 182, 186. A *Taufschein* attributed to Johann Sala in Wooster, OH, in 1817, was listed as #89 in "The Broadside Collection of the Menno Simons Historical Society," *Eastern Mennonite College Bulletin* (January, 1967): 10, but it is not now in the collection and the date seems to be too early for Sala's printing activity in Wooster.

¹⁰ For bibliographical listings, see Arndt/Eck #2478, #2479, #2480, #2530, #2632; Shoemaker #4697, #5775, #6186, #9308, #16817; Missar, #13, #37, #44, #97.

¹¹ *The Christian's Duty, Exhibited in a Series of Hymns, Collected from Various Authors, Designed for the Worship of God . . . Fourth Edition Improved* (Canton, (OH): Printed by Jacob & Solom[o]n, Sala, 1822); a variant edition with Solomon first name printed correctly also exists; Durnbaugh/Shultz #40, 56, 64, 76. The hymnal was given definitive analysis in Hedwig T. Durnbaugh, "1791: A Watershed Year in Brethren Hymnody," *Brethren Life and Thought* 45 (Summer, 2000): 98-119. See also: Donald R. Hinks, *Brethren Hymn Books and Hymnals, 1720-1884* (Gettysburg, PA: Brethren Heritage Press, 1986), 39-45, and Nancy R. Faus, "Christian's Duty, The," *Brethren Encyclopedia* (1983-1984): 1: 288. These supplant the earlier discussion in Nevin W. Fisher, *The History of Brethren Hymnbooks* (Bridgewater, VA: Beacon Press, 1950), 21-31. The songbook is missing from most appropriate bibliographies.

Information on the Brethren in the Stark County area is provided in T. S. Moherman, ed., *A History of the Church of the Brethren—Northeastern Ohio* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Publishing House, 1914), 18-22. Solomon Sala announced, as a member of an arrangements committee, a meeting of the Canton lodge to be held on Dec. 27, 1826—*The Ohio Repository* (Dec. 14, 21, 1826). His brother Johann published a comparable announcement dated March 20, 1835—*The Ohio Repository* (April 7, 1835).

¹² (Osnaaburgh, OH: Heinrich Kurtz, 1826), Seidensticker, p. 230; Durnbaugh/Shultz #92, as well as the third, enlarged edition (Canton [OH]: Gedruckt bey Solomon Sala, 1829); Arndt/Eck #2999, Shoemaker #39221; Durnbaugh/Shultz #100. See the discussion in Eberly, "Printing and Publishing Activities" (1963): 19-34; in Emmert F. Bittinger, "More on Brethren Hymnology," *Brethren Life and Thought* 8 (Summer, 1963): 11-16; in Hedwig T. Durnbaugh, *The German Hymnody of the Brethren, 1720-1903* (Philadelphia: Brethren Encyclopedia, Inc., 1986), 68-91; and in Hinks, *Brethren Hymnbooks* (1986), 47-53.

¹³ *The Ohio Repository* (Jan. 17, 1822).

¹⁴ For information on this stage of Solomon Sala's career, consult: Cazden, "German Book Trade" (1975): 65; Douglas C. McMurtrie, *The Beginnings of Printing in West Virginia* (Charleston, WV: Charleston High School, 1935), 16-17; Charles Carpenter, "The First Book of West Virginia," *The West Virginia Review* 12 (April, 1935): 212-14, 222, and J. H. Newton, ed., *History of the Pan Handle; Being Historical Collections of the Counties of Ohio, Brooke, Marshall, and Hancock, West Virginia* (Wheeling, WV: J. A. Caldwell, 1874), 329. Bibliographical listings are found in Delf Norona, *West Virginia Imprints, 1790-1863: A Checklist of Books, Newspapers, Periodicals, and Broadides* (Moundsville, WV: West Virginia Library Association, 1958) and *American Imprint Inventory. No. 14. A Check List of West Virginia Imprints, 1791-1830* (Chicago: WPA Historical Records Survey Project, 1940). On the Sala family tradition, see the letter from James Warren Sala to D. F. Durnbaugh, May 28, 1968.

The first fifteen pages of Sala's "Day Book" cover his collaboration with Campbell at Buffalo Creek; the manuscript is currently held by the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA, and is described in *Midland Notes No. 98* (1966), #86.

The imprints and their bibliographical listings are: 1) J. Heyworth, *Observations on the Principles of Correct Education* (Buffalo, VA: Published by the Author, Campbell & Sala, Printers, 1823); Shoemaker #12821, Norona #444, WPA #53; 2) Joseph Doddridge, *Logan, the Last of the Race of Shikellemus, Chief of the Cayuga Nation* (Buffalo Creek, VA: For the author by Solomon Sala, 1823); Shoemaker #12385, Norona #374, WPA #52.

¹⁵ See Robert Richardson, *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1870), 2: 49ff.; *Prospectus of the Christian Baptist* ([Buffalo Creek, VA: Solomon Sala], 1823); Norona #305 [no copy known]; *The Christian Baptist*, ed. Alexander Campbell (Buffalo Creek, Brooke County, [VA]: Printed by Solomon Sala at the Buffalo Printing Office, 1823); Norona #306. The second edition of the first volume was published in 1824; Norona #314. Following the issue of December, 1824, Sala's name does not appear on the journal as printer.

Two books explaining Campbell's role in the origin of the Disciples are: Alfred T. DeGroot, *The Restoration Principle* (St. Louis, MO: Bethany Press, 1960) and C. Leonard Allen and Richard T. Hughes, *Discovering Our Roots: The Ancestry of Churches of Christ* (Abilene, TX: Abilene Christian University, 1988).

The debate was Alexander Campbell, *Debate on Christian Baptism, Between the Rev. W. L. Maccalla [M'Calla], a Presbyterian Teacher, and Alexander Campbell . . . To Which Are Added Animadversions on Different Treatises on the Same Subject . . .* (Buffalo, [VA]: Published by [Alexander] Campbell and [Solomon] Sala, 1824); Shoemaker #15630, Norona #244, WPA #61, *Midland Notes* 98 #106. M'Calla responded with a rebuttal two years later, protesting that Campbell's version was spurious—*The Unitarian Baptist of the Robinson School Exposed* (Philadelphia: author, 1826); *Midland Notes* 98 #116.

Minutes of the Mahoning Baptist Association, Convened at Hubbard, Trumbull County, Ohio (Buffalo, VA: Solomon Sala, 1824); *Midland Notes* 98 #118. The schoolbook was: Joseph Shreeve, *The Speller's Guide, A Spelling Book on a New Plan, with Reading Lessons* (Buffalo, Va.: Jackson & Harvey. Pr[inter]ed by Campbell and Sala, 1824); Shoemaker #17980, Norona #721, WPA #64; *Midland Notes* 98 #87.

¹⁶ See Cazden, "German Book Trade" (1975), 65. *The True Republican and Wellsburgh Advertiser* was published from 1825 to 1832, with Sala listed as publisher for the first two years; Norona #1390. The first issue was printed on Sept. 10, 1825.

¹⁷ *Das Hoch-Deutsche ABC und Namen-Büchlein, für Kinder, welche Anfängen zu Lernen* (Canton [OH]: Gedruckt bey Jacob Sala, [1824?]; the date of printing may actually be later; Arndt/Eck #2631. *Das Kleine Lust-Gärtlein, oder, Schöne auserlesener Gebeter und Lieder* (Canton, [OH]: Gedruckt bey Jacob Sala, 1824); Arndt/Eck #2632, Shoemaker #16817; Missar #235.

The list of books for sale is provided in Cazden, "German Book Trade" (1974), 65-66, taken from Sala's newspaper, *Der Westliche Beobachter und Stark und Wayne Counties Anzeiger* (December 6, 1826). The letter is found in the Peter Kaufmann Papers, MSS 136, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus.

¹⁸ *Die ernsthafte Christenpflicht, Darinnen schöne geistreiche Gebäther, Womit sich fromme Christen-Hezen zu allen Zeiten und in allen Nöthen trösten können* (Wooster, [OH]: Johann Sala, 1826); Arndt/Eck #2837, Shoemaker #24438; *Midland Notes* 98 #386. The prayer book is described in Robert Friedmann, "Ernsthafte Christenpflicht," *The Mennonite Encyclopedia* (Scottsdale, PA: Mennonite Publishing House, 1956), 2: 244-45, and listed in Harold S. Bender, ed., *Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature* (Goshen, IN: Mennonite Historical Society, 1929), 13.

¹⁹ Benjamin Douglas, *History of Wayne County, Ohio* (Indianapolis, [IN]: 1878), 358. The complicated history of the Canton newspapers with varied ownership, editorship, and change in titles is reviewed in

Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olsen, eds., *The German-Language Press of the Americas. Volume I: History and Bibliography, 1732-1968*, 3rd rev. ed. (Munich: Verlag Dokumentation, 1976), 432; originally published as *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals* (1961). See also: Lew Slusser, "Early Newspaper Press of Stark County, Ohio," in Danner, *Old Landmarks* (1904), 144-45; William H. Perrin, *History of Stark County* (Chicago: Baskin and Battes, 1881), 347; Daniel Miller, *Early German-American Newspapers* (Lancaster, PA: Pennsylvania German Society, 1910), 100-1 (Vol. 19), reprinted (Bowie, MD: 2001), and Edward T. Heald, *The Stark County Story: Volume 1* (Canton, OH: Stark County Historical Society, 1949), 307.

²⁰ *Evangelium Nicodemi, oder Historische Bericht von dem Leben Jesu Christi, welches Nicodemi, Ein Rabbi und Oberster der Juden, beschrieben* (Canton [OH]: Gedruckt bey Solomon Sala, 1830); Arndt/Eck #3073; Shoemaker #47344. *Kurtzgefaßtes Weiber-Büchlein* (Canton [OH]: Gedruckt für Jacob Sala [bey Solomon Sala], 1831).

²¹ There is an extensive literature on both Harmony and Zoar. Books and articles published before 1990 can be found in Philip N. Dare, comp., *American Communes to 1860: A Bibliography* (New York/London: Garland Publishing, 1990), 93-104, 197-98. For some more recent important literature, consult the following on Harmony: Karl J. R. Arndt, "George Rapp's Harmony Society," in *America's Communal Utopias*, ed. Donald R. Pitzer (Chapel Hill/London: University of South Carolina Press, 1997), 57-87, and their book, *George Rapp's Disciples, Pioneers, and Heirs: A Register of the Harmonists in America* (Evansville, IN: University of Southern Indiana Press, 1993). On Zoar, see: D. F. Durnbaugh, "Strangers and Exiles: Assistance Given by the Religious Society of Friends to the Separatist Society of Zoar in 1817-1818," *Ohio History* 109 (Winter/Spring 2000): 71-92; Eberhard Fritz, "Roots of Zoar, Part One," *Communal Societies* 22 (2002): 27-44, and "Roots of Zoar, Part Two," *Communal Societies* 23 (2003): 29-44; these articles are translated from his article, "Separatisten und Separatistinnen in Rottenacker: Eine örtliche Gruppe als Zentrum eines 'Netzwerke' in frühen 19. Jahrhundert," *Blätter für württembergische Kirchengeschichte* 98 (1998): 66-158. See also Kathleen M. Fernandez, *A Singular People: Images of Zoar* (Kent, OH/London: Kent State University Press, 2003). The religious background of both communities is provided in D. F. Durnbaugh, "Radical Pietism as the Foundation of German-American Communitarian Settlements," in *Emigration and Settlement Patterns of German Communities in North America*, eds. Eberhard Reichmann and others (Indianapolis: Max Kade German-American Center, 1995), 31-54.

²² On Kurtz's life and communal proposals, see Wilbur H. Oda, "The Reverend Henry Kurtz and His Communal Plans," *Pennsylvania Dutchman* 3.21 (April 1, 1952): 1, 5-7; and D. F. Durnbaugh, "Henry Kurtz: Man of the Book," *Ohio History* 76 (Summer, 1967): 114-31, 173-76.

²³ *Das Wiedergefundene Paradies: Kein Gedicht, Eine Zeitschrift, für Christen in allen Benennungen* ([Pittsburgh]: H. Kurtz, 1825); Seidensticker, p. 227; Durnbaugh/Shultz #82; Arndt/Olsen, *German-Language Press* (1976), 585.

²⁴ Editor, "Deism and the Social System – No. IV," *The Christian Baptist* 5 (Sept. 3, 1827): 27-31.

²⁵ *Der Friedensbote von Concordia. (Fortsetzung des "Wiedergefundenen Paradies"): Eine Zeitschrift, für Christen von allen Benennungen. . . . Jahrgang 1827* (Canton, Ohio: Gedruckt von Johann Sala, 1827); Seidensticker, p. 231; Durnbaugh/Shultz #94; Arndt/Olsen, *German-Language Press* (1976), 585.

²⁶ Kermon Thomasson, "Messenger," *The Brethren Encyclopedia* (1983-1984), 2:818-19; see also the prefatory material in James H. Lehman, *For This Day: 100 Years of Publishing in the Church of the Brethren* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1997).

²⁷ For descriptions of Teutonia and Peter Kaufmann, see Karl J. R. Arndt, "Teutonia, Ohio: Quintessence of German-American Idealism," in *The Harold Jantz Collection*, ed. Leland R. Phelps (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1981), 13-29, and Max Gard, "The Long Lost Story of Teutonia," [*Salem, OH*] *Farm and Dairy* (Dec. 12 and 19, 1956). The connections between Kurtz's Concordia and Teutonia are traced in George Swetnam, "The Disharmony Societies," *The Pittsburgh Press* (Feb. 9, 1958): 8-9. See also the catalogs of Ernest Wessen, the Mansfield, OH, book dealer who discovered and dispersed the Kaufmann papers, most of which were acquired by the Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, especially his booklet, *The Peter Kaufmann Collection* (Mansfield, OH: Midland Rare Book Co., [ca. 1966]). See also Robert E. Cazden, *Some Memories of Travel and Research in German-American Studies* (Cincinnati, OH: Max Kade Occasional Papers in German-American Studies, 2001), 6-7. More on Kaufmann is found in Loyd D. Easton, *Hegel's First American Followers* (Athens: OH: University Press, 1966), 95-122, and Karl J. R. Arndt, *Teutonic Visions of Social Perfection in Emerson: Verheissung und Erfüllung: A Documentary History*

of Peter Kaufmann's *Quest for Social Perfection from George Rapp to Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Worcester, MA: Harmony Press, 1988).

The broadsides are: Circular ([Canton: Johann Sala], 1827); *Ankündigung zur Herausgabe einer wöchentlichen Zeitschrift, betitelt: "Der Herold einer bessern Zeit." Herausgegeben von Freunden der Wahrheit und der Menschheit zu Teutonia* ([Canton: Johann Sala], 1827); Midland Notes 96, #173). *Proposals For publishing a weekly periodical, entitled: "The Herald of a Better Time." Edited by a Society of Friends of Truth and Humanity at Teutonia* (Canton: [Johann Sala], 1827). These are all to be found in the Peter Kaufmann Papers, MSS 136, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus. See also the bilingual *Constitution der Gesellschaft der "Vereinigten Teutschen" zu Teutonia. Constitution of the Society of the "United Germans" at Teutonia* ([Canton: Johann Sala], 1827), four pages, with German and English text in parallel columns; Arndt/Eck #2848; Midland Notes 96, #172. The correspondence between Emerson and Kaufmann is presented in Ralph L. Rusk, ed., *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson . . . Volume Five* (New York/London: Columbia University Press, 1939; second printing, 1966), 66-67, 73-74, and 77.

²⁸ The controversial connection of Teutonia members with the Harmony Society is presented in detail in Karl J. R. Arndt, *George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1785-1847* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965), 358-78.

²⁹ See the discussion and documents in K. J. R. Arndt, ed., *Economy on the Ohio, 1826-1834: Oekonomie am Ohio: The Harmony Society During the Period of its Greatest Power and Influence and its Messianic Crisis* (Worcester, MA: Harmony Society Press, 1984), 468-73, 726-41, 755-56.

³⁰ *The Ohio Repository* (June 24, 1831), (Sept. 9, 16, 23, 1831), (Oct. 14, 1831).

³¹ On the contract between Solomon Sala and Peter Kaufmann, see Arndt, *Economy* (1984), 567-68; Cazden, "German Book Trade" (1975), 67-68.

³² George B. Landis, "The Separatists of Zoar," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* (1898-1899), 219; E. O. Randall, "The Separatist Society of Zoar: An Experiment in Communism—from its Commencement to its Conclusion," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications* 8 (July, 1899): 84-85, later published as *History of the Zoar Society (from its Commencement to its Conclusion: A Sociological Study on Communism*, 3rd ed. (Columbus: F. J. Heer, 1904); Edgar B. Nixon, "The Society of Separatists at Zoar," (PhD dissertation, Ohio State University, 1933), 185.

³³ Two documents involving Sala exist; 1) a letter from Sala to J. M. Bimeler, written on November 24, 1834, and a membership document annotated with his departure, dated November 27, 1834. They are found in Folder 39, Box 2, Subseries III: Individual Membership Contracts, 1831, and Folder 54, Box 2, Subseries V, both in Series II, Society Membership Records, MSS 110 AV, Society of Separatists of Zoar Records, 1811-1846, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus.

In the membership document, dated December 24, 1831, the family is listed as: Solomon Sala (aged 32), Delila [Rittenhouse] Sala (34), Rebec[c]a Ann Sala (7), Jacob Rittenhouse Sala (5), Sophie Sala (3), Necissa (Narcissia) Sala (3 months), and Mary Jane Cross, evidently a ward (12). According to Zoar records, both Rebecca and Narcissia died on Aug. 26, 1834, and another daughter (age not known but evidently an infant) died on Sept. 19, 1834. I am indebted to Kathleen M. Fernandez, site manager of the Zoar Village State Memorial, for information about the deaths of the Sala children.

³⁴ *The Ohio Repository* (Sept. 5, 1834)

³⁵ *The Ohio Repository* (Aug. 20, 1835).

³⁶ Danner, *Old Landmarks* (1904), 149-51; Otho Winger, *History of the Church of the Brethren in Indiana* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Publishing House, 1917), 42, 119; 211; Jesse O. Garst, ed., *History of the Church of the Brethren of the Southern District of Ohio*, 2nd ed. (Dayton, OH: Otterbein Press, 1921), 87; James H. Morris, ed., *Thirty-Three Years of Organized Church Work in Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, and Louisiana* (Butler, IN: Highly Printing Co., 1922), 174, 184, 359; Walter M. Young, *The History of the Church of the Brethren in Michigan* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Publishing House, 1946), 281. In an obituary index of the Brethren periodical, *The Gospel Messenger*, covering the years 1883-1964, twenty-three members of the Sala family are listed.

³⁷ *Ein Brief aus der Schweiz an einen Freund in Canton, Ohio. To which is added a LETTER from East-Pennsylvania to the same* ([Canton, OH: printed for Jacob Sala,] 1835). Sala introduced the Swiss letter by a statement that he had sought advice from leading men in Europe on the theme of millennialism; the printed letter was a response to his query. A biography of the Swiss correspondent is Ernst Staehelin, *Professor Friedrich Lachenal, 1772-1854* (Basel: Helbing and Lichtenhahn, 1965). In Sala's booklet, the name is spelled "Laschenal."

³⁸ See on these developments, W[ilhelm] Hadorn, *Kirchengeschichte der reformierten Schweiz* (Zürich: Schultheß & Co., 1907), 268-71, and his *Geschichte des Pietismus in den Schweizerischen Reformierten Kirchen* (Konstanz/Emmishofen: Carl Hirsch, [1901]), 425-27. For recent references to Madame von Krüdener, see Heiko Haumann, "'Das Land des Friedens und des Heils': Rußland zur Zeit Alexanders I. als Utopie der Erweckungsbewegung am Oberrhein," *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 18 (1992): 132-54 (on Lachenal, 139) and Martin H. Jung, ed., *"Mein Herz brannte richtig in der Liebe Jesu": Autobiographien frommer Frauen aus Pietismus und Erweckungsbewegung: Eine Quellensammlung* (Aachen: Shaker Verlag, 1999). An older work is Ernest John Knapton, *The Lady of the Holy Alliance: The Life of Julie of Krüdener* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939).

³⁹ A recent biography is Nancy Kettering Frye, *An Uncommon Woman: The Life and Times of Sarah Righter Major* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1997). See also "A Letter by Sarah Major," *Gospel Messenger* (Dec. 28, 1935): 12-14, and D. F. Durnbaugh, "She Kept on Preaching," *Messenger* (April, 1975): 18-21.

Don Heinrich Tolzmann

Exploring Eighteenth Century German-Americana with the Tools of the Twenty-First Century

Two essentials for research are, first, the availability of the basic bibliographical tools that identify and index source materials. Second, the actual primary sources themselves must be accessible to the researcher. In the case of eighteenth-century German-Americana, the bibliography of pre-1830 German-American imprints (edited by Karl J. R. Arndt and Reimer C. Eck, and compiled by Gerd-J. Bötte and Werner Tannhof) provides the researcher with an excellent bibliographical tool.¹ The second essential component in the research process consists of access to the bibliographically identified sources. Library and archival locations are referenced in the Arndt et al bibliography, so that materials can be located for further research and study.

However, as travel to such institutions across the country, especially in the eastern United States, might not always be an option, researchers now have another alternative, which can deliver the electronic text of early German-Americana to their computer work-stations. Access to early German-Americana may now be obtained by means of *The Evans Edition/American Antiquarian Society* (Chester, Vermont: Readex, 2002-4). Access to this digital edition is made possible by means of institutional subscription to the service, such as through college and university libraries.

The summary of this electronic source states that it is "based on the renowned *American Bibliography* by Charles Evans and enhanced by Roger Bristol's *Supplement to Evans' American Bibliography*." The summary also notes that the digital edition will be able to serve "as the foundation for research on every aspect of seventeenth and eighteenth-century American life." Upon completion in 2004, the new source "will include every item previously produced on microform plus more than 1,200 additional works located, catalogued and digitized since completion of the earlier effort, and will consist of over 36,000 works and 2,400,000 images."²

The first part of this digital edition, *Early American Imprints, Series I. Evans (1639-1800)*, is scheduled for completion in 2004. Thus far, it contains the electronic text of imprints to 1796 (Evans no. 30,364). The second part of the series, *Early American Imprints, Series II. Shaw-Shoemaker (1801-1819)*, is based on the bibliographies of early American imprints by Ralph B Shaw and Richard H. Shoemaker, which listed American imprints to 1820, and is also scheduled for completion in 2004.³

The significance of the digital edition is that the researcher is now provided with full text access to early German-American imprints, and that the colonial period of German-American history, literature, and culture has acquired an important research tool that should not only facilitate, but also encourage research in this time period.

A few random sample searches demonstrate the usefulness of the digital edition. For example, a search of the name "Christopher Sower" yields a total of 200 imprints.⁴ There are a variety of ways to search the *Evans Digital Edition*—one can make use of either the *search* or the *browse* options. In the *search* mode, one can search the following indexes: citation text, all text, title, subject, genres, author, place of publication, publisher, document number, and year of publication. In the *browse* mode, one can search the following indexes: genre, subject, author, history of printing, place of publication, and language. A good overview of the kinds of works published can be obtained by searching in the language index for German imprints, and then surveying all of them year by year. Thereafter, one can go back and conduct general or more specific kinds of searches, but the general overview is useful, and helpful to further research with the digital edition.

There are obviously multiple possibilities for research with the *Evans Digital Edition*, but some of the following are readily apparent:

1. German-American History: The importance of early German-American imprints for our understanding of the colonial period was most recently demonstrated by the first *Supplemental Issue* of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, which consists of a translated edition by Christoph E. Schweitzer of a work by Karl Friedrich Fuehrer.⁵ Obviously, there is a wealth of material to be explored in terms of eighteenth-century German-language imprints relating to any number of historical topics, and many more are no doubt deserving of publication as edited bilingual editions, as was the case with the recent edition by Christoph E. Schweitzer.

2. German-American Literature: By means of works such as John Joseph Stoudt's *Pennsylvania German Poetry 1683-1830* and Earl F. Robacker's *Pennsylvania German Literature: Changing Trends from 1683 to 1942*, one could identify the relevant early German-American literary authors and their works, and then seek them out and examine them. Robert E. Ward's bibliography of German-American authors is also essential in this regard.⁶

3. German-American Publishers and Printers: The works of German-American publishers and printers could now be examined and studied from a variety of perspectives, such as their position on a variety of social, economic, religious, and political issues, such as regarding the American Revolution.⁷

4. Place of Publication: Studies of the German-American press at particular geographical locations could now be undertaken.

Two questions that might arise about the digital edition relate to the quality of the electronic text and the comprehensiveness of the coverage of German-American imprints. With regard to the quality of the electronic text, it must be noted that there is absolutely no substitute for the original, and that this is true with regard to the digital edition, which is based on the microform edition. The quality of the text, therefore, and not surprisingly, varies in quality. However, having said that, it can also be said that the electronic texts are legible and can definitely provide the basis for research and study. Most importantly, they provide access to materials that are in some cases relatively inaccessible in the original format due to their rarity, or condition. Moreover, making such texts available in electronic format contributes not only to their accessibility, but to the preservation of the original editions as well. Several examples of title pages from the digital edition are provided as an appendix to illustrate the quality of the electronic text.

The second question regards the coverage of German-American imprints by the digital edition. The bibliographies by Evans, et al., do not provide the comprehensive coverage that the Arndt, et al., bibliography does for German-language imprints. This can be ascertained by checking the number of German imprints in both bibliographies. Currently, the digital edition is complete through 1796, and a search of the language index results in a total of 586 German imprints. However, the Arndt, et al., bibliography lists slightly more than a thousand imprints for the same time period. This means that the Evans, et al., bibliographies provide coverage for an estimated 60% of the German-American imprints for the pre-1796 period, and that, when completed, the new digital edition will also most likely contain this same kind of percentage of coverage as well. In short, we unfortunately do not gain full access to the entirety of the universe of early German-Americana. However, when complete, we will have access to a substantial portion of the German-language imprints published before 1820. This in itself is a major contribution to the field of German-American Studies in general, and to the early period in particular.

In conclusion, the new *Evans Digital Edition*, therefore, provides the field of German-American Studies with an Information Age tool that definitely facilitates the exploration of colonial German-Americana, and which should not only contribute to our understanding of that time period, but should also serve to encourage further research and study into this foundational period of German-American history. Finally, the question might also be raised as to the implications of digitization for the field of German-American Studies, and whether German-American materials and collections might be identified that might also be digitized to facilitate and enhance accessibility, research, and the preservation of the originals.

Notes

¹ Karl J. R. Arndt and Reimer C. Eck, eds., Gerd-J. Bötte and Werner Tannhof, compilers, *The First Century of German Language Printing in the United States of America: A Bibliography Based on the Studies of Oswald Seidensticker and Wilbur H. Oda*, Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society, vols. 21-22 (Göttingen: Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 1989).

² See Charles Evans, *American Bibliography: A Chronological Dictionary of All Books, Pamphlets, and Periodical Publications Printed in the United States of America from the Genesis of Printing in 1639 to and Including the Year 1820*, 14 vols. (New York: P. Smith, 1941-59), and also Roger P. Bristol, *Supplement to Charles Evans' American Bibliography* (Charlottesville: Published for the Bibliographical Society of America and the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia by the University Press of Virginia, 1970).

³ See Ralph R. Shaw and Richard H. Shoemaker, *American Bibliography: A Preliminary Checklist for 1801-1819*, 22 vols. (New York: Scarecrow Press, 1958-66).

⁴ Regarding the Sauer family see Donald F. Durnbaugh, "The Sauer Family: An American Printing Dynasty," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 23 (1988): 31-40. By the same author see also "Christopher Sauer: Pennsylvania-German Printer: His Youth in Germany and Later Relationships with Europe," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 82 (1958): 316-40. Also see Felix Reichmann, *Christopher Sower, Sr., 1694-1758, Printer in Germantown: An Annotated Bibliography*, *Bibliographies in German-American History*, no. 2 (Philadelphia: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, 1943); and, Edward Hocker, "The Sower Printing House of Colonial Times," *Pennsylvania German Society: Proceedings and Addresses* 53 (1948): 1-125.

⁵ See Karl Friedrich Führer, *Wahrheit und Guther Rath, an die Einwohner Deutschlands, besonders in Hessen (1783)/Truth and Good Advice, to the Inhabitants of Germany, Especially in Hesse*, edited and translated by Christoph E. Schweitzer, *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, Supplemental Issue, vol. 1 (Lawrence, KS: Society for German-American Studies, 2003). For another example of a recent translated edition of an 18th-century work of German-Americana, see Christopher Sauer, *Sauer's Herbal Cures: America's First Book of Botanic Healing, 1762-1778*, translated and edited by William Woys Weaver (New York: Routledge, 2001).

⁶ See John Joseph Stoudt, *Pennsylvania German Poetry, 1683-1830: An Anthology*, Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, vol. 22 (Allentown, PA: Schlechter, 1955); Earl F. Robacker, *Pennsylvania German Literature: Changing Trends from 1683 to 1942* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943); and, Robert E. Ward, *A Bio-Bibliography of German-American Creative Writers, 1670-1970* (White Plains, New York: Kraus International Publications, 1985). Ward also lists "Collections and Anonymous Works of the 18th and 19th Centuries," which would be useful as a guide to collections of German-American literature that need to be examined. See Ward, pp. xlvii-xlvi. Also, see the checklist of "German-American literature: 1700-1974," in my *German-Americana: A Bibliography* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1975), esp. pp. 133-36.

⁷ For further information on the colonial German-American press, see Daniel Miller, *Early German-American Newspapers: Daniel Miller's History*, edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, Inc., 2001), and James Owen Knauss, Jr., *The Pennsylvania Germans: James Owen Knauss, Jr.'s Social History*, edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, Inc., 2001). Also, see Carl Wittke, *The German-Language Press in America* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957), esp. Chapter 1, which deals with the colonial period; Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *The German Language Press of the Americas: Volume 3: German-American Press Research from the American Revolution to the Bicentennial* (München: K.G. Saur, 1980); and, Robert E. Cazden, *A Social History of the German Book Trade in America to the Civil War* (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1984), esp. Chapter 1. For further references to works dealing with the history of German-American publishers and printers, see the author's *German-Americana: A Bibliography* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1975), pp. 169-74; as well as his *Catalog of the German-Americana Collection, University of Cincinnati* (München: K.G. Saur, 1990), 2:156-84.

MYSTISCHE

Und sehr geheyme

SPRUECHE,

Welche in der Himmlischen schule des
heiligen geistes erlernen:

Und dan folgens, einige

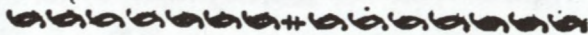
POETISCHE GEDICHTE.

AUFFGESETZT.

Den liebhabern und schülern der
Göttlichen und Himmlischen
weisheit zum dienst.

V O R

Die säu dieser welt aber, haben wir keine
speise, werden ihnen auch wohl ein
verschlossener garden, und
versiegelter brun-
nen bleiben.



Zu PHILADELPHIA:

Gedruckt bey B. F. FRANKLIN in Jahr 1730.

VORSPIEL
DER
NEUEN-WELT.

Welches sich in der letzten Abendroethe
als ein paradisischer Lichtes-glanz
unter den Kindern Gottes
hervor gethan.

IN

LIEBES, LOBES, LEIDENS, KRAFFT
und Erfahrungs liedern abgebildet, die
gedrückte, gebückte und Creutz-
tragende Kirche auf Erden.

Und wie inzwischensich

**Die obere und Triumphirende Kirche
als eine Paradiesische vorkost her-
vor thut und offenbahret.**

Und daneben, als

Ernstliche und zuruffende wächterstimmen
an alle annoch zerstreute Kinder Gottes, das sie
sich sammeln und bereit maehen auf den
baldigen ; Ja bald herein brechen-
den Hochzeit-Tag der braut
des Lammes.

Zu Philadelphia: Gedruckt bey Benjamin
 Francklin, in der Marck-strass. 1732.

JACOBS Kampff und Ritter-Platz

A L L W O

Der nach seinem Ursprung sich sehnende
Geist der in Sophiam verliebten Seele
mit Gott um den neuen Namen
gerungen, und den Sieg
davon getragen.

ENTWORFFEN

IN UNTERSCHIEDLICHEN GLAUBENS-

*u. leidens-liedern, u. erfahrungs vollen aus-
druckungen des Gemuths, darinnen sich
dar stellet, so wol auff seiten Gottes
seine unermüdete arbeit zur rei-
nigung solcher Seelen, die sich
seiner führung anvertraut,*

A L S A U C H













Auff seiten des Menschen der ernst des
Geistes im aus halten unter dem proceß
der läuterung und abschmelzung
des Menschen der Sünden samt
dem daraus entspringen-
den lobes-gehöhn.

Z U R

Gemüthlichen erweckung derer die das heil
Jerusalem lieb haben.

V E R L E G E T

*Von einem Liebhaber der Wahrheit die im ver-
borgenen wohnt.*

           
Zu Philadelphia, gedruckt bey B.F. 1736.

Das
Alte Zeugniß

und die

Grund-Sätze

des Volks so man Quäker nennet,
erneuert,

In Ansehung des
Königs und der Regierung;

und

Wegen den nunmehr herrschenden Unru-
hen in diesem und andern Theilen von America.

An das Volk überhaupt gerichtet.

Germantown, gedruckt bey Christoph Saur, dem
Jüngern, auf Kosten der Verfasser, 1776.

Von seiner Excellenz
G. Washington, Esq.

General und oberster Befehlshaber über die Völ-
ker der vereinigten Staaten von America.

A Kraft der Macht, und die Ordre die ich ins besondere empfangen, wird allen Leuten, die so weit als siebenzig Meilen von meinem Haupt-Quartier wohnen anbefohlen, daß sie die eine Hälfte von ihrem Getreide bis den ersten Februaris ausdreschen, und die andere Hälfte bis den ersten des nächsten März Monats, oder sie müssen gewärtig seyn daß alles Getreide welches nicht um die bestimmte Zeit ausgedroschen, bey dem Commissarius und Quartier- Meister der Armee weggenommen, und als Stroh bezahlt werden soll.

Gegeben unter meiner Hand, im Haupt-Quartier,
nahe bey der Eisen Schmelze im Thal, in Phila-
delphia County, diesen zwanzigsten December,
1777.

G. Washington.

Auf seiner Excellenz Befehl,
Rob. H. Harrison, Secretarius.



Lancaster: Gedruckt bey Franz Bailey, in der Königs-Strasse.

Von den
A b s i c h t e n
und dem
bisherigen Fortgang
der
privilegirten
Deutschen Gesellschaft
zu
Philadelphia in Pennsylvanien.

In einer
vor der Gesellschaft gehaltenen

N e d e

von

Johann Christoph Kunze,
Professor der orientalischen und der deutschen Sprachen
auf der Universität zu Philadelphia und Mitglied
der gedachten Gesellschaft.

Philadelphia,

Gedruckt bei Melchior Steiner, in der Reesstraße, nahe
bei der dritten Straße. 1782.

W a h r h e i t.

und

G u t e r . . R a t h ,

an die

Einwohner Deutschlands,

besonders in

S e s s e n .

Errette den, dem Gewalt geschieht, von dem, der ihm Unrecht thut, und seye unerschrocken, wenn du urtheilen sollst.

Rede die Wahrheit, haße die Lügen, und scheue Niemand.
Jesus Sprach und Paulus.

Philadelphia, Gedruckt bey Carl Eist, in der
Markt-straße, 1783.

Eine
A u f f o r d e r u n g

an das

Volk Gottes in Amerika

zum

frohen Jauchzen und Danken.

An dem von einem Erlauchten Congres wegen erhaltenen Friedens und
erlangter Unabhängigkeit auf den 11ten December, 1783, aus-
geschriebenen Dankfeste in der Zionskirche zu Philadelphia
vorgestellt, und auf Verlangen verschiedener
Zuhörer dem Druck übergeben,

nebst dem

Anhange einer andern Predigt
ähnlichen Inhalts, und an dem Dank- und Bettage
des Jares 1779 gehalten, von

Johann Christoph Kunze,
der heil. Schrift Doctor, Professor der orient. und der deutschen
Sprache auf der Unvers. zu Philadelphia und
Ev. Luther. Pred. daselbst.

Philadelphia:

Bedruckt bei Melchior Steiner, in der Markt-strasse, zwischen
der Zweiten und Dritten-strasse. 1784.

Grundregeln

der

Deutschen Gesellschaft

im

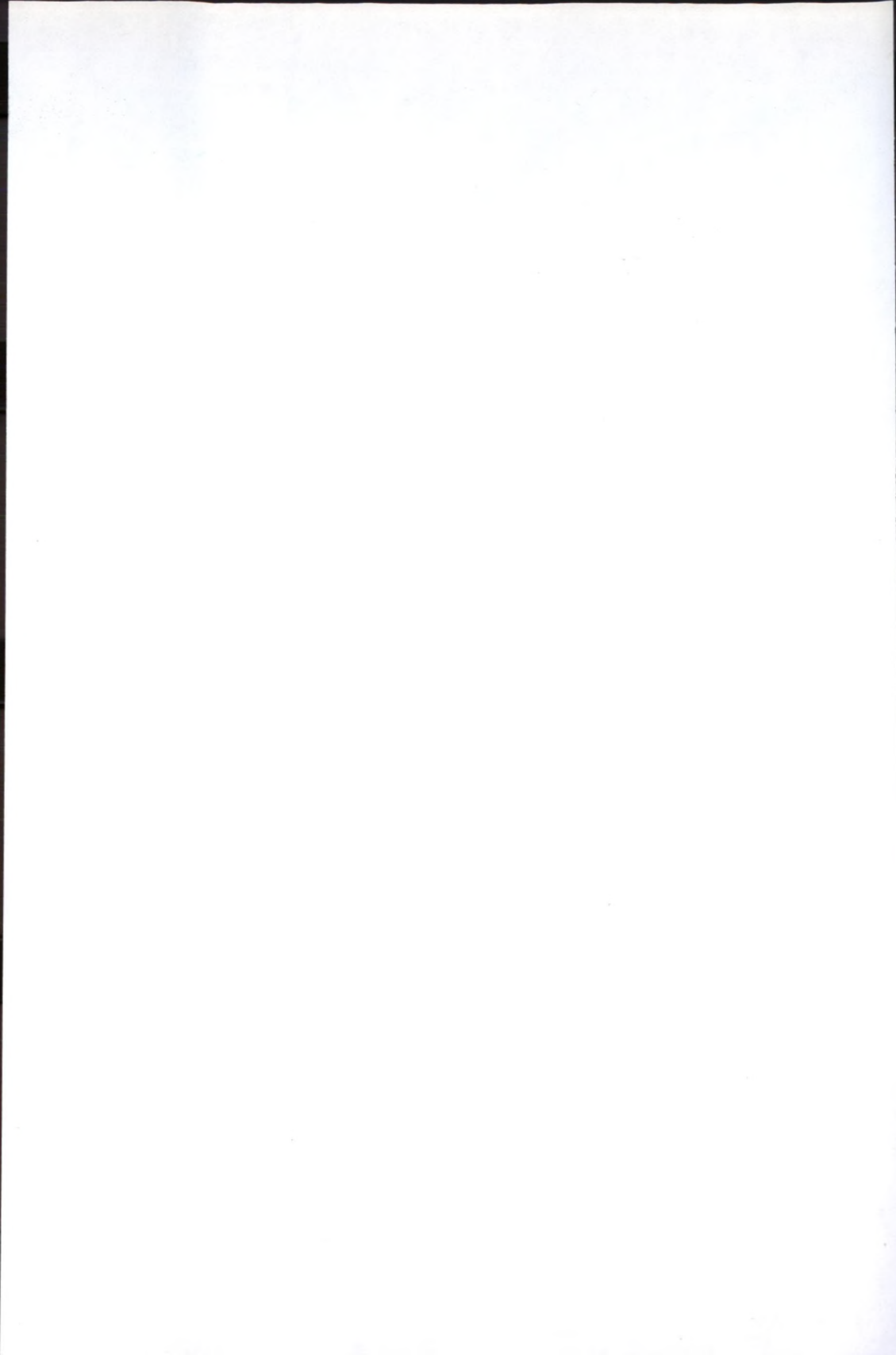
Staate von Newyork,

Zur Aufmunterung der Emigration von Deutsch-
land; Hülfsleistung nothleidender Emigranten, und
zur Ausbreitung nützlicher Wissenschaften unter
ihren Landesleuten in diesem Staat.



Philadelphia:

Gedruckt bey Melchior Steiner, in der Reed-strasse,
nahe bey der Dritten-strasse. 1785.



Gerhard P. Bassler

German Culture and the Inuit: The Moravian Mission in Labrador

The work of the mission is a real labour of love. . . . There is not a little that is loveable in the Esquimaux, but were it otherwise that would only increase the devotion, the unselfishness, the long-continued self-abnegation and sacrifice of their faithful missionaries. . . . [The Esquimaux race] cannot be in better hands than those of the Moravian Mission, to which it undoubtedly owes its survival to the present day. The more completely the Esquimaux are left to these teachers and benefactors, so much better it will be for the race.
(Newfoundland Governor Sir William MacGregor, 1909)¹

In the United States, the Moravians, or *Unitas Fratrum*, are usually associated with their four exemplary religious settlement congregations started in 1741—Bethlehem, Nazareth, Lititz in Pennsylvania, and Wachovia (Salem-Winston) in North Carolina. These have been noted for their early communal pietism and Christian communism. They also acquired a reputation as adherents of a fervent christological theology and somewhat peculiar, rather rigid, religious practices, resulting in their seclusion from mainstream society. In the founding of these congregations, it has been observed, the missionary spirit was absent.²

In Labrador, Moravians have presented a quite different face. Arriving as missionaries among the hostile Inuit in 1752 they were not interested in founding immigrant settlement congregations. Within half a century of their presence in Labrador, these Moravians had pacified the seemingly unpacifiable region, created a written language for the Inuit to facilitate their literacy, and introduced educational and other strategies to enable the Inuit and their cultural identity to survive in a rapidly changing modern world. The Newfoundland government did more than just tolerate with benevolent indifference Moravian cultural dominance in northern Labrador. It also specifically invited Moravian responsibility for educational, judicial, economic, medical, social, and other services in that remote region.

The Labrador Moravians thus did not fit the Christian missionary stereotypes either. They did not come as fervent proselytizers eager to flush out all traces of ancient pagan culture. On the contrary, they arrived motivated and trained to concern themselves with all aspects of the native people's well-being, their culture, environment, and lifestyle. Nevertheless, Moravian linguistic, educational, musical, horticultural,

and scientific pursuits, in particular, reflected German ways and traditions and drew on some of the most progressive German models of the time. This article argues that, although operating within a framework of German culture and transplanting many aspects of German life into the rugged wilderness of northern Labrador, the Moravians left their mark as facilitators of Inuit survival in the broadest sense of the word.

Religious Origins

Who were the Moravians and what was their interest in Labrador? The Moravian brand of Christianity originated as an integral part of the popular Protestant revival movement of Pietism, which spread within the Lutheran Church beginning in the 1680s and peaking in eighteenth-century Germany. Rebelling against orthodox, authoritarian, institutionalized Protestantism, Pietism demanded a completely personalized religion gained by prayer and introspection and derived solely from Bible study. Their strong sense of the equality of all in the eyes of God coupled with a belief in good works as an expression of true faith earned them a reputation as social radicals eager to reform society through education. Throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Pietism was a potent force in German religious, cultural and political life.³

The present Moravian Church was founded in 1722 by Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700-60) as a Pietist association of like-minded brethren within the Lutheran Church. He named it *Herrnhuter Brüdergemeinde* (Herrnhut community of brethren), as it is still known in Germany today. Himself the descendant of an Austrian Protestant family which had accepted religious-political refuge in Saxony, Zinzendorf wanted to gather under his protective wing the few remaining German-speaking members of a group of Protestants known as Moravians or *Unitas Fratrum* (unity of brethren) who were being persecuted in re-Catholicized Bohemia and Moravia (roughly the area of the present Czech state). These Protestants traced their denominational roots to the Czech reformer John Hus, who was burned at the stake in 1415, and even beyond him to the pre-Reformation sect of the Waldensians.

Under the patronage of Zinzendorf, who adopted the names "Moravian" and *Unitas Fratrum* for his association, the few surviving Moravian refugees experienced a spiritual renewal. Essentially indifferent to denominational particularities, Zinzendorf offered not only Moravians, but also Calvinists, Pietists, and other Christian dissenters a haven on his estate in Saxony where he built the community of Herrnhut (literally: the Lord's protection) for them—hence their German name *Herrnhuter*. Out of mystical foundations common to Moravians, Reformed, and Lutherans, he forged a bond of fraternity among dedicated followers. Calling themselves brothers and sisters, they pledged to overcome the divisions of Christianity under his spiritual leadership. With beliefs rooted in the tradition of European mysticism, they were convinced that such ethical principles of the Scriptures as love, rather than dogmatic formulation of creed, must govern Christian conduct as evidence of saving faith.

Zinzendorf inspired his *Unitas Fratrum* with a dual vision. He did not want to found a separate church. Rather, he wanted his followers to form an invisible church,

that is, a union of spiritually like-minded brethren who would function as a revivalist leaven within existing Protestant churches. (In reality this did not happen and they remained a cohesive group.) He also directed them to pioneer Protestant foreign missions. They should dedicate their lives to taking the gospel to the oppressed and hitherto neglected native peoples.⁴ The missionaries, in the words of one historian, "had to be willing to serve without pay, to work for their living, to be content with bare necessities, and to suffer, die and be forgotten, content that such was the will of God."⁵

From the outset, the Moravians' General Synod and its executive, the Unity's Elders' Conference, had their permanent seats in Germany and invariably consisted almost exclusively of Germans. Although the Moravians established Provincial Synods in England, Ireland, Holland, and America, Germany was the hub for the mission's decision-making about objectives and operations. There the missionaries were trained and from there they were sent into the world. In 1732 the first Moravian missionaries set forth. These went to the black slaves of the West Indies. In 1733 Moravians went to the Inuit (Eskimos) of Greenland, and in 1735 to the Indians of America. Within a few decades, the Mission Board at Herrnhut administered a global community of Moravian synods, mission stations, and congregations with a presence in England, Sweden, Russia, the Americas, and Africa.

Mission Stations and Settlements

The idea of extending the Moravian ministry to the Labrador Inuit, who had a reputation (in the words of the Newfoundland Governor Palliser) as "the most treacherous, cruel and barbarous of all savages ever known,"⁶ was initiated by Moravian missionaries in Greenland, who were convinced that the same transformation of the lives of the Inuit could be wrought in Labrador as in Greenland. The Labrador Inuit's bad reputation resulted from conflicts arising from their trade with European (before 1763 mostly French) fishing, trading and naval parties in the south. The great difficulties of establishing a mission in Labrador, however, became clear in 1752 when local Inuit murdered seven members of the first Moravian exploratory party, including its leader, the Mecklenburg seaman Johann Christian Erhardt.⁷ Labelled "the Dutchman" by Anglo-Saxon chronicists because he used to be employed on a Dutch ship, Erhardt had planned a combined missionary and trade exploration funded by Moravian businessmen in England. In Ford's Harbour, close to today's Makkovik, he selected a spot for the first mission station he named Hopedale (not identical to present-day Hopedale). A house built at this site in 1752 was soon destroyed by Inuit. The ruins of this first attempt to start a Labrador mission were found by Moravian search parties in 1753 and 1775 but were subsequently abandoned and not rediscovered and excavated until 2001.⁸

A second—this time successful—attempt to establish a permanent foothold in Labrador was made by the Danish-born Moravian Jens Haven. He, like Erhardt, had ministered to the Inuit in Greenland. Unlike Erhardt, though, Haven was fluent in Greenland Inuktitut, a language very similar to the Labrador Inuit idiom. Haven's

plans were brought to fruition with the help of the English branch of the *Unitas Fratrum* and Newfoundland Governor Hugh Palliser. After Newfoundland acquired Labrador from France in 1763, Palliser needed a truce with the Inuit so that an English trade and fishery might develop along the Labrador coast. After three voyages of inquiry by Haven in the 1760s and the British government's approval of a land grant of 100,000 acres in 1769, the first permanent mission station was built at Nain in 1771. The Moravians explained to Palliser that they needed the large tract of land to keep at bay "the vicious and debasing influence" of fishermen and traders frequenting the coast.⁹

From the outset, the behaviour of fishermen-traders loomed as the most formidable obstacle to Moravian endeavours and seemed to explain the Inuits' mistrust of white men. On his first trip to the Labrador coast in a Newfoundland fishing boat in summer 1764, an appalled Haven had to watch helplessly as the crew on his boat randomly shot at Inuit they spotted in kayaks. He was ridiculed by the fishermen, Haven reported, when he desponded about their apparent resolve "to murder all the Eskimos."¹⁰ In order to be safe from these and other "wandering pirates who then abounded," the Moravians chose a site for their mission premises in Labrador to which navigation would be extremely dangerous for those unfamiliar with the locality. In addition, Palliser decided to have the newly chosen Nain mission site fortified with cannon and muskets, not for defence against the Inuit, but against pirate-fishermen.¹¹ The Moravians' role in protecting the Inuit of northern Labrador from the extinction that was the fate of the southern Inuit bands has been widely recognized.¹²

Nain started out as a station in the wilderness consisting of a mission house, church, trading post, and outbuildings inhabited by fourteen missionary personnel—three married couples and eight single men. A school was added in 1791. Although the headquarters of the Labrador mission until 1957, Nain developed only slowly into a larger settlement. Initially, the nomadic Inuit visited Nain merely to trade and to participate in the religious festivals of Easter and Christmas. Meanwhile, they retained or relapsed into their indigenous religious beliefs.¹³ By 1850 the Mission counted some 300, mostly seasonally visiting Inuit communicants. Only thereafter did Nain acquire a more permanently resident Inuit and white settler population. The Moravians, however, had been able to stop almost immediately the ongoing warfare between Inuit and fishermen-traders as well as Inuit blood feuds.¹⁴ From the 1770s to 1800 murders were reported only in the regions to the north and south of the mission stations, indicating the missionaries' effective mediation in disputes.¹⁵

The excellent progress made by the missionaries in their relations with the Inuit caused the British government to approve a second mission settlement, Okak, to the north of Nain in 1775 and a third one to the south of Nain in 1782. The latter was named Hoffenthal (Hopedale) in memory of the first abandoned station. Like Nain, each was in an area occupied by a large gathering of Inuit during the winter, with an excellent harbour, good fishing, and an ample supply of wood and fresh water. Each of these settlements was started on a grant of 100,000 acres of surrounding land. Hopedale with its stately mission house, church, and store is, besides Hebron, the only Moravian mission complex that has survived from the mid-nineteenth century. Okak, which included an orphanage and a hospital, was closed in 1919 after the

Spanish influenza had wiped out three quarters of its Inuit community of 266. Its buildings were dismantled and their materials used to rebuild Nain where the original church, school, stores, and stately three-storey mission house with archive and library were consumed by a fire in 1921.

In order to be effective, the missionaries realized that they must go where the natives gathered. Five more settlements most of which no longer exist were therefore launched along the northern Labrador coast during the nineteenth century. These are Hebron (1830-1959), Zoar (1865-94), Rama (1871-1908), Makkovik (1896-present), and Killinek (1904-24). Hebron, sixty miles north of Okak, was a rugged mountainous spot surrounded by steep cliffs thirty miles north of the tree line. It was established near a large Inuit camp at Saglek Bay to take the place of Okak as the spiritual centre for reaching out to the Inuit in the north. The materials for the mission house had to be brought on 105 dog sled trips from Okak. The one-storey mission building with the attached church was constructed in the form of a German long-house with a central hallway and rooms leading off it. It served as a comprehensive community centre, housing the missionaries' residence, school, village smithy, and other communal activity. The Spanish influenza epidemic of 1918 decimated Hebron's Inuit population from 220 to 70, but it recovered. When in 1959 the Moravian Church decided to close the station citing isolation, lack of services, and supply problems as reasons, the government resettled the remaining 247 Hebron Inuit to Moravian communities further south. The Hebron mission building was preserved to become a National Historic Site in 1976.

Zoar, located between Hopedale and Nain, was the first Moravian settlement designed to gather not only Inuit but also settlers and Newfoundland fishermen of this area for trade and evangelization. The store, however, did not prove economically viable and became the cause of Inuit violence. When the Moravians closed it, the Inuit left Zoar. Consequently, the settlement had to be abandoned. The decisions to build stations at Rama and Killinek on Labrador's far northern coast signified the last, equally short-lived, Moravian efforts to establish contact with the remaining Inuit on Labrador's most northern coastal strip. Rama was situated a hundred miles above the tree line in an inhospitable environment of rock, ice, and sea. It serviced forty-five souls when the Moravians had to abandon it for financial reasons. Killinek station hugged the coastal cliffs of a barren rocky island at the northernmost tip of Labrador. Surrounded by frozen sea most of the year, it was almost completely cut off from the other stations, even in good weather. Two factors sealed its fate: its Inuit population declined despite an auspicious beginning and second, territorial disputes with Canada increased because of import duties imposed on supplies.

Makkovik was the first settlement started south of Hopedale. It was also the first one to serve primarily settlers and fishers, and the only one of the five started in the nineteenth century still surviving. Its large two-storey mission house and church, prefabricated by Moravians in Germany, burnt to the ground in 1948. They were replaced by much smaller bungalow-type buildings. The only additional Labrador congregations Moravians formed in the twentieth century were in Happy Valley (1943) and North West River (1960).¹⁶ In 1967 the five Labrador congregations constituted

themselves as the autonomous Moravian Church in Newfoundland and Labrador, which became an affiliated Province of the worldwide Moravian Church.¹⁷ The 250th anniversary of the Moravian Church in Labrador in 2002 attested to the fact that the Moravians had come to stay. Over 2,000 of northern Labrador's population of about 2,500 claim a Moravian heritage today.¹⁸

Moravian Life at the Mission Stations

The center of each Moravian settlement was the original mission station. It generally consisted of a large mission house with living quarters, offices, work shops, and communal rooms for the missionaries; a church (sometimes attached to the mission house); a trading store; outbuildings for curing such items as fish, meat, and skins; a garden; and a graveyard. The stately external appearance of the original two- and three-storey Labrador mission houses and the churches with belfries reflect German Baroque designs typical of most buildings in Herrnhut and Moravian mission stations everywhere from the mid-eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries. In Labrador the missionaries erected these structures themselves and made most of their own furniture from local materials according to German plans. Only the Makkovik mission house and church were shipped in pieces from Germany. On a trip home in 1891, missionary Hermann Jannasch had arranged, complete with four German tiled heating stoves, to get a newly developed German-type prefabricated church and mission house. They were to be manufactured for the new Makkovik station for later assembly in Makkovik. The buildings were temporarily assembled by the manufacturer in Niesky, Germany, where Jannasch marked their parts so he could reassemble them in Makkovik in 1896.¹⁹

Inuit gathered around this station complex, at first infrequently, then seasonally (usually from the onset of winter to shortly after Easter) in tents, sod huts, or small wooden houses. During the summer months the missionaries were thus alone in the settlement and could devote themselves to such activities as fishing and hunting, gardening, carpentry, scientific experiments, writing, and coastal travel. Six missionaries on average, including one or two married couples and a trading brother, occupied the mission stations, especially the larger ones. In 1900, at the peak of its operations, the Labrador mission counted a total missionary staff of thirty-seven (including wives) and a congregation of about 1,000 Inuit communicants (from an estimated population of about 1,500 Inuit along the entire Labrador coast), plus two to three hundred so-called settlers, that is, whites or half-Inuit.

Until the 1920s, most of the Moravian missionaries in Labrador were of German background and had been trained in Germany. The home office in Herrnhut arranged for the missionary's marriage by selecting a suitable Moravian bride. It also required that the missionaries' children be sent for education to Moravian boarding schools in Germany when they reached eight years of age. Some of these children returned from Germany to their places of birth in Labrador to become missionaries themselves. After serving in Labrador an average of fifteen to twenty years—a few stayed for as many as forty years—the German-born missionaries preferred to retire in Germany. There they looked forward to devoting their remaining years publicizing their

experiences as missionaries, promoting the mission's objectives in Labrador, and helping to solicit charitable donations for its operation. The missionaries born in Germany and their Labrador-born children, therefore, preferred to retain their German nationality, even when serving in Labrador for forty years. The absence of a German official of any kind for them in Labrador prompted the German Ambassador in London to request successfully the establishment of a consulate there. In 1880 a German consulate was opened in Nain so that the forty German missionary staff could "obtain legally valid papers."²⁰

Visitors frequently noted the "very German" living quarters and lifestyles of the missionaries. The big mission houses, indeed, were a microcosm of Moravian life in Germany. All the mission stations were heated with wood and coal by German-type tall ceramic tile stoves (*Kachelofen*). Even the remote Killinek station prided itself on a large blue-tiled stove of this type. Its efficiency and long retention of heat impressed RCMP constable Kenneth C. Butler, who visited the station in 1921 and had never seen this kind of stove before.²¹ Each station operated a bakery, a smithy, and a carpentry shop. In addition, Nain, Hopedale and Okak brewed beer, and Nain set up a printing press.

Jessie Luther, a New England visitor to the Hopedale mission house in 1910, took note of cross-stitch embroidery on the tablecloths, pots of red geraniums on the window sills, white window curtains, German texts on the walls, and beds with two layers of feather beds on them. Although content with Spartan diets for themselves, Moravians brought out their best food from storage for their guests. Missionary Berthold Lenz and his wife served Jessie Luther Sunday breakfast with whole wheat bread, oatmeal porridge, coffee and marmalade. Dinner consisted of "delicious soup, partridge (canned by Frau Lenz), potato, creamed cauliflower (from the garden) and stewed dried raspberries for dessert." Supper included smoked salmon, homemade German sausage, bread and butter, tea, and marmalade, "all placed on the table at once." Sunday noon dinner was followed by coffee at two o'clock:

We found the table spread as for a formal meal with lively white, green and gold china and a silver coffee service . . . In the center of the table were two large *kuchen* [cakes], one with apple and almonds, the other with rhubarb. It is remarkable how one could eat such a meal so soon after a twelve o'clock dinner with the prospect of supper at five-thirty and a nightcap at nine, but we seemed to manage five meals a day without difficulty.²²

The organization of social and cultural life at the mission stations, including the common housekeeping arrangement which was abandoned in 1907,²³ was as Moravian German as the physical layout and architectural style. In order to make the mission house a self-contained and self-sufficient family group, the missionaries maintained a strict division of labour. The upbringing of the missionaries' small children to the age of seven (thereafter they were sent to Germany), the kitchen, and the laundry were the preserve of the female missionaries, while bread baking, carpentry, repairs, and hunting and fishing, were male chores. Among the male missionaries those who knew the

native language engaged in preaching, teaching, and translating, whereas others were assigned practical work, such as construction or food gathering, and one was always responsible for the station's store. As a part of schooling, Inuit girls were assigned the washing and mending of all the children's clothes, while the Inuit boys had to split wood and haul water for the kitchen.²⁴ Inuit girls who spoke German used to help the missionaries' wives in their households.

Gardening

Moravians came to Labrador with great hopes for gardening as a way to remain as self-sufficient as possible. But even after they realized that at best they might be able to supplement no more than a fraction of their subsistence from nature, they did not give up. Inspired by the gardening skills and experience they had acquired in Germany, they experimented so long until they had discovered ways to adapt to the short growing season and harsh climate of Labrador. Visitors were invariably amazed at the ingeniously cultivated and prolifically yielding Moravian gardens in Hopedale and Nain. Even in Hebron and Rama, far north of the tree line, Moravians had gardens.

A Moravian drawing of Nain in the 1770s already showed two gardens, a large one on the left and a small one on the right side of the mission house. In Hopedale, too, the Moravians recognized the potential for gardening immediately. In less than a year after their arrival, they had marked off a piece of land 70 by 60 feet, surrounded it with palisades, and filled it with many wheelbarrows of mossy dirt, which was then mixed with seaweed to create a fertile mulch. Later visitors to Hopedale recorded their astonishment at the missionaries' success in growing vegetables and flowers.²⁵ In his Visitation Report of July 1876, Bishop Levin Theodor Reichel commented that the Hopedale gardens "took us by surprise, as vegetation in them was more advanced than we had anticipated: during our stay they improved very perceptibly with warm weather and very heavy rain. Salad [i.e., lettuce] and cucumbers in the forcing frames require great care and trouble, which are, however, well repaid."²⁶

Gardens were a standard feature at all mission stations where something could be grown. Some stations had attractively landscaped backyards equipped with walkways, benches, picnic tables, and even tea houses. Despite the harsh climate, the missionaries managed to grow successfully flowers, shrubs, and trees, and such vegetables as rhubarb, potatoes, cabbage, cauliflower, kohlrabi, lettuce, beets and radishes. The plants were usually started indoors behind stoves in cans and boxes, then nursed along sunny windows until the end of May when they could be moved into cold frames outdoors. In June and July they were then planted into outdoor beds fertilized with kelp that had washed ashore. To plant the Hopedale garden in May or June, the snow of the preceding eight months had to be dug out and carried away.²⁷

A Grenfell Mission crafts teacher, who visited Hopedale in 1910, was taken aback at the beauty of the Moravians' "dear little formal flower garden with three flower beds" holding pansies, poppies, and pink English daisies along paths of gravel, with pointed shingles bordering the small flower beds. There was also a greenhouse sheltering flowers and vegetables. Mrs. Lenz, the missionary's wife, led the visitor

along a walk bordered by trees, through a kitchen garden where lettuce, potatoes, rhubarb, turnips, and even cauliflower were flourishing, then through a gate in the picket fence to another lovely spot with trees, shrubs, and walks leading to seats beside them. There was even a little tea house, and in one place, a seat and table were raised by rock and sand to a height overlooking the sea and hills. Mrs. Lenz said she and Mr. Lenz had made this themselves, and it was their favorite retreat.²⁸

Nain had a more prolific vegetable garden than Hopedale because the soil had been lovingly collected all around the mission station wherever small pockets of it could be found.²⁹ In the outdoor garden beds, elaborate devices protected plants from the cold. Visitors marvelled how Inuit women trooped out on chilly evenings to cover up the potatoes. "Every row of potatoes is covered with arched sticks and long strips of canvas along them. A huge role of sacking is kept near each row and the whole is drawn over and the potatoes are tucked in bed for the night."³⁰ At Nain, missionary Jannasch built a hothouse sunken into the ground and warmed with heat sent through pipes from the tiled stove in the mission house.³¹

Professor Edward C. Moore of Harvard University, who toured the mission stations in 1905, echoed the Grenfell teachers's sentiments at the sight of the missionaries' gardens and their greenhouse at Nain. He was amazed that at Nain

pansies and petunias grow in the open air in August though icebergs are everywhere in sight. I have a picture of a doctor at this station sitting in his room with a gloxinia in a pot beside him in full bloom in mid-winter in a climate where the thermometer often reaches 25 degrees below zero . . . So small a thing as this love of flowers is typical of the refinement of these faithful men and women, and the simple godliness and quiet devotion which they manifest betrays the secret of all that these missions have achieved.³²

Language and Culture

For almost two centuries, the Moravian cultural record in Labrador had been largely a German experience. The predominant language at the mission stations was German and the bulk of the mission stations' diaries (until 1929) were written in German. When baptizing Inuit, the missionaries used only German first names.³³ For their interactions with local and British authorities, with settlers, fishermen, and the Society for the Futherance of the Gospel (S. F. G.), however, the German missionaries serving in Labrador also acquired some fluency in English.³⁴ But it is symptomatic for the pervasiveness of the Moravian stations' German environment that the few English-born missionaries serving in Labrador all learned German in order to function adequately. In virtually every aspect of Moravian-Inuit relations, German attitudes and customs were transparent. Moravian cultural endeavours, ranging from their

linguistic work, music, science, and educational methods to their work ethic, were mostly based on models and approaches originating in Germany.

Observing Inuit culture and preserving what they saw as essential to it reflected the Moravians' unique concept of culture and *Bildung* (education) rooted in their Moravian and German traditions. Zinzendorf had studied and admired John Amos Comenius (1592-1670) renowned as the "father of modern education." One of the last bishops of the original Moravian Brethren, Comenius's interest in natural science, his ideas of making learning interesting, and relevant for life³⁵ were further developed by Germany's foremost Pietist theologian August Hermann Francke (1663-1727).³⁶ As director of the Halle Pedagogium, he was Zinzendorf's chief teacher and mentor. Francke's pedagogical approaches were highly innovative. They were aimed at the physical and social improvement of orphaned, sick, impoverished, and lower class children, as well as at the needs of the upper classes. He advocated schooling children in accordance with their natural talents in academic and practical subjects, with natural history and the natural sciences occupying a prominent place in the curriculum.³⁷

Herrnhut's first Latin school, from its beginning in 1738, taught geography, anatomy, medicine, and a trade. This curriculum was further developed at the Moravian school and seminary of Wetterau (near Frankfurt am Main). One of the first directors of the Wetterau school, Bishop Polykarp Müller, was a devout advocate of "the study of science in the service of the mission to the heathen." He believed that an effective mission required the most versatile teachers with expertise in a number of disciplines of the arts and sciences, especially the study of languages, nature, cultures, and geography. Müller's ideas were implemented by Paul Eugen Layritz, Friedrich Adam Scholler, and David Cranz, three prominent Moravian educators who trained the first generation of Moravian missionaries. Two of these, Layritz and Cranz, were associated with the Labrador mission. Layritz visited Nain in 1773 as a representative of the Conference of Elders in order to help define internal procedures as well as missionary approaches and objectives in Labrador.³⁸

The Moravians' most vital cultural objectives, as well as their most significant and enduring ones, were their linguistic endeavours. The primary challenge, in keeping with their Moravian religious philosophy, was bringing literacy to the Inuit in their native language, to facilitate the spread of the gospel among them. Linguistically, the Moravians faced three formidable tasks: they needed to create a written language (Inuktitut), in order to produce reading materials in Inuktitut, which were essential for bringing about Inuit literacy. To accomplish this goal, the Moravians first created a written language for the Inuit based on the Inuit oral dialect. Then, to provide reading materials for the Inuit, the Moravians translated the Bible and other reading materials into the newly created Inuktitut. These tasks were accomplished during the difficult formative years of the mission. Although the missionaries had been prepared for practical trades and often lacked any specific phonetic and linguistic training, they were helped by two advantages—they were able to avail themselves of previous Moravian linguistic work done for the Greenland Inuit, and the first Labrador missionaries included several who had lived in Greenland and knew Inuktitut.

Five of the first missionaries were fluent in Greenlandic Inuktitut upon arrival in Nain. During his term in Nain from 1773 to 1797, Johann Ludwig Beck is known to have used a copy of his father's Greenland dictionary. As early as 1780, Hopedale missionary David Kriegelstein was reported preparing a book of readings for Labrador Inuit.³⁹ The first part of the Bible in Labrador Inuktitut—the Passion story—was available in 1800, to be followed by the Gospels in 1813. By 1826 the missionaries had translated into Labrador Inuktitut the entire New Testament, and by 1834 parts of the Old Testament. The translation of the complete Bible into Inuktitut by 1869 was the work of missionary Friedrich Erdmann, who served in Okak, Nain, and Hebron from 1834 to 1872.⁴⁰ In addition, comprehensive dictionaries, catechisms, prayer books, Bible stories, and hymnals—the 1950 edition of the Inuit hymnal still contains German subtitles—are the fruit of the German missionaries' linguistic labours.

Erdmann also prepared the first comprehensive printed Inuktitut-German dictionary (1864), based on numerous older, handwritten, and incomplete dictionaries copied and revised by missionaries in the course of their service in Labrador.⁴¹ The first detailed grammar (in German) of Labrador Inuktitut was the work of missionary Theodor Bourquin in 1891. Although modelled on Samuel Kleinschmidt's grammar of Greenlandic Inuktitut of 1851, it relied heavily on local native informants to do justice to the grammatical and orthographic peculiarities of the Labrador dialect. Missionary Hermann Jannasch, who assisted in this task, was overawed by the dedication with which Bourquin shouldered these labours over a fifteen-year period. Bourquin, recalled Jannasch in his memoirs of 1929, "carried a notepad with him on all his walks and travels in Labrador; he kept asking the Eskimo to explain every new expression and scribbled down everything most conscientiously." Bourquin's work revealed such an exceptional grasp of the peculiarities of Labrador Inuktitut and was so thorough, F. W. Peacock noted almost a century later, that revisions of this work "have failed to add any significant facts."⁴²

It has been observed that certain Inuktitut guttural sounds with a harsh and unpleasant ring to the English ear resemble German sounds. These sounds appear in such German words as "ach" and "doch" and facilitated the linguistic labours of the German missionaries. When compiling their dictionaries, the German missionaries wrote down the sounds they heard as they would have reproduced them in their own language. German phonetics thus is the basis for spelling Inuit words to this day, a system often causing confusion and irritation for English speakers. Lacking Inuit equivalents for many of the spiritual concepts and everyday items necessary to teach the Bible, the German missionaries had to create a large body of new Inuit vocabulary. Their pioneer creation of a written Inuit language and their translations into the new language consequently contain substitutions of German words for concepts missing in the native language. For example, such German words as *Gott* (God), *heilig* (holy), *Löwe* (lion), *Taube* (pigeon), *Harfe* (harp), *Kartoffel* (potato), the German names for the days and the months, and German numerals from one to ten have entered the native language. For plants like the fig tree or grape vine the Moravian linguists combined the Inuit word for pine (*nappartok*) with the German for fig (*Feige*) or wine (*Wein*) into *nappartok faigeliksak* and *nappartok vaineliksak* (i.e., the pine supposed to

bear wine).⁴³ From the 1940s on, a growing number of English words have broadened the Labrador Inuit dialect. The transcription of the Inuits' spoken language into the modern means of communication known as Inuktitut has, for good or ill, exposed their culture to incalculable new influences.

Education

One of the Moravian mandates in Labrador was to assume complete responsibility for the education of the Labrador Inuit. Until 1946, when the Newfoundland government finally assumed supervision of the Moravian schools, the missionaries discharged their responsibility with sensitivity and dedication. Newly arriving Moravian missionaries were not allowed to preach or speak to Inuit until they had learned Inuktitut. Guided by the twin principles of imparting a sound knowledge of the Christian religion while leaving the native way of life as undisturbed as possible, the Moravians' educational approach was geared to all-out literacy for the Inuit, females as well as males.

Reports indicate that by 1843 most of the Inuit in districts where Moravian schooling was available were literate in their own language. Inuit literacy remained high for more than a century. On the eve of the First World War, Wilfred Grenfell considered them the best educated people along the entire coast and Governor MacGregor believed that they would be able to exercise the franchise as intelligently as any whites. Their reputation for literacy was so widespread among illiterate fishermen visiting Labrador in schooners that Inuit are reported to have been asked to write letters for them home to Newfoundland.⁴⁴ Not until 1950 did Inuit literacy rates began to drop drastically when instruction in Inuktitut was discontinued in favour of universal English schooling.⁴⁵

The first formal Moravian school in Labrador opened in 1791. The essential Moravian curriculum taught subjects that appeared to be of practical value—reading, writing, basic math and geography, elementary bookkeeping, and, of course, Bible study. Bible stories, however, formed the basic and most common instructional materials available to Inuit for more than a century and a half. The core academic objective was the acquisition by the Inuit of both basic literacy skills in Inuktitut and mathematical skills equivalent to grade four or five by today's standards. In 1815 the Moravian school curriculum in Labrador added history and political and social studies. Although the language of instruction was Inuktitut, the more advanced students were also taught English and German by 1900. In Nain and Hebron many Inuit spoke three languages. In 1909 eleven Inuit helpers from the different stations sent salutations written in fluent English to King Edward VII beseeching him to protect their hunting and fishing grounds from outsiders' encroachments.⁴⁶

Education for baptized Inuit was virtually compulsory since they had to sign a pledge following their confirmation that their offspring would go to school. Due to the semi-nomadic lifestyle of the Inuit, the school year lasted only about 12-16 weeks although Okak had a Moravian orphanage from 1865. To meet the needs of the children of settlers living in dispersion, Moravians in 1900 opened in Makkovik the first

Labrador boarding school in English. In 1922 this school introduced a nine-month curriculum. The school had 37 students in 1930. At the same time, settlers' demands and changing Inuit migrating patterns led to the transformation of the Nain Inuit school into another nine-month Moravian boarding school. It opened in 1929 for some fifty children of Inuit and settlers, offering English-language instruction to settlers' children and Inuktitut schooling to Inuit. For settlers' children it operated as a boarding school while Inuit children attended whenever their parents returned from their winter fur-hunting expeditions induced by the sale of the Moravian trading franchise to the Hudson's Bay Company.⁴⁷

The missionaries diverse expertise enabled a multi-faceted education. The amateur scientists and skilled artisans among them taught the Inuit a variety of scientific subjects, arts, crafts, and skills, including the use of nets for catching seals. Missionary Hermann Jannasch introduced his Inuit students to the secrets of optics, photography, electromagnetism, and gases.⁴⁸ From the 1860s the missionaries' wives were reported to be offering sewing and knitting lessons.⁴⁹ In the nineteenth century the Nain mission taught carpentry to Inuit in a well-outfitted workshop. By 1900, Governor MacGregor reported, the course was dropped from the curriculum because the Inuit had become highly skilled at teaching one another without the help of the missionaries. Inuit had been serving as teachers' aides since the mid-nineteenth century.⁵⁰

Music

Moravian music is deeply rooted in the rich hymnal and choral tradition of German Protestantism and has always been a vital expression of the Moravians' religion of the heart. As a contemporary of Johann Sebastian Bach and George Frederick Handel, Count Zinzendorf was immersed in the profusion of Baroque music that was composed and performed all around Herrnhut. Himself the author of numerous hymns, Zinzendorf valued singing and instrumental music as manifestations of one's Christian joy and as a means to generate and revitalize communal bonds. From the beginning, therefore, singing and the teaching of hymns was an integral part of Moravian church services and school curricula in Labrador.⁵¹

The Inuit were fond to demonstrate great talent for music and singing. The first formal teaching of Moravian hymns in Labrador schools is documented in the winter of 1780-81 in Nain. As early as 1792 Inuit were reported singing German hymns in Inuktitut. In 1803 a Hopedale missionary reported back home that the Inuit children easily comprehended what was taught them and most knew the hymns in their hymn book by heart. Among the Moravians' publications were songs for Inuit "freely translated and copied from German folksongs" (1872) by missionaries such as Friedrich Erdmann. Anthropologists such as Maija M. Lutz have also pointed to the Inuit quest to fulfill old needs in new forms.⁵² German scientist K. R. Koch, who visited the Labrador mission stations in 1882, was amazed how many German folk songs had been translated for the Inuit. He was "peculiarly touched by the homely melodies, when he heard Inuit girls sing 'Freut Euch des Lebens' or 'Steh ich in finsterner Mitternacht,' although with a different text."⁵³

At their well-attended lessons, Inuit learned quickly to sight-read any tune. German carols (in Inuktitut) were a favourite when they enthusiastically celebrated Christmas and Easter. At the mission stations their choirs practised songs for several voices.⁵⁴ Initially, instruments served to accompany singing. Their earliest recorded use is at Nain in 1821 with missionaries playing the violincello and harpsichord and two Inuit playing the violin in support of congregational singing. Soon, however, brass instruments were added and every mission station acquired its separate Inuit brass band composed of different brass instruments. The typical Moravian church services remained largely choral singing, accompanied on the organ and stringed instruments by Inuit musicians. On special occasions, like Christmas, Inuit brass ensembles were added and the whole orchestration was known as the "German Band."⁵⁵

The Moravian churches at the larger mission stations had pipe organs imported from Germany. These were usually played by self-taught Inuit. The first organ arrived in Nain in 1828 as a gift from the church at Herrnhut where it had been in use since 1728. In 1845 this organ was moved to Hopedale when Nain received a new organ from the Kleinwelke congregation. Hopedale became quite famous for its musical culture. Inuit from Hopedale even played harmonium in a chapel they had erected on Uviluktok Island, their summer worship place. To the Inuits' delight, even the most northern stations of Rama and Killinek embellished their church services with a harmonium. The highest wish of an Inuk, visiting German scientist Koch noted, was to own a small harmonium.

The missionaries brought with them not only the German Baroque traditions of the brass band and choirs with instrumental accompaniments, but also the *Collegium Musicum*. In 1822 Inuit had been introduced to various European musical instruments and showed such skill and enthusiasm that, according to the Reverend Peacock, it was not uncommon to meet an Inuk able to play two or three brass instruments, as well as the organ and stringed instruments.⁵⁶ On Sunday mornings, visiting missionary Levin T. Reichel observed, Inuit awakened the mission station with clarinet and brass bands, and in the afternoon groups of natives used to visit the missionaries in their rooms for music and entertainment. It is therefore not surprising that the Moravians were able to impart to Inuit their love even for string quartets and classical music performances. Nain in the 1880s had a children's choir, a string quartet, and clarinet, flute and oboe players. According to missionary Hermann Jannasch, their skills were often extraordinary. On Christian holidays, Moravian church services in Labrador were no less musically embellished than the church services in Germany.⁵⁷

German Customs and Traditions

Besides their love for music, the Moravians passed on to the Inuit such German customs and traditions as the celebration of Advent with Advent wreath and hanging stars, Christmas with the decorated tree, the Christmas Eve gift exchange, and the inauguration of the New Year—with an Inuit brass ensemble playing the German hymn "Now Thank You All Our God." Missionary Hermann Jannasch's son, who grew up in Nain in the 1880s, remembered the eagerness with which Inuit liked to

show off their own Christmas trees decorated with pieces of paper, stars cut out of tin cans, pictures taken from catalogues and labels, and small dangling gifts.⁵⁸

The Moravians also endeavoured, though with greater difficulty, to impart to the Inuit a German sense of efficiency, order, and economy.⁵⁹ Moravian Inuit communities increasingly reflected the world the missionaries had left behind in Germany. Geographical isolation coupled with Moravian assumption of responsibility for every spiritual and material problem of the Inuit, missionary F.W. Peacock noted, resulted in what some perceived as benevolent paternalistic control over the lives of the native converts.

The atmosphere created was almost feudal and a fertile ground for the developing of autocrats. That some of the missionaries became autocrats cannot be denied but on the whole their humility and sense of mission prevented this . . . That they did not organize the life of the whole community with such [German] efficiency was simply due to the fact that the Inuit, as independent people, although willing to serve, did not intend to be servants, and, as time passed, began to look upon the work of the Mission as a partnership.⁶⁰

Looking back at the charges of paternalism and repression exercised by the missionaries, spokespersons of today's Moravian Church in Labrador admit that "some existed, perhaps a great deal." But the missionaries had practical ulterior motives. Their objective in all this was "to assist the Inuit in adapting to the changes which all saw as inevitable."⁶¹

Scientific Pursuits

The Moravians' training in Germany and the unique concept of education imbued in them prompted them from the outset to attach great significance not only to the study of native cultures, but also to the observation of natural phenomena and the pursuit of all kinds of scientific objectives. The missionaries often undertook these studies in close cooperation with scientists and scholars from German-speaking Europe. They also willingly accommodated scientists who intended to use the mission stations as observation posts for scientific field work.

The Moravians' amazingly wide range of cultural, educational and scientific activities is to a large degree a legacy of the strong devotion of German Pietistic culture to the native life of Germany, that is, a revolt against the blind acceptance of foreign models. It is also an outgrowth of the rejection of religious and philosophical dogmatism in education in favour of a pragmatic exploration of life and nature. Although hostile towards rationalism, this concept of education and culture embodied the spirit of several aspects of the eighteenth-century enlightenment, such as the romantic urge to return to nature, and admiration for the "noble savage."

Moravian preoccupation with nature has been traced to the pantheistic mysticism common to Hussite and Pietist traditions. It was a yearning for participation in the

harmony of the universe, for overcoming the divisions between man, nature, and God.⁶² Some of these approaches were further developed by Germany's foremost Pietist theologian August Hermann Francke (1663-1727). Francke's precepts inspired a whole generation of Herrnhut-Moravian pedagogues and educational theorists to promote state-of-the-art education in state-controlled and Moravian schools. Many prominent German writers, poets, administrators, and scientists received their early education at the boarding school in Herrnhut and at Moravian colleges in such places as Niesky and Barby. True to the spirit of the times, Moravian pedagogues demanded a thorough natural scientific education with emphasis on the acquisition of a keen sense of observation and understanding as a prerequisite essential for missionary and school service.

What was taught by Paul Eugen Layritz, a student of Francke and an instructor in various Lutheran and Moravian schools in Germany, was so devoted to experimental physics, geography, botany, and modelling with cardboard, wood, and glass, that it appeared to have little in common with the idea of a pietist education. His proposal for the reorganization of the Moravian theological academy at Barby (near Magdeburg) stressed the significance of a broad general education over narrow specialization in theology, law and medicine. As a result, more courses in natural science subjects than in theology were taught at Barby by the 1760s,⁶³ and the variety and thoroughness of Barby's natural history collection had few equals in Germany.⁶⁴ Barby professor Friedrich Adam Scholler is hailed as the *Unitas Fratrum's* foremost botanist and "true father of the natural sciences." For him the systematic study of botany, ornithology and entomology became virtually an end in itself. His comprehensive *Flora Barbiensis* (1775) widely praised among the leading botanists of its time, justified devotion to the natural sciences as admiration of and propaganda for the beautiful works of the Creator.

The value of an inductive knowledge of the physical environment, natural history, geography, and cultures of the areas destined for missionary activity was demonstrated by David Cranz in his pioneering history of the Moravian mission of Greenland, published in 1765. Intended as a model for a history of the Moravian mission in other lands, the book opens with a comprehensive geography of Greenland, including data on the weather and ice movements, as well as on the geology, flora, and biology. His examination of the culture and lifestyle of the Greenland Inuit compared these with whatever data were available about Labrador. Cranz's *History of Greenland* became thus far more than a record of the mission's work in Greenland. Its valuable collection of data became a guide and a reference for the subsequent launching of the Labrador mission.⁶⁵

The Labrador missionaries were thus conditioned from the outset to observe nature and to send data and samples for scientific analysis to Germany. Due to their training, wide range of interests, and educational approach, these missionaries contributed much to our knowledge of the Inuit, their pagan culture, and their physical environment. Moravians pioneered the study of the geography, climate, flora, fauna, and other natural phenomena of Labrador. The Labrador missionaries systematically observed and collected all manner of plants, birds' eggs, butterflies, moths, and insects,

and communicated the findings for evaluation and publication to scholars in Germany. Based on these, the renowned Moravian entomologist Heinrich Benno Möschler published between 1848 and 1870 probably the first and today still one of the most comprehensive classifications of Labrador butterflies.⁶⁶ Geological curiosity led missionaries to discover the semi-precious blue stone called Labradorite. As early as 1773 they sent a quantity of it to England in the "hope that this might contribute to [a reduction of] the mission expenses."⁶⁷

Moravian meteorological and cartographic observations proved to be of unique scientific and practical value. The Moravians collected instrumental weather readings at Nain, Hopedale, and Okak from the beginning. The Nain station kept continuous weather records from as early as 1772. These were sent on to London and, from 1882-1939, to the German Marine Observatory in Hamburg.⁶⁸ In 1809, 1836, and 1857, Moravians were the first to measure and record earthquakes in Newfoundland and Labrador that were related to earthquakes offshore.⁶⁹ In February 1903 they took note of even such seemingly minor phenomena as a precipitation of ashes or similar deposits on the white snow far and wide around Makkovik. In July 1903 they reported huge clouds of smoke or dust high up in the atmosphere darkening the daylight for two days.⁷⁰ At each of their mission stations the Moravians meticulously recorded the formation of shore ice each year.

A byproduct of the mission's expansion in Labrador was the mapping of the largely unmapped coastline by the missionaries. Their collective drawings and cartographic skills yielded the first accurate maps of the coastline of northern Labrador, published in 1860, by Bishop Levin Theodor Reichel. The Reichel map, which charted the sea route from Hopedale to Hebron, was in use until 1957.⁷¹ It was kept in Nain, where year after year, ships' captains would borrow it on their northward journey and return it to Nain on the way back.⁷² The first map of Eskimo Bay, based on data collected by missionary Ferdinand Elsner who had explored the Hamilton Inlet area in 1857, was published in 1861 in *Harper's Magazine*.⁷³ After his exploration of the area in 1870, missionary James O'Hara produced in 1872 a more comprehensive map of the entire coast from Davis Inlet to the Straits of Belle Isle. This O'Hara map showed with much more detail and accuracy the same area inland from Hopedale to North West River.⁷⁴ The mapping of the northern tip of Labrador was first undertaken in 1868 by missionary Samuel Weiz⁷⁵ and completed as a collaborative effort in 1896 by Captain Linklater and missionaries Linder, Weiz, and Jannasch.⁷⁶

The geographic and linguistic expertise of missionary Johann August Miertsching, stationed in Okak from 1844 to 1850, led to his inclusion as the only German in the British search for the Sir John Franklin expedition of 1850-52. As an Inuit interpreter he endured four gruelling winters with this search expedition in the Arctic, warding off threats from hostile Inuit and befriending them in their own language. During this ordeal Miertsching found the time and patience to record in a diary geographic, ethnographic, and meteorological data that provided unique and invaluable information to researchers about the topography, weather, and life in this region. The life-threatening tribulations in the uncharted Arctic challenged Miertsching, the missionary, linguist,

scientist, and jack-of-all-trades to rise to the occasion and leave his mark on the entire odyssey.⁷⁷

Miertsching had joined the Moravians as a shoemaker in 1836 at the age of 19. The Moravian education in Germany, his grandson Hans-Windekilde Jannasch later related, exposed him to the thoroughly inventoried local flora and fauna, to the study of ethnographic items and natural scientific data collected in all parts of the world, and to scholarly books of every kind. "Moravians were no otherworldly dreamers," Jannasch insisted. The real world and nature as the manifestation of divinity was their field of action. Music and gardening were favourite preoccupations besides training in every trade needed in the wilderness. In Labrador, apart from perfecting his skills as an interpreter in Inuktitut, Miertsching kept a diary in which he entered daily meteorological, geographical, and other natural scientific observations. His Herbarium contained 3,785 plants. In every respect he had the makings of a scholar and scientist. Scientists still speak highly of the data he collected.⁷⁸

The well-documented record of contributions to science of Hans-Windekilde's father Hermann Jannasch (1849-1931), who served in Labrador from 1879 to 1903, gives another indication of the range of scientific endeavours Labrador missionaries pursued. Besides pioneering Labrador photography, he prepared a herbarium, mounted butterflies and insects, collected rock samples, and stuffed birds as his German teacher Moeschler had taught him. In order to observe northern lights and related phenomena, he acquired a telescope and sent regular reports of his observations to the director of the Deutsche Seewarte (the German marine observatory) in Hamburg. After his retirement in Germany in 1904, Jannasch assisted Count Karl von Linden of Stuttgart, Germany, as an expert advisor with the acquisition of Labrador Inuit cultural objects for his Arctic collection. Linden was the founder of Stuttgart's famous Linden Museum, one of the largest ethnological collections in Germany.⁷⁹

Moravian Trade

The *Unitas Fratrum* was a poor church relying on voluntary contributions for the maintenance of its foreign missions. Nonetheless, the launching and survival of its Labrador mission required an additional source of revenue to pay for a supply ship, an annual voyage, and the provisioning of the isolated mission stations. The task of procuring the economic lifeblood of the Labrador mission was assumed by the English branch of the *Unitas Fratrum*, known as the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel (S.F.G., since 1741). In 1769 the S.F.G. decided to purchase a ship through the sale of shares to proprietors who formed a so-called Ship's Company. Trade with the Inuit was to keep the Company viable and enable the S.F.G. to pay for the operation of the mission. From the outset, this trade was not designed as, and never became, an end in itself.

The establishment of permanent mission stations with stores and the extension of credit to the Inuit enabled the S.F.G. to acquire a monopoly on trade with the Inuit. The goods received from the Inuit—seal oil, cod liver oil, cod, seal skin, fox skin, and carved ivory—achieved high prices at the London market. In return, the

Inuit acquired English-made knives, forks, guns, and various hunting and fishing articles. For their own personal use, the missionaries imported coal, canned meat, canned fruit, tea, coffee, sugar, bacon, potatoes, and medicines. No cash changed hands. Barter was on a debit-credit basis, also known in other parts of the Canadian North as the truck system. Until 1906 even the missionaries received an annual credit of 90 dollars at the mission store for their daily food and personal necessities, instead of a cash salary.

The missionaries' lifeline to Europe was an S.F.G.-owned ship. Once every summer it sailed from London to each of the mission stations where it delivered trading goods, provisions, mail, and sometimes a few passengers. Until 1926, when the last Moravian ship was sold to the Hudson's Bay Company, the mission had successively owned thirteen ships, six of them named the *Harmony*. For the missionaries, the ship's arrival provided the only regular contact with the outside world and the whole life of their community was organized around the so-called "ship's year." Each mission station had a two-year supply of provisions in case the ship did not arrive after one year. Yet not once in its 156-year history did the ship fail to deliver its cargo to at least one station, despite stormy seas, icebergs, ill-charted coastlines, and wars. The Moravian ship was fortunate to be granted safe conduct by the Thirteen Colonies and France during the American Revolution, and by Germany during the First World War.⁸⁰

The maintenance of a trading post at each mission station had two immediate consequences. It drew the Inuit to the mission stations and away from the orbit of private traders in the South. And secondly, it developed increasing Inuit dependence on European goods. The desire to satisfy new needs generated by this dependence induced Inuit to procure barter goods marketable in England. Prominent among these were cod and furs, both of which had hitherto been neglected by the Inuit. Moravians helped Inuit to procure these goods in marketable quantities by introducing sealing and fish nets to them as early as 1806. Eager to discourage Inuit idleness and dependence on the mission's charity, the missionaries taught them cod fishing and fur trapping, as well as budgeting, saving, and rationing. Despite the mission's frequently declared intention "to keep the Eskimo an Eskimo,"⁸¹ the desire to keep the Inuit self-sufficient thus unwittingly altered their lifestyle. Nevertheless, Moravians always maintained that they had never intended to disturb the Inuit way of living any more than necessary, in contrast to the traders in the South who, they alleged, were ruining the Inuit with the sale of alcohol, rifles, unnecessary luxuries, and harmful foodstuffs.

For over a century, the Moravian trade offset most of the expenses of the Labrador mission. In the late nineteenth century, however, market prices for primary products except furs began to fall steadily. Simultaneously, commercial competition associated with the influx of fishermen, settlers, and Hudson's Bay Company traders eroded the Moravian trade monopoly. Private traders moved closer to the mission stations while the Inuit moved closer to these trading posts. On top of that, the cost of the mission skyrocketed with the expansion of educational, health, and religious services for settlers and the building of new mission stations. Although the mission adopted a policy of retrenchment in 1909, the S.F.G. became unable to recover its expenses in Labrador and the Mission Board had to make up the escalating deficit.

The Moravians' real problem, Governor MacGregor noted in 1907, was their "kindness" which made them depart from strict business principles." The missionaries had a reputation not only for offering very fair prices for native products and liberal credit. They also, as one observer summarized

supported the aged and the needy out of their limited funds, frequently paid the Eskimos higher prices for their products than was strictly prudent, allowed undue credit to improvident hunters, and in 1901 even cancelled all unpaid debts so that their clients might start afresh with clean slates.⁸²

Moravian food relief to the poor was an entrenched feature of the mission from the beginning until Confederation in 1949. In short, the challenge of promoting the spiritual and material welfare of the Inuit always took precedence over the practices of sound business.

Initially, trade with the Inuit was to be kept strictly separate from the operations of the missionaries, and the missionaries were to earn their livelihood solely through the work of their hands. Trade was a necessary evil. In connection with the 1752 Erhardt expedition, Count Zinzendorf had ruled that the gospel should not be mixed with trade. Two special agents were therefore put in charge of the Company's barter trade in Labrador. However, disputes between the missionaries and the agents, and the failure to break even ended this arrangement in 1785. Thereafter, one trade brother at each settlement was to take responsibility for all Moravian trading under the inspection of the House Conference. Three fifth of the profits from the trade were to cover expenses for the mission's provisions, freight, and fares, and one tenth for the missionaries' personal needs.⁸³

Moravians used to justify their involvement in trade with the additional arguments that supervision would help raise the Inuit to a more orderly level of existence, teach them thrift and budgeting, and protect them from exploitation by unscrupulous traders.⁸⁴ In reality, however, the extension of credit seemed to make the Inuit less self-sufficient and more demanding. On several occasions, Inuit expressed confusion over the contradictions between the missionaries' attempts to balance the books and the Moravian message of love and charity. At the newly opened Zoar station (1864), and thereafter at Hebron, Inuit even staged open rebellions. They refused to pay their debts and argued that the goods brought by the *Harmony* should belong to them. When the Moravian trade was suspended at Zoar, the Inuit left the area and the Zoar station had to be closed in 1894.⁸⁵

The problem was, as the mission's historian J.E. Hutton observed in 1912, that "if a layman took charge, the trade was mismanaged; and if a missionary took charge, the Eskimos ceased to love him."⁸⁶ Since each system was fraught with defects, the mission alternated back and forth between the two. In 1861 trade was again removed from the missionaries and placed under a general manager with a layman running each store. In 1876 the missionaries resumed full control, and retained partial control under a general manager from 1898 to 1906. As the settler population increased and intermarried with Inuit, the Moravians between 1860 and 1900 opened trading

outposts for them in Voisey's Bay, Saglek Bay, Ford's Harbour, Makkovik, and Mugford Tickle.⁸⁷ After 1906 trade was once again completely separated from the mission until 1925 when the British Moravian Church leased all Moravian trading rights and stores to the Hudson's Bay Company.

Inuit and Moravians

The Moravians were satisfied to confine contacts with the Inuit to the winter months when the natives were willing to camp around the mission stations. These contacts, nevertheless, became pervasive after the Moravians assumed a twofold role as religious teachers and the purveyors of the Inuits' external comfort. To be effective, the missionaries had to act as employers, judges, mediators, doctors and suppliers of basic necessities, as well as traders. Natives were always reimbursed for services rendered. Trade, organized strictly on a contractual basis, was to teach natives how to manage their resources as well as to finance missionary operations in Labrador. No Inuk in their care, however, was allowed to starve. For more than a century the missionaries provided the only qualified medical care against the infections and diseases contracted from contacts with Europeans and Newfoundlanders in southern Labrador.

In order to devote their lives entirely to the Inuit, the Moravians developed a colony-like microcosm of German life in northern Labrador that survived unchallenged for more than a century and a half. This enclave of German culture was designed as a kind of *cordon sanitaire* for the Labrador Inuit, facilitating their physical survival and adaptation to a rapidly changing modern world within a Christian framework. But it also entailed Inuit acculturation to German cultural aspects ranging from German words in Inuktitut to the brass band which Labrador Inuit have come to consider part of their own indigenous tradition.

Evidence abounds that the Moravians had an excellent rapport with the Inuit. Visitors noted that "the bond that bound these humble folk to their pastor was genuine and sincere."⁸⁸ Inuit were reported rejecting temptations by crews of visiting Newfoundland fishing schooners to bad-mouth the Moravians.⁸⁹ The Moravians were shrewd analysts of human psychology—both European and native—and open-minded, tolerant students of native cultures. Realizing that the resilience of the indigenous Inuit culture and the corrupting impact of external factors were jeopardizing full and long-term conversion, the Moravians resigned themselves to maintaining a ministry in Labrador that would serve spiritual as well as material needs for a long time to come. Their unselfish devotion to the spiritual, cultural and material welfare of the Inuit had enabled these native people to survive and earned the Moravians local and international recognition as a significant cultural force in northern Labrador. In the absence of any other civilizing force until the mid-twentieth century, one might sum up the Moravian experience in the words of one of its last missionaries, "the history of the northern Labrador has been the history of the Moravian missions on the Coast."⁹⁰

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Notes

¹ Sir William MacGregor, "Report of an official visit to the coast of Labrador, by the Governor of Newfoundland, 1908," *Journal of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland*, 1st Session, 21st General Assembly, 1909, 338-39.

² Jacob John Sessler, *Communal Pietism among early American Moravians* (New York, 1933, repr. 1971). Hellmuth Erbe, *Eine kommunistische Herrnhuter-Kolonie des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1929). John R. Weinlick, "Moravians in the American Colonies," in F. Ernest Stoeffler, ed., *Continental Pietism and Early American Christianity* (Grand Rapids, 1976), 123-63. Daniel B. Thorp, *The Moravian Community in Colonial North Carolina: Pluralism on the Southern Frontier* (Knoxville, 1989), 24f.

³ Eda Sagarra, *A Social History of Germany 1648-1914* (London, 1977), 110-14. Hajo Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany: 1648-1840* (New York, 1964), 137-44. Koppel S. Pinson, *Pietism as a Factor in the Rise of German Nationalism* (New York, 1934).

⁴ The Moravian missionary impulse has been traced to Zinzendorf's encounter with missionaries of the Danish Halle-mission, started in 1706. See Karl Müller, *200 Jahre Brüdermission. I. Band: Das erste Missionsjahrhundert* (Herrnhut, 1931), 5-9. Hahn, Hans Christoph and Hellmuth Reichel, eds., *Zinzendorf und die Herrnhuter Brüder: Quellen zur Geschichte der Brüder-Unität* (Hamburg, 1977), 350-58. Hartmut Beck, *Brüder in vielen Völkern: 250 Jahre Mission der Brüdergemeinde* (Erlangen, 1981), 30ff. Sessler, *Communal Pietism*, 15f, however, argues that "persecution. . . led to the need for settlements in foreign parts, and this need in turn gave impetus to the theory of missionary work, which then grew to such proportions that it is easy to confuse it with the purpose behind the settlements."

⁵ J. K. Hiller, "The Foundation and Early Years of the Moravian Mission in Labrador, 1752-1805," M.A. thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1967, 12.

⁶ Public Record Office, London, Colonial Office (CO.) 194/27, p. 103-4, Palliser to the Earl of Halifax, 11 September 1765.

⁷ F. L. Kölbing, *Die Missionen der evangelischen Brüder in Grönland und Labrador* (Gnadenau, 1831), part II, 19f.

⁸ Hans Rollmann, "Labrador history unearthed," *The Telegram* (St. John's), 16 September 2001.

⁹ Quoted by R. Hunt, *The Life of Sir H. Palliser* (London, 1884).

¹⁰ Even after he had made cordial contact with the Inuit, Haven recalled, he kept meeting people in Newfoundland who "had made up their mind to murder the Eskimos" despite a proclamation by Palliser forbidding the continuation of such "treacherous or cruel conduct." N.a., "Lebenslauf des Bruders Jens Haven, ersten Missionars der Brüder-Gemeine in Labrador, heimgegangen in Herrnhut den 16. April 1796," *Nachrichten aus der Brüder-Gemeine*, 1844, 906-10. Haven, who spoke Danish and German, admits that he did not speak English when he first came to Newfoundland in 1764.

¹¹ Kölbing, 55. F. W. Peacock, "The Moravian Mission in Labrador 1752-1799: 'The Goodly Heritage,'" unpublished book manuscript, St. John's, 1980, 46f, 54. Harold Horwood, "Moravians Will Mark 2nd Century," *Evening Telegram*, August 1969.

¹² V. Tanner, *Outlines of the Geography, Life and Custom of Newfoundland-Labrador* (Cambridge, 1947), 1. Shmuel Ben-Dor, *Makkovik: Eskimos and Settlers in a Labrador Community: A Contrastive Study in Adaptation* (St. John's, 1966), 9f. William H. Whiteley, "The Moravian Missionaries and the Labrador Eskimos in the Eighteenth Century," *Church History* 35,1 (March 1966): 18.

¹³ The first Moravian census of 1773 counted 250 of an estimated total Labrador Inuit population of 1,460 wintering near Nain. Erhard Treude, *Nordlabrador* (Münster, 1974), 20.

¹⁴ J. K. Hegner, *Fortsetzung von David Crazens Brüder-Historie* (Barby, 1791), 129.

¹⁵ J. Garth Taylor, *Labrador Eskimo Settlements of the Early Contact Period* (Ottawa, 1974), 92.

¹⁶ These consisted largely of personnel for Goose Bay airport and in-migrants attracted by the economic development and urban amenities of the area. Superintendent William Peacock signified the growing shift in the operation of his ministry when he moved his head office from Nain to Happy Valley in 1954.

¹⁷ By 1990 the five remaining Moravian congregations in Labrador were no longer a mission. Responsibility for this mission field had been transferred since World War I to the British Moravian Church, although a German missionary was in charge of Nain until as late as 1980.

¹⁸ N.a., "The Moravian Church in Labrador," www.moravian.mission.org/labrador.htm. 15/02/2001.

¹⁹ Hans Windekilde Jannasch, *Unter Hottentoten und Eskimos: Das Leben meines Vaters* (Lüneburg, 1950), 87ff, 95-99.

58. ²⁰ *Journal of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland*, 2nd Session, 13th General Assembly, 1880, 355-58.
- ²¹ Kenneth C. Butler, *Igloo Killinek* (Toronto, 1963), 27.
- ²² R. Rompkey, ed., *Jessie Luther at the Grenfell Mission* (Montreal and Kingston, 2001), 267, 271.
- ²³ *Missionsblatt der Brüdergemeine* 72.3 (1908): 79.
- ²⁴ H. und M. Jannasch, "Bericht von Makkovik. Labrador 1903," *Mitteilungen aus der Brüder-Gemeine zur Förderung christlicher Gemeinschaft*, Volume 1904, Nr. 2, 51f.
- ²⁵ See Hans Rollmann, "Moravian Gardening at Hopedale," www.mun.ca/rels/garden/gardening.html, 06/05/2002
- ²⁶ Translated by Hans Rollmann and posted on his web page.
- ²⁷ K. R. Koch, "Die Küste Labradors und ihre Bewohner," *Deutsche Geographische Blätter* VII (1884): 157. Pilot, 13.
- ²⁸ R. Rompkey, ed., *Jessie Luther*, 265f.
- ²⁹ F. W. Peacock, *Reflections from a Snowhouse* (St. John's, 1986), 39.
- ³⁰ Wilfred Thomason Grenfell, *A Labrador Doctor: The Autobiography of Wilfred Thomason Grenfell* (Boston and New York, 1919), 130.
- ³¹ Jannasch, *Unter Hottentotten*, 74.
- ³² *The Evening Herald* (St. John's), 14 April 1906.
- ³³ Hedwig E. Brückner, "Religiöse Einstellung der frühen Herrnhuter und Wirken ihrer ersten Missionare in Labrador, dargestellt und kommentiert auf Grund ihrer Aufzeichnungen aus dem späten achtzehnten Jahrhundert," M.A. thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1975, part I, 82f.
- ³⁴ Rompkey, ed., *Jessie Luther*, 270, reported conversation at the mission station to be a mixture of English, German, and Inuit.
- ³⁵ J. M. Lochman, *Comenius* (Freiburg/Switzerland, 1982), 16f.
- ³⁶ He was a Lutheran pastor, university professor and founder of several educational institutions in Halle,
- ³⁷ See Carl Hinrichs, *Preussentum und Pietismus* (Göttingen, 1971) and Klaus Deppermann, *Der Hallische Pietismus und der preussische Staat unter Friedrich III*, vol. 1 (Göttingen, 1961).
- ³⁸ Kölbing, part II, 66-74.
- ³⁹ Brückner, 109.
- ⁴⁰ Karl Thom, *Friedrich Erdmann, Missionar in Labrador: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Brüdermission und der Gemeinde Ihmert* (Hemer, ca.1968), 101-6.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 101-6.
- ⁴² F. W. Peacock, "The Language of the Inuit in the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador," in H. J. Paddock, ed., *Languages in Newfoundland and Labrador* (St. John's, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1977), 28.
- ⁴³ A. Martin, *Die Bibel und unsere Eskimo* (Herrnhut, 1928), 1-24. W. Senft, *Wie wir den Heiden das Wort Gottes gebracht haben* (Herrnhut, 1938), 28-40. F. W. Peacock, "Languages in Contact in Labrador," W. Kirwin, ed., *Regional Language Studies—Newfoundland*, 5 (1974), 1-3. Albert Heinrich und Erhard Treude, "Einige Entlehnungen aus dem Deutschen im Labrador-Eskimo," *Anthropological Linguistics* 13,3 (1971): 67-70.
- ⁴⁴ F. W. Peacock, personal interview, 29 October 1984.
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- ⁴⁶ Public Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador, St. John's, Government of Newfoundland (GN) 1/1/7, 1909, (25/2/6).
- ⁴⁷ Schulze, *200 Jahre*, 65-67.
- ⁴⁸ Jannasch, *Unter Hottentotten*, 72.
- ⁴⁹ "Überblick über das Missionswerk der Brüdergemeine in dem Zeitraum zwischen den Synoden von 1857 und 1869," *Missions-Blatt*, Nr. 6 (1869 or 1870), 20.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 20.

- ⁵¹ See Hans Rollmann, "Moravian Music." www.mun.ca/rels/music/music.htm, 22/05/2001.
- ⁵² Maija M. Lutz, *Musical Traditions of the Labrador Coast Inuit* (Ottawa, 1982).
- ⁵³ K. R. Koch, "Geschichte der supplementären Expedition unter Dr. K. R. Koch nach Labrador," in G. Neumayer, ed., *Die internationale Polarforschung 1882-1883: Die deutschen Expeditionen und ihre Ergebnisse*, Band 1 (Berlin 1891): 174.
- ⁵⁴ Thom, *Friedrich Erdmann*, 101-6.
- ⁵⁵ Canon William Pilot, *A Visit to Labrador* (London, 1899), 9.
- ⁵⁶ Peacock, "The Moravian Mission Labrador, 1752-1979," 211.
- ⁵⁷ Jannasch, *Unter Hottentoten*, 71. "Bericht von Bruder Levin Theodor Reichels Visitationsreise," 34.
- ⁵⁸ Hans-Wildeckinde Jannasch, *Erziehung zur Freiheit: Ein Lebensbericht* (Göttingen, 1970), 55.
- ⁵⁹ A. Martin, *Die Bibel und unsere Eskimo* (Herrnhut, 1928), 21.
- ⁶⁰ Peacock, "The Moravian Mission in Labrador 1752-1979," 228.
- ⁶¹ N.a., "The Moravian Church," <http://collections.ic.gc.ca/gvrituk/moravian.htm>.
- ⁶² Brückner, xxxif, 4, 32.
- ⁶³ O. Uttendörfer, "Die Entwicklung der Pflege der Naturwissenschaften in der Brüdergemeine," *Zeitschrift für Brüdergeschichte* 10 (1916): 89-98.
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- ⁶⁵ Ibid., 98-106. David Cranz, *Historie von Grönland* (Barby, 1765).
- ⁶⁶ Heinrich Benno Möschler, "Beitrag zur Schmetterlingsfauna von Labrador," *Stettiner Entomologische Zeitung* 9 (1848): 172-74. For a listing of Möschler's publications until 1883 on Labrador butterflies see J. W. Stolz, "Bibliographie der naturwissenschaftlichen Arbeiten aus dem Kreise der Brüdergemeine," *Zeitschrift für Brüdergeschichte* 10 (1916): 114-21.
- ⁶⁷ As quoted in F. W. Peacock, "The Moravian Mission in Labrador, 1752-1979," 85.
- ⁶⁸ J. Hand, "Resultant der meteorologischen Beobachtungen an der Küste von Labrador bis zum Jahre 1874," *Meteorologische Zeitschrift* 13 (1896): 117, 358-61, 420-23. Ludwig Döll, *Wetter und Klima an der Küste von Labrador* (Hamburg, 1937). Alan G. Macpherson, "Early Moravian Interest in Northern Labrador Weather and Climate: The Beginning of Instrumental Recording in Newfoundland," in D. H. Steel, ed., *Early Science in Newfoundland and Labrador* (St. John's, 1987), 30-41.
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- ⁷⁰ H. and M. Jannasch, "Bericht von Makkovik. Labrador 1903," *Mitteilungen aus der Geschichte der Brüder-Gemeine zur Förderung christlicher Gemeinschaft*, Volume 1904, Nr. 2, 49f.
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- ⁷⁵ Copy in the Unitäts-Archiv, Herrnhut, Germany.
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- ⁷⁹ Jannasch, *Unter Hottentoten*, 120.
- ⁸⁰ N.a., "Brief Account of the Vessels employed in the Service of the Mission on the Coast of Labrador, and of the more remarkable Deliverances from imminent Peril, which they have experienced from the year 1770 to the present time," *Periodical Accounts relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren, established among the Heathen*, 21:75-83. E. Wilson, ed., *With the Harmony to Labrador* (St. John's, n.d.).
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- ⁸² Diamond Jenness, *Eskimo Administration: III Labrador* (Montreal, 1965), 30f.
- ⁸³ Müller, *200 Jahre Brüdermission*, 157ff. Hiller, "The Foundation," 82, 112-17.
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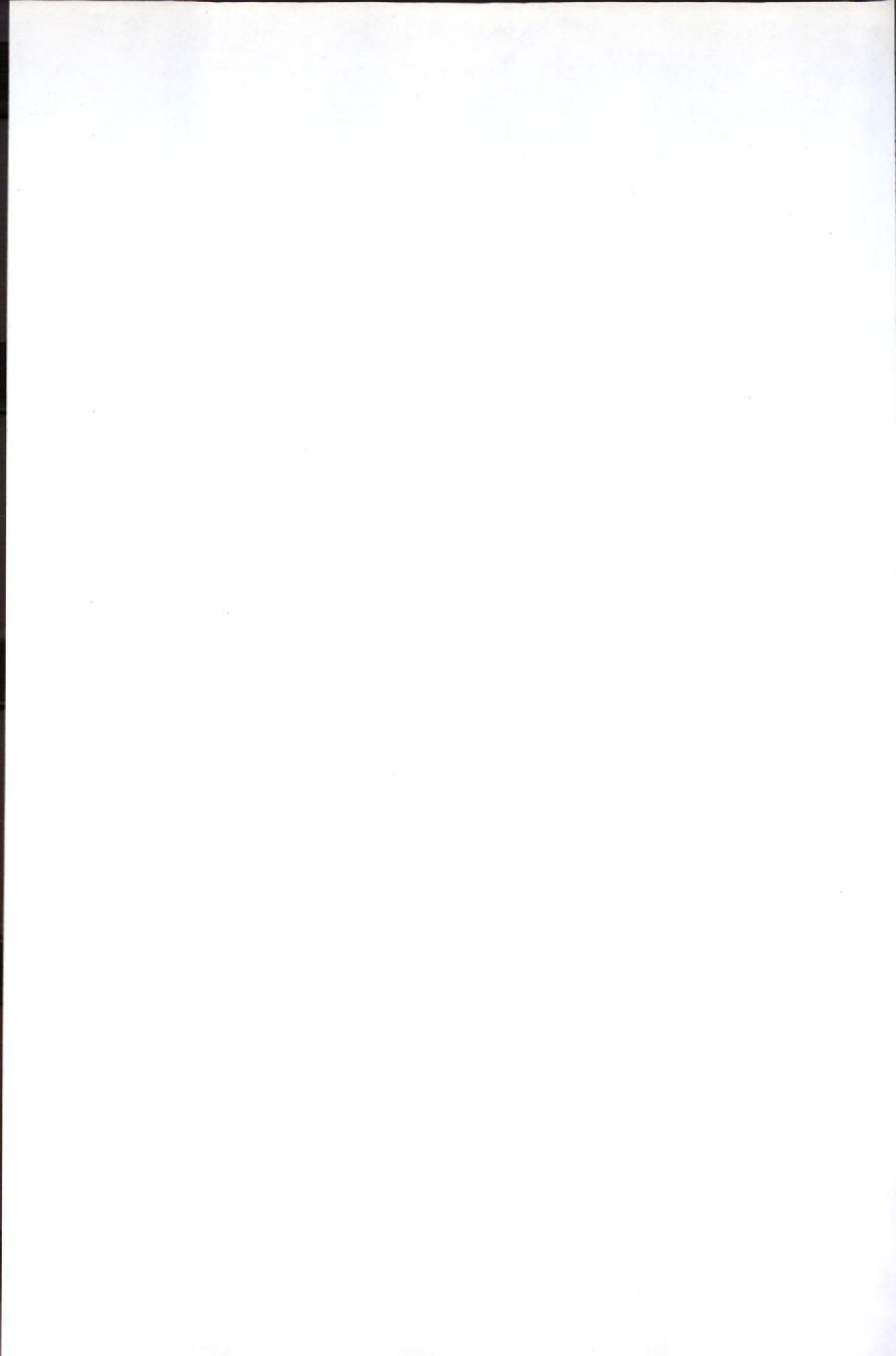
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William Roba

Forgotten German-Iowan Alternatives

The cold winter morning of Saturday, 8 December 1894, had been eagerly anticipated by the school teachers of Scott County, in eastern Iowa. For decades, an annual conference was held by a voluntary association of both public and private educators. While there were comfortable subjects presented by local experts such as Dr. P. Radenhausen on "Science Below the High School," or the nationally recognized expert, William Reuter, on "Physical Culture," the highlight was a series of papers on views of public schools. Two were by business men who were outsiders and two by administrators as insiders.¹

The successful businessman Emil Geisler made some unforgettable remarks about schools and teaching methods that day. He argued for an interactive mode of teaching, and emphasized the usefulness of the Socratic Method by explaining that this had been introduced into teaching in northern Germany by Joachim Heinrich Campe, author of the famous *Ein Lesebuch für Kinder* and beloved teacher of Alexander and William von Humboldt. He argued that a community school such as the Free German School was an excellent place for teaching character. "Anyway, ethics and morals should be taught in the public school and not left to the Sunday school of the churches, which comparatively few children frequent and where generally religion prevails over ethics. The bible is surely not a proper textbook for children."² This may sound intemperate to modern readers, but for him, the reliance upon organized religion represented an intrusion into children's learning, and a reliance upon textbooks insured dullness and boredom. He concluded rhetorically with the imperative statement, "Do not allow the raising of hands!"³ It would seem that he was concerned by teachers who always taught on the basis of getting the right answer.

These remarks indicate a very different climate of opinion in late nineteenth century America, especially in the Midwest, center of German-American settlement. Emil Geisler (1828-1910) was regionally influential in the Upper Mississippi River Valley as a strong supporter of education, promoter of a powerful myth of ethnicity, and successful businessman. His career suggests certain possibilities for research into the networking of German-American individuals in the Midwest.



Emil Geisler (1828-1910)

Education permeated his earliest years, having been born in the village of Lunden in the *Nordfriesland* area (western edge) of the Duchy of Holstein on 11 April 1828. He was baptized on 1 June in the magnificent Lutheran church, still standing, which overlooks the *Englischer See* (North Sea) for kilometers. His parents were Detlef (from the Duchy of Schleswig) and Anna Geisler (from Wilster); nearby in the Northern Quarter of Lunden, lived a rich uncle, Johannes Matthias Geissler.⁴ He attended local schools, receiving preparatory academic training, before entering the University of Kiel, but his education was cut short by the political unrest of the late 1840s. He fought in the Schleswig-Holstein Army from 1848 until 1852, when he joined 25 other Holsteiners who migrated to America on the *Harriet Frances* sailing ship.⁵ Leaving Hamburg in May, Geisler arrived in New Orleans on 8 June 1852, and reached Davenport, Iowa, by steamboat a few weeks later.

He began working as a farm laborer, and then became a teacher during his first two years in Davenport.⁶ During the next twelve years, there were almost twenty former teachers from German duchies and kingdoms who lived in Davenport. There were six locally prominent school teachers: Mathias J. Rohlfs (later head of the Iowa Emigration Office), Nicholas J. Rusch (later lieutenant governor), Henry J. True (eventually a newspaper editor), C. H. Jensen (businessman) and William Riepe; there were also three Lutheran ministers: Pastor J. G. Wiehle, Pastor F. Krueger and Pastor Freytag.⁷ As one might expect, there were many educational issues discussed, debated and denied in the club rooms and saloons, at *Stammtische*, and from the pulpits of "Davenport-am-Mississippi."

The first major division of opinion was over who should control the education of German-Iowan children: the community or the church. Matthias Rohlfs was the first to attempt the creation of German-Iowan educational opportunities in 1848, but there were not enough students to make it financially feasible. By the summer of 1852, the northeast corner of a city block was purchased for \$300 after voluntary appeals for contributions proved successful. In September of that year, Henry True started his own community school on a city block corner six blocks away from the first one. By the next year, the estimated German-born population had tripled, however as the 1848er journalist, Theodor Gülich facetiously pointed out, "the hazlenut bushes are growing 3 feet high in the construction already begun."⁸ On 23 January 1853 the land was sold to H. H. Andresen after a vote by the newly elected officers.⁹ This move had been opposed by an embryonic "church party" among the Holsteiner settlers, and their leaders Mathias Rohlfs and Hans Reimer Claussen. However, the lease for the rooms had been terminated when the Holstein Lutheran minister, Pastor William Helfer, left the church five months earlier.

Finally, a consensus appeared with the organization of the Free German School Society on 6 February 1853 with a capitalization of \$715, and additional monies from a benefit concert by the *Männerchor* on 31 March 1851.¹⁰ The bylaws specifically stated that the school was protected and there would be the "exclusion of all churchly influence"; the implicit understanding was that "free" meant that the school would be free from any organized churchly influence. Fees were charged for instruction in German parallel to the public schools. The private school of J. H. True became the Society's

school and on 8 October 1853, it opened in a new brick building on land donated by the wealthy businessman, Samuel Hirschl, a half mile north of True's "select" school.¹¹ A decade later, an increase in enrollment led to the hiring of a second teacher, Heinrich Hannecke, and by 1867, the school house doubled in size with the building of an addition next to the original.

This first "Free German School" lasted into the 1870s, when the Davenport Public Schools first introduced the teaching of German into the curriculum. Although the original emphasis upon formal German was no longer necessary, the school continued until the death of H. J. True (1820-76), although his daughter and son-in-law taught a few more years. After more than a decade, German-American community leaders in Davenport began to fear the loss of beliefs and cultural values in public education. There were a series of public meetings in 1890 leading to a reorganized charter, the *Freie Deutsche Schulgemeinde*; the first actual course offerings appeared in 1897, when Geisler joined the association. By the next year, a new school was built for \$6,500 in a German neighborhood on the west side of the city. From 1898 to 1904 the school society held monthly meetings, with Emil Geisler as the president for the entire period.

Geisler participated in community associations which encouraged life-long learning. One of the earliest voluntary scientific associations west of the Mississippi River was the Academy of Natural Sciences, started on 14 December 1867. Although there was a club-like atmosphere, educated Germans participated in the sponsored lectures and supported the publication of three volumes of published papers.¹² Geisler was a long-term member and supporter, although he remained in the background. The second community organization was the Davenport Turner society. This was founded on 3 August 1852 as the "Socialistic Turner Society," and had as its symbol, a red silk flag in 1854, indicative of the revolutionary sentiments of the membership.¹³ The membership enthusiastically supported *geistiges Turnen*, or intellectual events such as public lectures. Geisler believed in the "training of the mind," maintaining his membership for life on an inactive basis.

* * *

The "lost republic" of Schleswig-Holstein remained a constant force in Geisler's life. In the northernmost duchies of the German Confederation, an indigenous movement arose to create a free and independent republic, similar in size to the Kingdom of Belgium which had been formed in 1830. In order to implement this ideal, a provisional army was created which Geisler joined on 10 June 1848, becoming a non-commissioned officer in the 1st Company, 7th Infantry Battalion. He saw action in a number of skirmishes in 1849 and 1850. As a revolutionary movement, there were important political and social reasons for attempted independence, and two leaders, Hans Reimer Claussen and Theodor Olshausen, succeeded in developing the rationale for a Provisional Government.¹⁴ The Frankfurt Assembly debated the role of Schleswig but the Danish Army soon ended hope for a free and independent republic; the leaders soon found themselves systematically excluded from public life and migrated to the beckoning city of Davenport, Iowa.

Forever after the memory of a revolutionary, provisional government focused on the three leaders: Count Reventlow-Preetz, Prince Friedrich von Augustenburg, and Theodore Olshausen. Government representatives ordered a loosely organized army of hunters, students and Turners to leave Kiel on the night of 23 March and to attack the fortifications of Rendsburg. They were able to open the fortress doors the next morning, 24 March 1848, which became the embedded date of the republic's origins.

The first generation of migrating Holsteiners and Schleswigers who had moved to Iowa and received both recognition and political power from their involvement in the American Civil War, realized that they needed an organization to maintain the ideals of their youthful experience. Thirteen veterans of the "lost republic" met to plan the 25th Anniversary of failed revolution and by 15 September 1872 founded the Association of the Schleswig-Holstein Veterans of 1848-1850 (*Verein der Schleswig-Holstein Kampfgenossen, 1848-1850*). Perhaps aware of the change in public perception of the newly created German Empire, they chose to celebrate the "differentness" of the Schleswig-Holsteiners; different from the emerging stereotypes of the unified Germany and the new Kaiser William I. The first festival was celebrated on 24 March 1873 to commemorate the taking of the city of Rendsburg in 1848. Emil Geisler had been named recording secretary (*Schriftführer*), a position he held until 1905. As secretary, he also became an "Occasional Poet," creating poetry for various celebrations.¹⁵

In the area of language as cultural control, the Association proved to be a powerful force for the extension and texturing of the myth of a regional stereotype. Geisler, Claussen, and Olshausen were all educated men who had grown up in the associated duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. This area had remained an area of linguistic quicksand, where success sometimes relied upon tri-lingual mastery: Danish, *Plattdüütsch*, and Standard German skills. Friedrich Dahlmann described the northern Duchy of Schleswig as "a land where most spoke neither High German nor High Danish but rather various dialects merging gradually into one another."¹⁶ Moreover, another of the revolutionary leaders, Theodore Gülich, had argued in the 1840 Diet debates, "that German served Schleswig as the language of culture, the language of the urban educated and economic elite. What the rural masses may have spoken, or thought, did not matter nearly so much."¹⁷ The problem for Geisler was to create an Iowan version of the *Plattdüütsch* spoken in Schleswig-Holstein, and use it to reinforce the myth of homeland independence.

For many years the typical celebration in March, which nearly coincided with the Vernal Equinox, consisted of banquets, speeches and a formal ball. With greatest number of membership reaching 337, the annual meetings were well-attended, with the balls approaching 500 in participants. One assumes that both wives and lovers augmented the number of dancing couples! By 1888, the formal dance was discontinued and plans for the golden anniversary predominated during the next ten years. As an example of Ethnic Pageantry, the 50th anniversary in 1898 reflected many other Midwestern ethnic events of the 1890s. A huge parade was organized, with participants marching to Washington Square Park, the Westside, German-American public space. There, the entire group assembled sang the recently written Schleswig-Holstein song,

and the association president, the prominent attorney Bleik Peters, dedicated a monument in memory of the courageous comrades and their ideals.

The Schleswig-Holstein veterans had chosen a red granite stone from the Mississippi River shoreline, added a gilded inscription, and carved two symbolic oak branches, surrounding this simple statement in English:

The Schleswig-Holstein Comrades in Arms

1848 – '49 – '50

Erected

March 24, 1898.

Emil Geisler gave the major address, and first spoke in German about the higher meaning, then emphasizing how the granite slab and symbolic oaks represented the Schleswig-Holsteiner, "the true descendants of the Anglo-Saxons."¹⁸ He reiterated the aspect of transplanting political ideals to America by lifting the domination of Danish oppression, and then later defending American freedom in the American Civil War.

We landed here on the bank of that mighty stream, the Mississippi, in the youthful state of Iowa, which was just opening to civilization. Here we exchanged the weapons of war with those of peace and culture, the plow, the hammer and the saw. The virgin earth was broken and the flourishing farms of this country, the factories and businesses of the city, which German hands created, gave proof of their diligence and energy. When groups hostile to freedom threatened the free institutions of this country and scorned its laws, many of our comrades again took up arms to defend freedom and union; they helped to suppress the bloody rebellion. Hence, we Schleswig-Holsteiners may justly be counted among the best citizens of this country, outstanding with German virtues: intelligence, the spirit of work, of obedience to law, of love for freedom.¹⁹

Geisler then turned to the Davenport Park Commissioners, switched over to English and referred to the hope that "Germania and Columbia, like a pair of sisters, alike distinguished among the civilized nations of the world, always be united in their efforts for the welfare of their children and the distribution of the blessings of the civilization among all nations." The Park officials accepted the monument on behalf of the city, and the "Star Spangled Banner" closed the public part of the celebration.

The powerful parts of this public address reinforced the German-American stereotype of the Schleswig-Holsteiner as a unique and superior regional area within the German Empire. The first point was the public reference to a higher meaning or higher power as a non-Christian, or Free Thinker version of the spiritual.²⁰ This was symbolically reinforced with the oak branches, and the interesting connection to the Anglo-Saxons, which may have referred to the linguistic connections between *Plattdüütsch* and British English. Secondly, the transplantation overlay worked to suggest that Danish oppression was similar to the Confederate oppression over slaves; followed

by the combining of Germania and Columbia was a coded word play to remind the audience of the combination of Schleswig and Holstein, previously separated as duchies but now united in the German Empire. Thirdly, the switch over to English subtly signaled the successful version of the acculturated German-Americans assembled around the stone monument.

The most remarkable aspect of Geisler's influence upon this multi-generational myth appears in his life-long work as a poet. In 1902 he privately published *Strohblumen für Adele*. When compared with the notes and emendations from his hand written copy, it shows how he refined and modified his poetry from 1854-1902. The book consists of five sections for 111 poems. The first section includes "In ein Schnitzelbuch" and a medley of six other poems. The second section, "Album Sprüche," has a variety of 46 poems. The third section, "Grabschriften," contains 25 poems including several on Schleswig-Holstein, one on cremation, and "Gefallener Krieger." The fourth section, "Unsere Weine," is the most interesting section with 25 poems including one on "Probsteierin," another on the Odd Fellows Lodge in Davenport, another on the "Skatspieler," two poems from the late 1840s, one poem reacting to Bayard Taylor (famous itinerant public lecturer of the period) and one on the Bremen Rathskeller in 1895. The last section, "Charaden," has 8 poems. The 78 pages of poetry are a remarkable life-time compilation of occasional poems written for a particular occasion, and others which are philosophical, funny and appealing. Most importantly, they are written in a literary style which reflects the *Plattdüütsch*-influenced German spoken in eastern Iowa, appropriate for the myth maintenance.

Geisler's final opportunity to reinforce this myth publicly occurred when one of the English-language newspapers celebrated its semi-centennial. Geisler wrote a short article, "The Schleswig-Holsteiner, The Thrifty Migrants Who Helped Make Davenport." He described the origins of chain migration from various villages and towns in Schleswig-Holstein to the County of Scott where Davenport was located. He described the original group of migrating Holsteiners who came from the area southeast of the provincial capital, Kiel, as Probsteiers who wrote letters home, some of which were published in the Kiel newspapers. It seemed important to him to remind his readers that these letters came from the "highly educated men, in the prime of their life, who could handle the pen as well as the plow and the axe, and as they found hard earned success, sent glowing letters to the papers of the old country."²¹

* * *

American business success supported Geisler's community interests. When he arrived in eastern Iowa, he started out as a farm laborer, and then taught for the first two years in Davenport. By 1855 he became a shop assistant and joined the Odd Fellows, Scott Lodge No. 37. This may have been useful in making non-German business contacts. By 28 July 1856, he married Sophia D. Halkens; she had been born in 1835 in Melsdorf, Duchy of Holstein. It was a church wedding with the Rev. Johan Hartzell, Presbyterian minister presiding at the Disciples of Christ Church. Two years later he opened a grocery store and by the outbreak of the American Civil War, his

„Ut min Gaarn verlarn“

Strohblumen

Gepflückt am Lebenswege und den Freunden gewidmet

Gelegenheitsgedichtchen

. . . von . . .

Emil N. J. Geisler

Title Page of Geisler's 1902 collection of poetry

AN MEINE LEYER.

Komm, Du liebe gute Leyer,
Singe dir dein eigen Lob,
Mir war nie ein Schatz so theuer,
Welchen ich auch sonst erhob,
Als du, die mir in Freud und Leid
Ein innig Mitgefühl stets beut.

Mag dein Ton auch nicht so rauschen,
Kräftig wie die Orgel schon.
Ladet er auch nicht zum Lauschen
Sanft wie Engels-Harfenton;
So stammt er doch durch Leid und Lust
Erregt, aus einer Menschenbrust.

Bist bescheiden; wirst nicht wagen
Lorbeerkränzen nachzugehn;
Wirst, ermattend, nicht mich tragen
Auf Parnassus steile Höh'n.
Doch fürcht'st du auch, so still und gut
Nicht grimmer Recensenten Wuth.

Drum, so töne, süsse Leyer,
Was mir still durchzieht das Herz,
Sei's der Freundschaft, Liebe Feuer,
Sei es Freude, sei es Schmerz,
Du tönest mir nur und dem Freund
Den Gleichgefühl mit mir vereint.

"To My Lyre" from Geisler's 1902 collection of poetry

personal property was modestly valued at \$100; at age 33, his household consisted of his wife (aged 25), his daughter Anna (aged 3), and his father-in-law (aged 61).²² He sold his grocery concern in 1863, and branched out into owning a vineyard and wine-tasting room, which proved popular to the war-time population.²³ His business enterprises prospered and in 1865 he built a brickyard, which he used in house building, and as a stable basis for income. He still remembered his own experiences, and with the end of the American Civil War, he helped create an Immigrant Aid Association in 1866 for the influx of Germans to Davenport after the end of the blockade of American ports.²⁴ By 1870 he had personal property valued at \$3,000 and real estate valued at \$12,000; his household consisted of his wife, his nephew, Louis Halkens (aged 9) and Sophia (aged 5).²⁵

By the early 1870s, Geisler moved away from mercantile activities, concentrating on house construction, and eventually a larger-scale neighborhood and town developer. He bought and sold houses, and built houses on speculation. With the capital amassed from these activities. He created a group of five investors in Scott County to create a planned community in western Iowa. In 1868, the Rock Island Lines with superb connections to Chicago and Davenport, Iowa, extended their tracks diagonally through Cass County, west of the larger town of Carroll, Iowa. Crossing Camp Creek, the tracks promised the possibility of growth and land sales. The six investors created the Marne Town Company (named after a Holstein village), which purchased a quarter section of 160 acres in 1875, platted a town site, and filed papers on 17 May 1875.²⁶ The company began to advertise their idealized Schleswig-Holstein town on the prairie and to sell lots. The selection of the name was designed to appeal to migrating Schleswig-Holsteiners.²⁷ The reality of purchasing the land from Thomas Meredith and planning for the perfect Iowa frontier community began in earnest within two years. Hans Simonson built a hotel, cleverly named the Marne House, in 1878 and the next year a German school opened on the upper floor of the hotel, thereby replicating the Davenport experience.²⁸ During the next decade, Marne grew quite slowly. From an analysis of twenty-five successful settlers (some with wives), the average age was 44 in 1890 (ages ranged from 19 - 57), when the town had a population of 381.²⁹ Twelve of these successful "pioneers" came from northern Germany: 4 from Denmark, 4 from Schleswig-Holstein, 3 from Germany, 1 from Holland and 1 from Prussia.³⁰ Thus the veneer of provincial identity was maintained for publicity purposes, not historical fact.

Closer to home, Geisler developed a German neighborhood on the edge of the bluffs in western Davenport. This compact hillside retreat for German families was almost mid-way between the huge estate of the German-speaking Hungarian 1848er, Count Nicholas Fejevary, and the popular *Schützen Park*. Owned by the local German-American shooting society, this amusement park had a trolley car turn-around, bandstand, music pavilion, club house, and tame herds of deer and elk. The earliest house (1868) was built for a wealthy manufacturer of pumps and foundry owner. Geisler's daughter and family grew up on a large estate in the neighborhood known as "Wild Acres." The regional connection was continued with his son-in-law, Otto Clausen

(1850-1905) migrating from Scharnhorst, in Schleswig-Holstein. Geisler lived below the bluffs, abutting the hillside neighborhood.³¹

The last few years of Geisler's life were bitter sweet; officially retired in 1885, He and his wife moved in 1904 to Coronado, California, because of her health. She died on 18 March 1908, less than a week before the annual event of remembering the collective memory of the "lost republic." He had one last adventure as he returned to the *Nordfriesland* coast of Schleswig-Holstein and Lunden, the village of his youth in 1909. Geisler died on 20 December 1910, with his body cremated, and the non-Christian memorial service conducted by Gustave Donald, the First Speaker of the Davenport Turners.

* * *

This narrative account of the life and times of Emil Geisler leads to some useful questions for future research. First, there needs to be much more investigation of the German-American communities of the Midwest in the early twentieth century with comparative studies to expand our understanding of individual cities. Second, the lifestyle of German-American schools requires more consistent analysis. Third, how did regional myths of ethnicity change over time? Were they recycled through the media, appear as civic pageantry or remain an antiquarian's agenda? Fourth, influential German-American businessmen need to be scrutinized from the perspective of "Entrepreneurial History," not hagiographical essays. Fifth, what are the elusive strands of individual personality which have an impact upon historical developments; has Geisler been forgotten and ignored because he resisted public life and remained fiercely dedicated to his family and home?

Scott Community College
Bettendorf, Iowa

Notes

¹ Davenport *Leader* (9 December 1894).

² Manuscript copy on file in the Scott Community College archives.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Lunden Church *Register* (1828) Number 28, p. 724; electronic-mail from Henning Peters, Jr. (6 January 2004), local historian at the Lunden Heimatsmuseum.

⁵ Glazier and Filby, 3:21.

⁶ *History of Scott County* (1882), 1063.

⁷ August Richter, *History of Scott County* (Chicago, 1917), 548

⁸ "In dem angenehmen Bau wuchern die Haselbüsche drei Fuss hoch!" *Der Demokrat* (8 January 1853), quoted by Richter, 549. Theodore Olshausen, *Der Staat Iowa* (Kiel, 1855), 117-18.

⁹ Ibid., 549-50.

¹⁰ Richter, 550.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² William Roba, *The River and the Prairie* (Davenport, IA: Hesperian Press, 1986), 86.

¹³ Richter, 532.

¹⁴ See Ernst-Erich Marhencke, *Hans Reimer Claussen* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1999), 249-50. Olshausen's viewpoint comes through from two letters which he wrote from Rendsburg, 10/17 August 1848 in *Theodor Olshausen, 1802-1869: Briefe an den Bruder Justus*, ed. Ingo and Joachim Reppmann (Davenport, IA: Hesperian Press, 2003), 131-32.

¹⁵ Richter, chap. 50, *passim*.

¹⁶ Quoted by Brian Vick, *Defining Germany* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 146.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 147.

¹⁸ Richter, 614.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 616.

²⁰ The most recent analysis of the wide-spread acceptance of the *Freidenker* position appears in Katja Rampelmann, *Im Licht der Vernunft* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2003), 104-99, emphasizing the continuing influence of Milwaukee on intellectuals in other Midwestern cities.

²¹ Davenport *Democrat* (22 October 1905).

²² 1860 U. S. Census, p. 247.

²³ Davenport City Directory, 1864.

²⁴ Richter, *Democrat* (15 May 1921): p. 9.

²⁵ 1870 U. S. Census, p. 107.

²⁶ *History of Cass County* (Springfield, IL, 1884), 609.

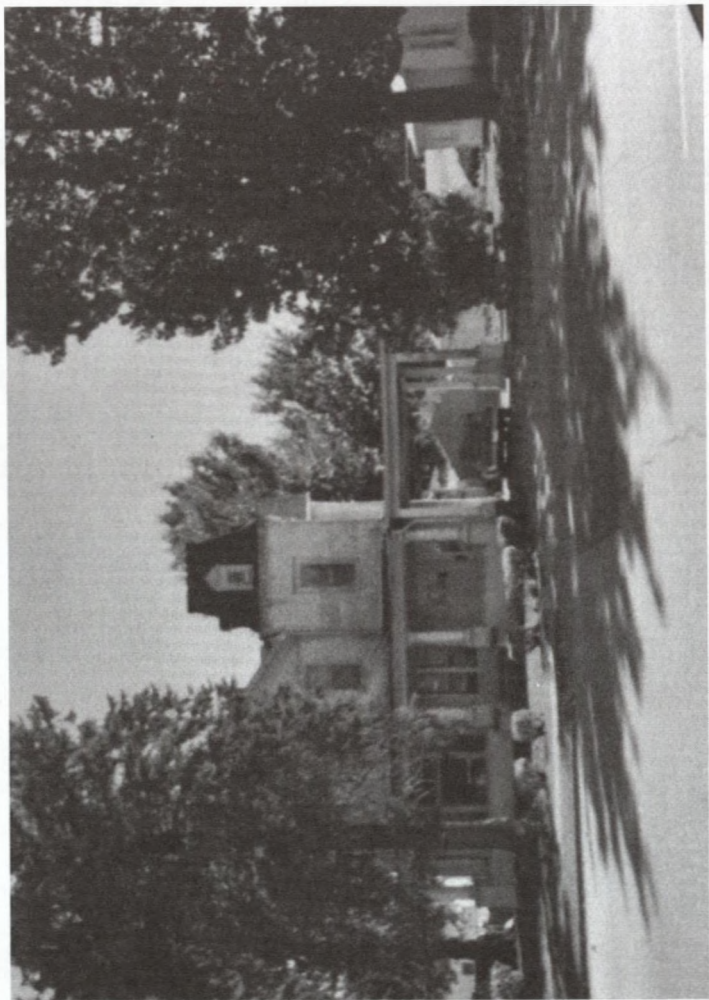
²⁷ Gerd Hagenah, *Die frühe schleswig-holsteinische Auswanderung in die USA, 1835-1860* (Bad Segeberg, 2002), 278.

²⁸ *History of Cass County*, 623.

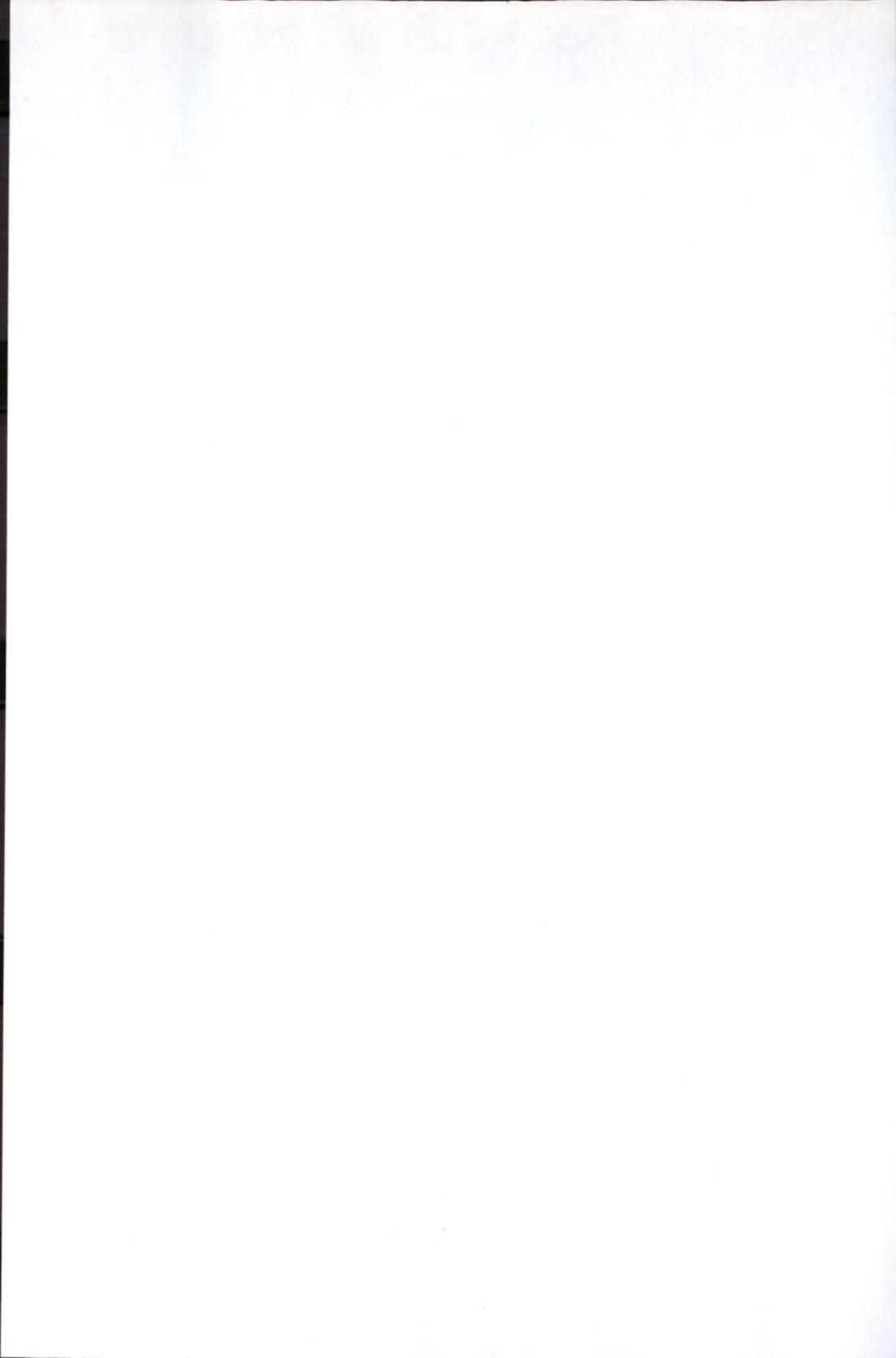
²⁹ 1890 U. S. Census.

³⁰ *History of Cass County*, 611-16; *A History of Marne, Iowa* (1975), 17-41.

³¹ Genevieve Harms, "Auld Lang Syne - A German Neighborhood in West Davenport, Iowa." *Recurring Group Topics in German-American Studies* (Bettendorf: Scott Community College Honors Seminar, 2002), 1-10.



The Emil Geisler home in Davenport, Iowa



Giles R. Hoyt

Herman Zagel's *Jack Roostand*: A German-American View of Prairie Life

The frontier is a place of great complexity, of individual involvement in community development. As Richard White points out, the frontier constitutes the middle ground, the place of compromise in the confrontation between cultures.¹ It is also the place where new cultural forms are created. The present relatively brief article desires to give some insights into an American author, Herman Zagel, who wrote in German about life on the American frontier in the late nineteenth century. Like many others, Hermann Zagel is now almost forgotten, his works long out of print. He writes about the life of German-Americans, that group of Americans who came from German-speaking areas and their immediate descendants, who were yet imbued with the culture of their German progenitors. The people Zagel is concerned with are those who are at the front lines of American cultural development on the prairie.

Zagel notes that he is writing for the German-speaking American audience in the preface of his *Aus Frühlingstagen*: "... and it is for them [Germans in America] that this book is written [who] read and understand the American language very well...." He notes with regard to the reaction of his personified "spiritual child" when he names it "From the Days of Spring": "That's it—you said it!" it joyfully remarks [in English]; because as the reader will soon note, it is a real German-American and mixes the English words and expressions in with its German like the baker mixes raisins in the cookie dough."² This is the linguistic compromise of the frontier experience.

Sander Gilman sees appropriately the frontier as a means of approaching and better understanding German-American literature.³ It contextualizes the writing by providing a framework of reference. Zagel relates the experience of people whose lives are directed toward building community on a new cultural as well as physical landscape. The characters find themselves trying to create relationships within the open structures of community where the rules are in formation. Zagel himself grew up in a frontier environment.

Zagel is not listed in any of the standard works on German-American, American or German authors, a curious omission given the extent of his writings. Zagel was born in Columbus, Indiana, grew up near Decatur on the Piqua Road between the Ohio border and Fort Wayne, Indiana. Piqua Road figures frequently in his stories

and essays. His father was a Lutheran pastor, and the Lutheran Church plays a significant role in the life of Zigel and his writings.

He dedicates one of his books to his sisters, who read his stories, and his wife who proofread for him. Zigel is an American author who treats American life, not just German-American life in German. Zigel's novels, short stories and travel essays have never been translated. The language is different in its structures than "Reichsdeutsch"—a linguistic analysis using careful parsing and comparison would, I believe, show that Zigel's language is influenced by its American environment. Also, his German is slightly archaic and English words are infused here and there where appropriate. It gives a sense of how people spoke here. Zigel's background was northern German. He also wrote some articles in *Plattdüütsch*. Zigel earned his living writing for the *Abendschule*, teaching in German-American schools, and possibly from lecturing and from his published works.

Zigel wrote a number of books and many articles for the St. Louis *Abendschule*, which was a journal publication of the Louis Lang Publishing Co. An ad for the *Abendschule* reads: "The Abendschule is the most read German-American journal in the U. S. and offers contemporary observations about questions of the day and current events, solid fiction, scientific and historical, biographical and geographical articles, an especially interesting section for young people, medical advice and more the entertainment of young and old." It had a supplement called "Frauenfleiß." A bibliography of the monographic works by Zigel provides a sense of the breadth of his writing.⁴

Zigel wrote two novels about the life of Jack Roostand.⁵ Jack Roostand is the name of a young minister, Lutheran or Evangelical, it's not clear, whose life as a pastor in a German-American community somewhere in the plains states is the object of the novels, the second a sequel to the first. Jack, as his first name might indicate, is born in the U. S. of German immigrant parents, but his life is centered in German-speaking communities. Jack goes to college and becomes a pastor.

The church is usually the center, social and religious, for these frontier communities, thus the life of a pastor provides insight into the nature of community life in ways that are unique. The pastor resolves disputes, provides counsel for individuals and family problems, and in general oversees the well-being of the community, including the critical educational needs of children. The latter is sometimes, as Jack finds out, difficult when dealing with less educated parents who want and often need their children to work on new homesteads.

While there is the somewhat sentimentalized *Familienroman* caste to the novels, they are closer to the American sentimental story than to German *kleinbürgerliche Literatur* of the late-nineteenth century. The novels are distinctly American in theme and style. The westward movement—Jack leaves his comfortable Eastern-Midwest home to venture forth to the prairie to help the German-Americans moving there build strong communities and happy, healthy families.

There is very little discussion about Germany as such. Life centers around happenings in America. Germany is a memory passed down to Jack, maybe a cultural

ideal, but not the object of daily life. Zagel constantly contrasts German and American attitudes and comes down squarely on the American side.

Jack is in fact the quintessential all-American German-American. That holds for his boyhood and for his college life:

When at college you ask students about what kind of a student, what kind of a person somebody is and you get the answer back from a beaming face: Oh, Butch (or Fidi or whatever the nickname used) is all right, with the stress on the word "right," and if you ask further, "all right in what?" and get the answer "all around," then you can be pretty sure that the same question posed to the teachers about Butch or Fidi will illicit the same response, only in a more polished form.

About the senior student Roostand there was at college only one judgment from fellow students and that was "Jack is all right all around."⁶

He was well received by his teachers and the grades he received were always good, with the exception of world history. In this subject in his early student years he had always been quite good. But this changed suddenly in his sophomore year, as a result of an answer he gave on a quiz on the Peace of Westphalia and its results. Jack who "detested the splitting-up of good old Germany into forty-acre principalities and township-kingdoms as much as the hash served in the cafeteria, gave vent to his American feelings and wrote: 'Good old Germany was so ripped apart and divided into so many little countries, states and counties that no intelligent person can figure it out.'"⁷

The professor did not appreciate the sentiment or the humor of the answer. When he returned them to the class, he read the answer sentence to the class. The class, who thought the professor meant it as a joke, broke out in "Homeric laughter," which enraged the professor even more. He berated Jack telling him his thinking is as fragmented as in his opinion Germany after the Westphalian Peace Accord. "From then on a solid 'D' was the only grade that Jack ever received in World History." The reader is led to sympathize with the "American" feelings of Jack and his view of fragmented Germany. Jack's intellectual development is formed by his American environment. German, "good old Germany," is a cultural icon, but Jack's attitudes are distinctly American.

This is apparent in Jack's language as in his use of metaphors, which draw from the American scene almost exclusively. Comparisons are made not with the Rhine but with the Mississippi when he describes his being a pastor and the learning curve involved:

It was for him like for a young pilot who has learned the Mississippi, who has learned where the dangerous spots are and knows how to avoid them, who understands how to steer a steamer and has done it for hours in the presence of his superior—and then one day the Captain says, Charlie, you

take the wheel. I have an hour left in my shift, but I don't feel well and want to lie down. Then it's a question of who feels less well, the Captain or Charlie.

Jack now stood at the wheel, and he wasn't all that comfortable.⁸

While religion plays a strong role in the lives of Jack and the people in his community, in fact exactly what the denomination is finds no particular mention beyond being clearly protestant. Certainly doctrinal issues are not mentioned either, and the church is more a backdrop for the stories of the people. That is to say, this is not devotional literature in any way, but rather narratives about the development of a person, a family and their frontier community. Rather American diversity is praised. Zagel comments on how Uncle Sam looks at the future potential of an immigrant, not the dirty outside of the *Zwischendeckler*. Also, the narrator notes, the people Europe considers "most undesirable," the Jews, are welcomed by Uncle Sam, who sees the future successful business man or merchant. Jack avoids any disparaging remarks about any other ethnic group and seeks mutual cooperation.

Jack is imbued with the optimism of the westward turned America. He seeks his first church assignment in the frontier believing that it is there he can do the most good, but also it reflects his own *Abenteurlust*. Life is distinctly difficult in a physical way. Travel is hard and the weather offers constant challenges. Jack must build a church community from scratch.

The people Jack works with are primarily German immigrants, but highly diverse within themselves. Many German-speaking provinces are represented and their dialects: a German-American melting pot. Many of the Germans cannot understand each other, which tends to exacerbate tense situations. There is frequently conflict in the congregation often caused by language problems. In one instance with a humorous overtone a Southern German dialect speaker is unable to comprehend what a Platt speaker comments about a school development issue. He asks Jack if the fellow congregant is even speaking German and if they are not indeed a German congregation. Jack struggles to maintain peace and community organization.⁹

The frontier provides the environment for extreme conflict: Violence, while not a way of life, is always a possibility. Very early in his frontier experience, on the way to his parish, Jack witnesses a violent killing. The narrator comments that this murder and the view of the result "changes Jack forever." He will always see the possibility of the dark side of life and community.

A central aspect of life on the frontier is the family: The family unit in the isolated areas of the prairie takes on a meaning beyond any religious connotations; it is an imperative element for success and often survival. When Jack deals with families it is a very practical level. The needs in the face of illness, childbirth, and heavy work are extreme and danger always present. Jack learns the tolerance and openness that frontier experience requires. Generally positive, but conflict is not unknown. The focus in Roostand and in much of Zagel's writings is the family and the community.

Hermann Zagel did not write the great American novel, but he wrote works that intrinsically deserve considerably more attention than they have received from scholars

of German-American literature. Indeed Zagel as a writer of the American experience deserves more attention. *Jack Roostand* gives a view of a unique American time, when the frontier and the German immigration intermeshed.

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Notes

¹ Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1610-1815* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1991).

² *Aus Frühlingstagen; Erinnerungen aus dem fröhlichen Bubenleben* (Peoria, IL: Im Selbst-Verlage des Verfassers, 1923) 10. All translations by G. Hoyt. Original German: "... und für sie ist dies Buch geschrieben[, die] mit wenigen Ausnahmen die amerikanische Landessprache recht wohl lesen und verstehen ..." "That's it—you said it!" "jubelte mein Kind; denn, wie der Leser bald merken wird, ist es ein echter Deutsch-Amerikaner und mischt englische Wörter und Redensarten unter sein Deutsch wie der Bäcker Rosinen in seinen Kuchenteig."

³ Sander Gilman, "German? American? Literature?—Some thoughts on the Problem of Question Marks and Hyphens," in *German? American? Literature? New Directions in German-American Studies* ed. by Winfried Fluck and Werner Sollors (New York: Peter Lang, 2002), 13.

⁴ The monographic works of Hermann Zagel include:

Reisebilder aus den Vereinigten Staaten (St. Louis, MO: Louis Lange Publishing Company, 1907);

Dies und Das und noch Etwas (St. Louis, MO: Louis Lange Publishing Company, 1908);

Jack Roostand (St. Louis, MO: L. Lange Publishing Company, 1909-12), 2 vols.;

Aus Frühlingstagen; Erinnerungen aus dem fröhlichen Bubenleben (Peoria, IL: Im Selbst-Verlage des Verfassers, 1923);

Aus Frühlingstagen; Erinnerungen aus dem fröhlichen Bubenleben (St. Louis, MO: Louis Lange, 1929);

Zagels Allerlei: Eine Serie von Plaudereien (St. Louis, MO: Louis Lange Publishing Co., 1930).

⁵ For bibliographic details see note 3. Jack Roostand is a fictitious character, but possibly based on the life of his father, or possibly a composite of the frontier Lutheran ministers he had known.

⁶ *Jack Roostand*, p. 21. German original: "Wenn man auf dem College nach dem Wesen, Tun u.s.w. eines Schülers sich erkundigt und einem von großen wie von kleinen Kommilitonen nur die kurze, aber mit strahlendem Gesicht gegebene Auskunft wird: 'O, der Butch (oder Fidi, oder wie er sonst bespitznamt sein mag) ist all right!' mit kräftigem Nachdruck auf dem Wort 'right'—und man weiter fragt: 'all right worin?' und die Antwort lautet: 'All around!' so kann man ziemlich sicher darauf verlassen, daß man bei einer Nachfrage bei den Lehrern der Anstalt über den Butch oder Fidi fast dasselbe, wiewohl in bessere Form gebrachte Zeugnis zu hören bekommen wird. Über den Primaner Roostand gab es auf dem College nur ein Urteil bei allen Mitschülern und das lautete eben: 'Jack is all right all around.'"

⁷ *Jack Roostand*, p. 22. German original: "Das gute Deutschland wurde so zerrissen und in so viele Länder, Ländchen und Ländle eingeteilt, daß kein anständiger Mensch mehr hindurchfinden konnte."

⁸ *Jack Roostand*, p. 106. German original: "Es erging ihm da etwa so wie einem jungen Steuermann, der bereits zwei Jahre neben seinem Lehrmeister, dem Piloten, 'den Mississippi gelernt' hat, der längst die gefährlichen Stellen im Strom kennt und weiß, wie ihnen aus dem Wege zu gehen ist, der wohl versteht, einen Dampfer zu steuern, ja, es in Gegenwart seines Vorgesetzten oft stundenlang eigenhändig getan hat—and dem eines Tages der Lehrmeister sagt: 'Charlie, nimm Du das Rad jetzt; es ist nur noch eine Stunde bis zur Ablösung. Ich will mich niederlegen, mir ist nicht wohl.' Da sind plötzlich auf dem Dampfer zwei, denen nicht wohl ist, und es käme auf eine Probe an, zu entscheiden, wem am unwohlsten ist: dem Lehrmeister oder dem Charlie. 'Jack stand am Steuerrad, aber ihm war nicht recht wohl dabei.'"

⁹ *Jack Roostand*, p. 118. Example of the misunderstanding caused by dialect differences:

"Oeitz schloag oaner do' lang hin!" fuhr der alte Rösch auf, "dös lieggt m'r a, zu vernehme, was dös Wabervolk si z'sammendrachts! Dös fehlt a no! Gutzgugguk no amol, hascht net selbscht Verschteschtmí in der Mansard, Kegel, daß D' muscht nofrag'n bei dene Waberleut?"

"Wat will de Kirl?" schrie Kegel kirschrot im Gesicht, "wat will hei? Dütt is `ne dütsche Gemeene; wenn de Kirl englisch köhren will, denn mag hei dat buten dohn! Herr Pastor, ich frage Ihnen, sünd wir deutsch oder englisch?"

"Deutsch, deutsch, lieber Herr Kegel, deutsch an Leib und Seele. Herr Rösch hat übrigens auch deutsch gesprochen."

"Well, wenn das Deutsch war, denn bün ich woll samaritisch."

Walter D. Kamphoefner

German Texans: In the Mainstream or Backwaters of Lone Star Society?

What could be more mainstream than a Texas-German Aggie? William A. Trenckmann, born in 1859 near Cat Spring in Austin County of two immigrant parents, enrolled in the very first class at Texas A&M in 1876, finishing as valedictorian of its first graduating class in 1879. To those familiar with the history of the institution, this achievement may appear less impressive. After all, on the first day of school, only six students showed up, although their number had surpassed one hundred before the first year was over. But even a century later, the school was not exactly numbered among the academic powerhouses. However, Trenckmann's achievements did not stop with valedictorian. He went back to his home county, and after a few years as a school teacher and principal, in 1891 founded a weekly newspaper which he continued to publish for 42 years. After the turn of the century, he was elected to two terms in the Texas legislature and continued his publishing career from Austin. He served as a member and later the chairman of the board of directors of his alma mater, and was even offered the presidency of A&M. On the side, he found time to author several works of literature and history. So at first glance, Trenckmann would seem to present an example of total integration into the Texas mainstream by a second generation German.

Mainstream, at least, until one sees the name of Trenckmann's newspaper: *Das Bellville Wochenblatt*. Or his historical novel: *Die Lateiner am Possum Creek*. Or his play: *Der Schulmeister von Neu-Rostock*. Or his memoirs: *Erlebtes und Beobachtetes*. These titles notwithstanding, Trenckmann was no doubt fully at home in the English-speaking world, but he still chose to do the bulk of his writing and publishing in the German language. He had an advantage that many of his neighbors and constituents did not, coming from a "Latin farmer" background with a father who had been a school director back in Germany. All of this suggests that, well beyond the immigrant generation, there were Texas Germans—also outside of such notorious but exceptional enclaves as New Braunfels and Fredericksburg—who preferred or needed to remain in a foreign-language backwater. My colleague Walter Buenger tells of his great-grandmother, Bertha nee Hartmann, born in 1855 in Trenckmann's home county, who although she understood English, refused to speak it for all of her ninety years because of resentments going back to the Civil War.¹

This question of integration depends somewhat on which criterion one chooses. What I will examine here is first of all the political integration of Texas Germans, the degree to which they stood apart from Anglo-Texans both in the Civil War era and later. Secondly, I will look at the economic integration of this group, and how they stacked up against their Anglo neighbors in terms of occupation and wealth. Finally, I will look at language and culture, the survival of the German tongue and institutions such as schools and the press which sustained it.

If all one knew about German immigrant Louis Lehmann was what appeared in his obituary in 1904, he might appear to have been a gung-ho Confederate: A Brenham paper reported: "He seen service in the Confederate army, was true to his colors and made an enviable reputation as a soldier by the promptness and fearlessly [*sic*] with which he discharged every duty assigned to him. He was a member of Washington Camp No. 239, and was warm and fraternal in his love and veneration for his old comrades . . ." Fortunately, in Lehmann's case, a number of his letters have survived, so we know better. As he wrote in 1866: "The conscription, which was hard enough at the beginning, ultimately turned into pure despotism—special search companies scoured every farm, no one below age 50 was spared. . . . Dear Brother-in-Law, as unwilling as I was, I also had to join the army and fight for a cause that I had never approved of."²

The distinguished geographer Terry Jordan has pointed up important distinctions between East and West Texas Germans as far as attitudes toward slavery and the Civil War are concerned—differences that he argues had more to do with economic interests than moral or political principles. Jordan outlines four "myths, or stereotypes" regarding Texas Germans: that they "(1) did not own slaves, (2) favored the abolitionist cause, (3) were morally opposed to slavery, and (4) harbored Unionist sentiments,:" all of which he claims were "inaccurate" when applied to "many or most" ordinary Texas Germans. While Jordan is certainly correct in pointing out that Germans were never fully united on any of these issues, he goes too far in his revisions, and exaggerates the degree to which Germans fit into the Anglo Texan mainstream on issues such as slavery, race, secession, and Civil War.³ Neither Jordan nor anyone else except the present author has dug deeply into the local press for precinct-level voting returns or other evidence of German attitudes toward the Confederacy, nor had anyone examined closely patterns of German slaveholding in relation to overall property holdings.

Although geographic conditions in the Texas Hill Country may have discouraged slavery, Jordan's own work shows that in three such counties where 11 percent of the Anglo families owned slaves, not a single German did. According to Jordan, lack of capital was the main factor restricting slaveowning among Germans in the cotton growing areas farther east. Indeed, a recent study has documented some sixty Germans in the older settlements of Austin, Fayette, and Colorado counties who did own slaves between 1840 and 1865. Still, although Germans constituted more than one-third of these counties' white population, they made up less than 5 percent of the local slaveholders. And it is not just because Germans were poor. If one groups people by wealth categories, at every level from the top to the bottom, a much higher proportion of Anglos than Germans owned slaves. For example, among persons worth from \$3-

6000, over half of the Anglos but barely 2 percent of the Germans were slaveowners. But even among the wealthy worth over \$15,000, only half of the Germans owned slaves, in contrast to 92 percent of the American born. Contrasts of this magnitude could hardly have arisen without a conscious choice by many or most Germans against human property. Indeed, Jordan's own figures show that already in 1860, Texas Germans were more likely to be landowners than their Anglo neighbors, further evidence that it was not mere poverty which prevented them from owning slaves. So geography was important, but ethnicity and culture were more important.⁴

The secession referendum of 23 February 1861 provides another measure of Texas German attitudes toward Southern independence and institutions.⁵ In an appeal to ethnic voters, the declaration of secession had been printed not only in 10,000 English copies, but 2,000 each in Spanish and German translations. But the German copies largely fell on deaf ears. Across Texas, secession won by a landslide, with less than a quarter of the voters opposing. But two German frontier counties in and around Fredericksburg led the state with a 96 percent margin against secession.⁶ Bexar County, with the largest number of Germans in the state, witnessed a narrow secessionist victory, but the city of San Antonio turned in a razor-thin margin for the Union due above all to German voters. After the election, German city councilmen still resisted for several months demands to turn over seized federal arms to the secessionist state.⁷ Even older Texas German settlements farther east show little evidence of enthusiasm for secession. The 64 percent support level in Colorado County, for example, masks an internal polarization. Three German precincts (Frelsburg, Weimar and Mentz) voted 86 percent against secession, while five Anglo precincts cast all but six votes in favor. Similarly in Fayette County, some Anglos must have contributed to the narrow majority opposing secession because only one-third of the voters were German, but a local paper with the telling name *State Rights Democrat* blamed the "sauer-kraut dirt-eaters" (a word-play on the term "fire-eaters").⁸ Only in Austin County, where Trenckmann grew up, did close to half the Germans vote for Southern independence, still a rather lukewarm result compared to the 96 percent level in six Anglo precincts. One of the state's oldest German settlements, Industry, did vote almost unanimously for secession, but the nearby settlement of Cat Springs, Trenckmann's home precinct, took a diametrically opposite position, weighing in at 92 percent against.⁹

The stance of New Braunfels and the rest of Comal County, the only German area of the Hill Country voting strongly in favor of secession, has been widely misunderstood. It was largely the work of one man, reflecting trust in the advice of the venerable Ferdinand Lindheimer and his *Neu Braunsfelder Zeitung*. But he seldom attempted to sell his readers on the merits of the secessionist case, stressing instead the reprisals they might suffer should they be perceived as opposing it: "When in Texas, do as the Texans do. Anything else is suicide and brings tragedy to all our Texas-Germans."¹⁰ In general, the factor of intimidation must be kept in mind when examining Texas German behavior in the winter of disunion. Although Galveston was nearly one-third German and home to Unionist editor Ferdinand Flake, with a low turnout it voted 96 percent in favor of secession. Mob violence had destroyed one of Flake's presses the month before, and sent an unmistakable message to Unionists.¹¹

Jordan calls New Braunfels a "secessionist hotbed"; in fact it was one of the few places in Texas where Confederate sympathizers were subject to intimidation. Editor Lindheimer's pragmatism was not universally appreciated. So incensed were some New Braunfelsers that they threw the press and type into the Comal River—but Lindheimer fished it out of the clear water so that the paper did not miss an issue. However, his windows were stoned in twice, and his dogs poisoned with strychnine.¹² Even with the support given by the local German press, the secession cause received slightly less support at the polls in New Braunfels than in Texas as a whole. The only homogeneous German county or precinct where German support for secession exceeded the statewide average was the settlement of Industry. With respect to Unionism, Terry Jordan states that Texas Germans were split, "just as Anglo-Americans were." Both were indeed split, but there the similarities end. With Anglos there was at least a 3:1 majority for secession, while Germans turned in at least a slim majority for the Union, and a disproportionate number of stay-at-homes as well.¹³

Willingness to serve in the Union or Confederate military provides yet another measure of the attitudes of Texas Germans. Published muster rolls of the 1st and 2nd Texas Union Cavalry reveal the presence of disproportionate numbers of Germans. Persons of German stock made up about 7 percent of the state's military age males, but over 13 percent of its Union troops, despite the fact that they were recruited largely in the Brownsville area far from centers of German settlement.¹⁴ By contrast, the German percentage in rebel ranks was smaller than their meager share of the state's population. Among the underlying factors at work were both aversion to slavery and devotion to the Union. Like Louis Lehmann, many of the Germans who served the Confederacy did so reluctantly.¹⁵ Many of the Texas Germans in the rebel army served in Waul's Legion, which had three German companies, two largely from Austin County and another from Houston. But Captain Robert Voigt of Industry wrote home in February 1863, "the Germans in general and here with us in [another] company, who are mostly from our neighborhood, conduct themselves on various occasions so, that one has to be ashamed." Voigt was obviously more committed to the Confederate cause than the average German, but he was by no means a fire eater, and after being taken prisoner at Vicksburg, he "took the oath" of loyalty to the Union in February 1865.¹⁶

Sometimes, their descendants may have tried to retrofit Germans into the Texas mainstream. In the beautiful little cemetery of Bethlehem Lutheran Church in Round Top, the gravestone of Carl Bauer notes his Confederate unit and the fact that his letters had been acquired by the State Archives. Thinking that I might have finally located an enthusiastic Rebel, I ordered a copy of the letter translations. Almost from beginning to end, their tone is one of pious resignation (Traugott was his middle name), mixed with war weariness: Already in December 1862 Bauer notes, "War enthusiasm is cooling. Many of our men do not believe that the South can win." The next April he reports from Louisiana: "half of our men volunteered to go on the ship Alexandria, there to try to add luster and fame to their name on the water. As I was not in a mood for great military laurels, I decided to stay on land." After hearing of the fall of Vicksburg, he writes: "We are all tired to death of war. I believe our beloved

South is whipped." This one word, "beloved," is the nearest indication of support for the cause to be found in the dozens of his letters home.¹⁷

According to Terry Jordan, "many or most" Texas Germans became "inaccurately" stereotyped as Unionist because of a single incident, the 1862 shootout on the Nueces that most Germans called a massacre. But here too, regional contrasts of Texas Germans can be exaggerated. It was not only the Comfort and Fredericksburg areas in the Hill Country, but also Trenckmann's home county of Austin and two adjacent counties, that were placed under martial law in January 1863 because of German draft resistance.¹⁸ The "Treue der Union" monument at Comfort, however typical or atypical it was of Texas Germans, stands out as the only memorial to Unionists erected by local residents in any state of the former Confederacy.¹⁹

The contrasts between German and Anglo Texans persisted into the Reconstruction era and sometimes beyond.²⁰ Whatever their position on secession or during the war, New Braunfels residents took a distinctively un-southern view of the occupying Federal troops in its aftermath—had General Sheridan made his headquarters there, he might have preferred Texas to hell after all. When one Anglo Yankee from the 59th Illinois said good-bye in December 1865, he noted in his diary, "Some of them shed tears almost. I never felt so bad at leaving any place as that [...] except home in 1861. Farewell Braunfels." Less than three months after Lee's surrender, the town had celebrated the Fourth of July in what sounded like a huge sigh of relief: the Stars and Stripes was unfurled from the highest hill, a marching band led a well-attended parade throughout the town, and a number of dances rounded out the evening and the next day.²¹ Austin County Germans and Czechs, who had constituted the bulk of the deserter lists during the war, in 1865 joined in a Fourth of July celebration at New Ulm affirming Union victory. However, for Anglo Southerners, for a while after the war's end, July 4 was considered primarily a black holiday.

The political attitudes of Texas Germans in the aftermath of war likewise set them apart from the bulk of their Anglo counterparts. There is very little of a political nature in the minutes of the Cat Spring Agricultural Society, but an 1866 meeting drafted a statement warning prospective immigrants back in Germany not to sign labor contracts with former slaveholders, and discussed putting together a ticket of Unionists.²² Forty-eight-year-old Edward Degener, who lost two sons in the Nueces Massacre, represented the San Antonio/Corpus Christi area as a Republican in the first Texas congressional delegation during Reconstruction, though he only lasted one term. Two years later a German Democrat, Gustav Schleicher, took over the seat, and was twice re-elected.²³

Even in areas farther east where it required considerable cooperation with blacks, Germans were among the strongest white supporters of the Republican party. When the legislature took up public education in August of 1870, one saw the German names of Prissick, Schlickum, Schlottmann, Schutze, Zapp, and Zoeller lining up with the two black House members in an effort to table an amendment requiring racial separation in schools. The measure came within one vote of being tabled; if there had been no blacks or Germans in the legislature, it would not have even been close.²⁴

Washington and Colorado counties, both adjacent to Trenckmann's home county of Austin, remained under Republican control well beyond Reconstruction and into the 1880s, in both instances largely the result of black-German coalitions. In the postwar era, the first time Colorado County went Democratic in a gubernatorial or presidential race was 1888, and it elected its first Democratic county judge only in 1890.²⁵ Washington County, with close to a black majority and a sizeable German minority in its population, was represented in the first reconstruction Texas legislature by a black senator, Matt Gaines, and in the lower house by a German Confederate veteran, Louis Lehmann's comrade William Schlottmann, like Gaines a "radical" Republican—(further evidence that Confederate service did not necessarily indicate identification with the southern cause). The county remained under Republican control until 1884, supported by the bulk of the blacks, about half of the Germans, and a few white Anglos, often of Unionist background. A Democratic takeover could only be accomplished through violence and intimidation against blacks. An attempted Republican comeback in the extremely close election of 1886, with four Germans heading the county ticket, was foiled when Democrats stole three Republican ballot boxes, lynched three black Republicans, and ran three of their prominent white allies out of the country. One of them, Carl Schutze, wrote from his California exile to Louis Lehmann's brother Julius, who had helped finance his Brenham newspaper, "it's totally different for me here than back there. Here it is no crime to be a Republican and they don't sling mud at you for it."²⁶

Granted, Trenckmann was elected to the legislature as a Democrat, but not your typical southern Democrat; the *New Handbook of Texas* characterizes him as a staunch supporter of civil liberties and free election, and an opponent of Sunday laws, prohibition, and the Ku Klux Klan. If anything, the Germans farther west in Texas stood apart even more from their Anglo neighbors in political and racial attitudes. When Robert La Follette ran as a Progressive in 1924, his strongest showing in any county of the entire U.S. was the 74 percent vote of New Braunfels's Comal County (the best he did in Wisconsin was 70%). Fredericksburg and its surrounding county also weighed in at nearly 60 percent, two other adjacent counties cast one-third or more of their vote for La Follette, and in general the German areas of the state gave him above average support—statewide he garnered only 6 percent of the vote. One might attribute this to La Follette's opposition to U.S. entry into World War I, which many German-Americans obviously resented. But Theodore Roosevelt, another Progressive Republican, could never be mistaken for a pacifist or a German sympathizer. And yet, his brand of Progressivism also garnered considerable Texas-German support: in the three party race of 1912, Fredericksburg and surrounding Gillespie County cast two-thirds of their vote for TR's Bull Moose ticket, in a state where his average was under 9 percent. Only four counties nationwide yielded a heavier Bull Moose percentage. Also with Roosevelt's first election in 1904, Gillespie and Kendall counties gave him more than a 75 percent margin when he garnered only 15 percent statewide.²⁷ This Hill Country Republicanism manifested itself also at the congressional level. Beginning in 1920, a second-generation German, Harry Wurzbach, served for over a decade representing the San Antonio-Seguin area in the U.S. House—the only

Republican Congressman from Texas during this era, and the first in his state to be re-elected.²⁸ So two out of three Texas-German congressmen were Republican.

The 1952 centennial edition of the *New Braunfels Zeitung* remarked: "In the last few years the outstanding characteristic of the Comal County vote has been its bitter anti-New Deal tendency. . . . particularly puzzling to persons who are familiar with its generally liberal tendencies." New Braunfels also aligned itself more with Eisenhower than with its southern Democratic fellow Texans; with only a 2 percent black population due to its low rate of slaveholding a century earlier, it integrated its schools immediately in 1954 when ordered to do so by the Supreme Court. The fact that even ten years later, only 5.5 percent of black Texans were attending integrated schools shows just how unusual this was.²⁹ Gillespie, the most heavily German county in the Hill Country, remained an unwavering Republican stronghold. Robert Caro may claim that Texas Germans actually hated old Lyndon, but except for the depths of the Depression in 1932, the first time it went Democratic in the twentieth century was for local boy Lyndon Johnson in 1964.³⁰ From a present-day point of view, German Republicans would fit right into the Texas mainstream; but unlike their Anglo neighbors, many of them were already there a century earlier when they still had a lot of black allies.

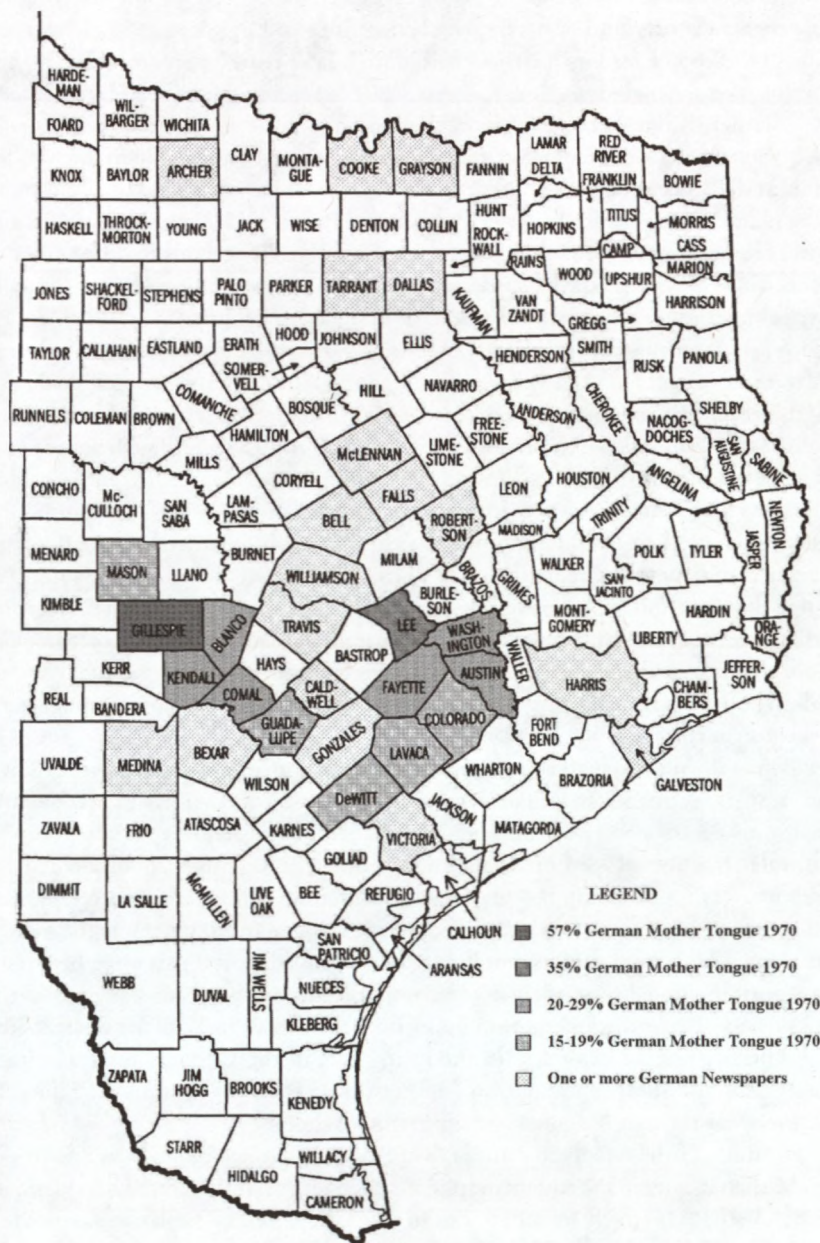
In their occupational profile and economic status, Texas Germans did not stand apart from the Texas mainstream as long or as much as they did in political matters. As has been shown above, already by the outbreak of the Civil War, Germans were more likely than other Texans to own real estate, even if their average holdings were relatively modest. The abolition of slavery further leveled the ethnic playing field by reducing the huge fortunes of many planters. By the 1870 census, Germans had nearly caught up with natives or even surpassed them by some measures. Among male family heads, 61 percent of German immigrants owned real estate, putting them three points ahead of old-stock Texans. If one compares all males of legal age (21), Germans come out ever so slightly behind, but there is only a half point difference. Natives do have about a ten point advantage if total wealth, including mobile assets, is considered, but this is perhaps not surprising given the number of recently arrived immigrants since the Civil War. Moreover, Germans had fewer extremes of both wealth and poverty: For male family heads, the average or mean real estate holdings and total wealth of old-stock Texans was somewhat higher, but the median value (the holdings of the person at the 50th percentile) was higher for Germans.³¹

Not only in their property holdings, but also in their occupational profile, Germans show an increasing convergence with their Texas neighbors in the post Civil War era. Using published occupational breakdowns from the 1870 and 1880 censuses, I calculated what is called an index of occupational dissimilarity between natives of the U.S. and German immigrants in the state. What this in effect measures is what percent of the Germans would have had to change jobs in order to match the occupational profile of Texans born in the U.S. In other words, it assumes that if Germans made up 4 percent of the number of natives in the labor force (which they roughly did), they should make up 4 percent of the native figure in each occupational category. In 1870 Germans by no means mirrored the native occupational breakdown; nearly half of all

Germans would have had to change jobs in order to match the natives, 49 percent to be exact. But things had changed considerably over the next decade. By 1880 the index of German-native occupational dissimilarity stood at just 26: only roughly a quarter of Germans would have had to change jobs to match the native profile.³²

Surprisingly given their reputation as superior farmers, Germans were underrepresented in the agricultural sector, making up only 60 percent of their proportional share in 1870, though they closed the gap to 80 percent by 1880. Their gain was especially apparent among farm operators; Germans constituted only 85 percent of their quota in 1870, but came in at 109 percent of the native figure by 1880, having more than caught up. However, the occupational sector where Germans stood out the most was what the census calls manufacturing, though it was often more on an artisan basis than in large-scale industries. The traditional German apprenticeships appear to have paid off, giving them an advantage over an Anglo jack-of-all-trades. But here, too, some convergence is apparent: Germans made up four times their share of "manufacturing" workers in 1870, but only three times their share in 1880. The two occupations where they stood out the most were among brewers and bakers. Although the German labor force made up only 4 percent of the native contingent in 1870, Germans actually outnumbered natives in the baking trade, while among brewers they had almost a three to one advantage. So some ethnic stereotypes do have a basis in fact. It is probably not coincidental, for example, that a worldwide fruitcake exporter in Corsicana can trace its origins back to German roots, or that the one surviving local brewery in Shiner bears the name of Spoetzel.³³

The economic integration of Texas Germans did not necessarily mean that they were abandoning their language and culture. In fact, in some ways, it may have given them the resources they needed to preserve them. With regard to cultural preservation, the towns of Austin, Bastrop, Bellville, Boerne, Brenham, Castroville, Cuero, Dallas, Denison, Fort Worth, Franklin, Fredericksburg, Gainesville, Galveston, Giddings, Gonzales, Hallettsville, Houston, Independence, La Grange, Lockhart, Marlin, Meyersville, New Braunfels, Rosebud, San Antonio, Schulenburg, Seguin, Shiner, Taylor, Temple, Victoria, Waco, and Windthorst were quite a diverse lot in terms of size, location, and population makeup, but each of them at some point in its history was home to one or more German-language publications. In total they amount to 34 towns in 29 different counties, with only Fayette, Washington, De Witt, Lavaca, and Falls counties claiming more than one town with one or more German-language publications (see Map on the following page). The capital city of Austin could boast a German paper from 1873 right down to 1940, Trenckmann's *Wochenblatt* outliving its founder by five years. Houston and Galveston both saw their first German papers before the Civil War and the last ones did not succumb until after the U.S. entered World War I. Brenham claimed German weeklies from 1874 through 1918. San Antonio's German press also dates back to before the Civil War, and one paper, the *Freie Presse für Texas*, lasted eighty years from 1865 to 1945 as a weekly, with daily editions from 1875 to 1918. It took until 1877 before Fredericksburg could support a German paper, but a bilingual paper hung on there until 1954, one of the last to succumb. And one cannot overlook the *Großvater* of them all, the *Neu-Braunfelser*



Prevalence of German Mother Tongue and Presence of German-Language Newspapers by County

Zeitung, established in 1852 as the state's first German newspaper and surviving for more than a century until it finally switched entirely to English in 1957. Obviously, many of the people reading these journals in their later years had roots in Texas going back for several generations.³⁴

German-language newspapers were often among the strongest supporters, and also obvious beneficiaries, of programs of foreign-language instruction in the schools, public as well as private. Today bilingual education is widely regarded as an innovation of the radical sixties, which in a way it was, only it was the 1860s, not the 1960s, and Radical Republicans, not radical leftists, who were largely responsible. The onset of Reconstruction witnessed what appears to be a new German assertiveness, culturally as well as politically. The *Brenham Enquirer* announced in January 1867: "Our German friends are about to establish a first class school in this place, in which the English as well as the German language will be taught," going on to report that \$300 had been raised, a committee appointed, and a teacher hired. Similarly, there were two German-English schools founded in Columbus between 1869 and 1876, although both appear to have been short lived.³⁵ Houston had one at least in the mid-1870s, and probably earlier.³⁶ When Trenckmann was principal of Bellville public schools, his report to the State Superintendent of education indicates that German instruction was offered in all eight grades, and that more than half of the pupils participated—nothing unusual for that era. By 1886, Texas reportedly had nearly 7,500 children who were receiving German instruction, three-fifths of them in public rather than private or parochial schools, mostly at the elementary level. Although the absolute numbers may sound small by today's standards, they come to about one-sixth of the state's German-born population at the time.³⁷

Two of the more remarkable private bilingual ventures date from before the Civil War. Austin's German Free School was chartered in 1858 and survived the economic disasters of the Confederacy, although its teacher, Julius Schuetze, admits that he continued mainly to keep his draft exemption, "for keeping school yielded no livelihood." Still, an Austin newspaper commented on its examination ceremonies held on July 3, 1865: "Our German friends have exhibited much interest in the success of this school," noting that its enrollment had doubled in the past year. In fact, it lasted until the mid 1870s when city's first public education system was established. Its handsome, two-story limestone building on what is now 507 East 10th Street, just a few blocks from the capitol, is in the loving care of the German-Texan Heritage Society. But the most ambitious and successful of these institutions of bilingual education was the San Antonio German-English School.³⁸

For most of the twentieth century, San Antonio has been known as one of the most Hispanic cities in the nation; despite the Menger Hotel right on Alamo Plaza, its German heritage is largely forgotten. But in 1872, poet Sidney Lanier was amused to see a trilingual sign warning riders not to gallop their horses across the Commerce Street Bridge. Several years later, the *American Cyclopaedia* characterized the population as being "about equally divided between persons of Mexican, German, and American descent." This is confirmed by the 1880 census: German speakers (including a few Alsations, Swiss, and Austrians) emerge as the largest foreign element; including the

native-born second generation, they comprised almost exactly one-fourth of the Alamo City's 1880 population, or about 5,000 in a city of 20,000 inhabitants.³⁹

An ethnic population of this size provided the critical mass for a number of cultural institutions, the most important of which was the San Antonio German-English School.⁴⁰ The school dates from 1858, when 40 families banded together to form a "*Schulverein*"; in May of that year classes were begun in a hotel and attracted about 80 students. By the following year enrollment had nearly doubled to 140, and on November 10, 1859, Friedrich Schiller's 100th birthday, the cornerstone was laid for a permanent building on South Alamo Street. The school's fourth year saw the outbreak of the Civil War, and it took until 1869 before an imposing two-story stone building was completed. Its peak enrollment of 267 in 1870 declined once free public schools were instituted the next year, but around 1880 the school still had an enrollment just over 200 distributed across six class levels.⁴¹

The German influence is reflected not just in language instruction, but also in various other practices. Classes were numbered the German way, from *Klasse 6*, the youngest, to *Klasse 1*, the oldest. There was instruction on Saturday morning, as in Germany, but also two hours of American style afternoon instruction four days a week, interrupted by a two-hour lunch break that may be reflective of a Hispanic siesta.⁴² The pedagogical model for the German-English School was not the Latin curriculum of the traditional German *Gymnasium*, but rather the *Realschule*, a nineteenth-century reform model designed to fit pupils more for the real world with an emphasis on science and modern languages. Like many of the German-American pioneers of progressive education, the San Antonio school's founders exhibited strong freethinking tendencies. The school charter explicitly excluded any religious training. Instead of the mere rote learning in vogue at the time, the school sought to impart the ability to ask questions and provide answers. The gymnastic Turner movement must have been held in high regard by the San Antonio school founders; physical education and swimming had a regular place on the curriculum, as did singing—subjects that most American schools only adopted around the turn of the century, often prompted by German lobbying. The course of study appears to have been quite rigorous. Though few pupils were above age 14, the school offered both algebra and geometry in addition to arithmetic.⁴³

The heart of the curriculum, indeed the rationale for the school's existence reflected even in its name, was its bilingual program. The school charter explicitly stipulated equal status (*Gleichberechtigung*) of the German and English languages. Reading, writing, grammar, spelling, and composition were taught in both languages, along with translation in both directions. After the first semester, the board decided to schedule what we might today call GSL classes (German-for-English-speakers) running parallel with the German instructions for children who were native speakers. Teachers rotated from class to class in a system of "*Wechselunterricht*" for maximum utilization of their skills, much as they did in other bilingual programs. One teacher would instruct two classes in all their English-language subjects; another would handle all German-language subjects for both, handing off to each other halfway through the class day. In today's terms, San Antonio had a program of two-way immersion.⁴⁴

Originally, six hours per week were devoted to each language, but it quickly became apparent that this was proving ineffective, so the time devoted to German was upped to between nine and twelve hours per week, or about one-third of total school time. To accommodate the additional language hours, two hours were cut from history or natural history.⁴⁵ It is obvious from the languages used in the 1881 exams that German was truly a medium of instruction rather than just a subject; the number of courses and levels offered in each language was almost exactly at parity. With such a high quality of instruction, American-born children sometimes had a better command of written German than their immigrant parents. For example, the children of Pioneer Flour Mills founder C. H. Guenther wrote perfect German, whereas their mother, who had immigrated at age 10, was rather shaky in her written German because her educational opportunities in early Fredericksburg had been limited by having to dodge Indians on the way to school.⁴⁶

In several respects, the German-English school was not just bicultural; it was truly multicultural both in its program and in its student population. One of the expressed principles of the school was fully equal rights and mutual respect for all nationalities (of which there were many). While the two languages in its name enjoyed equal and prominent places in the school curriculum, the German-English School was one of the few of its kind in nineteenth-century America that also taught the Spanish language.⁴⁷

But the multicultural aspect does not stop with Spanish instruction. Some of the original record books and pupil rolls of the school from the 1870s and 1880s have survived. These records, particularly when linked to the 1880 census, illuminate beyond a doubt the multicultural character of the German-English School.⁴⁸ A tally by school officials in 1880 reveals a share of "Non-Germans" close to one-fifth of all pupils, just what it had been in 1859. It is unclear exactly which students are included in this designation, but it obviously refers to mother tongue rather than land of birth. By 1880, only two of the roughly 200 pupils were actually born in Germany. By contrast, eight were born in Mexico, though several of them had German parents. Nearly four-fifths of the pupils had fathers with origins in Germany or other Germanophone areas of Europe. But a dozen pupils had roots in other European countries including France, Britain, Ireland, Holland, Belgium, and Hungary. At least three students were of Mexican and one of Cuban parentage, while 25 pupils, nearly one seventh of the total, had American-born fathers from Texas and seven other states.

Two girls with incongruous first and last names indicate why pupil lists alone are inadequate to obtain an ethnic characterization of the school, and must be supplemented by census linkage. Paulita Wulff had a Hispanic sounding first and a Germanic last name; with Alwina Diaz it was vice versa. It turns out that Paulita's father was the Hamburg born hardware merchant A. J. Wulff, who may have been Jewish. His wife was born in Texas of a Mexican father, and judging by the birthplaces of their seven children, they had migrated frequently between the three countries. Alwina Diaz also came by her mixed name honestly: her father was Cuban, her mother Texan of German parentage. There were other pupils of mixed European nationalities as well. To judge from the names and evidence in cemetery records, there were at least

a half-dozen German Jewish families among the school's constituents. Prussian immigrant Louis Zork, the patriarch of the San Antonio Jewish community, not only sent his son to the German-English School, but was also one of its benefactors.⁴⁹ Pupils with Hispanic names proved to be hard to trace back to the census due to common last names, but at least a couple of the students who were located proved to be of unmixed Mexican origins. Moreover, there were at least eight genuinely Anglo-American families sending children to the German-English school.

Among the questions that can be addressed with pupil lists linked to census data, perhaps the most interesting are the social origins of bilingual pupils, and the light which this throws upon parental motivation in sending children to such schools. Nowadays one often meets the assumption that bilingual programs are favored by the socially disadvantaged who are unable to operate fully in the culture and language of the host society. The evidence from the German-English school suggests that ethnic pride and cultural preservation was strongest within the upper ranks of ethnic society. Obviously one factor that came into play here was the cost of school fees, which ranged from \$2 to \$3 per month and child depending on class level. True, there were a few free pupils who attended tuition free, though only about 4 percent of the total. There was also a public subsidy paid on a per-pupil basis, but if it was similar to that in Austin, it amounted to only one-tenth of tuition revenues.⁵⁰

The 1880 census employs no measures of wealth, but one useful indicator is the presence of servants in a household. Fully one third of German-English school pupils came from families of the servant keeping class. This becomes even clearer when one compares the occupational breakdown of parents of German-English school pupils with citywide sample of parents whose children in the same age group were attending other schools. The constituency of the German-English School was clearly the cream of San Antonio society, regardless of ethnic group. The great bulk of pupils' parents made their living with their head rather than their hands. The white collar category accounted for more than two-thirds of the Germans, over 70 percent of the American parents, and all the Hispanic and Other European parents. The contrasts with parents of pupils in other schools are striking. Over half of all American parents were blue collar, but of those who sent their children to learn German, 70 percent were professionals, proprietors, merchants or clerks, among them a U.S. Army officer. Even of those Mexicans who could afford to send their kids to other school, seven-eighths were unskilled laborers, but three of four who sent their children to the German school were professionals and merchants, including the Mexican consul. The Germans showed perhaps the least contrast between the two groups of parents, but even here it was substantial.

The school rolls constitute a veritable "Who's Who" of San Antonio Germans, and not only them. Five other students were prominent enough to rate personal entries in the *New Handbook of Texas*: the operatic tenor Rafaelo Diaz, civic leaders Frederick Terrell and James Milton Vance, lawyer and public servant Robert B. Green, and his brother, military officer John Fulton Green. The prominent German names are of course much more numerous, including the State Land Commissioner, a doctor who was on the city board of health, the City Fire Chief, city market master, the editors of

two German newspapers, and merchants too numerous to mention, dealing in items ranging from crockery to dry goods to hardware to stationery to wholesale groceries. This provides additional evidence of Germans who were clearly part of the economic mainstream but who nevertheless remained in a cultural backwater—more by choice than by necessity, at least for the time being.

By 1890, the German-English School was experiencing declining enrollments and financial difficulties, and was forced to mortgage its property. It ceased operations in 1897, its difficulties probably exacerbated by a major national depression of the previous four years. In 1903 the school property was sold to the city and used as public schools until 1968 when the building came to house the administrative office of HemisFair Worlds Fair. Although this school did not last as long as the public bilingual programs in some northern cities, probably because San Antonio immigration slacked off sooner, it still shows an impressive degree of support for bilingual education both inside and outside the German-language community, and it demonstrates the fact that support for foreign language education often comes from the top ranks of ethnic society.

In more homogeneous German settlements, especially in rural areas and smaller towns, German language and education persisted well into the twentieth century. In New Braunfels, 100 percent of all grade school pupils received German instruction in 1900, two-thirds of them in public rather than parochial schools. In fact, the New Braunfels city council had only switched to English in 1890. Even after the anti-foreign and anti-German hysteria of World War I, Texas law was amended in 1933 to allow foreign language instruction in public schools above the second grade, something that had already been introduced extralegally in Guadalupe County and Galveston beforehand.⁵¹

The preservation of language and culture went beyond the schools; a good example being the Cat Spring Agricultural Society, the oldest agricultural society in Texas, founded in 1856 with Trenckmann's father as its first president. Not surprisingly, the younger Trenckmann was a much sought after orator at the Society's festivities; in fact, he got top billing ahead of Governor O. B. Colquitt when he addressed its 60th Anniversary Fest in the summer of 1916. The minutes of the Society provide abundant evidence that well into the twentieth century, Austin County Germans were in many respects a culture and a society set apart. Despite the conflict in Europe that was threatening to spill over across the Atlantic, Trenckmann gave his 1916 talk in German. America's entry into the war did not prevent the Society's renewal of its subscription to *Der Deutsche Farmer* in January 1918, although there is no mention of a German speaker at that summer's Anniversary Fest.⁵²

This was also the era in which the United States embarked upon the "noble experiment" of Prohibition, to the dismay of many dyed-in-the-wool beer drinkers. But although the Cat Springs Germans had voted down the 1887 state prohibition referendum by a resounding 238-0, they remained remarkably unperturbed by the developments of the twenties. The minutes of 1922 record preparations for that summer's Anniversary Fest: "It was decided . . . to order 40 gallons of ice cream, three gallons of orangeade, five kegs of beer. . . . The sheriff and constable will be invited."

In fact, from 1921 to 1926, the minutes record orders for no less than 31 kegs of beer for the society's various balls and festivities. After 1926, beer purchases no longer show up explicitly in the minutes, but that does not necessarily indicate a switch to lemonade. In 1928 and again in 1929 the records do mention the borrowing or purchase of beer glasses, and every festivity had its bar committee. The sheriff seems to have been a particular favorite of the society; the minutes record at least seven balls or festivities to which he was explicitly invited, including the following entry from 1923: "Decided to invite Sheriff Remmert to New Years Eve Ball and present him with a box of cigars." As the name suggests, Remmert was himself a Texas German (as was his constable Julius Goebel) and no doubt saw eye-to-eye with his German neighbors on issues of alcohol. He held office from 1920 to 1932, elected to no less than five biennial terms of office. Of course, one reason the society could be so bold about recording its extralegal activities was that its minutes were still kept in the German language. Although these records contained several negative comments about modern dances, the Cat Spring Germans did not reject the modern world out of hand; in 1930 they decided to get electric lights for their Christmas tree. But as late as their 80th Anniversary Fest in 1936 there is mention of inviting a German speaker along with an English one, and it was not until April 14, 1942, that the society decided, incidentally by unanimous vote, to keep all further minutes in English.⁵³

Although most German speakers also had a good command of English by that time, German was by no means dying out in Texas. The 1940 census records more than 70,000 Texans with German mother tongue who were American born of native parentage, i.e., they had no immigrant ancestors closer than their grandparents. Texas had the highest percentage such "old-stock" German speakers of any state in the union; in fact, it was the only state where they outnumbered second generation speakers. In 1960, a New Braunfels radio station still offered fifteen hours of German-language broadcasts weekly, also leading the nation in this category.⁵⁴

Surprisingly, it appears as if the number of German speakers beyond the second generation doubled between 1940 and 1970, from 70,000 to 140,000, though in fact this increase reflects a slightly different phrasing of the census question, and perhaps also a growing rehabilitation of Germany, which most Americans now associated more with Volkswagens than with Nazis. Especially given the early date of its German settlements, the number of German speakers in Texas is all the more impressive. In 1970, Fredericksburg and its surrounding county still had a German speaking majority of 57 percent a century and a quarter after its founding. It was clearly in a category by itself, but there was no stringent east-west divide in the state. In fact, there were only nine Texas counties where nobody claimed German mother tongue, but there were thirteen all told where 15 percent or more of the population did. Colorado, De Witt, Guadalupe, Lavaca, and Mason counties all ranged between 15 and 20 percent. There were six counties in the 20 to 30 percent range: Fayette (La Grange), Washington (Brenham), Kendall (Boerne, Comfort), Comal (New Braunfels), Blanco (Johnson City), and Trenckmann's home of Austin County. But second in line statewide was Lee County, with 35 percent claiming German mother tongue, a great historical irony when one knows its population makeup. It is home to a heavy concentration of Sorbs

(or what the Germans call Wends) from a Slavic language island in eastern Germany, who emigrated in 1855 partially to guard their Lutheran faith, but also to escape the pressures of Germanization. But they became so Germanized in Texas that into the twenty-first century the Lutheran churches of Giddings and nearby Serbin offer German services once a month. One really cannot fault the Sorbs, though; they were just assimilating to the dominant culture in their area and their denomination.⁵⁵ On this issue of which culture to assimilate to, a University of Houston graduate student working on her M.A. thesis in 1994 interviewed a black man who grew up in Trenckmann's home county in the 1930s and spoke fluent German. And he was not unique; there were 865 other old-stock black Texas in 1970 who claimed a German mother tongue.⁵⁶

From my perspective on German-Americans across the United States, Texas Germans stand out as the group that—except for religious separatists such as the Amish—has preserved the German language the longest, for four or five generations in some instances. One factor promoting this is the geographic isolation of a town such as Fredericksburg, but other more accessible locations are not far behind. In my opinion, the consciousness of being a people set apart, forged in the fire of the Civil War and reinforced by the experiences of World War I and state and national Prohibition, contributed much to the self-identity and cultural preservation of Texas Germans.

When visiting the state historical site in Stonewall at the edge of the LBJ ranch, a Texas-German farmstead still run in the style of 1900, I met a woman on the staff of the post World War II generation who spoke fluent German, not just any German, but with the regional accent of Hesse and Nassau where many of the *Adelsverein* leaders and colonists had originated. Talking with her, I learned that she had never taken the language in school, simply learned it in the family growing up. People such as her are getting more rare; most of them were born before the 1940s, although I have met a couple who date from the 1950s. Texas Germans are certainly entering what one sociologist calls the "twilight of ethnicity." One of these days the only native speakers of German will be people like my wife and children—recent immigrants or their Texas-born offspring. Nevertheless, it is remarkable the degree to which Texas Germans have preserved their ancestral language, their cultural identity, and to a certain extent their political distinctiveness, across the generations, even while fitting quite comfortably into the economic structures of the mainstream.

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Notes

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¹ "Trenckmann, William Andreas." *The Handbook of Texas Online* <http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/> [Accessed March 19, 2003]. Cat Spring Agricultural Society, *The Cat Spring Story* (San Antonio: Lone Star Print. Co. [1956]), 84-86. Henry C. Dethloff, *A Centennial History of Texas A & M*

University, 1876-1976 (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1975), 1:231-32. Oral information on Hartmann is confirmed by Manuscript Census reports of 1870: Series: M593, Roll: 1574, p. 348; and 1910: Series: T624, Roll: 1598, p. 214.

² Lehmann's letters have been published in their original German in Wolfgang Helbich and Walter D. Kamphoefner, eds., *Deutsche im Amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg: Briefe von Front und Farm, 1861-1865* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2002), 492-517, here 314-17. The material below is largely based on Walter D. Kamphoefner, "New Perspectives on Texas Germans and the Confederacy," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 102 (1999): 441-55, which provides additional information.

³ Terry Jordan, *German Seed in Texas Soil* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966). Jordan's later work is simply a more systematic restatement of his earlier interpretations without any additional evidence; see "Germans and Blacks in Texas," in Randall Miller, ed., *States of Progress: Germans and Blacks in America over 300 Years* (Philadelphia: German Society of Pennsylvania, 1989), 89-97, quote on p. 96. The beginnings of a reinterpretation were already signaled by Rudolph L. Biese, *The History of the German Settlements in Texas, 1831-1861* (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones, 1930). See also Biese, "German Attitudes toward the Civil War," which was apparently reprinted posthumously and unrevised in *New Handbook of Texas* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1996), 3:138-39.

⁴ Jordan, *German Seed*, 106-11, 180-85; Jordan, "Germans and Blacks," 89-97. Cornelia Küffner, "Texas-Germans' Attitudes Toward Slavery: Biedermeier Sentiments and Class Consciousness in Austin, Colorado and Fayette Counties" (M.A. thesis, University of Houston, 1994), pp. 17-20, 46-68, 110-14, 123-26; the interpretations of Küffner's data are largely my own, based on further calculations from her table 2 to more clearly reveal German-Anglo contrasts. Population makeup was determined from the Heritage Quest CD and online indexes to the 1870 Manuscript Census. On Texas landholdings see Jordan, *German Seed*, 115-17; a representative statewide 1860 IPUMS Manuscript Census sample similarly shows that Germans were more likely than native Texans to own real estate, though a higher proportion of natives owned personal property, of which slaves were an important component. Of all German males aged 21 and older, 53 percent reported real estate holdings, compared to 50 percent of the natives. On the sample see Steven Ruggles and Matthew Sobek et al., *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 3.0* (Minneapolis: Historical Census Projects, University of Minnesota, 2003); documentation at <http://www.ipums.org/usa/index.html>.

⁵ Walter L. Buenger, *Secession and the Union in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984), 26-33, 91-94.

⁶ Buenger, *Secession and the Union*, 67, 151, 174-75.

⁷ Source: Lawrence P. Knight, "Becoming a City and Becoming American: San Antonio, Texas, 1848-1861," (Ph.D. dissertation, Texas A&M University, 1997), 189-200, 267-81. The rural areas of the county had a slightly lower foreign-born percentage than the city.

⁸ La Grange [TX] *State Rights Democrat*, 7, 21 March 1861. According to a report of 13 November 1863 in the *Neu Braunfelser Zeitung*, Grassmeyer was arrested as a traitor and taken to Houston, along with four Fayette County Anglos.

⁹ *Belleville Countryman*, 27 February, 17 March 1861. The issue of 16 January 1861 shows that New Ulm, which voted 36-30 for secession in February, had gone 52-1 against in a preliminary election on 22 December 1860 to elect state delegates, in which German slaveholder and secessionist Knolle came in last among six candidates, further evidence of Anglo suspicions. Despite the name, Shelby's was a largely German settlement in the extreme northwest corner of Austin County; Biese, *History*, 52-53.

¹⁰ Walter L. Buenger, "Secession and the Texas German Community: Editor Lindheimer vs. Editor Flake," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 82 (1979): 395-96; Selma Metzenthin-Raunick, "One Hundred Years *Neu Braunfelser Zeitung*," *American-German Review* 19 (1953): 15-16; Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732-1955* (Munich, 1965), 628.

¹¹ Buenger, *Secession and the Union*, 12, 164.

¹² Arndt/Olson, *German Language Press*, 628; Metzenthin-Raunick, "One Hundred Years," 15-16. *Neu Braunfelser Zeitung* [hereinafter NBZ], 6 June, 3 July 1863 and passim.

¹³ Similar patterns show up in a statewide quantitative analysis of the secession referendum: Robin E. Baker and Dale Baum, "The Texas Voter and the Crisis of the Union, 1859-1862," *Journal of Southern History* 53 (1987): 395-420, here esp. table 10.

¹⁴ James Martin, *Texas Divided: Loyalty and Dissent in the Lone Star State, 1856-1874* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1990), 26, 76-77.

¹⁵ See for example Buenger, *Secession and the Union*, 83.

¹⁶ Muster rolls of Voigt's, Wickland's, and Nathusius' companies, Waul's Legion, Texas State Archives. The complete muster roll of Capt. J. W. McDade's Austin Co. company was published by the *Belleville Countryman*, 8 March 1862. Letter of Robert Voigt, 10 Feb. 63, Robert H. Voigt Family Papers, Eugene C. Barker Texas History Center, University of Texas, Austin; cited hereafter as BTHC. See also letters of 18 Dec. 1862, 31 Mar. 1863. Additional soldier testimony is presented in Walter D. Kamphoefner, "Texas Germans and Civil War Issues: The Evidence from Immigrant Letters," *German-Texan Heritage Society Journal* 13 (1991): 16-23. Voigt's and various other Texas German Civil War letters have been published in Helbich/Kamphoefner, *Deutsche im Amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg*, 432-517.

¹⁷ Carl Bauer Letters [translations], 1862-64, Texas State Archives, Austin.

¹⁸ Jordan, "Germans and Blacks," 92; Claude Elliott, "Union Sentiment in Texas, 1861-1865," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 50 (1947): 472-74. Contemporary accounts are given in the *Belleville Countryman*, 10 January, 28 March 1863; NBZ, 2 January, 13 March 1863.

¹⁹ Richard N. Current, *Lincoln's Loyalists: Union Soldiers from the Confederacy* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992), 136-37. The most complete compilation of accounts of the Battle of Nueces is contained in Guido E. Ransleben, *A Hundred Years of Comfort in Texas: A Centennial History* (San Antonio: Naylor, 1954), 79-126.

²⁰ The importance of viewing the period from 1846 through 1876 as a whole, rather than as three separate eras, is emphasized by Randolph B. Campbell, "Statehood, Civil War, and Reconstruction, 1846-1876," in *Texas Through Time: Evolving Interpretations*, ed. Walter L. Buenger and Robert A. Calvert (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1991), 165-66.

²¹ Chesley A. Mosman, *The Rough Side of War* (Garden City: Basin Publishing Co., 1987), 399-401. See also Oscar Haas, *History of New Braunfels and Comal County, Texas, 1844-1946* (Austin: Steck, 1968), 196-7. NBZ, 14 July 1865; also reporting a piece from the San Antonio News of 7 July. The fact that even San Antonio, with its considerable Unionist element, did not risk an official celebration shows how unusual the New Braunfels festivities were. In Vicksburg, admittedly somewhat of a special case, the first time the Fourth of July was celebrated after the Civil War was 1942.

²² Cat Spring Agricultural Society, *A Century of Agricultural Progress, 1856-1956* (Cat Spring, 1956), 31-32.

²³ Biesele, *The History of the German Settlements*, 155.

²⁴ *House Journal of the 12th Legislature of the State of Texas, First Session* (Austin, 1870), 803.

²⁵ Randolph B. Campbell, *Grass-Roots Reconstruction in Texas, 1865-1880* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997), 27-62, 220, 222, 229.

²⁶ Letters of 22 June and 22 August 1888, Lehmann Collection, BTHC.

²⁷ Based on data originally compiled by the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research [ICPSR], Ann Arbor, and integrated into a nationwide, county-level mapping program in the *Great American History Machine* CD-Rom (University of Maryland, 1995).

²⁸ *New Handbook of Texas* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1996), 6:1095; U.S. Congress, *Official Congressional Directory* (Washington, GPO), 321-51 and passim. First elected to the 67th Congress, Wurzbach apparently lost his seat for the 71st but successfully contested the election. He was again elected to the 72d, and died in office 6 November 1931.

²⁹ *New Braunfels Zeitung*, 21 August 1952; Gene B. Preuss, "Within these Walls: The African American School and Community in Lubbock and New Braunfels, Texas," paper presented at the Texas State Historical Association meeting, Austin, 6-8 March 1997, p. 3; D.C. Heath, *U.S. History Transparency Set* (Lexington, MA, 1996), vol. 2, Table 43.

³⁰ Edgar E. Robinson, *The Presidential Vote, 1896-1932* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1947), 117; Richard M. Scammon, ed., *Americans at the Polls, 1920-64* (New York: Arno Press, 1976), 437-52.

³¹ Based on a 1:100 random sample of the state population provided by the IPUMS. These figures exclude blacks but do include Tejanos if they and their parents were native born. But their share is quite small; among all given names, the first Hispanic name is in place twelve, and the next is in 30th place, and together they make up only 1% of all names.

³² Indexes of occupational dissimilarity between natives of the U.S. and natives of Germany in Texas were calculated from data published in *Ninth Census, Vol. I: The Statistics of the Population of the United States, 1870*, ed. Francis A. Walker, Superintendent of the Census, (Washington, DC, 1872), 758; United States Census Office, *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census, 1880, Vol. I: Population*

(Washington, DC, 1883), 847. This comparison is slightly problematic in that the native figure also includes blacks and Tejanos born in the U.S. But if one throws out the three occupations with presumably the heaviest minority representation—farm laborers, unspecified laborers, and domestics—the German dissimilarity index sinks ever lower, only 22 in 1880. Such a low level of difference, social scientists tell us, could easily be accounted for by chance; anything below 30 is considered minimal.

³³ "Shiner, TX."; "Collin Street Bakery, Corsicana," The Handbook of Texas Online. <<http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/>> [accessed March 17, 2003].

³⁴ Arndt/Olson, *German Language Press*, 614-35.

³⁵ Colorado County Historical Commission, *Colorado County Chronicles* (Austin, 1986), 2:502.

³⁶ "Depelchin, Kezia Payne." The Handbook of Texas Online <http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/> [accessed March 12, 2003].

³⁷ Carlos Kevin Blanton, *The Strange Career of Bilingual Education in Texas*, (College Station, 2003, forthcoming), chap. 2. Heinz Kloss, *The American Bilingual Tradition*, 2d ed. (McHenry, IL, 1998), 228. The size of the 1886 German population was estimated from figures in United States Census Office, *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census, 1880, Vol. I: Population* (Washington, DC, 1883), 493; United States Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890, Part I: Population* (Washington, DC, 1892), 601.

³⁸ "German Free School Association of Austin"; "Schuetze, Julius." The Handbook of Texas Online. <http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/> [accessed March 21, 2003]. Julius Schuetze, "My Experiences in Texas," trans. Winifred Schuetze Cade, *German Texas Heritage Society Journal* 17 (1995): 120. [Austin] Southern Intelligencer, 7 July 1865, p. 3.

³⁹ Cecilia Steinfeldt, *San Antonio Was* (San Antonio Museum Association, 1978), 222. *The American Cyclopaedia* (1873-1876), s.v. San Antonio. All 1880 population figures are based on a 10% random cluster sample of the Manuscript Census of the city, using the sampling procedures of the IPUMS; see Steven Ruggles, "Sample Design and Sampling Errors," *Historical Methods* 28 (1995): 40-41, 44.

⁴⁰ Arndt/Olson, *German Language Press*, 629-33.

⁴¹ "German-English School." The Handbook of Texas Online. <http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/> [accessed 21 March 2003]. Christa Carvajal and Annelise M. Duncan, "The German-English School in San Antonio: Transplanting German Humanistic Education to the Texas Frontier," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 16 (1981): 89-102; Peter Bodo Gawenda, "The Use of the German Language in the Schools of San Antonio," (Ed.D. thesis, University of Houston, 1986), 407-9.

⁴² Carvajal/Duncan, "The German-English School," 92-93; Gawenda, "Use of German," 408.

⁴³ Gawenda, "Use of German," 208-10, 407. Cf. Robin L. Chambers, "Chicago's Turners: Inspired Leadership in the Promotion of Public Physical Education, 1860-90," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 24 (1989): 105-14.

⁴⁴ Gawenda, "Use of German," 210, 407.

⁴⁵ Gawenda, "Use of German," 211-12, 407.

⁴⁶ This is based on observations made in transcribing and translating the material that went into *An Immigrant Miller Picks Texas: The Letters of Carl Hilmar Guenther* (San Antonio: Maverick Publishing Co., 2001), 77-123, passim.

⁴⁷ Gawenda, "Use of German," 408.

⁴⁸ San Antonio German English School, Record Books, vol. 1, in Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin. Linkage with the manuscript census was facilitated by the fact that families often had more than one child enrolled in the school, and class level provides an approximate age.

⁴⁹ Frances R. Kallison, "100 Years of Jewry in San Antonio," (M.A. Thesis, Trinity University, 1977), 11-13.

⁵⁰ According to "German Free School Association of Austin," tuition paying pupils to that school were subsidized at a rate of 1.5 cents per day or approximately 30 cents per month.

⁵¹ Kloss, *American Bilingual Tradition*, 124, 228.

⁵² Cat Spring Agricultural Society, *Century of Progress*, 255, 278, 281, 284, and passim.

⁵³ Sean Kelley, "Plantation Frontiers: Race, Ethnicity, and Family along the Brazos River of Texas, 1821-1886," Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2000, 391. Cat Spring Agricultural Society, *Century of Progress*, 293-96, 298-99, 304 7, 315, 318, 322, 328, 333, 343, 378, and passim. On Remmert's terms of office see Texas State Library, Archives Division, *Election Registers, 1838-1972*, microform, reels 19-21. Remmert's German parentage is documented in his 1910 Manuscript Census entry, National Archives

Microfilm Series: T624, Roll: 1528, Page: 268. His Cat Spring constable Julius Goebel is found in *ibid.*, 227.

⁵⁴ U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Series P 15, Nr. 10: Mother Tongues of the White Population* (Washington, DC 1943), 14-22. Kloss, *American Bilingual Tradition*, 221, 222.

⁵⁵ Calculated from data in U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 *Census of Population: General Social and Economic Characteristics*, vol. 45, table 119, Social Characteristics for Counties, 906 27. Exact county figures on percentage of population with German mother tongue are as follows: Gillespie, 57; Lee, 35; Fayette, 28; Washington, 26; Kendall, 24; Comal, 23; Austin, 22; Blanco, 20; Guadalupe, 18; Mason, 17; De Witt, 17; Lavaca, 15; and Colorado, 15. Gillespie County had an overwhelmingly white population, but if rates for other counties are calculated on the basis of white population only, 41 percent of Lee County whites and more than one third of those in Washington County claimed German as mother tongue. See also Kloss, *American Bilingual Tradition*, 222. All the counties mentioned above except for Blanco, Colorado, and Mason, were also home to German newspapers.

⁵⁶ Küffner, "Texas-Germans' Attitudes Toward Slavery," 8-9. U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 *Census of Population: General Social and Economic Characteristics*, table 49, p. 435; table 142, p. 1291. Column headings in the latter table are slightly misleading: "Other races" refers to those other than white and Negro; the latter figures are not shown separately but can be obtained by subtraction. Their sum of 1496 native born blacks with German mother tongue jibes with those of table 49, which does not distinguish the 630 second generation blacks, who may have been the offspring of American soldiers and their German wives, from the 866 native blacks of native parentage, who almost certainly were not.

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Monumentality: How Post-1871 Germans in the United States Expressed Their Ethnicity

This essay examines the ideological mindset that resulted from the German victory over the French at Sedan in September 1870.¹ It manifested itself first and foremost in Germany, then spilled like water from a broken dam into the German-Americans in the Midwest. Achieving a stunning military as well as personal victory over France's Emperor Napoleon III who was captured, General Helmut von Moltke in the field and Chancellor Otto von Bismarck in Berlin were propelled to hero status not just in Germany, but in German communities everywhere. The stunning success of the victory at Sedan in late 1870 and the founding of the German Empire in January 1871 caused Germans everywhere to exude a deeply felt pride in nationhood, exuberance for chauvinistic myths, fervor for Fatherland-based symbols, and jingoistic enthusiasm for mementos, monuments, mausoleums and megaliths. All of these in one way or another coupled arrogance to architecture.² Our focus in this essay is concentrated in but not restricted to, the Midwest, meaning the states of Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Missouri, and to a lesser extent Ohio and Indiana. In part this selection of states is representative because in each, the German born population in 1890 amounted to on average 50% of the foreign born in that state.³

Called Second Empire at home and abroad, the architecture of buildings in the United States are categorized nominally as belonging to the Victorian era, roughly 1860-1900. Sometimes the nomenclature includes "General Grant style," used during the Grant administration for public buildings. However, the historical context also pertains not so much to England under Victoria as to Second Empire in Germany which lasted from 1871-1918. However, the greatest personage behind the classification of "Second Empire" style is incorporated by the actual reign of Napoleon III (1852-70). It was this nephew of the first Napoleon who undertook a major building campaign to transform Paris into a city of grand boulevards and monumental edifices. One of Napoleon III's efforts which gained currency in the American architectural world was his enlargement of the Louvre (1852-57), which reintroduced the Mansard roof, developed during the Renaissance in the 1600s by Francois Mansart. Following the Sedan debacle of 1870, though, it was the German Second Empire, characterized in Europe as the *Gründerjahre* style, that reinforced the bombastic and pompous "Second Empire" style which took hold in the United States. In general terms, the architectural

style gained a foothold first in the Fatherland and only after about 1885 in the American Midwest.

Expatriates, refugees, reformers, escapees—all immigrants of one strain or another—to the end of their days cling to the memories of lost fatherlands. Rejected by, and no doubt angry at, his native country, the emigré to a new land departs either willingly or is expelled against his wishes for activities considered detrimental to the politics, culture or even the health of a nationalistic government. Both of these push factors in Germany constituted the situation resulting from the failed harvests and the potato diseases that caused the huge numbers of German emigrant departures in the 1840s. Their numbers and the Revolutions of 1848 carried the mass emigration into the early 1850s.⁴ So enormous was the influx of Germans by 1855 that a wave of Nativism swept the United States in the face of "too large an influx," sometimes exacerbated by cartoons showing European potentates sweeping out the "dirt" from under their feet.⁵ However, as the years unfold, feelings of the forlorn and the abandoned evolve into recollections that grow sweeter. Time gently draws a veil of oblivion over the gnawing hardships, the Nativist loathing and the pain that once upon a time drove the emigrant abroad. In a manner of speaking, the immigrant begins as a nationality orphan who gradually acquires a new birthright. In place of loyalty to his father and mother, he replicates them in his so-called new bride, an imagery used by many a German-American author to explain the new code of patriotism.

Once considered a backwater among the nations of Europe, Germany, following her victory over the French in 1870, felt vindicated. The victory of Prussia over France and the subsequent January 1871 proclamation of the Second Empire under the central leadership of Otto von Bismarck quickly produced both an impressive, unified German nation and a smoothly industrializing modern state. Germans everywhere no longer apologized for being German. They now found it possible to exude a deeply felt pride in nationhood, arrogance about their architecture, exuberance for myths, enthusiasm for symbols and mementos from the past that reminded them of greatness. Wagner turned to the medieval epic for his operas. German-Americans rediscovered the poets, Goethe and Schiller, both for street nomenclature and parks as well as monuments and statues that would give them a new sense of legitimacy in the respectable, if Germanic, New World.

In the United States, meanwhile, the 1890 census included among its 92 million absolute population some 9.2 million foreign born, one third of which tally was German born, and who at the time comprised 5.5% of the total U. S. population.⁶ But this statistic pales in the face of the German-language mother tongue speakers living in the United States in 1890.⁷ In that year nearly 12 million Americans reported mother tongue usage of German which amounts to 13 percent of the population, a figure that, on a percentage basis, is much higher in the Midwest states of the nation. In this region there were public and parochial schools as well as even public schools teaching exclusively or largely in German as the language of instruction.⁸

Feelings of national inferiority embedded in oft-repeated phrases like *Kleinstaaterei* [the curse of tiny little duchies and disjointed principalities] had, until 1871, more or less made Germans in America ashamed of their origins. The cultural-political

superiority of Great Britain, France, along with the colonial empires of Holland, Portugal and Spain were the objects of German-American jealousy. Then suddenly after 1871 there was plenty about which Germans in America could be proud.⁹ In the words of Henry Villard, the 1848er journalist, adviser to Lincoln and railroad builder, Americans of German descent ought to accept Bismarck in spite of his faults as "the trenchant instrument of Providence which hewed a pathway to national unity, and made their fatherland more respected abroad than it had been since the reign of Charles V."¹⁰

In the United States suddenly it became fashionable for the Germans to perpetuate, disseminate and exhibit their culture. For example, businesses suddenly began making appeals to the large German-speaking market. German-language newspaper publishers between 1872 and 1892 nearly doubled—to over 620 with 84 dailies in circulation: Philadelphia had six German dailies, New York five, Milwaukee, Cincinnati and St. Louis four each.¹¹

In German-American architecture prior to the 1871 terminus, there was little outright imitation of the fatherland. Occasional and beautiful examples of *Fachwerkbau* in Wisconsin,¹² the forebay Pennsylvania Dutch barns erected in the Swiss style, and efforts at establishing agricultural villages by immigrant Mennonites in Kansas were not very successful. Early on, the Germans showed an affection for masonry construction and in a few regions demonstrated their skills with limestone, seam-faced granite,¹³ and everywhere an inordinate affinity for brick.¹⁴ A drive through the Midwest countryside reveals the overlap of German settlers with rural-based brick construction. This pattern, however, is not easily pinned to a specific era or to construction that coordinates positively with the architectural monuments that gained sway during the German Second Empire. A visual German had to await the achievements of the German Second Empire.

This eruption of monumentality and bombast is best observed in the palatial, almost fortress style of the German breweries in America that were erected following the 1871 victory.¹⁵ Whereas German-American architecture once imitated renaissance palaces and classical temples in tandem with classical architects like Karl Friedrich Schinkel in Berlin, Leo von Klenze in Kassel, Munich and with his Walhalla at Regensburg [devised in 1807 and completed in 1842] as well as Gottfried Semper in Dresden, following 1871 there was near total reorientation to the Gothic and away from the classical. German taste in architecture during the Second Empire returned to the great mystic structures of the Middle Ages, resulting in an imitation that rivals the instincts of Ludwig II of Bavaria (1842-86), himself at least in part the product of the new German "greatness" of unification. His grandfather, Ludwig I, gloried in his Grecian Walhalla, the Odeon, the Glyptothek and the Propyläen in Munich. With polar difference in taste, Ludwig II made Neuschwanstein his very own medieval castle, while his less medieval Herrenchiemsee, Linderhof and other palaces equally honored the musical medievalist par excellence, Richard Wagner (1813-83).

Perhaps the monument mentality of the Germans in their homeland is nowhere better exemplified than in the statue to *Hermann der Cherusker* erected in 1875 near Detmold in the *Teutoburger Wald*. First suggested by Graf Friedrich von Hesse-Homberg during the French Revolution, the legendary hero was not yet up to the task of igniting feelings of national unity among the Germans. Napoleon thus achieved not only French unity but European triumph that humiliated the Germans even as it planted its Cheruskian seeds of revenge. Thus Ernst von Bandel (1800-76) in his native Bavaria at the age of 19 suggested a Hermann statue to King Ludwig I of Bavaria. Turned down, Bandel left for Detmold at the edge of the *Teutoburger Wald* and stayed with a university acquaintance, then moved to Berlin in 1834 where he worked in the Gottfried von Schadow [*Quadriga* on the Brandenburg Gate] school until his death. However, in 1841 Bandel acquired space on the picturesque Gothenburg Heights in the Teutoburg Forest where on September 8, 1841, the corner stone was laid for his sculpture in honor of the legendary folk hero, the historic person and Latin soldier, Arminius.

Arminius is the name of the Cheruscan tribal leader who was born about 16 B.C. (died in 21 A.D.) to Segimer, a Cheruscan chieftain among the inhabitants of the north German plains between the Elbe and the Rhine. As a means to subdue the local tribes and eventually subjugate them under domination from Rome, the emperor offered Segimer's sons, Flavius and Arminius, Roman citizenship. In fact, already in 7-8 A.D. during the Pannonian uprisings of central Europe,¹⁶ Arminius was in charge of a unit friendly to Rome. But when the Roman governor in Germany, Quintilius Varus, introduced Roman law and Roman rates of taxation to be paid by the Germanic tribesmen, the Arminius-led Cherusicans turned against their foreign occupiers. Apparently, Arminius secretly built a coalition of his and other German tribes in order to resist, or perhaps even to mutiny against Rome. Then on September 9 in the year 9 A.D. his opportunity presented itself. When Varus left his forward summer camp on the Weser River heading for safer winter fortifications on the Rhine, the Cherusicans under Arminius overwhelmed the amassed Roman forces.¹⁷ Just where this singular Germanic triumph occurred has long been shrouded in mystery. During the course of twenty centuries some 700 sites for the battle have been suggested. Recently, however, archeologists have pinpointed it at the small town of Kalkriese which is situated twenty kilometers north of Osnabrück, and eight kilometers east of Bramsche. Numerous clues ranging from grand scale ramparts and trench fortifications to minute Roman *dinarii* coins with dates as late as August in the year 9 A. D. have clinched the arguments about the battle site to the satisfaction of both archeologists and historians.¹⁸

A significant style of a national monument is the obelisk and the column, imported from ancient Egypt and Rome. Paris has its share, so does London—and Berlin, with the *Friedensengel*, follows suit. When the Catholic popes rebuilt Rome in the sixteenth century they proved fond of pagan obelisks. Germans in the main got this tradition from this city, the ancient seat of the Holy Roman Empire. Following the Napoleonic

wars, however, King Ludwig I of Bavaria erected a bronze obelisk in Munich to commemorate the Bavarians who had fallen in the Russian campaign. The most important national monument in terms of German unity, however, was the Walhalla at Regensburg. It is a "pillar-carrying" structure similar to the temples of the Acropolis. For the early Greeks, a pillar [obelisk] represented the same thing as a statue and Johann J. Winckelmann, who offered Germany the categorical definition of classicism, insists that the same holds true for Germany. A pillar symbolizes Germanic manliness. Parenthetically, it should be mentioned that Klenze also created the famous Hermitage for the Czar in St. Petersburg.¹⁹

In the Walhalla, Klenze replicated the Propylaeum of Athens combining elements of the Pantheon in Rome. Conceived during the period of Napoleonic occupation, the Walhalla is the mythical place where Odin [sometimes called Wotan] resides. Here once the wounded or fallen heroes gathered in the "hall shining with gold" and here Odin chose his comrades, a hall symbolizing the field of battle. Sixty yards high and 136 long, the southern eaves of the Walhalla showcase the German states gathered around a victorious Germania. On the northern side is Hermann the Cheruscan fighting the battle of the *Teutoburger Wald* against the Roman legions. Inside the gods look down on statues of famous, patriotic Germans. Francophobian in the extreme, Walhalla is a sacred monument created to worship German strength through unity. In the mind of Ludwig I speaking at the cornerstone laying in 1830, Germans would unite as individuals into a national unity, just as the building had mystically united the individual stones into a constructed whole. The Walhalla was dedicated in 1842 on the anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig, which liberated the Germans from Napoleon in 1813.

Like Walhalla, the *Hermannsdenkmal* was a column [an obelisk] of sorts, a symbol of Germany's youthful force, a heroic right hand with sword uplifted, ready to do battle at any moment. Its image is that of a knight in armor, a barbaric conqueror of Roman legions. Whereas the figure is reminiscent of classical models, the massive pedestal is huge and monumental. With the concept of huge symbolic statues already established in the New World, it was likely, if not automatic, that Hermann the Cheruscan would one day also reach his destination in America. Beginning during the Napoleonic period at Philadelphia in 1810, German immigrants organized the first Hermann's Lodge of freemasons in the United States. Soon German settlers and their offspring organized a town settlement society to found what was intended in 1834 to be an exclusively German city at Hermann, Missouri. Of course, there were other "Hermann" towns, Hermannsburg, Virginia, founded in 1842 by the *Deutscher Bundes-, Cultur- und Gewerbeverein* on a 15,000 acre tract of land. Others followed, Herman in Grant County and Hermanntown, a suburb of Duluth, both in Minnesota. Although Germany never gave "Hermann" place name status, there are other Hermann sites in the United States, Hermann township in Sheboygan County, Wisconsin, others in Michigan, Nebraska and Pennsylvania, to mention a few.

The figure of Hermann which stands today at New Ulm, Minnesota, is surely a symbol whose existence arose out of the national German unification spirit of that time. Newly united and with its own Hermann dedicated by the attendance of no less than Kaiser Wilhelm I in 1875, Germans across the United States were proud of their origins. No longer would Know Nothings and anti-immigration, "Mayflower Americans" be able to subdue their pride in heritage. But as any ethnic group plagued by underdog status [due largely to language barriers and similar differences other than outright prejudice], the Germans in America after unification felt back home, sought unity in spirit and cultural heritage in the United States. The Hermann symbolism instinctively became one of their points of convergence. After all, Hermann had challenged and defeated mighty Rome. Perhaps, in New Ulm at least, the 1862 Uprising of the Native American Sioux and their defeat by the German citizens of the budding municipality stirred a deep, if subconscious, identification with that earlier tribesman at Kalkriese.

Although the New Ulm Hermann was clearly plagiarized from the Detmold exemplar, there are clear contrasts, not least of which is their relative size. The German press is quick to point out that while most things in America are larger than in Germany, the Hermann statue is the obvious exception.²⁰ In mythic depiction, Hermann is either seated on a white horse, sword upraised, poised on his white steed for action, or standing in golden tunic and helmet, a red mantle flung boldly over his right shoulder and arm. His black pants and shoes recall the liberal German black, red, gold—today's German flag. The smaller Hermann in New Ulm stands 102 feet above the ground looking eastward over the river valley and city of New Ulm. In Detmold the much larger statue facing west [France] perches above Gothenburg Heights nearly 60 feet higher than the American version and from its lofty pedestal offers a panorama of the *Teutoburger Wald* and the city of Detmold.

In like manner, the bases differ considerably. Bandel decided upon a circle, Berndt used an octagon. Bandel offered a gallery around the lower edge of the pedestal, not an outlook from the cupola as in New Ulm. For the gigantic figure of Hermann at Detmold, a cup-shaped crown covers ten heavy pillars radiating from a central inner structure, which render the monument its solid, massive support. Berndt's stature roosts above a visitor's pavilion in the dome, offering views from glass dormers, though access to the foot of the figure is also possible. In garments as well, the figures differ. Bandel lets the cloak drape much lower, exposing more flesh. Berndt swirls the mantle around Hermann's shoulders. Both figures bestride the fallen shields of the Roman generals, though in Detmold these include the Roman eagles, which Berndt carefully avoided because in America the eagle is an American national symbol. Finally, the New Ulm Hermann sports a full beard and appears much older than the primary Hermann could possibly have looked. Is the New World Hermann more the picture of a tested, proven but older German-American immigrant, and less the great warrior who turned back the Romans?

While German-Americans at the end of the nineteenth century had achieved most of their goals as immigrants—land, wealth, schools, churches and a refined, sophisticated culture—they needed monuments like Hermann to focus the spiritual capital they had amassed. Myths and symbols through which immigrants perceived their world and their nationality suddenly dominated German-American city skylines. If the Germans erected a monument to the ancient *Cherusker* who defeated the Romans, then German-Americans had to follow suit.²¹ Communal assembly rooms, athletic stadiums, Olympian beer halls, and German athletic Turner arenas all coalesced to symbolize the new unity the German-Americans felt in mystical identification with their now-unified and very nationalistic homeland. Monumental victory columns in German-American cities,²² albeit dedicated to the North's triumph over the evil of slavery, were thinkable only after the victory of Prussia in 1871. Completed in 1902, for example, the Indianapolis obelisk is titled "Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument" but in every respect it is a German facsimile. It replicates also the column with its winged angel at the Place de La Bastille in Paris. Designed by Berlin architect Bruno Schmitz (1865-1912), the Indianapolis column looks much like the many Schmitz monuments in the Fatherland, including those designed to promote German unity, the *Völkerschlacht Denkmal* at Leipzig, the *Kyffhäuser Denkmal* (1896) on the northeast ridge of this mountain range in Thüringen and the *Deutsches Eck Denkmal* with its figure of the Kaiser, which stood formerly at the confluence of the Mosel and the Rhine at Koblenz, since removed.²³

Not surprisingly, perhaps, German-American brewery architecture after 1871 evolved into a distinctive nineteenth-century style that may be titled "Victorian" but resembles more a medieval German renovation of the Germanic past. Although German brewers brought lager beer to the United States in the 1840s, early beer production efforts remained small and uninspiring. After 1870, however, this liquid symbol of a new world power in Europe created among the expanding German immigrant community in the United States, a demand not only for the "liquid bread" but for sophisticated, highly technological units for production. Not only did most breweries in the United States at the time fall into German hands, but these owners in turn hired German-born and trained specialists to brew their libations and to design their plants.²⁴ Among the more famous architects was German-born and trained architect and engineer, Fred Wolf, who was responsible for breweries far and wide, among them about a dozen in the Cincinnati area alone. Another major name is Edmund Jungenfeld who worked for 28 years as the architect for Anheuser-Busch in St. Louis.

But the monumentality of German-America was by no means confined to breweries. The strength of the German-American impact was in evidence also at the *Turnverein* [gymnastic societies] buildings throughout the Midwest German belt. German orphans' homes, theaters, German banks and similar financial institutions, along with of course German churches took on a monumental phase that reflected the *Gründerjahre* styles unfolding back in Germany. Both the Turner halls and the German

Teachers College in Milwaukee look as much like hybrid German castles as like late-nineteenth-century social facilities. The Deutsches Haus-Athenaeum on Michigan Street in Indianapolis reflects the typical classical style overlarded with German bombast. St. Paul's downtown became filled with German buildings: The St. Paul Turnverein on Franklin Street, the successor Turnverein at 596 Wabasha St., the German-American Bank at 94 East Third Street, the Germania Bank Building at 6 West 5th Street, the Deutsches Haus at 438 Rice Street [later "converted" to the American House]. Breweries also abounded, the Theodore Hamm Brewery with William Hamm Sr.'s residence at 671 Cable Avenue, not to mention the palatial castle of the Jacob Schmidt Brewery in downtown St. Paul and the beautiful castle which bore the name Leinenkugel Brewery in northeast Minneapolis. Less palatial are the Wolf's Brewery of Stillwater, Schroeder's in Otter Tail County, the Germania Brewery on Kegan's Lake in Minneapolis, the Henry Schuster Brewery in Rochester.

Equally representative of American brewery styles founded and owned by German-Americans are the classical breweries of Milwaukee.²⁵ Of great distinction for its structure and architecture is the Joseph Schlitz brewery with plans drawn by Fred Wolf and Louis Lehle and subsequent construction completed in the 1880s with ensuing embellishments. Here the designers relied much on the *Rundbogenstil* but expanded into a three-bay center flanked by tower-like pavilions with broad Romanesque arches of rough-faced stone. In the words of Susan Appel, "the architects retained a medieval feeling by capping the towers differently, purposely throwing off the main façade's near-symmetry. . . . They incorporated further visual variety in the bowed mansard roof crowned with an ornamental penthouse above the center section."²⁶ Valentin Blatz in the 1880s likewise expanded his Milwaukee brewery with glorified, emboldened architecture. Designed by H. Paul Schnetzky and remodeled later by the architect August Maritzen, the 1891 plant took on palatial, Romanesque arches with huge, three-arched, window columns capped by medieval towers at the corners and over the central façade. Soon its success propelled Blatz into constructing the largest brewing concern in America. Of comparable stature was the Philip Best Brewing Company whose structure was designed by Charles G. Hoffmann. Born in Prussia, Hoffmann with his wife Charlotte was an in-house architect who served only Best Brewing and did not come to the firm as an outside specialist who created for others as well.²⁷

The St. Louis citadel of Anheuser-Busch was designed and erected in 1891-92 by architectural associates headed by German-born E. Jungensfeld and Company. As at Pabst, the equipment was arranged to allow for gravity brewing with movement downward around a spectacular sky lighted courtyard or atrium. Always, company pride, prosperity and the German heritage were the intended public perception. Though less Romanesque, the Milwaukee Miller Brewing Company of 1886 bears similar features that strongly accentuate a Germanic emphasis. And they parallel many of the structures built by Germans in the 1890s, be it in Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Chicago, St. Louis, Davenport, St. Paul or La Crosse.

A similar case can be made for the German churches built by Catholic as well as Lutheran Germans in the period between 1870 and 1914. In Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Louis, St. Paul, Omaha, Des Moines, Madison, La Crosse and elsewhere, the German churches erected during the period from 1875 to 1910 are enormous in scale and representative of Germanic exuberance. Churches, notably Catholic churches in German communities, suddenly gained architectural prominence and a generous touch of bombast. Convents and monasteries too enjoyed outward evidence depicting German success. In cities like Oldenburg and St. Meinrad, Indiana, structures tower above their landscapes. Using cathedrals in Milwaukee, La Crosse, Dubuque, the Quad Cities, Chicago, at St. Nazianz, Wisconsin, and at St. John's in Minnesota, German Catholic architecture honored the Germans. A prominent architectural firm for structures in the upper Midwest was Anton Dohman of Milwaukee, a prominent ecclesiastical firm with strong roots in Germany. Churches at Hoven, South Dakota, at Strasburg and Richardton, North Dakota, in addition to Arcadia and Wausau, Wisconsin, are evidence of German sacred structures that exhibit ethnic prominence.²⁸ Further examples are the Trinity Cathedral at New Ulm and the parish church of Sleepy Eye in Minnesota. In St. Paul the architecture of the churches sometimes paralleled that of more Catholic Austria and even the more Baroque of Bohemia and Poland, but clearly the German sense of exhilaration was frequently in evidence.²⁹

Likewise during the 1870-1900 timeframe, the Germans in America successfully introduced not only the teaching of German in public and private schools, but also established their substantial German Teachers Seminary in Milwaukee and erected the *Rundbogenstil* structure to house it.³⁰ It was the supremacy of the German language in the schools that eventually led to tugs of war with the non-German element during the final years of the nineteenth century when such episodes as the Bennett Law in Wisconsin and the Edwards Law in Illinois created huge political controversy.³¹ During this same period, the Germans excelled in public display. Their houses, their societies, their blatant spurning of the Sunday closing traditions clearly reflected their new arrival on the world stage.³² Beer gardens became lavish show places, shooting parks thrived, Turner gymnastic societies abounded, cultural centers like the German Center, now the Athenaeum, sprang up in cities like Indianapolis. Designed by Bernhard Vonnegut, the construction as a German "temple" of culture was in the classical German renaissance style of the late nineteenth century.³³

During this period, too, there was considerable effort at naming cities and towns with German nomenclature. Among the more demonstrative of the German victory over France in 1870 is the appearance on maps in 1874 of the name Moltke, the victorious German general.³⁴ The most distinguished such naming is obviously the capital of North Dakota, Bismarck, which was altered from the original Edwinton to Bismarck during ceremonies for the completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad by its German-born entrepreneur, Henry Villard, in 1883.³⁵ All of this success led eventually to the founding of the German-American National Alliance which put the German clubs and societies of the United States onto a national platform. In many respects the Alliance has been criticized for representing not the Germans so much as the German-American brewers. Nevertheless, one of its achievements was to extend

the teaching of German in the schools and to give a public image of preeminence to German culture and to the German element in America.³⁶ Politicians often supported the enthusiasm of German-Americans basking in the light of German triumphs in trade, industrialization, and quality workmanship. In time, of course, pride and a sense of special worth by the German-Americans as the bearers of a special German culture in the United States gave rise to an aloofness and contempt for the culture of Germany. It was Germans, however, who often were the first to voice disdain for American society, which they found vulgar, shameful or embarrassing.

Missouri Congressman Richard Bartholdt, former editor of the *St. Louis Tribune*, speaking at the 1909 St. Louis celebration commemorating the Germanic tribal victory in the *Teutoburger Wald* said: "The Germanic spirit of liberty and independence . . . has united all American Germans in a common defense of the right of self-determination against fanatical attempts to abridge it and has culminated in the mighty organization, the German American Alliance, under whose auspices this festival is celebrated."³⁷ City after city with a substantial German immigrant community published volumes, often in the German language, to celebrate the achievements of the Germans as if they had made the most superior contribution of any group to the American ideal.³⁸ An equal effort in celebrating German worthiness is exhibited in the vast triumphs of the German-American press and in the German book trade as demonstrated by the writings of Robert Cazden.³⁹

As has been pointed out in scholarly articles, the editors of the German-language papers in the United States were seldom unanimous about anything except the Franco-German War of 1870. Having forgotten the suppression of the liberals during the revolutions of 1848, and no longer apprehensive about Prussian power to suppress ideas, German editors in America were excited to cheer the emerging Germany in Europe's heartland. Discussions about reform, liberal revolution, and republicanism quickly faded as subscribers and advertisers ushered in a new heyday for German publishing in the United States. While there were seven dailies in German in 1876, there were 374 weeklies. In 1890 the sum of such German publications had reached 727, rising to 800 in 1894—the summit year for German-language newspapers in the United States.⁴⁰

Oftentimes German enthusiasm took veiled forms. When Cass Gilbert was designing the new capitol for the city of St. Paul, he developed a close association with the prominent Germans of St. Paul. Among them were the leaders and administrators of the Germania Life Insurance Company as well as the Germania Bank, in the middle of them the brothers Ferdinand and Gustav Willius, prominent persons in charge of the German community in St. Paul. In the wake of the success story of the German Fatherland, the *Rundbogenstil* was prominently exemplified in the Germania Life Insurance Company which was constructed in 1888-89 on Minnesota Street at Fourth Street, as well in the Germania Bank Building at 6 West Fifth Street. However, the

designs for both of these structures were actually executed by American architects in St. Paul, Edward Bassford and J. Wlaler Stevens, respectively.⁴¹

Besides their solid financial anchorage with the banks and the money in the Minnesota Capital, Ferdinand Willius enjoyed prominence as the German Consul.⁴² It was banking and its money managers amid the Germans who spearheaded projects to symbolize the arrival of German *Kultur* like the Schiller monument erected and dedicated July 8, 1907, in Como Park.⁴³ However, German culture and its acceptance in the greater Minnesota community is perhaps nowhere as patently in evidence as in the new Minnesota State Capitol designed by Cass Gilbert.⁴⁴ In the elaborate Minnesota Capitol whose completion occurred in 1905 is the sophisticated *Rathskeller* restaurant on the walls of which are the many German folkloric statements inscribed elegantly in the German language. When Germany lost its battle of public relations in the United States following the 1915 sinking of the *Lusitania* and the subsequent declaration of war in April 1917, the wise sayings were buried under plaster by order of Governor J. A. A. Burnquist.⁴⁵

By 1930 Governor Chistiansen called for their restoration but the Women's Christian Temperance Union opposed it due to the drinking motifs of the mottoes.⁴⁶ In 1937 the *Rathskeller* was remodeled into a cafeteria, in 1940 it was repainted and in 1961 it was revamped for ventilation and sound conditioning. The wise sayings stayed buried thereafter because prohibitionists could not stand their liquor allusion.⁴⁷ While the Cass and Willius papers in the Minnesota Archives are silent about the reasons for inclusion of these phrases on the capitol's restaurant walls, there is ample evidence of letters to and from architect Cass and his staff linking him to prominent members of the German community of St. Paul. Thus there is no doubt why Cass included these bits of wisdom in the *Rathskeller*. Buried for three quarters of a century under paint and plaster, the original sayings were laid bare and painfully restored in the years leading up to 2000.⁴⁸

For the theme of this essay, the statements themselves may be of little importance. What they indicate is the prominent status Germans, German architecture, German culture and the German presence enjoyed in the larger American community of a large Midwest city. Although it is not strikingly obvious as a German architectural product, we should note in passing that the linkage of Cass to the German community is exemplified by another structure he created, the German Presbyterian Bethlehem Church⁴⁹ at 311 Ramsey Street in St. Paul, an effort that predates but may have led to Cass acquiring the bid to design the state capitol. In other words, his association with the German community of St. Paul preceded his acceptance by the statewide community. More striking for its lack of German *Gründerjahre* architecture is the St. Paul church of St. Agnes. Designed and supervised by the St. Paul German architect, George J. Ries, this design strongly exemplifies Austria, Bavaria and perhaps even Hungary. With its limestone walls, elaborate roof lines and onion-shaped tower located in the heart of "Frogtown" north of the capitol, the 1909 construction of St. Agnes Church is alien to the *Rundbogenstil* but representative of the eastern German-speaking immigrants who peopled that parish. Still, it is impressively "German" in contrast, for instance, to the Saints Volodymyr and Olga Ukrainian Church on Victoria Street at

Portland Avenue, which was also built in 1909 but is absolutely neo-classical, enjoying its eight huge columns in front.

By way of conclusion, we might note that in his book *Bonds of Loyalty*, Fredrick Luebke⁵⁰ discusses why the Germans in America overnight became such victims of oppression from the British and American propaganda machine. During the early years of World War I, German activity in America still advocated language and cultural maintenance brazenly, in a propagandistic tone not different from that championed by the Allies. This would be expected of a numerous, prosperous and respected ethnic group. Being pro-German was a by-product of the German cultural, architectural, linguistic chauvinism sponsored by their newspapers, brewers, publishers, the hundreds of German associations and *Vereine*, many coupled to the German American Alliance. Sometimes German *Kultur* in the United States was not so much for Imperial Germany as for the achievement of religious and even political goals that dovetailed with German ideals. Taken together, however, the war and defeat of Germany in 1918 caused a sweeping and very rapid decline in all the manifestations of the once proud German Second Empire. *Vereine*, newspapers, German in the churches, statues of "Germania" and whole buildings disappeared.⁵¹ It was the price German-Americanism had to pay for its excessive enthusiasm following the 1870 victory at Sedan. On the heels of this cost came the even deeper one levied by the Nazi government and its terror that was defeated only at the much greater cost of World War II. Assimilation and the silence it afforded was the only escape possible.

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Notes

¹ I have treated this subject matter in a general way in my article "German Assimilation: The Effect of the 1871 Victory on Americana-Germanica," in Hans L. Trefousse, ed., *Germany and America: Essays on Problems of International Relations and Immigration*, Brooklyn College Studies on Society in Change, no. 21 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 122-36.

² See among the many publications by George L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars Through the Third Reich* (New York: New American Library, 1977).

³ *Population of the Eleventh U. S. Census Statistics*: 1890.

⁴ See in general LaVern J. Rippley, *The German Americans* (Boston: Twayne, 1976), chap. 4 and 6, pp. 44-57 and 72-98.

⁵ The 1848 Revolutions, a cartoon copied frequently in papers on both sides of the Atlantic. It is reproduced as "Kehraus" in "Revolution von 1848" in *Informationen zur Politischen Bildung* (4. Quartal 1999), 44.

⁶ *Abstract of the Eleventh Census: 1890* (Washington, DC, 1896).

⁷ Heinz Kloss, *The American Bilingual Tradition* (Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1977), and *Deutsch als Muttersprache in den Vereinigten Staaten* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1979), and *Atlas of 19th and early 20th Century German-American Settlements* (Marburg: Elwert, 1975).

⁸ See my "Conflict in the Classroom," published originally in *Minnesota History* but reprinted in Anne J. Aby, ed. *The North Star State* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 2002), 132-49. The subject of German language instruction in the schools and the state laws that governed it are catalogued extensively in the book by Heinz Kloss, *Volksgruppenrecht* (Essen: Volksverlag, 1942), and repeated to some degree in his *Bilingual Tradition*.

⁹ One might argue that something parallel took place again from about 1960 to 1980 when the economic miracle in a circuitous way redeemed the German people in West Germany, at least in the eyes of their "countrymen" in the United States, from the shame of Nazism and defeat in World War II.

¹⁰ Charles V of Habsburg (1500-58). Quoted from the *North American Review* (January, 1869) by John G. Gazley, *American Opinion of German Unification 1848-1871* (1926; reprint ed., New York, 1970), 483. See also in this regard, the recent biography of this German magnate in American history, Alexandra Villard de Borchgrave and John Cullen, *Villard. The Life and Times of an American Titan* (New York: Doubleday, 2001).

¹¹ Carl Wittke, *The German-Language Press in America* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1957), 208.

¹² Among many publications, see Fred L. Holmes, *Old World Wisconsin: Around Europe in the Badger State*. illus. Max Fernekes (Eau Claire, WI; E. M. Hale, 1944).

¹³ E.g., Roger Kennedy, *Minnesota Houses: An Architectural and Historical View* (Minneapolis: Dillon, 1967), 62.

¹⁴ An example of books on the subject is Fred H. Peterson, *Building Community, Keeping the Faith: German Catholic Vernacular Architecture in a Rural Minnesota Parish* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1998). For a variety of German folk art styles in construction and daily life and work, see Charles Van Ravenswaay, *The Art and Architecture of German Settlements in Missouri: A Survey of a Vanishing Culture* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1977). See also O. H. Rudnick, *Das Deutschtum St. Pauls in Wort und Bild. Eine Historische Beleuchtung Deutsch-amerikanischer Tätigkeit in St. Paul* (St. Paul: n.p., 1924).

¹⁵ See, e.g., Timothy Holian, *Over the Barrel: The Brewing History and Beer Culture of Cincinnati, 1800 to the Present* (St. Joseph MO: Sudhaus Press, 2000), 2 vols., John Theodore Flanagan, *Theodore Hamm in Minnesota: His Family and Brewery* (St. Paul: Pogo Press, 1989), Nancy Moore Gentleman, [missing] (Milwaukee: Procrustes Press, 1995), and, "The New Prohibition," *SGAS Newsletter* 12,1 (March 1991), 2ff.

¹⁶ Pannonia was a Roman province nowadays including especially Romania and some territory in Hungary.

¹⁷ See the pamphlet by Arnold J. Koelpin, *The Hermann Monument: A Prairie Tale in the Annals of Americana* (New Ulm: City of New Ulm, 1988).

¹⁸ Peter S. Wells, *The Battle That Stopped Rome: Emperor Augustus, Arminius, and the Slaughter of the Legions in the Teutoburg Forest* (New York: Norton, 2003). But see also Reinhard Wolters, "Hermeneutik des Hinterhalts: die antiken Berichte zur Varuskatastrophe und der Fundplatz von Kalkriese," *KLIO*, vol. 85 (2003), 131-70. In this article the scientists cast doubt on the conviction that the site was indeed Kalkriese.

¹⁹ Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses*.

²⁰ See, e.g., *Westfalen-Blatt*, Nr. 169 (Thursday July 24, 1997) in its section Ostwestfalen-Lippe.

²¹ The Hermann monument at New Ulm, Minnesota, is a replica of the one at Detmold in the Teutoburger Forest in Westphalia, Germany.

²² George Theodore Probst, *The Germans in Indianapolis 1840-1918*, rev. and illus. by Eberhard Reichmann (Indianapolis: German-American Heritage Center, 1989), 102-3.

²³ See in general George L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars Through the Third Reich* (New York: New American Library, 1975).

²⁴ See in general Susan K. Appel, "The German Impact on Nineteenth-Century Brewery Architecture in Cincinnati and St. Louis," in Charlotte L. Brancaforte, ed., *The German Forty-Eighters in the United States* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 245-56, here, 245. See especially n. 16 in the Appell article.

²⁵ These are perhaps best exemplified by Susan K. Appel, "Building Milwaukee's Breweries; Pre-Prohibition Brewery Architecture in the Cream City," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 78 (Spring 1995): 163-200.

²⁶ Ibid., 180.

²⁷ Ibid., 189; see n. 63 in Appel.

²⁸ James Coomber and Sheldon Green, *Magnificent Churches on the Prairie: A Story of Immigrant Priests, Builders and Homesteaders* (Fargo: Institute for Regional Studies).

²⁹ Among many sources, if sometimes scattered in varying texts, is Mary Lethert Wingerd, *Claim the City: Politics, Faith and the Power of Place in St. Paul* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).

³⁰ LaVern J. Rippley, "The German-American Normal Schools," in Erich A. Albrecht and J. Anthony Burzle, *Germanica-Americana* (Lawrence, KS: Max Kade Document Center, 1977), 63-71. For a statistical view of the preeminence of German in the schools of the Midwest, see Louis Viereck, "German Instruction in American Schools," *Education Report 1900-1901* (Washington, DC, Bureau of Education, 1902).

³¹ In general, see LaVern J. Rippley, *Immigrant Wisconsin* (Boston: Twayne, 1985) for a good discussion of the Bennett Law and its outcome and William G. Ross, *Forging New Freedoms: Nativism, Education and the Constitution, 1917-1927* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994) for details about the results of German teaching in the schools once the war against German America broke out from 1916 onward.

³² Countless volumes directly and obliquely inform of the clash of cultures in many metropolitan cities. E.g., William Roba, *The River and the Prairie: A History of the Quad-Cities 1812-1960* (Davenport: Hesperian Press, 1986), 79ff., David W. Detjen, *The Germans in Missouri, 1900-1918: Prohibition, Neutrality and Assimilation* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1985), Walter D. Kamphoefner, *The Westfalians: From Germany to Missouri* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987). Further evidence appears in Judith and Neil Morgan, *Dr. Seuss & Mr. Geisel: A Biography* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1995), as summarized in the *SGAS Newsletter*, vol. 25, no. 2 (June 2004).

³³ Eberhard Reichmann, ed. of revised edition, George Theodore Probst, *The Germans in Indianapolis, 1840-1918* (Indianapolis: German-American Center, 1989) and Theodore Stempfel, *Artist's Life: Rudolf Schwarz and Karl Bitter* (Indianapolis: Indiana German Heritage Society, 2002).

³⁴ See, e.g., LaVern J. Rippley with Rainer H. Schmeissner, *German Place Names in Minnesota* (Northfield: St. Olaf College Press, 1989), 33, 79.

³⁵ See Alexandra Villard de Borchgrave and John Cullen, *Villard. The Life and Times of an American Titan* (New York: Doubleday, 2001) and Nicolaus Mohr, *Excursion Through America* (Chicago: R. R. Donnelly & Sons Co., 1973).

³⁶ Charles Johnson, *Culture at Twilight: The National German-American Alliance, 1901-1918* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999). See also, Clifton James Child, *The German-Americans in Politics* (New York: Arno Press, 1970 originally 1939).

³⁷ Quoted in Detjen, p. 30.

³⁸ Examples include Giles Hoyt, ed., Theodor Stempfel, *Fünfzig Jahre unermüdlichen deutschen Strebens in Indianapolis / Fifty Years of Unrelenting German Aspirations in Indianapolis* (Indianapolis: German-American Center and Indiana German Heritage Society, 1991); Steven Rowan, trans., *The Jubilee Edition of the Cleveland Wächter and Anzeiger, 1902* (Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, 2000); Rudolf Cronau, *Drei Jahrhunderte deutschen Lebens in Amerika: Eine Geschichte der Deutschen in den Vereinigten Staaten* (Berlin: D. Reimer, Ernst vohsen, 1909), Albert B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1909); the many publications of the German-American Alliance, e.g., Marion Dexter Learned, *Guide to the Manuscript Materials Relating to American History in German State Archives* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution, 1912), reprinted by Heritage Books, 1997, not to mention its own huge tome, Max Heinrich, ed., *Das Buch der Deutschen in Amerika* (Philadelphia: National German-American Alliance, 1909); Wilhelm Jense-Hensen, *Wisconsin's Deutsch-Amerikaner bis zum Schluss des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Milwaukee: Germania, 1900, 1902), and many others.

³⁹ Robert E. Cazden, *A Social History of the German Book Trade in America to the Civil War* (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1984).

⁴⁰ Carl Wittke, *The German-Language Press in America* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957), Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals 1732-1955* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1961), LaVern J. Rippley, *The German-Americans* (Boston: Twayne, 1976), 164ff., and Henry Geitz, ed., *The German-American Press* (Madison: Max Kade Institute, 1992), among many other sources.

⁴¹ H. F. Koepfer, *Historic St. Paul Buildings* (St. Paul: City Planning Board, 1964), 36-37. These structures can be compared to the visual appearances of the many Berlin structures being erected

contemporaneously, e.g., Wertheim and Hermann Tietz, the Munich *Bayerisches Nationalmuseum* of 1896, and perhaps the 1886 Berlin Reichstag building.

⁴² The Willius papers at the Minnesota Archives retain the original hand-written documents boldly displaying the printed letterhead "Wir Wilhelm, von Gottes Gnaden, Deutscher Kaiser, König von Preußen," appointing Ferdinand Willius to the consular post.

⁴³ See LaVern J. Rippley, "German Banking in Minnesota," in Clarence Glasrud, ed., *A Heritage Fulfilled* (Moorhead: Concordia College, 1984), 94-115. Here, too, note the illustrations showing the structures of the insurance and bank companies.

⁴⁴ See among the many publications Barbara S. Christen and Steven Flanders, eds., *Cass Gilbert, Life and Work: Architect of the Public Domain* (New York: Norton, 2001), and Neil B. Thompson, *Minnesota's State Capitol: The Art and Politics of a Public Building* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1974).

⁴⁵ *St. Paul Dispatch* (December 11, 1930).

⁴⁶ *St. Paul News* (January 6, 1931).

⁴⁷ Examples of these "gems of wisdom" include: *Trink und ess, Gott nicht vergess / Im Becher ersaufen mehr als im Bache / Zunächst versorge deinen Magen, dann trink soviel du kannst ertragen / Ein frischer Trank, der Arbeit Dank / Trink aber sauf nicht, red aber rauf nicht / Malz und Hopfen geben gute Tropfen / Noch einen gegen das böse Wetter*. There are 29 in all. Most were offensive to the prohibitionists of the time.

⁴⁸ LaVern Rippley served as consultant to Allison Chapman at the Minnesota Historical Society which was charged with verification of the authenticity of each saying when such could only be guessed from what remained under the plaster. See *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, January 3, 2000, p. A8. See also Minnesota Historical Society, *Member News* 9,1 (January-February 2000).

⁴⁹ For a picture of this church see Neil Thompson, 99.

⁵⁰ Frederick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German Americans and World War I* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974), 311ff.

⁵¹ See, for example, the photo of the statue of Germania being lowered from the Germania Building in St. Paul in LaVern J. Rippley, "Conflict in the Classroom: Anti-Germanism in Minnesota Schools, 1917-19," *Minnesota History* 47,5 (Spring 1981): 170.

Christiane Hertel

The Nineteenth-Century Schiller Cult: Centennials, Monuments, and *Tableaux Vivants*

1. Schiller Cult: The Mental and the Visual Image¹

In the nineteenth century "Schiller became the victim of unprecedented veneration," Walter Muschg said in his speech given on the occasion of the 1959 Schiller Bicentennial, adding that this veneration of Schiller "penetrated his works like a dye and made them to a wide extent undelectable."² I wish to examine the nineteenth-century Schiller cult in several German and German-American urban communities. While most strongly connected with the Schiller Centennial 1859, arguably this phenomenon first arose in 1839 with the *Schillerfest* in Stuttgart, which celebrated the eightieth anniversary of Schiller's birth not on 10 November but on the date of his death, May 9, and the dedication of the Schiller monument by Bertel Thorvaldsen (1768-1844) on the previous day, May 8, 1839 (Fig. 1).³ Of this *Schillerfest* Christian Reinhold wrote the following week, as though from a historical perspective: "Why should we not frankly say so? This national holiday was a religious holiday, a holiday on which all mankind celebrated God's revelation in a genius. A holiday, which as such was only possible in the nineteenth century. . . . [For] as the voice of theology was beginning to become impure, God sought different means of revelation," and the "cult of genius" gratefully and faithfully recognized this.⁴ This cult of genius was controversial from the beginning, and in Germany, unlike the United States, was strongly opposed by Lutheran theologians and Protestant Church authorities. They opposed the liberal politics expressed through the veneration of Schiller as well as what they saw as its blatant idolatry, an idolatry manifesting itself in the focus on a sculpture, a full length sculpture at that, a format thus far reserved for rulers or, in its equestrian variant, to rulers as military leaders. Here one may think of equestrian monument by Andreas Schlüter (1660-1714) of the Great Elector Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg which in 1703 was the first such monument in Germany to be erected in a public location, the *Lange Brücke* of the *Schloss* in Berlin (now in the courtyard of the *Charlottenburger Schloss* (Fig. 2).

Indeed, sculptures were central to this emerging Schiller cult, even before 1839. Since 1826 Johann Heinrich Dannecker (1758-1841) had loaned one version of his 1794 Schiller bust (Fig. 3) to the *Stuttgarter Gesangsverein*, the driving force behind

the cult there, for their annual celebration. It is Dannecker's second bust of 1796-1805 (Fig. 4), not Thorvaldsen's full-length sculpture, which like no other image of him shaped the German and German-American mental image of Schiller. It did not matter, if perhaps he looked more like the undated bust by Ludwig Klauer (b.1782), probably the only other sculpted image of Schiller made during his lifetime (Fig. 5). Loosely basing his bust on the Graeco-Roman model of the bust portrayal of philosophers, Dannecker emphasizes Schiller's forehead, making his visionary gaze turn sideways toward a distant point beyond the beholder. This eagle's gaze toward an unknown place was easily associated with truth, or the future, or the national destiny of Germany, or the triad of values, "das Wahre, Gute, Schöne," coined by Goethe in his "Epilog zu Schiller's 'Glocke'" of 1805.⁵ In this way Dannecker's bust promoted the notion of Schiller's genius, while being credited with authenticity, for it had been made by Schiller's lifelong friend.⁶ Dannecker himself was pleased with his work, writing about it to Schiller: "I have to tell you that your image makes an incomprehensible impression on people: those who have seen you, find it is a perfect likeness; those who know you solely from your works, find more in this image than what their ideal of you could create." When it arrived Schiller responded enthusiastically: "I could stand for hours before it, and I should find ever new beauties in this work. . . . I myself have a few plaster casts of antiquities in my room at which I now don't like to look any more."⁷

One reason for the largely negative critique of Thorvaldsen's Schiller was that it represents him in a sort of timeless classical cloak almost hiding his contemporary dress. In other words, in the ensuing "Kostümstreit," as it became known, it was argued that whereas his bust must idealize and transcend his features, his full-length representation must not, for only if Schiller appeared in modern bourgeois dress, would his exemplary role be real, especially his role as a Republican citizen. When the neoclassicist sculptor Christian Daniel Rauch (1777-1857) declined in the end the commission for the Weimar double portrait of Goethe and Schiller, it was because he was in favor of the timeless cloak, whereas his patrons, foremost the Bavarian King Ludwig I, insisted on presenting Schiller and Goethe not in classicizing "masquerade," as he put it, but in "modern costume," as historical figures.⁸ The sculptures for Weimar by Rauch's student Ernst Rietschel (1804-61) are historical in this sense (Fig. 6). When dedicated in September 1857, Rietschel's double portrait was successful both with the public and with its primary patron, Ludwig I who exclaimed: "Das ist mein Schiller!"⁹

The many nineteenth-century sculpture commissions notwithstanding, some in mythologizing timeless garb, some in modern dress, and some in both—as in Munich (Max Widmann, 1863) and Ludwigsburg (Ludwig von Hofer, 1882),¹⁰ Dannecker's busts, that is his second version of 1796-1805 as much as the posthumous colossal version of 1813 (Fig. 7), were the idols of the Schiller cult, in Germany as much as among German-Americans. Dannecker certainly did not foresee the ubiquity and mobility of his sculptures; on the contrary, he wanted to bring Schiller to life, as he wrote in May 1805, "but he cannot be alive other than colossal. I want an apotheosis."¹¹ For this purpose he intended the colossal version to be housed in a temple of his own design, a design undergoing changes from a neo-Classical to a neo-Egyptian, pyramidal

style. Dannecker's widely copied Schiller busts were often adjusted so as to make Schiller look straight out at his viewers; an example of this may be seen on the stage of the Festsaal at the German Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, where his "Kolossalschiller" is paired with Beethoven. On the other hand, Rietschel's Schiller—and Goethe—became the primary model for German-American communities when they commissioned full-length statues for public spaces. This was the case in Philadelphia in 1886 and 1890, respectively, and in Cleveland in 1907. It is, as if Dannecker's ideal Schiller was found to serve its purposes best in the interior, whereas Rietschel's historical and in this sense realistic Schiller appeared to belong in the public outdoor space. As we shall see, the ethical and/or political meanings attached to these models differed accordingly.

If Schiller himself found he could stand for hours before Dannecker's portrait of him, so did others later on. Standing before Schiller, both in the sense of standing before a sculpture and standing before a mental image, became a central feature of Schiller celebrations, so that even in 1959 Hans Mayer, in his Bicentennial speech poignantly titled "Dem Wahren, Guten, Schönen," could ask: "Wie stehen wir vor Schiller?" (How do we stand before Schiller?), just as one might ask: "How do we stand before God" or "How are we justified before God?" Mayer's reference is World War II and his answer is cautiously optimistic: "Something has been done by us and has happened with us, to return to the image of man that dignity that had been threatened by barbarism beyond rescue."¹² From 1839 to 1959 it seemed that Schiller left some kind of binding will, the content of which was an ethical ideal connected to a cause which as a German national or citizen one was to pursue, if not fulfill, and certainly not fail. It is this general way of thinking and feeling about Schiller which the Schiller cult both reflects and reinforces.

2. Schiller Centennials: Monument and Memorial

The well-documented Schiller Centennials in Hamburg, New York, Cleveland, Baltimore, and Philadelphia permit a close comparative study of the festival committees and programs, their participants, audiences and—always—public success. The festival programs offer a wealth of information, ranging from speeches and recitals to musical and visual components. Strikingly prominent and consistent among the latter was the *tableau vivant*. Beyond these singular events which, as in New York, could extend from 8 November to 12 November, there are others. As already mentioned, in some important and paradigmatic cases, privately funded sculpture and monument commissions—of Thorvaldsen in Stuttgart, of Rietschel in Weimar—preceded the Centennial. Rarely did they coincide with the Centennial, as was the case with C. L. Richter's bust in New York's Central Park which also was the first portrait statue to be erected there.¹³ Often they followed or even directly resulted from it, as was the case in Hamburg, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Cleveland. These commissions, their artistic outcomes, the ground breaking ceremonies, and then the dedication ceremonies some years later, shed light on a given community's sustained commitment to Schiller as a cause and on their stake in publicly honoring and identifying with Schiller.

As the program notes, press reports, and subsequent albums make clear, everywhere one took great care to make such events fall either on Schiller's birthday or on the date of his death. This raises the important question of monument versus memorial. Of these Arthur Danto writes: "We erect monuments so that we shall always remember, and build memorials so that we shall never forget. . . . Monuments commemorate the memorable and embody the myth of beginnings. Memorials ritualize remembrance and mark the reality of ends."¹⁴ If his distinction is correct, then it would seem that Thorwaldsen's statue dedicated on May 8, 1839 (a date referring to the poet's birth and death), and emphasizing the classical and timeless Schiller was a monument to what endures by and about Schiller, whereas Rietschel's double portrait of 1857 emphasizing the historical and finite formed a memorial (Figs. 1 and 6). Perhaps this would have been disputed at the time; but it helps explain the intense debate then about the laurel wreath held by the two poets as the one and only symbol transcending their realistic historical portrayal by Rietschel. Furthermore, Danto's distinction helps explain the common preference for the bust which, to use Dannecker's words, was suited to keep Schiller alive because of its functional versatility. In facing a bust, those standing before Schiller in the heightened, quasi-religious sense mentioned earlier had to reflect their own actions and historical role. They had to probe whether they could justifiably lend their own actions and appearance, as it were, to his head, mind and spirit.¹⁵

This may be one more reason why both Goethe and Schopenhauer preferred busts to full-length statues, especially of poets. Thorwaldsen actually concurred with them on this point: for in addition to just standing there the poet would have to do something meaningful, i.e., create and lead spiritually, which was difficult to represent and, as Schopenhauer observed, easily made the man look "as if he could not find his rhyme."¹⁶ While one might expect the subtleties in the aesthetic of sculptural commemoration to have been lost in popular forms of celebration like the Schiller Centennial, this was actually not the case. The use of Schiller busts in combination with *tableaux vivants* may be considered as striking an effective balance between memorial and monument, between what ended and what still endures. Invoked in these performances were the values of individual freedom, national self-determination, unity of word and deed, decisive individual action, and "das Wahre, Gute, Schöne."

On surface there is a striking similarity in accounts of Schiller's character and primary accomplishments in speeches given in Philadelphia or Cleveland or Hamburg and in the works selected for performance at these events. Predictably, they were his dramas and his ballads with northern subject matter, most often—and strangely not to their mutual exclusion—the revolutionary *Wilhelm Tell* and—somehow assimilated to the ballads, often by changing the title simply to "Die Glocke"—the anti-revolutionary "Das Lied von der Glocke." In view of this general similarity among the centennial programs the differences of time and place are all the more interesting and significant.

3. 1859: Hamburg

We begin with the by far best documented Centennial in Hamburg, using Bernhard Endrulat's illustrated 400-page account of 1860 illustrated by Otto Speckter. According to Endrulat, a teacher and a festival committee member, Hamburg's preparations for the Schiller Centennial started with a struggle between the festival committee and Hamburg's Senate regarding the date of Schiller's birthday, 10 November, which that year coincided with *Buß- und Bettag*, an important Protestant Church Holiday. The Senate declined the petition to move the church holiday in favor of the Schiller holiday so that the official program had to begin the next day. Yet Endrulat is proud to report that Hamburg proved itself as a true Republic in the heated, public debate of this issue in the full range of the City's free press, in the population's overwhelming decision for Schiller's shining light against the darkness of religious bigotry, and in the fact that the Senate turned a blind eye to it all in the end, deciding even against policing the potentially disruptive festival procession on 13 November. That procession and most other program points were meant to be all-inclusive. Thus already during the day of 10 November the Alster was full of colorfully flagged boats in defiance of the black *Buß- und Bettag* faction. For the evening of 11 November a spectacular illumination of facades and shop windows was agreed upon by their owners or renters (Fig. 8)¹⁷; major educational institutions, from schools to associations for the education of workers, were encouraged to observe the event with a memorial celebration. The Municipal Theater performed *Wilhelm Tell* and the Thalia Theater *Wallensteins Lager*. The two main events, however, were the "Gedächtnisfeier," the memorial celebration on November 11 and the public procession on November 13, a day that ended with numerous banquets in Schiller's honor.

The Schiller-Comité designated several subcommittees, two of them for the visual arts, that is, one for the "artistische", the elevated artistic, components of the formal "Gedächtnisfeier" and one for the "volkstümlich-künstlerische," the popular artistic, organization of the street illuminations and the procession. The "Gedächtnisfeier," in addition to speeches emphasizing the Schiller values and their legacy, contained the "artistische" components, i.e., musical performances, among them Beethoven's "Eroica," and a series of *tableaux vivants* of the moments considered the most significant in the selected works. These were "Das Mädchen aus der Fremde," "Die Räuber," "Don Carlos," "Wallensteins Lager," "Die Jungfrau von Orleans," "Maria Stuart," "Der Gang nach dem Eisenhammer," "Das Lied von der Glocke," all musically accompanied, and finally a *tableau* without a model in Schiller's work, "Schiller's Apotheosis." That Endrulat realized the humorous aspects of so much theatricality, while emphasizing the seriousness of it all, is suggested by three consecutive illustrations of his account. One is a vignette of the humorous jumbling of participants in these *tableaux* during their rehearsal break, with the children taking a nap on Zeus's throne (Fig. 9). The second shows the *tableau vivant* for the ending of "Das Lied von der Glocke," obviously chosen to demonstrate civic unity, but perhaps also as a polemic against the Buss- und Bettag faction who had decided to donate a Schiller Glocke named Concordia, the bell's name in Schiller's poem, to Hamburg's Nikolaikirche (Fig. 10). Third is "Schiller's

Apotheosis," with Zeus now sublimely enthroned, a role Endrulat modestly mentions he played (Fig. 11). Here the art historical inspiration of the subcommittee for the elevated, "artistische" program is evident. This *tableau's* centerpiece borrows its composition from Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres' "Zeus and Thetis" of 1811 (Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence) and his "The Vow of Louis XIII" of 1824 (Cathedral, Montauban), which represent Thetis both as supplicant and temptress before the enthroned Zeus, and, respectively, Louis kneeling before the enthroned Madonna and Child. Yet in addition to juxtaposing two figures by way of art historical reference, the cast for the *tableau vivant* actually counted thirty-five more persons, intended to represent different social classes, trades, professions, and men, women, children. In fact, the *tableaux vivants* were the only aspect of the Hamburg Centennial in which women participated, the only one considered not to compromise them, as it was put, whereas their exclusion from the banquets explicitly happened so as not to inhibit the men or force them to assume a "steife, förmliche Haltung." Endrulat realizes that in these decisions the Schiller-Comité put convention above its ideal of all-inclusiveness.¹⁸

It fell to the poetry competition, the school events and the festival procession to fulfill the ideal of a fully democratic and inclusive event. 1,000 copies of Cotta's centennial edition of Schiller's poetry were distributed to school children, a gift rejected only by some parochial schools. Several schools, elite gymnasiums, schools for the poor, schools for "höhere Töchter," as well as two "Israelitische Gemeindeschulen," staged remarkably similar events, which included the recital of Schiller's ballads as well as of "Das Lied von der Glocke," and crowning a Schiller bust with a wreath of laurel or flowers. These school celebrations had been called for by the eleventh annual meeting of German school teachers in 1859 (and undoubtedly originated at least another 120 years of obligatory memorization of Schiller's ballads in German high schools). Expanded versions of these events took place at the *Bildungsverein für Arbeiter*, expanded by *tableaux vivants* of "Das Lied von der Glocke," and in one case culminating in a pledge of allegiance to Schiller, a pledge to make the "Rütli-Schwur" come true. One way to demonstrate this pledge was to participate in the festival procession, as 992 members of the *Bildungsverein für Arbeiter* did, along with other large contingents of factory workers. To illustrate Endrulat's account of this temporary parity of all, a vignette binds emblems of the various trades, civic associations and factories participating in the procession into one ornament. The corresponding temporary "mass ornament" on the street, to borrow Siegfried Kracauer's term here for this choreographed, secular procession, subordinated itself to a colossal Schiller bust featured by Hamburg's Artists Association and carried like a reliquary or the statue of a saint in a religious procession (Fig. 12).¹⁹ It is this very subordination to Schiller which diffused the risk of social unrest evolving from the secularized public procession. Hamburg's Senate took the risk and did not police the event.

Between 11 and 13 November 1859, seventeen Schiller busts were crowned in Hamburg. "Countless were the elaborately decorated balconies and shop windows displaying Schiller busts."²⁰ Three large transparencies of his portrait were illuminated at night, four painted portraits carried in procession, and one portrait each carried by 190 workers of Schmilinsky's factory. 8,000 lithographic portrait prints were sold,

and one could visit a replica of Schiller's study in Weimar. In addition to this ubiquitous image of Schiller, there had to be a culmination point and a destination for the festival procession. That, however, was missing, because Hamburg did not yet have a Schiller monument. To remedy this lack, Ludwig Winck made a temporary eleven-foot plaster statue erected on an equally high pedestal on the *Heiligengeistfeld* on Hamburg's outskirts, the procession's destination (Fig. 13). There all ended with a short speech by a carpenter and with the intonation of Beethoven's "An die Freude." Small statuettes of this temporary monument were subsequently sold, one of many fundraisers for the sculpture by Julius Lippelt dedicated in 1868.²¹ To the ubiquitous reproduction of Schiller's image corresponded his imitation and emulation in bad, yet in some cases prize-winning poetry, festival prologues, rhymed banquet toasts.

4. 1859: New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia

Many of these components of the Hamburg Centennial were also featured in New York, Baltimore and Philadelphia in 1859. But there are some significant differences. To begin with, there was no question of illuminating entire cities as in Hamburg. Instead the Schiller cult was an occasion for the ethnic self-assertion of German-Americans. Often Schiller was unapologetically and unpolemically celebrated as a Freethinker and as a "großer Heide," a great heathen, without any ecclesiastical interference. As one celebrant put it: "What he lacked in interest for the cause of the Church, he gained in enthusiasm for the cause of mankind."²² Whereas later one turned to contemporary composers — for example, in 1883 in Philadelphia the *Gesangverein Harmonie* performed Max Bruch's "colossal" composition for choir, four soloists, orchestra, and organ, in 1859 Andreas Jacob Romberg's composition (1809) was the most widely used musical accompaniment of *tableaux vivants* of "Das Lied von der Glocke" anywhere.²³ In the exceptional case of Hamburg's "Gedächtnisfeier" of 1859, Mozart's "March of Priests" from *The Magic Flute* was chosen, suggesting a link between Freemasonry and Schiller's ideals. Such a combination seemed to contradict the poem's message of social appeasement. Be that as it may, the Masonic link was strong and explicit among German-American communities. In Baltimore, for example, the Freemasons participated in the Centennial, and while the "Liederkranz" performed Schiller's anti-revolutionary "Lied von der Glocke" to Romberg's music, the dominant theme was Schiller as "der Freiheit Priester und der Menschlichkeit."²⁴ And when decades later the *Cannstatter Volksfestverein* (in contemporary publications often misspelled as *Cannstädter*) of Philadelphia commissioned a Schiller sculpture for Fairmount Park, its groundbreaking ceremony in November 1885 was led by the Hermann and Humboldt Lodges as well as the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. Pride in this cooperation was expressed in a publication documenting every word spoken at the event, for a reader not familiar with Masonic ritual a mysterious text.²⁵ As at more conventional Schiller celebrations elsewhere, music—here by Bach, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and a certain von Schreiner ("Das neue deutsche Herz")—accompanied the program in Fairmount Park. The *Philadelphia Schwäbischer Merkur*, the *Cannstatter Volksfest-Verein's* biweekly newspaper founded in 1885, describes this ceremonial as

appropriate, widely appreciated and entirely congruent with further program points for the day which included "Gemüthlichkeit," "Kegelschieben" and fireworks casting Schiller's name in Philadelphia's night sky.²⁶

Now turning to some other significant differences in the German-American Centennial, I should like to mention in New York the contextual placement, rather than isolated veneration, of a full-length sculpture of Schiller on stage between the muses Melpomene and Polyhymnia, flanked by busts of Lessing, Homer, Shakespeare, Herder, Wieland, Euripides, Goethe, Kant and Luther; further the invitation of William Cullen Bryant as one of the two main speakers at the thus decorated "Gedächtnisfeier;" and the ability to win the piano maker company Steinway and the painter Emanuel Leutze, familiar to all through his patriotic painting "Washington Crossing the Delaware" of 1857 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), for the artistic components of the festivities.²⁷ These predictably included plenty of Beethoven, Wagner and also Schumann, banquets, theater performances, and *tableaux vivants*, but also festive balls, a feature absent from German programs known to me.

Like their German counterparts, German-American Centennial celebrations in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and elsewhere included poetry competitions.²⁸ Generally the German-American poems share the theme of immigration and the idea of Schiller as a cause transcending national boundaries. If in Germany the art and literary critic as well as philosopher Friedrich Theodor Vischer criticized such tendencies in the Schiller cult and advocated national emphasis, self-appointed poets in America said the opposite. Somewhat hesitantly, given their poor quality, a few passages must be quoted to demonstrate some remarkable differences from anything equally bad produced in Germany.²⁹ Here are two examples each from the Baltimore and the Philadelphia Centennial. H. Risler's prologue to Baltimore's "Gedächtnisfeier" begins as follows:

Seid mir begrüßt zur Festes-Zeit,
Die eine Welt sich freudig eilt zu schmücken

.....

He exclaims further down: "Der Dichter ist der ächte Volksvertreter!" and ends:

Freiheit, Glück und ungestörtes Streben,
Die hohen Güter all, Ihr kennt sie ja
Im freien glücklichen Amerika!

Next are stanzas fourteen and fifteen of F. Freiligrath's "Festlied der Deutschen in America":

Und ist mit uns auch über's Meer gefahren,
Und lebt mit uns im Lande unsrer Wahl!
.....
Er macht dies Land, dies Zukunftsland, sein eigen, —

Und baut und schafft an seiner Zukunft mit!

Now two examples from Philadelphia's *Schiller-Album, eine Festgabe der Freunde Schiller's in der neuen Welt* (1859).³⁰ First, the album's dedication:

Die wir von heimischen Gestaden
Auszogen in die ferne Welt,
Zum Feste sind wir heut geladen,
Das uns ein edler Geist bestellt.

.....

And further down:

Doch ist es nicht die Scholle Erde,
Die uns die Heimat heilig macht;
.....
es ist des Vaterlands Vermächtnis,
der Geistesbildung edle Saat;
.....

The second example is an application of such "Geistesbildung." This is, in part, the seventh stanza of Theodor Schuchhardt's "Für die Indianer":

Stets von Nord' und Süd' herbei
Drängen sich die weißen Christen
Eure Krieger, stark und frei,
Fallen unter ihrem Blei,
Eure Weiber ihren Lüsten.

If in 1859 such texts were founded in a nostalgia for a Germany that could not be and in the optimistic life experience of German immigrants hoping to realize Schiller's "Vermächtnis" in the United States (as well as in a budding German "Indianerromantik"), by the 1880s, when Philadelphia and Chicago received their Schiller statues, the circumstances of the Schiller cult were rather different.

5. Schiller Statues in the 1880s: Philadelphia and Chicago

In the 1880s the Philadelphia *Schwäbischer Merkur* and even more so the *Philadelphia Tageblatt*, while writing in detail about these monuments and the surrounding ceremonies, concerned themselves not with the persecution of native Americans, but with the problems of the urban working class, the struggle for regulated work hours and so forth.³¹ In 1885 at the time of the ground breaking ceremony, their Schiller was "ein Vorkämpfer, ein Führer gegen die Gewalthaber," and against absolutism and "pfäffische Verdummung," and stood for "die Sache der Freiheit,"

aided by his reading of Kant. His *Wilhelm Tell* was seen as the "Rechtfertigung der Revolution der Gedrückten," the justification of revolution by the oppressed.³² Certainly, the Schiller statue in Fairmount Park by Heinrich Manger (1833-after 1891) selected from among six models submitted to the competition called by the *Cannstatter Volksfestverein* and dedicated in 1886, betrays little or nothing of this revolutionary spirit (Fig. 14).³³ Manger must have worked from a reproductive print and possibly also from a small-scale cast of Rietschel's monument in Weimar (Fig. 6), for his Schiller closely follows Rietschel's. The main difference is that Manger's Schiller, now separated from his companion Goethe, has to do something else with his hands than holding a wreath. Thus his right hand, instead of holding the laurel wreath, holds a pen, which perhaps ought to be a quill, and his left hand, instead of holding a rolled-up manuscript, rests on an oak stump. Perhaps this is a reference to Rauch's famous Scharnhorst monument in Berlin of 1823 which has the general of the Napoleonic Wars leaning on an oak stump as on the symbol of Teutonic valor and German identity.³⁴ Scharnhorst, whose birthday was 12 November 1755, was occasionally celebrated or commemorated along with Schiller, so in Hamburg 1859. Oak and pen suggested Schiller's spiritual shaping of Germany.

The analogy with both Rauch's Scharnhorst and Rietschel's Weimar monument places Manger's work firmly outside revolutionary associations. But it is also true that Schiller's "Lied von der Glocke," with its explicit rejection of revolution and its call for social peace in this sense, is significantly absent from the 1885 ceremony mentioned earlier that began with the Free Masonic ritual and ended with fireworks. The *Schwaben-Verein's* commission and dedication of Chicago's Schiller monument in Lincoln Park, a replica made in Stuttgart by Wilhelm Pelargus of Ernst Rau's 1876 sculpture in Marbach, was a much anticipated and reported event in Philadelphia's German papers.³⁵ The dedication in May 1886 was postponed by a week owing to a ban on large gatherings issued immediately after the General Strike and the Haymarket Riot. Perhaps prompted by both the riot and the ban, 8,000 people attended the event as a form of political demonstration for justice.

In Philadelphia as in Chicago, a nearly fetishistic component had entered the ground breaking ceremonies along with the political concreteness of invoking Schiller, as the foundation stones contained objects functioning like secondary relics: in Philadelphia leaves of laurel from Schiller's grave in Weimar and in Chicago a piece of iron railing from Schiller's birth house in Marbach as well as a piece of leather covering from a chair there.³⁶

Surprisingly soon the political message carried in 1886 by the Schiller monuments' dedication ceremonies and by the sculptures themselves at that moment in time in Philadelphia and Chicago was substituted by the more general homage related to the idea of pendant monuments of Schiller and Goethe, undoubtedly taking as their model Rietschel's double monument in Weimar in 1857. Thus, Philadelphia's *Cannstatter Volksfestverein* commissioned a pendant to Manger's Schiller, and the groundbreaking ceremony for Manger's Goethe took place on the date and occasion of the Schiller celebration in November 1887.³⁷ Manger's Goethe closely follows Rietschel's Goethe (Fig. 15 and 6), again with the necessary adjustments owing to the poets' separation.

Thus, Manger inverted Rietschel's pose so as to align and orient the poet's extended leg, slightly turned head and distant gaze to his right. And instead of placing his left hand on Schiller's shoulder in a gesture of protective friendship, Manger's Goethe firmly grasps his own coat's collar, thereby placing his hand pledge-like on his heart, whereas in his right he holds a rolled-up manuscript instead of the wreath. Manger's Goethe was erected in 1890 exactly opposite from his Schiller along the main axis of the Fairmount Park Botanical Society's garden, and this is where they can be seen now again, after an interim period spent in even greater separation. Unfortunately they now stand on rather high new pedestals bearing the poets' names. The double pedestal makes the poets appear aloof, staring off in some distance, each by himself and unaware of the other. There is no viewpoint available to the beholder that would allow seeing the two poets together.

Interestingly the original pedestal for Goethe bears two dedicatory inscriptions: on the front: "Gewidmet von den Deutschen Philadelphias, A.D. 1890," and on the back: "Dedicated by the German-American Citizens of Philadelphia." One cannot help but notice an uncertain identification of this ethnic group, and perhaps the foresight that eventually the German-reading audience for such sculptures might dwindle. Schiller's pedestal, by contrast, bears only one inscription: "Gewidmet vom Cannstatter Volksfestverein, A.D. 1886." That both sculptures originally bore no name suggests that in the nineteenth century one took a familiarity with the art historical convention of representing the poets' countenance and bearing for granted.

Whether or not the delay indicates a more gradual separation of the radical political left and the Schiller enthusiasts, it took German-Americans in Chicago longer, until 1890, to decide on pairing Schiller with Goethe. By the time of the commission in 1910, Lincoln Park's board requested something other than a portrait statue. As a result, Hermann Hahn's monument to Goethe represents Prometheus rather than Goethe. It was dedicated on the eve of World War I, on June 13, 1914, in a ceremony which in that context drew "some twenty thousand Chicagoans, mainly German-Americans."³⁸

6. Die Gartenlaube

To situate the more generally cultural, social and political functions of the Schiller cult as well as its forms, such as the procession, the coordination of image, music, text into a sort of *Gesamtkunstwerk*, and the prominent tableau vivant, it is important to gauge his popular reputation beyond its culmination in Centennial celebrations and dedications of monuments. For this purpose I now turn to the quintessential family magazine of the nineteenth century, Ernst Keil's *Die Gartenlaube*, which was widely read by Germans as well as German-Americans between 1853, when it was first published, and World War I, and which from 1869 onwards appeared both in Leipzig and in New York (Fig. 16).³⁹

This magazine has often met with a mixture of political concern and contempt. For example, when in November 1933 Joseph Roth warns his friend Stefan Zweig against what he considered the pretense of independent political opposition to the

Nazis in the *Neue Deutsche Blätter*, he provocatively called the monthly periodical edited by Wieland Herzfelde, Anna Seghers and Oskar Maria Graf in Prague "die Gartenlaube der Kommunisten."⁴⁰ Most recently Peter Gay judged that *Die Gartenlaube* faced the world "by not facing it or, at least, by facing it through the mists of an obsessive optimism," that in each of its kaleidoscopic departments it "performed the rituals of denial with equal deftness," and that this practice increased after 1871, when the magazine turned away from its former liberal viewpoint to endorse uncritically the Kaiser and the German Empire.⁴¹ All of this is true, even as, when put in this critical and reductive way, it belies the diversity of this publication.

Schiller was a regular subject of interest in *Die Gartenlaube*. The magazine reported on tensions in the *Deutsche Schillergesellschaft* in 1865 and on the foundation of the Goethe-Schiller Archive in Weimar in 1896. Primarily, however, and particularly in the 1860s and 1870s, it painted idyllic genre scenes from Schiller's personal life, such as of Goethe and Schiller's first encounter (1865), his wedding to Charlotte Lengefeld (1865), his "Herzensleben" (1877), his years in Jena (1877), the Schiller-Album in his house in Weimar (1879). The focus on genre suggests a connection to Schiller through the reality of the everyday, and in this way readers of *Die Gartenlaube* were encouraged to trust in his oeuvre's authority. What emerges in these texts by Max Ring and Friedrich Helbig is a writer who himself worked much in the gazebo or in the "Gartenzinne," the garden fortress, as Goethe had put it in his "Epilog zu Schillers 'Glocke'" of 1805, be it in Stuttgart or in Dresden-Loschwitz or in Jena. Undoubtedly Ring and Helbig would have appreciated the fact that Dannecker's bust was actually modeled in a garden-house as well.⁴²

Die Gartenlaube had a penchant for the tableau, especially when paying homage to an individual, as in the memorial print in 1882 for the 50th anniversary of Goethe's death (Fig. 17). Its preferred type of *tableau* in both text and image was the idyllic genre scene, perhaps most poignantly and comically illustrated in 1873 by the image of Kaiser Wilhelm I feeding his chickens and other fowl at Babelsberg Castle (Fig. 18), his summer residence built for him by Friedrich Schinkel in 1835 in a "neudeutsch" (Goethe and J. H. Meyer, 1817) neo-Gothic style.⁴³ If the Kaiser could become framed genre, anyone and anything could. An exception was made in 1888, when the magazine chose a more elevated style in the illustrations of its issue on the Kaiser's death, dramatically silhouetting Rauch's equestrian monument of Frederick the Great (1851) against the Royal Palace in Berlin, and ending with the Kaiser's apotheosis. Monuments were important to *Die Gartenlaube*. It regularly reported on the commission of monuments, and described at length the dedication ceremonies of two major German national monuments, the *Hermann-Denkmal* in 1875 and the *Niederwalddenkmal* in 1883.

7. Tableau Vivant and Broad Appeal

What, then, is the odd relationship between monument or memorial and tableau vivant, the elevated style and the Dutch style, as it were, in *Die Gartenlaube* and in the Schiller cult examined here?⁴⁴ In the German literary context the best known tableau

vivant, of course, is and was the performance of Gerard Terborch's so called "Paternal Admonition" (1654-55, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie*) on the basis of Georg Wille's engraving of 1765 after the painting in the fifth chapter of Goethe's *Elective Affinities* of 1809 (Fig. 19). Goethe's novel actually anticipated by several years the social fashion of the *tableau vivant* in which both the German aristocracy and members of the educated middle class participated, often together. In most cases, the reproductive print, not the original painting—often beyond personal knowledge, served as the model for these performances, which, in turn, made the absent painting present through color, texture, and visual depth.⁴⁵

Of the *tableau vivant* of Johann Georg Wille's "Paternal Admonition" after Terborch Norbert Miller writes that it highlights Goethe's use of the *tableau* throughout the novel, as a means to stylize and elevate lived reality and to enable an "Anschauung," a quasi visual awareness of this reality in its inhabitants and in the reader. The novel's narrator says of the staged Terborch that it is a success and that it has to be shown twice. Interestingly this is also what Endrulat writes of the Schiller tableaux of the Hamburg Centennial: they were shown twice, the last, newly invented one of Schiller's apotheosis even three times. But the Terborch is not a staged dramatic scene from a text; it is a representation in paint without a corresponding text. Miller suggests that in the nineteenth century the *tableau vivant*, as the "retransformation of the work of art into nature," was a means to probe the plausibility of the work of art and of its original process of transforming nature into art. In short, to stage a *tableau vivant* of a painting was to probe "in life's concreteness" the truth in art.⁴⁶ This would be done by lending one's body to the represented figure, pose, expression. He furthermore suggests that the increasingly widespread use of writing novels in successive *tableaux* indicated a way to affirm the validity and meaningfulness of what was narrated. The *tableau* could also have an anticipatory function, thus becoming the bearer of an individual fate or of a teleological thread in the entirety of narrated reality.

Finally, it could function as a memorial to an event, as is suggested by Endrulat's announcement, following his praise of their "künstlerischen Werthe" when performed during Hamburg's Schiller Centennial, of a planned "Pracht-Album that will contain all nine *tableaux vivants* photographically."⁴⁷ We shall turn to this and other functions of the photograph when discussing the *Pracht-Gedenkalbum* published in Cleveland in 1907. Here, it is important to understand that whereas in Goethe's times as in his novel most *tableaux vivants* were based on works of art in the most elevated style, i.e., on history paintings with biblical or classical heroic subject matter, on paintings, for example, by van Dyck and Poussin, the nineteenth century increasingly turned to the intermediate, Dutch genre style for its purposes, hence the paradigmatic role of Goethe's choice of the Terborch in *Elective Affinities*. Eventually, this shift in style appeared to correspond to a shift in class, from the landed gentry and educated middle class of the small court capital in *Elective Affinities* and in Goethe's Weimar,⁴⁸ to the urban middle class in cities like Hamburg and Philadelphia.

On Miller's account the evidently felt need in almost all programs of the Schiller Centennial not just to recite or actually play scenes from his dramas or epic poetry, but to condense these into *tableaux vivants* with musical accompaniments, corresponded

to the desire to ascertain the truth of these texts, and thus to make Schiller come alive, just as Dannecker had intended with his colossal bust. Busts and statues tended to be seen as occupying an elevated level of style, they were crowned, wreathed or surrounded by maidens dressed in white at the climactic moment of the memorial celebrations. It would seem, then, that the *tableaux*, like Goethe's Terborch, occupied an intermediate style with which a broader audience could more readily identify, despite the fact that most of Schiller's dramas treat of aristocracy in foreign lands and distant pasts. This phenomenon, then, should be seen in the larger contexts, not to be pursued here, of the translation of Schiller's idealism into nineteenth-century literary realism and of the search for realism in Schiller's idealism.⁴⁹ Miller somewhat cringes at a nineteenth-century literary culture which he finds increasingly "ins Breite geraten."⁵⁰ Broad appeal, however, was the aim of the Schiller cult.

Broad appeal meant inclusiveness not solely in terms of social class, although undoubtedly this was its primary understanding.⁵¹ It also regarded participation by women as well as Jews. The tableau could be a vehicle for their participation. As mentioned above, in Hamburg only the performances of *tableaux vivants* were considered appropriate for women's participation, for here their public appearance was justified and dignified by their playing noble roles from Schiller's works. They were excluded from the street processions—though welcomed as audience (Fig. 12), regardless of how much or how little, in their usual, socially stratified everyday life, they appeared or worked in public. Of course, those participating in the tableaux were of the upper middle and educated classes, just as they had been in Goethe's Weimar, albeit with a translation of titles indicating status into those of the merchant city. Endrulat takes care to describe how *Schiller-Comité* members' wives, who formed a *Damen-Comité*, were dispatched to recruit these lay actresses so as to avoid any perceptions of impropriety. By comparison, the New York Centennial celebrations included women in the tableaux as much as in the festivities, such as the balls mentioned earlier. This comparison reflects differences in women's lives between Germany and the United States but perhaps also highlights the special status of the *tableau vivant*, which, as a social diversion of the semipublic late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century German salon culture and its celebratory events had included upper class women early on, when otherwise they were largely excluded from public life.

Recently Sander Gilman called for the inclusion of German Jews in discussions of German-American issues, such as the relationship between Jewish and non-Jewish immigrants of German descent.⁵² Jewish participation in the Schiller cult is difficult to gauge. In Hamburg it is evident from the high school programs and from a detailed letter by Martin Meyer, a teacher at the "Israelitische Freischule," to the *Schiller-Comité*, a letter both quoted and paraphrased at length by Endrulat. Meyer specifically mentions the school principal Dr. A. Rée's speech calling for Germany's unification under the *Deutscher Bund's* black-red-golden flag of 1848.⁵³ Speculation on participants' names risks being misguided or misleading; however, some names do suggest Jewish participation, among them A. Israel and R.J. Friedländer, the names of representatives of the publishing and printing industry. They participated solely in the procession, not in the *Schiller-Comité* or any of its subcommittees.⁵⁴ Another, entirely unmistakable

type of source is anti-semitic opposition to such participation. A particularly explicit example is an anonymous article in the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* of 10 November 1859, accusing German Jews of harnessing the new secular Schiller cult to their purposes of assimilation, social climbing and commercial gain.⁵⁵ These were common anti-Semitic stereotypes which we can find, for example, in Gustav Freytag's merchant novel *Soll und Haben* of 1855 as well as in anti-revolutionary polemics following the Revolution of 1848.⁵⁶ The subject seems to have been relevant also in German-American communities. The 1905 Schiller Centennial in Chicago offers the one example known to me of German-Jewish participation and critique of German-Gentile intolerance of German Jews within a German-American community focused on Schiller, an intolerance presented as religious intolerance. In his speech titled "Schiller und die Juden," Isaac Singer argues that while Schiller's dramas contain no Jewish characters, his concept of freedom, like that of Lessing, implies the equality of all religions. Without reference to what particular events have prompted his choice of topic, Singer appeals to his audience to follow Schiller's example.⁵⁷

8. The Waning of the Schiller Cult: Chicago 1905, Cleveland 1907

The Schiller cult generally lessened toward the end of the nineteenth century and this development, too, is worthy of comparative attention. Here the differences between the German and German-American perspectives manifest themselves in a temporal delay. While in 1905 and 1907 German-Americans in Chicago and Cleveland engaged in yet another elaborate homage to Schiller, it appears that in Germany the popular simplified image of Schiller as "Nationaldichter" was already eroding in the late 1870s and 1880s. There were few important sculpture commissions, for example. This is in contrast to the United States. And yet there is something about the very sumptuousness of the 1905 and 1907 celebrations that suggests a grand finale and thus also a German-American farewell to the Schiller cult, at least in this form and with this popular, inclusive scope.

The bilingual, commemorative album of both the Schiller centennial of 1905 and the dedication ceremonies of the Goethe-Schiller monument in Wade Park, Cleveland, Ohio, in 1907 is perhaps the best-documented German-American Schiller centennial. It is illustrated with photographs, a technological novelty in Schiller albums as in the illustrated press. These photographs tell of the enormous efforts undertaken here: the cavernous Central Armory was decorated to serve as festive hall for the Centennial in 1905, whose program included Romberg's "Glocke" and a series of *tableaux vivants* proper. It culminated in the tableau of an "Apotheosis" requiring one hundred costumed persons centered on a copy of Dannecker's bust seen also in an image of the empty stage (Fig. 20). In 1907, speakers included Kuno Francke and Hugo Muensterberg from Harvard University. The monument, a German foundry's copy of Rietschel's monument in Weimar, differed from its model solely through the application to its pedestal of two familiar quotations, in fact "geflügelte Worte," one, from Goethe's *Faust*, on the daily struggle for freedom, the other, from Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*, on national unity and brotherhood. The monument had been erected in

Cleveland's Wade Park in January 1907 and since then awaited the dedication ceremony (Fig. 21). For this event Schiller and Goethe were veiled by an enormous American flag (Fig. 22), at the time a choice I have otherwise only encountered in the dedication ceremony of a presidential monument, namely, that of William McKinley in Philadelphia 1908.⁵⁸ In Cleveland the unveiling was entrusted to Elsa Gerlach (Fig. 23), daughter of the ceremony's chief organizer, J. H. Gerlach, something unthinkable in the German dedication ceremonies some decades earlier.

There is a self-obliviousness, which Walter Benjamin would later term the "optical unconscious," in these photographic images as they document the utter seriousness of this event for its participants who are posing for the event rather than for a camera.⁵⁹ The tableau of men in dark suits and women in white backed by a "Fahnenwald," a forest of flags, according to the caption, all centered on the sculpture, which itself is a replica of another one far away (Fig. 24), reminds us now of the ambiguity inherent in the tableau vivant, an ambiguity which much later Roland Barthes would see as essential in photography, of bringing something to life and bringing it to an end, to a freeze. This ambiguity is already captured in Goethe's couplet of 1817:

Statt laute Freude frisch bewegt zu schildern
Erstarrt das Lebende zu holden Bildern.⁶⁰

Ultimately, the audience for Cleveland's *tableaux* is the readership looking at the photographs in the commemorative album, the *Pracht-Gedenkbuch*, as it was titled. One cannot help thinking that in this way Cleveland's Schiller cult was placing itself in the past.

At the dedication ceremony, then, everyone participated in a double *tableau*, with one scene inside the other, or one scene framing the other. One is the captioned Rietschel copy performing the original sculpture in Weimar, the other is the framing audience and the Gerlachs together performing their homage to the copy in an effort to connect themselves to Weimar. The first scene is of one sculpture performing another so as to emphasize, via captions, national unity (the Schiller quote) in the goal of freedom (the Goethe quote), the second scene uses an American flag to veil and unveil this goal. In fact, the dedication in Weimar 1857 was subsequently called a "National Holiday," but precisely therefore whatever one used to veil and unveil Rietschel's monument then and there, it cannot have been the American flag.⁶¹ The combination of remoteness and displacement in both Cleveland's sculpture and audience is palpable in these photographs.⁶²

The difference and distance between Weimar and Cleveland is conveyed, too, by the playful homage to Rietschel himself upon his return from the dedication ceremony in Weimar in 1857 to Dresden, where he was Professor of Sculpture at the Royal Academy of Art. A clever tableau invented by his students united the dead and the living in an anachronistic, Pygmalian way by blending a bust of Rietschel into a painted transparency of his Schiller-Goethe monument so that the poets seemed to place their laurel wreath on the bust's head.⁶³

The last *tableau vivant* of Rietschel's Schiller-Goethe monument sculpture known to me is documented in a photograph of 1929 showing Wassily Kandinsky and Paul Klee posing as Goethe and Schiller—without the wreath. Interestingly Klee puts on a large "timeless" cloak to play Schiller, a final reference to the nineteenth-century "Kostümstreit."⁶⁴

The unexpected climax of the dedication ceremony in Cleveland was its actual interruption by the arrival of a congratulatory cable from Kaiser Wilhelm II addressed to "den Bürgern deutschen Stammes" (the citizens of German origin), (Fig. 25), which, when read by Gerlach, was greeted with enthusiasm and followed by the spontaneous intonation of the German national anthem, "Heil Dir im Siegerkranz."⁶⁵ U.S. Vice-President Fairbanks was quick to send a congratulatory note as well, also read by Gerlach, in which, after expressing respect for the German classics, he praised the importance of German immigrants to the United States and especially their contribution to the country's economic well-being:

America has a hospitality for Germany's great past. We are familiar with the fruits of their genius. We have read their immortal verse and draw from it inspiration. Such masterful genius as they possessed is not the heritage of one race, but of all races. Nearly, if not quite, 10 million of our countrymen are German or of German descent. They are and have been of tremendous factors in the upbuilding of our country.⁶⁶

Fairbanks's political message apparently was twofold, i.e., one, in 1907 German-Americans were no longer the Kaiser's subjects, and, two, their realization of civil liberties enunciated in a "great past" by Schiller's genius now was a matter of their American citizenship.

All of this may seem ideologically incongruent now, but there is no trace of doubt or criticism in the album's 200 pages. On the contrary and even surprising in its almost anti-American tone, Kuno Francke in his speech "Goethe's Vermächtnis an Amerika" claims that Americans, unlike Germans or German-Americans, know little about "Lebensgenuss," and above all asserts the superior value of German emotion and its lack in America.⁶⁷ Two months after this ceremony 3,000 Pennsylvania Germans filling five special trains undertook a pilgrimage to Cleveland's Wade Park also commemorated in the *Pracht-Gedenkalbum*.⁶⁸ And yet, if the publication makes anything clear, it is that by 1907 German-Americans, at least those supporting and addressed by the Cleveland centennial, were of two minds regarding their place, identity, and allegiance, and that Schiller and Goethe could not, or no longer, offer much guidance in their experience, Kuno Francke's remarks notwithstanding, of an emotional lack.

9. Parody and Irony

In "Die Deutschen" of c. 1885, his assault on German "Kleinstädtereie," or small town philistinism, Friedrich Nietzsche writes: "If anything honors the Germans of

today, it is that they can no longer tolerate the grand brilliant scintillating Schillerian phrases.⁶⁹ ("Goethe," he finds, "is an exception.") This judgment strangely compares to that, also of c. 1885, by the poet, critic and radical leftist editor in Detroit, Robert Reitzel, who in his weekly *Der Arme Teufel* (1884-1900) mocked the champions of German-American identity via the Schiller and Goethe cult not for venerating these poets, but for not actually reading them. If they did so, "such worthies would probably advocate book-burning."⁷⁰

In Germany, the decline of the Schiller cult predates that among German-Americans by several decades. This decline was due to the cult's perhaps well-intended, yet utterly reductive seriousness, and its increasing emptiness. What resurfaces is the fact that irony and ridicule had accompanied Schiller's ballads and "Das Lied von der Glocke," favorites for recital in Schiller festivals, from the day of their publication. Caroline Schlegel wrote in 1799 that "Das Lied von der Glocke" almost made her fall off her chair shaking with laughter, and Friedrich Schlegel found it "sittlich und platt," "ethical and commonplace."⁷¹ Even today surveys of Schiller's poetry somewhat apologetically say that the poem is better than its reputation.⁷² Among the ballads, "Der Handschuh," the one ballad conspicuously absent, as if by tacit agreement, from all centennial programs in 1859 and from the speeches in 1959, is perhaps the only one that can compete with "Das Lied von der Glocke" with regard to its extensive history of parody in text and image.⁷³ By 1890, not only Nietzsche's biting polarization of Schiller and Goethe, but also popular jokes, such as "Schillers Handschuh geht nicht über Goethe's Faust" ("Schiller's Glove does not fit Goethe's Fist"), indicated a perceived competition between Schiller and Goethe won by the latter.⁷⁴

Yet, on June 18, 1797, Schiller sent the poem to Goethe who promptly and favorably responded, commenting on its felicitous inversion of the "reine That," the "pure deed."⁷⁵ We may take Goethe to refer to Schiller's ironic inversion of chivalry by having the knight first follow and then violate its rules, by having him first retrieve the glove from the lions' den and then throw it into his lady's face. The "Handschuh's" absence from it points toward an aspect of the Schiller cult which is particularly insufferable to careful readers of Schiller and to scholars like Adolf Muschg, cited in the beginning. It is the complete absence of an acknowledgment that in Schiller's work "das Wahre, Gute, Schöne" are hardly one, that there are frictions between the other Schiller values as well, that in his works "pure" in the sense of clear-cut, decisive and individual action could be criminal or self-destructive or ironic, and that these were issues on which Schiller had theorized at length.

In contrast to its moderate role and success in the eyes of twentieth-century scholarship,⁷⁶ in the nineteenth century Schiller's "Der Handschuh" was included in popular illustrated anthologies of poetry, a type of book emerging along with the new technologies for publishing illustrating books (lithograph, wood engraving). Johann Baptist Sonderland (1805-78) illustrated the ballad in 1846-47 for an album of German poems he published in Düsseldorf in installments since 1838 (Fig. 26), and Hans Makart (1840-84) did so for Cotta's de Luxe edition of Schiller's poems initiated in 1859 and published 1862. Among the parodic paraphrases of the poem, Max Klinger's masterly print series *Paraphrase über den Fund eines Handschuhs* of 1878-81, stands

out as an example of what Norbert Miller saw as the only salvation from the trend toward the trivial tableau originated in the Schiller cult, namely, its transformation into ironic paraphrase and citation.⁷⁷ Plate 2, "Handlung"/ "Action" (Fig. 27), transposes Schiller's plot to the urban setting of a modern skating ring, and thereby turns the lady into a mysterious *Rückenfigur*, the ferocious animals into a lapdog, and the knight into a smitten young man who loses his hat while picking up the glove. From this "action" a psychological drama in eight plates ensues, in which the woman exerts a strong, if imaginary influence in the man's dreams and nightmares.

Returning briefly to Hamburg's Schiller Centennial, I should like to point to two inadvertent tableaux which seemed to probe in social reality the truth of the "reine That" in Schiller's "Handschuh," though with a certain twist. Put differently, the subversive potential of the ballad's immediacy, of its dialectical dynamic of high and low,⁷⁸ points up the enduring power of Hamburg's social conventions. The city's efforts to overcome these conventions, if only for the duration of the festival, both intentionally and unintentionally misses what is at stake for the beneficiaries of such a suspension.

One tableau results from the *Schiller-Comité's* invitation—obviously a last-minute compromise between excluding and including them—of the *Damen-Comité* to the banquet hall's viewing balcony, to watch the uninhibited *Schiller-Comité's* feast below while themselves being served light refreshments. Down below apparently all the gentlemen turned themselves into the ballad's ferocious beasts, so there was nothing to drop and no knight left to retrieve it. With the exception, perhaps, of unspoken words: the seventh toast — and last before the last — was offered by General-Konsul Ernst Merck. His "Den deutschen Frauen" ended in an acknowledgment of drunken homage to Hamburg's women, a toast, as it were, thrown in their faces.⁷⁹ The other tableau is described by Endrulat with some bemusement, yet again with complete lack of irony, as an example of Hamburg's peaceful social self-regulation in no need of police control. During the festival procession an upper class man is accidentally knocked over by a worker. The worker helps his victim to his feet and offers: "Well, Sir, I couldn't help it. But if you wish, slap me in the face. On a day like this I am not going to be angry with you!"⁸⁰

Bryn Mawr College
Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania



Figure 1



Figure 2

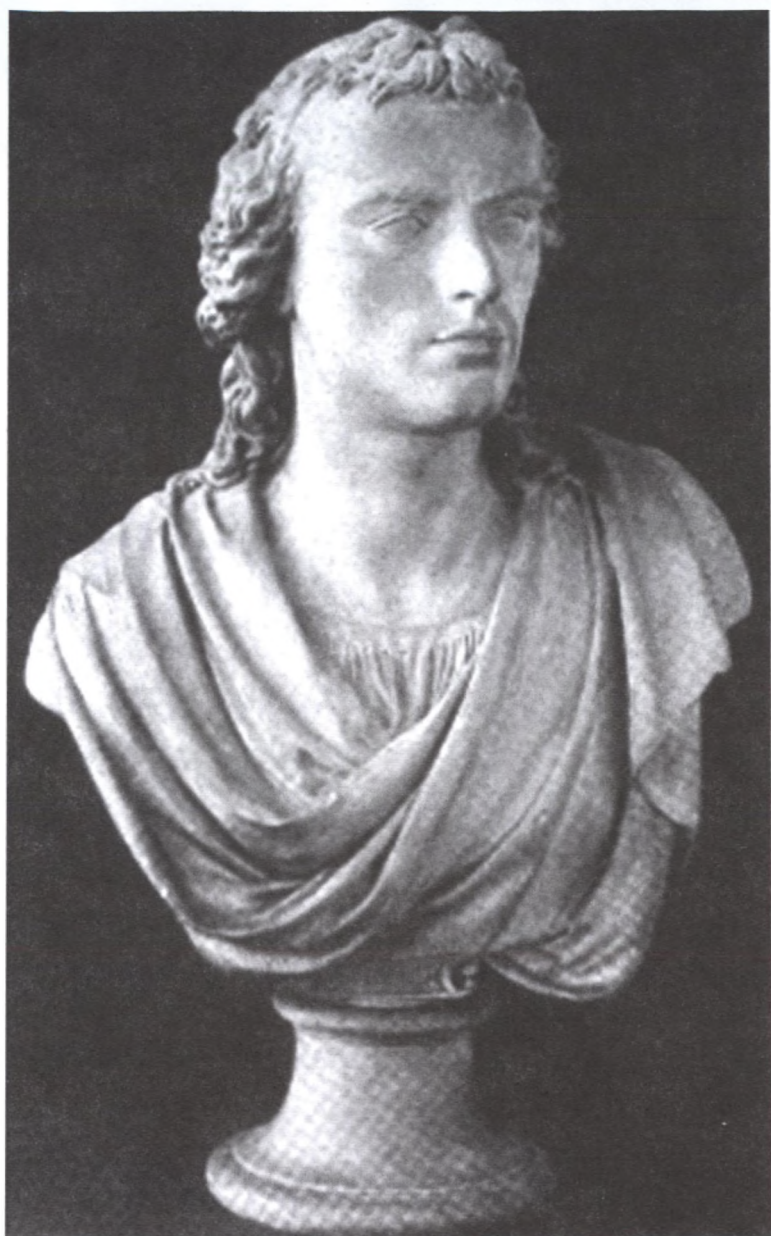


Figure 3

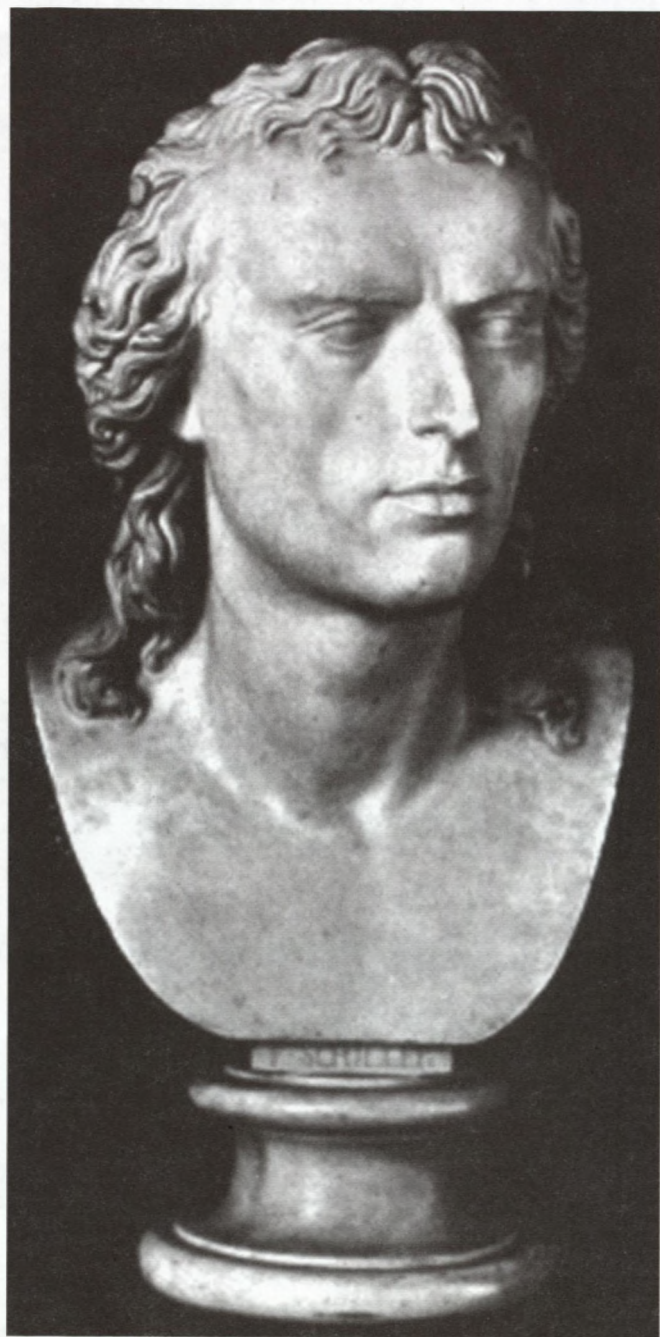


Figure 4

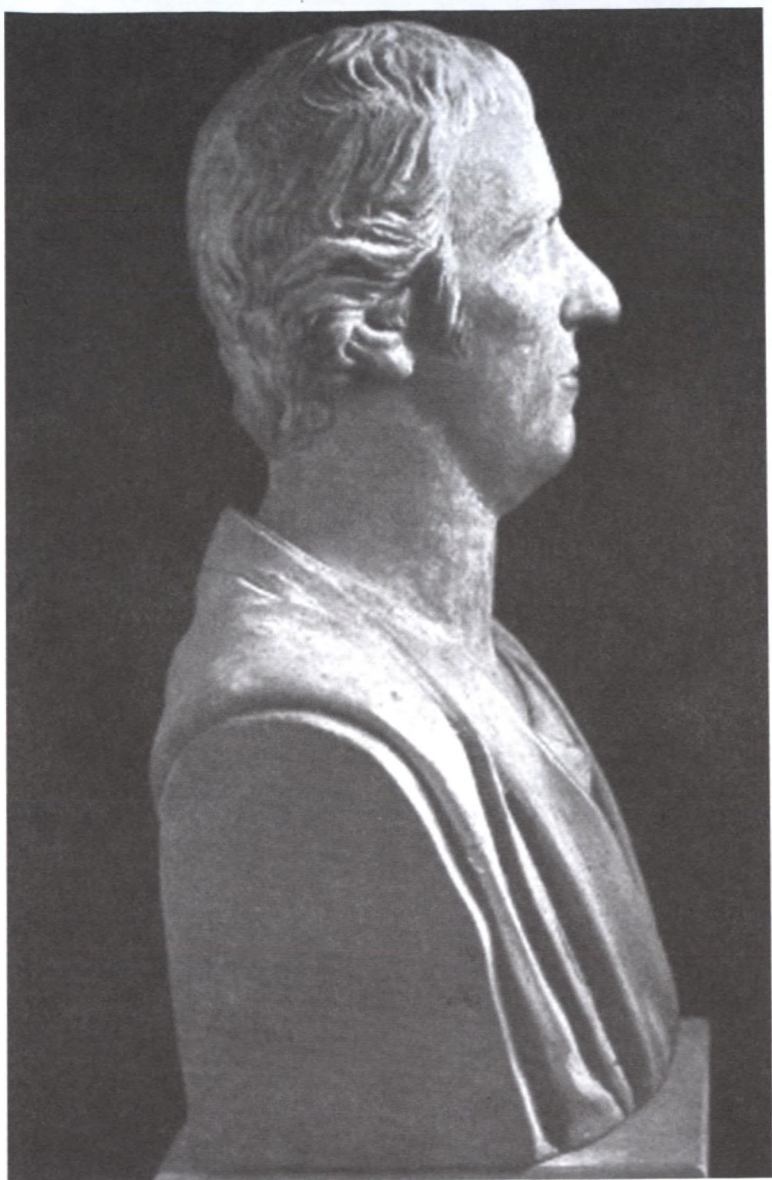


Figure 5



Figure 6

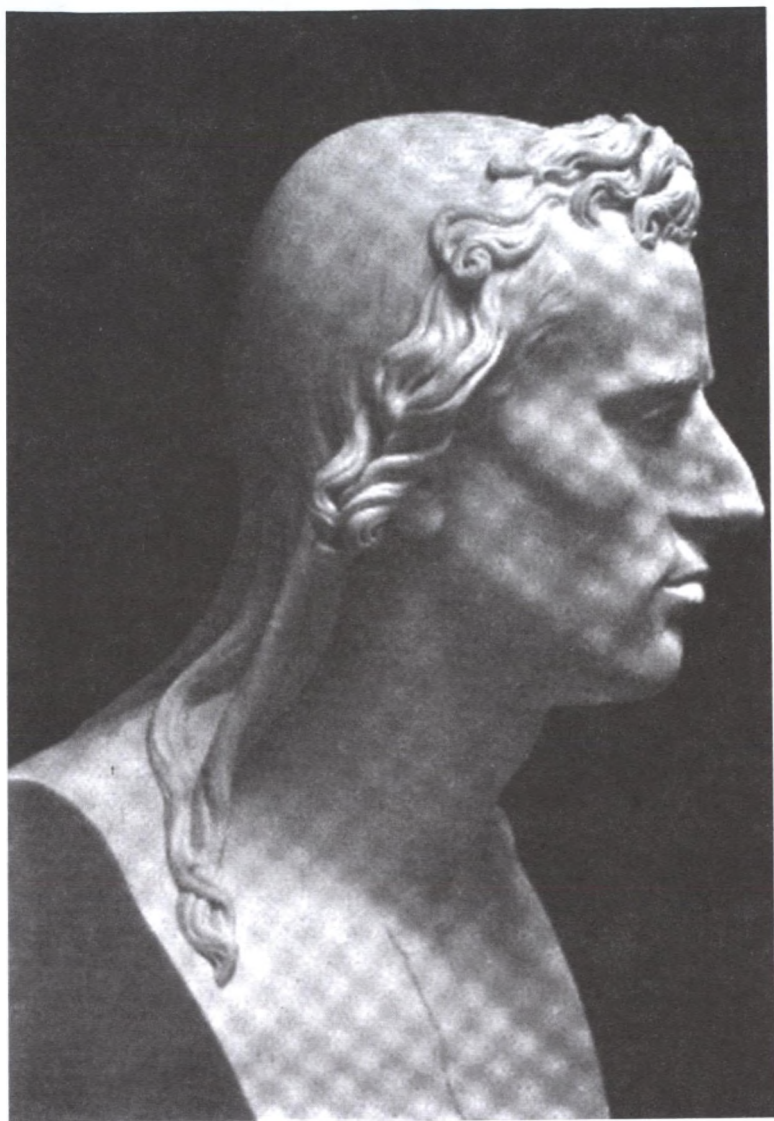


Figure 7

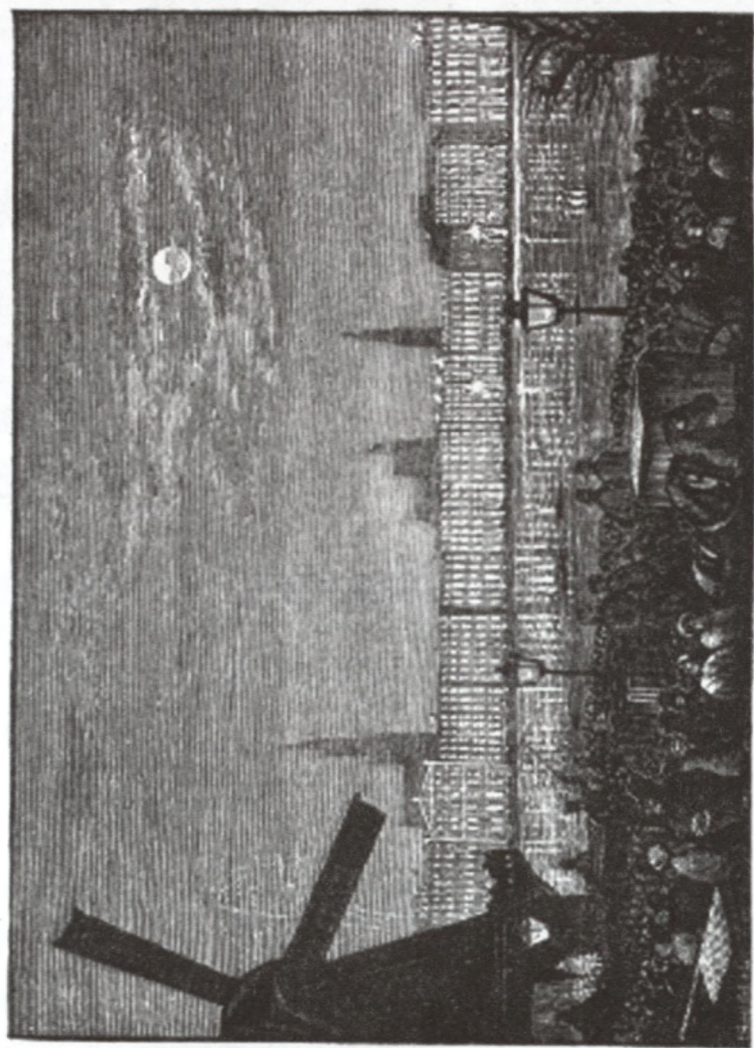


Figure 8



Figure 9



Figure 10

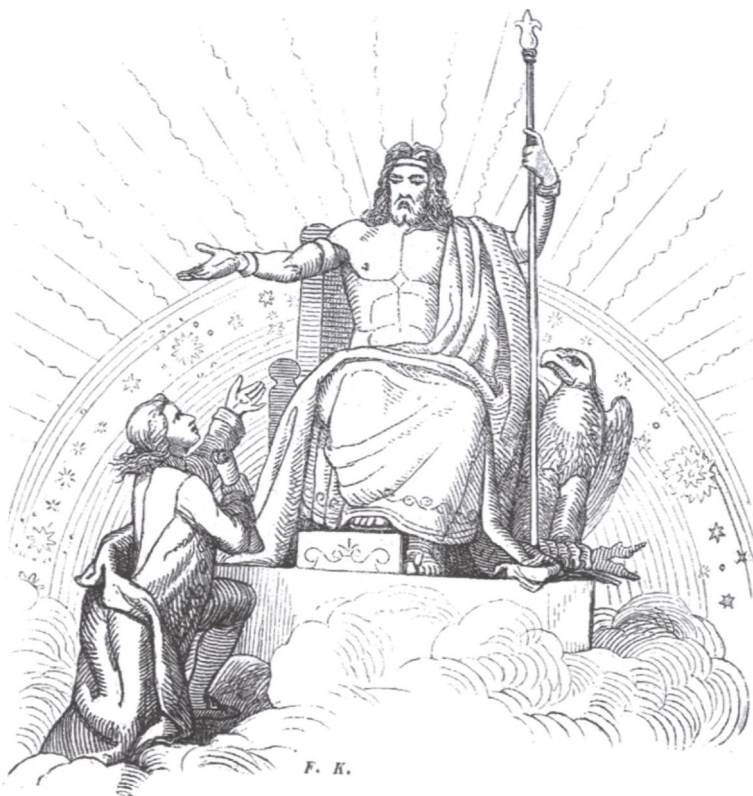


Figure 11



Figure 12

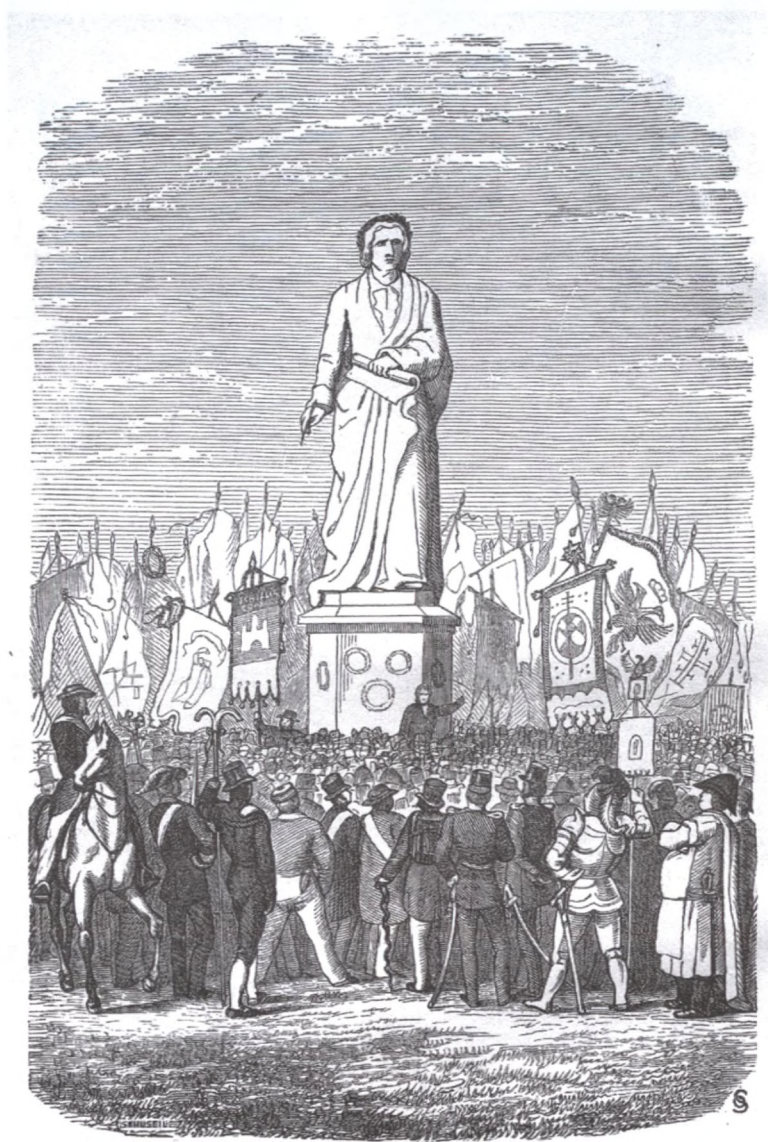


Figure 13



Figure 14



Figure 15

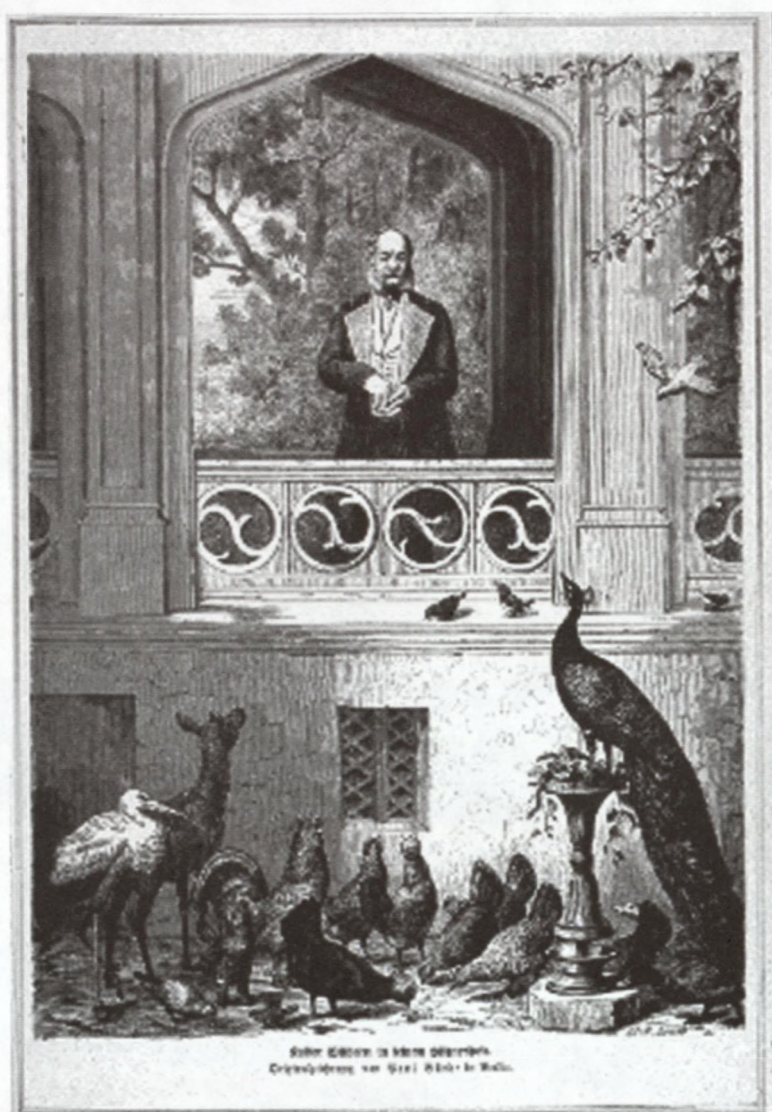


Figure 18



Figure 19

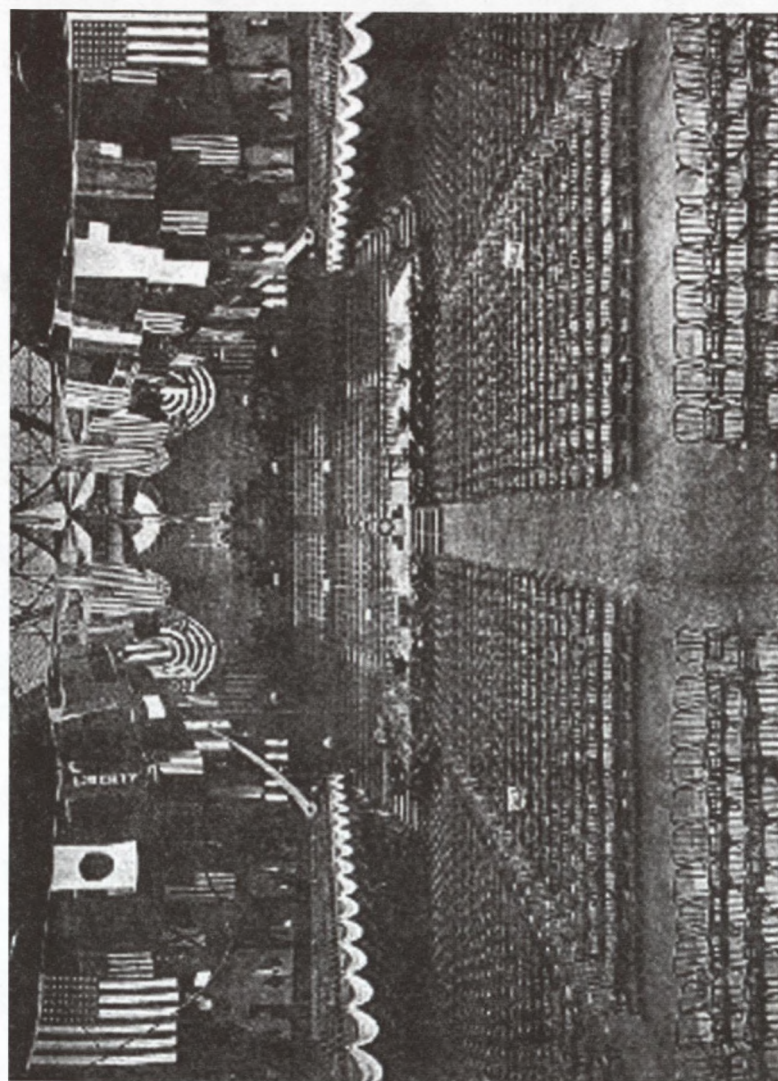


Figure 20



Figure 21

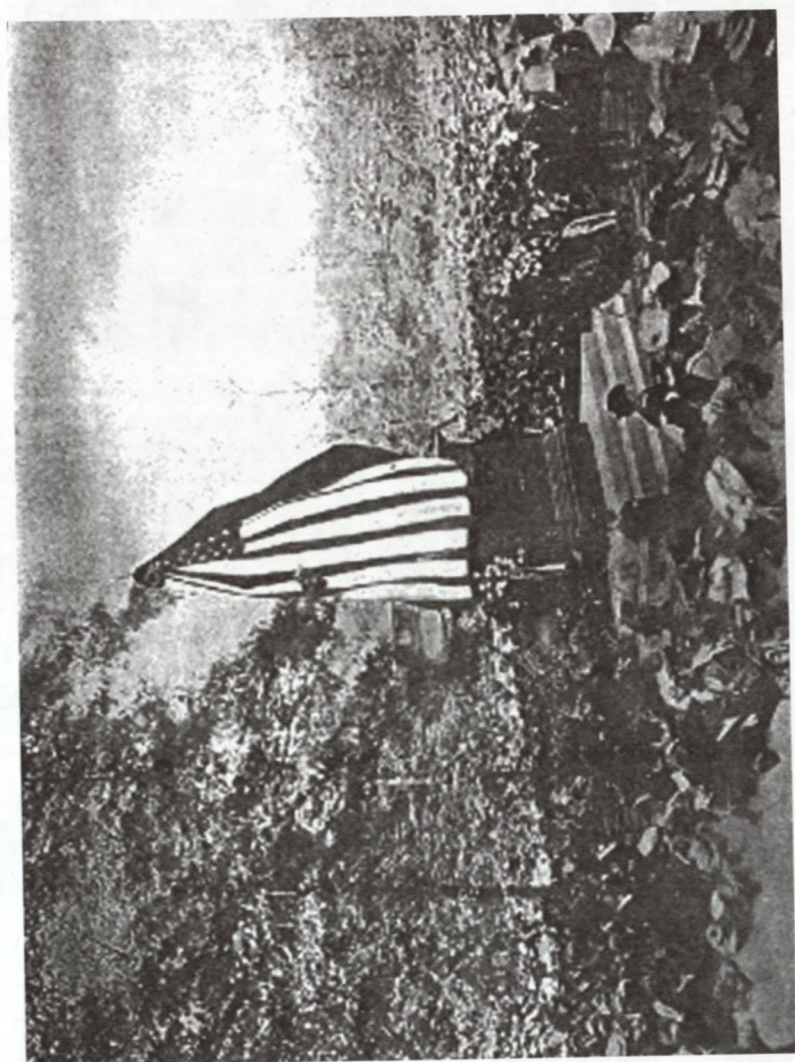


Figure 22

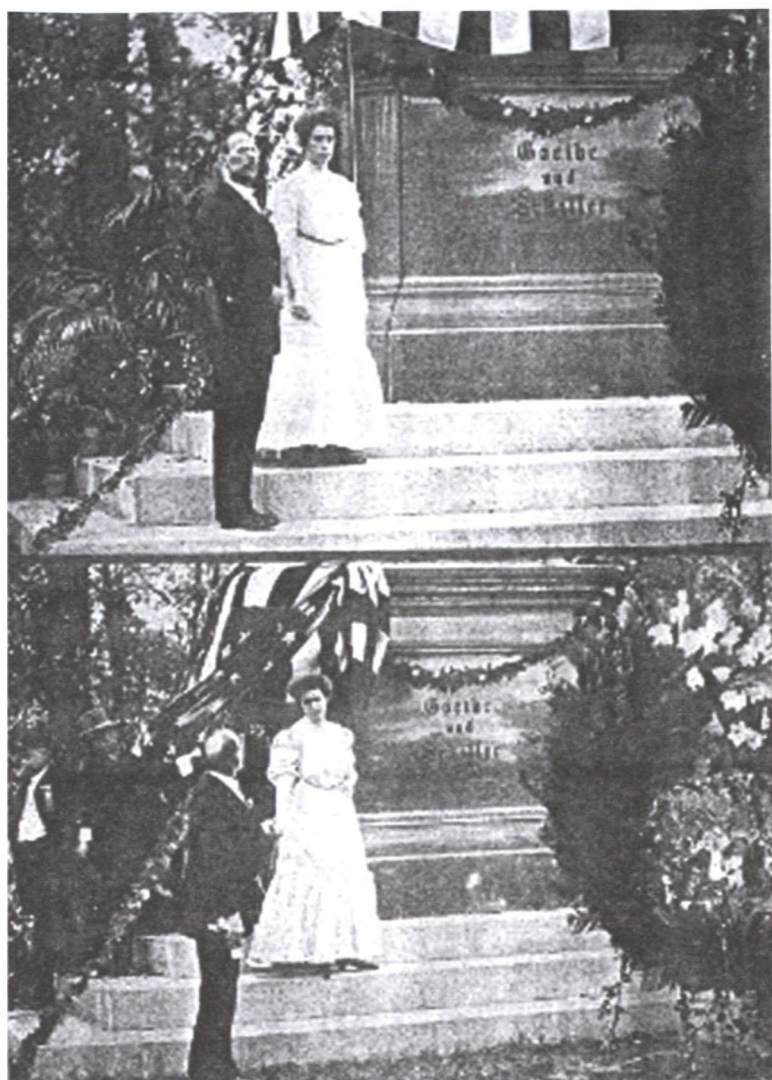


Figure 23

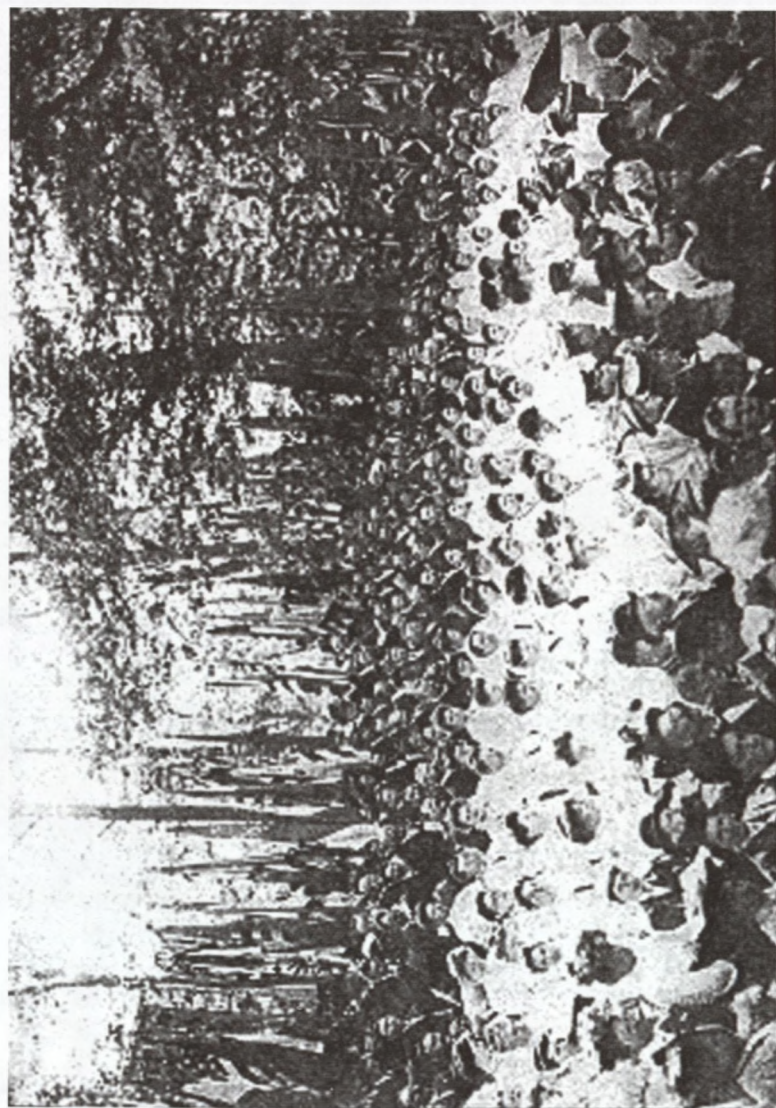


Figure 24



Figure 26

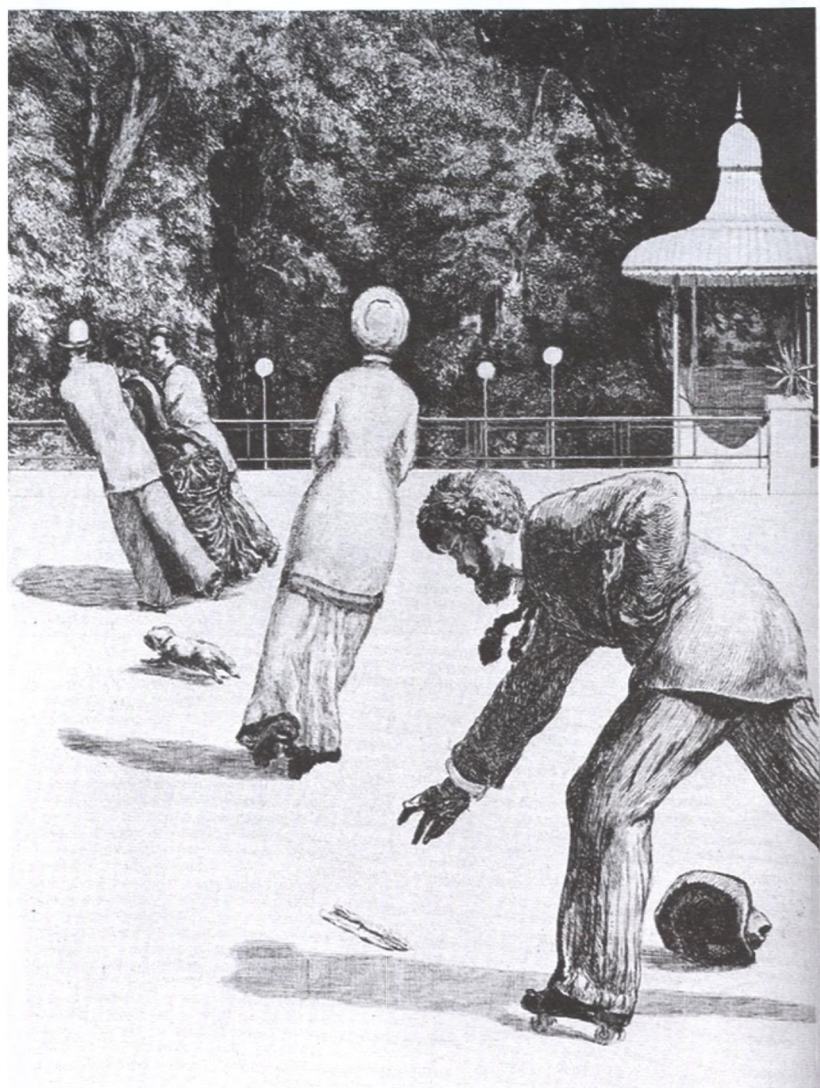


Figure 27

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Notes

¹ This paper is based on a lecture given at "A Century of German-American Crosscurrents at Penn State (1901-2001): An Interdisciplinary International Conference Celebrating the Centennial of the Department of German at The Pennsylvania State University," held there in October 2001. I cordially thank Ernst Schürer for his invitation, and gratefully acknowledge several institutions that facilitated my research of this subject: The Joseph Horner Library of the German Society of Pennsylvania — and there especially Laurie Wolf for gathering together a treasure trove of German-American Schilleriana, the Free Library of Philadelphia, the Freiburger Library at Case Western Reserve University. I also thank Elliott Shore at Bryn Mawr College for his encouragement both to speak on this subject and to publish the result. All translations from the German are my own unless noted otherwise.

² Walter Muschg, "Schiller: Die Tragödie der Freiheit," in *Schiller: Reden im Gedenkjahr 1959*, ed. Bernhard Zeller (Stuttgart: Klett, 1961), 218f.

³ Sylvia Heinje, "Zur Geschichte des Stuttgarter Schiller-Denkmal von Bertel Thorvaldsen," in *Bertel Thorvaldsen: Ein dänischer Bildhauer in Rom*, exhib. cat. Josef Haubrich-Kunsthalle Köln (Cologne, 1977), 399-418.

⁴ Christian Reinhold (Köstlin), "Das Schillerfest in Stuttgart," in Oellers, 1:357f.

⁵ Oellers, 484-86.

⁶ Rudolf Krauss, "Danneckers Schillerbüsten, Mit Benutzung von Danneckers ungedrucktem Nachlass," *Westermann's Monatshefte* 46 (1902): 451-62.

⁷ Theodor Musper, "Dannecker-Studien," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 9 (1942): 251f., and Krauss (as in n. 6), 453-54.

⁸ Andreas Oppermann, *Ernst Rietschel* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1863), especially 274-300. See as well Peter Bloch, "Klassizismus im Werke von Schadow und Rauch," In Herbert Beck and Peter C. Bol, eds., *Ideal und Wirklichkeit der bildenden Kunst im späten 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1984), 87-104, especially 97, 103, and fig. 8.

⁹ Oppermann (as in n. 8), 289. Here it must be noted that Ludwig I also sponsored Dannecker by acquiring one of the two marble versions of the Colossal Schiller and donating it to the Walhalla, thus partially fulfilling the sculptor's plan to house it in a temple. See Krauss (as in n. 6), 462.

¹⁰ Jörg Gamer, "Goethe-Denkmal — Schiller-Denkmal," In Mittig, 141-62, 365-98.

¹¹ Musper (as in n. 7), 252.

¹² Hans Mayer, "Dem Wahren, Guten, Schönen," in *Schiller: Reden im Gedenkjahr 1959* (as in n. 2), 159-69, citation, 161.

¹³ Joseph Lederer, *All Around the Town: A Walking Guide to Outdoor Sculpture in New York City* (New York: Scribner's, 1975), 135.

¹⁴ Arthur Danto, *The State of the Art*, 1987, quoted in Penny Balkin Bach, *Public Art in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), 45. For a differentiated account of such distinctions, see

Alois Riegl's foundational essay of 1903, "Der moderne Denkmalkultus," translated as "The Modern Cult of Monuments," in *Opposition* 25 (1980): 21-50.

¹⁵ On the psychology of the body fragment, see exhib. cat *Das Fragment: Der Körper in Stücken* (Bern: Bentelli Verlag, 1990).

¹⁶ Gamer (as in n. 10), 145.

¹⁷ Such an illumination is a form of spectacle once reserved to court culture. See, for example, Julius Bernhard Rohr, *Einleitung zur Ceremonialwissenschaft der großen Herren* (1733), ed. Monika Schlechte (Weinheim: VCH, 1990), 838-46.

¹⁸ Endrulat, 74f., 80.

¹⁹ Siegfried Kracauer, "Das Ornament der Masse," in Siegfried Kracauer, *Das Ornament der Masse* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1963), 50-65. He argues that the free, unthinking, pleasurable subordination to the mass choreography of gymnastic groups performing in public spaces is precisely and dialectically the degree to which the individual is instrumentalized by a proto-totalitarian system.

²⁰ Endrulat, 93.

²¹ Gamer (as in n. 10), 149; Volker Plagemann, "Zur Denkmalgeschichte in Hamburg," in Mittig, 20-22, fig. 2.

²² Ferdinand Lechner, *Friedrich von Schiller als Vorläufer der religiös-humanistischen Weltanschauung vom Standpunkt der Freien Gemeinde betrachtet* (Philadelphia: B.G.S. Lephant & Co., 1859), 21.

²³ See program notes, Joseph Horner Library, Philadelphia, pamphlet collection, PT2473 A3 1883.

²⁴ *Erinnerung an die Feier des 100jährigen Schiller-Jubiläums in Baltimore* (Baltimore: im Offizin des Correspondenten, W. Polmeyr, 1859).

²⁵ *Programme. Masonic ceremonies at the laying of the cornerstone of the Schiller monument erected by the Cannstatter Volksfest-Verein, in Fairmount Park: Philadelphia, PA. November 10th, 1885* (Philadelphia: S.W. Goodman, 1885).

²⁶ *Philadelphia Schwäbischer Merkur*, 1. Jahrgang, no. 6, 14 November 1885, 1 and 4. See also *Philadelphia Tageblatt*, 8. Jahrgang, no. 307, 10 November 1885, 3, and no. 308, 11 November 1885, 3.

²⁷ *Die Bedeutung und Feier des hundertjährigen Geburtstages von Friedrich Schiller*, ed. W. Radde (New York: Wm. Radde, 1859). It is interesting to note that Leutze's painting has itself become the model for a *tableau vivant*: every year in January the crossing of the Delaware is reenacted and this spectacle is watched by many onlookers undeterred by either cold weather or the painting's historical inaccuracy frankly admitted by those who "stage" the event. The reason given is that it all feels true. (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 26 December 2000, B1f.)

²⁸ For a critical assessment of this kind of poetry, see Jeffrey Sammons, "The Schiller Centennial: 1859: Some Themes and Motifs," *The University of Dayton Review* 20, 3 (Fall 1990): 5-13.

²⁹ Friedrich Theodor Vischer, "Rede zur hundertjährigen Feier der Geburt Schillers," in Oellers, 1:419-27, especially 425. Vischer's emphasis here on "Vaterlandsliebe" and his deemphasis of "Weltbürgertum und der allgemeinen Menschenfreiheit" can be seen in the context of his aesthetics of the real, the "wahrhaft Wirklichen," as opposed to the aesthetics of universal ideals such as freedom and equality. See Hilmer Roebeling, "Zur Kunsttheorie Friedrich Theodor Vischers," in Helmut Koopmann and J. Adolf Schmollgen. Eisenwerth, eds., *Beiträge zur Theorie der Künste im 19. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1971), 87-112.

³⁰ *Schiller-Album: Zur hundertjährigen Feier der Geburt des Dichters: eine Festgabe der Freunde Schiller's in der neuen Welt* (Philadelphia: Schäfer and Konradi, 1859).

³¹ *Philadelphia Schwäbischer Merkur*, 1. Jahrgang, no. 3 (24 October 1885), no. 4 (31 October, 1885), no. 5 (7 November 1885), no. 6, (14 November 1885); *Philadelphia Tageblatt*, 8. Jahrgang 1885, no. 307 (10 November 1885). See as well Ken Fones-Wolf and Elliott Shore, "The German Press and Working-Class Politics in Gilded Age Philadelphia," in Fones-Wolf et al., 63-80.

³² *Philadelphia Tageblatt*, 8. Jahrgang 1885, no. 308 (11 November 1885).

³³ Fairmount Park Art Association, *Sculpture of a City: Philadelphia Treasures in Bronze and Stone* (New York: Walker, 1974), 156.

³⁴ See Bloch (as in n. 10), 95 and fig. 4.

³⁵ James L. Riedy, *Chicago Sculpture: Text and Photographs* (Urbana, Chicago and London: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 190f.

³⁶ *Philadelphia Schwäbischer Merkur*, 1. Jahrgang, 14 November 1885; 21 November 1885. See also Sylvia Mergenthal, "Disiecta membra poetarum: Über das Sammeln von Dichterreliquien," in *Sammler*—

Bibliophile — Exzentriker, ed. Alcida Assmann, Monika Gomille and Gabriele Rippl (Tübingen: Günter Narr Verlag, 1998), 87-98.

³⁷ *Philadelphia Schwäbischer Merkur*, 3. Jahrgang, 12 November 1887, 2. See also Fairmount Park Art Association (as in n. 32), 156.

³⁸ Riedy (as in n. 34), 193-95.

³⁹ The following account is based on a survey of the magazine from 1864 to 1900, at the Free Library of Philadelphia and Case Western Reserve University's Freiburger Library. For an overview of the periodical's history and contents, see Hazel E. Rosenstrauch, "Z. B. *Die Gartenlaube*," in Annemarie Rucktäschel and H. D. Zimmermann, ed., *Trivalliteratur* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1976), 169-89; B.K. Starcher, "Ernst Keil und die Anfänge der *Gartenlaube*," *Seminar* 17.3 (1981): 205-13; Eva Zahn, "Die Geschichte der *Gartenlaube*," in *Facsimile Querschnitt durch die Gartenlaube* (Bern, 1963).

⁴⁰ Joseph Roth an Stefan Zweig, 5 November 1933, in *Joseph Roth, Briefe 1911-1939*, ed. Hermann Kesten (Cologne and Berlin: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1970), 285.

⁴¹ Peter Gay, "Experiment in Denial: A Reading of the *Gartenlaube* in the Year 1890," in *Traditions of Experiment from the Enlightenment to the Present: Essays in Honor of Peter Demetz*, ed. Nancy Kaiser and David E. Wellberg (Ann Arbor: UMI Press, 1992), 152, 154.

⁴² Krauss (as in n. 6), 452.

⁴³ Schinkel's building was later expanded by Ludwig Persius and J.H. Starck. On Babelsberg, see Gerdt Streidt and Klaus Frahm, *Potsdam* (Cologne: Könemann, 1996), 198-214.

⁴⁴ On the role of a literary "Dutch style," see Peter Demetz, "Defenses of Dutch Painting and the Theory of Realism," *Comparative Literature* 15,2 (1963): 97-115, and Christiane Hertel, "The Legacy of Hegel's and Jean-Paul's Aesthetics: The Idyllic in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting," in J. Fenoulhet and L. Gilbert, eds., *Representing the Past: History Art, Language, Literature, Crossways*, vol. 3 (London: UCL, Center for Low Countries Studies, 1996), 242-56.

⁴⁵ Erich Trunz, "Die Kupferstiche zu den Lebenden Bildern' in den *Wahlverwandschaften*," in Trunz, *Weimarer Goethe-Studien* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1980), 210-16.

⁴⁶ Norbert Miller, "Mutmaßungen über lebende Bilder: Attitüde und *tableau vivant* als Anschauungsformen des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Das Triviale in Literatur, Musik und Bildender Kunst*, ed. Helga de la Motte-Haber (Frankfurt: Vittorio Klostermann, 1972), 113. For the opposite view that the *tableau vivant*, though a variation on the Pygmalion myth, is ultimately about death, see Oskar Bätschmann, "Pygmalion als Betrachter: Die Rezeption von Plastik und Malerei in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts," in Wolfgang Kemp, ed., *Der Betrachter ist im Bild: Kunstwissenschaft und Rezeptionsästhetik* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1992), 237-78.

⁴⁷ Endrulat, 113.

⁴⁸ Trunz, 212-15.

⁴⁹ On the second context, see Käte Hamburger, "Zum Problem des Idealismus bei Schiller," *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Schillergesellschaft* 4 (1960), 60-71.

⁵⁰ Miller (as in n. 46), 106.

⁵¹ Instructive in this regard is Richard Östreicher, "Robert Reitzel, *Der Arme Teufel*," in Fones-Wolf et al., 147-67; esp. 152, 161.

⁵² Sander Gilman, "German? American? Literature? Some Thoughts on the Problem of Question Marks and Hyphens," in Sander Gilman, *The Fortunes of the Humanities: Thoughts for after the Year 2000* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 93-113.

⁵³ Endrulat, 104-6.

⁵⁴ Endrulat, 186.

⁵⁵ Text 53, *Neue Preussische Zeitung* 10 November 1859, in Oellers, 1:467.

⁵⁶ Michael Kienzle, *Der Erfolgsroman* (Stuttgart: Klett, 1975), 36-59; Albert Boime, "Alfred Rethel's Counter-Revolutionary Death Dance," *The Art Bulletin* 73 (1991), 577-98.

⁵⁷ *Zur Würdigung Schillers in Amerika, Erinnerungsblätter an die 100. Wiederkehr von Schillers Todestag* (Chicago, IL: Buchhandlung Koelling und Klappenbach, 1905), 105f.

⁵⁸ Bach (as in n. 14), 40.

⁵⁹ Walter Benjamin, "Kleine Geschichte der Photographie" (1931), in *Aufsätze, Essays, Vorträge, Walter Benjamin, Werke*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1980), 2,1: 368-85.

⁶⁰ Trunz, 213.

⁶¹ Oppermann describes the dedication ceremony of Rietschel's sculpture in 1857 as a "Nationalfest" (as in n. 8), 291-96.

⁶² That such displacements, now as then, don't result in melancholy passivity, is suggested in the image of Arnold Schwarzenegger dressed in Lederhosen cut from an American flag and standing on top of an alpine mountain that illustrates a *New York Times* Op-Ed page on 9 October 2003 (A 37).

⁶³ Oppermann (as in n. 8), 290.

⁶⁴ The photograph of Kandinsky and Klee is in Paul Raabe, *Spaziergänge durch Weimar* (Zurich: Arche Verlag, 1990), 141.

⁶⁵ Gerlach, 106.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Gerlach, 11-18, 17: "Die Freudlosigkeit des amerikanischen Lebens hat doch wohl vor allem ihren Grund in dem Mangel an Gefühl."

⁶⁸ Gerlach, 194ff.

⁶⁹ Oellers, 2:74.

⁷⁰ Östreicher (as in n. 51), 152.

⁷¹ Caroline Schlegel to Auguste Böhner, 21 October, 1799; *Gedichte, Anmerkungen zu Band 21*, ed. Georg Kurscheidt and Norbert Oellers, *Schillers Werke, Nationalausgabe*, vol. 21,2 (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1993), part 2B, 165; Friedrich Schlegel to Rahel Levin, 1 April 1802, *ibid.*, 167.

⁷² *Gedichte, Anmerkungen zu Band 21* (as in n. 71), 170, citing Benno von Wiese. In their essay, "Schillers Lyrik," *ibid.*, 299-323, they see its "ebenso einfache wie kunstvolle Form leicht aus dem Blick geraten," (317), thereby almost echoing Werner Kohlschmidt, who in his *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1965), 2:830, writes that it is "besser als sein Ruf," i.e., if one does not reduce it to its "fatal-biedermeierliche" allegory. In 1959, a speaker even prefaced his bicentennial lecture's focus on the poem by asking his audience to be neither surprised nor frightened by his choice. See Rudolf Alexander Schröder, "Schiller," in *Schiller, Reden im Gedenkjahr 1959* (as in n. 2), 271-98, 278.

⁷³ See Christiane Hertel, *Studien zu Max Klingers graphischem Zyklus 'Paraphrase über den Fund eines Handschuhs' (1878-1881)* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1987), 48-53, and 96-110; and Schiller, *Gedichte, Anmerkungen zu Band 21* (as in n. 71), 170.

⁷⁴ I. A. , Kment, *Der Handschuh und seine Geschichte* (Vienna, 1890), 108.

⁷⁵ *Schiller's Briefe 1796-1798*, ed. Norbert Oellers and F. Stock, *Schillers Werke, Nationalausgabe*, vol. 29 (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1977), no. 89, p. 85, and *Briefe an Schiller*, vol. 37,1 (*ibid.*, 1981), no. 52, p. 43.

⁷⁶ An early example of taking "Der Handschuh" seriously is Kurt Berger, *Die Balladen Schillers im Zusammenhang seiner lyrischen Dichtung* (Berlin: Junker und Dünhaupt, 1939), 35-37, 55f., where he emphasizes the poem's special historical immediacy and visibility and argues against what he thinks is Wolfgang Kayser and Herbert Cysarz's merely chronological inclusion of it in their studies of 1935 and 1934 respectively.

⁷⁷ Christiane Hertel, "Irony, Dream, Kitsch: Max Klinger's *Paraphrase of the Finding of a Glove* and German Modernism," *The Art Bulletin* 74,1 (1992): 91-114.

⁷⁸ See Martin Dyck, *Die Gedichte Schillers; Figuren der Dynamik des Bildes* (Bern and Munich: Francke Verlag, 1967), on the ballads, though underestimating "Der Handschuh," 89ff.

⁷⁹ Endrulat, Appendix, new pagination, 121.

⁸⁰ Endrulat, Appendix, new pagination, 215.

Timothy J. Holian

***“Des Arbeiters Stärke”*: German-American
Brewery Owner-Worker Relations, 1860-1920**

The study of the industrial development of the United States is in large part an examination of transition in the economic and social fabric of the nation. In the space of a relative few years, manufactured output across the country evolved from individual handicraft to mass production, from utilizing the personal skill of the craftsman to supervising the design, installation and yield of time- and labor-saving, cost-efficient machines. Beginning in the middle of the nineteenth century, German immigrants and their offspring played a primary role in the growth of the industrial base; in no field of business was their presence so pronounced, and their contributions so essential to the evolution of an industry, than in the field of malt beverage manufacture. A century and a half after their initial contributions, the names of the brewer barons remain legendary both in German immigration and American business lore: firms such as Anheuser-Busch, Pabst, Schlitz, Schaefer, and Stroh, among many others, continue to evoke images of great personal success and material prosperity. Yet for all the success, their triumph would have been unthinkable without a deep and strong work force to carry out the vast scope of the founders' dreams. The interrelationship of German-American brewery magnates and their workers illustrates the complicated evolution process of the Industrial Revolution, from their initial standing as friendly colleagues of a common ethnic background to that of bitter adversaries, separated by a wide gulf of conflicting interests and their respective economic status as haves and have-nots, and finally to a state of relative harmony based on the successful development of trade unions and the need to negotiate on matters of mutual concern. By the time brewing had become big business in America during the 1880s, its German character was assured in both fact and legend, but its evolution into a model for development of organized labor and the role of collective bargaining had just begun.

From a German-American perspective, and in contrast to future developments, the distinguishing characteristic of the American brewing industry before 1840 was that there were few Germans to be found. True to colonial settlement patterns, the vast majority of early American brewers were of British stock, working with colleagues of the same background and manufacturing traditional top-fermenting styles such as ale, porter, and stout in established eastern brewing centers such as New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. By the 1840s, however, an increasing influx of German

immigrants brought considerable upheaval to the established order. First, the arrival of the Germans and their subsequent migration westward aided in opening up the frontiers of the nation generally, and in establishing both new markets and production centers for malt beverage specifically. Second, the swelling number of immigrants offered a new and sizable pool of willing labor, which in turn transformed the character of the brewery workplace. Third, and most importantly, the immigrants brought with them a taste for a new style of brewing and aging beer, one which would transform the landscape of the brewing industry for the next century and a half and give it its famous German heritage. The precise origins of lager beer are unknown and have been the subject of considerable debate; the most widely believed account holds that, after its initial development in the German-speaking area of Europe, the product first surfaced in America in Philadelphia in 1840, and was widely adopted by brewers across the nation over the next two decades, to the point that ale production was rapidly curtailed and became virtually extinct outside the east coast by the late 1860s.

Mid- to late-nineteenth-century statistical data provide definitive evidence that German immigrants had achieved dominance in the brewery setting. In 1870 a total of 488 persons were employed as brewers and maltsters in Cincinnati, of whom 330 were natives of Germany and only 119 native-born Americans. Throughout Ohio, the state with the second-highest number of brewery workers overall (1,744), a similar tendency was reflected in other communities with a large German population; in 1870 breweries and malt manufacturers there employed 1,342 workers,¹ 927 of whom were born in Germany compared with 261 native-born Americans.² National figures indicated the same trend: by 1870 German-born brewers outnumbered the American-born by almost three-to-one, at 6,780 to 2,715,³ a gap which narrowed only slightly by 1880 at 9,925 to 4,057.

Generally speaking, early relations between German-American brewery owners and their laborers were cordial, an extension of ethnic bonds forged through a shared immigrant experience. Through the middle of the nineteenth century brewing entrepreneurs and employees labored "so to speak, side by side, and the workmen felt a kind of kinship with the owners. This continued to be true (or perhaps was even more to the point) when the lager brewers from Germany began their operations in various parts of the country."⁴ Many owners and upper-level managers were known to spend evenings in the company of their workers in brewery-owned or leased saloons, discussing all manner of personal and professional business over more than a few products they had manufactured. The amicable nature of the relations was confirmed in a 1910 narrative, provided by owners in the United States Brewers Association:

Before the organization of labor unions the employing brewers in the smaller cities maintained a sort of patriarchal relation toward their workmen, eating with them at the same table and otherwise treating them as members of their household. In the larger cities the relation between employer and employed was not quite so close and intimate; but the friendly feeling between them was no less sincere.⁵

Ironically, one early factor which drove a wedge between German-American brewery owners and their workers was the notion of close personal space, specifically the issue of company-sponsored housing. The arrangement initially was well-received by the workers, especially by recent immigrants who were in need of a dwelling in an unfamiliar location and, once gainfully employed in the brewery setting, wanted to live close to other, familiar employees of the firm. Yet over time many came to see the move as a maneuver by management to control wages and thus limit the earning power of workers. Others noted that it placed labor at a personal disadvantage, in that it made them overly reliant upon their employers and thus allowed brewery owners a certain measure of control over the personal lives of their workers, as well as the unwelcome opportunity to monitor employees during their off hours.

A second, and more substantial, point of dispute between German-American brewery owners and their laborers concerned the notoriously long amount of time spent in the workplace and the harsh working conditions that often came with it. Into the 1870s brewery employees on a standard schedule commonly worked at least six days per week and at least twelve hours per day, frequently as many as fourteen or sixteen during the busy spring and summer season. According to a 1934 appraisal, in a typical 1870s brewery "work began at five o'clock in the morning, and with the exception of an hour for breakfast and for dinner, it lasted until six in the evening. At eight the men went to work again, in order to finish their floor and kiln work, which lasted until half past nine or ten o'clock."⁶ As late as 1908 the average brewery worker was committed to his labor a minimum of eight to nine hours per day, with watchmen and ice pullers averaging 10.6 and 11.7 hours respectively.⁷ In extreme cases the long hours were made worse by physical mistreatment: during the late 1870s accusations grew more frequent that foremen abused their workers, in a virtual peasant-and-serf relationship that brought an abrupt end to the personal relationship of years past between the laborers and their bosses. A 1910 account of the situation in a pro-labor publication painted a dramatic portrait of culpability on the part of ownership as well as factory management:

The condition of the brewery workmen in America before their organization was as bad as can be imagined. It was not only that the wages paid were the smallest possible and that the working time was confined only by the natural limits of human endurance, but besides this the treatment of the workmen was of such a kind that it seems impossible today to understand how they could submit to it. Cuffs and blows were everyday occurrences. When the brewery owner developed into a great capitalist, he transferred to his foremen the privilege of beating the men which he had formerly exercised in person, and the foremen continued to use it until the brewery workmen through their organization freed themselves from this remnant of the barbarism of the Middle Ages.⁸

An additional tactic allegedly employed by members of management to maintain control of their workers was to make available copious quantities of free beer, at regular

intervals throughout the day.⁹ Years later a brewery union publication echoed the charge in its own forum:

One thing the brewery owners were generous with, and that was beer. They urged the workers to drink unlimited quantities of that beverage, as the hard labor and unbearable conditions to which they were subjected would have caused a revolt of the workers much earlier if their minds were not kept in a continuous fog by the enormous consumption of the liquid. But even here the generosity of the employers was not exactly open-handed. Usually the amount of free beer furnished the workers was taken into consideration when fixing wages.¹⁰

Technological advancement also had a profound effect upon the brewery workplace and brewery labor, providing an additional source of contention between brewery workers and owners. The concept of the modern brewery began in earnest during the 1870s, when a host of inventions helped brewers to rapidly modernize and become more efficient. Innovations such as elevators, hoists, pumps, and mechanical keg scrubbers, not to mention the implementation of electric power and the use of artificial refrigeration, had a revolutionary impact upon the ability of a given brewery to expand and maximize profit potential in rapid order. The changes made brewery work more standardized, less tedious, and more cost effective, but there was also a significant disadvantage to the new developments: the need for workers to monitor and impact the brewing process was reduced, with the result that manpower could be redistributed or eliminated. Production costs dropped and profits rose, but friction between management and labor rose appreciably as workers perceived the obvious: machines began to replace many traditionally human functions in a modernized brewery. In subsequent years labor supporters cited evidence that the ratio of capital investment to labor costs in Cincinnati breweries had risen from 7.4-to-one in 1860 to 8.4-to-one in 1890,¹¹ though management sources countered with census figures showing that the number of brewery workers nationwide had risen significantly despite mechanization, from 2,347 in 1850 to 12,443 by 1870 and 26,220 a decade later.¹² The ensuing debate made further evident that German-American brewery workers felt increasingly detached from the employers with whom they had once been so close, due to markedly different wants and needs.

By the 1870s workers had become well aware of the substantial wealth earned by brewery owners, in stark contrast to their own situation. With increasing frequency, labor responded by demanding what it believed to be a more equitable share of the rewards of success, after having been compensated at a modest level in previous decades. In 1840, about the time when the German element began to dominate the landscape of American brewing, a typical brewery worker earned between four and six dollars per week without board and from four to twelve dollars per month with board and washing. A decade later the situation was virtually identical: in 1850 Cincinnati brewery employees earned a median wage of \$278.00 per year—a deceptively high level due to the inclusion of brewery officials and foremen, who were paid considerably more

money—and by the time board and other expenses were deducted from wages, many workers received less than twelve dollars, and as few as four, in their monthly pay packet.¹³ By 1860 the cost of Cincinnati brewery labor had risen to an average of \$388.93 per employee per year—forty dollars more than the statewide level¹⁴—and by 1870 area brewery worker wages had increased to \$543 per year, about \$1.80 per day based on a 300-day work year.¹⁵ In spite of that, the compensation was notably lower than that of many other laborers during the same period: brewery workers received less pay than did most other skilled workers and earned only marginally more than unskilled day laborers.¹⁶ In New York, “shortly before 1880,” the average monthly wage for brewery workers was \$40.00 to \$55.00—higher than the \$35.00 to \$40.00 figure typical in less densely populated areas of the country—before a standard \$5.00 per week deduction for board.¹⁷ In Milwaukee, Frederick Miller proudly wrote in 1879 that the men in his brewery were paid “\$700, \$650, \$480 [per year]; six drivers received between \$480 and \$540; and the maltsters \$600,” with benefits that included free meals for all workers and, excepting the foreman, subsidized bed and lodging at a minuscule rate of \$15 per year.¹⁸

Such generosity aside, and faced with what they increasingly regarded as a hostile working environment, brewery labor became increasingly tempted to form collective unions, in an effort to gain concessions from owners and management with regard to working hours, workplace conditions, and wage levels.¹⁹ The first rudimentary attempt by brewery workers to unionize took place in St. Louis on May 10, 1850, when a mass meeting of German workingmen sought consensus on the notion of establishing an “association” of trades represented within local breweries. Though the attempt failed to bear fruit, it did establish an important precedent that would be expanded upon in subsequent years. In 1852 primarily German brewery workers in Cincinnati formed a mutual aid society, designed to provide assistance in the event of sickness, death, or debilitating injury; the effort was followed by a similar organization in New York in 1860.²⁰ German brewery workers also banded together in Cleveland, forming the *Bierbrauer Unterstützungsverein* in 1872, although the organization appeared less interested in improving the lot of workers than in celebrating the flowering brewing trade in the city: in one noteworthy case, an 1873 parade featured brewery workers from throughout Ohio who, trailing a German marching band, made ample stops along the way to sample the wares of area beer gardens and make the occasional fiery speech against temperance fanatics.²¹ In many cases particular emphasis was given to the needs of immigrant labor, where often lonely and friendless workers were disproportionately affected and organizers obligingly stressed that “it is the duty of every father of a family to make provision for protecting those dependent upon him when he himself is not in a position to earn their daily bread.”²²

The Civil War brought cessation to most activities related to organizing brewery labor, as many workers took up arms during the conflict and those who remained behind or replaced them saw the impracticality of emphasizing personal and professional need in a time of national conflict. In August 1866 brewery labor reasserted its principles, when it piggybacked upon a general convention of workingmen in Baltimore, which held as its primary aim a reduction of the working day to eight

hours. Substantial nationwide pressure brought the demands to the attention of political leaders, who pushed the initiative through the United States Congress in 1868—a presidential election year with many Congressional seats also up for vote—although soon thereafter the measure was overturned in the courts. For the remainder of the 1860s and much of the next decade, brewery workplace conditions went virtually unchanged.²³

Bolstered by their persuasive powers in political circles, German laborers took the lead during the 1870s to establish a viable labor movement. In 1872 German workers in New York were instrumental in bringing about a walkout of over 100,000 men in the trades industry.²⁴ The measure did not go unnoticed in other centers of labor, nor did brewery workers fail to recognize the significance of the development. After a slack period of agitation, caused in large part by a severe nationwide economic downturn during the early- to mid-1870s, brewery labor refocused its efforts to band together, and following failed attempts in other brewing centers in 1877 and 1878, workers in Cincinnati established the *Brauer Gesellen Union*—the first organization in the United States dedicated exclusively to brewery labor concerns—in December 1879.²⁵ The extent to which workers were willing to risk alienating management and become active members stood to determine how successful the union would be in presenting a united front in negotiations and gaining concessions; given the increasing level of dissatisfaction with ownership felt by labor, membership drives enjoyed considerable success during the 1880s.

In what amounted to a test case for other fledgling brewery unions, in 1881 the *Brauer Gesellen Union* confronted Cincinnati brewery ownership for the first time, making four primary demands that subsequently would be echoed in other brewing centers across the nation: 1) a reduction of the workday from thirteen hours to ten-and-three-quarters; 2) a sixty-dollar-per-month minimum wage; 3) freedom for employees to obtain lodging on their own; and 4) a Sunday reduction in hours from eight to four, including a twenty-five cents per hour overtime bonus should the need for extra work arise.²⁶ In contrast, an organization representing management—the Cincinnati Brewers' Association—proposed a standard twelve-hour work day, the only concession owners were willing to make; wages were to be left to the discretion of the individual breweries and Sunday hours were deemed non-negotiable.²⁷ Further discussion failed to prompt a solution, and as a result the union called a strike and proclaimed a member boycott against non-union beer, defined as product from breweries with a union membership rate of less than fifty percent. In short order previously cordial relations among the German brewers and laborers suffered irreparable damage, each side feeling threatened and alienated by the other as employees attempted to improve their compensation and working conditions while owners tried to maintain the status quo.

In early negotiations between brewery labor and management, the law of supply and demand ultimately had much more to do with the relative success or failure experienced by the union and its workers. In spite of historically empathetic feelings many brewery owners had for their workers on a personal level, they made a point of addressing their business needs first, clearly showing how they had become successful

entrepreneurs in the first place: during an 1888 strike, Cincinnati brewer John Hauck openly expressed the widely held viewpoint that "the laborer is worthy of his hire" and no more.²⁸ Seven years earlier, in the midst of the 1881 strike, fellow Cincinnati brewery owner Christian Moerlein had made a similar break with his own longtime workers, stating to a local newspaper that the labor situation would be resolved quickly and clearly implying that those employees who failed to accept terms proposed by brewery management could—and would—be promptly replaced, all sentimentality aside:

"We sent for some brewers and they were to leave New York to-night."

"To whom did you send?"

"The Brewers' Association."

"How many of them are there?"

"About sixty."

"What do you pay them?"

"Ten dollars apiece."

"But what wages?"

"Oh, the same that we paid the brewers who struck—the old wages."

"Are they skilled workmen?"

"Of course. All good, competent men to do the difficult part of beer brewing."

"Then there will be no further trouble about the strike?"

"Oh, no; they'll go right to work. We shan't take the old men back. We will have hands enough."

"Then there will be no trouble about the supply of beer? No danger of a failure of crop, so to speak?"

"Not the slightest. We'll make all the beer that's wanted, and the public need not be afraid."

"Do you anticipate any trouble?"

"Oh, no; I think not."²⁹

The Moerlein perspective was hardly an isolated one. Fellow German brewer Conrad Windisch appeared equally indifferent both to the arrival of the New York workers and the fate of his own employees, stating to a reporter "I think they come too late. It makes no difference; I will get along all right. I guess if they strike I will get our old hands; some that will go to work."³⁰ It soon became clear that brewers nationwide enjoyed considerable success in early skirmishes: in 1888 the Gambrinus Assembly of the Knights of Labor—the formal union into which the Cleveland *Bierbrauer Unterstützungsverein* had evolved by June 1886—received a report lamenting that "only on the Pacific Coast, in Cleveland, and in Syracuse was the condition of the union a good one."³¹

The apparent indifference by brewers to the welfare of their workers was but one measure successfully employed in efforts to thwart walkouts. Striking employees frequently were blacklisted by brewery owners, ensuring that they would not be able to find employment elsewhere if they did not return on terms proposed by the brewers. Unsubtle pressure also was applied to saloonkeepers—whose own business

disagreements with brewery management often were no less vitriolic—to join in on the side of the brewers by shutting their doors to striking or blacklisted workers and lobbying accusations that union beers were of inferior quality. The measure provided at least a partial defense against the lone effective tactic utilized by the workmen, the boycott of nonunion beer at area drinking establishments—no small consideration given that many brewery employees reputedly were “in the habit of taking from 30 to 80 glasses of the amber fluid every day.”³²

Despite occasional small triumphs, primarily in slight reductions in the length of the workday and gaining minimum salary concessions, brewery labor continued to come out on the losing end of protracted battles with management as the 1880s came to a close. With a large migrant work force at their disposal, generally favorable media coverage, thousands of barrels of beer in reserve, and the grudging support of many saloons, the brewers consistently showed a greater capacity to withstand a lengthy work stoppage and made full use of their position of strength. In short order labor—invariably facing a lack of funds, dwindling morale, and an inability to resolve the problem of replacement workers—gave in to the brewers and returned to work on terms similar, if not identical, to those under which it had walked out in the first place. There were, however, exceptions to the rule. An 1886 brewery workers’ strike in Chicago was settled quickly when local brewery owners, fearful of a repeat of a Milwaukee general strike in May that resulted in considerable violence, compromised on several long-held negotiating positions and forged an amicable agreement that reduced the workday to ten hours in length (four on Sunday) and increased brewery wages to between \$60.00 and \$85.00 per month for skilled laborers, with the side benefit that the brewery *Sternwirt* (hospitality room) would continue to serve workers with quart-sized glasses of beer five times per day, at 6, 9, and 11 a.m. as well as 2 and 4 p.m., although only three glasses of beer would be allowed per break period.³³

Generally speaking, during the 1880s negotiations between brewery management and labor were characterized by a lack of unity and organization on the part of the workers and their union representation, which made it easier for brewery management to gain favorable terms in times of dispute. Recognizing its primary source of weakness, the lack of a clear plan for dealing with brewery owners, labor grew in strength and resolve during the early 1890s and after it adopted a more unified approach to negotiations over wages and working conditions. In 1886 the organization later named the Brewery Workmen’s National Union held its first convention and in September 1889 brought its annual meeting to Cincinnati. With only eleven delegates and twenty-three local unions represented, and just \$300 in the organizational treasury, optimism was limited even among its most ardent followers. But by the time the convention returned to the city in September 1896, the strength of the national union had grown appreciably: 104 local unions—including twenty-two new collectives during the previous year—featured a total of 8,072 paid members. Encouraged by their strengthened standing, labor leaders used the 1896 meeting to rail against the German brewer barons:

... the times for the laboring class in general grew worse, while on the other hand the boss brewers grew richer and indeed some of them became multiple-millionaires. ... The advantages accruing from the invention of more labor-saving machineries, instead of being shared by the whole human race, are tending to increase the army of unemployed and the wage-earners are being robbed of the products of their labor by trusts and monopolies.³⁴

Ongoing discord between management and workers contributed to an economic stagnation of the brewing industry in several key production centers during the 1890s, which in turn complicated recovery efforts that depended upon mutual cooperation. Relations between the two sides, still tense from conflict during the previous decade, reached a breaking point when more unified labor boycotts translated into gains for the union position. By the end of the decade an additional unwelcome complication arose through the fragmentation of the brewery workplace, in which individual craft workers received strike rights in matters of dispute. The need for brewery owners to negotiate on multiple fronts complicated bargaining work and made more difficult the possibility of arriving at a cordial agreement. As labor gradually began to gain an advantage in negotiations, management felt an acute economic impact and increasingly was obliged to deal with workers from a position of weakness. One key to future victories by organized labor was the ability of pro-union interests to purchase outright individual breweries and turn them into strategic outposts against collusion by other brewery owners. In one noteworthy example, in 1888 a conglomeration of roughly 150 local saloonkeepers—disgruntled with the tactics of the brewery owners and thus receptive to union overtures—raised \$80,000 and purchased the Banner Brewing Company in Cincinnati. Faced with threats by the Brewers Association to cut prices in order to weaken and close the brewery, Banner director Conrad Burkhauser promptly laid off nonunion employees and hired union workers.³⁵ When the Schaller Brewing Company joined Banner as a union shop in December 1891, labor activists intensified their efforts to win support among other, allied sectors; aware of an eroding base of support, by mid-1892 eight Cincinnati breweries had contracted with the union, while at least sixteen others reached agreement in principle on several provisions of a new contractual proposal. To a considerable extent the decision by owners to soften their anti-union stance was influenced by owner-labor relations in other important brewing centers. During the late 1880s and early 1890s Milwaukee brewery management and labor swiftly and amicably concluded negotiations when it became apparent that a strong union offered mutual benefits in an increasingly diverse work environment:

A primary necessity for such orderly bargaining was a strong union. Brewers ... were no more anxious to divide authority over labor conditions with a union than were other employers, but the Milwaukee firms were quicker than many in recognizing the advantage of having contented workers and a responsible union leadership that could handle intercraft disputes.³⁶

In subsequent years Chicago brewers also fell into line with the new order, concluding a contract with labor in 1904 that was considered liberal even by the changing standards of the time and featuring—in addition to now-standard concessions on wages and length of the workday—the establishment of a seven-man arbitration board which included three representatives from both the management and union sides along with a neutral seventh participant.³⁷

Labor quickly hailed the new agreements as *de facto* recognition of its importance to the industry, and noted with evident pride what it had accomplished across the nation and in a relatively short period of time. Many brewers now agreed to give hiring preference to union members, a measure that increased membership and minimized a significant source of friction: brewery use of nonunion replacement, “scab” workers. Laborers were given greater freedom to seek housing of their own choice, which lessened reliance upon the employer. Work forces were rotated in the event of layoffs. Workdays were shortened from fourteen to ten hours in length, with Sunday work not exceeding three hours and extra pay for weekend assignments. Progress was made regarding wage levels and job security, and arbitration boards were designated to hear grievances, including two arbiters from each side and a fifth, mutually agreeable neutral observer. The presence of women and children in the workplace, performing potentially hazardous labor for significantly less pay than their adult male colleagues, would decline in subsequent years, aided in part by new child-labor laws and their increasingly rigid enforcement. Additionally, labor managed to safeguard access to free beer on the job, a cherished right of the brewery workplace, earlier reports of product misuse notwithstanding.³⁸

As a result of such agreements, German-American brewery owners and their employees maintained favorable relations for the remainder of the pre-Prohibition period, even finding common ground on several potentially turbulent issues. Seeking a safe haven for business investments, British speculators made extensive efforts during the late 1880s and 1890s to purchase American breweries at exorbitant prices and incorporate them into a series of English-run syndicates. Fearful of a loss of independence at the executive level and employment within the breweries, owners and workers frequently fought against the proposal in unison, often expressing in no uncertain terms what they thought of the British financiers. Interestingly, some German-American brewery leaders were more thoughtful in their reactions, noting that certain benefits might be derived from English entry into the market. Prominent Cincinnati brewer Henry Muhlhauser—mindful of a growing prohibitionist sentiment and the harsh ethnic overtones against the German element that often came with it—declined to sell, but nevertheless expressed a sympathetic viewpoint on British investment, as a way to “divide the onus of the profession between two nationalities” and distance the German element slightly from its stereotypical association with beer brewing and consumption.³⁹ Christian Moerlein painted the rejection of a \$5,000,000 offer for his brewery in a patriotic light, telling a local newspaper that the business would not join an English syndicate “as long as any of the present owners, all of whom are in the Moerlein family, are alive, and no one else can get into it. This is an American brewery and shall never pass into the hands of the British.”⁴⁰

Despite some differences of opinion on the issue of British investment, brewery owners and workers unquestionably found common ground on the prohibition issue. As early as the 1850s German-American lager brewers, their workers, and their patrons felt the sting of an organized anti-immigrant program, put forth during the nativist ("Know Nothing") movement of the period and which motivated ethnic Germans to respond in kind, in order to safeguard the cherished concept of personal freedom and a significant source of cultural identity—not to mention a substantial wellspring of economic revenue.⁴¹ Over the next half century efforts to persuade ethnic Germans and other drinkers to distance themselves from alcohol on moral grounds proved fruitless; as a result anti-alcohol agitators turned toward legislation as the best means to bring about the drink reform they believed necessary. By the early 1910s, with public sentiment and political leadership increasingly leaning in favor of national prohibition, brewers and German-American societies nationwide joined forces to show the economic ramifications of dry laws upon ownership and labor, emphasizing that such a measure would disproportionately affect German-American interests. An October 1910 publication of the *Deutsche Schützen-Gesellschaft* of Covington, Kentucky indicated that the federal government collected some \$80,000,000 in taxes through beer sales during 1909. In a specific appeal for the support of laborers, the DSG reported that American brewery workers earned two to three times as much money per day as their counterparts in Germany, and that breweries employed more workers and salesmen, utilized more raw ingredients, supported more secondary industries, and possessed more real estate than other comparable industries. The clear inference was that a termination of such vital activity, involving over 1,500 breweries and 50,000 employees across the nation, would have devastating financial consequences for all involved.⁴²

In the course of occasional conflicts which continued to affect German-American brewery management-labor relations, workers' unions earned further concessions during the early twentieth century, most notably in connection with compensation and working hours: by 1910 an average brewery wash house worker earned \$17.00 per week, while brewers and cellar, kettle department, and fermenting room labor took home approximately \$18.00. Engineers were the highest-paid workers, at roughly \$20.00 each week, while less specialized employees earned between \$15.00 and \$17.50. Workdays had been lowered to between eight and nine hours, with time-and-a-half given for overtime in addition to increases in minimum weekly wages.⁴³ By 1920 the figures had grown still further, with the average brewer earning \$21.00 per week, multiskilled laborers making \$23.25, bottlers and drivers receiving \$25.50, and maltsters compensated at \$29.50 for the same period; for each position, the raise ranged from nearly a quarter of the previous salary to almost double that which was paid for the same work in 1912.⁴⁴ The improvement in brewery worker compensation compared favorably with that of other manufacturing sectors during the period. No less importantly to labor, pay gains registered from the 1880s into the 1910s lessened a wide earnings differential between upper management and the workers: while the average brewery worker could expect to earn roughly \$1,300 per year shortly before prohibition, an urban brewery officer typically was compensated at a rate of \$3,000-

\$5,000, depending on the level of the position and whether or not the individual held multiple offices (e.g., secretary and treasurer).⁴⁵

At the onset of national prohibition in 1920, it had become fully evident not only that unionization had served the best interests of German-American brewery workers from the 1880s onward, but also that it had earned them a substantial increase in both power and prestige in comparison with laborers in other fields. Skillful negotiation by union leaders and a united front earned victories and accomplished two significant goals. During the course of three decades brewery workers saw the average length of their work day reduced from between fourteen and sixteen hours per day to eight or nine, while improvements in wage levels and working conditions kept pace with, if not exceeded, those of other labor sectors across the country. Although brewery management grudgingly accepted the new order, it also demonstrated an increased level of respect for the employees and the single-mindedness of their purpose, credit for which in large part went to union leadership and its own not inconsiderable managerial skills. As early as 1903 an advertisement by the New Kentucky Brewery Company illustrated the change in attitude German-American brewery leadership had experienced, and the degree to which it considered its employees to be not only an asset, rather than a liability, in the overall well-being of the company, but also how the new perspective factored into a revised marketing plan:

Do you know the secret of our success in brewing? If not, you should inform yourself, because every barrel brewed and bottled is done under our personal supervision and with the assistance of union labor. . . .

The laboring man will always find a friend in the present management of the New Kentucky Brewery, and it has more opportunities for the betterment of the laboring man to offer from the fact that its plant has been remodeled and improved with an expenditure of at least \$50,000.00. The men working directly in the brewery have not only been benefitted, but all other building trades as well, and every business man in this territory has derived some benefit either directly or indirectly.

Remember, boys, our motto is "In union there is strength." So there is in "New Kentucky Brew."⁴⁶

The change was heralded at all levels of labor as a sign of final victory, as well as an opportunity for a lasting reconciliation, albeit one which would be cut short by external circumstances. In 1917, at the height of a prohibition debate that ultimately would lead to a fourteen-year downfall of legal brewing and—along with World War I—change forever the overtly German character of the industry, brewery union leaders offered their strongest gesture of solidarity toward their formerly bitter rivals, emphatically rejecting prohibitionist charges of exploitation in the brewery workplace with the statement that "what we claim, and truthfully say, is: that the conditions of the workers in the brewing industry are much better than in many other industries."⁴⁷ It was a claim which, on its surface, might have been made over half a century earlier, and as such clear evidence that though much had changed between German-American

brewers and their workers, through a remarkable series of circumstances, the relationship would wind up in some ways precisely where it had started.

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Notes

¹ 1880 U. S. Census Report: *Occupations at the Tenth Census* (Washington: Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, 1884), 427.

² 1870 U. S. Census Report: *Occupations at the Ninth Census* (Washington: Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, 1874) 752, 783. In contrast to the figures for the brewing industry, American-born workers outnumbered the German-born by more than a two-to-one ratio—29,519 to 12,660—in all manufacturing classes in Cincinnati during the 1880s.

³ 1870 U. S. Census Report, 847.

⁴ Stanley Baron, *Brewed in America: The History of Beer and Ale in the United States* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1962), 274.

⁵ Cited in Baron, 274.

⁶ Cited in *Brewery Worker* 49,6 (10 Mar. 1934): 7.

⁷ Ohio Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Annual Report for 1908*, 130-31.

⁸ Schlüter, 89-90.

⁹ Schlüter, 148.

¹⁰ "Strike Lost Without Drivers' Aid," *Brewery Worker* 49,6 (10 Mar. 1934): 7. With regard to the copious consumption of beer in the workplace, a study published in 1902 found that the use of alcohol played a significant role neither in workplace injury nor in premature mortality among brewery workers. According to the *Wahl-Henius Handy Book of Brewing, Malting, and Auxiliary Trades*, over a five-year period there were only thirty-six deaths nationwide directly attributable to brewery employment, a decrease of forty percent from the level exhibited in 1880. A separate 1910 survey noted that brewery workers suffered a forty-three percent greater mortality rate than normal, but connected that to inherent conditions in the workplace, e.g., respiratory diseases brought on by extreme temperature variations and excessive dampness. Still, there is little doubt that brewery workers during the pre-prohibition era consumed beer at a rate far greater than in the modern era; according to the Wahl-Henius survey, the average consumption of malt liquor among brewery workers was 25.73 glasses—about ten pints—per person, per day. See Peter R. Guetig and Conrad D. Selle, *Louisville Breweries: A History of the Brewing Industry in Louisville, Kentucky, New Albany and Jeffersonville, Indiana* (n.p., Mark Skaggs Press, 1997), 24.

¹¹ Stephen J. Ross, *Workers On The Edge: Work, Leisure, and Politics in Industrializing Cincinnati, 1788-1890* (New York: Columbia UP, 1985), 119.

¹² United States Census figures 1850-1880, cited in "Strike Lost Without Drivers' Aid," *Brewery Worker* 49,6 (10 Mar. 1934): 6-7.

¹³ Schlüter, 90; "Strike Lost Without Drivers' Aid," *Brewery Worker* 49,6 (10 Mar. 1934): 6-7.

¹⁴ United States Department of the Interior, *Manufactures of the United States in 1860* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1865), 455, 486.

¹⁵ A more optimistic assessment of the situation was provided by the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce in its 1872 *Annual Report*, when it stated that 1,306 workers were employed in all aspects related to the production, packaging, and transport of Cincinnati beer, and were paid \$1,200,000 in wages—an average of \$918.84 per worker per year, or \$3.06 per day in a 300-day work year. The Chamber of Commerce figures include workers such as coopers, who were not paid directly as brewery employees and likely received a different compensation rate than standard brewery workers; and brewmasters, who received considerably higher pay for their work. See Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce, *Annual Report for 1872* 49.

¹⁶ Ross, *Workers On The Edge*, 213.

¹⁷ Baron, 278.

¹⁸ Baron, 277. The current source notes also that Miller provided some relative prices of the era in his letter, to provide a sense of perspective on the levels of wages paid to Milwaukee employees. Among the

commodities and prices cited by Miller are: eggs (eight cents per dozen); butter (seven to eight cents per pound); porterhouse steak (ten cents per pound); potatoes (sixty to eighty cents per one hundred pounds); and a "good man's suit" at fifteen to twenty dollars. A Cincinnati brewery employee of the era provided evidence of a similar pay structure there, noting that in 1887 two-horse beer delivery wagon drivers were paid \$11.54 per week and four-horse drivers earned \$13.87. See "John Hollerbach Is Speaking Now," *Brewery Worker* 49,8 (24 Mar. 1934): 5.

¹⁹ Apart from the efforts of brewery workers to unionize, during the mid- to late nineteenth century brewery ownership also sought to create an umbrella organization that would represent its collective interests. While labor was primarily concerned with improving working conditions within the brewery setting, management efforts to form an association had relatively little to do with points of contention with employees, concentrating instead upon a host of factors external to the industry that called for a united response. Foremost among factors cited in this regard was the problematic nature of relations with the federal government, particularly with regard to taxation issues. In an effort to generate needed money after the outbreak of the Civil War, a new revenue act was passed in July 1862 which taxed beer for the first time. Generally speaking, brewers favored enactment of the measure as a patriotic gesture but expressed concern over inequities in the structure of the law; under the leadership of Johann Katzenmayer, thirty-seven New York brewers came together in what eventually evolved into a national organization, the United States Brewers Association, and successfully lobbied Washington for changes in the legislation that would be favorable to the brewers. In subsequent years the growing organization would extend its membership and influence westward, to an established industrial base and emerging brewing centers such as Milwaukee and St. Louis, to combat other threats to the well-being of its membership, most notably unstable relations with saloonkeepers; the enactment of Sunday closing laws and local option legislation; and the work of the Anti-Saloon League and other groups in favor of enactment of national prohibition legislation. Comparatively little attention was paid to matters of brewer-labor negotiations, under the widely-held premise that such affairs were for local—rather than national—brewers' organizations to resolve, given the disparate needs and circumstances of individual markets. There was little question that the German element dominated both the membership and leadership of the USBA during its early years: its founding resolution and constitution were drafted in German, translated into English only afterward. In fact in its first three years the USBA was widely known as the Lager Beer Brewers Association, in deference to the heavy proportion of German members and their preferred brewing style; only later was it noted that the name and organizational structure discouraged active participation by primarily English-speaking ale brewers. Nevertheless, for years afterward German remained the official language of the USBA and its business meetings, and its annual convention was held exclusively in German until 1872 when, owing to an increasing number of non-German invited guests, a resolution was adopted to conduct future proceedings—albeit only every other year—in the English language. For an extensive account of the history and activities of the USBA, see "Commemorative Issue of the 100th Anniversary of the United States Brewers Association," *Modern Brewery Age* 65,1 (1962).

²⁰ While Cincinnati German brewery workers were instrumental in the foundation of the first brewers' mutual aid society, the collective bore no clear relation to subsequent brewery workers' unions, since local brewery owners also were members of the group and exerted considerable influence over the direction of all activities undertaken. See "Strike Lost Without Drivers' Aid," *The Brewery Worker* 49,6 (10 Mar. 1934): 7; and Schlüter, 96.

²¹ Carl H. Miller, *Breweries of Cleveland* (Cleveland: Schnitzelbank Press, 1998), 64.

²² Schlüter, 96-97.

²³ Schlüter, 97-98.

²⁴ Schlüter, 98. The tendency of German laborers to walk off the job in search of better working conditions during the 1870s was observed in markets across the nation, but there were also noteworthy exceptions. In July 1877 a series of labor strikes took place across the Midwest, the result of widespread economic downturn from a depression and in imitation of a nationwide rail strike. In one such demonstration in Chicago, a large group of protesters marched past the M. Gottfried brewery and called out workers there to join the parade. To their consternation, brewery workers not only refused to join them, but barricaded the entrances to the plant against an inevitable backlash. During the course of a vigorous attack on the front entrance to the brewery, an employee managed to sneak out the back and summon help from a nearby police station. During the course of the attack, thirteen of the demonstrators were subdued and arrested, while the brewery suffered only minor damage. See *The Western Brewer* (August 1877 issue); John J. Flinn,

History of the Chicago Police (Chicago: Under the Auspices of the Police Book Fund, 1887), 196; and Bob Skilnik, *The History of Beer and Brewing in Chicago, 1833-1978* (St. Paul: Pogo Press, 1999), 50.

²⁵ For a comprehensive discussion of Cincinnati brewer-worker relations, see William Downard, *The Cincinnati Brewing Industry: A Social and Economic History* (Athens: Ohio UP, 1973), 97-124; and Timothy J. Holian, *Over the Barrel: The Brewing History and Beer Culture of Cincinnati, Volume One, 1800-Prohibition* (St. Joseph, MO: Sudhaus Press, 2000), 180-190 and 258-267.

²⁶ Schlüter, 101. See also "Labor Troubles," *Cincinnati Enquirer* 11 Jul. 1881: 4.

²⁷ "The Beer Brewers' Association," *Cincinnati Enquirer* 14 Jul. 1881: 4.

²⁸ *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette* 20 Apr. 1888 (n.p.). For a more extensive discussion of the Chicago brewery union movement, and the concerns of its brewery labor and management at the time, see Bob Skilnik, "The Union Movement in Chicago's Early Breweries," *American Breweriana Journal* 83 (1996): 32-33.

²⁹ Cited in "At Lager-Heads," *Cincinnati Enquirer* 20 Jul. 1881: 4. See also "All Quiet Along the Lines of the Brewers," *Cincinnati Enquirer* 23 Jul. 1881: 8.

³⁰ Cited in "At Lager-Heads," *Cincinnati Enquirer* 20 Jul. 1881: 4.

³¹ Cited in Miller 64-65. While 1886 was not a successful year for labor in negotiating with ownership, it was in retrospect a turning point in the nature of brewery worker organization. In many of the foremost brewing centers—specifically Baltimore, Chicago, Milwaukee, Newark, St. Louis, Philadelphia, and Detroit—brewery employees organized and concurrently undertook to strike against their employers, a development which brewers nationwide came to describe as "the great struggle of 1886." The surge culminated in August with the establishment of the National Union of the Brewers of the United States, taking the concept of brewery worker representation from a local to a nationwide level. Its official publication, the *Brauer-Zeitung*, was published in German for the next three decades, by the 1910s in both English and German before the German language was phased out for good at the time of World War I. See Baron 280-281.

³² "50 Years Ago In Cincinnati," *Cincinnati Enquirer* 21 Apr. 1938: 4.

³³ Skilnik, *History of Beer and Brewing in Chicago*, 51. Despite the relatively cordial agreement reached by Chicago brewers and their workers in 1886, another, more acrimonious clash of interests occurred just two years later. Thirty-four brewery owners, clearly put off by the seemingly constant nature of labor agitation, took a hard line against union leaders, calling them "arrogant, intolerant and un-American" and, as frequently occurred in labor disputes of the era, describing the uprising as the result of a misguided socialist leaning among upper union directorship. A first-hand account of the 1888 conflict—provided by Alfred Kolb, a young German freelance writer posing as a brewery worker—noted that the main participants in the strike were German immigrants, primarily "unskilled, younger people, mainly of German origin. And German was the language spoken amongst us." See Skilnik, *History of Beer and Brewing in Chicago*, 53-55.

³⁴ "What Faced the Brewery Workers?," *The Brewery Worker* 49,10 (7 Apr. 1934): 6; "Forty Years Before 1935," *The Brewery Worker* 50,37 (14 Sep. 1935): 5. The rapid growth in brewery union local numbers and membership continued unabated into the early twentieth century, and played a role in the continued gains made by labor at the bargaining table. By the time the labor convention returned to Cincinnati in 1903, national brewery worker union membership had risen significantly, to 31,000, and included 317 locals and 121 branches. See *The Brewery Worker* 49,11 (14 Apr. 1934): 7-8.

³⁵ "The Union Brewery Matter," *Cincinnati Enquirer* 4 May 1888: 8; *Cincinnati Enquirer* 12 May 1888, *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette* 12 May 1888, as cited in Downard, 110-11.

³⁶ Thomas C. Cochran, *The Pabst Brewing Company: The History of an American Business* (New York: New York UP, 1948), 292-93. A thorough overview of the successful management-labor negotiations in Milwaukee during the period is available in this same source (279-83).

³⁷ Skilnik, 85.

³⁸ Downard, 112-13. According to the 1892 agreement between sixteen Cincinnati and northern Kentucky breweries and the local Brewers' Union, access to free beer during the work day was regulated according to type and location of work within the brewery setting: cellar men were entitled to eight glasses per day, wash house man received ten glasses during the same period, and pitching department employees could partake of up to twelve glasses per shift. See "Union Beer," *Kentucky Post* 19 Mar. 1892: 8.

³⁹ Cited in "The Secret Out," *Cincinnati Enquirer* 22 Feb. 1889: 8.

⁴⁰ Cited in *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette* 12 Oct. 1890 (n.p.).

⁴¹ For a detailed discussion of the "Know-Nothing" movement in Cincinnati and its impact on the German-American community there specifically, see Jed Dannenbaum, "Immigrants and Temperance: Ethnocultural Conflict in Cincinnati, 1845-1860," *Ohio History* 87,2 (1978): 125-39.

⁴² A copy of the *Deutsche Schützen-Gesellschaft* publication with relevant figures is present in the holdings of the Cincinnati Historical Society. Evidence that brewery owners and their workers worked together more closely in light of the prohibition threat can be inferred in part by the sharp decrease in the number of strikes within the industry during the 1910s. According to a 1913 United States Brewers' Association report, there were roughly 150 contracts renewed between management and labor in the previous year; no serious strikes took place during that time and only one of "particular importance"—in Salt Lake City—occurred, which in turn was settled relatively quickly and in favor of management. See "Report of the Labor Committee," *The Yearbook With Proceedings of the Fifty-Third Annual Convention* (New York: United States Brewers' Association, 1914), 68.

⁴³ Figures on the 1910 compensation rate and workday schedule are taken from contemporary figures gathered by the Brewers' Association of Massachusetts, and are available in the collections of the Cincinnati Historical Society.

⁴⁴ Information on weekly brewery employee wages in Cincinnati and selected other brewing centers may be found in the records of the International Union of United Brewery Workers, present in the collection of the Cincinnati Historical Society. Comparable figures were exhibited in Louisville and other markets of a similar size, where in 1917 a minimum wage was set at \$21.00 per week for skilled brewery workers in cellars, fermenting rooms, and brewhouses. See Guetig and Selle, *Louisville Breweries*, 25.

⁴⁵ Bruckmann Brewing Company records, at the Cincinnati Historical Society. An extensive overview of the weekly wages paid to Pabst and other Milwaukee brewery workers from 1905 to 1918, categorized according to contract years and classified by area of employment within the brewery, can be found in Cochran, 299.

⁴⁶ "Drink 'New Kentucky' Brew," advertisement, *The Commonwealth* [Covington, KY] (Sep. 1903): 23. The New Kentucky Brewery Company was formed around January 1903 after the previous management of the business, led by Fred Brenner under the name of the John Brenner Brewing Company, opted to dispose of its interests after a series of financial losses. President of the New Kentucky Brewery was Anton J. Lauer; Charles Fink served as vice president; and Charles F. Gerlach assumed the positions of secretary and treasurer. In the first nine months of its existence the company increased its bottled beer output by approximately 900 percent. Despite the apparent success of the firm, within two years the name of the business reverted back to the Brenner Brewing Company, under the management of Theodore von Hoene.

⁴⁷ "Very Important," *Brewery Workers' Journal* 32,38 (22 Sep. 1917): 1. With national prohibition rapidly becoming a realistic possibility, brewery owners nationwide stressed a position of harmony with organized labor, in an attempt to counteract prohibitionist reports of ongoing poor management-worker relations. As part of its national publicity campaign, the United States Brewers' Association cited a report by the central labor union of New England which claimed that "the employing brewers of this country, in sharp contrast to the attitude of many large employers ... pay a higher rate of wages and provide more decent working conditions than any other industry in the country." The USBA further stressed its satisfaction with labor union efforts to combat the dry menace, "for the intelligent and promising part they are taking in the struggle against Prohibition, its many shams and hypocrisies. That their interests no less than their employers' should compel them to take such part should not detract from the credit due them for the intelligence with which they are co-operating in this work." Additional reference was made to the fact that, at a nationwide conference, labor leaders agreed to levy a one dollar per year fee on all union members—some 50,000 in number—to help create and maintain a legislative bureau to campaign against the enactment of prohibition laws. See "Report of the Labor Committee," *The 1914 Yearbook of the United States Brewers' Association* (New York: United States Brewers' Association, 1914), 64-75.

William D. Keel

A German-American Cultural Icon: *O, du schöne Schnitzelbank!*

At a recent conference on German-American Studies a presenter remarked that the well-known German-American popular sing-along "Ist das nicht eine Schnitzelbank" (see fig. 1) had been created at Mader's German Restaurant in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and that no German speakers from Europe had ever heard of the song.¹ German tourists in the United States would undoubtedly react in a similar fashion if they encountered the selection of *Schnitzelbank* tourist items (sweatshirts, T-shirts, placemats, postcards, banners, etc.) at such German-American attractions as the Amana Colonies in Iowa and the Deutschheim Historic Site in Hermann, Missouri, or happened to eat at *Schnitzelbank* restaurants in Grand Rapids, Michigan, and Jasper, Indiana. The classical German-American *Schnitzelbank* chart and song would seem to be something truly "made in America."

Judging by the frequency with which the *Schnitzelbank* or some variation of it appears in American popular culture, the song seems to be firmly ingrained in the American consciousness. One encounters the song in an amazing variety of situations. For instance, a bell tower in Cullman, Alabama, plays the "Schnitzelbank Song" on the hour. *Schnitzelbank* episodes can be found in feature films with both the Marx brothers (in the 1932 film *Horsefeathers*) and with the Three Stooges in 1941 (*I'll Never Heil Again*). A 1956 episode of the TV series "I Love Lucy" entitled "Lucy in the Swiss Alps" features the song. The "Schnitzelbank Song" is also utilized in Billy Wilder's feature film *Stalag 17* (1953) by the American POWs during a volley ball game to keep the German guards from detecting the prisoners' secret radio antenna. In the 1943 novel *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn* by Betty Smith one finds a version of the song being sung by Germans on New Year's Eve interrupting the singing of "Auld Lang Syne" (361-62). Katherine Anne Porter's *Ship of Fools* (published in 1962, but begun in 1941) includes a song with the couplets "Ist das nicht ein gulden Ring? Ja, das ist ein gulden Ring, etc." (408). The Heilemann Brewing Company used the *Schnitzelbank* in an advertising jingle in the 1950s.² Stephen Spielberg also adapted the song for his *Animaniacs* cartoon series. In episode 56 (debuted February 17, 1994), a Professor Otto von Schnitzelpusskrankengescheitmeyer appears to lead everyone in the so-called "International Friendship Song" that begins: "Ist das nicht ein piece of chalk? - Ja, das ist ein piece of chalk!" Similar verses are followed by the standard refrain: "Oh, du schöne Schnitzelbank!" The Spielberg version ultimately pokes fun

at Germans and the German language and plays upon negative stereotypes of Germans common in American popular culture. *Schnitzelbank* also is found in names of business establishments from a publication house in Cleveland to a souvenir shop in Frankenmuth, Michigan, to restaurants in New York where the selection of meat entrées is called the *Schnitzelbank*.³

A few Germans, who admit to knowing the song, believe it was brought to Germany by the popular polka band leader Marvin Herzog (1932-2002) of Frankenmuth, Michigan. Herzog certainly popularized the *Schnitzelbank* through his concert tours in Germany as well as his recording of the song. And some Germans also recall that a young American GI named Gus Backus recorded the song "Ei, du schöne Schnitzelbank" on the Polydor label in 1966. Backus was from New York, had stayed on in Germany after his discharge and developed a successful career as a popular singer. The Backus version has a decidedly sexual twist to it with lots of slang:

Ist das nicht eine Schnitzelbank? – Ja, das ist eine Schnitzelbank!
 Hobelt sie nicht blitzeblank? – Ja, sie hobelt blitzeblank!
 Ist das nicht ein steiler Zahn? – Ja, das ist ein steiler Zahn!
 Ist bei der nicht alles dran? – Ja, bei der ist alles dran!
 Ist das nicht ein kesser Bissen? – Ja, das ist ein kesser Bissen!
 Kann sie täglich besser küssen? – Ja, täglich kann sie besser küssen!
 Isst du gerne Sauerkraut? – Ja, wir essen Sauerkraut!
 Küsst du gerne deine Braut? – Ja, wir küssen *deine* Braut!
 Ist das nicht der Klapperstorch? – Ja, das Klappern geht mir dorch und dorch!⁴

But if the *Schnitzelbank* is a German-American cultural phenomenon, we would have to find the following statement from Switzerland most puzzling: "Den Refrain 'ei du scheene, ei du scheene, ei du scheene Schnitzelbängg' kennt die ganze Schweiz. Tatsächlich sind Schnitzelbängg das beliebteste Basler Fasnachts-Happening bei den übrigen Eidgenossen."⁵ This Swiss or Alemannic connection to the *Schnitzelbank* song has been recently elucidated in a collection of some 1,600 *Schnitzelbänke*—"geistreiche, treffende, liebenswerte und auch beißende Verse zum politischen, kulturellen und sozialen Leben Basels und der Welt"⁶—that was published in 2002 under the title "*Ei du scheene . . .*": *Das 20. Jahrhundert im Spiegel der Basler Schnitzelbänke*.⁷ The collection documents the long tradition of the Shrovetide custom in Basel (and in many other cities of this region) of *Schnitzelbank* clubs (*Schnitzelbankgesellschaften* or *Schnitzelbank-Comités*) singing humorous ditties at pubs on the three nights prior to Ash Wednesday. The songs poke fun at politicians and other important figures and were traditionally accompanied by charts with colorful pictures depicting the content of the songs.

In Germany, the city of Ellwangen (Swabia) celebrated the 150th anniversary of a unique secret society there in 2001 with the publication of *Geheimsache Schnitzelbank*.⁸ Since 1851, a group of men, whose identities are a strictly guarded secret, has preserved the tradition of venting popular criticisms at authority figures on the Sunday before Ash Wednesday. The throng, dressed in black and wearing masks, marches by torchlight through the town, entering a number of pubs where the public waits to hear which

politician, pastor or teacher will be the object of their musical barbs. Researching the history of this secret society in Ellwangen, Jens Kohring defines a *Schnitzelbank* as an old Shrovetide custom in which local happenings and political events were represented on picture charts and portrayed in satirical verses sung to popular folk tunes. Kohring notes that this custom is probably rooted in singing the news on the medieval market square and in the patter ditties of the *Bänkelsänger*.⁹ An alternative source for the *Schnitzelbank* may be found in an ancient wedding custom in which the wedding guests are entertained by humorous pictures about the wedding couple accompanied musically by satirical verses—the names for this custom varied but included *Lichtputzschere*, *Snydersbank*, *Hobelbank* and *Schnitzelbank*.¹⁰

Such evidence seems to indicate that the European and the American versions of the *Schnitzelbank* are indeed connected. Both song types utilize simple short humorous verses, introduced by the leader (or the singing group in Germany or Switzerland) and typically followed by a refrain sung by the listeners. The refrain in the Swiss and German versions often utilizes the phrase “*Ei, du schöne Schnitzelbank*” whatever the actual subject of the verses may be.¹¹ In the United States—and historically in Europe—the singing of the song is accompanied by the song-leader pointing to a series of pictures on a chart.

Growing up in St. Louis, I learned the song at the Bavarian Inn on the “Dutch” southside, where a colorful chart of the song was prominently displayed and each Saturday night the Waterloo (Illinois) German Band entertained guests by featuring the *Schnitzelbank* song. And, the same version of the *Schnitzelbank* adorned the last page of a worn copy of the *Bier Stube Song Book* from the Black Forest Restaurant in South St. Louis that my next door neighbor had given me around 1960. The songbook itself was probably printed in the 1930s, judging from the clothing styles of the restaurant patrons in the photographs.

Over the years, other encounters with the song occurred. As an undergraduate in Kalamazoo, Michigan, I once ate at the like-named restaurant in Grand Rapids. As a graduate student in Bloomington, Indiana, the “Schnitzelbank Restaurant” in Jasper, Indiana, became a favorite destination for a hearty German-American meal, featuring “potato-glaze” (*Klöße*). As a faculty member at the University of Kansas, I have often joined colleagues at the polka dances of the St. Lawrence Catholic Campus Center to sing the *Schnitzelbank* using an old chart and accompanied on the accordion by one of our priests.

My interest in the origins of the “classical” German-American version of the *Schnitzelbank* was rekindled by the decision to hold the 2001 Symposium of the Society for German-American Studies in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Learning that one of the luncheons during the symposium would be held in the “Schnitzelbank Restaraunt” in Grand Rapids and that SGAS member Wilhelm Seeger had a familial interest in the restaurant, I determined to unravel the background of the *Schnitzelbank* song and my historical research began.

This “classical” version of the song found, for instance, in the above mentioned restaurants, the Amana Colonies and in many other locations in the American Midwest, such as the Rathskeller of the Student Union of the University of Wisconsin at Madison

or the bar of the Turner Hall in New Ulm, Minnesota, includes the following call-and-response couplets based on a set of seventeen distinctive images (some variations have corrected the orthography following standard German usage; see fig. 1):

Ist das nicht eine Schnitzelbank? ~ Ja, das ist eine Schnitzelbank!
Ist das nicht ein Kurz und Lang? ~ Ja, das ist ein Kurz und Lang!
Ist das nicht ein Hin und Her? ~ Ja, das ist ein Hin und Her!
Ist das nicht ein Kreuz und Quer? ~ Ja, das ist ein Kreuz und Quer!
Ist das nicht ein Schies Gewehr? ~ Ja, das ist ein Schies Gewehr!
Ist das nicht ein Wagen Rad? ~ Ja, das ist ein Wagen Rad!
Ist das nicht ein Krum und Grad? ~ Ja, das ist ein Krum und Grad!
Ist das nicht ein grosses Glas? ~ Ja, das ist ein grosses Glas!
Ist das nicht ein Oxen Blas? ~ Ja, das ist ein Oxen Blas!
Ist das nicht ein Hauffen Mist? ~ Ja, das ist ein Hauffen Mist!
Ist das nicht ein Schnickel Fritz? ~ Ja, das ist ein Schnickel Fritz!
Ist das nicht eine dicke Frau? ~ Ja, das ist eine dicke Frau!
Ist das nicht eine fette Sau? ~ Ja, das ist eine fette Sau!
Ist das nicht ein langer Mann? ~ Ja, das ist ein langer Mann!
Ist das nicht ein Tanenbaum? ~ Ja, das ist ein Tanenbaum!
Ist das nicht ein Hochzeit Ring? ~ Ja, das ist ein Hochzeit Ring!
Ist das nicht ein gefährliches Ding? ~ Ja, das ist ein gefährliches Ding!¹²

As a refrain, most charts depict the following to be sung after each pair of couplets while repeating the complete series of rhyme words in reverse order:¹³

Oh, die Schönheit an der Wand! ~ Ja, das ist eine Schnitzelbank!¹⁴

Although this "classical" version of the *Schnitzelbank* seems to be the most well known in the Midwest, one quickly encounters variations of the images (couplets) used on the chart as well as variations in the refrain. Undated *Schnitzelbank* charts advertising Arrow 77 Beer (Baltimore, Maryland) and Sterling Beer (Evansville, Indiana) use the same refrain as those mentioned above but modify the couplets at precisely the same points (variations in italics; see fig. 2):

Ist das nicht eine Schnitzelbank? ~ Ja, das ist eine Schnitzelbank!
Ist das nicht ein Lichtputzher? ~ Ja, das ist ein Lichtputzher!
Ist das nicht ein Hin und Her? ~ Ja, das ist ein Hin und Her!
Ist das nicht ein Kreuz und Quer? ~ Ja, das ist ein Kreuz und Quer!
Ist das nicht ein Schies Gewehr? ~ Ja, das ist ein Schies Gewehr!
Ist das nicht eine alte Schraube? ~ Ja, das ist eine alte Schraube!
Ist das nicht eine Damenhaube? ~ Ja, das ist eine Damenhaube!
Ist das nicht ein grosses Glas? ~ Ja, das ist ein grosses Glas!
Ist das nicht ein Oxen Blas? ~ Ja, das ist ein Oxen Blas!
Ist das nicht ein Hauffen Mist? ~ Ja, das ist ein Hauffen Mist!

Ist das nicht ein Schnickel Fritz? ~ Ja, das ist ein Schnickel Fritz!
 Ist das nicht eine dicke Frau? ~ Ja, das ist eine dicke Frau!
 Ist das nicht eine fette Sau? ~ Ja, das ist eine fette Sau!
 Ist das nicht ein langer Mann? ~ Ja, das ist ein langer Mann!
 Ist das nicht ein Tanenbaum? ~ Ja, das ist ein Tanenbaum!
Ist das nicht ein Hirnverbrannt? ~ Ja, das ist ein Hirnverbrannt!
Ist das nicht ein Strumpfenband? ~ Ja, das ist ein Strumpfenband!¹⁵

A third variation of the couplets can be found in the Dakota Inn Restaurant in Detroit, Michigan, highlighting the location as a place for food and drink. Here the “*langer Mann*” and “*Tanenbaum*” are exchanged for the two couplets:

Ist das nicht eine gute Wurst? ~ Ja, das ist eine gute Wurst!
 Ist das nicht ein grosser Durst? ~ Ja, das ist ein grosser Durst!

And, the “*dicke Frau*” is replaced by:

Ist das nicht eine Schlachterfrau? ~ Ja, das ist eine Schlachterfrau!

There is no indication of the refrain that might accompany the song, however. The order of couplets remains otherwise the same as in the “classical” version above.¹⁶

A more extensive variation of the “classical” version can be found in the “Schnitzel Bank” chart of the German Society of Maryland and the Edelweiss Club of Baltimore. Here we find different images, a different order of couplets and a different refrain. There are also more orthographic corrections in the direction of standard German (variant couplets and ordering indicated by italics; see fig. 3):

Ist das nicht ein Schnitzelbank? ~ Ja, das ist ein Schnitzelbank!
 Ist das nicht ein Kurz und Lang? ~ Ja, das ist ein Kurz und Lang!
 Ist das nicht ein Hin und Her? ~ Ja, das ist ein Hin und Her!
 Ist das nicht ein Wagen Rad? ~ Ja, das ist ein Wagen Rad!
 Ist das nicht ein Krumm und Grad? ~ Ja, das ist ein Krumm und Grad!
Ist das nicht eine alte Schraube? ~ Ja, das ist eine alte Schraube!
Ist das nicht eine Damenhaube? ~ Ja, das ist eine Damenhaube!
Ist das nicht eine dicke Frau? ~ Ja, das ist eine dicke Frau!
Ist das nicht eine fette Sau? ~ Ja, das ist eine fette Sau!
 Ist das nicht ein Haufen Mist? ~ Ja, das ist ein Haufen Mist!
 Ist das nicht ein Schnickel Fritz? ~ Ja, das ist ein Schnickel Fritz!
Ist das nicht ein grosser Fisch? ~ Ja, das ist ein grosser Fisch!
Ist das nicht ein kleiner Tisch? ~ Ja, das ist ein kleiner Tisch!
Ist das nicht ein grosser Durst? ~ Ja, das ist ein grosser Durst!
Ist das nicht eine gute Wurst? ~ Ja, das ist eine gute Wurst!
Ist das nicht ein langer Mann? ~ Ja, das ist ein langer Mann!
Ist das nicht ein Tannenbaum? ~ Ja, das ist ein Tannenbaum!

The refrain for this Maryland *Schnitzelbank* song is more reminiscent of the refrains found in Europe, noted earlier (orthography as on the original chart): "Ei du schone, ei du schone, ei du schone Schnitzel Bank."¹⁷

One Chicago bandleader, Jim Bestman of Jimmy's Bavarians, generously provided detailed information from his own attempts to determine the origins of the traditional or classical Midwestern American version of the *Schnitzelbank*. Anna Beilfuss, wife of Willi Beilfuss, a Chicago accordionist who played at the Century of Progress International Exposition in Chicago in 1933-34, told Bestman the following story:¹⁸ The now popular version of the song was originated and performed in the German Pavillon at the exposition by the duo called Herr Louie and the Weasel. The vocalists performed the song with the famous instrumentalists known as The Hungry Five. The same group of singers and musicians were well-known performers at the Old Heidelberg Restaurant in Chicago.¹⁹ Their original *Schnitzelbank* chart or poster was hand painted on oilcloth. This is the same basic version of the classical chart one finds today—the pictures are nearly identical, but with some spelling variations as indicated above—in most Midwestern locations (such as Milwaukee, Amana Colonies, Jasper, Indiana, Grand Rapids, New Ulm, St. Louis, Cincinnati, etc.) and even on the East Coast (e.g., Baltimore).

After the exposition ended, the chart was used by Willi Beilfuss and his band at the Brown Bear Restaurant in Chicago and is still in the possession of his son, Bob Beilfuss, to this day (the Beilfuss family frequently performed together at the restaurant as the "Tyrolean Trio"). The many versions of the now classical *Schnitzelbank* chart with minor variations seem to date from this period. A published version of the song popularized at the exposition appeared in 1933 in Evanston, Illinois, in a collection entitled *Famous Beer Songs* with the well-known images of all modern charts.

Unexplained remain the variant couplets and images as well as the refrain "Ei, du schöne Schnitzelbank." There are, however, other variations of the *Schnitzelbank* in the United States that differ too extensively from the "classical" version to be derived from it. There is a strong likelihood that the "classical" version is derived from these earlier songs. The history of the *Schnitzelbank* song in the United States leaves traces dating back for well over one hundred years.

For instance, "Jacob Ruppert's Schnitzelbank" (New York, the chart is dated Buffalo, 1907) uses the simple refrain "Ei, du schöne Schnitzelbank" and the following set of twenty-four couplets (see fig. 4):²⁰

Ist das nicht eine Schnitzelbank? ~ Ja, das ist eine Schnitzelbank!
Ist das nicht ein Kurz und Lang? ~ Ja, das ist ein Kurz und Lang!
Ist das nicht ein grosser Bär? ~ Ja, das ist ein grosser Bär!
Ist das nicht eine scharfe Scher? ~ Ja, das ist eine scharfe Scher!
Ist das nicht ein langer Bart? ~ Ja, das ist ein langer Bart!
Ist das nicht ein Wagenrad? ~ Ja, das ist ein Wagenrad!
Ist das nicht ein goldener Ring? ~ Ja, das ist ein goldener Ring!
Ist das nicht ein Schmetterling? ~ Ja, das ist ein Schmetterling!
Ist das nicht Ruppert's Beer? ~ Ja, das ist Ruppert's Beer!

Ist das nicht eine Gasthaus Tür? ~ Ja, das ist eine Gasthaus Tür!
 Ist das nicht ein Geissenbock? ~ Ja, das ist ein Geissenbock!
 Ist das nicht ein Winter Rock? ~ Ja, das ist ein Winter Rock!
 Ist das nicht eine gute Wurst? ~ Ja, das ist eine gute Wurst!
 Ist das nicht ein grosser Durst? ~ Ja, das ist ein grosser Durst!
 Ist das nicht eine Brauerei? ~ Ja, das ist eine Brauerei!
 Ist das nicht Ruppert's Bräu? ~ Ja, das ist Ruppert's Bräu!
 Ist das nicht ein grosser Fisch? ~ Ja, das ist ein grosser Fisch!
 Ist das nicht ein kleiner Tisch? ~ Ja, das ist ein kleiner Tisch!
 Ist das nicht ein Besen Stiel? ~ Ja, das ist ein Besen Stiel!
 Ist das nicht ein Automobil? ~ Ja, das ist ein Automobil!
 Ist das nicht ein Stein von Lager? ~ Ja, das ist ein Stein von Lager!²¹
 Ist das nicht ein Gigger Gagger? ~ Ja, das ist ein Gigger Gagger!²²
 Ist das nicht ein Affengesicht? ~ Ja, das ist ein Affengesicht!
 Ist das nicht ein helles Licht? ~ Ja, das ist ein helles Licht!

Jim Bestman believed that the Ruppert Brewery in New York City had in fact popularized a version of the song with a picture chart in the 1930s, but had not been able to locate a copy of the Ruppert version.²³ Information provided by Randall Donaldson in 2003 confirms the existence of the Ruppert chart, but dates its origin to at least 1907, over twenty years earlier.²⁴ A nearly identical twenty-four-image version of the chart using the same refrain and with the caption along the bottom "Get in the Golden Mood with Gunther Premium Beer" was submitted to me by Theodore J. Potthast, Jr., of Baltimore, Maryland. This chart, without date, contains the following couplets (variations on the Ruppert version are italicized; spelling differences or errors are as on the original Gunther chart; see fig. 5):

Ist das nicht eine Schnitzelbank? ~ Ja, das ist eine Schnitzelbank!
 Ist das nicht ein Kurz und Lang? ~ Ja, das ist ein Kurz und Lang!
Ist das nicht ein Hin und Her? ~ Ja, das ist ein Hin und Her!
Ist das nicht eine Lichtputzscherr? ~ Ja, das ist eine Lichtputzscherr!
Ist das nicht ein Krum und Grad? ~ Ja, das ist ein Krum und Grad!
 Ist das nicht ein Wagenrad? ~ Ja, das ist ein Wagenrad!
 Ist das nicht ein goldener Ring? ~ Ja, das ist ein goldener Ring!
*Ist das nicht ein schönes Ding? ~ Ja, das ist ein schönes Ding!*²⁵
*Ist das nicht ein Guttenmeier? ~ Ja, das ist Guttenmeier!*²⁶
Ist das nicht grose Eier? ~ Ja, das ist grose Eier!
 Ist das nicht ein Geisenbock? ~ Ja, das ist ein Geisenbock!
*Ist das nicht ein Reisenrock? ~ Ja, das ist ein Reisenrock!*²⁷
 Ist das nicht eine gutte Wurst? ~ Ja, das ist eine gutte Wurst!
 Ist das nicht ein grosser Durst? ~ Ja, das ist ein grosser Durst!
 Ist das nicht eine Herbergsmutter? ~ Ja, das ist eine Herbergsmutter!
 Ist das nicht eine gutte Butter? ~ Ja, das ist eine gutte Butter!
 Ist das nicht ein groser Fish? ~ Ja, das ist ein groser Fish!

Ist das nicht ein kleiner Tisch? ~ Ja, das ist ein kleiner Tisch!
 Ist das nicht ein Besenstiel? ~ Ja, das ist ein Besenstiel!
 Ist das nicht ein Automobile? ~ Ja, das ist ein Automobile!
Ist das nicht ein Herbergsvater? ~ Ja, das ist ein Herbergsvater!
 Ist das nicht ein Giger Gagger? ~ Ja, das ist ein Giger Gagger!
 Ist das nicht ein Affengesicht? ~ Ja, das ist ein Affengesicht!
 Ist das nicht ein helles Licht? ~ Ja, das ist ein helles Licht!

The replacement couplets in most instances eliminate the references to Ruppert's beer and the New York brewery.

The Gunther version is nearly identical with another equally old version of the *Schnitzelbank* that was first brought to my attention by Jim Bestman. A photocopy of sheet music submitted to me by Bestman documents Henry Sticht's "Schnitzelbank Two-Step" (dance) with a copyright filed at the Library of Congress in 1907. On the cover page of the dance music is a depiction of a song leader pointing to the picture chart with a group of stereotypical German-American men lustily singing along. The couplets and images of this chart are as follows—the similarity to the Ruppert and Gunther charts is quite apparent, with a difference in only one rhyme word (see fig. 6):

Ist das nicht eine Schnitzelbank? ~ Ja, das ist eine Schnitzelbank!
 Ist das nicht ein Kurz und Lang? ~ Ja, das ist ein Kurz und Lang!
 Ist das nicht ein Hin und Her? ~ Ja, das ist ein Hin und Her!
 Ist das nicht eine Lichtputzscherr? ~ Ja, das ist eine Lichtputzscherr!
 Ist das nicht ein Krum und Grad? ~ Ja, das ist ein Krum und Grad!
 Ist das nicht ein Wagenrad? ~ Ja, das ist ein Wagenrad!
 Ist das nicht ein goldener Ring? ~ Ja, das ist ein goldener Ring!
 Ist das nicht ein schönes Ding? ~ Ja, das ist ein schönes Ding!
Ist das nicht ein Judenmeier? ~ Ja, das ist Judenmeier!
 Ist das nicht grose Eier? ~ Ja, das ist grose Eier!
 Ist das nicht ein Geisenbock? ~ Ja, das ist ein Geisenbock!
 Ist das nicht ein Reifenrock? ~ Ja, das ist ein Reifenrock!
 Ist das nicht eine gutte Wurst? ~ Ja, das ist eine gutte Wurst!
 Ist das nicht ein grosser Durst? ~ Ja, das ist ein grosser Durst!
 Ist das nicht eine Herbergsmutter? ~ Ja, das ist eine Herbergsmutter!
 Ist das nicht eine gutte Butter? ~ Ja, das ist eine gutte Butter!
 Ist das nicht ein groser Fish? ~ Ja, das ist ein groser Fish!
 Ist das nicht ein kleiner Tisch? ~ Ja, das ist ein kleiner Tisch!
 Ist das nicht ein Besenstiel? ~ Ja, das ist ein Besenstiel!
 Ist das nicht ein Automobile? ~ Ja, das ist ein Automobile!
 Ist das nicht ein Herbergsvater? ~ Ja, das ist ein Herbergsvater!
 Ist das nicht ein Gigger Gagger? ~ Ja, das ist ein Gigger Gagger!
 Ist das nicht ein Affengesicht? ~ Ja, das ist ein Affengesicht!
 Ist das nicht ein helles Licht? ~ Ja, das ist ein helles Licht!

Aside from the obvious misspellings in the Gunther and Sticht versions, and these are not consistently identical deviations, the primary difference is the switch of the couplet “*Judenmeier*” with “*Guttenmeier*”—the couplet that ended in “*Ruppert’s Beer*” in the Ruppert version. One must note the explicit anti-Semitism displayed in both image and word by “*Judenmeier*,” and probably “*Guttenmeier*,” although the latter word itself does not give a clear indication of what is meant and the image seems to be that of a nit wit. (*Meier* can, however, be used as a slang term for liar or cheat and can also connote a Jewish name when used as a suffix in this manner; the prefix *Juden-* only intensifies the pejorative meaning.²⁸) The “*Affengesicht*” is in all probability also an attempt cast dispersions on Blacks or Asians and possibly to poke fun at the “origin of the species.”²⁹

This version, dating back to the first decade of the twentieth century, has been reproduced in both print and musical recordings of that era. The widespread popularity of the version with “*Judenmeier*” is documented by a postcard with the *Schnitzelbank* on the picture side and copyrighted by Henry Schwabl, Buffalo, New York, 1907 (see fig. 7).³⁰ A large wall chart of this version of the *Schnitzelbank* also copyrighted 1907 by Schwabl of Buffalo, New York, was brought to my attention by Kay Doran of Antiga, Wisconsin. Indeed, this is the same printer that produced the Ruppert *Schnitzelbank* with different couplets and copyrighted both versions at the same time (1907). An audio recording on the Edison label by the Manhattan Male Quartett (ca. 1921) also uses this version of the song.³¹

One of the most interesting variants of the *Schnitzelbank* was brought to my attention by Kyle Kohler of Ohio. He submitted a photograph of an undated cloth *Schnitzelbank* chart in his family’s possession. The images and text are clearly related to the versions outlined above, but the orthography tends to follow American English usage rather than German, perhaps in an attempt to get the audience to pronounce the words somewhat correctly (see fig. 8):

Ei du shaney, Ei du shaney, Ei du shaney Schnitzelbank.

Is das nicht dee Schnitzelbank? ~ Ya, das is dee Schnitzelbank!

Is das nicht das Kurtz und das Lang? ~ Ya, das is das Kurtz und das Lang!

Is das nicht das Wagenrath? ~ Ya, das is das Wagenrath!

Is das nicht das Grum und das Grad? ~ Ya, das is das Grum und das Grad!

Is das nicht dee Lichtbutsshare? ~ Ya, das is dee Lichtbutsshare!

Is das nicht das Hin und a Hare? ~ Ya, das is das Hin und a Hare!

Is das nicht der Herbergsfatter? ~ Ya, das is der Herbergsfatter!

Is das nicht der Gigger und der Gogger? ~ Ya, das is der Gigger und der Gogger!

Is das nicht dee Herbergs ludder? ~ Ya, das is dee Herbergs ludder!

Is das nicht der Kase und dee Butter? ~ Ya, das is der Kase und dee Butter!

Is das nicht das Messer und dee Gobble? ~ Ya, das is das Messer und dee Gobble!

Is das nicht dee Gons sei Schnobble? ~ Ya, das is dee Gons sei Schnobble!

Is das nicht das Herberghouse mit ein Fohnen drouf? ~

Ya, das is das Herberghouse mit ein Fohnen drouf!³²

In this World War I era, the *Schnitzelbank* was not only a dance, a song, a humorous chart and an audio recording, it was also apparently performed on stage. Joseph Neville discovered several newspaper references to the performance of "Die Schnitzelbank" by the *Turngemeinde* of Wilmington, Delaware, in April 1914.³³ Three newspaper articles, two in English from the Wilmington Sunday morning newspaper *The Star* under the heading of "News Notes of the German-Americans," and one in German from the *Wilmington Lokal Anzeiger und Freie Presse*, document this performance of the *Schnitzelbank*:

Next Wednesday is set for the production of "Die Schnitzelbank," by the Wilmington Turngemeinde. It is a comic mixture of verses sung to popular melodies and anyone with a partial ear for music will soon catch on and sing the Schnitzelbank without discord. As one of the members of the Turngemeinde remarked recently, "At such strenuous times as we have now, and will have to go thru with[,] a good laugh will be a diversion from the cares and troubles of every day life." There will be a dance after the Schnitzelbank recital and no doubt many will be present to enjoy the entertainment.
(12 April 1914, p. 14)

Had the weather been more favorable last Wednesday evening no doubt the audience at the presentation of the "Schnitzelbank," a humorous musical production of the Wilmington Turngemeinde would have been larger.

Those who took active part in the production were: Henry Witt, Philip Schaal, Emil Maurer, who directed the performance, and the [*sic*, word missing] which showed careful study. They were assisted by William Huber, H. Martens, S. Kimmick, F. Rein, H. Gluck, L. Gluck, K. Holzhauser, L. Lichtcum, William Welsh, A. Schechinger, E. Schechinger, F. Lane, B. O. Blankenberg, H. Romer, H. Schechinger, Joseph Schaller, J. Corcoran and H. Clodi. Mrs. Schaller made a decided hit in the role of "Herbergsmutter," or the mother of the inn. The comic parts of the reception and the many comic situations both in singing and speaking created much merriment. After the entertainment a few hours were spent in a social way. By special request of the audience the "Schnitzelbank" will be repeated at some future date.
(19 April 1914, p. 18)

Am Mittwoch nächster Woche wird Abends in der Turnhalle eine gemütliche Unterhaltung für die Mitglieder der Turngemeinde arrangiert und sollten alle Mitglieder sich einstellen, da ein interessantes Programm aufgestellt ist. Es gelangt nämlich die Schnitzelbank "wie sie leibt und lebt" zur Aufführung. Das meint, daß dieser Vortrag nicht nur gesungen wird, sondern von einigen künstlerisch und gesanglich veranlagten Turnern in richtige Weise vorgetragen wird und allen Anwesenden riesige Freude daran haben werden, daß sie nicht wieder aus dem Lachen heraus kommen. Bei den traurigen

Zeiten tut einem das Lachen gut und die Mitglieder der Wilmington Turngemeinde sollten sich nicht scheuen, die paar Pfenninge [*sic*] dafür auszugeben, welche ja schließlich doch ihnen zugute kommen und auch der Turnhalle helfen. Für Tanzmusik ist ebenfalls gesorgt und sollten alle erscheinen, denn es steht ein recht gemütlicher Abend in Aussicht.

(11 April 1914, p. 1)

It seems likely that the performance of the *Schnitzelbank* in Wilmington in April 1914 was based on the Sticht version of the piece given the direct reference to “Mrs. Schaller”—apparently Joseph Schaller in drag—portraying the *Herbergsmutter*. An image found thus far only on the Sticht and Gunther versions of the song. No mention is made of the portrayal of the *Judenmeier*.

A much earlier song that follows the pattern of the *Schnitzelbank*, but exhibiting a totally different text, was located by Frances Ott Allen in the 22 March 1871 issue of the *Wochenblatt des New York Journal*. The title of the song is “*Das Garten Haus*” and the couplets end in the following phrases: *Gartenhaus — Kopf heraus — Nelkenstock — alter Bock — Gartenthür — ’nein zu ihr — Herr von Lops — [couplet missing?] — Papa Witz — in voller Hitz — Herr Lops davon — schlimmer Lohn*.³⁴ The similarity to the pattern of the *Schnitzelbank*, however, is clear evidence that the *Schnitzelbank*-type song was part of nineteenth-century German-American culture, although this version actually tells a story.

Another quite different version with the first rhyme “*Gartenhaus*” also occurs in an odd *Schnitzelbank* from the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Speakers in Iowa City, Iowa, during the late 1920s and 1930s. It was common practice to sing old songs from the 1890s at their meetings.

“Steamboat Bill” Peterson, later superintendant of the Iowa Historical Society, used to lead us in one of those old repetitive songs in comic German dialect:

Bill:	Ist das nicht der Gartenhaus?
Chorus:	Ja, das ist der Gartenhaus!
Bill:	Und es hat ein Roof on Top?
Chorus:	Ja, es hat ein Roof on Top!
All (<i>fortissimo</i>):	Roof on Top; Gartenhause!
	Oh, wie schonus. Oh, magnolius!
	Oh, wie schonus Gartenhaus!

and so on and on, sometimes with prompt-pictures as guides.³⁵

The six-image chart for the *Schnitzelbank* of the S.P.C.S in Iowa City was drawn on the reverse of a window shade by artist Aden Arnold. Each image is accompanied, however, by two verses to be sung as rhymed couplets (capitalization and punctuation are not consistent on the original chart):³⁶

Ist das nicht der Gartenhaus?
 Und es hat ein Roof on Top?
 Ist das nicht die Alte Mutter?
 Und sie hat die Kas und Butter!
 Ist das nicht die Alte Cow?
 Und sie hat der Heu in Maul!
 Ist das nicht der President?
 Und der hat ein Cigar in Maul!
 Ist das nicht der Boobyhatch?
 Ist das nicht der Donnerwetter?
 Und das ist der Dinglewetter!

These standard German, standard German-like, or semi-German versions of the song are matched by a number of Pennsylvania German variants. In these dialect variants we encounter again a number of well-known images, but also several new ones. The spelling of the rhyme words on the other hand follows no standard orthography. Often English orthography forms the basis for the spellings. At other times, the author appears to have attempted to write the dialect word according the spelling conventions of standard German.

Dick Beam of the Center for Pennsylvania German Studies, Millersville, Pennsylvania, provided two versions of the *Schnitzelbank* in Pennsylvania German from the 1990s. The first version is from the 1990 meeting of the Ground Hog Lodge in Karbon County, Pennsylvania, using the refrain "Ei, du scheeni, ei du scheeni, ei du scheeni Schnitzelbank" and containing sixteen images (see fig. 9):³⁷

Iss des net en Schnitzelbank? ~ Ya, des iss en Schnitzelbank?
 Iss des net en Kurz un Lang? ~ Ya, des iss en Kurz un Lang!
 Iss des net en Hin un Haer? ~ Ya, des iss en Hin un Haer!
 Iss des net en Lichtputzschaer? ~ Ya, des iss en Lichtputzschaer!
 Iss des net en Krum un Grad? ~ Ya, des iss en Krum un Grad!
 Iss des net en Wagenrad? ~ Ya, des iss en Wagenrad!
 Iss des net en goldener Ring? ~ Ya, des iss en goldener Ring!
 Iss des net en schoenes Ding? ~ Ya, des iss en schoenes Ding!
 Iss des net en Hinkel Feder? ~ Ya, des iss en Hinkel Feder!
 Iss des net en Donner Wedder? ~ Ya, des iss en Donner Wedder!
 Iss des net en gute Wurst? ~ Ya, des iss en gute Wurst!
 Iss des net en grosser Dursht? ~ Ya, des iss en grosser Dursht!
 Iss des net en Houfa Mischt? ~ Ya, des iss en Houfa Mischt!
 Iss des net en alte Kischt? ~ Ya, des iss en alte Kischt!
 Iss des net en Oxa Schwans? ~ Ya, des iss en Oxa Schwans!
 Iss des net en fetti Gans? ~ Ya, des iss en fetti Gans!

In this version we find distinct parallels to the 1907 variants discussed above (Sticht, Ruppert and Gunther), including the couplet based on "*schoenes Ding*" referring to an image of a butterfly as well as those based on "*Wurst, Durst and goldener Ring*." New to our repertoire of images are the "*alte Kischt, fetti Gans, Oxa Schwans* and *Hinkel Feder*."

The second version from Pennsylvania differs from the earlier mentioned variants in that it includes eighteen couplets with the "*Ei du scheeni*" refrain. The dialect spellings are less influenced by the standard German orthography and introduce a number of new images. In the case of the "*Ring*," it uses the dialect form of the "classical" version's "*Hochzeit Ring*" (see fig. 10):³⁸

Iss des net en Schnitzelbank? – Ya, des iss en Schnitzelbank?
Iss des net en groosser Shank? – Ya, des iss en groosser Shank?
 Iss des net en Kurz un Lang? – Ya, des iss en Kurz un Lang!
Iss des net en Rossel Schlong? – Ya, des iss en Rossel Schlong!
 Iss des net en Grumm un Grawd? – Ya, des iss en Grumm un Grawd!
 Iss des net en Wagga-Rawd? – Ya, des iss en Wagga-Rawd!
Iss des net en Hochtich-Ring? – Ya, des iss en Hochtich-Ring!
Iss des net en dabbich Ding? – Ya, des iss en dabbich Ding!
 Iss des net en Haufa Mischt? – Ya, des iss en Haufa Mischt!
 Iss des net en alti Kischt? – Ya, des iss en alti Kischt!
Iss des net en lange Wascht? – Ya, des iss en lange Wascht!
Iss des net en Welschkann-Bascht? – Ya, des iss en Welschkann-Bascht!
Iss des net en Cider Glaws? – Ya, des iss en Cider Glaws!
Iss des net en wilder Haws? – Ya, des iss en wilder Haws!
Iss des net en schwartzi Grop? – Ya, des iss en schwartzi Grop!
Iss des net en alti Schlopp? – Ya, des iss en alti Schlopp!
 Iss des net en Oxa Schwans? – Ya, des iss en Oxa Schwans!
 Iss des net en fetti Gans? – Ya, des iss en fetti Gans!

A nearly identical version in Pennsylvania German is reprinted in a 1972 article in the German weekly *Die Zeit*.³⁹ Again we find eighteen images paralleling those above with the following changes: The appearance of the pair "*Hochtich-Ring/dabbich Ding*" occurs eight couplets later; the pair "*Kurz unn Lang/Rossel Schlong*" and "*swartzi Grop/alti Schlopp*" are deleted; and four new couplets appear in their place:

Iss des net en Schnickel-Fritz? – Ya, des iss en Schnickel-Fritz!
 Iss des net en Wunner-Fitz? – Ya, des iss en Wunner-Fitz!
 Iss des net en Grischtdawgs-Bawm? – Ya, des iss en Grischtdawgs-Bawm!
 Iss des net en wieschter Drawm? – Ya, des iss en wieschter Drawm!

The author humorously asserts that the *Schnitzelbank* song, which he calls "jener hierzulande nur noch selten erklingende oberdeutsche Gesang," is the most famous piece of German poetry in the United States. He goes on to note that tourists, who

purchase such *Schnitzelbank* picture charts on New York's 60th Street containing a charming mixture of German dialect, English, neologisms, and downright typos, consider the song to be the epitome of what is German.⁴⁰

Published collections of Pennsylvania German folk songs also feature *Schnitzelbank*-type songs. Phares H. Hertzog includes a version essentially like the first Pennsylvania German variant mentioned above through the first ten couplets, if one ignores minor spelling variations. The eleventh and final couplets are different, but also included in the 1907 Sticht, Ruppert and Gunther versions discussed earlier.⁴¹

Iss des nicht en Geisenbock? - Yah, des iss en Geisenbock!
 Iss des nicht en Reifenrock? - Yah, des iss en Reifenrock!

On the following page, Hertzog displays the music to the song framed by twelve images, however, these twelve do not coincide with those in the text provided, nor are they arranged in rhyme pairs. The images include the following in order from the top of the page: *Welschkann-Bascht*; *Alti Kischt*; *Langi Wascht*; *Wilder Haws*; *Schnitzelbank*; *Wagenrad*; *Kurz und Lang*; *Goldener Ring*; *Schnickel-Fritz*; *Fetti Gans*; *Grischtawgs-Bawm*; and *Oxa-Schwans*.⁴²

In 1937, Thomas Brendle and William Troxell recorded Mabel Keeney at Rehensburg, Berks County, Pennsylvania, singing a *Schnitzelbank*-type song entitled "*Di Lichputscher*" with the refrain: "*Ei du scheene, ei du scheene, ei du scheene Lichputscher. Di Lichputscher.*" Despite the difference in the object utilized for the refrain, all aspects of the song are quite familiar. The twelve couplets rhyme following the pattern of "*Is des net . . . ? Ja des is . . . !*."⁴³

di Lichputscher - des Hie un Her
 des Kaz un Lang - des Feierzang
 des Grum un Grâd - en Wajjerâd
 ein Eijeschnawwel - en Offegawwel
 en Seijebock - en armer Drobb
 des Kaes un Budder - di Hambargs Mudder⁴⁴

We are thus left with a rather complicated and long history of related songs in both dialect and German-American standard German or semi-standard German as well as a number of substitutions as the occasion demanded. This rich tradition in the United States is matched by a similar one in Europe. In fact, the Alemannic Shrovetide *Schnitzelbank* traditions of today together with the variety of *Schnitzelbank* songs that we have surveyed in the United States since the mid-nineteenth century have a common origin.

Evidence from the folk song archives in Germany and Austria clearly documents a much earlier origin of the song, a song that was popular throughout the German-speaking world during the nineteenth century and undoubtedly brought by German-speaking immigrants to the New World. The song about the *Schnitzelbank* is documented for all of Germany and the neighboring German-speaking countries and

sporadically in southeast European German speech islands, the Netherlands and even Hungary. Its ultimate origin, however, is unknown. The earliest transcriptions (the collections of Ludwig Erks in the Deutsches Volksliedarchiv, Freiburg, Germany) are from about 1840 and represent the regions of Hesse, Silesia, North-Rhine Westphalia, and the Palatinate. A copy of a similar song "*Das ist klein und das ist groß, und das ist 'ne Gartenros*" has been assigned the date of 1830 (Deutsches Volksliedarchiv).⁴⁵ The song is well known in Tyrol in several versions (Niederösterreichisches Volksliedarchiv).⁴⁶

The following version is from the Upper Inn Valley in western Austria (see fig. 11):

Isch des nit a schiane Schnitzelbank? ~ Ja, des isch a schiane Schnitzelbank.
 Ei du schiane, ei du schiane, ei du schiane Schnitzelbank, bald kurz, bald lang.

The following verses rhyme on the words: *a schianes Kurz und Langs; a schianes Hin und Her; a schianes Krumps und a Grads; a schiane Liachtputzcher; a schianes Fleischhackbeil; a schianes Taschenpfeil; a schiane Kellerstiagn; a schiane Kinderwiagn; a schianer Fingerring; a schianes Jungfraunding*. The music of the refrain is also in three-part harmony typical of the Alpine folk music. The text and overall pattern are quite similar, though, to the American versions.

A somewhat different variant is found throughout Germany. It begins as follows:

Das ist kurz, und das ist lang, und das ist ne Hobelbank.
 Kurz und lang, Hobelbank. O, du schöne, o, du schöne, o, du schöne Hobelbank.

The remaining three verses again show similarities and differences to the previously discussed versions:

Das ist hin, und das ist her, und das ist ne Schneiderscher
 Das ist krumm, und das ist grad, und das ist ein Wagenrad.
 Das ist eine Ofengabel, und das ist Storchenschnabel.

Instructions at the bottom of the song text indicate that additional items may be added at pleasure and according to the circumstances of the moment. The items are to be drawn skillfully with chalk on a table or board.⁴⁷

An interesting version is recorded for Esch an der Alzette in Luxemburg as early as 1915 with the following text:⁴⁸

Beim Mondenschein steigt man mit der Leiter zum Fenster herein;
 drum wag es nicht, drum wag es nicht,
 hier ist der Vogel, der fürchtet euch nicht;
 hier ist der Vogel, der fürchtet euch nicht.

Hier ist das Kurz, und da ist das Lang und dazu die Schnitzelbank.
Und das Kurz und das Lang und die Schnitzelbank
Ei du schöne, ei du schöne, ei du schöne Schnitzelbank.

Hier ist das Hin und da ist das Her und dazu die Lichtputzsch; etc.
Hier ist das Messer und da ist die Gabel und dazu dem Storch sein Schnabel; etc.
Hier ist die Katz und da ist die Maus und dazu das Schilderhaus; etc.
Hier ist die Brill und da ist die Nas und dazu das Branntweinglas; etc.
Hier ist der Stuhl und da ist der Tisch und dazu der große Fisch; etc.
Hier ist der Teller und da ist der Topf und dazu dem Esel sein Kopf; etc.
Hier ist der Trichter und da ist das Fass und dazu das Herzerass; etc.
Hier ist der Krug und da ist das Bier und dazu die Hameschmier; etc.
Hier ist das Dick und da ist das Dünn und dazu die Krinolin; etc.

The tradition of singing this type of song at a wedding reception is documented by the custom in Winningen on the Mosel of singing after the wedding dinner in the following fashion.⁴⁹ The song leader appears with a pointer and a piece of chalk and a large metal baking sheet on which he quickly draws the items to be included in "*De Lichtbotzschäer*":

Beim Mondenschein steigt man mit der Leiter zum Fenster herein:
Wag es nicht, wag es nicht! Das ist der Vogel, der die Wahrheit spricht!
Das ist das Hin und das ist das Her und das ist die Lichtputzsch.
Wenn das Ding doch größer wär!

The song continues in a fashion similar to those above adding the following verses and more until all are exhausted:

Das ist das Krumm und das ist das Grad und das ist ein Wagenrad!
Das ist die weiße Haut und das ist die schöne Braut!
Das ist der Schwamm und das ist der Kamm und das ist der Bräutigam!

Winnigen also knows the song using an umbrella with the objects hanging from the ends of the metal frame. The song begins as follows:

Es dat net e Paraplü? – Jo, dat es e Paraplü!
Es dat net e Hoot van Strüh? – Jo, dat es e Hoot van Strüh!
Hoot van Strüh, Paraplü:
Oh, du schöner, oh, du schöner, oh, du schöner Paraplü!⁵⁰

The wife of the mayor of Bredenbeck in Schleswig-Holstein submitted a modern-day version of the umbrella song to me during the Low German Conference in Grand Island, Nebraska, in October 2001. In the same manner as described above for Winningen, the song leader appears with the objects hanging from the metal frame of

an umbrella and sings the following verses with the expected refrain. However, the rhyme words at times only hint at the object on the umbrella. This would make things even more exhausting and difficult for the audience:

Ist das nicht ein Parapluie? ~ Ja, das ist ein Parapluie!
Ist das nicht ein Bündel Stroh? ~ Ja, das ist ein Bündel Stroh!
Bündel Stroh, Parapluie:
Oh du schöner, oh du schöner, oh du schöner Parapluie!

Ist das nicht zum Waschen (wash cloth)? etc.
Ist das nicht zum Naschen (chocolate)? etc.
Das ist was zum Geizen (wallet)! etc.
Das ist was zum Reizen (bra)! etc.
Das ist was zum Sieben (sieve)! etc.
Das ist was zum Lieben (heart)! etc.
Das ist was zum Backen (cookie cutter)! etc.
Das ist was zum Lacken (paint brush)! etc.
Das ist was zum Blasen (flute)! etc.
Das ist was zum Rasen (car)! etc.
Das ist was zum Essen (pretzel)! etc.
Das ist was zum Messen (ruler)! etc.
Das ist was zum Lutschen (sucker)! etc.
Das ist was zum Putzen (dust cloth)! etc.
Das ist was zum Gucken (glasses)! etc.
Das ist was zum Schlucken (schnapps flask)! etc.

A version in Hungarian is also documented for 1856.⁵¹ This final example of the European version of the song confirms the widespread existence of the song in the nineteenth century.

Ez a kapa, ez a kasza, ez meg itt a faragószék!
Kapa, kasza, faragószék! Kapa, kasza, faragószék!
Ó, be szép, ó, be szép, ez a derék faragószék.

[Dies die Hacke, dies die Sense, dies auch hier die Hobelbank!
Hacke, Sense, Hobelbank! Hacke, Sense, Hobelbank!
O wie schön, o wie schön, diese treffliche Hobelbank.]

If the *Schnitzelbank* is largely unknown in today's Europe or known by other terms such as "*Parapliu*" or "*Hobelbank*," it still remains essentially the same simple and ever popular call-and-response song. An obvious link can be made to the Bavarian songs such as the *Schnaderhüpfel*, translated as "chatter ditty," or a gay and teasing little song of four lines, with innumerable verses, each taken up, or improvised upon the preceding one, by a different person. Such songs are still common to this day in

rural regions of Bavaria and associated with traditional wedding customs in Upper Bavaria. And as noted earlier, the *Schnitzelbank* also has historical ties to the patter songs (*Moritäten- und Bänkelsänge*) of the late-medieval period. The public singing of news or tidings on the market square or at a county fair was a common practice throughout Germany. Such singing of the news was frequently accompanied by pointing to a picture chart on which the main parts of the story were depicted.

What then is a *Schnitzelbank*? From this survey, we have seen that the type of ditty involved has a long tradition in both the German-speaking world of Europe and among the German-Americans. From the German-Americans the song has entered American popular culture. It seems clear that its origins can be found in simple singing for entertainment, perhaps linked to the telling of a story line. But why is the object of this merriment a *Schnitzelbank*? And, how can we connect the terms such as *Schnitzelbank*, *Hobelbank* and *Lichtputzschere*?

Dialect dictionaries may shed some light on this. A *Schnitz* in certain Alemannic dialects is a "joke." A *Schnitzel* in the dialect of the Hutterian Brethren, now living in South Dakota, whose origins are also Alemannic, but whose dialect exhibits Southern Bavarian characteristics also can have the meaning of "joke." For the Rhineland Palatinate we find several possible leads: *Schnitz* "a white lie; a joke; something stupid or dumb" and as a verb *schnitzen* can simply mean to tell a lie or false story. Each of the words mentioned above as lead words in the song have the quality of cutting little pieces or wood shavings off of an object. The little *Schnitzel* represent the short, little humorous verses being sung. Originally, the *Schnitzel* were pieces of a story. Nowadays the individual words in the classical song are just funny words in a largely foreign language for the American audience.

But the fascination with this peculiar ditty and the amazing popularity of the *Schnitzelbank* live on. At the Fourth Conference on Low German in the United States held in Grand Island, Nebraska, in October 2001, a Low German version of the song with 14 images was premiered under the title "*Hövelbankleed*" and using the refrain: *Oh, du scheune; Oh, du scheune; Oh, du scheune Hövelbank!* The author of the Low German text, Ute Biemüller a member of a traveling party from Schleswig-Holstein at the conference, played the accordion and led some 300 participants in a lusty singing of this brand new version of the song (see fig. 12). The story of the *Schnitzelbank* is truly a never-ending one.

University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas

Appendix: A *Schnitzelbank* Gallery



Figure 1. *Schnitzelbank* postcard from the Amana Colonies, Iowa. This is the “classical” version of the chart known throughout the Midwest.

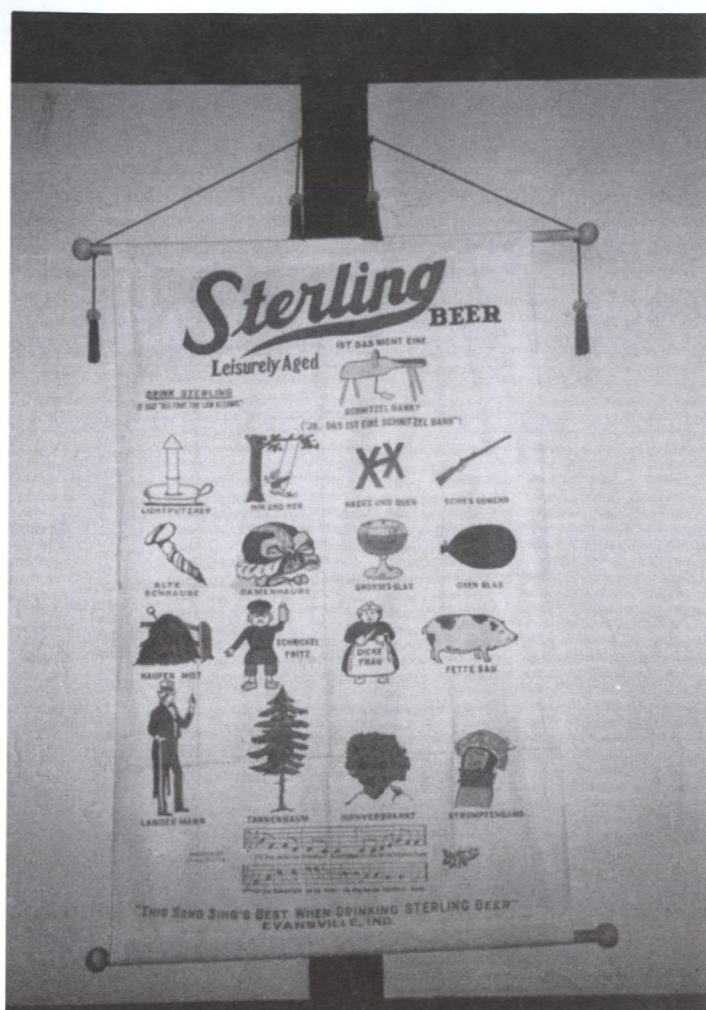


Figure 2. *Schnitzelbank* chart of the Sterling Brewing Company, Evansville, Indiana, located in the Liederkrantz Hall of Grand Island, Nebraska.
Photo courtesy of Jan Schmidt, Grand Island, Nebraska.

SCHNITZEL BANK

IST DAS NICHT EIN SCHNITZEL BANK?



(JA DAS IST EIN SCHNITZEL BANK!)



KURZ UND LANG	HIN UND HER	WAGEN RAD	KRUMM UND GRAD
ALTE SCHRAUBE	DAMENHAUBE	DICKE FRAU	FETTE SAU
HAUFEN MIST	SCHNICKEL FRITZ	GROSSER FISCH	KLEINER TISCH
GROSSER DURST	GUTE WURST	LANGER MANN	TANNENBAUM

IST DAS NICHT EIN SCHNITZEL BANK? (JA DAS IST EIN SCHNITZEL BANK!)

(CHORUS) EI DU SCHÖNE, EI DU SCHÖNE, EI DU SCHÖNE, SCHNITZEL BANK

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Figure 3. *Schnitzelbank* chart from the Society of the Germans in Maryland.
Courtesy of Theodore Potthast, Jr., Baltimore, Maryland.

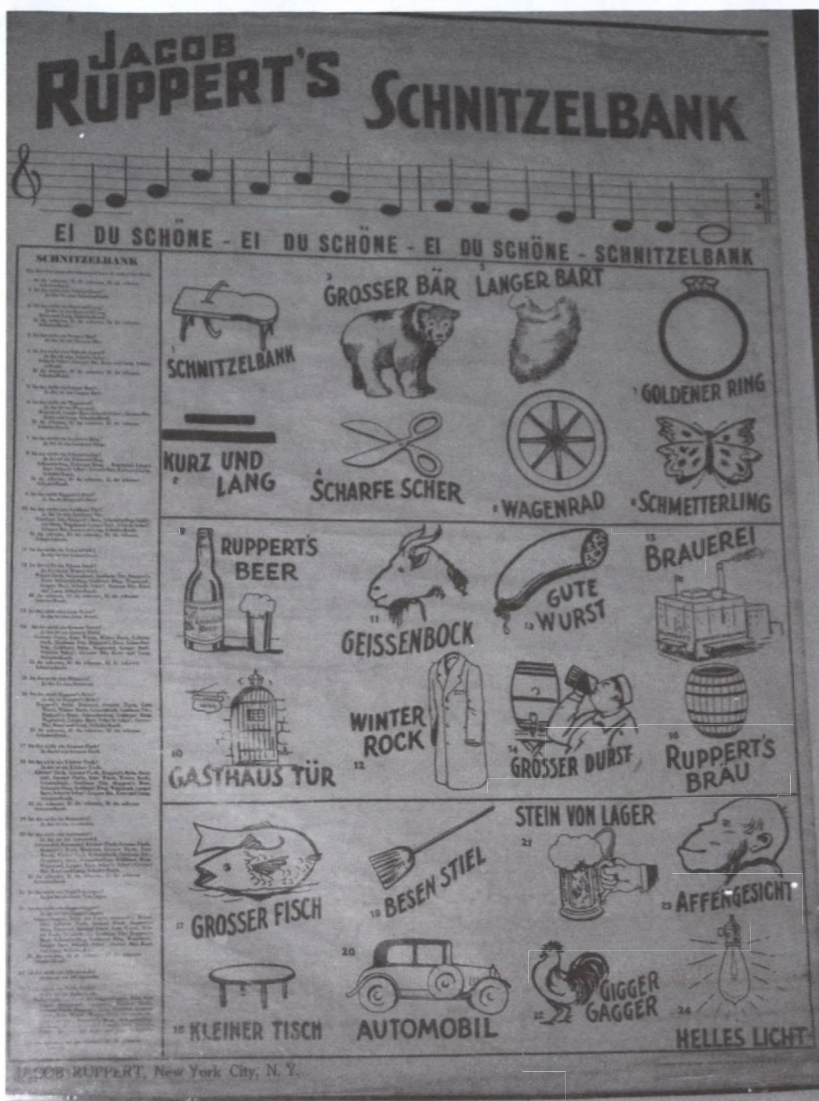


Figure 4. Jacob Ruppert's *Schnitzelbank* chart (New York, 1907).
Digital image courtesy of Randall Donaldson, Loyola College,
Baltimore, Maryland.

SCHNITZELBANK

EI DU SCHÖNE-EI DU SCHÖNE-EI DU SCHÖNE SCHNITZELBANK



Get in the Golden Mood with



Figure 5. Gunther's Beer *Schnitzelbank* chart.

Photocopy courtesy of Theodore Potthast, Jr., Baltimore, Maryland.

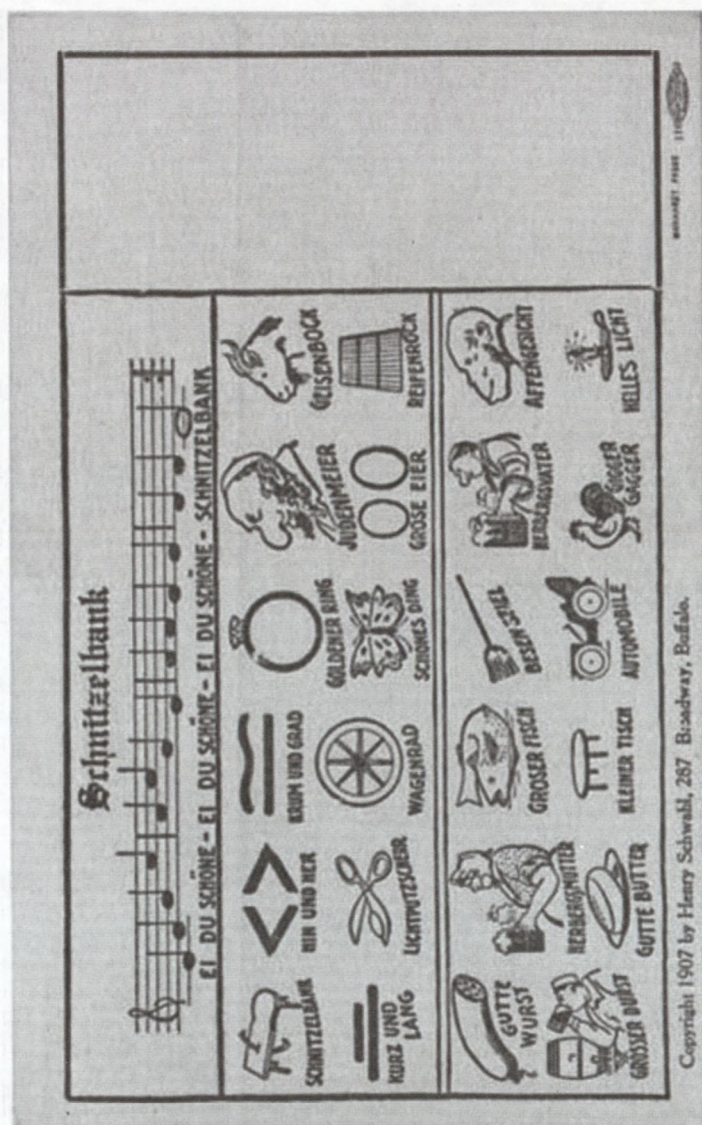
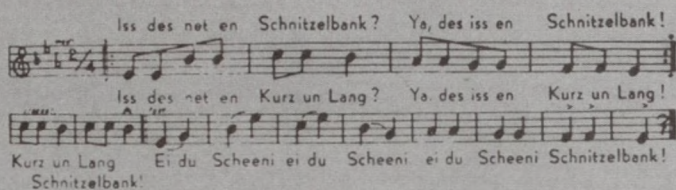


Figure 7. Postcard of the 1907 *Schnitzelbank*.
Found on eBay by Joseph Neville, National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, DC.

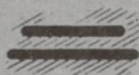


Figure 8. "Ei Du Shaney Schnitzelbank" chart on cloth.
Digital image courtesy of Kyle Kohler, Springfield, Ohio.

Schnitzelbank



Schnitzelbank



Kurz un Lang



Hin un Haer



Lichtputzschaaer



Krum un Grad



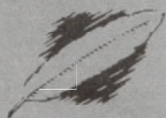
Wagenrad



Goldener Ring



Schoenes Ding



Hinkel Feder



Donner Wedder



Gute Wurst



Grosser Durst



Houfa Mischt



Alte Kischt



Oxa Schwans



Fetti Gans

Figure 9. Pennsylvania German *Schnitzelbank* with sixteen images.
Courtesy of C.Richard Beam, Center for Pennsylvania German Studies,
Millersville, Pennsylvania.



Figure 10. Pennsylvania German *Schnitzelbank* with eighteen images.
 Courtesy of C. Richard Beam, Center for Pennsylvania German Studies,
 Millersville, Pennsylvania.

99 *Isch des nit a schiane Schnitzelbank*

Vorsänger: Oberinntal

1. Isch des nit a schia-ne Schnit-zel-bank? Ja des isch a schia-ne

Schnit-zel-bank. Ei du schia-ne, ei du schia-ne,

ei du schia-ne Schnit-zel-bank, bald kurz, bald lang.

2. V: Isch des nit a schianes Kurz und Langs?
A: Ja, des isch a schianes Kurz und Langs,
* und a Schnitzelbank *. Ei du schiane...
3. V: Isch des nit a schianes Krumps und a Grads?
A: Ja, des isch a schianes Krumps und a Grads,
* und a Kurz und a Langs und a Schnitzelbank. *
Ei du schiane ...
4. V: ... Hin und Her?
5. V: ... Liachtputzsch?
6. V: ... Fleischhackbeil?
7. V: ... Taschenpfeil?
8. V: ... Kellerstiagn?
9. V: ... Kinderwiagn?
10. V: ... Fingerring?
11. V: Isch des nit a schianes Jungfraunding?
A: Ja, des isch a schianes Jungfraunding,
* und a Fingerring, und a Kinderwiagn,
und a Kellerstiagn, und a Taschenpfeil,
und a Fleischhackbeil, und a Liachtputzsch,
und a Hin und Her, und a Krumps und a Grads,
und Kurz und a Langs und a Schnitzelbank. *
Ei du schiane ...



¹⁾ ** hier werden nacheinander die Elemente der vorangehenden Strophen eingefügt. Siehe 2. und 3. Strophe!

Figure 11. "Isch des nit a schiane Schnitzelbank," folk song in Tyrolean dialect from the Upper Inn Valley. Digital image courtesy of Wolfgang Stanicek, Niederösterreichs Volksliedarchiv, St. Pölten, Austria.

HÖVELBANKLEED



1. Is dat nich een Hövelbank?
Ja, dat is een Hövelbank!



2. Kott un lang



3. Witte Muus



4. Lütte Huus



5. Swatte Schaap



6. Freche Aap



7. Muschikatt



8. Waterfatt



9. Lange Nees



10. Groot Stüch Kees



11. Smucke Koh



12. Grote Schoh



13. Dicke Fisch



14. Scheve Disch

Refrain: Oh, du scheune
Oh, du scheune
Oh, du scheune Hövelbank

Platdüütsch by Ute Biemüller performance on October 20th, 2001
Grand Island Nebraska

Figure 12. Modern Low German “Hövelbankleed,” by Ute Biemüller, performed in Grand Island, Nebraska, October 20, 2001.

Notes

¹ "German Made in America," by Myra Hillburg, 28th Annual Symposium of the Society for German-American Studies, New Ulm, Minnesota, April 22-25, 2004. The genesis of this essay was my presentation on the history of the *Schnitzelbank* at the SGAS Symposium held in Grand Rapids, Michigan, in April 2001; a separate essay entitled "Was ist eine Schnitzelbank?: The Tradition behind the Popular German-American Sing-Along" is scheduled to appear in the *Missouri Folklore Society Journal*.

² Personal communication by William Roba, Davenport, IA.

³ I would like to acknowledge the generous assistance of Jim Morrison (Lawrence, KS), Ursula and Helmut Huelsbergen (Lawrence, KS), Joseph Neville (Washington, DC), and especially William Roba (Davenport, IA) in bringing these items to my attention.

⁴ Gus Backus, "Ei, du schöne Schnitzelbank" (Volksweise – Heyer – Bader), Polydor NH 52698 (1966); on the reverse of the label is "Goldamé Bikini" (Niessen); <http://www.gusbackus.de> accessed 18 May 2004. No translations into English are provided for the many variant texts. Please refer to the accompanying figures for explanations of the various rhyme words.

⁵ Schnitzelbängg <http://www/grunzgaichter.ch/Fasnacht/HTML/Vereine%20Schnitzelbängg.htm> accessed 1 May 2004.

⁶ "Ei du scheene ...": Das 20. Jahrhundert im Spiegel der Basler Schnitzelbänke <http://www.schwabe.ch/docs/neu02-03/1924-5.htm> accessed 20 February 2004.

⁷ Marcus Fürstenberger and Emelyn González, "Ei du scheene ...": Das 20. Jahrhundert im Spiegel der Basler Schnitzelbänke (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2002); Dolores Hoyt, Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis, brought this title to my attention.

⁸ *Geheimsache Schnitzelbank* (Ellwangen: Stadt Ellwangen, 2002).

⁹ Jens Kohring, "Brauchtum: Der moralische Schatten," in *ibid.*, 10-25.

¹⁰ Kohring, 13.

¹¹ This practice continues to the present day (personal communication by a member of a Basel *Fasnacht-Clique* Philipp André Gehr, May 19, 2004).

¹² Other variations substitute the following in standard orthography: *Schiessgewehr*; *Wagenrad*; *Ochsenblas*; *Haufen Mist*; *langer Mann*; *Tannenbaum*; *Hochzeitsring*; *gefährliches Ding* and other minor variations.

¹³ The obvious method of singing the Schnitzelbank is to sing two rhymed couplets followed by repeating in backwards fashion all of the rhyming words and at the end singing the refrain. This normally functions well when there are an even number of images on the chart. On the "classical" chart, however, there are an odd number of images—there are three couplets rhyming on "Her" – "Quer" – "Gewehr"; Jim Bestman of Chicago believes the "*Schiess Gewehr*" should be omitted when singing the song to get it right.

¹⁴ This refrain is attested for the following: "Maders Internationally Famous Schnitzelbank" copyright 1969, Milwaukee, WI; "Amana Schnitzelbank," Amana Colonies, IA; "Schnitzel Bank," *Famous Beer Songs: A Collection of Favorite German, Scotch and English Drinking Songs* (Evanston, IL: Baker Publications, 1933); the "Hermann Schnitzelbank," Hermann, MO, and "Schell's Deer Brand Beer" *Schnitzelbank* chart from New Ulm, MN (photograph courtesy of Wolfgang Rempe, Flensburg, Germany). No refrain is indicated for the "Bier Stube Song Book" of the Black Forest Restaurant, St. Louis, MO, ca. 1935, or for the "Schaller Brewing Company Schnitzel Bank," Cincinnati, OH, however, the images on these two charts are identical with those of Milwaukee, Amana, Hermann and *Famous Beer Songs*.

¹⁵ The Sterling Beer chart was located in the basement of the Liederkrantz building in Grand Island, NE, during my visit there in fall 2001; Jan Schmidt of Grand Island was kind enough to send me photographs of the chart as well as Kay Doran of Antigo, WI, who also sent me photographs of the chart; the Arrow 77 Beer chart was sent to me by Theodore J. Potthast, Jr., of The German Society of Maryland, Baltimore, MD.

¹⁶ "The Dakota Inn Rathskeller" <http://www.dakota-inn.com/history.html> accessed May 6, 2004.

¹⁷ Courtesy of Theodore J. Potthast, Jr., the German Society of Maryland.

¹⁸ Personal communication from Jim Bestman, Chicago, IL, March 3, 2001.

¹⁹ William Roba of Scott Community College, Bettendorf, IA, has generously provided me with numerous references in Chicago newspapers to the "Old Heidelberg" German restaurant and its performers ca. 1930, including Herr Louis and the Weasel.

²⁰ Information on the Ruppert chart courtesy of Randall Donaldson, Loyola College, Baltimore, MD; the chart was photographed at DeGroen's Restaurant, Baltimore, MD.

²¹ The American use of the word "stein" for stoneware beer mug (or a glass of beer) is very likely derived from the German *Steinkrug*; Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch* has a number of references to the use of *Steinkrug* or *Steinkrücke* as a beer mug, including a quote from the Iron Chancellor Otto von Bismarck.

²² The image here is that of a "rooster."

²³ Personal communication from Jim Bestman, March 3, 2001.

²⁴ Personal communications from Jim Bestman, March 3, 2001, and Randall Donaldson, October 4, 2003.

²⁵ The image on the chart is the same, namely a butterfly.

²⁶ This image is that of a cross-eyed man with a bowler hat and a cigar.

²⁷ The image appears to be a hoop skirt – thus the word should be *Reifenrock*.

²⁸ The suffix *-meier* seems to be associated with negative connotations judging by its use in such expressions as *Vereinsmeier* ('somebody who thinks being a member of a club is the cat's meow'), *Schlaumeier* ('sly, slick, clever person'), and *Angstmeier* ('fraidy cat').

²⁹ Margaret Keel pointed out the parallel between "*Affengesicht*" and the racial slur "monkey face" which was readily confirmed by interviews with a number of Germans and Hungarians at the University of Kansas. All associated the term with Blacks, less so with Asians. Several noted the low forehead in the image and connected that to theories of racial inferiority popular in the late-nineteenth century and Social Darwinism. Giles Hoyt, Indiana University Purdue University at Indianapolis, recalls a *Schnitzelbank* chart at a restaurant in Binghamton, NY, which had the image of a Black man, personal communication May 21, 2004.

³⁰ Joseph Neville of the National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, DC, was kind enough to bring this postcard to my attention by personal communication on February 5, 2004. The postcard (located in Apple Valley, MN, was offered on eBay for sale as an item of German-American humor and anti-Semitism. The description of the item reads: "A picture post card with notes to a jingle 'Schnitzelbank,' with short children dictionary, one of the picture [sic] clearly derogatory 'Judenmeier,' published in Buffalo, 1907, unused and fine condition." Accessed May 6, 2004 on ebay.com.

³¹ Accessed May 6, 2004 on the website of the Library of Congress: <http://lcweb2.loc.gov>. The label indicates the "Schnitzelbank" is sung "in Deutsch" by the "Manhattan Male Quartett mit Orchester" and on the reverse of the disk is the song "Im Grunewald ist Holzauktion."

³² Personal communication by Kyle Kohler, Springfield, OH, 11-12 December 2002.

³³ Personal communication from Joseph Neville, National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, DC, September 6, 2001, and December 13, 2002.

³⁴ Personal communication from Frances Ott Allen, University of Cincinnati, 21 November 2001.

³⁵ Frank Luther Mott, "The S.P.C.S.," *The Palimpsest* 43, 3 (March 1962): 113-32, the assistance of William Roba, Davenport, IA, in locating this article is gratefully acknowledged.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 112 and back cover of issue.

³⁷ Chart depicted on back cover of "Die Dreiunddreissigste Fersommling fon da Grundsow Lodsch Nummer Elfa an da Fireline Karbon Kounty, Freidaag, da 9te Harnung, 1990, am halwa siwa Uhr owets, Towamensing Township Feier Kumpani, Trachsville, Pa." (9 February 1990). An identical version is printed on the inside of the back cover of the program for the 1999 meeting of the Ground Hog Lodge No. 1 of Allentown, PA (also courtesy of Dick Beam, Millersville, PA).

³⁸ Chart on the back cover of "Die Nein-Unn-Fatzichscht Jacksonville Karich Fersommling," 2 May 1992, Jacksonville, PA.

³⁹ Chart depicted in the article by Timothy Buck, "Donner und Blitzen: Nicht nur das Deutsche importiert Englisches—auch der englische Wortschatz nimmt immer mehr deutsche Brocken auf," *Die Zeit* (19 May 1972), p. 20.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Phares H. Hertzog, *Songs, Sayings and Stories of a Pennsylvania Dutchman* (Lebanon, PA: Applied Arts Printing, 1966), 8.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 9.

⁴³ George Korson, ed., *Pennsylvania Songs and Legends* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949), 80-82.

⁴⁴ I interpret "*Hambargs Mudder*" as a modified version of the rhyme word "*Herbergsmutter*" discussed above in the several popular versions at the beginning of the twentieth century. The phonetic changes do require the substitution of the nasal for the "t," but are otherwise quite normal.

⁴⁵ Personal communication by Waltraud Linder-Beroud, Deutsches Volksliedarchiv, Freiburg, Germany, 12 December 2000.

⁴⁶ Personal communication by Wolfgang Stanicek, Niederösterreichisches Volksliedarchiv, St. Pölten, Austria, 21 December 2000.

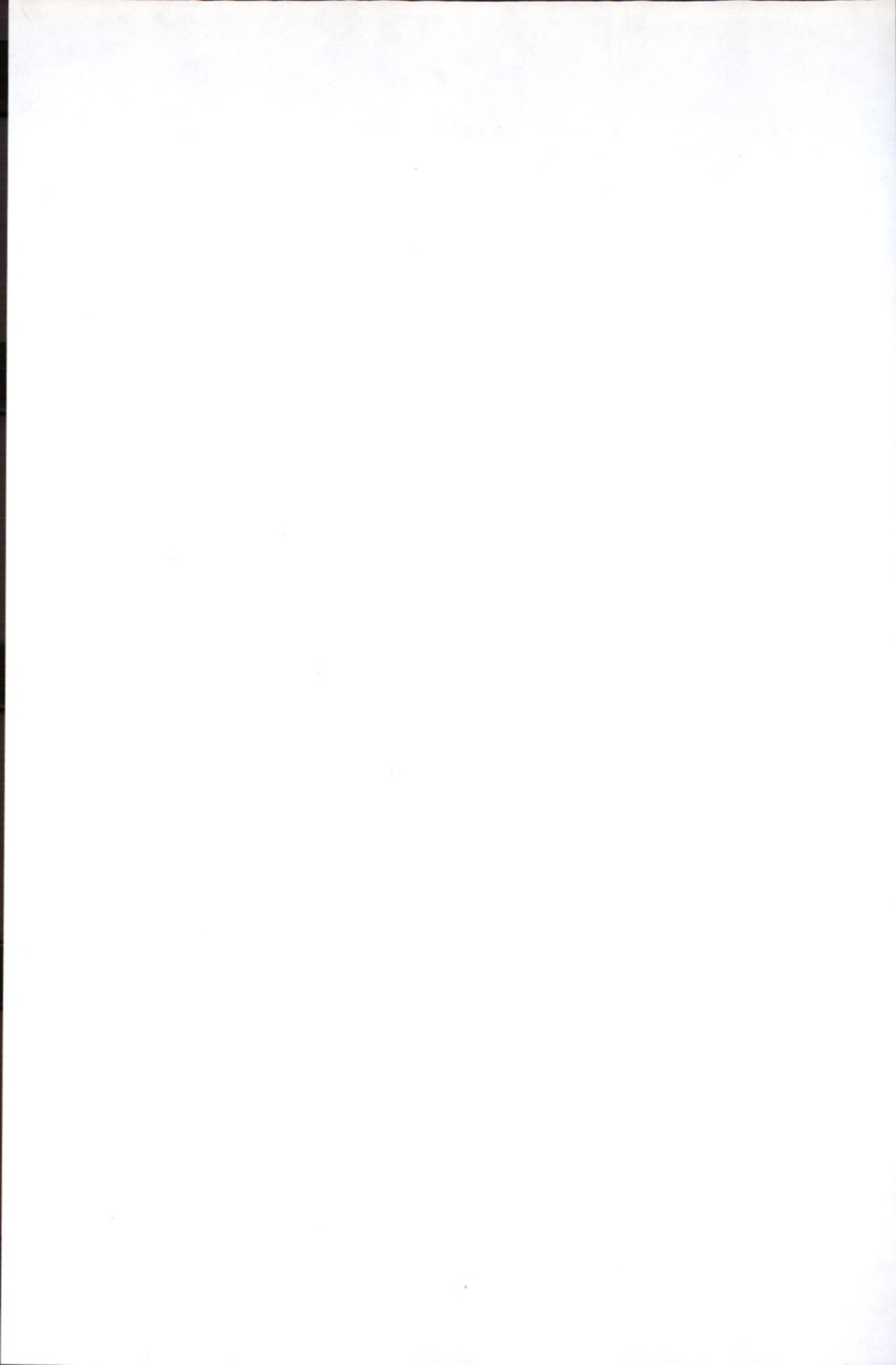
⁴⁷ Personal communication by Doris Dippold, Lawrence, KS, and Ingeborg Degelmann, Beratungsstelle für Volksmusik in Franken, Bayreuth, Germany, 22 November 2000.

⁴⁸ Röhrich and Brednich, *Deutsche Volkslieder* (1965), 1:526-29.

⁴⁹ Gerhard Löwenstein, "Winner Hochzeit," <http://www.winningen.com> accessed May 3 2002.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Johannes Bolte, "Das Lied von der Hobelbank," *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 41 (1931): 178-80.



C. Richard Beam

Pennsylvania German Lexicography: Past and Present

The Roots of Pennsylvania German Lexicography

The history of German dialect lexicography has its beginning over three centuries ago. The stage was set by Leibniz:

Der Grund und Boden einer Sprache, so zu reden, sind die Worte, darauff die Redens-Arten gleichsam als Früchte herfür wachsen. Woher dann folget, dass eine der Haupt-Arbeiten, deren die Teutsche Haupt-Sprache bedarff, seyn würde, eine Musterung und Untersuchung aller Teutschen Worte, welche, dafern sie vollkommen, nicht nur auf diejenige gehen soll, so jedermann brauchet, sondern auch auf die, so gewissen Lebens-Arten und Künsten eigen; und nicht nur auf die, so man Hochdeutsch nennet, und die im Schreiben anietzo allein herrschen, sondern auch auf Plat-Teutsch, Märckisch, Ober-Sächsisch, Fränckisch, Bayrisch, Oesterreichisch, Schwäbisch oder was sonst hin un wieder bey dem Landtmann mehr als in den Städten gebräuchlich.

Leibniz supported the creation of dictionaries of the standard language but also of technical terms, and of dialect terms. Leibniz desired the study of and lexicographical presentation of ordinary handworkers' vocabulary and of the farmers:

. . . Germaniae dialectorum vocabula colligi, etiamsi rusticis Solis usitata. Qua ratione origines multae alias ignorandae patebunt.

[. . . collecting the words of the German dialects, even if they are customary to the common people. By doing so, they will reveal the origins of unknown things.]

Leibniz's ideas were first realized in part by Michael Richey in his *Idiotikon Hamburgense* (1735). Richey used the term *Idiotikon* for the first time. In 1788 Friedrich Carl Fulda published "Versuch einer allgemeinen teutschen Idiotikensammlung." For Fulda "Idiotisch" was "was in der Schriftsprache nicht allgemein bekannt ist, and mit

einer Erklärung für jedermann belegt werden muss." Fulda defined *Idiotikon* as a dictionary containing only the unusual words of a specific region.

In 1795 Johann Christoph Schmid published a Swabian *Idiotikon* and noted that "idiotisch" words, compounds, word forms and idioms were used only in jokes and witticisms and others only by the lowest classes, while others were used in everyday life or even in court trials, yet they should be given a special mark in the dictionary.

Hans Frieberthäuser discusses Karl Christian Ludwig Schmidt's *Westerwäldische Idiotikon* (1800), which already presents his words in context. Schmidt makes references to the material culture and related customs and occasionally employs sketches. Frieberthäuser points out the fact that in spite of certain shortcomings (false etymology, incorrect lemmatization, etc.) "Pfarrer" Schmidt had already built the bridge for the transition to the larger regional dialect dictionaries of the nineteenth century.

Johannes Andreas Schmeller, 1785-1852, established a new branch of Germanic philology, the study of living German dialects in their historic contexts. Schmeller's *Bayerisches Wörterbuch*, 1827-37, examined the dialects within the then existing Bavarian borders. Friedrich Stroh compares Schmeller with Jacob Grimm, who was his same age, for their human qualities, thoroughly learned, noble and humble.

In 1854 the first volume of the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* of the Brothers Grimm appeared and as early as 1858 Ludwig Schandein was working on a "Pfälzer Sprachschatz," but it was never completed. In 1925—the year this author was born—a Palatine Dictionary was in its infancy. World War I had not been helping matters. In 1951 with the support of the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz the missing words were gathered. Finally fifty years after the beginning of the work in 1965 the first volume of the *Pfälzisches Wörterbuch* appeared.

Ludwig Schandein was at first an elementary school teacher in the western as well as the eastern Palatinate. When he was thirty-five years old he passed his *Abitur* and enrolled as a student at the University of Munich, where he began the study of Germanic philology. Among other lectures given by Schmeller, the 35-year-old heard Gothic, comparative grammar, and modern German dialects, which were the groundwork for his later study of the dialects of the Palatinate.

In 1858 Schandein wrote: "Ohne Aussicht auf irgend entsprechenden Lohn arbeite ich eifrigst daran [*Pfälzer Sprachschatz*], und werde das Buch, sobald es gelungen und Schmellers Werk ergänzend sich entschliessen kann, irgendeiner Bibliothek also Vermächtniss überlassen."

Even though Schandein was unable to complete his *Pfälzer Sprachschatz*, much of Schandein's corpus was included in the *Pfälzisches Wörterbuch*. In 1899 Georg Autenrieth published his *Pfälzisches Idiotikon*. In the magazine *Pfälzisches Museum/ Pfälzische Heimatkunde*, Ernst Christmann, teacher in Kaiserslautern, published in 1925 "Beiträge zur Mundartgeographie der Pfalz." Included was a language map of the Palatinate. For the first time the most important dialect borders between the eastern (Vorderpfalz) and the western (Westpfalz) as well as internal dialect borders were recorded based on Christmann's field work. In 1926 the *Pfälzische Wörterbuchkanzlei* was established. By 1927 in 740 villages with school informants, 600 informants (*Sammler*) had been contacted and 100,000 word cards had been collected. In 1931

Christmann's *Sprachbewegungen in der Pfalz* presented the most important results of the collection and research of the Palatine lexicon. In 1936 Ernst Christmann was called to the position of Professor of Volkskunde at the university in Saarbrücken. Christmann continued to be in charge of the *Pfälzisches Wörterbuch*.

Since 1928-29 connections with Galicia, Bukovina, Batschka and Banat as well as with the Pennsylvania Germans had been established, where Palatine dialects were still spoken. Albert Franklin Buffington, who had written a Harvard Ph.D. dissertation in 1937 on the Palatine dialect of his native area (Machantongo) in Pennsylvania, spent six weeks in research in Kaiserslautern, as had Julius Krämer from Bielitz in Poland.

On the suggestion of Ernst Christmann in August 1954, Julius Krämer was appointed director of the *Pfälzisches Wörterbuch*. Krämer considered his chief task the lexicons of Palatines living abroad. In addition to the speech of the Palatines living in the Danube Valley, in Galicia, in Bucovina as well as Russia, Krämer included the Pennsylvania German dictionaries of Horne, Danner and Lambert and literary works written in Pennsylvania German, which had been made available by Fritz Braun.

At the end of October 1962, the typescript that included the introduction (*Vorwort*) and the articles from "A" to "amüsieren" was delivered to the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz for publication. By the end of March 1964 the remainder of the "A's" were ready to be printed.

In 1997 with the publication of volume 6 (SE - Z) of the *Pfälzisches Wörterbuch*, 85 years after its establishment by the Royal Bavarian Academy in Munich in 1912, the dialect dictionary of the Palatinate was completed. The *Pfälzisches Wörterbuch* includes 420 linguistic maps which clarify problems of pronunciation, morphology or lexicon. The *Pfälzisches Wörterbuch* appeared in 50 fascicles (*Lieferungen*) (1965-97). Since the retirement of Julius Krämer, Rudolf Post and Sigrid Bingenheimer were responsible for the completion of the project.

1925ff.

Südheßisches Wörterbuch (begründet von Friedrich Maurer nach den Vorarbeiten von Friedrich Maurer, Friedrich Stroh und Rudolf Mulch, bearbeitet von Rudolf Mulch, Band 1, A-D [1965-68]). Mention should be made of the fact that at one time the *Pfälzisches Wörterbuch* and the *Südheßisches Wörterbuch* constituted parallel efforts employing the same questionnaires (*Fragebogen*).

1927ff.

Hessen-Nassauisches Volkswörterbuch (von Ferdinand Wrede angelegten und verwalteten Sammlungen ausgewählt und bearbeitet von Luise Berthold fortgesetzt von Hans Friebertshäuser und Heinrich J. Dingeldein). The history of this dictionary from the beginnings (1911) until the year 1927, in which the first fascicle (*Lieferung*) of the *Volkswörterbuch* appeared in print, was depicted by Wrede in his *Vorbemerkung* to this fascicle. The *Hessen-Nassauisches Volkswörterbuch* took its initial form under the same

roof as the *Sprachatlas des Deutschen Reichs* as is evidenced by the numerous maps and sketches which have been included.

One hundred years earlier, in 1827, the first volume of Schmeller's *Bayerisches Wörterbuch* had begun to appear. For the first twenty-three years, from 1911 to 1934, Wrede was responsible for the *Hessen-Nassauisches Volkswörterbuch*. Then he turned the editorship over to his former student Luise Berthold. From the very beginning it was decided to present the words in their geographic distribution.

During my 1949-50 year of study in Marburg I was introduced to *Mittelhochdeutsch* by Professor Berthold. I was one of four American students in Marburg that year. It is also interesting to note, that more than sixty years after my study in Marburg, my assistant at the Center for Pennsylvania German Studies (Millersville, Pennsylvania), Joshua R. Brown, completed an internship at the *Hessen-Nassauisches Volkswörterbuch* (2002-4). Under the direction of Heinrich J. Dingeneldein, Brown first completed a dialect map for *Geiss* and *Ziege*, followed by working through word cards from *Ziegel* to *Zunder*, formulating rough dictionary entries. His tenure in this division of the *Deutscher Sprachatlas* spanned nearly one and half years.

Of special interest in this context are the maps or sketches of: *Lade* (*Sarg*) [coffin], *Langwiede* (PG *Langwitt*) [coupling pole of farm wagon], *Latwerge* (PG *Lattwarick*) [apple butter], *Laube* (*Speicher des Hauses*) (PG *Schpeicher*) [second floor of farmer's house], *Leier* (*Ackerwagenbremse*) [sketch of braking apparatus on farmer's wagon], *Metzelsuppe* (*das Essen am Ende des Schlachttags*) (PG *Metzelzupp*) (meats after butchering shared with helpers and neighbors), *Nachtessen* (*die letzte Tagesmahlzeit*) (PG *Nachtesse*) [supper], *Peitsche* (*Geissel*) (PG *Geeschel*) [whip], *pfeizen* (*kneifen*) (PG *petze*) [to pinch], *Rechen* (*zum Zusammenraffen von welchem Laub, Gras*) (PG *Reche*) [rake].

1979

Unser Sprachschatz: Wörterbuch der galizischen Pfälzer und Schwaben (Julius Krämer, Herausgegeben vom Hilfskomitee der Galiziendeutschen Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt).

* * *

A Survey of Pennsylvania German Word Lists and Dictionaries

An attempt to organize even chronologically all the Pennsylvania German (PG) word lists and dictionaries which have been compiled these past 140—post-Civil War years—can be a rewarding, yet frustrating undertaking. The published lists are located in our personal library as well as in university libraries. The unpublished collections are sometimes difficult to procure and copy. There may well be other compilations which have yet to surface—however, we doubt it.

1870

The earliest published list of PG words known to us at this time [2004] are those PG terms which Benjamin Bausman appended to *Harbaugh's Harfe*, which he edited and published in 1870. The purpose of Bausman's list was to enable the American and the German reader to better understand Harbaugh's poems. The list consists of 245 words (of which 123 English loans were appended).

1872

S. S. Haldeman, *Pennsylvania Dutch: A Dialect of South German with an Infusion of English*. As early as chapter 1 ("People—History—Location—Condition," 5-61), Haldeman (professor of comparative philology at the University of Pennsylvania) begins a discussion of the vocabulary of the eighteenth-century Germans in Pennsylvania. Haldeman lists the homelands of the Pennsylvania Germans in southwestern Germany and declares the language to be south German and points out that Lancaster County was the source of the materials for his essay (1). Haldeman expresses considerable interest in the family names of the PGs. Haldeman was also familiar with the fact that "several thousand Germans had entered Pennsylvania before the year 1689, when a steady stream of emigration set in."

Haldeman also observes that "foreign Germans who go into the interior usually fall into the local dialect in about a year, and one remarked that he did so that he might not be misunderstood. Some of these, after a residence of fifteen or twenty years, speak scarcely a sentence of English, and an itinerant piano-tuner, whose business has during many years taken him over the country, says that he has not found a knowledge of English necessary" (3).

The *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Konversation Lexikon* then in the course of publication gives the following account of Lehigh County:

The German element is strongly and properly represented in Allentown, and in Lehigh County generally, where the German language has retained its greatest purity, and so strong is this element, that in the city itself there are but a few persons who speak English exclusively. An evidence of this is found in the fact that in seventy of the eighty Christian congregations in the county, some of which are over one hundred years old, Divine service is conducted in the German language. Allentown has seven German churches: (two Lutheran, one Reformed, two Methodist, one United Brethren, and one Catholic): and nine German journals, of which are published weekly — *Der Unabhängige Republikaner* (fifty-nine years old), *Der Friedensbote* (fifty-seven years old), *Der Lecha County Patriot* (forty-three years old), *Der Weltbote* (fifteen years old, with 12,000 subscribers), and *Die Lutherische Zeitschrift*, the *Stadt- and Land-Bote* is a daily, the *Jugendfreund* semi-monthly, with twenty thousand subscribers: and Pastor Brobst's *Theologische Monatshefte* is monthly. Since the beginning of the year 1869, the German language has

been taught in the public schools. The *Reading Adler* is in its seventy-fourth, and the Lancaster *Volksfreund* in its sixty-second year.—Dec. 1869. (3)

Chapter 3 ("Vocabulary") presents a discussion of over 50 common PG terms, beginning with *Blatz* (place) and ending with *die rode Wei* (the red wines).

Rauch's humorous letters entitled *Pennsylvanisch Deitsch: Da Campain Breefa vum Pit Schweffelbrenner un de Bevv, sei alty, gepublished ally woch in "Father Abraham"* had already been shared by Haldeman with Alex. J. Ellis, who introduced Haldeman's treatise and had read it to the Philological Society of London on 3 June 1870.

1873

Edward H. Rauch, *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*. In January 1873, the first installment of the author's Pennsylvania-German Dictionary appeared:

Below we commence our regular translation of words, or, the beginning of our dictionary. . . . as fully one-fifth of all the words used in Pennsylvania Dutch are English, or of English origin, we will endeavor to give all such English words, under the proper head, as Pennsylvania Dutch. For the present, no notice will be taken of words that are precisely the same in German and Pennsylvania, but only such as materially differ.

Rauch begins this list with "Aback," which he translates as *Hinnersich*, continues with "Abandon" (*Uftsugevva*), "Abase" (*Senka*), "Abasement" (*Oblussa*), "Abash" (*Nochlussa*), includes "Adieu" (*Farrywell*), "Adjust" (*Uffixa, fixa*), "Admittance" (*Admission*), "Agricultural" (*Gebauer*), and concludes with "Almanac" (*Kalender*).

Of interest is the observation that it "will be the publication of the Dictionary by Professors Learned and Fogel, who are using a good phonetic alphabet . . ." (83). However, this dictionary was never published.

1875

A. R. Horne, *Pennsylvania German Manual: How Pennsylvania German is Spoken and Written For Pronouncing, Speaking and Writing English* (*'M Horn sei Pennsylvanisch Deitsch Buch*).

Part 3. Pennsylvania German Dictionary. "Part third is the PG dictionary. Here are given not only the words employed in part second, with their English equivalents, but also all the words in use in the PG language. By means of this vocabulary, PGs can learn to speak and write English properly."

Part 4. English Vocabulary. "Part fourth is a special addition to the present [second edition] volume. It contains English words with their PG equivalents. This will be convenient for those who desire to know what the PG of an English expression is."

"It is the hope that this Manual may serve as a guide to the study of English, and that it may facilitate the acquisition of the language, a thorough knowledge of which

is indispensable to every Pennsylvanian. It is submitted to the public, for use in schools and families" (Allentown, PA, 1895).

1879

Edward Henry Rauch, *Pennsylvania Dutch Handbook: A Book for Instruction*. In 1879, E. H. Rauch (1820-1902), newspaper publisher and editor, printed *Rauch's Pennsylvania Dutch Handbook*, with an estimated [his] 4,000 PG words and 1,000 more from English. Rauch was the first to write newspaper columns in PG. He began in Reading, Pennsylvania, in 1868 and later continued them in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. He promoted an orthography based on English orthography. Rauch "started the *Father Abraham* at Reading, PA—a militant campaign sheet in a county of doubtful loyalty . . . in 1868 we find him once more in Lancaster, a second time founding a *Father Abraham*" (Reichard, 75).

"Already in his first *Father Abraham* there appeared an occasional short selection in dialect. . . . but later in 1868, with the advent of the second *Father Abraham*, contributions in the dialect over the signature of "Pit Schweffelbrenner vum Schliffeltown" became a regular feature" (76).

In the same year H. L. Fisher of York published his *Alt Marick-Haus Mitten in D'r Shtadt* and *Die Alte Zeite*. Fisher's beautifully illustrated book appends 2,180 PG (key) words which appear in his poems, but they are not all in the appended word list.

1882.

Henry Lee Fisher, *Kurzweil un Zeitfertreib Odder Pennsylvania Deutsche Folks-Lieder*, included a 31-page PG-English "glossary."

1887

James C. Lins, *Common Sense Pennsylvania German Dictionary*. Lins's 1887 *Common Sense Pennsylvania German Dictionary* which contained in Lins's words "nearly all the Pennsylvania German words in common use," was augmented and republished in 1895. At that time he added many more English words and modified his spelling somewhat. Lins reports in his two-page "Preface" that the revised edition was an "outgrowth of many years and a great experience and careful study of the PG language, and will be found far superior and much more simplified than the first edition." It was Lins's hope that his revised dictionary might "facilitate the acquisition of the English language."

1888

W. J. Hoffman published "A list of more than 5,000 words from the PG dialect" in volume 26 of the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* in Philadelphia. Marcus Bachman Lambert (see below), and others have observed that Hoffman's list

is largely a reproduction of the first edition of Horne's 1875 word list. Hoffman, however, added some additional words.

1896

In Horne's second edition of his *PG Manual* he added an English to PG dictionary with some changes in the PG-English section. A slimmed down version was republished in 1905 and again in 1910.

1899

Marion Dexter Learned, *Pennsylvania German Dialect*. This was begun as early as 1884. In 1885 he went to the *Rheinpfalz* and "acquainted himself with the speech of the old home of the Palatines." Learned studied the glossaries which had been published prior to his study. He counted the words in Horne, Rauch, Fisher and Harbaugh. Learned also compared the number of PG and English words in poems by Harbaugh, Fisher, Zimmerman, Eli Keller, Henninger, and prose pieces by Rauch, Horne, Gehring and several taken from the Harrisburg (PA) *Staatszeitung* and the Lancaster *Volksfreund* and *Beobachter*:

"Our Dictionary"

In the first edition of *Horne's Pennsylvania German Manual* he reports that: "There are two approximately complete dictionaries of the P.G. dialect, both published since Prof. Haldeman wrote his 'Essay on Pennsylvania Dutch,' Of these two lexicons, that compiled by E. H. Rauch and published in his *Pennsylvania Dutch Handbook* [PG-NE and NE-PG] contains, to quote his own words, 'Schir fir dausend werdte, biseids e dausend mener as aus em englisch genumme sinn,' thus making an aggregate of about 5,000 words. The second of the above-mentioned dictionaries is that published by Prof. A. R. Horne in his book entitled *Em Horne sei Pennsylvawisch Deutsch Buch* [PG-NE, NHG]. This is by far the most complete and scientific lexicon of the PG speech, and contains 5,522 words. In addition to these two dictionaries there are three other incomplete glossaries, one appended by H. L. Fisher to his *Es Alt Maerikhaus mitten in der Schtadt*, the second to his *Kurzweil unn Zeitfertreib*, the third published by Bausman, as a *Wortverzeichnis* to Harbaugh's *Harfe*.

A word-by-word examination of these glossaries gives the following results:

	PG	English
<i>Em Horn sei Buch</i>	5,522	176
Rauch's <i>Handbook</i> , ca.	5,000	1,000
Fisher's <i>Es Alt Maerikhaus</i>	2,181	63
<i>Kurzweil unn Zeitfertreib</i>	1,983	21
<i>Wortverzeichniss</i> to H.'s <i>Harfe</i>	245	176

Learned also interviewed native speakers in stores and on trains. He concluded his study with "Causes and Laws underlying Speech Mixture" (5).

1903

Daniel Miller, *Pennsylvania German: A Collection of Pennsylvania German Productions in Poetry and Prose*. Miller (of Reading, PA) declared that "a leading purpose was to present the PG dialect" in what Miller conceived to be "its proper form." In a second volume published in 1911 Miller had collected "much additional material" (cf. 1911, Daniel Miller).

1909

H. M. Hays, "The German Dialect in the Valley of Virginia," *The Pennsylvania-German: A Monthly Magazine of Biography, History, Genealogy, Folklore, Literature, Etc.* 10, 10 (October). Hays's article was reprinted from *Dialect Notes* 3,4 (1908) and had been prepared under the direction of Professor James A. Harrison of the University of Virginia.

In his preface, Hays opines that PG "has suffered much of late years by dropping out of German words and the substitution of English words in their stead" (510). For the material in his paper Hays was indebted to his mother, Mrs. D. Hays, who was born and spent most of her life in the Forestville neighborhood of Shenandoah County, Virginia. PG was her mother tongue. Hays's paper is divided into three parts: 1) pronunciation, 2) inflections, and 3) a vocabulary of common words.

Part 3 "Vocabulary": A few expressions and rhymes have been inserted to illustrate the use of words. Among the 195 key words Hays lists: *as* (used for *als*, *dass* and the general relative *was*: *Owedrot, morge frieh, nix as drucke Brod*, usw., *Aagewasser* (tears), *Baesel, f* (aunt), *Bendel, n* (string), *Biere, pl* (pears): *Bauer schickt des Yockli naus Biere schiddle, Yockli will net Biere schiddle un Biere welle net falle*. [So begins the Valley Dutch version of "the house that Jack built."], *brode* (to fry), *Brieh, f* (broth) *Fress as Brocke, net yuscht Brieh* (as the child told the snake in the folk tale). The PG term *Brieh* was passed over into English among the uneducated in some sections of the Valley. *brille*, pp. *gebrillt* (to cry, bawl of children and animals) [*brille* has also crept into English]. *Deich* (hollow, depression between hills), *dreckich* (muddy; *schmutzich* is used in the sense of greasy, soiled), *futsch* (undone, "done for," very commonly used in English), *Gang, m., pl. Geng* (passageway in house), *Graut, n., pl. Greider* (cabbage;

herbs; weeds), *Hemmaermel* (shirt sleeve), *Hinkeli*, n. (chick), *Schmierkaes*, m. (common cheese in the Valley), *Ketzli*, n. (kitten), *Gnopp*, m., pl. *Gnepp* (bud; dumpling; button; *Schnitz un Gnepp* is a common Valley dish), *Landschaft*, f. (landscape), *Leid*, n. (sorrow, trouble) [*Es duet mir so Leid*. I feel so had about it.], *Liegner*, m. (liar: *Wann der Deifel all die Liegner en Heemet gewwe muss, schmeisst er sich selwert aus der Heemet* (If the devil has to give all the liars a home, he has to throw himself out of the home)), *Maad*, f. (maid: *Die Maad holt Wei, Herr schenk aus*), *Mann*, m., pl. *Menner/Mannsleit* (diminutive: *des Mennli* used of an old withered man, as in the incantation to cure burns: *Es alt Mennli schpringt iuwer's Land; es Feier muss net brenne; es Wasser muss net lesche*. [folk saying]), *Middaagesse*, n. (dinner), *Morge-esse*, n. (breakfast), *Nachtesse*, n. (supper), *Awendmahl*, n. (the Lord's Supper), *gwelle*, pp. *gegwellt* (to bubble: *Es Wasser gwellt ruff so schee*), *Schloss*, n., pl. *Schlessen* (lock), *schliesse*, pp. *gschtosse* (to lock), *Schlüssel*, m. (key), *Schnitz*, pl. (cut-apples; used commonly in English both as noun and verb), *schwetze* (to talk; *schpreche* not used except in *verschpreche*), *Schpeck un Bohne* is a common dish, *Iuwerschpeicher*, m. (garret), *Schpring dapper!* (Run quickly!), *schtosse*, pp. *gschtosse* (to hook [sic], *Die Kieh schtosse mit ihre Hanner* (also of elbow)), *Schtrummbendel* (garter), *versammle*, pp. *versammelt* (to assemble: *Mir hen uns versammelt*), *Wald*, m. (wood; used by older people; *der Busch* is not in use), *weckgeh* (to go away: *Geh weck do! Pack dich!* (Go away!)), *winke*, pp. *gwunke* (to wink, beckon), *Wittfriaa* = *Wittweib* (widow), *wiescht* (ugly), *hesslich* (hateful), *Zaahweh* (toothache), *zerschpringe* (to split, fly in pieces), *ziehe*, pp. *gezoge* (to pull; to move).

This "vocabulary of common words" has been enriched by the addition of many PG family names, such as: Branner [*Brenner*], Fatig [*faddich*], Funk [*Funk*], Garber [*Gaerwer*], Kline/Cline [*glee*], Click [*Glick*], etc.

1911

D. Miller, *Pennsylvania German: A Collection of Pennsylvania German Productions in Poetry and Prose*, Volume 2. "This second volume contains some features not included in the first. One of these is a vocabulary of over 1,200 words, which are given in three languages—English, Pennsylvania German and German. This is intended as a help to those who are not familiar with the dialect. Another new feature is a collection of Pennsylvania German proverbs, and still another is a presentation of variations in the dialect in different sections" (Preface, iii-iv).

Vocabulary: "We present herewith a collection of 1,212 words in English, Pennsylvania German and German. The list might have been increased largely but for the lack of space. It will perhaps be sufficient in size to be helpful to persons who wish to acquire a knowledge of the dialect. The careful reader will be impressed by the similarity of very many words in the several languages. Many are spelled and pronounced in the same way, whilst many others differ only slightly in spelling and pronunciation. This makes the acquisition of the dialect all the more easy.

abdomen	bauch	unterleib
about	about	ungefähr
accident	uhglick	unglück
account	rechling	rechnung
accuse	ahklage	anklagen
advertise	advertise	anzeigen
.....
yell	greische	schreien
yellow	gehl	gelb
yes	jo	ja
yesterday	gester	gestern
yoke	joch	joch
young	jung	jung
youth	jingling	jüngling

Variations: "There are numerous variations of words in the Pennsylvania German dialect as spoken in different sections of Pennsylvania. There is a marked difference in this respect between Lebanon and Berks counties. Below we enumerate some of these variations (2-47):

Schautel—Schib
 Erble—Erbeere
 Beere—Biere
 Eemer—Küwel
 Garb—Schäb
 Zitterli—Gallerich
 Fett—Schmalz
 Weg—Schtross

 Oewerst Speicher—Gärrett
 Füll—Hutsch
 Kalb—Hammeli
 Schäfli—Schibbeli
 Weedfeld—Baschtert

 Halfter—Koppstell
 Lein—Leitseel
 Hupse—Jumpe
 Wu gehst hi?—We gehst nah?

Wilbur L. King, *Pennsylvania German Plant Names*. In 1911 Wilbur L. King published "Pennsylvania German Plant Names," in *The Pennsylvania-German: A Monthly Magazine* 12, 2 (February). King tells us that these "names have been gathered principally in Lehigh and Northampton counties and from the mouths of numerous persons. Dr. A. R. Horne's *Pennsylvania German Manual* was also consulted." This six-page article consists of a list of 265 PG names of plants and their corresponding English and botanical names. As early as 1911 King reports that "some of the old PG names are now seldom heard as the younger generations are using the English names." He observes that some of the names "perpetuate tradition and a number indicate the human ailments they were supposed to cure."

King's list begins with *Harschzung* (Hart's tongue, *Scolopendrium* (L.) Karst), includes *Weisszeder* (Abor vitae, *Thuja occidentalis* L.). Among the tree names, *Katzeschwanz* or *Lichtkolwe* (Broad-leaved cat-tail, *Typha latifolia* L.) was given in two forms. *Demadi* (Timothy, *Phleum pratense* L.), the most common grass is listed: *Oxegraas* (Slender cyperus) is *Cyperus filieuimis* Vahl). Among the more colorful plant names are: *Bisskatzebraut* (Skunk cabbage, *Spathyema foetida* (L.) Raf.), *Schwaertli* (Larger blue flag, *Iris versicolor* L.), *Holzfaaron* (Sweet fern, *Comptonia peregrina* (L.) Coult.), *Brennesel* (Stinging nettle, *Urtica dioica* L.), and *Gleene Schlangewatzel* (Virginia snakeroot, *Aristolochia Serpentaria* L.).

A fascinating name for bleeding hearts is *Schpecktabille* (*Dicentra spectabilis* DC). The common bean is identified as *Bohne* (pl.) (*Phaseolus vulgaris* L.), although we know that the forms *Buhne* and *Baahne* also exist. *Rummedissgraut* is identified as "spotted wintergreen" (*Chimaphila maculata* (L.) Pursh). The beautiful morning glory appears as *Drechederblumm* (*Ipomoea purpurea* (L.) Roth). Interesting that the humble honey suckle is known as *Hunnichsuckel* (*Dipsacus sylvestris* Huds.).

1922

Harry Hower, *Pennsylvania German - English Dictionary*. Harry Hower (1870-1939) was a Dutch poet and columnist for the Hegins and Lebanon Valleys (cf. *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* 111, 13 (1951): 1, 5-7).

Part 1. After brief remarks on orthography and pronunciation, Hower goes on to point out that there are no J's, Q's or Z's in PG in this dictionary. Flower tells his reader that they will find some entirely new baptismal names for babies of either sex. "These names have been originated with a view to beauty of sound and novelty." Harry Hower's *Pennsylvania German-English Dictionary* contains approximately 8,212 key words.

Don Yoder's detailed report on the life and activities of Harry Hower, 1870-1939, are to be found on pages 1, 5-7 of volume 3, no. 13 of *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* (1951). Yoder quotes from the manuscript dictionary which Hower was never able to publish. He urges "the rank and file of Pennsylvania Germandom everywhere," to study his dictionary "as assiduously as their fathers did the almanac."

Hower's prose sketches were published under the pseudonym of *Hen Branhulce* in several newspapers. "Much of Harry Hower's seems to have been done in the period

immediately before 1922. In that year according to a manuscript title-page included among his papers, he projected publishing a volume entitled *Hower's Complete Dictionary of the Pennsylvania-German Language*" (7). Unfortunately, Hower was far in advance of his time. Today it would have been so easy to publish his dictionary using the desk-top processing.

In addition to listing the place name *Aschland* in Schuylkill County (PA) as his birthplace, he gives *aafangs* (of late) in the sentence: *Mei Fraa watt aafangs grittlich* (My wife has become quarrelsome of late). *Ich hab heft ken Aagschtaal* tells us: I have no enthusiasm for work today. After the verb *aaschtaale*, Hower informs us that *aaschtaale* means "to tip iron with steel, as cutting tools, etc. Formerly the manufacture of steel was very slow and laborious, as the iron had to be worked and reworked until it finally came out steel. For this reason, steel was scarce, and many tools, etc. now made entirely of steel, were then merely steel-tipped. Blacksmiths saved every little piece of steel they could; and a favorite diversion of the village wise-acre was to take up a tool, such as an ax and with nice minuteness trace the line of welding between the iron and the steel. And many a friendly argument on the matter took place in that humble but never-to-be forgotten temple of countryside gossip, the blacksmith shop." A glimpse into the past is provided with the words *Eemeryoch* or *Kiwwelyoch*. "This device consists of a board about four feet long by five inches wide with a crescent-shaped cutout in the centre to fit part way around the neck, on the shoulders. On each end of the board is fitted with a stout wire or thin iron rod, hooked to receive the handle of a pail or bucket. By means of this humble device two buckets or pails are about as easy to carry as one is without it." An example of alternate forms Hower gives as *bemml/bammle* meaning to dangle. [Lambert's dictionary gives *bemle/bamble*.] Under the verb *be-ardiche* (to bury) Hower gives a cross-reference to *vergraaue*. An excellent article on *Barigtee* (mountain tea) explains that mountain tea is "the plant *S. Odora*, a fragrant variety of golden-rod, bearing small yellow flowers, and much used for tea in North America, particularly by coal miners, as the tea tastes very good out of tin bottles or canteens carried by the miners. Gather this tea after the first fall frost and strip off the long, narrow leaves by pulling backward on the stems. Then cure preferably in the sun. The tea seems to grow most luxuriantly on comparatively level areas on mountain tops, particularly areas that have at some time or another been fire-swept." Flower preserves the ancient German word *Baahn* as in *Baahn mache* (to make a passageway, as through snow, etc.) Under *Biewel, die Schrift* (Bible) Hower presents an article almost a page in length. He concludes with the statement: "For myself, I want no recent translations of the Bible." *Behelfe* is not listed as a reflexive verb, but the illustrative sentence reads: *Ich muss mich behelfe mit re Schtor-Bax fer en Weschkareb* (I must make shift with a store box for a clothes basket). An example of a word not listed by Lambert is: *es Beikind* - a child born out of wedlock. An example of a word that is disappearing is: *Glock*. For a church bell the old German word *Glock* is sometimes used. This appears after: *die Bell* - a bell. The English word "to enjoy" seems to have replaced the old German term *belushdiche*. Hower does not approve of the term *Biddere Zelaat* for dandelion. He calls it "punk"—incorrect. [Of course, the other term is *Pissebett*.] After *Bild* Hower also lists *Pickder*. He reports that a *Bild* is

also an image. The alternate terms *Bletsche* and *Schaelche* are given for saucer. [Neither are Lancaster Co. terms.] Hower reports that *blackich* means "covered with large spots," while *dippich* or *duppich* refers to small spots or dots. *Scheckich* is employed when one sees medium-sized dots.

1923

Lick and Brendle, *Plant Names and Plant Lore among the Pennsylvania Germans*.

1924

Marcus Bachman Lambert, *A Dictionary of the Non-English Words of the Pennsylvania German Dialect* (with an appendix, published by the Pennsylvania German Society). The major turning point in PG lexicography was the compilation and publication in 1924 of Marcus Bachman Lambert's 1924 *Dictionary of the Non-English Words of the Pennsylvania German Dialect*. It contains 16,438 entries. Even though Lambert did not always list noun plurals and the past participles of verbs, he collected lists of words from others—including the Rev. Thomas Royce Brendle, and gave parallel forms in Standard German as well as in dialect German. (This was at the time Ernst Christmann of Kaiserslautern was laying the initial groundwork for the *Pfälzisches Wörterbuch*.)

Marcus Bachman Lambert (1862-1942) declared in his preface that "The most remarkable facts about the dialect are (1) its persistence and (2) its homogeneity" (vi). Lambert makes it clear that this "is a dictionary of non-English words in the Pennsylvania-German dialect" and tells us it "contains 16,438 entries" (xxvi). He goes on to explain that there "is a language border line along which there is a considerable number of words which it is difficult to assign definitely to High German only, or to both High German and the dialect. This is particularly true of religious nomenclature" (xxvi).

Lambert does not hesitate to point out that PG "is fundamentally a German dialect, goes without saying that German orthography should be made the basis of spelling it" (x). He lists Horne as "the compiler of the oldest dictionary," *Pennsylvania German Manual* (1875). Rauch is listed as the author of his *Pennsylvania Dutch Hand Book* (1879) (x). Lins is the compiler of the third dictionary (1895) to precede Lambert's opus. "The next important contribution to the lexicography of the dialect is a list of over 5,000 words which was published in volume 26 *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* (1888) by Dr. W. J. Hoffman. It is largely a reproduction of the list in the first edition of Dr. Horne's work" (xi).

Lambert has included "compound words that are German in form, although they are a literal translation from the English and so are not used in German, e.g., *Riyyelweg*, *grossfiehlich*. For special reasons a few words evidently of English origin and a few more of doubtful origin have been included. The exclusion of words wholly or partly in English origin leaves some unsatisfactory gaps; thus, the common words *Bax*, *Fens*, *Insching*, *Schtiem*, *tshumpe* and their numerous compounds are missing" (xxvi). In a five-page appendix Lambert has included a "list of 517 words, wholly or

partly of English origin, compiled to illustrate (1) the retention of English sounds, (2) the changes which English sounds and words have undergone in the process of adoption, (3) the affixing of German prefixes, suffixes and endings to English words, (4) the formations of hybrid compounds" (191).

Lambert always gives the English definition and the German or dialectal German equivalent of the PG word. If the PG words have no equivalent in NHG, Lambert simply remarks that it is dialectal German, but specifies no particular German dialect. Nor does he endeavor to give the dialectal variations in the vocabulary as spoken in the various sections of the PG territory.

Lambert's reference books in the preparation of his dictionary were Muret-Sanders *Enzyklopädisches Englisch-Deutsches und Deutsch-Englisches Wörterbuch*, Heyne's *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Paul's *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Kluge's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Autenrieth's *Pfälzisches Idiotikon*, Schmeller's *Bayerisches Wörterbuch*, Martin and Lienhart's *Wörterbuch der Elsässischen Mundarten*, Kaufmann's *Geschichte der Schwäbischen Mundart* and Weise's *Unsere Mundarten*. He had also "collected words, definitions and verifications of words and definitions from scores of individuals" (xxvii). The Rev. J. P. Bachman of Allentown "read the greater part of Autenrieth's *Pfälzisches Idiotikon*" with him and identified many words unknown to Lambert. Conrad Gehring of Kutztown placed at his disposal "files of newspapers containing his writings in the dialect." Lambert was able to utilize "the unpublished manuscript in the dialect of the late Edward Hermany." From W. L. King of Bethlehem he received many plant names. C. C. More of Camden, New Jersey, allowed Lambert to read "sufficient of his unpublished dialect manuscript" to enable Lambert "to acquire his vocabulary." Thomas R. Brendle permitted him "to copy words from a remarkable unfinished manuscript" containing "a list of Pennsylvania-German plant names" (xxvii). Lambert observed that this "mass of plant folk-lore [is] all the more valuable because the few who still know something about it are fast passing away." Lambert reports that he was "especially indebted to Rev. A. C. Wuchter, of Toledo, Ohio, for the permission "to examine a great part of his unpublished manuscript in the dialect." Because Wuchter had noted so many of the separable verbs, Lambert enlarged his plan to include all of them. Altogether Rev. Wuchter had contributed more than 1,000 words. All serious students of the PG lexicon have been wrestling with Lambert's dictionary ever since its appearance, e.g., Brendle, Rupp, Kulp.

1937

Albert Franklin Buffington, "A Grammatical and Linguistic Study of Pennsylvania German" (Harvard University Ph.D dissertation), vocabulary pp. 296-325. Buffington opens his chapter on the vocabulary of PG with the statement: "The vocabulary of the PG dialect . . . has received more attention than the other aspects of the dialect. But practical and pedagogical reasons rather than scientific interest prompted the publications of the various dictionaries and word lists." He discusses Horne's 1875 *Pennsylvania German Manual*, Rauch's 1879 *Pennsylvania Dutch Handbook*, Lins's 1887 *Common Sense Pennsylvania German Dictionary*, Hoffman's 1889 list which "is largely

a reproduction of the list of PG words in Hornes's *Manual*," the glossaries appended to H. L. Fischer's 1879 *Alt Marik-Haus Mittes in d'r Schtadt* and 1882 *Kurzweil unn Zeitfertreib*, Harbaugh's 1873 *Harfe*, Daniel Miller's 1911 two volumes of *Pennsylvania German*, and the most important contribution as of that date, Marcus Bachman Lambert's 1924 *Dictionary of the Non-English Words of the Pennsylvania-German Dialect* (with 16,438 words) "many of which belong to the literary language and are never used in PG speech" (298).

Buffington discovered the following "significant variations" in the vocabulary in the various sections where PG is spoken, which he gathered in his visits to the different PG counties.

1. In Leh(igh) county *Bungert* is the regular designation for the English *orchard*. In Leb(anon), Dau(phin), Schuy(kill), Cen(tre), Sny(der), and Northum(berland) counties *Baamgaarde* [NHG *Baumgarten*] is used.

2. In Leh the PG equivalent of NHG *fest machen* is *fascht mache*. In Dau, Leb, Schuy, Northum, Berks, Sny, and Cen counties *fescht mache* is the regular equivalent.

3. In Lan(caster), Leb, Berks, Dau, Schuy, Northum, Sny, Cen and Union counties, the PG equivalent of NHG *begraben* is *vergraawe*. In Leh county *begraawe* is the regular form.

4. In Leh county *Flawer* is the PG equivalent of the NHG *Mehl*. In Leb, Lan, Dau, Northum, Berks, Schuy, Sny, and Cen counties *Mehl* is regularly used.

5. In Dau, Northum, Schuy, Cen, and Sny counties *Dierli* is the regular equivalent for the diminutive of NHG *Tür*. In Leb and Lan counties *Daerli* is the regular form; and in Leh, *Geht* is used.

6. In Leh county *Kar* is the term used for English *car*, hut in Leh, Dau, Northum, Berks, Schuy, Cen, and Sny counties *Kaer* is the regular form.

7. In Leh county and in the Armstrong Valley in Dau county, I have heard the verb *schmacke* (NHG *schmecken*) used in the sense of English *smell*. Elsewhere *rieche* seems to be the regular form.

8. In Lan, Leb, Dau, Sny, Cen, Schuy, and Northum counties, *Seideschpeck* is the PG equivalent of NHG *Speckseite*, English *fitch of bacon*, but in Leh county *Seischpeck* is the regular form.

9. In Dau, Leb, Lan, Sny, Cen, Northum, and Schuy counties *wesche* is the PG designation for English *wash*, but in Leh county *wasche* is used.

10. In Leh county *Daer* is the term used for any kind of a *door*, large or small. In Leb, Dau, Cen, Sny, Schuy, and Northum counties *Dor* (NHG *Tür*) for all other *doors*.

11. In Leh *Grischtbaam* is the regular equivalent for NHG *Weihnachtsbaum*, but in all the other PG counties which Buffington visited *Grischtdaagsbaam* seems to be the regular form.

12. In Leb, Lan, Dau, Sny, Cen, Northum, and Schuy counties *Schpae* is the regular PG equivalent for NHG *Späne*, English *shavings*, but in Leh county *Schpaa* is used.

13. In Lan and Leb counties *Barig* (NHG *Berg*) is the word used for English *hill*, but elsewhere, as in many other Middle and South German dialects, *Hiwwel* (MHG *hübel*) seems to be the regular PG form.

14. In Lan and Leb counties *Schaufel* (NHG *Schaufel*) is the term generally used for English *shovel*, but in Leh, Dau, Northum, and Schuy counties *Schipp* (NHG *Schippe*) is the more common form.

15. In Leb county the regular designation for English *bucket* is *Kiwwel* (NHG *Kübel*), but in Leh, Dau, Schuy, Northum, Sny, and Cen counties *Eemer* (NHG *Eimer*) is generally used.

16. In Leb county *allefatt* (NHG *allesfort*, *alsfort*) is regularly used in the sense of English *always*, but in Leh, Dau, Cen, Sny, Schuy, and Northum counties *allfatt* is the common form.

17. In Schuy county one hears the term *Muck* (NHG *Mücke*, *Mucke*) used for English *fly*, but elsewhere *Mick* is the more common form.

18. In Dau, Leh, Leb, Sny, Cen, York, Northum, and Schuy counties the verb *hocke* (MHG *hocken*, *hucken*, NHG *hocken*) regularly replaces NHG *setzen* and *sitzen* used as a transitive verb in the sense of NHG *setzen*.

After discussing eighteen "significant variations" Buffington lists and discusses a selected number [172] of characteristic dialect terms, "particularly those words whose origin seems most obscure." Buffington states that "all of these words are known to me through the oral language and are used in my home county (Dauphin) and in all of the other PG-speaking-counties which I have visited" (302). We present some of the most interesting terms and Buffington's remarks:

abrapple - Lambert 4, English "to rattle off," StG *ab+rappeln*. This PG word is apparently a literal rendering of English "rattle off." The Rheinpfälzisch equivalent of this word is *runne rabble* (cf. *Pfälzisches Wörterbuch*).

altfrenckisch - Lambert 12, English "old-fashioned," StG *altfränkisch* (*Deutsches Wörterbuch* 1: 271). This word is also very common in the Rhenish Palatinate and Swabian dialects (see *Pfälzisches Wörterbuch* and *Schwäbisches Wörterbuch* 1:161).

Amschel - Lins 51, Horne vocab. 47. Etymologically, this PG word is connected with modern German *Amsel*. We have here the broadening of the *s* after *m*, a feature peculiar to South German dialects. However, PG *Amschel* is used only to designate the American "robin." The fact that the German settlers in PA selected a German word to designate the American "robin" is extremely interesting. The form *Amschel* also occurs in the Rhenish Palatine dialects, but always in this sense of a modern German *Amsel*. [It is worthwhile to note that many Old Order Amish speakers of the dialect no longer use the PG term *Amschel* when speaking PG and use only the American term "robin."]

badde - Lambert 22, English "to do good, help, give relief." *badde* is a common verb in the Swabian dialects, and occurs also in the Alemannic dialects of Hebel (see *Schwäbisches Wörterbuch* 1:681; *Deutsches Wörterbuch* 1:1158). In the Rhenish

Palatinate it is used only by very old people and has died out completely among the younger generation.

balwiere - Lambert 21, English "to shave," StG *barbieren*. The form *balwiere*, which also occurs in the Rhenish Palatinate dialects, is an illustration of partial dissimilation. [This verb was very much a part of the vocabulary of Os Behm, my paternal grandfather, for he shaved himself the old-fashioned way and used the terms *balwiere*, pp. *balwiert*.]

Bell, f. - Lambert 26, English "bell." This form does not occur in any of the Middle or South German dialects, and must therefore be from the English. [Note the PG use of *die Glock* for the large church bell.]

Bisskatz, f. - Lins 7, Lambert 27, English "skunk." "The skunk is not a German animal, and therefore this word does not occur in any of the German dialects. It seems to be a literal translation of the vulgar English term 'pisscat' (i.e., StG *pissen* + *Katze*), which I have heard used not only in PG districts, but also in the non-PG sections of PA."

brundse - Horne vocab. 10, English "to urinate," Middle High German and New High German *brunzen*, Rhenish Palatinate *bründse*, *seche*, *seeche* Lambert 148 (New High German *seichen* and *pisse* Lambert 119 (New High German *pissen*) are also commonly used in PG in the same sense.

Butzemann, m. - Lins 11, Lambert 36, English "scarecrow," Middle High German *butze*, New High German *Butze* + *Mann*. *Butzemann* is also the most common form throughout the northern and northeastern Pfalz, but elsewhere in the Pfalz a great variety of forms occur.

Deiwelsdreck, m. - Horne vocab. 12, Lambert 39, New English "assafoetida," New High German *Teufelsdreck*. This word does not occur in the Rhenish Palatinate.

Elbedritschel/Elbedritschelche, n. - Lambert 51, *Elbedritschelcher* Lins 16, *Elbedritsche* Horne vocab. 16, New English "a mythical bird or animal," New High German *Elbentrösch* (see *Deutsches Wörterbuch* 3:402). *Elbedritsche fange* is the term used to designate the playing of a practical joke on a simple or gullible person who is persuaded to hold a bag at some lonesome spot in order to catch this supposed animal, while the rest of the party pretend to be chasing the animal out of the bushes and driving it towards the bag. According to Christmann, the word *Elbedritschelche* and the search for the mythological animal is very common throughout the entire Pfalz. Originally *Elbentrösch* meant "a spirit" of "a demonical being," but in the Rhenish Palatinate and in PG it is always used to designate a "mythical bird or beast."

1939

John William Frey, "A Morphological and Syntactical Study of the Pennsylvania-German Dialect of Pumpnickle Bill" (M.A. Thesis, University of Illinois). Frey begins his thesis with the statement: "Although folklorists and historians have been studying the Pennsylvania-German traditions and language for a number of years, it has been only in the past few years that a keen interest has been aroused in the individual dialect writers and the mechanics of the language" (i). Frey goes on to state that he is

"endeavoring . . . to analyze the Pennsylvania-German Dialect written by Pumpernickle Bill in his daily column which appears in the *Allentown Morning Call*. To date no work of this kind is existing with respect to this particular writer, who is so singular in his writings and who plays such an important role in the entire Pennsylvania-German make-up of the region surrounding him" (ii). Later Frey thanks "Dr. Herbert Penzl for having suggested the subject of this thesis and for his constant help and guidance in its preparation."

The table of contents of Frey's M.A. thesis does not include a chapter on vocabulary. Fortunately, Frey subsequently prepared a "Supplement" to his original "Thesis." This supplement was written, amongst other reasons, "to add some new material concerning the vocabulary of PG, with special emphasis on loan-words and dialect words not found in Lambert's Dictionary" and "other regalia which I feel are necessary to obtain a clearer picture of the man, his life, his work, and his contribution to the whole of Pa. German folklore." Since Frey's original thesis was submitted, the Harvard University dissertation, "Pennsylvania German—A Grammatical and Linguistic Study of the Dialect," by Albert F. Buffington, and Ruth Bender's [M.A. thesis] "Study of the Pennsylvania-German Dialect as Spoken in Johnson County, Iowa" had become available. Frey also reports that the "chief section" of Alfred L. Shoemaker's University of Illinois Ph.D. dissertation "will concern vocabulary not found in Lambert, totaling about 500 words or expressions." Part six (vocabulary) of the supplement presents seven additional pages consisting of "General Remarks," "Expressions and Idioms in PG influenced by American-English," "Miscellaneous Expressions," and "Dialect Vocabulary not given in Lambert's Dictionary."

1940

Alfred Lewis Shoemaker, "Studies on the Pennsylvania-German Dialect of the Amish Community in Arthur, Illinois" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois). Shoemaker's slim Ph.D. dissertation consists of 107 pages. That portion of special interest to this survey is included in Part 3: Word Lists. He divided word lists into five parts: Vocabulary Connected with Amish Church Life; Taboo Words; Designations for Certain Objects and Creatures; Variations in Vocabulary between ArAm [Arthur Amish] and my Lehigh Co. Dialect; and a List of 529 Pennsylvania German Words of the ArAm Dialect not recorded in Lambert's Pennsylvania German Dictionary.

At the time that Alfred Shoemaker did the research for his dissertation the Amish settlement was 75 years old, having begun with four families from the Amish community at Summit Mills, Somerset County (PA); "an offshoot of the Lancaster County, PA settlement founded by German and Swiss emigrants early in the 18th century" (i). In 1940 there were "about 275 families located partly in Moultrie, Douglas and Coles counties."

Shoemaker describes his native dialect as "Lehigh County Pennsylvania German." The main thrust of his dissertation was to point out the dissimilarities between the dialect Shoemaker spoke and Arthur Amish. During the several months devoted to

his field work, Shoemaker was able to note 529 words which are not recorded in Lambert's fairly comprehensive Pennsylvania German dictionary.

During the period that I edited the *Historic Schaefferstown Record* (1971-88) we were able to publish for the first time Shoemaker's list of Lehigh/ArAm words. The annotations we were able to include were presented by an Old Order Amish friend, Miss Sarah E. Fisher, who currently lives in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Sarah illustrated the words with which she was familiar. To ArAm term *bullich* Fisher added *in die Hitz*. To Shoemaker's *Diener* (preacher) Sarah Fisher added *Aarmer Diener* (deacon), *Diener zum Buch* (minister) and *Vellicher Diener* (bishop). Fisher explained that Shoemaker's *Fascht-un-Beeddaag* are observed twice yearly, on Good Friday and on October 11. For *keilich* (short of breath) Fisher supplied *katzoodemich*. Sarah recognized neither *Kussel* nor *Kutzel* for an 'untidy woman.' *Scheelmesserli* (paring knife) is a universal term. To *Schnawwel* (beak) Sarah adds *Was is iuwer dei - gegradelt?* (What amuses you?). Fisher did not recognize *Sillfescheder* (the member of the family who gets up last on New Year's).

1941

John William Frey, "The German Dialect of Eastern York County, Pennsylvania" (Ph.D. dissertation). By way of comparison between Frey's M.A. thesis and his Ph.D. dissertation, the latter contains a 142-page "Glossary of Common Words" listing approximately 3,500 words.

All of the words are arranged alphabetically; the nouns are given in the singular and plural together with the gender. The most common English translation appears first, followed by others. The MHG and StG correspondences are given and divided by a stroke. Idioms, rhymes, and bits of folklore are given under the key word involved. Eastern York County words are marked EYC.

A word preceded by E is wholly taken from English. -E means the second member is from English, the first member is dialect. E- means the first member only is from English.

Carroll Edward Reed and Lester Wilhelm Julius Seifert, "The Pennsylvania German Dialect Spoke in the Counties of Lehigh and Berks" (Ph.D. joint dissertation, Brown University). Part 4: Vocabulary. The purpose of Seifert's Brown University dissertation was 1) to investigate how much PG varies between western Lehigh County and western Berks counties (PA) from age group to age group and person to person, and 2) to investigate the European sources of PG. Parts 1-3 were prepared by Carroll Edward Reed on the phonology and morphology.

Seifert assures us that the main stock of our vocabulary is German. According to Seifert "a fairly large number of German words" included in his questionnaire are current in all dialects of German and are used by all our informants. "All the other words had to be checked against the dictionaries, word-lists, and monographs dealing with the dialects of southwestern Germany" (2). At the time Seifert was working with the *Rheinisches Wörterbuch*, the *Badisches Wörterbuch* and the *Hessen-Nassauisches*

Volkswörterbuch, which were as yet incomplete. [The *Pfälzisches Wörterbuch*, 1965-97, had not begun to publish, although investigations had begun decades earlier by Christmann and others.]

Seifert's and Reed's field records were made in Berks and Lehigh counties during the summer of 1940. Seifert established that "the dialects of the eastern Palatinate made the greatest contribution to the PG vocabulary and an almost equal number has been contributed by the dialects of the western Palatinate." Seifert established nine chief types of regional distribution between Berks and Lehigh. In order to develop his initial check list Seifert made a separate chart of each item in his record, which indicated any variation whatsoever.

In listing his research results, Seifert first listed the PG term. Where there were varying phonemic structure, the spelling which indicated the most common Lehigh pronunciation was used. Words used predominantly in Lehigh County were marked with an "L"; words used predominantly in Berks were marked "B." Seifert established that the causes of these nine different types of regional distribution are to be found in the settlement history of the Berks and Lehigh. In the section entitled "Sources of the Pennsylvania German Vocabulary," Seifert discusses 631 terms.

Lester J. W. Seifert, "Dialect Differences between and within Western Berks and Western Lehigh Counties, Pa.," "S Pennsylvawnsch Deitsch Eck," *Allentown Morning Call*, March 15, 22, and 29.

Lester J. W. Seifert, "Causes of the Dialect Differences between and within Western Berks and Western Lehigh Counties, Pa.," "S Pennsylvawnsch Deitsch Eck," *Allentown Morning Call* (July 26 August 2).

1946

Lester Wilhelm Julius Seifert, "Lexical Differences between Four Pennsylvania German Regions," *Pennsylvania German Folklore Society* 11.

1948

Howard Snader, *Glossary of 6,167 Words and Expressions and their Pennsylvania Dutch Equivalents* (Printed by Reading Eagle Press, Reading, PA). Howard Snader's paternal ancestors settled near Center Church, south of Bowmansville in northern Lancaster County in the early 1700s. On his mother's side the ancestors settled near Hain's Church in the vicinity of Wernersville in Berks County. Snader became concerned about the loss of the dialect "for lack of use from day to day" and hoped that his glossary would make "a desirable and valuable contribution toward the preservation of the Dialect." "It is hoped that in the perusal of this work you may often locate the pronunciation."

Howard Snader's *Glossary* is a beautiful illustration of how not to write an English-PG dictionary. We gather that Snader took up some English language dictionary,

selected 6,167 key words, and then appended the PG word which came to mind—whether it matched the English key word or not. Snader's first word *abandon* is translated as "fer LUSS." LUSS indicates that this is the accented syllable. Assuming that *abandon* in English is a verb form, the PG term should read *verlösse*. An *abbatoir* is a "SCHLACHT hows"; *abdomen* is *bauch*; *ability* is *kann*; *kunsh*—neither of which properly translate *ability*. *Abjure* was most likely not in Snader's English vocabulary; he translates it as "OB g'sawd"—which is the past participle of *absaage*, translated by Lambert as "to refuse, decline, reject, revoke." *Abort* is given as "OB g'schaft," which has several senses in PG, but not one of them to *abort*. *About* and *above* are roughly on target, but *abrasion* is not the equivalent of "fer GROTZ'D," which is the past participle of *vergratze* (to damage by scratching).

It is possible that 10% of Snader's "equivalents" are correct. Most of his entries are misleading (One of the most striking is: *Ash Wednesday - ESCH a POOD el* [Cinderella], which Lambert translates as "drudge, person in a family who rises last on Shrove Tuesday.") On the other hand Snader lists *aphid* [a plant louse that sucks the juice of plants] as "SOOK el KEFF er," *Suckelkeffer*, a literal translation, which is otherwise not listed in our many PG word lists.

By 1968 Snader's dictionary had been purchased by the Culinary Arts Press of Reading, Pennsylvania, which included a new preface informing us that we PGs were "known first as *Pennsylvania Deutsch*, mis-translated later as *Pennsylvania Dutch*, they refer to themselves in their Dialect as *Pennsylvani Deitsch*." We were also instructed that we PGs "speak a mixed-up kind of English that *passeth all understanding* by other Americans." The Culinary Arts Press saw fit to intersperse throughout Snader's corpus "short, authoritative essays on the local scene and culture, profusely illustrated with drawings and photographs." Unfortunately, the creator of the many charming black and white line sketches of plain folks was not identified.

After 1978, they moved their offices to Chicago, whereupon I suggested to the Culinary Arts Press that I revise and correct Snader's text at no cost to them. The Culinary Arts Press responded by sending me a dozen free copies of the 1978 printing and no response to my generous offer.

1949

A Pennsylvania Dutch Dictionary, Pennsylvania Dutch Words Translated into English (Meredith Publishing Company, Quakertown, PA). "The first 69 pages were devoted to an alphabetized word list containing approximately 5,000 words" (Rosenberger, 376; approx. 5,799 PG words with an English equivalent). It is clearly a copy of Horne's vocabulary, from *a* (one) to *zweif'lhoft* (doubtful).

1951

Edwin R. Danner, *Pennsylvania Dutch Dictionary and Handbook*. In 1951, Edwin Danner offered the PG world his own dictionary "with special emphasis on the dialect that was, and is, spoken in York County, Pennsylvania" (iii). Danner's opus begins

with the customary acknowledgments, followed by general explanations, a pronunciation/spelling guide, and an abbreviations list. Already in the pronunciation guide, critique is mustered as one read the following: *sch* [representative vowels and consonants]; *schwetz* (talk) [PG]; *bench* [English equivalents] (ix). His English equivalent is misleading and assumes a pronunciation like "tschwetz."

The publication moves underway with his 178-page English-Pennsylvania Dutch Dictionary. We assume the amount of English words in his work to be ca. 13,000 (assuming about 72 per page). How did he manage to fit such a large quantity of words on one page? Simply by deleting most integral parts of a good dictionary. Danner has left us (it seems) with only an English word, its part of speech (if necessary), and a translation (flavored only here and there with a sentence). His entries lack a well-rounded foundation, e.g., *accept - nemm*. When one compares this with the entry by Kyger [cf. Kyger, 1986, below], one is made aware of the extreme differences between the two. His lack of a proper English word and reducing it to only the basics, leaves much to be desired, e.g., *accustomed (I am - to that) - Ich bin sell gegwaynt*; the original word would have been more helpful and effective to a student of PG had he made the key word "to be accustomed to." In addition, plurals of nouns are often listed as separate entries and the genders of nouns are not included—a must for every serious student of PG. In all, his dictionary, with its many English loan words, leaves much to be desired.

1966

Werner A. Bausenhart, "The Terminology of Agronomy of the Pennsylvania German Dialect of Waterloo County, Ontario" (University of Waterloo Thesis). Three informants have supplied the information for this study. They had been selected by Bausenhart out of the 50 interviewed during the summer of 1965, according to their suitability to provide information about the old and modern methods of farming. All three were full-time farmers and bilingual. For the composition of Bausenhart's questionnaire he made use of Rudolf Hotzenköcherle's *Fragebuch in Einführung in den Sprachatlas der deutschen Schweiz* (Bern: Francke, 1962).

The response given to each question is underlined, defined as to gender, number, etc., transcribed into phonetic script, translated into StG, and then compared with the corresponding word given in Danner's York County dictionary, in the Lambert dictionary and with words given by the *Deutscher Wortatlas* by Walter Mitzka and Ludwig Erich Schmitt.

Bausenhart presents 815 terms in seven chapters entitled 1) the farm [133 terms], 2) tillage [1187 terms], 3) meadows and pastures [28 terms], 4) hay harvest [121 terms], 5) the grain crops [193 terms], 6) cultivated crops: potatoes [32 terms], corn [26 terms], vegetables [54 terms], and 7) landforms, soils [16], fences. [25] He employs 14 illustrations (ground-plan of a typical farmstead, ground-plan of a typical stable, a wheelbarrow, the plow, flat-rack wagon, hay fork, etc.), and four maps (Waterloo County, area of survey to determine the use of the PG dialect, church affiliation of farm owners, and location of the farms of the informants).

Of special interest is the fact that the youngest of the three informants, 24 years of age, showed the greatest English content—loan words and hybrid compounds, while the second informant, fifty years old, was more able to recall the non-English PG words for some methods and objects than the first informant, who had never had occasion to use these words. The following terms given by the second informant could be given only in English by informant number 1: *Secht* [coultter], *Landraad* [wheel (of plow) running on the unplowed land], *Farichraad* [wheel (of plow) running in the furrow], *neibluge* [to plow in a clockwise direction], *nausbluge* [to plow in a counter-clockwise direction], *Schwaet* [cutting blade of scythe], *Zippel* [point of scythe], *Schneid* [sharp side of scythe-blade], *Wettschtee* [stone for honing scythe], *Ambos* [anvil], *wenne* [to ted, turn hay], *verdillye* [to exterminate (weeds)], *Dischdel* [thistle], *Schnur* [twine], *siewe* [to sift], *baschde* [to husk (corn)], *Grutze* [the core of corn] and *Schpaat* [spade]. The following words were known only to the third informant and not by the first two: *Scheierdenn* [thrashing floor], *Hauwerkaschde* [storage for oats], *Ouwverdenn* [upper floor (in hay loft)], *Messersecht* [knife-coultter (on plow)], *eisee-e* [to change a field into pasture] = *verseede*, *Schteeboot* [stone drag], *picke* [to pick up (stones)] = *ufflese* and *Dreschschlegel* [flail] [= *Dreschflegel*].

1970

Rev. Thomas R. Brendle, *The Thomas R. Brendle Collection of Pennsylvania German Folklore*. Thomas Royce Brendle (1889-1966) was born on a farm at Schaefferstown, Lebanon County, in 1889 and died in Allentown in 1966. After graduation from the Seminary of the Reformed Church in America in 1911, he took up his first pastorate in Abilene, Kansas. In 1913 he moved to Sumneytown Charge of the Reformed Church. Here he served for 13 years. The final 35 years of his ministry, he was pastor of the Egypt (Lehigh County) Charge of the Reformed Church. Due to his early start as a pastor, Brendle was able to serve the Reformed Church for 50 years.

In the year 1936, Brendle began to make notes on all the lore that he had heard from parishioners, fishing mates, pastoral associates and other contacts. Day by day he would make notes, as he heard matter which he "felt would be worthwhile in making a study of the PGs" ("Appreciation," *The Thomas R. Brendle Collection of P.G. Folklore*, 1:iv). He loosely followed the spelling of Lambert's dictionary. When the collection approached 10,000 items he began to type his notes. "The Brendle Collection proper consists of 93 loose-leaf notebooks. The entire collection contains approximately 55,000 numbered entries. Brendle's hand-written and typed notes are spread over approximately 24,000 pages. During the years of his retirement when the collection was with him in Hamburg, NY, he continued to work with the collection by making additions and corrections" (iii). Brendle was fairly faithful to his original numbering system in the first 61 volumes. These volumes contain material recorded between May 1936 (the month volume one was formally opened) and February 1961. The final 30 volumes contain few numbered entries. In Brendle's words: "Everything unless otherwise noted was heard by me. . . . Others may have heard things differently" (iv).

"Since Brendle had assisted Lambert in the compilation of his dictionary, it is not surprising that Brendle made copious notes on lexical items as he heard them or as they occurred to him. In the compilation of a comprehensive PG-English dictionary, we have made full use of Brendle's notes" (iv).

Brendle's notes were recorded when Pastor Brendle was in his most productive years and at a time when the generation born during the last quarter of the nineteenth century—a period when the PG culture was the dominant one in many of the rural sections of Southeastern Pennsylvania—was well represented amongst Brendle's informants. In this fact lies the uniqueness of the Brendle Collection. Brendle assembled his collection from a generation which knew the dialect and the older ways well. Brendle grew up in Schaefferstown, Lebanon County, which was thoroughly Pennsylvania Dutch during the period of his childhood and youth (A. S. Brendle). Brendle lived for almost 50 years in two areas, which were at the time he served them as pastor, 1913-61, heavily PG and in part, rural (vii-viii). In the opinion of three authorities, Dorson, Klees and Yoder, the Brendle Collection "stands alone as a record of German-American folklife" (ix).

There are many vocabulary notes still to be extracted from the Brendle collection, which is preserved on microfilm in the archives of the Millersville University (MU) Library. Here are a few examples of PG place names: *die Kaffischtadt* (a hamlet in Lehigh Co.), *Moyerscheddel* (Moyerstown), *Wollewerscheddel* (Mt. Aetna), *Schtumbescheddel* (Fredericksburg), *Mannem* (Manheim), *Leng-gescher* (Lancaster), *Rehrerscheddel* (Rehrersburg), *Grappescheddel* (a hamlet in Lehigh Co.), *Haahnescheddel* (Hahnstown), *Hinkelscheddel* (Hinkletown) and *Effredaa* (Ephrata in Lancaster Co.).

Brendle's additions to Lambert were printed later in the *Historic Schaefferstown Record*, edited by this writer. Brendle's farm background enabled him to record many agricultural terms, such as:

Ausblugsfarich (the double furrow left when plowing is completed, the furrows being thrown one to the right and one to the left. At the next plowing the initial furrows are turned into the *Ausblugsfarich* and this is called the *Grod*.

In Brendle's day the terms for mowing were well known, for instance: *aamaehe* or *los-maehe*. A swath was mowed around the field with the cradle, *es Reif*, so that the reaper or binder, *der Beinder*, could be driven around the field without pressing down the grain. In Lebanon County this process is known as *losmaehe*.

Brendle, the fisherman, made an effort to record fishing terms, such as: *Fischgaarn* (fishing net), *Schmeissgaarn* (throw net), *Ohle bappe* (to bobb eels), *Stechseise fische* (to fish with a spear), and *der Keenich* (an exceptionally large fish worm).

The following are some of the publications of the late Pastor Thomas R. Brendle: *Plant Names and Plant Lore Among the Pennsylvania Germans* [with David E. Lick], 1935; *Folk Medicine of the Pennsylvania Germans: The Non-Occult Cures* [with Claude W. Unger], 1935; *Pennsylvania German Folk Tales, Legends, Once-Upon-A-Time-Stories, and Sayings: Spoken in the dialect popularly known as Pennsylvania Dutch* [with William

S. Troxell], 1944; "Pennsylvania German Songs" in *Pennsylvania Songs and Legends* [with William S. Troxell], 1949; and *Moses Dissinger, Evangelist and Patriot*, 1959.

C. Richard Beam: *Pfälzer in der weiten Welt*, Veröffentlichungen der Heimatstelle Pfalz, Kaiserslautern, Folge 8: *Kleines Pennsylvaniadeutsches Wörterbuch*, Abridged Pennsylvania German Dictionary. The initial purpose in publishing this abridged dictionary was to give to our dictionary project co-workers a reward for their faithfulness. The secondary purpose was "to honor the work and the memory of the dean of PG folklorists, Pastor Thomas R. Brendle," whose collection of PG folklore supplied "most of the words and expressions presented" in the KPW. The corpus of the KPW "were collected by Pastor Brendle at Schaefferstown, Pennsylvania; in northern Montgomery County; or at Egypt, Lehigh County. They portray the PG dialect as spoken in these three counties roughly between 1925 and 1960."

The compilation of the KPW required an entire year with help of four students from the University of Marburg in Marburg, Germany. They spent hundreds of hours typing the file slips which we had prepared from xeroxed copies of some of the volumes of the Brendle Collection. (Almost 200 hours were required to type the typescript prior to reproduction by modern photo-graphic means.)

The 5,200 key words lifted from the Brendle Collection and presented in the KPW constitute an invaluable addition to Lambert's corpus of 16,438 key words. Prior to the publication of our KPW, W. E. "Pop" Farver of Beach City, Ohio, made a survey of Lambert's 1924 PG dictionary. Of the 16,438 key words presented by Lambert in the dictionary proper about 11,700 terms are or were in common use in that part of Holmes County, Ohio, where Farver grew up and lived. In Farver's estimation about 900 terms are rarely used. Roughly 4,000 words (25% of Lambert's vocabulary) are unknown to "Pop" Farver, who at that time was in his 84th year.

In the KPW, we were able to present a chapter on "Pennsylvania German Phonology and Orthography" by Heinrich Kelz of the Institute of Communication Research and Phonetics of the University of Bonn, Germany. This chapter forms the basis for the "BBB" (Buffington-Barba-Beam) spelling system which we have employed subsequently.

1976

Clarence G. Reitnauer, *Des is em Schdivvel Knecht sei Pennsilfawnish Deitsch Werdtu Buch* (Seisholtzville, Berks County, PA). This 36-page booklet appeared as Pennsylvania Dutch Studies no.7 of the Institute for Pennsylvania Dutch Studies edited by William T. Parsons of Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pennsylvania.

The purpose of this dictionary was "to help friends and admirers of Clarence G. Reitnauer to read his column and to understand the dialect." With the expiration of Pastor William I. Rupp's weekly *Der Busch Knibbel* in the *Pennsburg Town and Country*, Clarence G. Reitnauer, *Der Sctiwwelgnecht*, took up the gauntlet and wrote his dialect column for many additional years. This dictionary is a compilation of dialect words

and their English meanings over a period of twenty years. It was printed directly from his manuscript notebook.

The editor reports that "we have made no editorial attempt to fully alphabetize throughout." Space was provided so the user might add more words and phrases, either from *Der Schtiuwelgnecht* columns or "by personal whim of the reader." A chart has been provided on page iv which illustrates the principal differences between the Buffington-Barba and the Rupp-Reitnauer systems.

A few of Reitnauer's terms are as follows: *eebehnich* (one-legged), *Aerdbewing* (earthquake), *allegebott* (every once in a while), *aagenehmt* (well-liked), *aageblicklich* (in the wink of an eye), *Badschtubb* (bathroom), *Belsnickel* (PG Santa Claus), *Baschdart* (marshy wasteland for pasture), *Beintblech* (pint measure), *Bisskatz* (skunk), *der Blohbarig* (the Blue Mountains), *Blotzwagge* (heavy farm wagon), *brauchbaar* (useful), *Braut un Brautigam* (bride and groom), *Brendis* (apprentice), *Butzemann* (scarecrow), *Buweleis* (tickseed), *tschaael/kaue* (to chew), *Daerli* (small door), *Darrebedien* (turpentine), *Deixelnaggel* (thill-pin), *Dodeschreech* (tolling), *Dreschmaschien* (thrashing machine), *Dochdermann* (son-in-law), *Dullebaahne* (tulip), *Faasnacht* (Shrove Tuesday), *Fensemeis* (chipmonks), *verschwappt* (traded), *Feibaschdel* (a fellow with a high opinion of himself), *frogeswaert* (worth asking for), *Gemeensglieder* (members of a church), *Gedollische* (Roman Catholics), *Gotterbaremlich!* ("God have mercy!" - one of Pastor Rupp's expressions), *Grebsgang* (going in reverse, backwards), *Grischtkindlicher* (Christmas gifts), *Grendel* (beam on a plow), *Gwallefleesch* (dry beef), *hatzhafdich* (hearty), *Hanning* (February), *Harrnhuder* (Moravian), *Harrevogel* (Blue Jay), *Hensching* (gloves), *Hochmutskischhel* (proud fool), *Hufe Karich* (Huff's Church), *Insche* (American Indians), *Glotskopp* (block head), *Grutzeschtare*m (sudden storm with rain or snow), *Kolwe* (corn cob; gun stock; soldering iron), *Laademacher* (casketmaker/undertaker), *Langgwitt* (coupling pole in farm wagon), *missvergunnisch* (envious), *Mennischde* (Mennonites), *Owwerdenn* (floor above thrashing floor in bam), *parrebes* (on purpose), *bschlagge* (to cut timber with an ax; to shoe a horse), *Riggelweg* (railroad), *schmarixe* (to snore), *Schpaubax* (cuspidor), *Schitz* (high hat), *Siwweuhrschlaefer* (one who is always late), *Sudliche Grieg* (Civil War), *der Yingscht Daag* (Day of Judgement), *Yuddekasche* (ground cherries), *Zimmermann* (carpenter who does framing), *Zollschttaab* (foot rule).

Page 35 presents a list of odd expressions, for instance, *Dreckhammel* (dirty filthy fellow), *Holzbutscher* (a poor carpenter), *Nachtwechder* (a night owl), *piensich* (said of an older, sickly person), *Schussel* (one prone to hurry through his chores), *Schlappschtiuwel* or *Schlappmaul* (a sloppy person), *Schtengelbauer* (a poor farmer), *Umwedder* (very unpleasant weather), and *weitlefdich* (from a distance, as a relative).

1977

Allan M. Buehler, *The Pennsylvania German Dialect and the Autobiography of an Old Order Mennonite* (Cambridge, Ontario). In his "later" years Allan H. Buehler has presented as member of the "old" generation the field of PA German Studies "as it was

spoken in our family when I was young." Buehler reports that "there are those who have given me much assistance, especially in the choice of words" (iv).

Concerning the variation within the dialect from "one district to another, and even between families . . . there is a variation in words used as well as in the pronunciation of certain words" (2). Buehler found that the Amish in his area "tend to use more German words." Buehler's *Pennsylvania German Dictionary* (pages 4-30) is presented in three columns: English, German and Pennsylvania German. It begins with the English word *Abandon* (German *Verlassen*, PG *Fah-luh-sah*), includes: *Acquaint* (German *Bekannt machin* [sic], PG *Bahcahnt mahabah*), *Attic* (German *Dachstube*, PG *Ehvah Shpie-chah* [sic]), *Hopelessness* (German *Hoffnungslos*, PG *Huhf-lohs*), *Into* (German *In*, PG *In-tsoo* [sic], etc.

Especially valuable are the six pages with 1) short sentences in English and PG of things around the farm and house, 2) some short conversations, and 3) some proverbs and sayings in PG and English. There follows a few PG folk rhymes (and translations) and fifteen pages devoted to PG poetry.

1982

C. Richard Beam, *Pennsylvania German Dictionary: English to Pennsylvania Dutch*. This dictionary, Beam's second, had a rather tortured beginning. In the summer of 1978 Beam compiled a preliminary draft of this dictionary and submitted this draft to several old friends, all native speakers of the dialect. In the course of the development of this dictionary Beam acquired his first *Waddefresser* (word processor) and completed this dictionary. In those days the use of a word processor domestically was as yet uncommon. These native speakers added many words and illustrations. Frey's contribution was unique, for he presented to Beam Lambert's complete lexicon recorded on file cards from English to Dutch. The preliminary draft had been developed with the support of the Lancaster-Lebanon Intermediate Unit 13 BESL Center and the U.S.O.E. Office of Bilingual Education Title VII Funds and had been compiled during the months of June and July in 1978. The BESL Center of Intermediate Unit 13 was directed by Carolyn Ebel and located in New Holland, Pennsylvania. One of the languages it was supporting was Pennsylvania German. During the last year the BESL Center was in operation Ernest Waldo Bechtel (PG poet, columnist and playwright) was employed by the Center as a specialist for PG language and culture.

At the time Beam's *Pennsylvania German Dictionary* was first printed, Beam's "Pennsilfaanisch Deutsch Eck" was appearing weekly in four different newspapers. More recently it shrank to two weeklies.

The second printing appeared in 1985 and the third in 1989. When in 1991 a fourth printing became necessary, Julie Stauffer Martin's lovely illustrations were included. The preface to the third printing of the *Revised PG Dictionary* reports a total of six reprints of Beam's dictionary. To date approximate 20,000 copies of Beam's opus have been printed. The "Preface" also makes mention of William J. Rupp's *Bird Names and Bird Lore among the Pennsylvania Germans* (1946). The word lists of Clayton P. Boyer and Raymond E. Kiebach, a careful student of PG, are mentioned. Also

mentioned is Alfred L. Shoemaker's Pennsylvania German Folk Speech File in the Myrin Library of Ursinus College, an in-house compilation of the Center for PG Studies in October of 1998. In the acknowledgments Beam expresses the Center's indebtedness to the Max Kade Foundation for the \$10,000.00 which "assisted in the preparation and publication of this dictionary and subsequent publications."

1983

Essen Delaware Amish Project Team, "List of PG-Words as Spoken by the Old Order Amish in Kent County, Delaware" (Universität Essen). This word list was "part of the results of the Essen-Delaware Amish Project Team (EDAPT) that since 1977 devoted its efforts to the description of the sociolinguistic system of the Old Order Amish in Kent County, Delaware." Werner Enninger of the University of Essen was the project coordinator.

Part 1. "Extant dictionaries of Pennsylvania German and the goals of the present word list" presents and discusses briefly Horne's *Pennsylvania German Manual* (1875), Rauch's *Pennsylvania Dutch Handbook* (1879), the 31-page word list from Fisher's *Kurzweil unnd Zeitfertreib* (1882), and Lins's *Common Sense Pennsylvania German Dictionary* (1887). "The more academic philological studies of Marion Dexter Learned (1888, 1889) and Walter J. Hoffman (1888) also contain word lists but are not intended as reference words of the general public. In 1895 Lins's *Dictionary* appeared in an enlarged edition. In the same year the second edition of Abraham Reeser Horne's *Manual* appeared to which an English-Pennsylvania German word list was added as part 4. Further, posthumous editions followed in 1905 and 1910." The list continues with Daniel Miller's *Pennsylvania German, A Collection of Pennsylvania German Productions in Poetry and Prose* (1911), "contains a list of 1,212 PG words in German orthography," Lambert's 187-page *Dictionary of the Non-English Words of the Pennsylvania-German Dialect*, Howard Snader's *Glossary of 6,167 English Words and Expressions* (1948, with 1949, 1950 and 1965 reprints), an undated and anonymous *Pennsylvania-Dutch Dictionary, Pennsylvania Dutch Words Translated into English* published by the Meredith Publishing Company of Quakertown, PA, Danner's *Pennsylvania Dutch Dictionary and Handbook* (1951) "contains circa 18,000 English words and phrases with their PG equivalents," Beam's *Kleines Pennsylvaniadeutsches Wörterbuch* (1970) and Beam's *Pennsylvania German Dictionary* (1982).

Part 1.2. "Status and goal of the present word list" makes no claim to representativeness, completeness or exhaustiveness and is limited to the variant of PG as spoken by the Old Order Amish of Kent County, Delaware. "The present list represents an attempt at determining what lexemes of their repertoire the Old Order Amish of Kent County in general perceive as Pennsylvania German items, irrespective of their etymology."

Two OOA informants were supplied with copies of Lambert's dictionary, two with copies of Beam's dictionary and two with a copy of the word list of 529 words compiled in 1940 by Alfred Shoemaker in the Amish community of Arthur, Illinois. These dictionaries and word lists were to serve as elicitation lists. The informants

responded on file-cards to the following questions: 1) I know the word and use it in the sense given in the dictionary/word list. 2) I know the word but do not use it in the sense given. 3) I know and use the word but use another word as well. 4) I know the word but would use the following English word . . . 5) I do not know the word. 6) This word is used only in sermons/hymns, etc. After the completed cards had been returned, further information was collected from two local former OOA, who provided the pronunciation for the lemmata. All of this information is now stored in coded form in a computer in Essen.

This list had been printed "first of all" to show gratitude of the Essen Team to the OOA informants in Delaware. The Essen Team offered to provide two copies "of the present list" to anyone who feels like volunteering more than shorter bits of information, "one to keep," and one to be returned with comments.

This 555-page compilation of the PG lexicon is indeed of great potential value as a research tool but of little use to the lay user. From our perspective it would have been of much greater interest to compare that active portion of the German vocabulary of the native OOA dialect speakers with the German portion still retained by the Old Order Mennonites—who seem to have retained a greater portion of their German linguistic heritage.

1986

M. Ellsworth Kyger, *An English-Pennsylvania German Dictionary: A Working Manuscript* (three volumes). Pastor Frederick S. Weiser who at the time was the editor of the publications of the Pennsylvania German Society [PGS], wrote in his "Introduction": "For 300 years this language has been spoken, altered, augmented and abused on the North American continent. Under the relentless pressure of English and the mass media, the dialect has lost ground and its usage has shrunk. Anyone who can understand it, however, would not trade the ability for even a piece of the moon fenced in; and whoever cannot speak it is entitled to some jealousy when overhearing two dialect speakers' exchange and the peals of laughter that invariably accompany it. No organization and surely no book can keep a dialect alive when sociological factors are writing its death certificate, however surprisingly slowly. But this dictionary forms a fantastic record of the words people have used to express themselves in Pennsylvania German."

In his preface Kyger reports that he was obliged to stick with his original working manuscript in order to shorten the typescript and thus reduce the cost of the publication. He explains in order to cut expenses that in the first half of the work "the helper verb (*sei*, or *hawwe*) and the past participle form" are given, but not in the second half. Also in the second half the components of compounds (especially of nouns) and separable prefixes of compound verbs were indicated. "Every available dictionary and word list was incorporated" into Kyger's opus. "Hundreds of pages of Pennsylvania German literature were combed; many native speakers were interviewed." Kyger also confesses that "we probably did not find every word in the dialect." Every PG lexicographer worth his salt has to admit to this fact of life.

At a February 1982 meeting held in the New Oxford home of Pastors Fred Weiser and Larry Neff, attended by Druckenbrod, Alan Keyser, Neff, Willard Martin and Beam, after a review of the Kyger manuscript, the suggestion was made that the “hybrid Dutch/English” loan words should remain, but that the English loan words, “by and large, should be deleted” (March 1, 1982, letter from Fred. S. Weiser). When the present writer received the three volumes from the PGS on December 10, 1986, it was evident that Kyger had not been able to eliminate the large percentage of English loan words. Later when Kyger granted Beam permission to incorporate the Kyger opus into Beam’s comprehensive PG dictionary, Beam scanned the three volumes for English loan words and in the preparation of 138 PG-English questionnaires removed those loans which he subjectively viewed as not having established themselves universally. This scanning took place between April 2000 and July 2001. The Buffington-Barba [B-B] system of orthography was employed throughout.

Typical entries: *Accept* (vb, *aanemme*, (h) (*aagenumme*), *abnemme*, (h) (*abgenumme*), *aeaksepte*, (h) (*aeaksept*), *nemme*, (h) (*genumme*), (*uffnemme*), (h)(*uffgenumme*); to—a bid (in card-playing), *abschlagge*, (h) (*abgschlagge*); to prevail on a person to—*aaschwetze*, (h) (*aagschwetzt*), to urge a person to—, *neediche*, (h)(*geneedicht*); to be accepted, *gelde*, ()(*gegolde*).

Account (n.), *Abreehlung* (f.)(-e), *Ekaunt* (f.)(-s), *Greid* (nt.,m.,f.) (), *Rechenschaft* (f.) (-e), *Rechling* (f.)(-e), *Rechning* (f.)(-e); on - of, *wege*, *weeich*, *weaich* (plus dt.); on - of this, *dessentwege*; on - of that, *deswege*; on - of it, *dewege*; on my -, *meinetwege*, *wege mir*; on no -, *beileiwe net*, *darichaus net*; on short -, *an katze Ekaunt*; on that -, *deswege*; on this -, *deretwege*, *dodewege*; *dessentwege*; of no -, *frees*, *gebotzt* (*sell is en gebotzt Ding*); to audit accounts, *aadite*, (h)(*geaadit*): to cast up accounts, *ziffere*, (h)(*geziffert*); to settle accounts, *ihre Ekaunts settle*; to square accounts, (*ihre Ekaunts*) *abrechte*, (h)(*abgerechelt*).

Act (vb.), *sich aaschicke*, (h)(*aagschickt*), *aeakte*, (h)(*geaekt*), *duh*, (*geduh*), *fungiere*, () (*fungiert*), (*verfaahre*), ()(*verfaahre*), (*wandle*), (h)(*gewandelt*); to - accordingly, *sich danach richte*, (h)(*gericht*); to - around, *rumaekte*, (h)(*rumgeaekt*), to - as if, *sich aaschtelle*, (h) (*aagschtellt*), to - a fool, *Schinnerschtreech aadreuwe*, (h)(*aagedriuwe*), to - foolishly, *narre*, (h) (*genarrt*); to - a clown, *hanswaschtle*, (h)(*gehanswaschtelt*); to - like one’s father, *sich vattere*, (h)(*gvattert*); to - (as if one were) at home, *sich deheem mache*, (h)(*gemacht*); to- horribly, *net arig glatt hergeh*, (s)(*hergange*); to - the hypocrite, *heichle*, (h)(*gheichelt*); to - indifferently, *sich allwannt aaschtelle*, (h)(*aagschtellt*); to - a lady, *Leedi aeakte*; to - as lawyer, *Laayer aeakte*; to - mean, *mien aeakte*; to - like one’s mother, *sich muttere*, (h)(*gemuttert*); to - a parasite, *sich aasuckle*, (h)(*aagsuckelt*); to - peculiarly, *sich gschpassich aaschicke*; to - rebelliously, *sich schtraube*, (h)(*gschtraubt*); to - rudely, *net arig glatt hergeh*; to - silly, *hanswaschtle*, (h)(*ghanswaschtelt*); to - superciliously, *die Naas runzle*, (h)(*gerunzelt*).

Allay (vb.), *lege*, (h)(*gelegt*): *Wasser legt mei Dascht*.

Combinations like *able/eebel abolish/aballische*, *acme/Gippel*, *Schpitze*, *actual/aekschual*, *adding/Aedde* (nt.); — *machine*, *Aeddmashien*, (f.), *adherence/Aahang* (m.), *air cleaner* (in automobile motor)/*Aerkliener*, *air conditioner/Luftkaltmacher* (m.), *air force* (n.)/*Aerfoors* (E), *airplane* (n.)/*Aerpleenhenger*, *alienist* (n.)/*Narrekokter* (m.), *all-*

day sucker/All-dee-socket (m.), allegiance/Alliegschenz, alphabetical (adj.)/aelphabettikal, alternator (part of automobile motor)/ Aaltemeetor, Tschennereetor, ambler/Droller (m.), Amen corner/Eemenkaarner, die iwwerzwarriche Benk, die katze Benk, amendment/Emendment, amnesty/Vergewwe (nt.), amply (adv.)/genunk, amulet/Emyulet, anent (prep.)/weeich, animate (vb.)/geh mache, (h)/(gemacht), anneal (vb.)/tempere, getempert, aphid (n.)/Eefis, Laublaus, Suckelkeffer.

1988

Helga Seel, *Lexicologische Studien zum Pennsylvaniadeutschen: Wortbildung des Pennsylvaniadeutschen Sprachkontakterscheinungen im Wortschatz des Pennsylvaniadeutschen*. This study was accepted in 1987 as a doctoral dissertation by the Johannes Gutenberg University in Mainz, Germany. Helga Seel's primary sources were written: 1) Ernest Waldo Bechtel's "Buschgnippel" columns in the *Ephrata Review*, 2) Clarence C. Reitnauer's "Der Schtiwwelgnecht" columns in *Town and Counrry* and 3) Daniel B. Stauffer's column in *Die Botschaft* and three-hour oral interviews with 15 informants. Bechtel's columns appeared from 28 January 1971 to 30 December 1971, from 2 January 1984 to 22 December 1984, 7 March 1985 and from 9 January 1986 to 3 December 1986. The Reitnauer columns were printed from 17 August 1983 to 28 December 1983, from 4 January 1984 to 28 November 1984, from 9 January 1985 to 31 December 1985, and from 8 January 1986 to 9 July 1986, and the Stauffer columns from 31 May 1982, from 3 November 1983 to 26 December 1984 and from 10 January 1985 to 3 October 1985.

1989

Kathryn Burrige, *A Localized Study of PG Dialect in Waterloo County, Ontario* (Canadian-German Folklore Society of Ontario, 11). In his "Editor's Postscript" Eldon D. Weber, the father-in-law of Burrige, reported that "Allen M. Buehler made a solo effort when he published his book *The Pennsylvania German Dialect and the Life of an Old Order Mennonite* in 1977." In his most recent project Buehler was to produce an annotated *Word Book* for the Canadian-German Folklore Society of Ontario "by setting his words within short sentences along with English translations. He had produced a voluminous manuscript and started to alter and edit it when he was taken by an untimely death." Shortly thereafter Kate Burrige was visiting in the area and agreed to assist in the publication. In the 60-page appendix, Burrige lists her chosen vocabulary in two sections. The first is marked "English to Dialect" the second is marked "Dialect to English." The first list informs the user where each term appears in the vocabulary section, pages 18-54. Here the PG lexicon appears under 23 topics: *Wedder, Kalenner, Nummere, Uhr, Leit, Familie, Gsundheit, Lewe un der Dod, Zeitverdreib, Kaerber, Ess-sache, Relichion, uff die Bauerei, Land, Blanse, Schtadt, Poschtaffis, Mark, Heem, Gleeder, Faerwe, Schul and Gediere*. Burrige essentially employs the Buffington-Barba orthography. This practice makes her work much more useful.

The first section of the Appendix contains ca. 1,104 words, the second ca. 1,250. Although the first section of the Vocabulary is entitled "English to Dialect," the first column lists a dialect word, i.e., *m Bauch* followed by a page number and the English equivalent, i.e., *abdomen* (s). Part two marked "Dialect to English" first lists the dialect word: *n Aag* followed by the plural form, Buehler's spelling and [*bog*]—altogether confusing—and the English: *eye(s)*, singular and plural. One has the impression that there were too many editors at work on the publication. In this case it was the scholar frustrated by an eccentric local.

1995

Michael Werner, *Lexikalische Sprachkontaktphänomene in schriftlichen Texten des Pennsylvaniadeutschen: Eine Studie zu synchroner Variation und diachroner Entwicklung des englischen Einflusses in der pennsylvaniadeutschen Literatur* (Inauguraldissertation zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades eines Doktors der Philosophie der Universität Mannheim.C. Dokumentationsteil 12. Frequenzwörterbuch der in pennsylvaniadeutschen Texten nachgewiesenen Lexeme mit englischem Einfluss [pages 220-370]).

In his no-less than 562-page opus with no-less than 697 footnotes, Michael Werner offers the PG world a study of English influence on Pennsylvania German literature. His vocabulary section contains words written phonetically, with their American English and StG meanings, frequency of use, as well as comments on the word's function.

His list is a very interesting read for scholars to learn more about the English language contact on Pennsylvania German. Some of the words:

- /bɔi/ (a), /pai/ (5-7-7; II) AE: 'pie' StD [StG]: 'Pastete, Obstkuchen'
Substantiv; Transfer: Lehnwort]
- /bɔi/ (b) (1-1-1; IV) AE: 'boy' StD: 'Junge' [Substantiv; Transfer: Lehnwort]
- /bɔide:g/ (1-1-1; II) AE: 'pie dough' StD: 'Pastetenteig' [Substantiv;
Teilsubstitution: Hybrid]
- /bɔifank/ (1-1-2; B) ? 'pie' + 'Schank'; AE: 'cupboard, where pies are stored'
StD: 'Schränk, in dem Pasteten gelagert werden' [Substantiv;
Eigenbildung: Scheinentlehnung]
- /bɔlidigs/ (5-5-6; I) AE: 'politics' StD: 'Politik' [Substantiv; Transfer:
Lehnwort]

The numbers after the entries refer to their frequency. For example from the above-mentioned *Ballex* (5-5-6; I) means that the 5 authors used this lexeme in their literature, that this word appeared in 5 texts, that it appeared at most 6 times in a text and that this was done from 1861 to 1887.

C. Richard Beam, ed., *The Thomas R. Brendle Collection of Pennsylvania German Folklore Volume 1* (Published by Historic Schaefferstown, Inc.).

Eugene S. Stine, *Pennsylvania German Dictionary: Pennsylvania German-English. English-Pennsylvania German* (East Stroudsburg University, The Pennsylvania German Society, Birdsboro, PA). This is the first dictionary Pennsylvania German-English and English-Pennsylvania German. In 1990, "Dr. Stine published the *Pennsylvania German to English Dictionary* as a companion to the English to Pennsylvania German one produced by Prof. C. Richard Beam." "... this new, first-ever dual language dictionary, containing more than 21,000 Pennsylvania German words and their English counterparts ... in which the Lehigh-Northampton County variant of Pennsylvania German is the dominant version of the dialect." "The author has taken care, however, to include significant differences from other areas, such as Lancaster-York County and Schuylkill-Dauphin County regions."

Stine employs Buffington-Barba orthography and rearranges the spelling throughout accordingly. It is much easier to locate Stine's words than in Lambert. Even those of us who have been using Lambert for decades occasionally have difficulty in ascertaining whether or not Lambert has listed the word in question. However, Stine rarely lists words in a complete context. The Stine dictionary makes no mention of accentuation, also one of Lambert's weaknesses (Lambert, xxix). The signs within the square brackets [] after each word denote (1) the number of syllables in the word, (2) the quantity of the vowel or diphthong in each syllable, and abbreviation *dim* [diminutive], which at times appears as *dem*. It does not appear on page ix abbreviations. Some words which appear in Lambert's Appendix are included by Stine, others not. For instance, *Biggelbord* (ironing board) should be included, but is not.

1997

C. Richard Beam, ed., *Plant Names of the Pennsylvania Germans in PA Dutch - Latin - English* (Preliminary Edition) (Center for Pennsylvania German Studies Millersville University of Pennsylvania). This compilation is a result of a midsummer 1997 visit with Pastor and Mrs. Shumacher in their lonely home at Muddy Creek, Lancaster County. Pastor Shumacher shared with this editor a copy of *Folk Medicine Plants Used in the Pennsylvania Dutch Country* by the late Paul R. Wieand. After we had begun to add the Wieand plant names to our comprehensive PGD, we rediscovered the even more complete Lick/Brendle study of PG plant names and lore and immediately began scanning those ca. 300 pages for additional PG names.

After this 91-page list of PG names had been developed, the author turned his attention to the preparation of an index to all the Latin and English terms contained in this study. The Lick/Brendle, long since out of print, had no index. Although this study focuses its attention primarily on the PG forms of the plant names of Southeastern Pennsylvania, some of which are clearly Latin, Greek and even Arabic in origin, it was thought that such a study would be of value to the student of Pennsylvania German.

Thomas Beachy, *Pennsylvania Deitsh Dictionary: Deitsh to English English to Deitsh* (For use with the Pennsylvania Deitsh New Testament), Carlisle Press, Walnut Creek, Sugar creek, Ohio. The close of the twentieth century has brought with it the end of some long-range efforts and at least one notable new publication in the field of PG lexicography. This new dictionary reached this writer very early in 2000. Thomas Beachy's dictionary encompasses a corpus of 164 pages. Pages 1-85 list the Deitsh to English terms and pages 87-164 the English to Deitsh equivalents. The user is reminded that "The Dictionary, from Deitsh to English, is meant to accompany *Es Nei Teshtament* [ENT], and their definitions in English reflect the Holmes County, Ohio, usage. The spelling of the words is also the same as used in ENT and the primer: *Ich Kann Pennsylvania Deitsh Laysa* with some exceptions."

It is impossible to ascertain whether the 85 pages of "Deitsh" key words include all the "Deitsh" words used in the 912 pages of ENT. A random check on page 307 of ENT reveals that the word *ennichah* [*ennicher* = anyway] does appear in the dictionary. On the same page the word *zeiknis* [*Zeignis* = witness] is used in the query: "*Vas may - braucha miah?*" as a translation of "What need we any further witness?"

In view of the fact that the ENT contains its own English translation, i.e., the King James text, one might ask: what is the purpose of the Beachy dictionary? While the Beachy lexicon seems to be reasonably complete as far as the ENT is concerned and provides the genders and plurals of nouns as well as the past participles of all verbs, rarely are the remaining parts of speech indicated.

There is hardly a key word given in this dictionary which would not benefit from appearing in everyday context. Those who need to use the English to *Deitsh* section will be rather hard put to know where to turn to select the proper context in which to use, for example, *Fresserei*, f (gluttony). *dricke* (to press). *Siffer*, m (alcoholic). or *Zaahm*, m (bridle).

2001

Lester W. J. Seifert, *A Word Atlas of Pennsylvania German*. Edited by Mark L. Loudon, Howard Martin and Joseph C. Salmons with assistance from the original cartography by the Forschungsinstitut für deutsche Sprache "Deutscher Sprachatlas: Marburg, Germany. Studies of the Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies University of Wisconsin-Madison. Seifert's *Word Atlas* appeared more than half a century after work on it was completed. "Smoky" Seifert began his career working on material included in this *Atlas* and he continued to work on the project until failing health prevented him from completing it. The Forschungsinstitut für deutsche Sprache: Deutscher Sprachatlas in Marburg, Germany, provided the heart of the *Atlas*, 144 maps, which had been produced by the cartographers in Marburg. All additional maps, reprinted from the Reed and Seifert *Linguistic Atlas*, were produced in the Cartography Lab at the University of Wisconsin.

2002.

Des is Wie Mer's Saagt in Deitsch (This is how we say it in Pennsylvania Dutch), Lee R. Thierwechters Responses to Dr. Ellsworth Kygers Word Lists (Center for Pennsylvania German Studies, Millersville University of Pennsylvania). This compilation of more than 4,000 PG words in context is an outgrowth of the repeated trips the Center for PA German Studies made to the campus of Susquehanna University in Selinsgrove, Snyder County (PA), beginning in the late 1980s when Susan Johnson was the head of the Department of Modern Languages. As a successor to the late Russell W. Gilbert, Johnson invited outstanding PG authorities to come to the campus and meet with a lively group of lovers of things Pennsylvania Dutch.

Among the group of PGs who addressed this assemblage was a gifted gentleman from Belleville (Mifflin County), Lee R. Thierwechter. Chapter by chapter Thierwechter read his *Leweslaaf* to the group. (It is anticipated that the PA German Society will publish Thierwechter's *Leweslaaf*.)

After Beam had prepared a series of word lists based on Kyger's three-volume English-PG dictionary, they were mailed to Thierwechter. Thierwechter was able to place over 4,000 of Kyger's dialect words into Lebanon County contexts. Thierwechter's thorough knowledge of PG and his StG skills greatly facilitated his ability to express and record in PG his childhood experiences, in written form, in and about Mt. Zion, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania.

2003

Ruth Bender, Sarah E. Fisher, Jean Miller Thomas, Thomas Miller and Leroy Miller, *The Kalona/Iowa Pennsylvania German Dialect*. This dictionary is a compilation of more than 4,000 PG words in an appropriate sentence on 207 pages. The original words were gathered about 1928 in and near the town of Kalona, Iowa, by the late Ruth Bender. Bender states in her preface that "the vocabulary is . . . far from complete, but it includes the majority of the words in common use, in their uncompounded font." The list first came to our attention through the early issues of *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, published at Franklin and Marshall College by Frey, Shoemaker, and Yoder. In June 1929, Ruth Bender submitted "A Study of the Pennsylvania-German Dialect as Spoken in Johnson County, Iowa," an M.A. thesis in the Department of English of the State University of Iowa. Bender informs us that in 1846 the first Pennsylvania-German settlers arrived in Johnson County, settling in Washington township on Deer Creek. "In 1929 PG was spoken in the greater part of Green Township in Iowa County, Sharon and Washington townships in Johnson County, and the northern part of English River township in Washington County—an area of about 100 square miles. The population is approximately 3,000, or about 60% of the total population. This territory is a language island, completely surrounded by English influence."

Beam flew to Iowa in July 1973 and asked Thomas Herbert Miller (born on July 3, 1900, in Fayette County, IL) and his brother, Leroy, to check through Bender's dictionary. The Miller brothers of Kalona identified the words on the original Bender

list with which they were familiar and placed them into a Dutch context. Tom Miller's daughter, Jean Miller Thomas, while in residence in Lancaster County (PA) had also reviewed the original Bender list. Sarah E. Fisher, a member of the Old Order Amish community of Lancaster County had also checked through this list and indicated which terms were known to her.

The Miller brothers were raised in the Amish church but later joined a Mennonite church. Their father, always Old Order Amish, taught a Sunday School class for many years. For 13 years Tom taught a school in the winter time and farmed in summer. Since 1942, Tom has helped his neighbors prepare their income tax returns.

As we were going through the Ruth Bender terms, Tom would come up with rhymes like: "*Bischt du bees/Beisse mir Kaes. Mach en Schnut/No waed't widdler gut.*" - "*Eens, zwee, drei,/Hicke hacke hei. Wer must naus?/Ich adder du,/Adder 'm Peder Schmidt/sei aldi Bellikuh?*" - "*Reide, reide uffem Raad. Fallt er runner is es schaad. Fallt er dief im Graben /Muss der Reider haben.*" - "*En luschdich Buhl/Zerreist oft en paar Schuh.*" - A by-product here was a taped session in which dozens of rhymes and songs were recorded featuring the two Miller brothers and their wives.

C. Richard Beam, ed., *Pennsylvania German Words in Context: Second Edition* (Center for Pennsylvania German Studies, Millersville University of Pennsylvania). The first edition of this dictionary arose out of special and unusual circumstances, which did not exist a generation or two ago. Beam's 461-page dictionary, his largest to date, resulted from the union of two of our outstanding PG personalities. In the fall of 1993, Allen G. Musser began the "Allen G. Musser Show" in the dialect for the Blue Ridge Cable Company of Ephrata, Lancaster County. From its inception Musser shared tapes of his shows with Beam. With the earliest appearances of Dorathy Fry on Musser's program her star began to shine. "Dot" Fry's splendid recall of her childhood in the Dutch country and the years teaching in rural grade schools enabled her to enthrall her listeners with tales of past years. Beam became fascinated early on due to the fact that "Dot" Fry's command of the dialect was very similar to that form he had learned from his grandparents (Beam and Slabach). Musser kept supplying Beam with the videotapes and Beam kept transcribing the vocabulary into dictionary form.

In fall 1996 Beam began to record all the words in their original context, which he thought would be most revealing in his comprehensive PGD. While we were engaged, other sources presented themselves. Die "*Wunnerfitz-Schtunn*" was broadcast over Radio Station WBYO (WBYN), Boyertown, Berks County (PA), every Thursday evening (9:10-10:00 p.m.), hosted by David Hendricks, then the owner of the station. Beam recorded the vocabulary of some of his outstanding callers, i.e., "*Will Warickelholz*" (William Betz of New Tripoli), and Sam Kriebel of Souderton, Montgomery County.

Beam's annual trips to Ontario, Canada, enabled him to include vocabulary from Henry Sauder, an Old Order Mennonite of St. Jacobs, who was born in 1901. Mathias Martin, born in 1906, contributed via his daughter, Nancy.

Printed sources taken from the writings of Victor C. Diefenbach, Ralph S. Funk, Frank G. Light, Raymond E. Kiebach and Bill Klouser were utilized. The last words

added to the original publication were contributed by the late "Parre" Richard Druckenbrod of Allentown.

The second edition has been singularly blessed by the contributions of several gentlemen of Old Order Amish (OOA) and Mennonite (OOM) background, i.e., Isaac R. Horst, Jonathan C Byler and David D. Schrock. Horst permitted Beam to extract many words in context from his book *Bei sich selwer un ungewöhnlich* (*Separate and Peculiar*).

2004

Center for Pennsylvania German Studies, Millersville University, Millersville, Pennsylvania. In addition to various publications, field work and a quarterly *Journal*, the special dictionary projects at the Center for Pennsylvania German Studies continue to move steadily forward. At the moment, we are polishing an updated list of Shoemaker's "529 Words Not Included in Lambert's Dictionary." A number of informants have supplemented the work.

For many years the major effort of the Center has been a Comprehensive PG – English dictionary. We are happy to report that the "A" list is finished with 156 pages of entries. Currently we are completing combing through the many lists for "B's" and have been editing and sorting them. We hope to publish a letter-by-letter edition (first the "A's," then the "B's," etc.) of the comprehensive dictionary in the near future. This will be the first installment of a grand project begun many years ago.

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Leo Schelbert

The Reactivated Swiss American Historical Society at Forty: A Retrospective

While the Society for German-American Studies commemorates its thirty-fifth anniversary, the Swiss American Historical Society (SAHS) looks back on four decades since its reactivation in 1964.¹ It may be worthwhile to briefly trace the path the organization has taken that shows some of the similarities and differences between the SAHS and its larger sister, the Society for German American Studies. Although both focus on a specific immigrant group constituted by national origin, both strive to be neither nationalistic nor filiopietistic in orientation, but aim to feature the complex involvement of German and Swiss newcomers, and of their descendants, in the history and culture of the United States and in relation to events in their previous homelands. First some data shall be given about the origin and development of the SAHS between 1927 and 1960, next about its reactivation in the early 1960s and, finally, about its activities during the last four decades. An appendix provides some further detail.

From Start to Dormancy

The SAHS was founded on July 4, 1927, in Chicago.² A late-comer among ethnic organizations in the United States,³ it hoped to add its voice to the chorus of ethnic societies dedicated to presenting their respective group's historical experience. The SAHS faced an especially challenging task since newcomers from Switzerland have remained, as Swiss, nearly invisible. Depending on a family name such as Ammann, Chevrolet, or Delmonico or on the German, French, Italian, or Romansh native tongue, Swiss were (and are being) viewed as being either of German, French, or Italian origin. The initiators of the SAHS named Ernest A. Kübler, Bruno Bachmann, and August Rüedy were among those who "were annoyed and concerned 'by the fact that every outstanding person of Swiss origin was claimed by some other nation.'"⁴ On October 27, 1927, they met at the residence of the physician Dr. Jacques Holinger in Chicago, elected officers, and decided to prepare a constitution and bylaws.⁵ These were adopted on November 27, and on December 20 the organization was incorporated in the state of Illinois.

The group's goal was scholarly, although no academicians were initially among them, and members went to work right away on a book, titled *Prominent Americans of*

Swiss Origin, which appeared in 1932. It featured seventy-one personalities grouped into these seven categories: Pioneers; Theologians; Soldiers; Statesmen; Physicians and Surgeons; Industrialists, Merchants, Bankers; Scientists, Journalists, and Engineers.⁶ A second volume was soon to follow containing more biographies, yet dissension erupted over the direction the SAHS was to take. Its secretary commented: "I realize more and more how important it is to keep the Swiss American Historical Society from getting to be a Swiss American Eulogistic Society," instead of "letting the facts speak for themselves."⁷ The second volume, which was titled *The Swiss in the United States* and published in 1940, dispensed therefore with biographies in favor of an extended statistical survey based on the U.S. census and some diverse articles on the involvement of some Swiss in the American past. Yet despite a vigorous publicity effort neither publication sold well. "I guess the reading of the newspapers is all they do in reading," a clergyman in Pittsburgh observed about the Swiss, "and so about history even about our honored late Swiss there is 'nothing doing.'"⁸

Also the times were unfavorable to the enterprise. The Great Depression of the 1930s and the anti-German climate of the 1940s led to a serious decline in activity and membership numbers. In 1930 the SAHS had 139 members, in 1937 there were only 48 dues-paying ones left. Dissension erupted also over the second book and led to a revolt of members centered in Madison, Wisconsin. At the annual meeting held on January 22, 1940, in Chicago almost all Board of Directors resigned, and headquarters were moved to Madison, yet activities remained minimal after the second title had appeared. In 1949, however, Professor Alfred Senn (1899-1978), an expert of the Lithuanian language who by then had moved from the University of Wisconsin to the University of Pennsylvania, intended to revive the organization. He published a *Yearbook* in 1949 and 1950, but then abandoned the effort due to lack of time, insufficient money, and minimal interest among members. It was perhaps symptomatic that when in 1958 Heinz K. Meier had joined the group and paid his dues, he "never heard another word."⁹ By 1961 the only solution left seemed to be to dissolve the society.

Reactivation, 1963-65

When Alfred Senn resigned in 1961 he suggested that the SAHS member Lukas F. Burckhardt (1908-2003), then serving as Cultural Counselor at the Embassy of Switzerland in Washington, D.C., be made SAHS president.¹⁰ It was a fortunate suggestion. Dr. Burckhardt was indeed wholly committed either to reorganize the SAHS or to initiate the founding of a new society. He had the support of Alfred Zehnder, the Ambassador of Switzerland to the United States, who sent out an invitation to "Geisteswissenschaftler," that is scholars in the humanities, who were registered with Swiss consulates, to attend an exploratory meeting.¹¹ It occurred on October 5, 1963, and was "strangely unreal," in the words of H. K. Meier (1929-1989) of Old Dominion University in Norfolk, Virginia; he also found that "several hours of animated discussion produced few results."¹² Yet he became friends with L. F. Burckhardt, and both realized that big plans had to be avoided in favor of small, concrete steps that

would have to be implemented by people able and willing to spend time and effort on the task.

In the summer of 1964 L. F. Burckhardt met in Switzerland with Professor Meier, also Professor Maissen (1921-92) of Utica College of Syracuse University in Utica, New York, and with Emil Schaefer (1892-1976)¹³ who due to Professor Senn's resignation had become unwillingly acting president. It was decided to hold a meeting in New York, to elect H. K. Meier as SAHS president, E. Schaefer as vice president, and A. Maissen as secretary. In the fall of 1964 a second circular was sent out by the Embassy, inviting especially academics of Swiss descent to attend a founding meeting of a new "Swiss American Historical and Literary Society."¹⁴ The meeting, held on December 29, 1964, went according to script: The three were duly elected and the drafting of a revised constitution was decided upon; only the name change had been (and remained) forgotten.

In April 1965 a third circular, issued under the name of Ambassador Zehnder, but probably written by L. F. Burckhardt, was sent out which stressed the private nature of the new or "reactivated" organization: "Its leaders work on their own and in an honorary capacity," the "Rundschreiben" observed. "They are not only respected in their professional circles, but also maintain ties to their homeland."¹⁵ With the circular a first *Newsletter* was sent out under the name of Augustin Maissen, but produced at the Embassy. It contained a message from the SAHS President Meier who acknowledged the achievements of the "old" organization, asked recipients to join the reactivated society, and announced "plans for the future":

1. "Several newsletters per year."
2. "One business meeting per year," at which also "scholarly papers will be presented."
3. The resumption of a "program of publication of single manuscripts."

As before, the Society would have a Board of Directors or officers who would serve three year terms, and a 15-member Board of Advisors who were grouped into five, to be reelected in staggered three year terms. The president could serve for only two consecutive terms and could not simultaneously hold the office of treasurer.¹⁶

This was a modest, but also realistic program that conformed to the available resources of people and money, especially since the newsletter was produced and mailed by the Embassy until 1970. Initially annual meetings were held in conjunction with professional gatherings that were held in the last week of a calendar year, but gradually the SAHS annual meetings were moved to early October and since the mid-1970s are being held in turn at the Embassy of Switzerland in Washington, in Philadelphia, and in New York City. At first the *Newsletter* appeared irregularly two to four times a year, but after 1970 was issued three times a year in February, June, and November. Gradually the February *Newsletter* would include an annual report on elections, membership numbers, sundry activities, and the financial status of the organization. This solidification process occurred in small steps without grand announcements and in response to the demands of the situation.

From Newsletter to Review

Under the editorship of Lukas F. Burckhardt the publication contained diverse items about books and meetings that he selected on the basis of interest for Swiss Americans. Occasionally a formal scholarly paper or reprints of an article were distributed to the members. After the 1970s the *Newsletter* increasingly took the form of a scholarly publication that contained two to three articles, some book reviews, and news items. In 1990 the name was changed to *SAHS Review*, and in the year 2000 also the format changed from a letter-sized in-house production to a professionally produced journal by Picton Press.¹⁷

In 1994 a *Lizentiatsarbeit*, comparable to an American M.A. thesis, was submitted at the University of Basel that analyzed and critically assessed the contents of the SAHS periodical in order to discover "Das Selbstverständnis eines schweizerischen Auswanderervereins in der USA," that is the self-understanding of a Swiss Emigrant Society.¹⁸ With some consternation the author realized that the publication was a *mélange*: Scholarly treatises appeared besides anecdotal stories, family trees, and the presentation of postal cancellations. She also discovered a series of "heroicizing" biographies and "cosmetized" autobiographies. Only the book reviews appeared to be consistently scholarly in tone. Although the author of the study acknowledged that the journal contained some "very good contributions and many good reviews," she found that it could not measure up to periodicals such as the *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte*,¹⁹ nor for that matter to the *Yearbook of German American Studies*, a refereed scholarly publication with an acknowledged high standard.

The author's critical appraisal is justified, yet uses perhaps a wrong yardstick. The *SAHS Review* did not intend to rival scholarly journals. Its goal was more modest as well as more ambitious: It understood itself as a "voice-giving" instrument. A scholar as well as an amateur family historian, an expert editor of primary sources as well as a student of American foodways, a professional as well as a family genealogist, they all should find a place in the periodical and be able to share their findings which otherwise might not see the light of day. The October 1976 issue may serve as an example: It contained a scholarly portrait of the Reformed minister and Revolutionary agitator, but Loyalist, Johann Joachim Züblin (John J. Zubly, 1724-81); a sociologist's sketch of recent Swiss immigration to Nebraska; a stamp collector's (and professional pianist's and educator's) "Non-Historic Observations" of "Postal Helvetica" in the United States; reviews of a novel, a genealogical treatise about an Italian-Swiss emigrant family, and of a specialized work on the nature of literary analysis. At times one contribution filled the journal, at others it contained sundry items. The unifying aspect of the periodical's diversity of content thus rested less in the nature of the article, but in the theme "Swiss American" most broadly defined.

The Book Series

Although at reactivation the publication of books was part of the plan, it was undertaken only in small steps. The years 1927 to 1952 had taught an important

lesson: Swiss and Swiss Americans did not buy the books published by the SAHS, and their cost, therefore, could not be recuperated for a next publication project. The effort had only led to dissension about a publication's form and content, had drained the treasury; most of the books, furthermore, had remained nearly inaccessible and unused in a basement or a garage. Another way had to be found that was tried by Heinz K. Meier. In 1970 he asked the annual gathering to sponsor the translation of the Civil War letters of Rudolf Aschmann (1841-1911) which he then edited, and which were published by Herbert Lang of Bern, Switzerland. Thus the SAHS refrained from publishing books on its own, but rather sponsored publications by guaranteeing a publisher the purchase of a specified number of copies which would then be distributed to the SAHS members free of charge. The list given in the Appendix shows that this approach worked reasonably well. It allowed the assessing of each proposal in relation to its Swiss American interest and to available resources; it also made a publisher an important link in the negotiations and guaranteed that the books reached all members, and that remainders stayed small.

Like the *SAHS Review* also the book series represents a mix of topics featured. The two titles of the 1970s are a scholarly primary source edition and a historical essay, those of the 1980s a genealogical guide, a novel, and an other primary source edition. The 1990s books include the history of a Swiss settlement, a collection of scholarly essays, a technical literary study, an experiential account of a recent trip on horseback from St. Louis to the West Coast, a primary source edition, a biographical study, and an Index to the *SAHS Review*. The most recent publications are a novel and an autobiographical account of a twentieth century Swiss immigrant. Forthcoming are a new genealogical guide and the translation and edition of an 1852 memoir by the French-speaking Swiss scientist Leo Lesquereux. This mix has also its critics. Some members value experiential accounts, others prefer works of expert historical scholarship, still others look for literary works. The price of such diversity is only partial satisfaction, yet the diversity approach gives a hearing to different voices and provides them a measure of permanence.

A unique part of the SAHS book series is the trilogy by the novelist Carol Williams of Lexington, South Carolina. Having some ancestral connection to Switzerland, she is intimately familiar with South Carolina's Congaree region. Based on this familiarity and also on extensive historical study as well as a unique creative writer's talent and impeccable sensibility, she recreates in the first novel the world of the arriving immigrants, in the second events of the 1760s, in the third those of the 1770s and 1780s. Great expectations, devotion to family, strife among neighbors, religious orientation, frontier violence, war against the Cherokee people resisting the settler invasion, slavery, regional and continental political events such as the Revolutionary War, they all find their proper place in the complex web woven by these novels. Thus the story of Swiss immigrants has been immeasurably enriched by a set of fictional, but revealing accounts that rival works such as Ole Rølvaag's *Giants in the Earth* which features Norwegians, Willa Cather's *My Antonia* which centers on a Bohemian family, and Thomas Bell's *Out of This Furnace* which presents three generations of Slovaks. In Carol Williams's works Swiss immigrants are neither special, nor heroic, nor villainous,

but people of different age, capability, and moral outlook who try to find their way through life's vicissitudes within the personal as well as the public context.

Patterns of Activity

Besides giving voice to the story of Swiss immigrants and of their descendants in the history of the United States by the *SAHS Review*, the book series, and the presentations at annual meetings, the organization has also sponsored a variety of activities. In 1979, for instance, it allocated a small grant, so-called "seed" money, to the excavation of the Swiss settlement of Purrysburg, South Carolina.²⁰ It co-sponsored lecture tours like that of the late folklore expert Professor Hans Trümpler of the University of Basel or of the Chameleon Quartett of Zug. Members who took part in study weeks for High School teachers in places such as Keuka College, New York; Bar Harbor, Maine; or Missoula, Montana, received financial support as did travel exhibits such as "Bern, Switzerland, a Medieval City Today" which was shown at many places. Members were speakers or pro bono consultants for events that had a Swiss or Swiss American component. In 1995, for example, the SAHS cooperated financially with the Swiss Benevolent Society of New York in an archival project, with the Swiss Benevolent Society of Washington, D.C., in a book publication, and it gave a grant to the Musée de Venoge in Vevay, Indiana, and to the film project "Steinauer, Nebraska: Cycle of Despair & Hope."

Occasional regional meetings in Switzerland or in the United States derived from the desire of the SAHS to publicize the Swiss American story. At the 1988 SAHS regional meeting in Switzerland, for instance, an ethno-musicologist featured the Amish of Berne, Indiana, a historian the life of the theologian Philip Schaff (1819-93), and the late Dr. Raymond Probst, former Ambassador of Switzerland to the United States, his visit to Utah. In 2001 SAHS members participated in the opening of the Dairy Institute in Milbank, South Dakota, built by a Swiss American architect and established by two second-generation Swiss American families engaged in the cheese making business. Members also answered, as far as possible, genealogical inquiries coming from many different people of at least partial Swiss descent who according to the 1990 census counted over one million. In 1980 the SAHS purchased some 250 copies from the Indiana Historical Society that contained the 1804 to 1836 correspondence between John Badollet and Albert Gallatin. Such efforts are all modest in size and varied in nature, yet aim to implement the SAHS goal wherever an opportunity arises.

Two Recent Challenges

The years 1997 to 1999 were overshadowed by the wide-ranging attacks on the people of Switzerland during the Second World War. Swiss banks were accused of having profited from "Nazi gold," of having fraudulently withheld money from persecuted Jews, of having abetted money laundering, and having served criminal elements of fascist regimes. The country was accused, further, of having pursued a xenophobic and heartless refugee policy as well as an immoral stance of a neutrality

that had supposedly prolonged the war. Members of the SAHS, many of whom had lived through the war years and personally endured the hardships of rationing, minimal supply of fuel, the threat of invasions, and many months of active military service, intensely discussed the proper response. Most agreed that it was best to let the record speak for itself, to continue with the accustomed tasks, and to cooperate with the effort of the American Swiss Foundation, led by Faith Whittlesey, the former Ambassador of the United States to Switzerland.²¹ The Foundation published a series of books that challenged the accusations from a variety of perspectives.²² The SAHS was instrumental in publishing not only *Switzerland under Siege*, a collection of scholarly essays by Swiss as well as American scholars, but also assisted with some of the other titles.

At the same time the SAHS faced an internal problem in connection with plans to establish a Swiss Center of North America. The idea that Swiss Americans deserved to have a museum, library, and central information center in the United States had been discussed repeatedly over the years. In 1998 people in New Glarus committed themselves to such an undertaking; members of the government of Wisconsin joined in, hoping that such an enterprise might intensify tourism, a significant facet of the state's economy. In 1999 several planning meetings were held, and the state of Wisconsin pledged a substantial matching grant. Gradually a divergence of opinion emerged in the ranks of the SAHS. Some members, including some New Glarus people, increasingly viewed the project as mainly a business-oriented proposition. They concluded that the SAHS should separate itself from the project for which it had already earmarked financial as well as organizational support. Other SAHS members, however, held that cooperation was fully warranted and that the negative views were not well founded. One leading SAHS member decided to become a major promoter of the undertaking and has given it also substantial financial support.

After presentations by proponents as well as opponents of the project which were made at the 1999 annual meeting, the issue came to a vote: 17 members voted for total disengagement, 13 for cooperation, and 5 abstained. A subsequent polling of the membership resulted in nearly 85 percent requesting disengagement until further developments might recommend reconsideration.²³ At present the SAHS takes a wait-and-see attitude towards the Swiss Center of North America project, but will consider cooperation, especially in regard to the planned library and archive, once conditions are judged to be right.

Outlook

When in 1963 Lukas F. Burckhardt energetically pursued the reactivation of the SAHS, he occasionally commented that it might not survive. Since all work undertaken was voluntary and unpaid, the idealism and expertise needed might not be forthcoming or might not endure. He was happy, however, when he saw that his 1960s initiative, which had the support of other official representatives of Switzerland as well as of academics like H. K. Meier and Augustin Maissen and of business leaders like Philip R. Gelzer and Imre de Kozininski, had proven worthwhile and had lasted for several

decades. Until the end of his life in March 2003 he followed the activities of the SAHS with interest, appraised them, and suggested further steps.

The uncertainty about the future, however, remains. As a small country, Switzerland and the history of its people in the United States receive scant attention. Work done for an organization such as the SAHS, furthermore, barely earns professional recognition, especially in the academy. It remains a serious concern, therefore, to find people with proper expertise and dedication to carry out the tasks. Also membership numbers remain worrisome, especially the recruitment of younger members to replace those who have withdrawn or have died.

Occasionally also dissatisfaction surfaces with the organization's direction. Since publications have been chosen as the Society's main activity, work remains largely invisible and is performed by a relatively few. An article may take months to prepare, an exhibition or book years, which is often not understood by those unfamiliar with the process. Thus complaints about supposed inactivity, lacking dynamism, and limited imagination occasionally surface. The *mélange*, referred to above, in what is being published in the *SAHS Review* and in the book series further weakens the sense of general satisfaction since a scholar may not appreciate amateur pieces, and general readers may find scholarly items too grey and boring. Perhaps this is simply a small instance of what holds as a general principle: Every path taken has its pitfalls. The choice does not lie between the good and the bad or the right and the wrong way, but between possibilities that all have their strength and value as well as their limitations and drawbacks. It seems that the SAHS has survived the last four decades because it avoided big plans and grand pronouncements and remained focused on its fourfold program that could be implemented by volunteer work: an annual meeting, three annual *SAHS Reviews*, the publication of books as means permitted, and diverse activities, also in cooperation with other groups, as circumstances allowed.

Yet that path chosen by the SAHS is not the only one possible. The Society for German American Studies, for instance, has opted for selecting officers who are able to serve without interruption for long periods, has concentrated on an extended annual scholarly meeting at which numerous papers are given, and has issued a *Yearbook* that contains an impressive array of refereed articles as well as a *Newsletter* that is also rich in academic information. This approach has been successful indeed, especially since the organization involves mainly academics. The Swiss American Historical Society, in contrast, has allowed a president to serve for only six consecutive years, has put most of its financial resources into the publication of the *Review* and of books which have a mixed content, and has conducted only a one-day annual meeting, a good part of which has been reserved for the conduct of business to be transacted by majority vote by all those attending the meeting. In important matters a mail ballot polls the whole membership. The 15-member Advisory Board, furthermore, simultaneously observes, advises, and critiques actions taken by the executive officers. Four decades of these different ways have also led to success. The SAHS has created a substantial record in the form of diverse papers, articles, and books that feature the Swiss American past in scholarly as well as popular ways and preserve that knowledge for future generations. It has also given support within the limits of its modest means wherever

an opportunity arose. At present the SAHS as well as the Society for German American Studies seem to be positioned for continued success in their efforts to chronicle the experience of their respective groups in American history and life.

University of Illinois at Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

Appendix

1. SAHS Presidents since 1965

1965 - 66	Heinz K. Meier, History, Old Dominion University, Norfolk, Virginia
1967 - 68	Augustin Maissen, Linguistics, Syracuse University, Utica, New York
1969 - 74	Heinz K. Meier
1975 - 80	Leo Schelbert, History, University of Illinois, Chicago, Illinois
1981 - 86	Marianne Burkhard, Literature, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois
1987 - 89	Sabine Jessner, History, University of Indiana, Indianapolis, Indiana
1990 - 95	Erdmann Schmock, Architecture, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago Illinois
1996 - 98	Karl J. Niederer, New Jersey State Archives, Trenton, New Jersey
1999 - 00	Erdmann Schmock
2001 - 04	Marianne Burkhard OSB, Tribunal of the Diocese of Peoria, Illinois

2. Editors of SAHS Newsletter (1965 - 89), SAHS Review (1990 - present)

1965	Augustin Maissen
1966 - 70	Lukas F. Burckhardt, Embassy of Switzerland, Washington, D.C.
1970 - 86	Heinz K. Meier and Leo Schelbert
1986 - 98	Leo Schelbert
1999 - 02	Leo Schelbert and H. Dwight Page, Hiwassee College, Hiwassee, Tennessee
2003 - now	H. Dwight Page

3. Editors of SAHS Books

1972 - 80	Heinz K. Meier
1981 - 01	Leo Schelbert
2002 - now	Nicole Butz, Kalamazoo, Michigan

4. SAHS Book Series

1927 – 1940

1. *Prominent Americans of Swiss Origins*. A Compilation Prepared by the Swiss American Historical Society. New York: James T. White, 1932.
2. John Paul von Grüningen, ed. *The Swiss in the United States*. Madison, Wisconsin: Swiss American Historical Society, 1940.

1941 – 1960

3. Alfred Senn, ed., *The Swiss Record. Yearbook of the Swiss-American Historical Society*. Madison, Wisconsin, 1949.
4. Alfred Senn, ed., *The Swiss Record. Yearbook of the Swiss-American Historical Society*. Vol. II. Madison, Wisconsin, 1950.

1970 – 1979

5. Heinz K. Meier, ed., *Memoirs of a Swiss Officer in the American Civil War*. [Rudolf Aschmann (1841-1909)]. Translated by Hedwig Rappolt. Bern, Switzerland: Herbert Lang, 1972.
6. Heinz K. Meier, *The Swiss American Historical Society, 1927 – 1977*. Norfolk, Virginia: Donning, 1977.

1980 – 1989

7. Paul A. Nielson, *Swiss Genealogical Research. An Introductory Guide*. Virginia Beach/Norfolk, Virginia: Donning, 1979.
8. Carol Williams, *The Switzers. A Novel*. Virginia Beach/Norfolk, Virginia: Donning, 1981.
9. Hedwig Rappolt, ed. and transl. *An American Apprenticeship. The Letters of Emil Frey 1860 – 1865*. New York: Peter Lang, 1986.

1990 – 1999

10. David Sutton, *One's Hearth Is Like Gold. A History of Helvetia, West Virginia*. New York: Peter Lang, 1990.

11. Leo Schelbert, ed., *The United States and Switzerland: Aspects of an Enmeshment*. Vol. 25: *Yearbook of German American Studies*. Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas, 1991. [In cooperation with the editors of the *Yearbook of the Society for German American Studies*]
12. Laura R. Villiger, *Mari Sandoz. A Study in Post-Colonial Discourse*. New York: Peter Lang, 1994.
13. Donald Tritt, ed. *Swiss Festivals in North America 1995 – 1997*. Chicago: Swiss American Historical Society, 1995.
14. Konrad Basler, *The Dorlikon Emigrants. Swiss Settlers and Cultural Founders in the United States. A Personal Report*. Translated by Laura Villiger. New York: Peter Lang, 1996.
15. Hafis Bertschinger, *With a Horse Called George*. Pocatello, Idaho: University of Idaho Press, 1996.
16. Gary K. Pranger, *Philip Schaff (1819 - 1893). Portrait of an Immigrant Theologian*. New York: Peter Lang, 1997.
17. Andrea Boldt, Werner Enninger, and Delbert Gratz, eds., *Mennonites in Transition. From Switzerland to America. Emigrant and Immigrant Experience. Anabaptist Documents*. Morgantown, Pennsylvania: Masthof Press, 1997.
18. Urspeter Schelbert, ed. and comp., *SAHS Index 1965 – 1998*. Vol. 33,3: *SAHS Review*. Morgantown, Pennsylvania: Masthof Press, 1999.
19. Donald Tritt, ed., *Swiss Festivals*. Morgantown, Pennsylvania: Masthof Press, 1999.
20. Carol Williams, *By Wonders and By War*. A Novel. Morgantown, Pennsylvania: Masthof Press, 1999.

2000 – 2005

21. Leo Schelbert, ed., *Switzerland under Siege, 1939 – 1945. A Neutral Nation's Struggle for Survival*. Rockport, Maine: Picton Press, 2001. [Published in cooperation with the American Swiss Foundation of New York]
22. Carol Williams, *Brightness Remembered*. Rockport, Maine: Picton Press, 2001.
23. Ernest Albert Thürkauf, *One Small Lifetime*. Revised edition. Ed. Ernest Thurston. Rockport, Maine: Picton Press, 2003.

24. Lewis B. Rohrbach, *A Genealogical Guide for Swiss Americans*. Rockport, Maine: Picton Press, 2004 [forthcoming].

25. Leo Lesquereux, *Letters from America, 1853*. Ed. Donald Tritt, transl. H. Dwight Page. [In preparation.]

Notes

¹ This essay is based mainly on data in the *SAHS Newsletter* (1965-1989), since then renamed *SAHS Review*. Reports on the annual business meeting begin in April 1969 as part of the *Newsletter*. From 1989 to 1999 they were issued separately, since 2000 they are again part of the February issue of the *Review*. – The SAHS papers are housed at the Balch Institute, Philadelphia.

² The founding of the SAHS is featured by Heinz K. Meier, *The Swiss American Historical Society, 1927-1977* (Norfolk, Virginia: Donning, 1977), 11-19. His study was first published in instalments in the *SAHS Newsletter*, 9:1, 2, 3 (1973); 10:2 (1974); 11:2 (1975); henceforth cited as Meier, *SAHS*.

³ See Joseph J. Appel, *Immigrant Historical Societies in the United States, 1880-1950*. New York: Arno Press, 1980; it is a valuable, if somewhat one-sided study.

⁴ Meier, *SAHS*, 12-13; Bruno Buchmann (1865-1946) of Chicago, was editor and business manager of the *Katholischer Jugendfreund*; August Rüedy (d. 1944) of Cleveland was a typesetter and a Marxist. For obituaries see Jacob Krüsi, "Bruno Bachmann," *The Swiss Record*, ed. Alfred Senn (Madison, Wisconsin: Swiss-American Historical Society, 1949), 10-13; Alfred Senn, "August Rüedy," *ibid.*, 14-17.

⁵ Alice H. Finkh, "Jacques Hollinger (1866-1934)," *ibid.*, 5-9.

⁶ *Prominent Americans of Swiss Origin. A Compilation by the Swiss-American Historical Society*. New York: James T. White, 1932. The entries were written by 17 different contributors.

⁷ Letter dated January 21, 1939; quoted by Meier, *SAHS*, 24.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 74, endnote 18; H. K. Meier had joined after a visit to Professor Alfred Senn in 1958.

¹⁰ L. F. Burckhardt hailed from the noted Burckhardt family of Basel. After the *Gymnasium* he studied law and served from 1937 to 1957 as Secretary of the Basel Labor Mediation Board, from 1957 to 1970 as Attaché of the Embassy of Switzerland in Washington, D.C., from 1970 to 1975 as Chief of the Cultural Section of the Confederation's Political, i.e. State, Department. In retirement he remained active in social causes.

¹¹ Copy of Circular in SAHS Archive. It stated: "Es soll ... die *Swiss American Historical and Literary Society* gegründet werden. Es handelt sich um eine Neugründung der schon seit längerer Zeit bestehenden *Swiss American Historical Society*."

¹² Meier, *SAHS*, 57.

¹³ Augustin Maissen's native tongue was Reto-Romontsch, and he hailed from Laax, Canton Graubünden; he later moved from Utica College to the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; see Frederick W. Vogler, "A Swiss-American Family's Homecoming after Three Hundred Years," *SAHS Review* 30, 2 (June 1994): 30-32.—Emil Schaefer was born in Zurich, Switzerland; at nineteen he emigrated to the United States and pursued varied occupations until he became "a teacher of distributive education for adults" in Madison, Wisconsin at what became the Madison Area Technical College; see Meier, *SAHS*, 33-34.

¹⁴ Copy of Circular in SAHS Archive.

¹⁵ Quoted from enclosure in first *SAHS Newsletter*, 1,1 (1965).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1-2; see also Meier, *SAHS*, 76-80 for "Constitution and Bylaws," March 27, 1970.

¹⁷ Complete set of *SAHS Newsletter/Review* in author's possession.

¹⁸ Riccarda Racine, "Das Selbstverständnis eines schweizerischen Auswanderer-Vereins in den USA: Die Geschichte der Zeitschrift *Swiss American Historical Society Review*." Lizentiatsarbeit an der philosophisch-historischen Fakultät der Universität Basel. Referent Professor Hans Rudolf Guggisberg (Basel, December 1994), 89 pp.

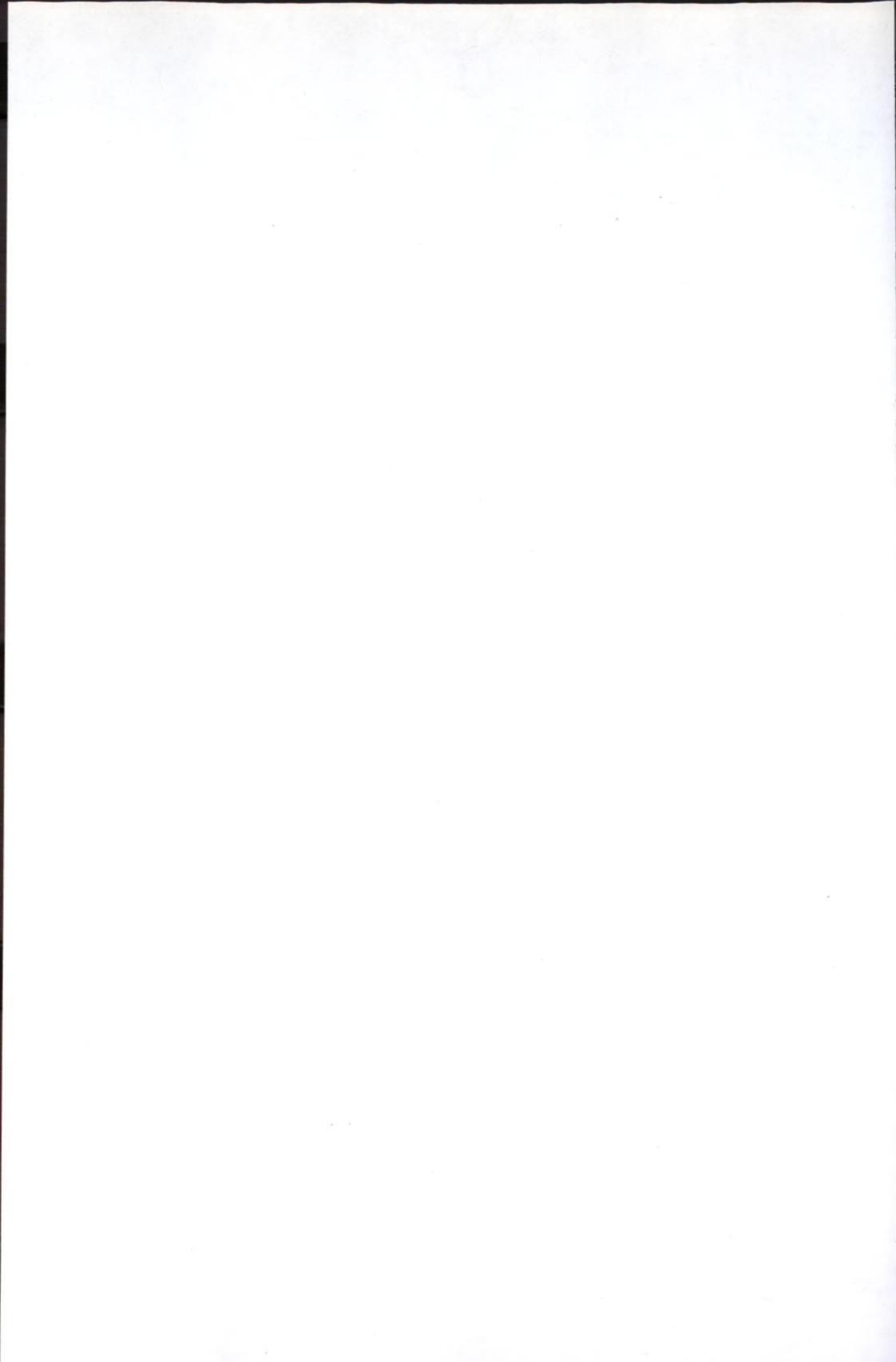
¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 88.

²⁰ The data are based on the respective Annual Reports.

²¹ For a concise and judicious summary see Gregory A. Fossedal, *Direct Democracy in Switzerland* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Press, 2002), 213-231: "Switzerland Accused." See also *Switzerland under Siege. A Neutral Nation's Struggle for Survival*. Ed. Leo Schelbert. Rockport, Maine: Picton Press, 2000; see especially Heinz K. Meier, "Between Hammer and Anvil: Neutrality and the Necessities of Trade," 31-152; Stephen P. Halbrook, "The Spirit of Resistance: The Swiss 'Wochenschau' and 'Armeeilmendienst'," 183-206. The book was co-sponsored by the American Swiss Foundation and the Swiss American Historical Society.

²² The following titles of the works sponsored shall be mentioned: Stephen Halbrook, *Target Switzerland. Swiss Neutrality in World War II*. Rockville Centre, New York: Sarpedon, 1998; Theo Tschuy, *Dangerous Diplomacy: The Story of Carl Lutz, Rescuer of 62,000 Hungarian Jews*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William E. Eerdmans, 2000; David Kranzler, *The Man Who Stopped the Trains to Auschwitz. Georg Mantello, El Salvador, and Switzerland's Finest Hour*. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2000.

²³ The *SAHS Review* 35,1 (February 2000): 1-71, contains the main documents relating to the issues; pp. 70-71 give a "Synopsis of the Divergent Concepts."



Elfe Vallaster-Dona

German-American Literary Reviews

Last Words.

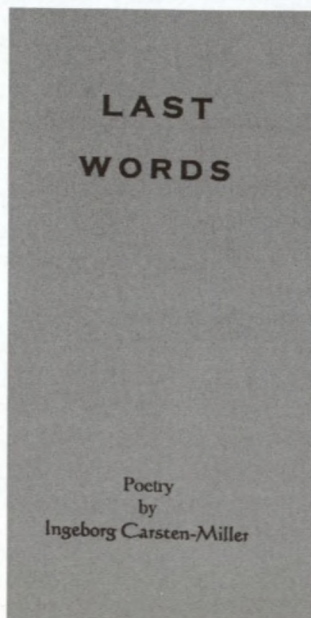
By Ingeborg Carsten-Miller. Silver Spring, MD: Carmill, 2003. 31 pages.

Thomas Mann's Addresses Delivered at the Library of Congress.

Edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. New German-American Studies, vol. 25. Bern: Peter Lang, 2003. 132 pages. \$31.95.

I Hate Junk Food: A Satire and Other Short Pieces

By Dirk Holger. Silver Springs, MD: Beckham House, 2003. 179 pages. \$12.95.



The latest volume of poetry by **Ingeborg Carsten-Miller**, a native of Pomerania and presently living in Maryland, entitled *Last Words* (cf. a poem with the same title by German-American poet Sylvia Plath and the work of Charlotte Bronte), was read at the Legacy College of the University of Maryland in May of 2003 proving again that poetry is alive and still interests listeners. This is her ninth self-published book and contains 14 poems that all center around the topic of writing ("About Writing," "Many Books to Read," "Award Winner"), memories ("At Midnight"), and above all the wisdom that often is associated with "last words" ("Novissima Verba," "Mother," "Simple Search," "You Can't," "Smile"). The volume also includes a number of nature poems ("Why Can't We," "Weather Assault by Night," "Is It?" and "Tell Me Spring") which do not have any specific German-American context, but are rather traditional poems written in free verse. Except for the first strophe

of "Smile" (which is immediately translated into English in the next strophe), all poems are written in English.

One of her most promising poem uses the Latin phrase "Novissima Verba" in its title, which translates to "last words," making the connection to the title of the volume. The reader is immediately intrigued thinking to hear about the most profound dying words of ultimate and final wisdom. We agree that a poem is probably the most appropriate way to commemorate the death of a cherished person by remembering their last words.¹ Last words are generally a keepsake, a memory, showing a unique perspective of how a person saw the world or how a person's relationship was to the dying. By using the Latin phrase "Novissima Verba," the poet adds an added dimension, something extraordinary. The tone of the poem itself, however, is too informal, conversational for somebody in a dying situation.

"Novissima Verba"

"Would you really want
to go so soon?"
I said to her

who stood lingering
in the door
not quite ready
it seemed
at that moment.

"There are still
a few things
that need to be done
before you leave
for good."

"Yes," she nodded
with a vertical frown
on her forehead.

"I know-
I just wonder
whether they are
really
that important
before dying-" (10-11)

Ingeborg Carsten-Miller's "Last Words" poem does not contain motivational, inspiring, deep and final thoughts, but rather narrates an ordinary dialogue in lively, every-day language. This person dies fully conscious and does not see the need to end

with cryptic, memorable quotes. In another poem, "Many Books to Read," the lyrical I is concerned to find enough time to write all the poems that need to be written before time runs out ("who can say / how much time / is left" 15). The answer is given in the closing poem, "Smile": ("and/ what remains/ is just a/ smile: 29).

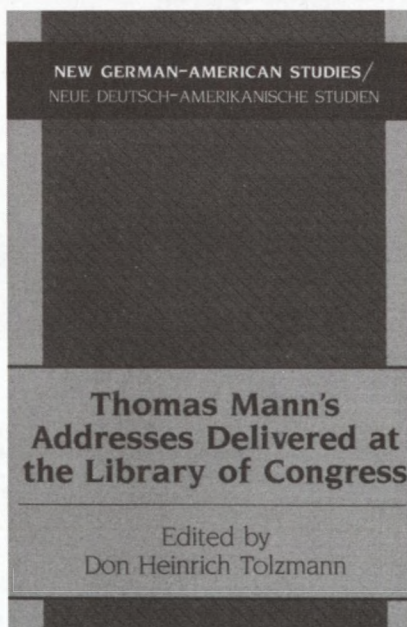
Thomas Mann (1875-1955), the German-born essayist, was a cultural critic, and novelist who lived as an exile in Southern California from 1936 to 1947. He visited Germany for the first time after the war in 1947, but returned to the U.S. He became a U.S. citizen in 1944 and supported the Democratic president Roosevelt. Although Mann had become an American citizen, he visited both East and West Germany several times. Despite many invitations from Germany to return to his homeland, he refused. In 1952, during the McCarthy era, he moved to Switzerland, where he remained until his death.

The winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1929 owed much of his fame to works such as *Buddenbrooks* (1900), *Der Tod in Venedig* (1912; *Death in Venice*), and *Der Zauberberg* (1924; *The Magic Mountain*). His theoretical work, however,

such as the speeches at the Library of Congress, contributed much more to "the image of Germany in general and German culture in particular, both of which played an important role in the history of German-American relations" (*Thomas Mann's Addresses Delivered at the Library of Congress*, xi).

Don Heinrich Tolzmann, librarian of the special German-American collection in Cincinnati and president of the German American Society, republished five speeches given by Thomas Mann, who could be classified as German-American. Tolzmann informs us in the introduction to his book, *Thomas Mann's Addresses Delivered to the Library of Congress*, that the "Library of Congress was an appropriate place for Thomas Mann to have delivered the addresses contained in this volume, as not only was he Consultant in Germanic Literature, but the Library's collection of German materials was the largest in the U.S., and one of the largest in the world" (ix). Mann remained in that office for three years, but never fully broke his ties with the Library of Congress until his death in 1955.

Becoming the Library of Congress's Consultant in Germanic Literature, meant that Thomas Mann had to advise the library in questions dealing with Germanic Literature and giving regular speeches in Washington, D.C., at the Library's Coolidge Auditorium. According to Tolzmann these addresses could draw as many as a thousand listeners, and therefore Thomas Mann reached a wide audience with his speeches.



What makes these speeches particularly valuable is its author's knowledge of the political and intellectual climate both in Europe and America. At times, Thomas Mann points out how some German ideas can differ from the ideas that are already in this country.

The five speeches focus on "The Themes of Joseph Novels" (1-21), "The War and the Future" (21-45), "Germany and the Germans" (45-67), "Nietzsche's Philosophy in the Light of Contemporary Events" (67-105), and "Goethe and Democracy" (105-32). Mann is able to abstract from his literary work and find a model for human interaction by emphasizing the "European culture" and the "American air of life" (19). He enlivens his speeches with real examples from the world. He sheds light on the question what it means to depart from the old country and enter a new one. In the first speech he uses a description of the tetralogy novel, *Joseph and His Brothers*, only as a starting point to arrive at a concept of human behavior that Thomas Mann describes as: "In the idea of humanity, the human idea, the sense for the past and that for the future, tradition and revolution form a strange and, to my mind, infinitely, attractive mixture" (17). In "The War and the Future" Mann concentrates on freedom and justice and "the question of the common responsibility of the German people for the misdeeds of the Nazi" (27). The most interesting speech for scholars of German-American studies is the speech entitled "Germany and the Germans" which Thomas Mann delivered in 1945 almost one year after having become an American citizen. For Mann, becoming an US citizen does not conflict with his original German citizenship: "As an American I am a citizen of the world - and that is in keeping with the original nature of the German, notwithstanding his seclusiveness, his timidity in the face of the world, and it is difficult to say whether this timidity is rooted in arrogance or in an innate provincialism, an international social inferiority complex, - probably in both" (48). In trying to define German culture he describes what the "very German figure" is (51). From the theologian Martin Luther to the literary figure of Faust, to the dramatist Goethe to the philosopher Nietzsche to the sculptor Tilman Riemenschneider, Mann points out their typical German character. The German concepts of liberty and nation are then explored. Mann relates his national character to an understanding of the Reformation and the French Revolution, since according to him, "all German revolutions failed" (58). This chapter in particular raises many important points and offers insights into the national German character from the point of view of Thomas Mann, the cultural critic.

Tolzmann, a distinguished scholar in the field of German-American studies, has made these speeches available again to the general public after they have long been out of print (they were originally published as *Thomas Mann's Addresses Delivered at the Library of Congress, 1942-1949* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1963) and thus he contributes to our knowledge of German immigration, the political and economic sentiment among German-Americans of the time, and their social structure. His highly informative foreword and introduction with notes make scholars of German-American Studies curious as to the other treasures that might be found if they researched other German materials in the Library of Congress.

Dirk Holger: "I Hate McDonalds"

Reviewed by Dana Fleetham

In a modern day filled to the brim with convenience, it sometimes seems as if we will stop at nothing until we are thoroughly successful at bending this world to our conception of time. Philosophers, writers, and psychologists have all questioned this desire, yet still we plow ahead on a steady diet of 24-hour shopping, food made hot to order in seconds, and of recent, even television shows that can be brought up to watch on demand, any time of the day. Most of us do not make our own clothes, wash our own dishes, cook our own food, or medicate ourselves when we are ill. Being infinitely busy, we save our time like misers...but for what? Can we really *save* time, to spend it later? Is it truly better to hand over our lives to automation and expediency?

Author Dirk Holger doesn't seem to think so. With charming wit and deft manipulation of language, Holger asks us to examine this concept, this "saving of time." What does it mean? A German native, Holger has been astounded by the very speed with which Americans seek to live their lives, seemingly unencumbered by the need for patience whatsoever. In several short satirical pieces on life in "fast lane America," he encourages readers to join him on an exploration of American culture, quietly pointing out along the way that we might not need to rush so much after all.

In a particularly interesting piece entitled "I Hate McDonalds," Holger depicts a common scene in the lives of many school-age children and their chaperones as they embark upon a class field trip. Gone are the days of a kid bringing the ubiquitous brown-bag lunch brought along in their backpack. Now a student is far more likely to take a quick meal at a fast-food restaurant instead. Holger was along on one of these excursions, and he recalls for us in vivid detail the absurdity he found in eating there, with a tale told with all the bittersweet humor of one looking deeper into a situation because they are so far removed from it. His ability to look at engrossing elements of American culture, while remaining objective, gave this piece an entertaining edge.

That same quality allowed Holger to make his own observations on events in American history, as well as the effects of American foreign policy on the remainder of the world. He comments on the tragic events of September 11, 2001, in "Ashes to Ashes," and on the plight of the Palestinian people in "Intifada." His knack for poetry pulls the reader through both difficult topics, using well-placed words to express the

Dirk Holger

Ich hasse MäcDonald's



words and emotion associated with both. It is in pieces like these that Holger's wit is at its best, pricking the senses with fabulous snippets drawn from his skull, spread out for all of us to take in. We are at once mesmerized, happy and sad...it is all a facet of the experience.

The second half of the book is a collection of German folk tales that have been retold by Holger, with hilarious results. Those of German heritage will smirk at the familiarity of the tales that have been given a new lease on life, and those that hail from other lands will simply like reading these delightful, funny stories.

Dirk Holger offers up with this book much more than the title would lead one to believe. He stretches himself as a writer, pulling bits of imaginative prose from his mind to share with us all, gently, humbly, yet at the same time unique and rich in humor. He reminds all of us what it is like to be human, and what is more, he forces us to reflect on what it means to be an American. He compels us to consider the outsider, who can often see so clearly what we in America do not find right under our noses. A thoroughly talented writer, to whom I give five stars!

Wright State University
Dayton, Ohio

Book Reviews

Edited by Timothy J. Holian
Missouri Western State College

My Farm on the Mississippi: The Story of a German in Missouri, 1945-1948.

By Heinrich Hauser. Translated and with an introduction by Curt A. Poulton. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2001. 168 pages. \$24.95.

When speaking of the exiles of the period 1933-45, it is easy to call the roll of prominent academics or persons of letters. There were, however, thousands of unknown or lesser known people who used the United States as a refuge from the tyranny of Nazi Germany. The story of Heinrich Hauser's sojourn in Perry County, Missouri, illuminates a somewhat unexplored facet of the larger exile experience. Hauser was a fairly prolific and successful novelist and travel writer, lending a touch of realism to his adventures and characters from his own life experiences as a sailor and journalist. The Irish author, Liam O'Flaherty, referred to him as "a German Jack London".

Hauser came to the United States in 1939 with his wife and his two children. He saw to it that his son, Huc, was enrolled in a boarding school, to shield him from some of the deprivations that he and his wife Margarethe (Rita) faced. His daughter, Helen, is never mentioned by name in the book, and only alluded to in the last chapter, where Hauser mentions his "... pain over the one that was caught up in the labyrinth of dispute and error." Hauser first purchased a very small, poor farm in upstate New York. Knowing but little of farming, the rocky soil and some unbelievably bad winters forced him to sell when he could not make a go of it. Traveling to Chicago, Hauser found employment at the University of Chicago, as a gardener, while Rita did piecework in a garment factory. As an enemy alien, his job prospects were limited, and he was forced to work an extra job at Marshall Field's, to make ends meet. His observations as an outsider on the inequities of American society, e.g., wealth, class and race, are fairly stinging, but insightful. Finally, in 1945, Hauser and his wife had put aside a large enough nest egg to move west and try farming again. Having lived through the postwar inflation and hard times in Germany, Hauser had become something of a Jeffersonian idealist, determined to run a small farm, and feed as many people in Germany as he could. Traveling to St. Louis in their '28 Packard, *Perfidio*, Hauser and Rita headed south to the old French area between Ste. Genevieve and Cape Girardeau. To their wonderment, they encountered signs for towns such as Altenburg, Wittenberg, Dresden

and Stuttgart. They had stumbled across the area of Missouri which had been settled by Saxon Lutherans in the nineteenth century, and whose culture and language were still somewhat intact. With the help of good local contacts, and the ability to pay in cash, Hauser secured a 390 acre farm outside of Wittenberg from a bank. After some unpleasant scrapes with a family of squatters, the Hausers finally took possession of their farm.

Hauser's descriptive style makes the book a delight to read, and the reader is drawn in by his descriptions of farm labor, and how the family managed to fabricate or salvage what they could not buy. Even more touching and poignant, however, are Hauser's descriptions of his own spiritual growth and attachment to the land, and to the burgeoning nature all around him, as well as his revelations of the awful loneliness of truly rural existence. Huc Hauser worked on the farm during the summers, and, having spent his formative years in the States, was far more at ease in American culture than were his parents. He turned out to be a natural mechanic and farmer, and remained in the States when his parents returned to Europe in 1948. The farm did well for the first couple of years, even though the Hausers had to fight their share of natural disasters, such as forest fires and Mississippi floods. The book is peopled with a variety of genuinely eccentric characters: moonshiners, beach pirates, and even backwoods evangelists, who befriend the Hausers, and attempt to show them how to get along in the New World. Falling agricultural prices in 1948, along with other farm disasters, and the unbearable longing to be in Germany to help with the rebuilding, compelled the Hausers to sell their farm at auction and return to Germany. Although they dearly loved their farm, they felt a duty return to Germany, even though Hauser refers to Germany as a vampire, "... sucking the pith from the revitalized stems of our lives." Heinrich and Rita returned to Germany, where he managed to write two more books. He dreamed of returning to his farm in Missouri, but never did. He died at Diessen am Ammersee, Bavaria, in 1955.

Poulton's translation of Hauser's *Meine Farm am Mississippi* (Berlin : Safari Verlag, 1950) is a useful and enjoyable addition to postwar and what Poulton calls "Post-immigrant" German-American literature. As a historical geographer, Curt Poulton brings a different perspective to Heinrich Hauser's narrative, viewing the landscape as a character in the story. Indeed, Hauser's narrative provides extremely detailed descriptions of the land, the river, and the environs of his farm in Perry County. Most of the town of Wittenberg was lost in the great flood of 1993, although the old Harnagel-Hauser farmhouse remains. Much can be learned about the magnitude of that loss through comparison of Hauser's description of the land at that time. Poulton got to know Huc Hauser, and learned many more details about the family's life. Huc also generously provided a number of family photos, which make the book come even more alive. In his copious footnotes, Poulton is careful to reveal Hauser's penchant toward exaggeration. He almost invariably portrayed distances as longer than they actually were, and he also had a tendency not to convert measurements, such as acres to hectares. This occasionally provides his German readers with a slightly skewed view of the land. Poulton also interviewed many locals who still remembered "Henry" Hauser, and who often had different recollections of the events Hauser described. As

to the translation itself, I found it extremely readable and fairly true to the original. Hauser was not an academic, but one who wrote popular fiction, and later, even science fiction. Hauser's colloquial German is certainly not stilted or formal, but rather more conversational in tone. Poulton comments in his foreword on the difficulties of bringing Hauser's typically long, convoluted German sentences into clear English. I think he has done a creditable job, and an important one. Hauser, through Poulton's translation, has made available to us a clear and vibrant picture of a time and culture that are, for better or worse, almost gone.

William Woods University

Tom R. Schultz

The Last Generation Forgotten and Left To Die/*Die letzte Generation vergessen und dem Tod überlassen: The History of the Danube Swabians.*

In English and German by Hans Kopp. Cleveland, OH: The Author, 2003. xviii + 394 pages. \$60.00.

Hans Kopp is one of the many Danube Swabians who, after surviving the horrors of World War II and the postwar genocide by communist regimes, built new lives for themselves in America. In Cleveland he has become a leader in one of the nation's largest Ethnic German communities. After his arrival in 1956, he served in the United States Army and completed his studies in design engineering. In addition to his dedicated involvement in German-American organizations, he has authored several articles and monographs published here and abroad.

Cleveland has long been a major center of German-American activity. In 1900, two of every five Clevelanders were native speakers of German. Among them were Transylvanian Saxons, Gottscheers and other Ethnic Germans who, after settling in the Cleveland area, maintained their unique German traditions through the establishment of social, cultural and educational organizations. By the 1920s, immigrants from the Banat represented a substantial element of the Greater Cleveland German community. They became the forerunners of the Danube Swabians who began arriving in large numbers in the 1950s.

A monument erected in memory of deceased Danube Swabians greets visitors entering the Donauschwaben German-American Cultural Center at Lenau Park in the Cleveland suburb of Olmsted Township. Its inscription reminds us that this group of people, because of its German ethnicity, became victims of Yugoslavian and Russian oppression.

In addition to an overview of early Danube Swabian history, Kopp's most recent, dual-language, publication presents a chronological narrative of events since the offset of World War II. In it he skillfully takes the reader along to witness experiences such as slave labor deportation, expulsion from the homeland, the Gakowa death camp, starvation, personal family tragedies, firing squads, escape and emigration.

Throughout these memoirs the author interweaves political events with the economic and social conditions experienced by his family and other Danube Swabians.

Adding an interesting and often charming dimension to the relating of otherwise horrifying events are his many references to Danube Swabian traditions and social mores.

Drawing upon his personal experiences and relevant information provided by his parents, the author tells his story in a fluent prose buttressed by more than 1400 photos, in addition to many supporting documents, letters, abstracts, maps, and diagrams. This technique gives literary body to his work and produces a true story worthy of a dramatic production, rather than just a journalistic documentary.

Since the publication of C. Geza's *The Danube Swabians* (1967), many works on this ethnic German group have appeared. Some are special studies that appeal mainly to scholars. Others, such as Katherine Stenger Frey's *The Danube Swabians/A People With Portable Roots* (1982) and Jacob Steigerwald's *Donauschwäbische Gedankenskizzen aus USA* (1983), were written for general audiences. Needed are more in-depth memoirs by survivors of ethnic cleansing, such as this work by Hans Kopp. They would certainly heighten awareness of the tragic events suffered by the Danube Swabians and other groups to whom America's print, screen and electronic media have paid but scant attention.

Baldwin-Wallace College

Robert E. Ward

Heads or Tails: The Poetics of Money.

By Jochen Hörisch. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000. 349 pages. \$39.95.

Money has become a hot academic commodity in recent years. The sustained economic expansion of the 1990's, the replacement of Cold War politics by issues of Russian and Chinese trade and economic integration, as well as the promises and perils globalization have prompted a number of scholars to look anew at the role played by finance in the shaping of social and cultural life. This subject has been addressed to English readers from a literary-critical perspective by, for example, Marc Shell and Patrick Brantlinger, but the German speaking world still needs, claims Jochen Hörisch, the kind of problem-based literary analysis suited to unpacking the complex and paradoxical relations between money and literature, an approach which makes it possible "to discover the currency of meaning itself" (38). To this grand end Hörisch eschews literary history as such (it merely relates text to text) in favor of a narrative that explores intertextual (subjects, motifs, and problems "having to do with money") (36). The result is a head-spinning tour of the literary canon through the often competing, overlapping, and discordant theories of Kant, Marx, Nietzsche, Adorno, Benjamin, and Sohn-Rethel, among others, stitched together into an erudite and richly allusive (if frustratingly unsystematic) meta-interpretation of money's magical disenchantment of the world.

At the heart of Hörisch's argument is the idea that money defines modernity because (like the Communion rite of the preceding age and the mass media of post-modernity) it performs an "ontosemiological" function in providing a comprehensive

standard by which everything can be understood and evaluated, social relations ordered, and the deepest questions about meaning and being answered. Belles-lettres allegedly offers a unique vantage to criticize this process because only poetic expression, which operates outside the utilitarian constraints felt by scientific and quotidian discourse, can dispense with the obsessive "covering" of the naked (non)truth lurking behind a money-ordered world. Only in a story can it be said that the emperor has no clothes.

Hörisch delivers on his promise not to write a conventional literary history, but underneath its sophisticated hermeneutics and avant-garde theory, *Heads or Tails* can be seen to belong to an even older literary genre: demonology. It is the invention of money that cast humanity out of its prelapsarian innocence into a world of "universal deficiency" (152). Money is the "diabolical medium" of modernity that has dissolved all qualitative difference into a universal system of equivalence (and hence insipid indifference) (221). Money has even seized hold of time itself, transforming it into yet another scarce commodity. Hörisch is particularly vexed in this respect by the "gullibility" of so many millions to pay for life insurance in the here and now in return for a company's dubious promise to pay out thirty or forty years hence. He sees in this enterprise nothing less than a "a stylistically problematic sacrilege" that attempts phantasmagorically to fend off "finiteness, time, and death" (128).

Of course life insurance policyholders are not remotely so naïve or megalomaniacal, but Hörisch's sour appraisal of them is characteristic of the book's relentless identification of money with spiritual vacuity, social alienation, ecological disaster, political turmoil and war. Even a vigorous critic of modern capitalism and its handmaiden, money, might well pause to consider whether money might also, on occasion, confer social freedom through its anonymity, or contribute to human happiness through the increased availability and diversification of consumables, or, even if as a consequence of naked self-interest, overcome religious or cultural prejudices—benefits Joseph Addison marveled at during his famous literary perambulation around the Royal Exchange at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Historians will also find Hörisch's arguments weakened by evidentiary and logical shortcomings. A fundamental claim he makes is that "Western rationality and subjectivity are epiphenomena of money" (178). Accordingly, Hörisch attributes rationalist, post-Socratic philosophy to the rise of coined money both because the interposition of money created an abstract system by which "various things are associated, synthesized, comprehended and subsumed under uniform categories," and because the agora itself constituted the locus for the exchange of philosophical ideas (182). But historians may justifiably object that while the diffusion of coinage out of Lydia and Ionia from the seventh century B.C.E. did have revolutionary implications, it wasn't revolutionary in quite the way Hörisch would have us think. The idea of an abstract measure of value embodied in precious metal (in the form of ingots, rings, wires, or tripods) developed as early as the third millennium B.C.E.; and even in societies that lacked a metallic exchange medium it seems to have involved no great intellectual effort to extend common barter media metaphorically into abstract units of account. Our word "pecuniary," for example, is derived from the Latin *pecus* (head of cattle). Hörisch's argument that the circulation of money shaped Western rationality

and subjectivity also fails on comparative grounds. Money developed in China at least as early as it did in Asia Minor, and coins have circulated in Islamic and Hindu lands since antiquity. If money is such a potent force in shaping philosophy, literature, and culture, can its use really explain the intellectual and artistic properties of the West?

I suspect, however, that in the end Hörisch is less interested in making a persuasive historical case than in using history selectively to suggest aesthetic alternatives to money. These possibilities are never delineated, but somehow involve the Promethean power of art to provide (alternative versions of reality) (150) drawn either from a paradisaical past before the advent of money or from a utopian vision of a world where gold shackles only criminals and a freed people finally (and perhaps again) savors the world in its full immediacy.

SUNY College at Potsdam

Geoffrey Clark

Thomas Mann's Addresses Delivered at the Library of Congress.

Edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. New German-American Studies/Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien, vol. 25. New York: Peter Lang, 2003. 132 pp. \$31.95.

The collected addresses of Thomas Mann delivered at the Library of Congress were originally published by the library in 1963, "Because of continuing public demand . . .", according to the then Librarian of Congress, L. Quincy Mumford. They had, of course, been published singly at the time of the lectures themselves, but were soon out of print. The addresses are extremely interesting, in a historical sense, because they contain much of Thomas Mann's personal philosophy and contemporary *Weltanschauung*. Tolzmann's valuable introduction gives a succinct history of the German collections at LC (Library of Congress), and details the involvement of Agnes Meyer in helping to obtain Mann his paid consultancy in Germanic Literature at the Library, which he referred to as an "elegantly inventive gift." The only critique I offer, and it is quite a small one, is that Tolzmann, in his introduction, gives the literal translations of Mann's German titles, rather than the titles under which they were published. If a reader wished to find an English translation of *Der Erwählte*, searching for *The Chosen One* would be fruitless, as it was published under the title *The Holy Sinner*. Let me reiterate, that is a minor quibble from a librarian's point of view. The annual addresses were part of the agreement, for which Mann received one thousand dollars apiece. Mann was only too happy to oblige, not only for financial reasons, but also because it enabled him to bring to bear his deep knowledge of the subject matter, his skill as a writer, and his not inconsequential reputation both as a leading opponent of national socialism and leader among the exile community. Indeed, his importance within that community can hardly be overstated.

The addresses themselves span the years from 1942 to 1949, and their very titles show not only the topics occupying his mind, but also just how broad his interests were. They are, in chronological order: "The theme of the Joseph novels" (17 Nov. 1942); "The war and the future" (13 Oct. 1943); "Germany and the Germans" (29

May 1945); "Nietzsche's philosophy in the light of contemporary events" (29 Apr. 1947), and "Goethe and democracy" (2 May 1949).

The addresses cover some wide-ranging topics, from Mann's own work to the very nature of Germanness and estheticism, from Luther to Nietzsche to Goethe, but he always comes around to his own deeply held belief in a fundamentally "new HUMANISM, remote from all shallow optimism, but full of sympathy, which will be only too necessary for the work of reconstruction that will confront us after the tremendous moral and material devastations, after the collapse of the accustomed world." (5) The Germans he admires most are those who have gone beyond the arrogant provincialism of Germany; people, especially Goethe, who have a decidedly European spirit and outlook. Particularly in the address "Germany and the Germans," but also elsewhere, Mann undertakes to lay bare what he believes are fundamental flaws in the German national character. Although the Germans possess real genius in certain fields, philosophy, music, art, etc., they lack a fundamental aptitude for politics and social progress. At least twice, he uses Hölderlin's phrase *Tatenarm und Gedankenreich* [Poor in deeds, rich in ideas]. These national traits Mann illustrates by two characters in particular: Luther and Faust. He views the Reformation, although invaluable to the survival of Christian civilization, as a German nationalistic movement. Speaking of Luther, he says, "Germanism in its unalloyed state, the Separatist, anti-Roman, anti-European shocks and frightens me" (26). Of Faust, he hints that the very idea of a deeply religious scholar selling his soul to the devil for occult knowledge and power is quite German in its essence. His audience had seen Germany bargain its soul to the devil for mastery of Europe. It is important to note, however, that Mann does not divorce himself entirely from the German condition. Anyone born and raised in Germany feels deeply what is happening. There is not a "good" Germany and a "bad" one, but rather only the good Germany gone bad, and struggling for its soul.

The tone of these addresses is ultimately one of hope, even though Mann is quite scathing of the darker side of German culture. He was addressing audiences with the most profound interest in what was to become of Germany after the war. He was also speaking as an employee of the United States government, and, as such, was acutely sensitive to what they he believed they wanted to hear. Going beyond the immediate future, however, Mann realized that even the idea of a united Europe was somewhat outdated. "The world wants to be one," he said, and to ensure the continued existence and growth of his "new humanism", the author's ironical objectivity must sometimes be held in trust. The freedom to disagree over small matters must be set aside in order that the greater freedom and justice can exist.

In summary, let me say that, although Mann's prose is sometimes difficult to wade through, careful reading of these addresses is well worth the effort. The statements Mann made about working for justice, equality and freedom are as fresh today as they were sixty years ago, and certainly most eloquently stated. The publication of this second edition of the addresses will be useful, not only to scholars of Mann, but of *Exilliteratur* in general.

"Like a Sponge Thrown into Water": Francis Lieber's European Travel Journal of 1844-1845.

Edited by Charles R. Mack and Ilona S. Mack. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2000. 193 pages. \$18.95.

In the mid-nineteenth century, Francis (Franz) Lieber enjoyed the status of one of the most well-known and best-connected scholars in both the United States and Germany, yet today his importance is often either overlooked or totally forgotten. Charles R. Mack and Ilona S. Mack's translation of Lieber's remarkably interesting European travel journal from 1844-45 is greatly welcomed and should help reacquaint Americans with this German-American and the social, political, and cultural context in which he lived.

Lieber was born in Berlin in 1798 and grew up during the Napoleonic Wars and French occupation of his beloved capital. Experiencing first-hand the weakness of the German states against their aggressors and then the reforms undertaken to incite the Prussians to rise up against their conquerors, Lieber became an ardent supporter of German unification and republicanism. He greeted the Treaties of Paris and Congress of Vienna, which officially ended the Napoleonic period, as an era filled with promise, but became disillusioned by the conservatism of the political restoration that followed. He found himself at odds with oppressive regimes which denied its citizens the very freedoms and rights for which Lieber had fought. After several arrests and stints in prison which led him to realize that he would never be able to find happiness in Prussia, he immigrated in 1826 to England, where he met his future wife Matilda Oppenheimer, also from a German family. In 1827 they departed for Boston and quickly established contacts with the city's elite. Always searching for opportunities to showcase his intellectual talents, Lieber founded the *Encyclopedia Britannica* in 1829. He searched for prestigious teaching positions, and was finally offered one in South Carolina, where he remained for almost twenty years before he accepted a position at Columbia College (University) in New York City in 1856.

Lieber's contributions to American society are diverse and far-reaching and reveal his recognition of an increasing complex and rapidly transforming society. He developed the concept for international copyright laws, seeing the need to preserve the record of the Civil War, helped organize the captured Confederate archives, laid the foundations for the International Red Cross, proposed a United States Department of Statistics, and perhaps most important, created a code of military warfare, which served as the theoretical underpinnings for the Geneva Conventions and the Nuremberg Trials, and is still in effect today.

After almost twenty years in the U.S., Lieber wanted to reacquaint himself with the Europe he had known and loved so well and which had changed radically since he immigrated. The journal begins on March 6, 1844 while organizing his departure for Europe where he arrived in April 14, 1844 in England. The last journal entry is from January 16, 1845 while awaiting his return to the United States. The journal serves many purposes: it introduces the reader to the person of Francis Lieber, who he was and how he thought. It is, in part, a compendium of his experiences as a tourist, what

he saw, facts, figures, prices, etc., as well as stories and comments about his family and personal life. Entries also provide astute cultural commentary on both the United States and European countries, especially when Lieber returns to Germany. He records his conversations with important and leading personages of the time, and these reveal insights on politics, economics, and such divergent themes such as art, freedom, economics, German unification, personal rights, and public executions.

Charles and Ilona Mack have done an excellent job transcribing and translating the original German journal entries into English and correcting mistakes, yet have retained Lieber's original charm and linguistic idiosyncracies. They also include letters and summaries of conversations Lieber wrote to or had with leading figures of the time, and had kept with his journal. The volume contains an appendix with prevalent themes of the journal with entry dates, and another appendix with brief biographical summaries of people he met in Europe. One of the great advantages of this volume, especially in comparison to the many editions of journals and diaries of German-Americans, is the detailed commentary provided for each of the entry dates. Through their remarks the editors flesh out many of the problems and themes upon which Lieber comments.

When reading the individual journal entries, one is struck by Lieber's tremendously busy schedule, the breadth of his knowledge, and his acquaintances in almost every city he visits in countries north of the Alps. After arriving in England, Lieber travels through France to Paris, then on to Brussels and Waterloo, where he had fought in a Prussian army against Napoleon, and enters German soil on June 26. While in Germany, he seemingly travels to all states of the German Confederation, meets kings, nobility, ministers, artists, publishers, indeed the elite of German and European public life. Not only do these individuals know and respect Lieber, but his journal entries suggest that they excitedly and willingly begin discussions on the leading topics of the day and graciously accept criticism from him. As a whole, the journal re-creates the context of the German states and Europe in the 1840s, and helps the reader to see the connection Lieber makes between America and Europe. Along with an insightful biographical essay included in the volume, the journal reveals Lieber as a cosmopolitan, at home equally in Europe and the United States, and as a proponent of increased need for the two continents to work more collaboratively.

Saint Louis University

Gregory H. Wolf

Deutsche Lieder für Jung und Alt.

Edited by Lisa Feurzeig. Recent Researches in the Oral Traditions of Music, vol. 7. Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2002. 244 pages. \$120.00.

In the introduction to this edition, Lisa Feurzeig states that "The 1818 songbook *Deutsche Lieder für Jung und Alt* is a significant document for many reasons. It is of musical importance as one of the first collections of *volkstümliche Lieder* to include melodies as well as texts. It is of historical interest since it was compiled by a group of

men associated with the *Turnvereine* and *Burschenschaften* and therefore includes much material that reflects their political and social agendas" [1]. In the essays and accompanying material within the text, Feurzeig successfully reinforces the historical importance of the original work, and, more especially for German-American studies, of the particular exemplar on which the current edition is based. That volume now resides in the Special collections of the Regenstein Library at the University of Chicago. That volume consists of the 1818 edition, with many handwritten entries both at the end, as well as carefully interleaved in the volume. Together with notations of a subtitle "*Von der Wiege bis zum—Grabe Weltlich und Geistlich*" can leave but little doubt that an expanded edition was planned.

According to documentary evidence, mostly correspondence, Feurzeig shows that the book was compiled by people who were in the forefront of the *Turner* movement and the *Burschenschaften*, including Turnvater Jahn himself. The songs themselves are a mixed bag of older melodies, together with new, politically oriented songs from the period of the *Freiheitskriege* against Napoleon. The Chicago copy was personally owned by one Anton Gersbach, who added the supplemental material to the original. Many of these supplementary songs were composed by his older brother, Joseph, who was a music director and teacher.

Historically, the book is something of a touchstone of political, nationalist and religious feeling among the men who sang—and marched to—these songs. Feurzeig notes in part of her introductory essay that the volume appeared in the brief period between the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the Passing of the Carlsbad Decrees of 1819, which limited freedoms of the press and of assembly, among others. One of the more useful sections of the book is the Catalog of Poets and Composers, along with thumbnail sketches, where this information was known. The composers covered a wide range of the German literary experience, from Luther to Goethe, from Theodor Körner to the brothers Adolf and Karl Follen.

The book is arranged thematically with 99 *Weltliche Lieder*, 21 *Geistliche Lieder*, and 51 pieces of supplementary material. The volume also contains well-documented essays on the creation of *Deutsche Lieder für Jung und Alt*, the political situation in which the songs were composed and collected, some useful notes about performance of the material, and a critical commentary. Although the price is perhaps a little toward the high end for a paperback edition, the songs, and especially the essays and bibliographical notes contained in it, make it a useful volume for students of folk music and of German-American history. If you wish to gain a better understanding of Germans who came of age during the *Vormärz*, and later emigrated to the United States to actualize their political freedom, *Deutsche Lieder für Jung und Alt* can be a valuable asset.

Pennsylvania German Words in Context, second edition.

By C. Richard Beam. Lancaster, PA: Brookshire Printing, 2003. xxv+447 pages.

Beam's research continues to expand the knowledge of both the general reader and the specialist regarding Pennsylvania German lexicography and etymology. Beam's latest work, *Pennsylvania German Words in Context*, is an expansion and revision of the first edition published in 1997. The size and scope of the text has been doubled in this second edition. The author states that the primary motivating factor for both editions "were brought about by our current technological age, especially radio and television," although both spoken and written Pennsylvania German sources were incorporated into this project (i). Beam acquired and analyzed various radio and television programs conducted in the Pennsylvania German dialect over the last half-century for this project. Programs such as WLBR's – *Der Alde Kummraade* (in Lebanon), *The Allen G. Musser Show* (carried by the Blue Ridge Cable Company in the Ephrata area and beyond until 1993), and in connection with Musser's show the *Dot Fry videotapes*. *Die Wunnerfitz-Schtunn* hosted by David Hendricks on radio station WBYO (WBYN) in Boyertown was also utilized for eliciting dialect material. The second version of *Pennsylvania German Words in Context* was strengthened by the contributions of several gentlemen of Old Order Amish (OOA) and Mennonite background. Beam also diversifies his representation of Pennsylvania German lexicography by including supraregional dialect varieties data from Ontario, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Virginia, Ohio, New York, Indiana.

The representation of the data is very good for the most part. The lexemes are presented along with a sample sentence of their usage in Pennsylvania German. Thereafter diacritics indicate the source (speaker and date) from whence Beam elicited his data. Plural forms and gender are provided for nouns as well as past participle forms for the verb. For words that can not be easily traced back to Early New High or New High German a brief etymology is presented. Beam's etymological research, albeit a relatively small contribution to the overall text, serves as a tremendous asset for the serious Pennsylvania German scholar. For example, the term *zweg*—"in order"—can be traced through Middle High German back to Old High German (455). Beam effectively shows the myriad of historical linguistic dialects, Middle High German, Gothic, Old French to name a few, from which Pennsylvania German has gained its rich lexicon.

As regards to ascribing particular lexemes to English, the author falls into the trap that many of his predecessors researching Pennsylvania German have fallen prey to, namely, Beam jumps the gun prematurely in assuming that Pennsylvania German words that are pronounced the same and share similar semantic functions with English counterparts are the result of lexical borrowing with English. The fact is that many of these forms are also to be found in use in continental European German dialects. For example, Beam states that the word *Bord* in Pennsylvania German is a lexical borrowing from English (61). Rudolf Post, author of many texts pertaining to the dialects found in Rheinland-Pfalz and chief researcher behind the *Pfälzisches Wörterbuch*, provides an excellent summary of how Pennsylvania German scholars both past and present

errantly assert that *Bord* is of English origin (Rudolf Post, "The Lexicography of Palatinate German: Its Relevance for Pennsylvania German Research," *Studies on the Languages and Verbal Behavior of the Pennsylvania Germans*, Werner Enninger, Joachim Raith and Karl-Heinz Wandt, eds. [Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1989], 2:71-72):

He (the expert in Palatine dialectology) would immediately find in the first column, for example, the *Backbord* which for Lambert has the meaning "board, on which dough is rolled out." Through lack of knowledge of the underlying system, Lambert assumes that *Bord* and other compound forms of "-bord" (included in his list under *Bord* are *Bijjelbord*, *Schtellbord*, *Schussbord*) derive from the English *board*. Had he been able to consult the Palatine Dictionary, which obviously had not been written at that time, he would have seen that *Bord* and its cognates were highly productive in the Palatine dialect. He would have found, for example, the verb *borden* in the meaning of "to lay the floor with planks" and under the lemma *Backbord* that in the area of Ludwigshafen-Speyer, i.e., the exact area considered as the center of the region of origin of Pennsylvania German, this word has the meaning "board, on which dough is rolled out." . . . Other items of Lambert's list, such as *lischde* 'to enlist', *verschlappe* 'to bedraggle', soil, spill or *verschwappe* 'to swap off, trade off' can easily be explained as the basis of the dialects of the source area.

Although Beam's account of the etymology of Pennsylvania German is predominantly accurate, the ageless inquiry of exactly what words came into the dialect from contact with English requires further research.

Another minor problem that besets the representation of Beam's data is his inability to illustrate to the reader exactly which forms are unique to a particular region and which ones are more universal in their application in the Pennsylvania German speaking-world. For example, in another recent publication—the reprint of Ruth Bender's 1929 Master's Thesis at the University of Iowa: *The Kalona/Iowa Pennsylvania German Dialect* – Beam states "those readers who know the Pennsylvania German dialect well will be interested to note the variations in the dialect, which are reflected in this expanded and augmented word list" (iii). In neither this aforementioned text nor in *Pennsylvania German Words in Context* are forms marked for their uniqueness or universality.

Finally, the author's unwillingness to accept or utilize dialect publications produced by the Committee for Translation (Sugar creek, Ohio) excludes his research from achieving a supraregional, inclusive representation of Pennsylvania German. The author's primary concern for accepting these dialect publications lies in the fact that the Committee for Translation employs an English-based orthography. Provided the limited scope and nature of a book review, this is not the proper platform to launch a debate pertaining to orthographic representations of Pennsylvania German. With the growing literature that has been produced by the Committee for Translation in the past decade alone—*Es Nei Teshtament* (1994), *Vella Laysa* (1997) and *Pennsylvania Deitsch Dictionary* (Beachy 1999)—Beam may wish to reconsider his exclusion of such materials from his studies.

Aside from these minor issues, Beam's current work and contribution to the field of German-American Studies and Pennsylvania German studies over the last half-

century are invaluable to scholars and the general public alike. Without his efforts much of the full beauty of Pennsylvania German and its countless varieties would remain unknown and lost to current and future generations. Beam's *Pennsylvania German Words in Context* can not fairly be assessed without consideration of his research on the whole. In the last decade he has published the following works: *Plant Names of the Pennsylvania Germans: PA Dutch – Latin – English* (October 1997), *Pennsylvania German Words in Context, 1st Edition* (1997), *The Kalona/Iowa Pennsylvania-German Dialect* (March, 2003) and *Pennsylvania German Words in Context, 2nd Edition* (2003). All of these works find their origin at the heart of Beam's research: the creation of an unabridged, comprehensive dictionary of Pennsylvania German. Beam's current edition of *Pennsylvania German Words in Context* achieves this goal and will become a mainstay reference work for Pennsylvania German scholars in the years to come.

University of Kansas

Michael T. Putnam

"Dennoch!" A Biography of Pastor John Haefner.

By Paul D. Ostrem. Muscatine, IA: privately printed, 2002. 46 pages. \$10.00.

Pastor Paul D. Ostrem of Zion Lutheran Church, Muscatine, Iowa has written a brief but competent biography of one of his predecessors at Zion Church. Pastor John Haefner was typical in many respects. He emigrated from Bavaria at the age of fourteen in 1889. Recognizing his earnestness and ability, a Lutheran pastor in Illinois arranged for him to attend Wartburg College in Waverly, Iowa and Wartburg Seminary in Dubuque, from which he graduated in 1897. After collegiate teaching and an initial pastorate, he was called to the pulpit in Muscatine in 1910. There he remained until his death in 1941.

John Haefner served twenty-one years as treasurer of the Iowa Synod. He wrote poetry, a newspaper for youth, and much else. He taught confirmation classes, and printed church documents. He was respected for his sincerity, integrity, and unwavering faith. He was forthright to the point of bluntness.

What makes this book worth reading for those outside the community and what is remarkable about Haefner is the harassment he received from super patriots during World War I and the dignity with which he met this challenge. In January, 1918, a group of businessmen went to the pastor's house to present him with a flag which they told him to fly at all times. Later, German books were burned in Muscatine, and Haefner's congregation decided to give up German language church services. One April day, the flag was seen lying of the ground beside the pastor's home. As a result, a crowd carrying placards paraded him through the streets and he was publicly lectured by town leaders. Then he was subjected to a two-day court trial for flag desecration. He was acquitted. Although he had flown the flag in good faith, apparently a child at play had taken it down and then abandoned it. That so much hostility was sparked by such a small event is all too typical of the atmosphere in America in the spring of

1918. Nonetheless, it is chilling to read about any of the many such events that then took place across the country.

If the reader wants to understand how the anti-German hysteria that America endured in early 1918 could lead to local absurdities, Ostrem's book is instructive.

Northwest Missouri State University

Robert W. Frizzell

Letters of a German American Farmer: Jürnjakob Swehn Travels to America.

By Johannes Gillhoff. Translated by Richard Lorenz August Trost. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2000. 180 pages. \$32.95 (cloth); \$17.95 (paper).

This is an unusual but quite interesting piece of emigration fiction. The author, Johannes Gillhoff, was the son of a Mecklenburg village schoolmaster who corresponded with 250 people from his area who went to America in the second half of the nineteenth century. Gillhoff spent eighteen years using the letters received by his father to create a fictional rural laborer from Mecklenburg, Jürnjakob Swehn, who became a successful Iowa farmer, and who, from the time of his emigration in 1868 for a period of about 40 years, wrote long letters back to his former teacher in his native village.

In most respects, these fictional letters are believable as the product of a German-American farmer, but they often sound more like a garrulous farmer talking at the blacksmith shop or after church than the kinds of immigrant letters that have survived to our day. The book was written in *Missingsch*, that is, a mixture of High and Low German. The translator has rendered this rather skillfully into quite colloquial American rural English. This work has been popular in Germany since it was published in 1917.

Jürnjakob, the fictional writer of the purported letters, was an intelligent man, but of very limited education and experience so that he could express himself only in colloquial, simple, and limited ways. He was honest, straightforward, industrious, frugal, self-reliant and pious. He was also awkward, clumsy, and often obtuse concerning the needs and desires of women. In short, excepting his need to express himself in lengthy letters, he was much like thousands of other north German peasants who became American farmers. The letters deal with such subjects as might be expected: the trip to America, frontier farming, livestock, family members, other immigrants, founding and supporting a church, maintaining a parochial school, etc. A story about a miserly immigrant farmer who tried to cheat a pastor, (and how the skinflint was undone) also appears in other German language fiction about America, perhaps because such people were so often present in actual German-American communities. The scene of Jürnjakob's mother on her deathbed is especially touching. It points out how reluctant to express affection north Germans typically were. Many incidents in the letters illustrate the foibles that make us all human.

For someone who never traveled to America, it is surprising just how many American details Gillhoff got right. But one has to comment that log cabins in American were not built by setting up large, vertical logs at the corners. And the translator is in error that the name of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina is evidence of "the arrival

of Low Germans." (xiv) The county was formed in 1763, one year after King George III of Great Britain took as his bride Sophia Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. Both the county and the county seat of Charlotte were named to honor the queen.

A reader who wants a sympathetic and skillfully rendered display of the outlook of a typical north German immigrant farmer in the nineteenth century Midwest will find no better source than the letters of the fictional Jürnjakob Swehm.

Northwest Missouri State University

Robert W. Frizzell

Adolf Douai, 1819-1888: The Turbulent Life of a German Forty-Eighter in the Homeland and in the United States.

By Justine Davis Randers-Pehrson. New German-American Studies/Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien, vol. 22. New York: Peter Lang, 2000. 365 pages. \$70.95.

Anyone interested in the German Revolution of 1848/49, Forty-Eighters in the United States, the German-American radical press of the mid-nineteenth century, or German schools in the U.S. will eventually run into this name: Adolf Douai. With Karl Heinzen, Rudolph Dulon, Friedrich Sorge, Julius Fröbel and many others, Douai belongs to the group of German-American radicals who, after they were actively involved in the political uprising in Europe, were forced to make a living as refugees in North America. Although the name Douai appears frequently in many contexts, the man behind it remained obscure.

Justine Davis Randers-Pehrson has written a biography of Douai that traces the steps of his unusual life in his homeland and in the United States. In her previous study *Germans and the Revolution of 1848-1849*, Randers-Pehrson provided a general overview of the social settings and the political dimensions of the turbulent time. In this biography she takes a different approach—bottom up—now looking closely at an individual whose life was deeply affected by the times he lived in. In this work Randers-Pehrson exemplifies the revolution of 1848 by concentrating on the small state of Saxe-Altenburg and on Douai as an individual. The reader learns about pre-revolutionary political and social conditions in the state, personal participation in undercover activities, and what consequences this involvement brought along in post-revolutionary time. Despite the fact that Douai led an uncommon life, it is still illustrative for the lives of many refugees. It is a story about struggle, loss, being true to one's convictions, but also about love, pride, and success.

Douai grows up in Saxe-Altenburg, a small Thuringian state. Although the financial situation of the family must have been difficult at times he receives a good education. After studying theology in Leipzig the young man becomes a tutor in Estonia, where he is directly confronted with the clash between the wealth of his employer, and the poverty, famines, and sickness of his peasants. During this time Douai gains his deep understanding of social struggle and the underlying political conditions. Furthermore he works on a doctorate in philosophy at the University of Königsberg.

After his return to Altenburg he establishes his own school and begins his long career as an educator. Moreover, Douai becomes actively involved in the pre-revolutionary political debates. As an elected delegate to the *Altenburg Landtag* and co-editor of the radical newspaper *Altenburger Volksblatt*, he evolves into one of the leading revolutionary figures in the state of Saxe-Altenburg. By mid-1849 reaction to the failed revolution shows its effects. Douai is deprived of his status as a candidate in theology and, therefore, is no longer qualified to head his school. The loss of his job is coupled with constant surveillance and a failure to meet the mortgage payments on the house. In 1849 and 1851 he serves two prison sentences. After that Douai, his wife Agnes von Beust, and their four children emigrate to the United States, thus following several relatives who had already done so in previous years.

Ill prepared, disappointed by the turn politics at home had taken, but with hopes for the future, the family arrives in Texas, where they settle in New Braunfels. During the first years the Douais can hardly make ends meet. Again he creates a school, becomes a cigar maker, tries to publish a newspaper, and organizes music events. All of this remains fruitless and the family moves to San Antonio. Here he becomes editor of the newly established *San Antonio Zeitung*. Furthermore, he establishes a network of contacts with Frederick Law Olmsted, Karl Heinzen, Friedrich Kapp and other intellectuals. In Texas Douai turns to the political debates of the time, mainly the question of slavery. With Olmsted he supports the abolitionist movement and tries to design plans for German immigrants to settle in Western Texas and establish a free state. He writes for the *Deutsche Monatshefte* in Philadelphia and is co-founder (with Friedrich Kapp and Julius Fröbel) of the *Atlantische Studien* published in Göttingen. However, his fight against nativism, the Know-Nothing Party, and the struggle of daily life drains his strength. By mid-1856 the growing family moves to Hoboken, New Jersey. But also on the east coast Douai does not seem to find his place. The family continues to move from place to place and Douai tries to support it with teaching, lecturing, organizing musical events, and writing. In the following years he produces a series of German grammar texts, primers and readers, as well as a novel (*Fata Morgana*, 1858). In New York City he becomes editor-in-chief of the German *New Yorker Demokrat*. His support of the Republican Party is rewarded with a directorship of an Academy in Hoboken in the 1860s. The constantly growing family is often joined by relatives, friends and their children who live with them.

Douai remains interested in politics. He is on the executive committee for the *Bund für deutsche Freiheit und Einheit* (League for German Freedom and Unity) that works secretly both in Germany and abroad in the hope of a renewed revolutionary uprising. Furthermore, he is a devoted Marxist and supports the Workmen's Party. At the end of his life Douai has produced an *œuvre* of over fifty titles and has remained at the center of social and political discussions throughout much of the nineteenth century.

Although Randers-Pehrson traces Douai's life in chronological order, she has added two more chapters in the end. One is about Douai's wife Agnes von Beust who had married Douai in Altenburg in 1843 and had shared her life with him until his death in 1888. Born into an aristocratic family, she was reared in a comfortable environment much different from Douai himself. Apart from their social differences, the fact that

her husband was at the center of political unrest in Altenburg and later decided to emigrate to the United States must not have been what she had envisioned at the outset of their marriage. The mother of ten children, she was at the center of the family, ran a large household, bore the main responsibility for children, boarders, relatives, and friends - later even for grandchildren. Through many moves, new homes, constant financial worries, and a lost inheritance she remained dutiful, loyal, and supportive, leading an astonishing life herself.

The second is on Douai's relationship with Karl Heinzen. Although both men are similar in many ways, both have strong egos that get in their ways. The two radicals have ample determination and little tolerance for opinions differing from their own. Instead of joining forces they split and become each other's most despised rival. The story is a common one among German-American intellectuals. Here it is told again.

Randers-Pehrson ties Douai's biography into the larger picture of the time. What often remains abstract and dry comes to life in the light of the biography of this individual. The person of Douai is well chosen because he is a typical representative of the 1848 group. In this respect it is quite astonishing that it has taken so long for a biography to appear. Well educated and fairly well established, these men had to make a choice between the security of a home and income and their individual convictions. In a foreign country they soon learned that their skills were hardly sufficient to support their families and the political scene not necessarily what they had hoped for.

For the first half of the book Randers-Pehrson stays close to her previous topic, drawing much from her book *Germans and the Revolution of 1848-1849*. Although Douai immigrated at the age of 33 and dies at the age of 69, more than half of the book deals with his life in Germany and the pre-revolutionary political situation, thus drawing a detailed picture of the time. She succeeds in tracing Douai's endless moves and occupations in the United States, thereby illustrating the desperate attempts to find a place where he belongs, the struggle with contemporaries who support or despise him, the network and connections the 1848ers moved in, and their personal battles. To understand the movement of 1848 is mainly to understand the individuals who were at its center. Here Randers-Pehrson has given us another glimpse of such a life. She has drawn on many sources, primarily however on the unpublished autobiography of Douai himself. Although an autobiography usually offers many pitfalls and needs to be looked at with care, Randers-Pehrson has used it carefully, thus making her book a worthwhile addition to the literature on the 48ers in Germany and the United States.

Bonn, Germany

Katja Rampelmann

Land without Nightingales: Music in the Making of German-America.

Edited by Philip V. Bohlman and Otto Holzapfel. Studies of the Max Kade Institute for German American Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison. Madison: MKI, 2002. 310 pages + audio CD. \$49.95.

Music has been important in German-American culture from the beginning until today. Philip Bohlman, an ethnomusicologist at the University of Chicago, and Otto Holzapfel of the German Folk-Song Archive (*Deutsches Volksliedarchiv*) in Freiburg, have put together an impressive volume on the wide range of German musical traditions in the United States. In ten essays the authors explore the many facets of an ethnic musical culture – its historical dimensions as well as its contemporary forms. The book makes one point very clear: there is no homogeneous form, no “precise nature” of German-American music. Instead the reader understands that the German-American musical tradition is like a large patchwork quilt in which numerous musical cultures are interwoven, and in which various interactions among producers, products, and means of production combined lead to a constant definition of a German-American musical identity.

The book is divided into three parts. The first part, “Making German-America,” includes three rather unrelated pieces by Kathleen Neils Conzen, Leo Schelbert, and Laurence Libin. Conzen explores where and on what occasions music was produced among Catholics in the rural area of Sauk, Wisconsin, from 1845 to 1920. Her study of the rural setting suggests that music “became a significant bridge to a broader, non-ethnic cultural world” (41) and that—although it might have been music produced by German immigrants—it was seen simply as “community music” that not necessarily separated but integrated German immigrants into the rural communities. Whereas Conzen’s picture is built on historical sources, Leo Schelbert takes a literary approach. He analysis six Swiss folksongs that treat the topic of immigration from the perspective of the ones left behind as well as the ones leaving the homeland, reflecting the attitudes of compatriots on the topic. The essay is supplemented by the song texts in Swiss-German and English translation. In contrast to the previous two authors Laurence Libin turns his attention to the commercial activities of early Moravian-American music. In his piece he examines the account books of the community of Nazareth and concludes that the “diversity and frequency of music-related commerce” (106) demonstrate a close integration of music and daily life.

The second part on “Religion” turns to the rich musical tradition among the many German-speaking religious groups in the United States. Whereas Gregg Roeber investigates the power struggles over Lutheran Hymnodies in the eighteenth century, Philip Bohlman tries to construct a “Historiography of German-American Sacred Music.” By looking at German Lutheranism and the German-Jewish reform tradition, Bohlman again stresses the point that German-American musical tradition is shaped by numerous religious musical influences that all co-exist next to each other and make up the rich fabric of musical culture. The most personal essay, however, is by Helmut Wulz on the “Musical Life among the Canadian Hutterites,” in which the author describes his personal experience with the Hutterites. Hereby he not only gives an

account of the history, present life, dress, and views of his Hutterites friends but also explores what language and song mean for the identity of the community.

The third part is entitled "Modern Identities" and includes articles by James P. Leary, Alan R. Burdette and Rudolf Pietsch. They focus on how and by whom the German-American musical tradition is carried on and formed today. Leary looks at the history of an instrument – the German Concertina in the Upper Midwest – the history of Concertina clubs, importers and manufacturers, touring artists and recordings, and the ethnic identity the musicians connect with today. Present day identity formation is also the focus of Burdette's essay on German-American singing societies. As a case study he looks at the Evansville *Germania Männerchor*, founded in 1900 and still going today. Although most singers in the society don't have the language skill any more and hardly understand what they are singing, the repertoire still contains a number of German songs. But how do clubs negotiate their past with their present identity? Burdette examines what he calls the "traditionalization process"—the way people connect back to the past by placing positive valence on activities or objects. The final essay deals with the Burgenland-Americans and their musical heritage that feeds from Eastern European traditions.

As demonstrated above the book defines German-American in a broad sense. All essays explore important aspects of German-American music, thereby making clear that we are looking at a very rich and wealthy tradition. German music in the United States is a large orchestra with many different instruments, from different places and different times. They all have their place in the tradition. Furthermore, as in previous times the present day German musical culture is constantly redefined. Each new singer, each new musician positions him- or herself within this tradition, picks those aspects he or she can identify with, rejects others, thus constantly creating new identities. Furthermore, the steady interplay of German and American or other ethnic traditions add to this colorful musical fabric.

It is an intriguing book on an important aspect of German-American culture. It takes the reader to many different places and different times. All essays are very well written and carefully researched. Besides the "music" the readers learn much about the contexts in which music was and is imbedded, its creators, its musicians, and the social settings where it was and is performed. Most essays contain song texts, photographs, and useful bibliographies. Although all articles are quite separate from each other the book is a homogeneous piece on German-American musical traditions. This is enforced by a well-written introduction and an index at the end. However, the division into three parts was not necessary since most essays could have also found their place in another category. Conzen's piece on the German Catholics could have gone under "Religion"; so could have the piece on the Moravians from Libin. A very worthy addition to the book is an audio CD that includes twenty-five songs recorded at different historical times in the United States. The music reflects traditional sound prints and represents choral singing, sacred traditions, polka and dances, concertina traditions, and others. The reader finds references in the essays to most of them. Thus the book and the CD together make a fine visual and audio experience. An extensive

commentary at the front of the book reveals information on the songs, the recoding and the musicians.

This book is a superb example of German-American scholarship. It presents the very wide scope of the topic at hand. The diverse contributions have brought together historians, musicologists, and folklorists. Their different voices have added greatly to the large choir of German-American studies.

Bonn, Germany

Katja Rampelmann

German-American Studies: Selected Essays.

By Don Heinrich Tolzmann. New German American Studies/Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien, vol. 24. New York: Peter Lang, 2001. 156 pages. \$57.95.

During recent years, German-American scholars have encountered difficulty in integrating the study of their passion into the mainstream of school and college curricula across the continent. German-Americans do, in fact, make up twenty-five percent of the population in the United States, making it the largest ethnic group in the nation. In the book "New German-American Studies," Don Heinrich Tolzmann gives both a historical reflection and a modern view of the field in North America. The volume consists of a series of essays dedicated to the past, present, and future of the field of German-American studies.

Tolzmann begins by reflecting on the role of the German-American element during the colonization of North America and the struggles of establishing ethnic pride throughout subsequent centuries. Appreciation of the German heritage of the United States on occasion has proven difficult considering the negative public attitude associated with certain elements of German history and culture. During World War I, for example, "all things German were eliminated or shunned—street names were altered, books were burned, theaters were closed, and the German language was banned by state councils from schools, churches, telephone conversations, and semipublic spaces"(4). The 1960s and 1970s were times of more acceptance and understanding of many things. The era also served to foster an ethnic revival across the nation. Alongside growing public curiosity came new or reborn societies dedicated to the study of the German heritage of America. Cities which had experienced a large German influence began to reexamine their roots, by holding festivals and remembering their old customs. These represented something of a return to good times for those interested in the German-American element.

Tolzmann then discusses specific achievements of the Society for German-American Studies and the importance of colleges and universities that promote the study of German language and culture. The SGAS was established in 1968 as an informal group for those interested in German-American studies; today it is one of the largest such societies in North America. Worth noting is that Tolzmann himself has played a major role in the resurgence of German-American pride and works as a professor and scholar at the University of Cincinnati. He has helped make the German-

American Studies program at that University one of the best in the nation, including a library collection of German-Americana named for the great teacher and scholar Heinrich H. Fick. Fick was able to meet many influential authors during his time; "He, therefore, amassed a library of their works which is one of the finest in the U.S." (74).

The book ends with an examination of historical correctness in German-American studies and "demonstrates the relevance that the field has with regard to a whole range of dimensions, issues, and questions relating to the past, present, and future." (43) For example, during the World Wars, and particularly during World War I, many things occurred to drive underground or even eradicate manifest demonstrations of Germanness from America. Many names that sounded German were changed, from street signs to surnames. After the wars, these were not returned to their original form, but rather remained in their altered state. At the end of the book, Tolzmann challenges the reader to continue studying the German heritage of the United States, as there are many areas that need further research, but also praises past efforts to preserve and understand the contributions of the German element.

The essays in this book reflect the importance of ethnic revival and the necessity of continued study of German language and culture. Tolzmann clearly demonstrates that, despite occasional setbacks which have hampered an understanding of our German heritage, the German-American legacy continues to grow. He leaves little doubt that German-Americans are becoming more aware of their heritage and more willing to partake in its celebrations, also that the Society for German-American Studies and universities dedicated to the teaching of German-American studies will aid in the desire to learn about the German impact upon North America. With this book, Tolzmann has excelled in his attempt to push forward interest in and understanding of German-American studies for a general audience.

Central Missouri State University

Ryan Rumpf

The Gág Family: German-Bohemian Artists in America.

By Julie L'Enfant. Afton, MN: Afton Historical Society Press, 2002. 200 pages. \$35.00.

In 1991 the German-Bohemian Monument was dedicated in New Ulm, Minnesota. Created to honor members of that group who resided there and in the area, the statue was designed to portray kinship, with family representing its dominant theme. Among its features are 350 surnames etched into it, listing the immigrants who settled in the area and contributed to its prosperity. As New Ulm celebrates its sesquicentennial in 2004, few—if any—German-Bohemian names continue to resonate in the community like that of the Gág family, the subject of a remarkable book by St. Paul resident Julie L'Enfant.

Born in Walk, Bohemia in 1858, Anton Gág (originally Gaag) emigrated to the United States in 1873 and settled in New Ulm around 1879. Already an island of German and German-Bohemian culture, the city proved an ideal haven for the young

immigrant, who strove to build a life comparable to that of the homeland rather than assimilate to the ways of his new country. As *L'Enfant* notes in her introduction, Gág in many ways fit the stereotypical image of the Bohemian artistic figure: handsome and sensitive-looking, he possessed an agreeable tenor voice, was accomplished on several musical instruments, had two beautiful wives and indulged in at least one scandalous love affair, and was constantly poor. His art was in large part representative of the European tradition of a "jobbing painter," a versatile craftsman whose labor endeavors to create beautiful, harmonious environments. *L'Enfant* draws a clear parallel in this regard between Gág's style and that of prominent French contemporary Pierre-Auguste Renoir, while noting that Gág held less concern for innovation and fashion than for truth and poetic feeling for nature, in line with nineteenth-century Romanticism and faithful to German-Bohemian tradition, whereby artistic endeavors were "rooted in love of nature, devotion to family, and the integration of art and life" (18).

In the case of Wanda Gág—the eldest and eventually best-known child of Anton—the apple did not fall far from the tree. Like her father, Wanda drew strongly upon German-Bohemian traditions in formulating her artwork, even more overtly so than did Anton and in accordance with his deathbed command that she finish what he had begun. Though she demonstrated a sense of individuality and freedom from existing academic molds, Wanda shared her father's disdain for new artistic styles and devotion to broad humanistic values at the core of their art. In 1917, after graduating from the Minneapolis School of Art, Wanda left Minnesota with a scholarship for the Art Students League in New York. The experience was formative for Wanda, who spent much of the remainder of her career there and ultimately passed away in the city in 1946. Freed from the conservative outlook of her previous schools and residences, Wanda quickly fell in with instructors and fellow students of a decidedly anti-establishment mentality, encouraging individual expression as part of a heightened emphasis on the self. Sexuality in particular became a dominant theme both of Wanda's artwork and personal life, drawing heavily upon relationships forged during her early years in New York, as evidenced in a March 1921 diary entry: "Art is my greatest passion, but at the present, just plain everyday passion is at the head of everything" (104). Sexually liberated and proud of her ability both to come to terms with and discuss it openly, Wanda quickly evolved in artistic circles into a prototype for the "modern woman" of the era, though today she is best known for being a successful printmaker and children's book illustrator during the New York period.

Although Anton and Wanda were the most prolific and recognized of the Gág artists, youngest sibling Flavia (1907-1978) also merits discussion in the book. Guided initially by Wanda into writing children's books—as a reliable source of income; she broke no new ground in a literary sense—Flavia achieved greater success as an illustrator, painter, and even as a music composer. According to *L'Enfant* and unlike Wanda, Flavia would remain a true Bohemian for the remainder of her career, more interested in love and creative satisfaction than critical acceptance or other conventional reward. Unique to this book are her unpublished diaries, which serve as an important source

of new information on the Gágs and the New York art scene during the 1920s, as well as on Wanda's private life during this particularly influential period.

The Gág Family is thoughtfully laid out and designed to give a warm impression of its subject matter. A "Gág Family Chronology" precedes the main text, offering the reader a brief but enriching introduction to the individuals to be discussed and the key events of their lives. Profusely illustrated, the book features dozens of photos of Gág family members and associates, as well as many reproductions of significant artwork—much of which appears in full color. Notes are provided in a special section at the back and are conveniently listed both according to chapter of appearance and, at the top of each page, by the range of pages on which they occur. The bibliography is extensive and categorized according to archival and secondary sources. An index is included at the end of the book and offers thorough coverage of both proper names and subject matter.

Throughout the eleven chapters that make up the text, L'Enfant brings clarity to the salient points in the lives of the three Gágs, as well as other family members where appropriate. Her discussion of their art, its background, and how it fits within the context of its time and place is particularly well grounded, the author drawing upon her extensive background in art history to draw cogent conclusions. Yet the real attraction of the narrative passages is the human warmth that prevails throughout the work. Through solid scholarly research and, especially, strategic use of diaries and other personal correspondence, L'Enfant succeeds admirably in creating a text that draws the reader into the lives and livelihoods of the Gágs, showing both their personal and professional sides in terms that resonate on a basic level. It is fundamentally a success story, and in the end one which validates those primary German-Bohemian values—devotion to family and the integration of art and life—by which the Gágs, and by extension many other immigrants in and around New Ulm, so faithfully lived and worked.

Missouri Western State College

Timothy J. Holian

The Literary Legacy of a "Poor Devil": The Life and Work of Robert Reitzel (1849-1898).

By Randall P. Donaldson. *New German-American Studies/Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien*, vol. 14. New York: Peter Lang, 2002. 244 pages. \$60.95.

Robert Reitzel (1849-98), revolutionary humanist, brilliant journalist and splendid poet, was well known among German-Americans of the nineteenth century as a charismatic public speaker and as the editor and main contributor to the weekly iconoclastic literary journal *Der arme Teufel*, which forms a repository of Reitzel's extraordinarily fresh writing. His prose is set apart from that of other German-American writers of the time whose work, for the most part, remains epigonal. Indeed, his lucid, crisp prose, heightened by playful and later in his life by tragic irony, established him as an extraordinary German-American writer. In Germany Michael Georg Conrad,

editor of *Die Gesellschaft*, recognized the freshness and literary importance of Reitzel's work and consequently invited him to contribute to his newly founded avant-garde literary journal.

Reitzel had emigrated to the United States in 1870. He kept an extensive journal of the first year of his wild and colorful experiences in America. The entries of this journal later formed the skeleton of his autobiographical novel *Abenteuer eines Grünen* that he serialized in *Der arme Teufel*. After a number of months of trying his hand at various odd jobs, living off of the land and leading the life of a hobo, he finally ended up in Baltimore, where a certain Reverend Pister took an interest in Reitzel and strongly encouraged him to study for the ministry. In the summer of 1871 Reitzel was offered a position as pastor of the First Reformed Church of Washington D.C. However, within a year his position clearly became untenable, after he had come to the conclusion that he did not believe in God and declared that love was his only dogma, his sole religion.

A man of great conviction, Reitzel never tired of championing the poor and the oppressed in his *Armer Teufel*. His usual approach was exuberant in tone and playful in manner. However, the normally cheerful tone and carefree banter diminished drastically as the events of the Haymarket Tragedy unfolded. Seven policemen had been killed as a consequence of a bomb that was thrown by an unknown assassin in Chicago's Haymarket Square on May 4, 1886. It all ended with the hanging of four presumably innocent anarchists on November 11, 1887. While the events in Chicago had captured Reitzel's interest immediately, they became a consuming passion as time went on. The execution of the anarchists was the most devastating blow of his life. Reitzel had eloquently and vigorously defended them in the pages of the *Armer Teufel*, and was one of the speakers at Waldheim Cemetery in Chicago where the four anarchists were eulogized. His deeply moving eulogy expressed defiantly his feeling of nausea, shame, sorrow and rage. As each subsequent anniversary of November 11 approached, Reitzel would write in his *Armer Teufel* and speak at various meetings regarding the Haymarket Affair, though his rage in time gave way to bitter grief and disillusionment. During the last four years of his life Reitzel was confined to his bed with various afflictions. Nevertheless, he continued to write and edit his paper, to see friends and acquaintances. His will to live remained unbroken to the end.

In his well researched and very readable book, Randall Donaldson documents the extraordinary popularity of *Der arme Teufel*. At its peak the circulation may have reached 7,000. Although Reitzel wrote in an idiosyncratic, humorous way on a variety of topics, his main emphasis was literature. He not only commented on established American and European literature, but also was instrumental in introducing to his German-American audiences modern German literature of his time. In doing so he covered a vast area: from Shakespeare to Schiller to Scheffel, from Hawthorne to Heine to Holz, from Lamb to Lenau to Liliencron. Anthologies published after Reitzel's death relied almost exclusively on the *Armer Teufel*, and it is there where practically his complete literary output can be found.

Donaldson's very informative and useful Preface and Introduction to his book is followed by an equally interesting account of Robert Reitzel's life. In addition, a general

chapter on German-American society from 1875 to 1900 provides the necessary context for an understanding of Reitzel's work. Chapters 3 to 6, the main body of the book, deal in some detail with Reitzel's literary activities. The appendix contains detailed endnotes, an extensive bibliography and an index. Five of Reitzel's prose pieces in the appendix will allow readers to judge for themselves the quality of Reitzel's writing and ascertain if they agree with Donaldson's assessment, shared by Albert Faust, Adolf Zucker as well as by other critics, namely that Reitzel bears the distinction of being the best German prose stylist in nineteenth-century America. Finally, also included in the appendix are three complete facsimile issues of *Der arme Teufel*. These sample issues, while indeed giving readers a good impression of what the journal looked like, unfortunately are reproduced in such small print as to prevent a reading of the text with the naked eye.

The purpose of his study, Donaldson states, is to analyze and evaluate Reitzel's original belletristic and essayistic contributions, as well as his comments on literature, all seen within the context of German-American literature. In this, Donaldson succeeds admirably. His book truly broadens and deepens our critical understanding of Reitzel and his work.

Westminster College in Pennsylvania

Jake Erhardt

Heimat: A Critical Theory of the German Idea of Homeland.

By Peter Blickle. Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2002. 186 pages. \$59.00.

The German word *Heimat* famously resists accurate translation, and thus lends itself to critical studies designed to sort out and explain the various applications of the term. Blickle acknowledges in his introduction that the existing scholarship on *Heimat* is vast, but notes that previous studies have largely confined themselves to case studies of *Heimat* in specific contexts. According to Blickle, scholars have not really engaged the subjectivity of the notion of *Heimat* itself; rather, the vagueness of the term has been so accepted that it seems "that no one can say anything wrong about *Heimat*" (13). Blickle does not set out to prove anyone wrong, but he does seek to fill a void in the scholarship with this cross-disciplinary critical study of the *idea* of *Heimat*. He begins with the notion that the German idea of *Heimat* "enfolds the public with the private, the individual with the social, the self with nature, dream with reality, utopia with landscape; it seeks the premodern in the modern, the noble peasant in the burgher, the inside in the outside" (12).

Blickle's theoretical approach to the idea of *Heimat* walks a tightrope of seeming contradictions, but with repeated readings it falls into place. The theoretical underpinnings of this study are developed in the chapter "Heimat, Modernity, and Nation." Drawing first and foremost on the ideas of Jürgen Habermas and Anthony Giddens, Blickle positions *Heimat* within the context of modernism. He finds that "Heimat in the modern age becomes an antimodern idea" (27). In other words, Blickle sees the idea of *Heimat* invoked as a reaction to the anxieties induced by the *Entzweiung*

and *Entfremdung* that accompany the modern era. More compelling is the assertion that "Heimat in its ideal form is a modern idea that resists modernity" (31). *Heimat* constructs jibe with modern conceptions of nature, of women, of children, and identity. At the same time, other tenets of modernism have no place in conceptions of *Heimat*. There is no "faith in impersonal principles," which Giddens identifies as a major modern development, nor are reflexivity and reason a component of *Heimat*.

The remaining chapters examine the pre-modern—modern—anti-modern tensions of the idea of *Heimat* within the contexts of identity, feminism, nature, and innocence. In "Heimat and Concepts of Identity" Blickle begins to explore the more negative implications of *Heimat*: the sense of belonging that seems central to the notion of *Heimat* is to some degree created by the overt exclusion of the Other. This idea is explored further in the chapter "Heimat and the Feminine," which reveals *Heimat* largely to be a sentimental male construct. Blickle finds that "the idea of Heimat participates in the historical idealization of the feminine and maternal and, thus, in the limitation of opportunities for self-realization in women" (83). The final chapter, "Heimat and Innocence (in Childhood, in Religion, in Language, and in *Antiheimat*)", links the idealization of the feminine with a romanticized view of "the innocent, sexually unaware, unself-conscious state of childhood" (131). Having given his readers an awareness of the darker implications of the idea of *Heimat*, Blickle concludes with what amounts to an appeal for understanding and tolerance: "This highly positive and innocent relation to a spatially conceived notion of identity, one that is taken as standing outside of politics and only vaguely related to any past other than the shiningly innocent past of nature and childhood, needs to be better understood both by its users and by those who study German language, culture, history, and literature" (157).

Wabash College

J. Gregory Redding

German Heritage Guide to the Greater Cincinnati Area.

By Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Milford, OH: Little Miami Publishing, 2003. 120 pages. \$15.95.

One can argue convincingly that no single ethnic group has contributed more than the German-Americans to the cultural and economic development of Cincinnati and environs. One can claim with equal conviction that no scholar has done more than Don Tolzmann to document and promote the history of German-Americans in Cincinnati. He presents in this volume an effective overview of the many contributions made to the area by people of German-speaking heritage.

Tolzmann begins with a "German Heritage Timeline" that details representative events in the German-American history of the area, ranging from the arrival of future mayor David Ziegler in 1790 to the opening of the Hofbräuhaus Newport in 2003. Interesting to note is the number of highlights from the second half of the twentieth century, suggesting that contributions by the German element are ongoing. Some of

the people and places that are chronicled in the timeline are then amplified with further detail in the next chapter, "German Heritage Highlights." Chapters four and five describe the buildings, monuments, and places relevant to German-American history in Cincinnati's Over-the-Rhine district and in Covington, Kentucky, while chapter six details the museums and libraries that document this history. Key to all of these is the third chapter, a "German Heritage Who's Who" that gives brief biographical entries on important German-Americans who were responsible for many of the German heritage sites described elsewhere. Their legacy continues with the various clubs and organizations that remain active to this day, such as the Citizens League, the Turners, and the Schlaraffia Society, all of which are described in the sixth and final chapter.

Scholars of German-Americana will already be familiar with much of the content of this book, although they will appreciate the helpful endnotes and selective bibliography. But scholars are not really the target audience, as Tolzmann suggests in his brief introduction. Rather, this guide provides a good overview for the casual reader, particularly those who are curious about their own German heritage. It would be an excellent ancillary text to German-American history courses or modules at high schools, colleges, and universities in the tri-state area, and could also serve as a model for similar volumes on other cities with a strong German-American presence.

Wabash College

J. Gregory Redding

Der rothe Doktor von Chicago: Ein deutsch-amerikanisches Auswandererschicksal.

By Axel W.-O. Schmidt. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2003. 602 pages. \$79.95.

It is rare to read about a life fundamentally molded by two earthshaking historical events. Dr. Ernst Schmidt was a young man when the revolutions of 1848 unfolded, causing the young student to become completely committed to what E. J. Hobsbawm has called the seminal experience of the nineteenth century—"the springtime of the peoples," which promised that a new order was finally to emerge from the antiquated and corrupt institutions that had dominated European societies for centuries. To everyone's dismay, this great outburst of creative energy proved to be merely an ineffectual longing, and those devotees of change were suddenly alone and criminalized and in most cases forced to flee from the oppressive systems that had created them.

Dr. Ernst Schmidt was one of those people who had fled Germany and arrived in America, hoping to find the fruition of his dreams of a just and equitable society. Like many 48ers, he soon found a cause to identify with and became active in the anti-slavery crusade. He also found new heroes to support fervently, like Lincoln, in whom he could invest all his dreams of a fundamentally new and liberated society. However, once again, he was in the wrong place at the wrong time. The "Big Barbecue," as Vernon Parrington has called it, was about to emerge from the fissured society that had finally unified itself by force and in the process had created a national market to develop and monopolize the vast resources of a still unchartered continent. Since violence was experienced as an endemic feature of American culture in the nineteenth

century, especially class violence, it was inevitable that a person like Dr. Ernst Schmidt would find himself embroiled in the vicious struggles between labor and capital. Out of the desperate contradictions of nineteenth-century capitalism, Dr. Schmidt was impelled to follow one path: to embrace socialism. But, once again, there was an event waiting to alter fundamentally the entire course of his life.

The Haymarket Affair (1886) and later the Haymarket trial was the first of a series of legal events, akin to the later trials of Sacco and Vanzetti and the Rosenbergs, that was to reveal the conflictual nature of American society—a society that was torn between the Enlightenment ideals of justice and equality on the one hand and the economic forces and interests that attempted to redefine these ideals to conform to their own agenda of the marketplace on the other. The overriding issue of those years, the conflict between labor and capital, became the prime mover of Dr. Schmidt's own life. In brief, Dr. Ernst Schmidt's life could be recounted as the narrative of one person's abortive struggle to realize the most noble principles and ideals ensconced in his age. The fact that he failed and the fact that the ideals he espoused also became corrupted and later declared by the established discourse to be irrelevant and even pernicious is the stuff of great drama and even tragedy.

Sadly enough, Axel W.-O. Schmidt's biography retreats from such dimensions. His study contents itself with providing a faithful chronological account of Schmidt's birthplace in Ebern and then proceeds to recount his family background, his early education at the Jesuit school in Bamberg, and then later his life as a political revolutionary in Franconia, until Dr. Schmidt's decision to emigrate to the United States in 1857. Dr. Schmidt's new life in the United States is also described meticulously, especially his political commitment, which remained unaltered after his arrival in America. There is a remarkable energy infusing this work: the overwhelming need to furnish detail and list sources, and finally to fill in every possible context. This means that the reader is presented with a synoptic treatment of every individual Dr. Schmidt came into contact with. It also means that every historical movement or event or even landscape is delineated with a relentless wish to explain every little detail, regardless of how germane. This proclivity of the author provides instruction, but after a while it also becomes largely encyclopedic and often leads to questionable digressions. It is obvious that the author's allegiance is to positivism, which in some ways, given his legal background, is analogous to a legal briefing of a case, i.e., the presentation of the facts must be based on impeccable sources and careful research, with the result that forays into Dr. Schmidt's life demanding insight and empathy are not very frequent.

It is fair to say that this very careful and assiduous study avoids larger historical and psychological issues that would provide us with a deeper understanding of Dr. Schmidt's struggles. The primary goal of the biography appears to be to document the life of a notable German-American personage. Another important desideratum is to recount the local history of the German-American experience in the Midwest. In the course of the narrative we also become familiar with an array of famous German-Americans, who made essential contributions to the history of the period.

However, the author's dedication to fact is tempered by another structural element, which may derive from the same belief that truth can finally be ascertained by merely

presenting the sources. Following this dictum, the biographer lets his subject speak for himself throughout long sections of the narrative, i.e., the principle of embedding structuring this biography finally brings the reader closer to Dr. Ernst Schmidt. We come to know his voice through his articles and letters, which are cited verbatim, and later in the biography through his poetry and sketches and translations. Thus, there is a dual voice in this biography—the voice of the faithful biographer carefully reciting the sources and contexts and the voice of the subject himself, who reveals himself to be a person, whose dominant passion is the elimination of injustice and human misery. It may be that his medical profession made Dr. Schmidt acutely aware of human suffering, which in turn made him not only wish to cure individual illnesses, but also those societal maladies which provide the breeding ground for human ailments and disorders. We never learn where this special sensitivity to the depredations of the powerful actually had its source.

At any rate, Axel W.-O. Schmidt's biography of Dr. Ernst Schmidt takes a curious turn. It unexpectedly metamorphoses itself from biography to autobiography. The Haymarket outrage is the catalyst. It is as if the voice of the scrupulous biographer can no longer contain itself. The biographer must now permit the principal protagonist to dominate the stage. The last two hundred pages of Axel W.-O. Schmidt's biography comprise speeches and letters composed by his subject, with minimal commentary by the biographer. The monstrosity of this event enables Dr. Schmidt's personality to assume a new complexity. He is no longer the solid, dedicated physician and radical social reformer, unconcerned with the workings of the inner life. He is now capable of expressing genuine feeling and friendship. He is also capable of suffering of the highest order without succumbing to sentimentality or platitude. His recollections of his last moments spent with August Spieß, the condemned socialist leader, approach the depths of great literature. "Da stand ich in schauriger Nacht in der düsteren Halle, ein bescheidener Bittsteller, den man nicht einmal die Bitte anbringen ließ, den möglichen letzten Wunsch eines Sterbenden zu erfüllen" (367). Even more poignant is his account of his abortive attempt to visit Spieß just before Spieß was about to be executed and of his feelings of having betrayed his dear friend:

- August Spieß musste in dem Glauben sterben, ich hätte als wortbrüchiger Feigling mein Versprechen gebrochen. Er hatte verlangt, mich noch zu sehen, wusste dass ein Bote nach mir ausgeschickt worden war, wie hätte ich mein Fernbleiben in anderer Weise erklären können? So bleibt dieser Gedanke der dunkelste Schatten und die schwerste Bürde in dem Übermaße meiner traurigen, unauslöschlichen Erinnerungen an jene Unglückstage. (370)

What emerges from this study then is the resurrection of a great personality, someone who, if not for Axel W.-O. Schmidt's studious efforts, would have otherwise been condemned to oblivion in the local archives, simply because the life of a socialist no longer evokes serious interest in our attempts to construe the past. The delicate balancing act in this work between biography and autobiography is ultimately successful, since the reader comes to discover or rediscover an individual who challenges

the present orthodoxies dominating the perception of socialist reformers and revolutionaries. The nobility of genuine opposition, of moral courage, of altruistically defending those who are weak and not protected by the state or the society—all this is brought home to the reader with great cogency. Dr. Ernst Schmidt's life was sustained by his faith in the liberating power and direction of history. Although he recognized that history would always be susceptible to reversals, Dr. Schmidt, nonetheless, devoutly believed that it would ultimately usher in a new society rooted in justice and equality. What remains of lasting significance to the reader is Dr. Schmidt's moving appeal after the Haymarket outrage:

D'rum öffene deine Augen weit,
Schäm' Dich Amerika,
Zu'm Teufel mit der Schmierigkeit
Der Frau Justitia! (395)

University of Turku

Jerry Schuchalter

New Ulm, Minnesota: J. H. Strasser's History & Chronology.

Translated and edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Milford, OH: Little Miami Publishing, 2003. xv + 370 pages. \$34.95.

Over the past ninety years, much has been stated and written about the decline in prominence of the German element in the United States, running the wide range from informal oral commentary to extensive scholarly discourse. It could hardly be otherwise, given a declining immigration base and the devastating effect of two World Wars which nationwide largely ostracized and drove underground, even eradicated, substantial aspects of German language and culture, among other causes. Yet there is also much to be said about those communities which have retained and even embraced their German heritage, positioning their cities and towns to become a model of ethnic pride and revival. Few locations serve this purpose as well as New Ulm, Minnesota, as ably demonstrated by recent original scholarship and the reintroduction of long-obsolete primary source materials, such as the current work.

In fact *J.H. Strasser's History & Chronology* represents a translation and fusion of two separate publications, specifically the narrative work *New Ulm in Wort und Bild* (1892) and the chronological overview *Chronologie der Stadt New Ulm, Minnesota* (1899). The combined volumes are divided by Tolzmann into three distinct parts in this book. The first, "History," offers the complete text of *Wort und Bild* in ten brief chapters (six of which are written by Strasser) that encompass thirty-nine pages. As Tolzmann points out in a preface section, this discussion of multiple facets of New Ulm history was intended for both a European as well as American audience, in an attempt to lure additional immigrants to the settlement. Through wordage that clearly portrayed the town as prosperous and progressive, Strasser and his companion authors offer convincing evidence that the growth of New Ulm rested upon six primary

considerations: 1) its founders successfully established a German-American settlement, one so like the Fatherland that it is referred to here in the original text as a "German Oasis" and, in Tolzmann's words, a "Little Germany" (xii); 2) early inhabitants no less successfully overcame adversity—including Indian attacks, a locust plague, and the devastating "Black Friday" tornadoes—to ensure stability and continuity for those who came later; 3) early patriotic New Ulm citizens (named with considerable frequency throughout the section) battled not just for the safety of their community, but also in the Civil War for the security of the United States, a posture which foreshadowed future German-American leanings in scarcely less stressful times; 4) substantial and multifold contributions were made by New Ulm's leading citizens, in a wide range of social, political, economic and religious settings and to an extent significantly greater than in other, comparably-sized settlements; 5) extensive business foundations, including a sizable industrial base, created early and lasting prosperity for the city and made noteworthy contributions at the state as well as local level; and 6) a "can-do" mentality fostered by early settlers took root and led directly to a philosophy of success among the general populace, which in turn solidified and extended the spirit of community present among the masses.

The second section of the book, "Chronology," is precisely what the title purports it to be: a chronological overview of significant events in the development of New Ulm from 1853 to the end of 1899. Of course, "significant" is a term open to interpretation by the reader: many of the entries state the death or marriage date of community members without further elucidation ("22 February [1885] – Deceased: Harry Laudenschlaeger, 41." [144]), while others ("24 October [1879] – No. 1 wheat, \$1.00." [119]) might appear unsubstantial so far removed from the original time and context of publication. Yet these entries, brief though they may be, hold the potential for important discovery for genealogists and researchers seeking to reconstruct specific aspects of New Ulm's social, economic and political climate. The chronology hardly qualifies as leisure reading material, but those keenly interested in New Ulm history are likely to find at least some information that previously was unknown to them. To cite one example, there are no less than thirteen entries related to August Schell, his family, and the successful business he ran until his death on September 20, 1891 (191), an enterprise which continues today as the second-oldest family-operated brewery in the nation; only a few of the entries provided here have been cited elsewhere in available scholarship on the Schell family and the company.

The third section of the book, "Illustrations," contains reproductions of images originally included in the narrative history, along with, as Tolzmann states, "a selection of others that seemed appropriate" (xi). These provide a welcome visual representation of the most important New Ulm schools, churches, and especially business entities of the time, as well as the residences of several principle financial leaders. Again, the overall effect is to demonstrate a city of great economic prosperity, personal success, and civic pride, in line with Strasser's aims for *New Ulm in Wort und Bild*.

Worth noting also are several extra features incorporated by Tolzmann, all of which strengthen the usefulness of the book. Two pages of addenda add entries to the original chronological section, including school board election results from 1888

through 1898. A notes section provides further historical detail and reference to additional pertinent materials. Sources are listed in a separate area and categorized by archival and library documentation; bibliographical guides; general histories; and special topics. Finally—and a necessity in a compilation work such as this—Tolzmann presents an extensive index which guides the reader immediately to proper names and pages, a particularly useful point of reference in working with the chronology.

Taken as a unit, this reissue of Strasser's two New Ulm books represents a worthy addition to available scholarship on one of America's most important lasting German-American settlements, especially for those without a background in the German language. The timing of its release also is of interest, given that the Society for German-American Studies will hold its Annual Symposium there in April 2004; the book will be available to participants and stands to enrich the shared understanding of New Ulm during, and after, the event.

Missouri Western State College

Timothy J. Holian

History of a Family Bible, 1685-2000: A Quest for the Missing Link.

By William Arnold O'Malley. Naperville, IL: Kikampus Communications, 2001. Audio CD. \$20.00.

As an anthropologist who has worked with German and German-American genealogical records, I was excited to receive *History of a Family Bible 1685-2000: A Quest for the Missing Link* by William Arnold O'Malley. It purportedly traces the history of a 300-year-old family German Luther Bible—displayed during the Illinois Authors Book Fair in 2002 and the subject of a special presentation—and includes the genealogical details from the family records written inside the Bible. As it came in CD format, I assumed it would have images of the Bible and other historical documents that were not available in the print version (as seen on amazon.com). The general format is the story of O'Malley's connection to the Bible, a genealogical history of the people involved with the Bible, and a personal journal of the genealogical search.

I was mistaken to feel such anticipation about this volume; unfortunately I can find very little favorable to say about it. Despite the title, most of this book contains anecdotes about the author's family and tidbits about random historical moments, none of which have any connection with the family Bible. It is clear that O'Malley did a great deal of research, but much of what is included is irrelevant to the central purpose of the book. There are pages, almost entire chapters, that have nothing to do with his Bible nor any of the information contained in it. However, a sampling of the contents O'Malley did cover includes: grocery store history, birth control, driving a Mercedes, and the street layout of Chicago. The writing is amateurish, with no direction to the narrative or connection between ideas. It is a shame, because the Bible itself is very interesting, and the story of this Bible and the families that have passed it down could have made an informative book.

I tried very hard to determine who might benefit from reading this volume. Historians are not a good audience, as the lack of citation and the anecdotal nature of the storytelling are not useful. O'Malley adds nothing here to the scholarship of Bibles, with little research into contemporary Luther Bibles. Genealogists have little to learn from his methods. In one instance he expresses amazement that one woman's name was spelled both "Schultz" and "Schultze"; he had earlier dismissed a connection because of the difference in spelling. If only all genealogical research were that easy! Additionally, it is difficult to determine which individual he is writing about at any given point, as he often uses only first names and includes few specific birth, death, or marriage dates or places. The one family tree is non-standard and very difficult to follow. The CD only contains Adobe portable document format (pdf) files of the original work, with no additional material. There are no legible scans of the any of the Bible pages or documents he uncovered during his research.

O'Malley's family may benefit by having so many of their family stories and photos published for future generations, and people interested in the family names O'Malley, von Estorff, Dreffein, Schultze, and LaKemus might wish to contact him about his research. Otherwise, I do not see this book being of wide interest; ordering and additional information is available from the publisher at P.O. Box 2782; Naperville, IL 60566.

SUNY College at Potsdam

Bethany M. Usher

German-American Urban Culture: Writers & Theaters in Early Milwaukee.

By Peter C. Merrill. Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, 2000. 128 pages. \$19.95.

Merrill's carefully researched and eminently readable text consists of ten separate chapters bound together thematically under the rubric suggested by the volume's subtitle—writers and theaters in Milwaukee. As the author acknowledges in his preface, the first nine chapters are revised versions of articles published elsewhere over the course of more than thirty years. Only the final chapter, which provides an overview of "German-American Urban Culture in the Late Nineteenth Century," is new. Taken together the ten chapters provide a fascinating glimpse into both the culture of urban German-America and the scholarly record of Peter Merrill.

Although the thematic unity of the volume is precarious, each individual section is solid. At times it is difficult to discern a common thread in discussions as diverse as German-American theater, an individual writer or poet like Mathilde Anneke or Anton Thormählen, and *Feuilleton* in two Milwaukee newspapers. Yet the painstaking research and conscientious marshalling of the facts which so obviously went into every article make each a treasure trove of information for any reader interested in German-American culture. And therein lie both the strength and the weakness of the collection.

Merrill is an extremely competent scholar and a gifted writer. Despite occasional stylistic or editorial lapses (e.g., a dangling participle in the middle of page 41 and a

confusing inconsistency in the spelling of the title of Thormählen's operetta *Der Streike* [from the playbill illustrated on page 46]), each chapter is a pleasure to read. The wealth of factual information is welcome yet almost overwhelming. In his foreword Joseph Salmons suggests that the volume will appeal to the general public first and then to scholars as well, but it is difficult to imagine even a fairly astute lay person who could assimilate the staggering array of information and shape it into a meaningful pattern. The scholar, on the other hand, has likely heard many of the facts before. What both require is a knowledgeable and competent guide through the thicket of data who can provide an overview. Merrill does, in fact, undertake to provide a summary in the tenth and final chapter with a discussion which the back cover describes as "a broad, synthetic essay." It is an engaging introduction to the topic of German-American urban culture for the uninitiated, but for the scholar additional insights of the kind which Merrill is uniquely qualified to provide would have enhanced the chapter considerably. One yearns for more material along the lines of Chapter 6, in which Merrill uses his extensive experience as a researcher to suggest both further avenues for investigation and tentative conclusions about the role of the serialized novel in the development of German-American literature.

As it stands, Merrill's collection of essays provides invaluable information on the state of German-American culture in Milwaukee at the height of its glory as a *Deutsch Athen* in America. Although it retains in some measure the overly positivistic flavor of so much of the previous research in the field, it is a welcome addition to the literature which provides significant information on the cultural life of the German element in the United States.

Loyola College in Maryland

Randall P. Donaldson

Pickled Herring and Pumpkin Pie: A Nineteenth-Century Cookbook for German Immigrants to America.

By Henriette Davidis. Introduction by Louis A. Pitschmann. Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute, 2003. xix + 583 pages. \$24.95.

The Max Kade Institute's reprint of Henriette Davidis's cookbook, an English translation of the most popular German cookbook of all time, is a treat on many levels. It offers cooks a glimpse of the nineteenth century kitchen, it gives historians a look at middle class home life in the decades just before World War I, and it provides anthropologists an excellent resource for understanding the role of food ways in culture change and the creation of ethnic identity. This reprint, with its excellent and informative introduction by Louis A. Pitschmann, charts the Americanization of German immigrants to the United States and the integration of German customs and values into American culture.

Pickled Herring and Pumpkin Pie has two parts. There is, of course, the cookbook itself, Henriette Davidis's *German National Cookery for American Kitchens: A Practical Book of the Art of Cooking as Performed in Germany*. This is a reprint of the "Third

American Augmented and Illustrated Edition," which was originally published in 1904 by the C. N. Caspar Co. Book Emporium of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The original preface points out that Davidis's cookbook was recognized in Germany as "the standard authority in all matters pertaining to the culinary art" (3) and had already been through thirty-five editions since it first appeared in Germany in 1844. The 1904 English edition was aimed not only at German-Americans, but also at "native Americans who are fond of cooking according to the German methods" (4), an implicit recognition, perhaps, of both the language and culture shift occurring in the German-American community and the impact German-Americans were having on North American culture. To further demonstrate that this was an "American" cookbook, the publishers noted that metrical measures had been changed "to conform to those in vogue and best understood in this country" and that the work avoids the use of "French appellations" (4). Finally, the publishers added an appendix of recipes for dishes that were "specifically American in their character" and an "English-German vocabulary of culinary terms" (4).

There are not many recipes ("receipts") a twenty-first century cook is likely to want to try. "Beer soups" with milk or raisins, for example, or eel soup or "Kaiser Soup" (a "meat-puree soup of Wild Fowl and Rabbit or Hare that calls for 1 pheasant, 2 partridges, a snipe and a hare" [25]) all require time, ingredients, and tastes than middle class families no longer share with their counterparts of a century ago. One can only imagine how the modern cook would cope with the book's advice that "the greatest safeguard against obtaining unwholesome poultry is to buy it when alive" or that "when purchasing killed poultry" the shopper should "first examine the place or wound where they were killed" (154). Those who fear stuffing a turkey in advance of cooking it will be appalled at Davidis's suggestion that geese could be hung in the air for two to three weeks and that blood, "which is indispensable for black giblet dishes, will keep in cold weather for several days when mixed with plenty of vinegar and set uncovered in a cool place" (157).

The section entitled "The American Kitchen," which offers recipes for "various dishes prepared in styles peculiar to cooking as done in the United States" (463), suggests that German-Americans were adding shellfish, hominy and corn to their diet. There are recipes for clam chowder, oyster soup, crab pie, and oyster fritters, as well as a number of recipes using squash and cornmeal. While the pastry recipes in the main part of the book routinely call for sugar, white flour, and almond paste, those in the American section are likely to use molasses or maple syrup and to suggest lard as a substitution for butter.

In addition to recipes covering every course from soup to meat to beverages, the cookbook features several pages of engravings that show cuts of meat (separate plates for pork, mutton, and beef), game, fish, and poultry. The engravings alone suggest that the cook using Davidis' book was drawing on a far wider range of raw materials than most modern cooks. Finally, numerous notes in the recipes themselves suggest how different foods played a role in the treatment of illness. Discussing soup stock, for example, Davidis notes that "For invalids who may partake of easily digestible

food only, soups made from poultry or veal are the best. The meat from young animals will not make so strong a soup as that from older" (13).

Davidis's cookbook is fun to look at and gives us new appreciation for the time and effort that used to go into preparing family meals when the woman of the house was not only chief cook and bottle washer, but also gardener, butcher and doctor. Yet, without the wonderfully informative introduction by Louis A. Pitschmann, this book would remain, for most readers, just a curiosity. Pitschmann puts this edition of Davidis's work in an historical context, exploring first the development of cookbooks and then looking in particular at Henriette Davidis and the *Praktisches Kochbuch* or *Practical Cookbook*. The introduction charts not only the success of Davidis's work in Germany, but also traces its history in North America, suggesting its contribution to German language publishing. In exploring the place of this work in publishing history and translation, Pitschmann also demonstrates how the translation of Davidis's work and subsequent additions to it chart the changing role of Germans in North America.

In *Pickled Herring and Pumpkin Pie*, the Max Kade Institute has made a wonderful contribution to the literature of evolving American identity. Accessible to all, this work will delight anthropologists, historians, and browsers, and even intrepid cooks.

SUNY College at Potsdam

Karen M. Johnson-Weiner

Goethe im Exil: Deutsch-Amerikanische Perspektiven.

Edited by Gert Sautermeister and Frank Baron. Bielefeld: Aisthesis Verlag, 2002. 297 pages. EUR 40.00.

This fascinating essay collection by renowned Goethe and exile scholars, paying a late tribute to the 250th Goethe anniversary celebration, are the proceedings of the 1999 Symposium that took place at the University of Kansas under the auspices of the Max Kade Center for German-American Studies and the Max Kade Foundation. Together, they give an impressive and moving testimony to the utopian power of literature and culture in times of political repression.

While the sad chapter of the appropriation of Germany's foremost poet by the Nazi state is all too familiar, the crucial role he played for the many writers forced into exile is less known. Yet Goethe's own rejection of narrow parochialism and his embrace of world literature made him a natural ally of all German-speaking migrants and exiles, regardless of ethnic background or political persuasion. By bringing this forgotten anti-nationalist and libertarian reception into light, Sautermeister and Baron's "German-American Perspectives" also create a welcome contrast to the anti-democratic and conservative images of Goethe the statesman that overshadowed the anniversary celebrations.

There is a productive ambivalence in the title of the book, one that opens the way for both the examination of the topic of exile in Goethe's life and works and his reception by the many German writers exiled to the U.S. and elsewhere during the Third Reich. The first path is explored by Gert Sautermeister in his introductory

mini-monograph that reveals the importance of the exile theme in Goethe's biography and three of his works: *Iphigenie*, *Herrmann und Dorothea* and *Die natürliche Tochter*. Countering in particular the one-sided critique of Goethe's *Herrmann und Dorothea* as an antirevolutionary, patriarchal and nationalist manifesto, Sautermeister's carefully argued socio-psychological approach to the epic redefines the exile situation as a new existential state—"ein Ort der Selbstfindung," "der Selbstgewinnung"—a definition that he applies to Goethe's own biography and the other works discussed.

Ernst Bloch's exile essay *Zerstörte Sprache – Zerstörte Kultur*, where two types of exiles are opposed, also serves as a backdrop for his interpretation. While the first migrant remains mentally fixated on his lost homeland, the second one forgets and represses it in a single-minded effort to culturally assimilate into his new country. There is also a third, ideal type of expatriate, Bloch adds, one who manages to combine his cultural heritage with the demands of his new environment.

The thirteen "German-American Perspectives" span a broad spectrum of cultural and political directions that include both exile writers and scholars—Ernst Toller, Hermann Broch and Thomas Mann, Georg Lukács, Kurt Eissler and Arnold Bergstraesser—along with such major representatives of "inner emigration" as Hans Carossa and Gerhart Hauptmann. The selected examples point to a general phenomenon. Those who fled Nazi Germany to salvage their intellectual independence also rescued and reclaimed for themselves an anti-heroic, humane and ethical image of Goethe that was antithetical to the Goethe myth of the Third Reich, while they were also interested in his use of modernist, avant-garde literary techniques. However, Marxist critiques of Weimar classicism such as Bertold Brecht and Anna Seghers are conspicuously absent from the volume. Brecht in particular deserved to be featured, as the development of his epic theatre was fueled by his ambivalent, but intensive relationship to Goethe's folk-songs, ballads and *Faust* drama.

In her very incisive philological analysis of Ernst Toller's plays *Nie wieder Friede* and *Pastor Hall*, Leonie Marx shows how the author appropriates and transforms Goethe's quotes to turn him into an ally of the "anti-fascist united front." In his brilliant essay on Hermann Broch, Hartmut Steinecke highlights three fresh aspects in the novelist's critical interest for Goethe: his merging of poetry and science, his playful linguistic experimentation in his late works, as well as what he calls his "philosemitic mind-set," an interpretation that runs counter to common assumptions.

As could be expected, the central chapters are dedicated to Thomas Mann's intense relationship with Goethe during his exile years. Burghard Dedner, who studies and compares for the first time all of Mann's essays and speeches on Goethe from his *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* of 1918 all the way up to his post-war novel *Doktor Faustus*, traces an essentialist, ethnic continuity in his line of interpretation, albeit with shifting political thrust. "Goethe in Hollywood," the ironic title of Ehrhard Bahr's essay is borrowed from a New Yorker article published in 1941, in which the journalist Janet Flanner castigated Thomas Mann's Goetheian imitation as an escape into the past. Instead, Bahr cleverly demonstrates that Mann's self-styled, "non-patriotic" Goethe deconstructs the heroic Goethe myth promulgated by his Nazi contemporaries. Helmut Koopmann's discussion of *Lotte in Weimar* goes beyond the issue of Mann's Goethe-

"imitatio" to explore the exile theme in the novel. Showing how Mann transposes his own exile experiences into the various protagonists, themes and leitmotifs of the novel, Koopmann concludes that the fictional transfer makes it "not so much a novel about Goethe as a novel about 'Goethe in exile'" (150). Interestingly, the contemporary reviews of *Lotte in Weimar* in the exile press discussed in Wulf Köpke's thorough survey were very attune to Mann's parodistic writing techniques that even made it possible for a typewritten copy of the novel to be circulated illegally in Germany under the title of "Goethe's Conversations with Riemer"! Guy Stern's essay widens the spectrum to bring to scholarly attention a wide range of more obscure fictional examples. The most noteworthy is Dosio Koffler's satirical drama *Die deutsche Walpurgisnacht*, featuring Goethe, Schiller and Nietzsche as time travelers bestirred out of their graves by Nazi barbarities. Here, similar parodic devices as used in *Lotte in Weimar* and Goethe's own "Walpurgisnacht" serve to refute the contemporary perversions of Weimar Classicism.

Nicholas Vazsonyi's discussion of Georg Lukács "anti-fascist" images of Goethe in Moscow provides an interesting contrast to the German-American perspectives, while Monika Moyer's study of the problematic reception of Kurt R. Eissler's famous psychoanalysis of Goethe in Germany shows the long-lasting impact of the banning of psychoanalysis by the Nazi establishment. In contrast to the exile interest for Goethe's modernist themes and techniques, the two variants of "inner immigration" emphasized his anti-modern, traditionalist aspects, as presented in Uwe-K. Ketelsen's essay on Hans Canossa's and Warren R. Maurer's discussion of Gerhart Hauptmann's Goethean imitation.

Finally, Peter Boerner's lively reenactment of the international Goethe Bicentennial Convocation and Music Festival in Aspen, Colorado in the summer of 1949, organized by the exile cultural historian Arnold Bergstraesser, provides a most compelling conclusion to the volume. Describing how the organizers and their distinguished international guests, Thornton Wilder, Martin Buber, José Ortega y Gasset, Albert Schweitzer and other celebrities, conjured up for their vast audience of over eight hundred participants an ideal Goethe as a messenger of cross-cultural understanding, a beacon of hope for a more Enlightened and humane future against the backdrop of the defeat of Nazi barbarism, Boerner also shows how much their own hopes of a better world infused and shaped the idealized vision invoked.

To sum up, this reviewer can only conclude by giving the two volume editors the highest praise for managing a rare balance between pluralism of voices and internal coherence. In a scholarly genre notorious for its heterogeneity and uneven quality, that is in itself a very difficult achievement. Better than a reference work, *Goethe im Exil* deserves to become a treasured companion for any teacher, scholar or lover of German literature.

Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis

Gabrielle Bersier

Im Licht der Vernunft: Der deutsch-amerikanische Freidenker-Almanach von 1878-1901.

By Katja Rampelmann. *Transatlantische Historische Studien*, vol. 13. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2003. 313 pages. EUR 38.00.

It is well documented that German immigrants flocking to the new world in the 1800s organized into numerous social, political, and religious organizations soon after arriving in their new homeland. Among the best researched groups are the Turners. On the other hand, no study so far has exclusively followed the German American freethinkers, often associated with the Turners, and although much smaller in number, of far-reaching influence. This movement, represented by several societies, is the subject of Katja Rampelmann's study *Im Licht der Vernunft—Der deutsch-amerikanische Freidenker-Almanach von 1878-1901*, published through the Deutsches Historisches Institut in Washington, D.C. The book promises to offer the first comprehensive study of the movement of German American freethought, an important part of German American cultural and intellectual history, on the basis of a detailed analysis of the *Freidenker-Almanach*.

Choosing an interdisciplinary approach and drawing on philosophical, theological, historical, political, and literary resources, Rampelmann gives a sweeping overview of the origins of the movement in the political and religious protest of the German Vormärz, as well as the impact of the dissidents on American culture and society in the second half of the nineteenth century. Thus the book covers, despite its title, a much wider time span and subject matter. It is as much a study of the history of the German and German American freethinkers as well as of one of its main publications, the *Freidenker-Almanach*.

The political refugees and liberal thinkers who arrived in the United States after the failed revolution of 1848 saw themselves as freethinkers, whether or not they became members of one of their organizations. Therefore, the term "freethinker" is often used as an expression of a certain liberal philosophy, with or without religious undertones, rather than a term associated with membership in a particular group. However, a majority was indeed actively organized in these groups. In order to show evidence of the impact of the German American freethinker movement, Rampelmann studies in detail numerous of its publications, newspapers, magazines, calendars and almanacs, placing the *Freidenker-Almanach* at the center of her investigation. Thus the title of Rampelmann's book recognizes the *Freidenker-Almanach* as one of the most important resources of any research dealing with German American freethought.

Published annually between 1878 and 1901, first by the Dörflinger Company and later by the Freidenker Publication Company in Milwaukee, the 23 volumes of the *Freidenker-Almanach* offer a representative look at the literature of the freethinkers. The six extensive main chapters of Rampelmann's book, each with its own summary, are complemented by various short chapters such as a table of contents for each volume of the almanac, a list of contributions by its major authors, detailed biographical entries for its representatives, and an assessment of the significance of the *Freidenker-Almanach* as a self-declared vehicle of instruction on enlightenment. An extensive

twenty-page bibliography, followed by separate name and place indices, conclude the study which also contains several illustrations.

The political and ideological backlash following the failed 1848 revolution had forced many of the leading intellectuals of the "freie Gemeinden" and the German-catholic congregations into exile. Individuals such as Adolf Douai, Friedrich Schünemann-Pott, Alexander Loos, and Eduard Schröter disseminated the ideas of theological rationalism, Hegelian thought, as well as political liberalism in their capacity as paid speakers for the German American rationalist societies in the U.S. Rampelmann shows that the groundwork for their endeavors had already been laid in larger cities such as New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore where individuals like Pastor Scheib and Heinrich Adam Ginal had founded societies based on rational freethought. Most were also active in publishing and translating. Ginal's translation of the works of Thomas Paine, for instance, garnered wide-spread interest.

Rampelmann shows how the new immigrants took the movement to another, more dynamic level and quickly started working on organizing societies. For instance, the theologian Eduard Schröter set out to deliver speeches just days after his arrival. He founded several societies on the East coast before moving on to Milwaukee as elected speaker of the newly established freethinker society, began publication of *Der Humanist* in 1851, and soon thereafter made Wisconsin the new center of the movement. Friedrich Schünemann-Pott directed his efforts toward publishing instructional materials and readers, as well as the monthly *Blätter für freies religiöses Leben*. He also initiated the funding of the first national organization, with limited success. A considerable challenge for the freethinking societies was the competition by the "Freimänner Vereine," whose agenda was decidedly more political and radical, leaning on the socialist and workers' movements. Thus the freethought societies tried to defend their middle position between the more radical political groups and the older generation of rationalists. They supported educational endeavors such as freethinking Sunday schools, public lectures and debates, and several publications. Rampelmann rightly emphasizes that these groups were at times referred to as "second row revolutionaries," particularly by the "Freimänner" who had fought on the front lines of the 1848 revolution (64). During the Civil War the freethinkers again resorted to a more pacifist stance, whereas other groups, particularly the Turners, rushed to arms in support of the Union.

After the national organization had dissolved, the importance of freethought publications became even more evident as a vehicle to keep the movement together. For years, the *Freidenker* from Milwaukee served as official medium for the movement. Its subtitle "*Freiheit, Bildung und Wohlstand für Alle!*" clearly illustrated its mission. After the North American Turnerbund also adopted the *Freidenker*, its readership almost doubled. Before directing her interest to the *Freidenker-Almanach* itself in the second half of her book, Rampelmann gives a general overview of the German American freethought press, or "radical reform press," a term she prefers, with particular emphasis on Schröter's and Schünemann-Pott's publications and the *Milwaukee Freidenker* (92). A separate chapter on the popular German language calendars is interesting for comparison purposes alone. It also paints a vivid picture of an emerging popular culture.

The almanac, directed towards an educated urban readership, was published with an estimated annual circulation of 1,500 to 2,000 issues. It differed significantly from traditional calendars in form and content, never turned a profit for the Freidenker Publishing Company, and at times even encountered criticism from its own ranks for offering "Leckerbissen für geistige Aristokraten," rather than addressing the general population (151).

Through the publication of poetry, literature, scientific essays and lectures, the almanac strove to support the overall goal of the freethought movement, to achieve morality without religion, a philosophy based on pure ethics, and social change, "die Verbesserung des Einzelnen, wie der Gesellschaft, in materieller, geistiger und moralischer Beziehung" (188). Among the main contributors to the almanac were Carl Hermann Boppe, chief editor for the Freidenker Publishing Company, poet Hugo Andriessen, journalist and translator Wilhelm Soubron, and educator Maximilian Grossmann. Although the leading pioneer of the movement, Karl Heinzen, had died in 1880, his contributions, especially his aphorisms, continued to appear in the almanac for many years. The poetry published, Rampelmann notes, often made use of satire and irony reflecting a style characteristic of the German *Vormärz*. Religious groups became primary targets, specifically priests. Typical were poems such as Straubenmüller's "Schwer ist es, wahrer Mensch zu sein (195)." Other poems addressed the theory of evolution as well as the difficulties the Darwinists encountered in society. Scientific articles ranged from topics such as nutrition to cremation. The political agenda pursued a true people's republic, based on total equality of all people regardless of race, gender, origin, wealth, or social status. The misery of the working class, widows and orphans drew special attention and the desire for social and political change brought the freethinkers often in alignment with the goals of the socialist movement. However, as Rampelmann argues convincingly, the major difference between these two movements must not be overlooked. Whereas the socialists pursued the political reign of the working class, the freethought movement sought a true people's democracy, based on enlightenment and humanistic ideals, in which no single class should have sole power.

Finally, Rampelmann describes the significance of representative personalities for the movement: the German forty-eighter Karl Heinzen, the scientist Charles Darwin, as well as American statesmen like George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Thomas Paine. The latter especially became a true hero for the movement. The freethought movement saw in him the ultimate symbiosis of the ideals of the revolution, humanism, and the battle against the church. They tried to restore Paine's reputation and saw themselves as following in the footsteps of the American founding fathers, in pursuit of a perfection of the democratic idea.

One would have hoped, that an extensive study like this would be available to a wider audience by being written in English. However, like this study, all volumes in the *Transatlantische Historische Studien*, are published in German. American readers would find this book just as fascinating. The German American freethought movement lost its momentum with the advent of the twentieth century, and with the demise of the German language in the U.S. it eventually faded out. Rampelmann hopes that her

book provides a starting point for continued research. She has certainly provided a wealth of resources and materials for further investigation.

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Claudia Grossmann

The Martin Waldseemüller World Map of 1507

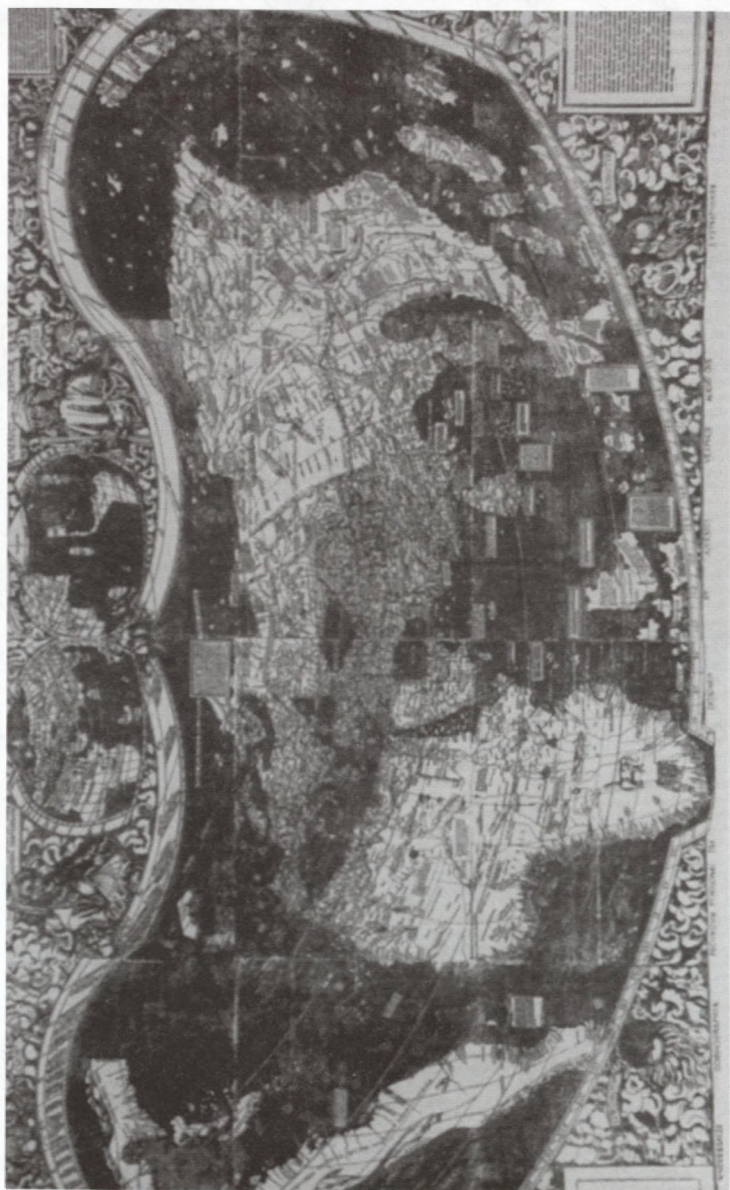
As widely reported in the *Society for German-American Studies Newsletter*, as well as in the American, German, and the German-American press, the year 2003 was marked by the acquisition by the Library of Congress of Waldseemüller's famous map, which carried the name of "America" for the first time. In honor of the 35th anniversary of the Society for German American Studies, pictures of the map are provided on the following pages, with a special word of gratitude to our member, Margrit B. Krewson, who in her capacity as German Area Specialist at the Library of Congress, was responsible for this noteworthy acquisition.

Don Heinrich Tolzman, President
Society for German-American Studies
University of Cincinnati

THE MARTIN WALDSEEMÜLLER 1507 WORLD MAP



The Martin Waldseemüller World Map of 1507



Overview of Waldseemüller Map



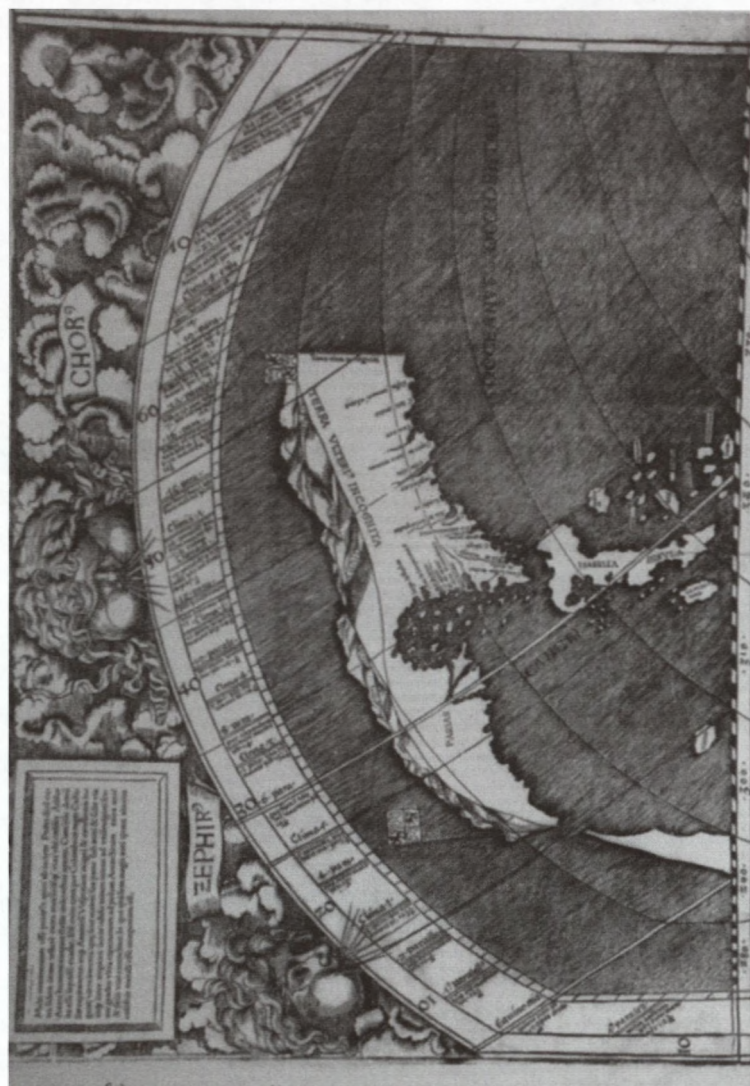
Detail of the upper right corner of the Walsemüller map



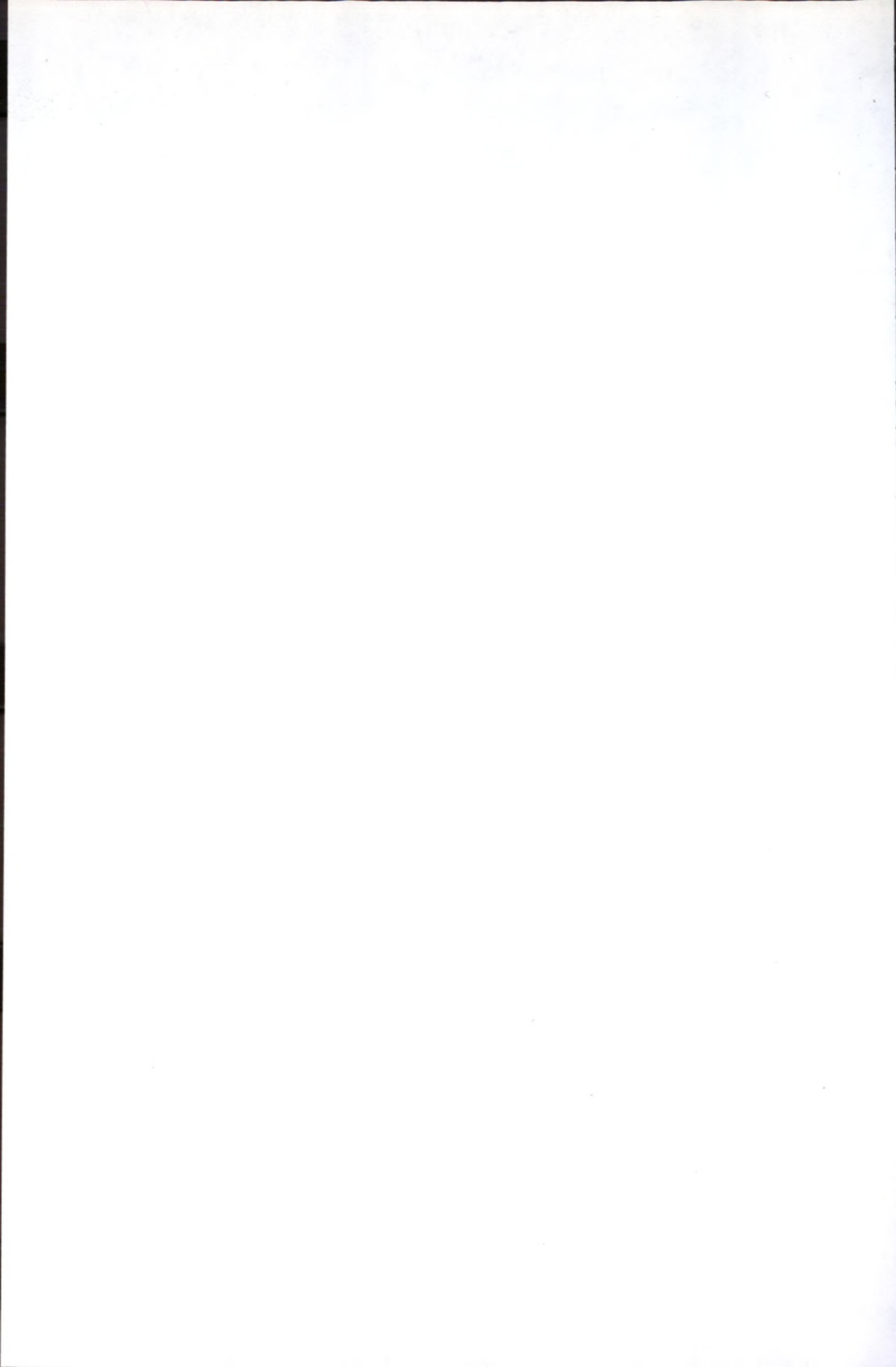
Detail of the upper left corner of the Walseemüller map



Detail of Germany section of Waldseemüller Map



Detail of "America" section of Waldseemüller Map



SOCIETY FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

BYLAWS

Article I. Name and Purpose

1. The name of Society shall be the Society for German-American Studies.
2. The purpose of this Society shall be:
 - 2.1. To engage in and promote interest in the study of the history, literature, linguistics, folklore, genealogy, theater, music and other creative art forms of the German element in the Americas.
 - 2.2. To publish, produce, and present research findings and educational materials of the same as a public service.
 - 2.3. To assist researchers, teachers and students.
 - 2.4. To improve cross-cultural relations between the German-speaking countries and the Americas.

Article II. Membership

1. Membership in the Society shall be open to all persons and organizations interested in German-American Studies.
2. Application for membership shall be made in the manner prescribed by the Membership Committee.
3. If any person being a member of the Society shall at any time be guilty of an act which is prejudicial to the Society, or to the purpose for which it was formed, such person shall be notified of his/her right to submit a written explanation of such acts within thirty days after formal notification. If the clarification is not acceptable to the Executive Committee, then at its discretion the individual's membership can be terminated.

Article III. Officers

1. Except as otherwise required by law or provided by these Bylaws, the entire control of the Society and its affairs and property shall be vested in its Executive Committee as trustees.
2. The Executive Committee consists of the elected officers of the Society and the

editors of its publications.

3. The term of office in the Society shall be for two years.

4. Officers are elected at the annual meeting.

5. The officers of the Society shall be president, first vice president, second vice president, secretary, and treasurer, all of whom are members of the Society, and are elected at the annual meeting of the members, and shall hold office for two years.

6. The duties of the officers are as follows:

6.1. The president shall perform the function as the official spokesman of the Society, serve as chair of the Executive Committee, and preside over the annual meeting.

6.2. The first vice president shall maintain the procedures for the annual meetings, and coordinate the annual meeting schedule.

6.3. The second vice president shall coordinate the annual awards for outstanding achievement in the field of German-American Studies.

6.4. The secretary shall function as the secretary of the annual meetings, and will also be the coordinator of all membership drives of the Society.

6.5. The treasurer shall keep the financial records of the Society, and shall present an annual report at the annual meeting to the membership.

7. The resignation of any officer shall be tendered to the Executive Committee.

8. If any vacancy should occur the Executive Committee shall elect a member of the Society to fill such vacancy for the unexpired term of the person whom he or she replaces.

9. No organization shall serve as a member of the Executive Committee.

10. No officer shall receive directly or indirectly any salary, compensation, or emolument from the Society. The Society may, however, pay compensation to employees or agents who are not members of the Society.

Article IV. Meetings

1. The Society shall hold an annual meeting and symposium.

2. The Executive Committee shall meet at the annual meeting.
3. A quorum of any meeting of this Society shall constitute a majority of the members present.

Article V. Order of Business and Parliamentary Procedures

1. Robert's Rules of Order shall be the authority followed for parliamentary procedures at all meetings of the Society.
2. The order of business at any meeting of the members of the Society shall be as follows:

- 2.1. Call to order
- 2.2. Reading of minutes of the last meeting
- 2.3. Reports of officers
- 2.4. Reports of committees
- 2.5. Unfinished business
- 2.6. Communications
- 2.7. Election and installation of officers
- 2.8. General business
- 2.9. Adjournment

3. The order of business at any meeting may be changed by a vote of the majority of the members present. A motion to change the order of business shall not be debatable.

Article VI. Dues and Finances

1. The annual dues of all members are on a calendar-year basis payable in advance by 31 January. Non-payment of dues will result in a cancellation of membership.
2. The funds of the Society shall be deposited or kept with a bank or trust company. Such funds shall be disbursed upon order of such officers as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee.
3. The fiscal year shall be from January through December.
4. The amount of dues and assessments shall be set by a vote of the membership at the annual meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose.

Article VIII. Nominations and Elections

1. The Executive Committee shall appoint an Election Committee. It is this

Committee's duty to conduct the election of the officers.

2. The Election Committee shall not consist of persons who have been nominated for an office.
3. Election of officers will be at the annual meeting during the general business meeting of the membership.
4. All officers shall take office on 1 June of the year in which they were elected.

Article IX. Affiliates

1. The Executive Committee shall determine regulations pertaining to affiliate membership in the Society.
2. The Executive Committee shall have sole discretion, subject to these Bylaws, in authorizing the approval of affiliates of the Society.

Article X. Committees

1. The Executive Committee consists of the elected officers and editors of the Society.
2. The Executive Committee shall supervise the affairs of the Society and regulate its internal economy, approve expenditures and commitments, act for and carry out the established policies of the Society, and report to the membership through the president at its annual meeting. Four members of the Committee shall constitute a quorum.
3. Except as otherwise provided by these Bylaws, the president shall annually designate committees other than the Executive Committee and the Election Committee, and at the time of the appointment shall designate their chairpersons.

Article XI. Publications

1. The official publications of the Society are its quarterly *Newsletter* and its annual *Yearbook of German-American Studies*.
2. The editors of SGAS publications shall be appointed by the Executive Committee.
3. Copyright in all publications of the Society is held by the Society for German-American Studies.

Article XII. Amendments

Alterations or amendments to these Bylaws shall be considered at any meeting of the members of the Society and become effective if a majority of the members present at such meeting, either present in person, or by mail ballot, vote in favor of such change in the Bylaws, provided that notice of the proposed amendment has been mailed by the secretary to the members of the Society with provision for voting by secret mail ballot.

Article XIII. Dissolution

Upon the dissolution of the Society, the Executive Committee shall, after paying or making provision for the payment of all of the liabilities of the Society, dispose of all of the assets of the Society exclusively for the purposes of the Society in such manner, or to such organization or organizations organized and operated exclusively for charitable, educational, religious or scientific purposes as shall at the time qualify as an exempt organization or organizations under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (or the corresponding provision of any future United States Revenue Law), as the Executive Committee shall determine.



Society for German-American Studies

Publication Fund Policy

Publication Fund

Thanks to the foresight of the Executive Committee and the generosity of numerous individual contributors, the Publication Fund, begun in the tricentennial year 1983, has now reached its goal of a principal balance of a minimum of \$100,000. The annual interest yield from this principal shall be allocated during the following calendar year for publication subsidies upon recommendation of the Publication Committee and with the approval of the Executive Committee. At the beginning of each calendar year, the Treasurer shall report to the Executive Committee and the Publication Committee the total amount of interest income earned by the Publication Fund during the preceding twelve-month period. This amount shall be available for publication subsidies, unless needed to support publication of the Society's *Yearbook*. Unallocated interest will be added to the principal at the end of a given calendar year.

Application

Individual members of the Society for German-American Studies in good standing may apply for a publication subsidy to be awarded during a given calendar year by submitting a letter of application to the chair of the Publication Committee by January 31 of that year. A complete application shall consist of:

- a letter requesting a publication subsidy;
- curriculum vitae of the author;
- table of contents and abstract of the book;
- documentation of the publication costs to be borne by the author; and
- three (3) letters of support from colleagues.

Publication subsidies will be considered for book-length manuscripts which adhere to the scholarly purposes of the Society for German-American Studies as described in the front matter of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies*:

... the scholarly study of the history, language, literature, and culture of the German element in North America. This includes coverage of the immigrants and their descendants from Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and other German-speaking areas of Europe.

Amount of Award and Conditions of Repayment

Awards will be announced at the Annual Symposium. The amount of an individual award shall not exceed \$2,000 or 50% of the publication cost to be borne by the

author, whichever is less. In the event that the author's book realizes a profit, the subsidy shall be repaid proportionate to its percentage of the publication cost borne by the author until repaid in full. Appropriate acknowledgment of the support must appear in the front matter of the publication.

Publication Committee

The three-member Publication Committee will normally be chaired by the editor of the Society's *Yearbook*. The president of the Society will annually appoint the two additional members of the committee, including at least one member not holding a position on the Executive Committee for that year.

Adopted: 21 October 2000, Frankenmuth, Michigan

Effective Date: 1 January 2001

Publication Committee

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



