

YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Volume 39

2004



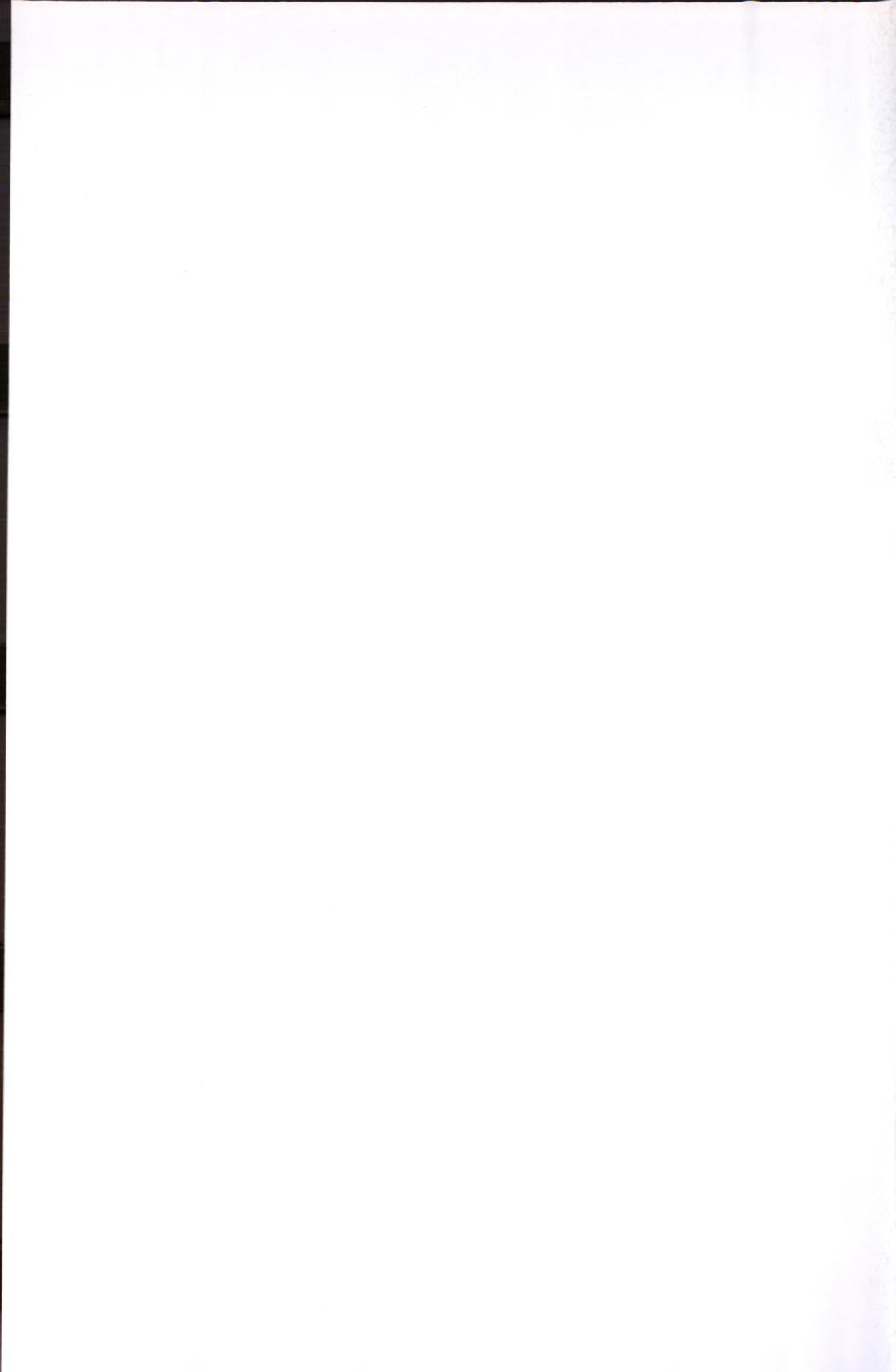
The Society for

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 39

2004

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FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES  
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# THE SOCIETY FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

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## General Information

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

The *Yearbook* is published annually. The editor welcomes contributions in English, preferably, or German on all aspects of German-Americana from members of the Society. The manuscript should be prepared so that it can be read anonymously by the members of the Editorial Board, with the author's name appearing on a separate sheet only. For submission, four copies of the manuscript prepared in accordance with the University of Chicago Press *Manual of Style* are requested. All manuscripts and correspondence concerning the *Yearbook* should be addressed to 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 University, 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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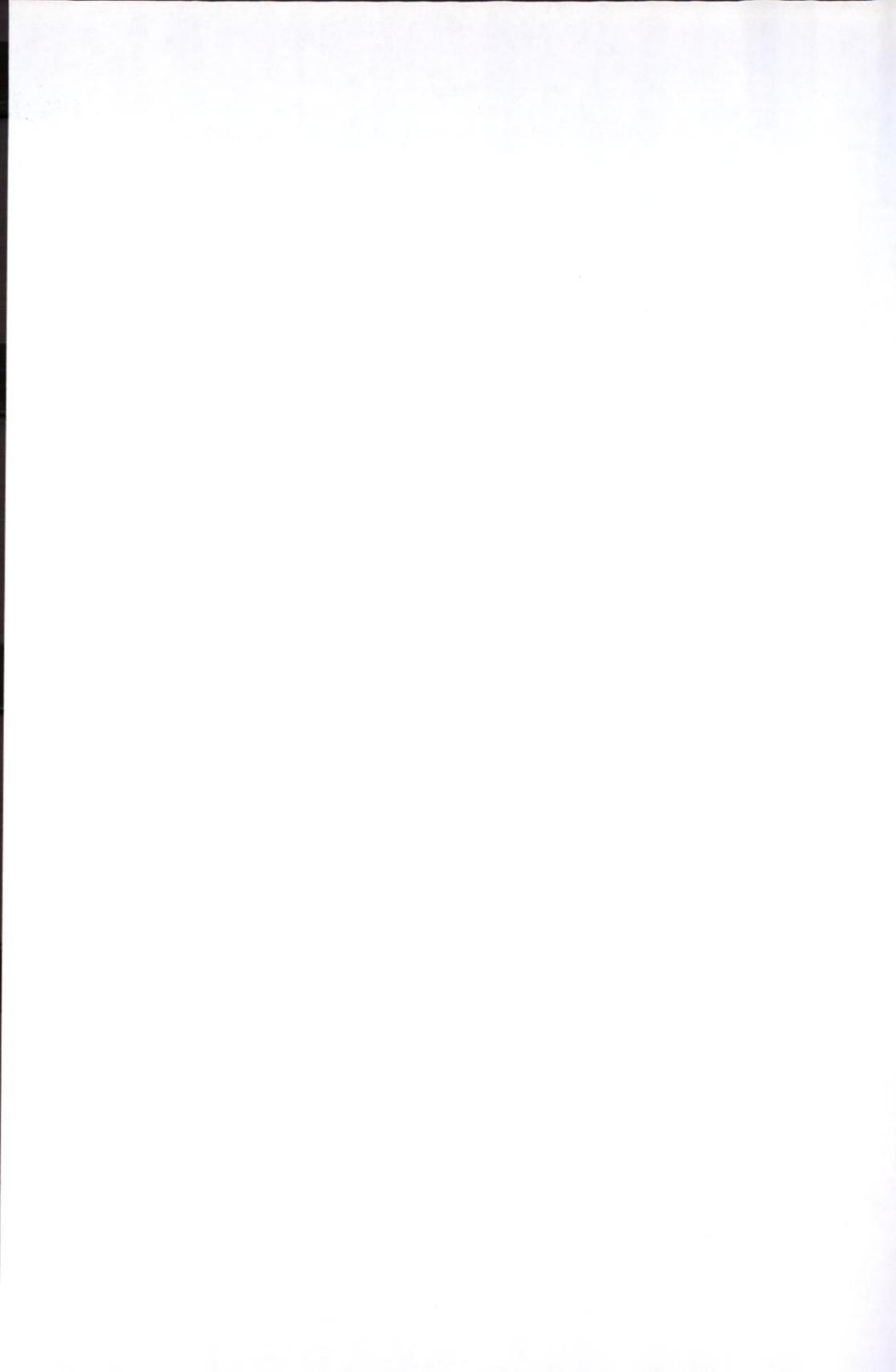
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## From the Editor

We thank our readers who have responded positively to the hardcover edition of the *Yearbook* that premiered with our special 2003 issue celebrating the thirty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Society for German-American Studies in 1968. The SGAS Executive Committee has decided to continue with the hardcover for all future issues of the *Yearbook*. However, printing and binding of the *Yearbook* will no longer be done by the University of Kansas Printing Services. The University of Kansas administration announced in January 2005 that the Printing Services, which had handled all printing jobs at the university for nearly a century, would close by the end of the spring semester 2005. Thus, after collaborating with Printing Services since 1981 on all twenty-three volumes of the *Yearbook*, we must bid farewell to our friends and associates there. Beginning with this issue (2004), the *Yearbook* will be printed and bound by Jostens, a private firm in Topeka, Kansas. Mailing of the issue to the membership will be handled by Consolidated Mailing, also of Topeka. We trust that this change will not result in any significant delays or problems for the membership.

As our readers certainly noted, the anniversary 2003 issue did not include the Annual Bibliography of German-Americana. As promised, the bibliography returns in the 2004 issue with over 1,500 entries. The chairs of the Bibliographic Committee, Dolores and Giles Hoyt, and their collaborators have put together a number of supplemental entries for 2001 as well as the regular entries for 2002 and a partial set of entries for 2003. The compilation of the entries for our field, given the variety of media involved in the dissemination of research, is a truly Herculean task. Our deepest appreciation goes to the entire Bibliographic Committee and especially to Dolores and Giles Hoyt.

Another aspect in the current issue that needs mention is the expansion of the SGAS Editorial Board. In addition to the continuing members, without whose contributions no issue of the *Yearbook* would be realized, we would like to welcome the following new members, representing a number of fields of study within our discipline:

Timothy J. Holian, Missouri Western State University (St. Joseph, Missouri)

Antonius Holtmann, Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg

Achim Kopp, Mercer University (Macon, Georgia)

Mark L. Loudon, University of Wisconsin-Madison

J. Gregory Redding, Wabash College (Crawfordsville, Indiana)

David L. Valuska, Kutztown University of Pennsylvania

Gerhard Weiss, University of Minnesota Twin Cities

Marianne S. Wokeck, Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis

The first essay in this volume focuses on the biography of Moritz Hartmann, a mid-nineteenth century immigrant from Württemberg. Hartmann became one of the leading proponents of German settlement in Territorial Kansas and was president of the Town Association of Humboldt, Kansas, founded in 1857 as an anti-slavery community on the southern border of territorial settlement.

The second and third essays in the current volume treat in detail the history of two religiously distinct settlements. The German Catholic village of St. Lucas, Iowa, and the Missouri-Synod Lutheran settlement in southern Illinois, directly across the Mississippi River from the original settlements of the Saxon Lutherans from the late-1830s. An essay by Katja Rampelmann then explores the role of women in the German-American freethinker movement of the nineteenth century. An essay by Petra DeWitt then investigates the concept of loyalty in an intensely German Catholic county in central Missouri during the First World War.

The concluding essays cover a variety of topics in our multi-disciplinary field. Donald Durnbaugh outlines the establishment of a charitable organization by the Church of the Brethren to combat hunger throughout the world by providing heifers to those in need. Franz Schüppen then offers insights into the image of "America" in the theatrical and literary circles of Berlin at the end of the nineteenth century. Grant Grams follows with an examination of the contributions of Wilhelm Dibelius to Canadian German studies. Finally, Michael Putnam and Bradley Weiss demonstrate how data from German-American dialects can be used productively in discussions of theoretical linguistics.

This volume concludes with Elfe Dona's essay on recent German-American literary publications as well as book reviews edited by Timothy Holian and the expanded bibliography section. The editor would like to again thank all contributors to this volume and especially the members of the Editorial Board for assuring the quality of the contributions. We look forward to our next Symposium in Reading, Pennsylvania, in May 2006.

As we approach the sesquicentennial of the Civil War, we encourage our members to contribute essays treating all aspects of the German-American involvement in the years leading up to and including that conflict. Of special note is the centenary of the death of Carl Schurz in 2006. The editor invites contributions on all aspects of the life and influence of Schurz during this period as well.

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

Lawrence, Kansas

April 2005

Frank Baron  
G. Scott Seeger

## Moritz Harttmann (1817–1900) in Kansas: A Forgotten German Pioneer of Lawrence and Humboldt

[Horace] G[reeley]. *Here is the most important question of all: Can you get men to go from the free States to Kansas, in view of the great sacrifices they will be obliged to make, risking property, peace, and even life itself, for a principle . . . ? Remember that the whole power of the Government is against you; that Missouri, crowded with border ruffians, is on the entire eastern border of Kansas . . . Can all these difficulties be overcome?*

[Eli] T[hayer, speaking for the New England Emigrant Aid Company]. *They can be and will be.*

Conversation in New York, May 1854.<sup>1</sup>

*. . . the shameful devotion to Slavery, the treacherous importation of Negroes, under the pretense of their becoming free—a means to stimulate the hunting of Negroes in the interior of Africa. What atrocities have been witnessed by one who has had the misfortune to live from 17[6]9 to 1858.*

(Alexander von Humboldt to Julius Froebel, 1858<sup>2</sup>)

The initial search for biographical information about Moritz Harttmann is a frustrating exercise. Biographical dictionaries take no notice of him. On first glance, it appears that Harttmann left behind no legacy of achievements. He was not famous in his time; what was known about him was soon forgotten. Only an extensive search and a process of linking disparate pieces of information reveal that he was intensely involved in a significant phase of United States history. In Kansas, where he resided for thirty years, he, along with many other German settlers who had survived the failed 1848 revolution, advocated a state free of slavery. He represented the ideals of Alexander von Humboldt, who condemned slavery repeatedly and vehemently. A close examination of Harttmann's life reveals more about historical events than do the lives of many famous personalities of his day.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 raised a fundamental question for America's future: whether Kansas was to be a state with or without slavery. The question was to be decided by a popular vote of the citizens in the territory. Initially, from its position in neighboring Missouri, the proslavery party of the South had a clear advantage; it

acted quickly to expand its hold on the territorial government in Kansas. It secured a majority by encouraging pioneers to settle in Kansas, and in these efforts it had the advantage of enjoying the federal government's full support. It miscalculated, however, by underestimating the determination of the northern opponents, such as the leaders of the New England Emigrant Aid Company. The outcome of this crucial confrontation was decided in a relatively short period at places in which Moritz Hartmann was not simply an observer; he participated actively in this historical turn of events.

Hartmann was born in the Swabian town of Göppingen on June 24, 1817.<sup>3</sup> When he was fifteen years old, he moved with his family to the nearby city of Ulm, where his father served as an accountant. The young Hartmann graduated from the *Gymnasium* with a diploma that opened the way for studies at the University of Tübingen, where he began his studies in 1836. As a student of theology, he attended required lectures on history, philosophy, anthropology, aesthetics, and literature. He had famous teachers. Friedrich Theodor Vischer (1807–1887), the controversial author of the satire *Faust III*, lectured on Goethe's *Faust*. Heinrich Georg August von Ewald (1803–1875), one of the "Göttingen Seven," lost his professorship for defending the liberal constitution of his state. Ewald's course was an introduction to the Old Testament. Since Hartmann's major subject was Protestant theology, he attended a number of lectures by Professor Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792–1860). Baur, who became famous for contributing to understanding the evolution of early Christianity, lectured on the Old and New Testaments, the history of dogma, and biblical criticism. The progressive professors of Tübingen provided Hartmann a foundation for the critical positions he adopted during the 1848 revolution.<sup>4</sup>

Hartmann's social life revolved around the dueling fraternity *Corps Franconia*. Despite the government's efforts to suppress this organization, it continued to exist secretly. Hartmann became secretary of the fraternity and guard of its weapons. When his involvement became known to the authorities, he was incarcerated, but he escaped the more serious punishment that was given in such cases: banishment from the university.<sup>5</sup>

After graduation, Hartmann was a vicar in Protestant churches of Württemberg: Jüdingen (1841), Steinheim (1841), Urpsring (1844–1845), and Gründelhardt (1845–1848). In 1844, he requested a change because he was unable to get along with his pastor. Finally, church authorities initiated an investigation when he expressed "radical" views in a published article. An article that was used as evidence against Hartmann suggests that he had criticized a teacher assigned to his supervision and that he sarcastically rejected this teacher's strict orthodoxy. He found it unacceptable that children simply memorize pious precepts and focus exclusively on Bible stories. Hartmann evidently believed that a more important goal of early education was to teach secular history and natural sciences: "Before the students could become citizens of heaven, they had to become citizens of the world." The article also suggests that Hartmann reduced the concept of the devil to the evil that God had reserved for man. Although the church found the publication of such an article offensive, expulsion finally resulted when it was learned that Hartmann had been involved with a woman of questionable moral character.<sup>6</sup>

The tenor of Hartmann's provocative article was in tune with the radical tendencies of the day. The precise role Hartmann played in the 1848 revolution

is not known. His departure for America at this time suggests that he took part in the Rebellion of Baden and engaged in some confrontations with military forces. The records of his fraternity indicate that many of the brothers took part as a group in the "Tübingen Volunteers." In April 1848, the first rebellion of such troops was defeated, and a wave of flights to America commenced. On October 9, 1848, Moritz Harttmann, then 31 years old, arrived in New York on the *Ella Frances* from Antwerp.<sup>7</sup>

Harttmann described in a third-person, autobiographical narrative what transpired in the following years:

Moritz Friedrich Harttmann, born on June 24, 1817, in Ulm. Studied in Tübingen and graduated with a degree in theology. In 1848, he emigrated to America, where he resided in different cities in the east and north. He finally traveled westward through Delaware, Maryland, a part of Virginia, and then down the Ohio River to Cincinnati. After a longer layover he traveled through southern Ohio and eastern Indiana, before returning to Cincinnati. He undertook various tours by river, stage, and rail to Dayton, and across Lake Erie to Toledo. These trips provided him with ample opportunities to become acquainted with the land, people, and customs. Then he took up residence in Tiffin, Ohio, where he befriended a physician who trained him for a profession in medicine.

The experience with a physician in Ohio was the beginning of a totally new phase in Harttmann's life. At the time of Harttmann's residence in Tiffin, the most prominent physician in the city was Dr. Henry Kuhn (1802–1878). Similarities of personality and interests suggest that Kuhn was Harttmann's mentor. Kuhn was a Freemason and became involved in the political affairs of his city. He was elected its first mayor. His circle of patients included Indians of the Wyandot tribe. These features of Kuhn's life reflect interests in religious, social, and political issues, which reappear in various forms in Harttmann's later career.<sup>8</sup> Harttmann described this important event in his life.

Because he had always been interested in the natural sciences, he studied medicine with zeal. Unsatisfied, however, with the limitations of this kind of non-academic training, he decided to devote his energies to medicine in earnest. He rode to Buffalo, Niagara Falls, and New York City. He boarded a ship, and after a rather stormy journey, he arrived in Europe. Having devoted himself to medicine seriously for 5 semesters in Tübingen, he returned to the United States in 1855 and settled in Goshen, in western Indiana. From there he made several prospecting tours: to Chicago and St. Louis, and, finally, by steamboat to Kansas. Interested in the slavery issue, he traveled . . . to Lawrence, where he came into contact with the local Indians and practiced medicine among them. In 1856, on horseback he explored the southern, unsettled region of Kansas. At the same time, he participated in the formation of the Humboldt Town Company, of which

he became president. He also took active part in establishing the City of Lawrence.<sup>9</sup>

Although the University of Tübingen records confirm that Harttmann sought permission and did actually attend lectures on medicine at his alma mater, he did not complete his medical studies there. Whether he actually obtained a formal medical degree at another school in Germany or in the United States remains a matter of speculation. He arrived in Lawrence in March 1855, and soon after his arrival he advertised in the *Kansas Free State*:

MAURICE HARTTMANN,

Dr. of Medicine, Surgery, and Obstetrics,  
[f]ormerly assistant Physician of a Lying in Hospital in Germany, where he  
had ample opportunity to acquire experience in obstet[r]ical cases and the  
treatment of diseases of females and children generally.  
No. 30 Main [S]t., Lawrence, upstairs.

The same ad appeared on March 3, May 5, July 25, September 26, and October 3, 1856. The manner of articulating his competence suggests that experience, not a diploma, was the essential qualification for a good physician. It is likely that Harttmann had worked in a hospital, perhaps in Ulm, where his family resided, before he returned to the United States.

With respect to his travels in Indiana, Harttmann referred to some of his travels as "prospecting tours." When he settled in Lawrence, he undoubtedly recognized the potential of generous financial rewards in acquiring land. In 1859, he owned eleven plots in Lawrence.<sup>10</sup> In the attack of 1856 by the Missouri "border ruffians" he suffered damage to his property; he claimed a loss of \$681.<sup>11</sup> Organizing a new life in Kansas at a time when the settlement was barely a year old demanded not only initiative and industry, but also a willingness to endure considerable dangers. Lawrence, the nucleus of the free-state movement, hoped to gain the abolition of slavery in the establishment of the state. To prevail, the free-staters had to win the vote at the ballot box. The strategy of winning over the proslavery forces entailed reaching beyond Lawrence with settlements of free-state sympathies. The establishment of settlements throughout Kansas was part of the free-state strategy.

The plans for creating the settling and naming of the town of Humboldt, located about eighty miles directly south of Lawrence, coalesced when people of varied backgrounds discovered that they shared specific moral, political, and business interests. Harttmann recalled having traveled south of Lawrence in 1856 and exploring on horseback "the totally uninhabited area" of the Neosho Valley.<sup>12</sup> This experience put him in a position to advise and support German emigrants who arrived in Lawrence in the middle of April 1857. Because of inadequate resources, this group was in need of immediate aid and guidance. As one of the few Germans in the community, Harttmann became involved.

The German group's adventurous undertaking was inspired by the vision of the New England Emigrant Aid Company for ensuring the status of Kansas as a free state. The society recruited emigrants and was prepared to lend them financial assistance. In response to this offer, Reverend Francis M. Serenbetz, a pastor and teacher from

Hartford, Connecticut, described in a letter of March 14, 1857, his plans to take his "flock of professed [C]hristians" to become "the nucleus of a congregation or a [C]hristian community in Kansas." Serenbetz declared: "I am to be the spiritual guide as well as the political leader of these people whose religious creed is that of the [C]ongregational church, and whose political creed is: Free Kansas . . . Drinkers and unbelievers in the gospel cannot possibly find themselves at home in our community . . ." Serenbetz requested the society grant him \$1,300 to undertake the journey. Only a month after the request addressed to Rev. Edward Everett Hale, a Unitarian minister in Boston representing the Emigrant Aid Company, Serenbetz and his flock arrived in Lawrence.<sup>13</sup>

In Lawrence a network of people representing the Emigrant Company was prepared to lend help, and it quickly became evident that the members of the flock were ill prepared for their adventure. Serenbetz was forced to look in several different directions for help in the Lawrence community. A letter to Rev. Hale from Charles Branscomb, one of the resident agents of the Emigrant Aid Company, provides an insight into the crisis:

Mr S[erenbetz] stated that he wished to stop here a few days in order to consult with friends as to the most desirable location for his colony. He desired a place for his party (about 30 in number) while staying here, in which he could do his own cooking. I tried very hard to procure rooms for him & his party, but was unable to do it. Every conceivable and inconceivable corner in Lawrence being occupied. At last I made an arrangement with Mr Whitney, who has lately opened a hotel here—to take Mr S & his party at one half of the usual rates—On Tuesday last Mr S came to me & said that his party had incurred in getting to the territory [\$]300 more expense than they had calculated for & wished to know if I could [do] anything for the way of getting them that sum of money. . .<sup>14</sup>

Branscomb consulted a number of leaders in the Lawrence community, people also closely associated with the Emigrant Aid Company: Edmund B. Whitman, Charles Robinson, and Samuel Clarke Pomeroy. Input came, moreover, from Dr. Kop [Kob], who was a German physician from Leavenworth, Dr. Charles Kob (also Karl Friedrich Kob), publisher of the *Kansas Zeitung*. Dr. Kob, who was employed by the Emigrant Aid Company to publish the German paper, also supported Serenbetz's efforts to obtain funds.<sup>15</sup> The paper evidence of guarantees from Hale appeared convincing, and the amount of \$200, beyond the \$138.75 paid for the lodging, was advanced to Serenbetz, with the understanding that the company would reimburse all lenders. Finally, the German colonizers were able to purchase needed supplies and continue their journey.<sup>16</sup>

Just three days later, on April 28, Reverend Ephraim Nute, the Unitarian minister of Lawrence, reported to Hale on the status of the German visitors: "Mr. Serenbetz & his party are about starting out to take possession of a tract chosen by their tribe 'down South' on the Neosho, — to build a town to be called Humboldt I think — If they stick to it they will do well."<sup>17</sup>

At this time, the *Herald of Freedom*, under the title of "Interesting Services" reported on the German emigrants. George W. Brown, the editor, also received

support from the Emigrant Aid Company and had good reasons to put a positive spin on articles relating to its projects.<sup>18</sup>

Rev. Mr. Serenbetz, who lately arrived here from Hartford, Conn., with a colony of Germans, as their pastor, preached to his people last Sunday, at the church of the Unitarian Society in the German language. The congregation presented a fine appearance, and seemed deeply moved by the earnest words of the preacher. The expression of honesty and intelligence in the faces of those newcomers, and the regard shown by them for the institution of religion, augur well for their good influence on the future of Kansas. — They have our best wishes for the prosperity.

Their minister deserves a liberal support for the devotion with which he has shown himself ready to share the hardship and discomforts of his people. (April 25, 1857)

On May 9, another article appeared in the *Herald of Freedom*, and this time the headline referred to "Humbol[d]t."

A company of Germans from Connecticut passed through our place last week, bound for the lower Neosho, where they intend forming a town under the above title. The leader, Prof. Seren[bet]z, is a gentleman of energy and education and we doubt not that he and his colony will prove a valuable acquisition to our country.

The confidence of the editor, George W. Brown, in the leadership of Reverend Serenbetz was decidedly not shared by the pastor of the Lawrence Unitarian Church, Reverend Ephraim Nute, who confided his grave misgivings about three months later to Hale:

That Serenbetz should be looked after. I entreat you, devise some way to head him off from raising money & coming back to Kansas. His people (consisting of three families & two single persons) will do much better without him. He is an unmitigated humbug & nuisance, too lazy to do anything but smoke, sleep & eat. Those people cannot support themselves there in Humboldt until the harvest of '58 & it is for no person interest that they should but this Serenbetz & a German doctor to whom he has joined himself in Lawrence for making money on this paper town of Humboldt. Last Saturday & to day I have been beset by one the party of a man who has a family of 5 down there in a miserable little shanty with one peck of [I]ndian meal & nothing else for aid to save himself & family from starvation. I must therefore (having found his story confirmed by a young man who has been surveying the town site) send off a lot of provisions but where is the thing to end. If these people had come out here each to shift for himself & with no Serenbetz to marshal them about for private emolument they would have got along tolerably; for they would have been forced to remain here in Lawrence & go to work at the first thing they could lay their

hands to. At the time of their leaving for their settlement I was trying in vain to hire men for \$1[.]75 per diem to dig cellar, carry mortar etc for my house. Is it right that such men should come out here to consume the little funds we have in reserve against the times of distress next Winter? Send us no more men who can't or who won't work their way & who have no means to support themselves in their lazy shiftlessness. If funds should be raised for the people at Humboldt it should not be entrusted to Serenbetz. This I say advisedly and as the result of careful observation & much inquiry.<sup>19</sup>

On the character and motives of Serenbetz there were strongly divergent views. Reverend Nute, nevertheless, was not exaggerating the enormous difficulties facing the settlers. The considerable challenges facing them in the Neosho Valley area became evident during the previous year, in 1856, when the Vegetarian Company with 23 families had tried its luck in the vicinity of the area that later became Humboldt. The attempt was a tragic failure because of inadequate supplies. Fear of Indians and "ruffian" intimidation, starvation, and illnesses forced the settlers to return or to disperse. One of the members of the group, Miriam Davis Colt, told her story of the loss of her husband and son to illnesses contracted during the failed emigration.<sup>20</sup>

The "German doctor to whom he has joined himself in Lawrence" did not lack confidence in Serenbetz. This doctor was evidently Moritz Harttmann. Despite his initial training in theology, Harttmann was not the ideal long-term partner for an orthodox minister. Nevertheless, the shared political goal of the slave-free Kansas and economic advantages of making land available to settlers offered a reasonable basis for immediate cooperation. Some time before April 28 (when we first observe the name Humboldt in Nute's letter), the two Germans must have met and quickly come to an understanding about goals. Harttmann was able to provide specifics about the area to be settled. He could also link Serenbetz to a network of potential partners who could assure the success of the settlement. During such consultations, the question of naming the newly created town after Alexander von Humboldt must have come up. Although we do not have documentary evidence for such a discussion, we can reasonably assume that Harttmann, with his background in the natural sciences, would have argued for Humboldt.<sup>21</sup> As opponents of slavery, both Serenbetz and Harttmann could agree that the name of Humboldt represented an ideal symbol of opposition to slavery. It was common knowledge in the United States at this time that Humboldt was abreast of developments about the slavery issue. As early as 1804, he wrote to the Architect William Thornton, whom he had met during his visit in Washington:

This abominable law that permits the importation of Negroes in South Carolina [until 1808] is a disgrace for a state in which I know many level-headed people to live. Conforming to the only course of action dictated by humanity, undoubtedly less cotton will be exported at first. But alas! How I detest this politics that measures and evaluates the public welfare simply according to the value of its exports. The wealth of nations is like

the wealth of individuals. It is only secondary to our welfare. Before one is free, one must be just, and without justice there is no lasting prosperity.

If he had inquired a little more, Serenbetz might have become concerned to see Humboldt, who had no tolerance for religious orthodoxy, represent the ideals of his community.<sup>22</sup> In this particular instance, Harttmann's arguments and the immediacy of the slavery issue prevailed. The "Humboldt City Association" was born in such discussions, and Harttmann became its president. As a "son" of the 1848 revolution, he would have also argued that the names of the streets in the town should reflect German culture and the ideals of the revolution.<sup>23</sup>

During these discussions, other Lawrence citizens participated or were proposed to take part. James A. Coffey (1827–1879) moved with his family from Illinois, and as he traveled west of Kansas City on the California Road, he met Nate Blanton (N[apoleon]. B[onepart]. Blanton, ca. 1830–1913), at the later-named Blanton Bridge over the Wakarusa River, four miles south of Lawrence. Blanton was responsible for the toll bridge and a post office. He persuaded Coffey to settle at the location. Blanton and Coffey collaborated in the fall of 1854 in establishing a grocery store in combination with the existing post office. In 1856, ads appeared in the *Kansas Free State* under Blanton's name; they advertised the new bridge that provided a crossing for those traveling from Westport or other Missouri towns to points such as Lawrence and places further west. The ad also pointed out the existence of a store and blacksmith's shop at the bridge.<sup>24</sup> In the following year, Blanton's brother, Methodist minister B. M. Blanton, returning from a prospecting tour, persuaded Nate to consider moving to the Neosho Valley to form a new settlement. Blanton's Bridge, located on the road to Lawrence, was vulnerable to attacks from the "border ruffians." During the elections in the spring of 1855 (later declared fraudulent because of the illegal voting by Missouri residents and subsequently invalidated), both Nate Blanton and James Coffey were prevented from serving as election judges. The Blantons and the Coffeys decidedly favored a state free of slavery. A new location held the promise that broader areas of Kansas, with an increasing population, could gain a majority in support of the free-state cause.<sup>25</sup>

James Hunt Signor (1833–after 1911) had training in the manufacture of iron, and when foreign iron put him out of work in New York, he moved west. He also had training as a surveyor. He and his cousin, Henry W. Signor, came to Kansas and joined the Humboldt City Association.<sup>26</sup>

The most prominent Lawrence participant in the Humboldt City Association was Albert Dwight Searl (1831–1902), a civil engineer from Brookfield, Massachusetts, who arrived in Lawrence with the second party of emigrants in August 1854. In 1856, with E. B. Whitman, he formed the Emigrant Intelligence Office, a company that advertised its goals to provide "for reasonable compensation," information the emigrant might need after arrival. The company was prepared, moreover, "to lay out town sites and to survey farm claims—to negotiate the sale and transfer of town property generally—to investigate the validity of titles—to superintend the erection of buildings, and to act as agents for the care of property owned by non-residents." Searl later became the official engineer and surveyor of Lawrence. He was the first surveyor for a number of cities, including Lawrence, Topeka, Manhattan, Osawatomie, Burlington, and El Dorado.<sup>27</sup> As a surveyor for Humboldt he was

able to provide expertise that might offset the suspicion that Humboldt was simply a "paper town."

At the same time, it is difficult to dispute the accusation that the interest in personal profits did not motivate the participation of these members of the Humboldt City Association. But was it true that Serenbetz, Harttmann, and others were joining forces simply "for making money on this paper town of Humboldt," as Nute suggested in his letter? Land was the basic commodity of the new territory, and it was the aim of most pioneers to translate it into financial gain. Harttmann is an example of someone who quickly took advantage of the availability of land at \$1.25 per acre. He became a wealthy man. On January 27, 1858, he advertised in the *Kansas Zeitung* to sell a German pharmacy situated along the Missouri River. The census of 1865 estimated his real estate to be worth \$20,000, his personal estate \$500.<sup>28</sup> After his retirement, the city directory of Lawrence in 1886 indicated his occupation as "capitalist."<sup>29</sup> For Harttmann land speculation became a major professional activity, which may have gradually replaced his work as a physician. The sale of land to settlers may have been a factor in his involvement in the Humboldt venture. The profit motive was an essential part of the strategy developed by the Emigrant Aid Company, which did not rely on philanthropy alone to secure Kansas as a free state.<sup>30</sup>

In 1857, the future welfare of Kansas was threatened by the explosive controversy about slavery. It was not yet certain that Lawrence, which represented the free-state position, could prevail against the pressures from the Missouri slave-state factions and their partners in the federal government. Lawrence had hardly recovered from an attack of the Missouri "border ruffians," who destroyed its hotel and printing press. Emigrant settlements with free-state sentiments held the promise of prevailing in the conflict that was ostensibly to be decided by vote. The establishment of a solidly free-state settlement such as Humboldt entailed land speculation, to be sure, but it also reflected the sincere desire to secure Kansas as a state free of slavery.

The strategy to secure Kansas as a free state through the sale of land to settlers had serious consequences for the Native Americans living in Kansas. They had been forced to move from eastern areas before. The invasion of settlers, the cutting down of forests, and one-sided treaties forced the Native Americans in about two decades out of Kansas almost entirely. In his medical work and in his articles, Harttmann displayed an interest in good relations with the native population. The profitable trade he envisioned was not realized.<sup>31</sup>

The Emigrant Aid Company recognized that it was important to involve German immigrants in the struggle for a slave-free state.

The company came to be much interested in German immigration, which had reached a high peak after 1848. In 1854 it was reported in the press as having chartered a steamer to import immigrants from Hamburg, but in actuality the plan never went much further than the stage of investigation. In 1857 Dr. Charles F. Kob was employed to set up a German paper in Kansas (the *Kansas Zeitung* of Atchison). It was then hoped to send him

to Germany later, in the interest of colonization. The company had a strong penchant toward German settlers, as strongly opposed to slavery.<sup>32</sup>

As president of the Humboldt town company, Harttmann had the task of winning more settlers to join the small group that formed the nucleus. He turned, first of all, to the German paper of Kansas in Atchison, the *Kansas Zeitung*. At an early point, the company had formulated a policy of trying to attract Germans to settle in Kansas. A lengthy article in the *New York Daily Times* of January 6, 1855, applauded this effort to direct Germans "into this new country, where the great battle of freedom is being fought!"<sup>33</sup> Kob shared with Harttmann a background of training in medicine in Germany, and he appointed the latter as a regular correspondent for news from Lawrence. Harttmann's name appeared regularly as "agent" for Lawrence in the years 1857–1858.

Kob was the author of a forty-eight-page guidebook for German immigrants. Published in New York and underwritten by the Emigrant Aid Company, it explained in German to potential immigrants the procedures for becoming American citizens, the laws and regulations regarding the acquisition of lands in the Kansas territories, transportation, population (including Native Americans), the geography, economics, history and present condition of those territories, and the persons and addresses for helpful services. In the segment about the existing communities of Kansas, Kob described the following in detail: Lawrence, [E]judora, Topeka, Tecumseh, Mill [C]reek, Rock Creek, Manhattan, Ogden, Riley City, Humboldt, Gu[t]enberg[sic], Hyatt, Osawa[t]jamie, Council City, Wyandott[e], Quindaro, and Atchison.

Kob took care to give Humboldt special attention, and he emphasized the role that Serenbetz and Harttmann played in the life of the community. The book concluded with advertising for businesses and Emigrant Aid Company agents. Kob listed Dr. Hart[t]mann's name prominently, first among forty-six advertisers, and stressed that Hart[t]mann, a German physician, was willing to provide immigrants advice and help, as much as his time allowed. Throughout the book the primary purpose of advocating German immigration to Kansas was in the foreground ("all Germans are against slavery" p. 28). That purpose was clearly stated in Kob's preface: "Everyone should keep in mind that every immigrant is participating, even if passively or indirectly, in the great struggle against slavery, and thus taking part in the most important development of the American states. The more we succeed in resisting slavery and driving it back, the more we come close to its total abolition. Every fight against slavery is simultaneously an achievement in the service of humanity and freedom." Kob's preface was dated May 26, 1857, only a few weeks after the first settlers reached Humboldt.<sup>34</sup>

With this book and his newspaper (full title: *Kansas Zeitung. Ein Organ für freies Wort, freien Boden und freie Männer*) Kob was the Emigrant Aid Company's ambassador for a slave-free Kansas and the facilitator of German emigration to Kansas. The company was confident that German settlements would promote its aims, and the alliance between Kob and Harttmann was in its interest.

Although his figures may have been inflated, Ephraim Nute's letter of April 28, 1857, reflected the radical transformation of Kansas through the influx of emigrants. "The immigration continues to increase. Hundreds come into this place daily & at the lowest computation a thousand per day in the territory, probably three

thousand.”<sup>35</sup> During a convention of free-state delegates, Charles Robinson, the future governor of Kansas, was able to express optimism on August 26: “I have no doubt we shall be triumphant. From the census returns I am satisfied there is not a district in the Territory in which we have not a large majority of voters. If we were defeated by fraud, we shall be in a position to show up the fraud.”<sup>36</sup> Dr. Kob, who was a delegate, declared that Germans were in every respect behind the “active” struggle for equality.<sup>37</sup>

An ad for Humboldt appeared regularly in each issue of the *Kansas Zeitung*. As president of the Humboldt City Association, Hartmann requested that persons who wished to settle in Humboldt should contact him in Lawrence. As might be expected, one of the first articles he supplied was about Humboldt.<sup>38</sup> Hartmann, too, used his contacts in Germany to promote settlement in Humboldt. The following excerpt is from an article that appeared in German and French journals in Europe.

Everyone agrees that among the new settlements in southern Kansas only Humboldt and its outlying areas have experienced extraordinary growth. It has exceeded expectations by far. The first settlers, mostly Germans from Hartford, Connecticut, arrived in the beginning of May and set up their tents on the left bank of the romantic river. (The city is about 80 miles south of Lawrence, in Allen County.) Now, during the course of only two months, most of the lots have been claimed out to 4-6 miles around the city. There have been cases of claim-jumping. The country and region are quite beautiful, and we discover new attractions daily. We couldn't hope for a better and healthier climate; there have been no reports of sickness. Humboldt promises to become a city with a thriving center of commerce, trading primarily with the rich Cherokee Indians and later with Arkansas, New Mexico and Texas.<sup>39</sup>

In the February 3, 1858, issue of the *Kansas Zeitung* a letter from Serenbetz was published to reinforce the positive experience in Humboldt.

Humboldt, Allen County, K.T., January 20, 1858

Dear Mr. Editor of the *Kansas Zeitung*:

What a transformation has taken place since our establishment of Humboldt! Our friend Dr. Hart[ ]man[n] of Lawrence, who is here for a visit, could hardly believe his eyes about the progress along the Neosho since his last visit. If only there had been sufficient lumber, the city would now have twenty-five more houses. We found it necessary to acquire a second saw mill, but because of the winter, the cost of transportation from St. Louis has been considerable. We expect the mill to arrive in fourteen days.<sup>40</sup>

The Kansas census of 1859 shows that from the list of partners in Humboldt City Association, B. M. Blanton, N. B. Blanton, James A. Coffey, H. W. Signor, and James H. Signor were residing in the town. On June 20, 1860, the company was reorganized and incorporated as the Humboldt Town Association. The leaders were now only members of the Humboldt settlement: N. B. Blanton, J. A. Coffey, J. H. and H. W. Signor, George Miller, and W.C. O'Brien. By this time the active

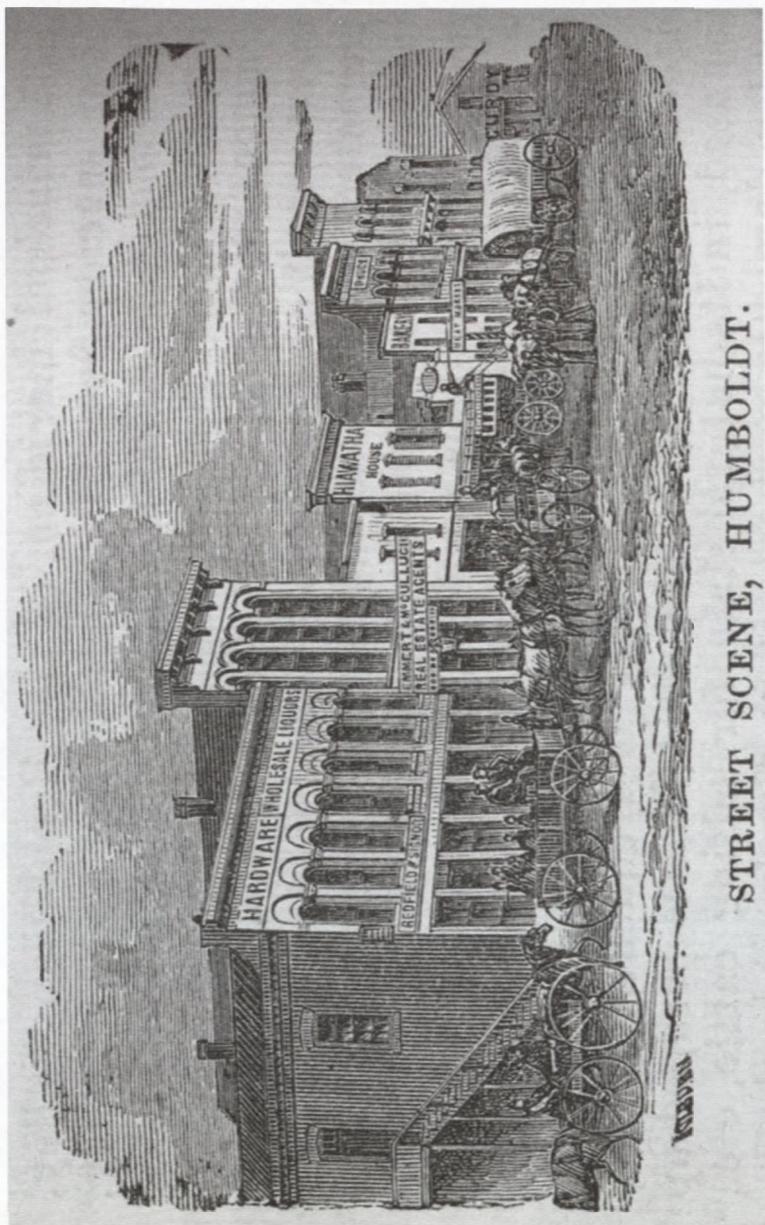
participation of Harttmann, Serenbetz, and Searl was no longer evident nor, perhaps, required.

A *Kansas Zeitung* article of April 17, 1858, considered the Humboldt experiment a success and announced a further settlement planned for a place named Ingraham, thirty miles west of Humboldt and named after a captain who freed the Hungarian revolutionary Martin Kos[z]ta from the Austrians.<sup>41</sup> One of the leaders of the Ingraham project was Dr. Kob, who, like Harttmann, became increasingly involved in land speculation. The "blooming" Humboldt is given as a guarantee that this settlement also has good future. The article reports, furthermore, that Humboldt had a second saw mill in operation and that more emigrants had arrived from Cincinnati. It was noted that the city was in need of a German beer brewer, a physician, and a pharmacist. Although nothing appeared to have resulted from the project to create a city named Ingraham, Kob's efforts reflect a cooperation between Kob and Harttmann to promote German settlements for the sake of a free state.<sup>42</sup> Their efforts with respect to Humboldt achieved a certain degree of permanence when mail routes from Lawrence to Humboldt became regular. After 1860, mail left Lawrence for Humboldt every Monday at 6:00 a.m. and arrived from Humboldt every Thursday at 10:00 p.m.<sup>43</sup>

George W. Brown, editor of the *Herald of Freedom*, appeared to support the Humboldt experiment with generous publicity. On August 14, 1858, he referred to Humboldt as a thriving town that had sprung up like magic. "The hotel is a large two and a half story frame, with veranda and an abundance of room." Two saw mills and a hotel were in operation.<sup>44</sup> On September 18, the paper reported, on the basis of an article in the *Kansas City Journal*, that over twenty substantial buildings had been erected, that substantial trade was in progress with Indian tribes, and that a large, male/female seminary was to be established. On January 1, 1859, Brown was proud to announce that Humboldt had ten subscribers to his paper. On November 26, 1859, he reported that the population of Humboldt had reached 150. He wrote that there were about forty or fifty buildings, two operating steam saw mills, with a corn mill attached to one of them. There were three stores, a hotel, and a post office." Brown saw the progress being made against a background of "dull times." He concluded that Humboldt's location "on New York Indian lands has somewhat retarded its prosperity, but as that drawback is about to be removed, we may expect to see it prospering again next spring beyond any previous period in her history."

Was the Humboldt experiment the overwhelming success that the newspaper articles portrayed? Although it was not a "paper town," as Nute had suggested, the community still had enormous challenges ahead. From September 1859 until October 1860 it was forced to contend with a period of unprecedented drought. In September and October 1861, it suffered two attacks from Missouri forces, the second of which resulted in the destruction of almost all Humboldt buildings by fire.<sup>45</sup> Humboldt had to endure great hardships in its position as a lonely, vulnerable outpost of Kansas before and during the Civil War.

Despite these and other setbacks, 1857 was clearly a positive turning point for the free-state advocates in the territory. Thrust into the midst of these dramatic events, Harttmann did not see himself simply as a passive observer. Although he may have been one of the first Germans among predominantly New England pioneers, in 1856 and 1857 the German population gradually increased. As a physician,



**STREET SCENE, HUMBOLDT.**

Courtesy of Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas: C. C. Hutchison, *Resources of Kansas: Fifteen Years of Experience* (Topeka: Hutchison, 1871), 65.

Hartmann probably came into contact with many members of the community that had grown from 400 in 1855 to 1,645 residents by 1860.<sup>46</sup> In 1857, two years after the establishment of a lodge for the Freemasons, Hartmann joined, and he remained a faithful member of lodge no. 6 until his departure from Lawrence in 1886. Among his "brothers" were politicians, lawyers, bankers, soldiers, merchants, and craftsmen. C. W. Babcock, James Christian, G. W. Deitzler, J. D. Herrington, E. D. Ladd, William H. R. Lykins, S. B. Prentiss, and Charles Robinson were prominent names in Lawrence and Kansas politics.<sup>47</sup> The *Turnverein* was formed in 1857, and two officers of that new organization, David Prager and Michael Oswald, also became members of lodge no. 6. Although Hartmann does not show up in the surviving membership list of the Turners, as a member of the *Corps Franconia*, he may have wished to test the recently produced local beer with one of the brothers.<sup>48</sup> When H. B. Möllhausen traveled through Lawrence in 1858, he observed that "shops, poolrooms and saloons are to be found side by side in motley mixture, and among these one notices a German beer house here and there where good Bavarian beer is served by heavy-set fellow countrymen."<sup>49</sup>

Not all Lawrence citizens appreciated the German promotion of beer in a state that soon took legal action against it. Even in other respects Hartmann was painfully aware of segments of the population that distrusted Germans for religious or political reasons. The *Herald of Freedom*, for example, had strong reservations about foreign influence in public life.

#### Not a Know-Nothing

A gentleman writes us from the East, charging us with being a Know-Nothing in politics and opposed to foreigners. On the contrary, the worst bitter political contrast ever waged against us by any party has been carried on by that party, because we opposed their proscriptive and intolerant policy. While we admit that we are in favor of "Americans ruling America," we were never attached to any organization, political, social, or otherwise, the object of which was to proscribe those of foreign birth, or of religious views differing from our own; but we have always advocated the broadest toleration of opinion, and have ever hailed with pleasure the advent to our country of the oppressed from the Old World. In Kansas we have objected, and shall continue to object, to young men of foreign birth, who have but recently arrived in this country, proscribing the native born, and thrusting themselves into office, and labouring to control public opinion by fraud, and falsehood, to the exclusion of the experienced and meritorious of our country.<sup>50</sup>

Hartmann considered this to be an unjustified attack on Germans, and he responded with a characteristic bluntness. According to Hartmann, Brown displayed a reincarnation of the Jesuit spirit. He found it offensive that Brown would try to prevent foreigners from asserting their rights in Kansas, to seek offices, and to gain influence. Hartmann declared in an article for the *Kansas Zeitung* that the Germans "would strive for every kind of political position for which capable men are needed, in order to prevent that the rights of the people are not betrayed or sold by mercenary scoundrels."<sup>51</sup> Because at about this time he made the decision to run for public

office, Hartmann was all the more incensed by Brown's attempts to disenfranchise Germans. Brown had labeled German as "Dutchmen," a designation that even "border ruffians," according to Hartmann, would not use.

His condemnation of the editor of the *Herald of Freedom* for chauvinism did not prevent Hartmann from becoming his ally when political realities demanded decisive action. In early December 1857, the legislature in Lecompton formulated a constitution to assure that Kansas would permit slavery in Kansas. In response, the free-staters, who did not recognize the action of the "fraudulently" elected legislators, assembled in Lawrence. Moritz Hartmann was one of the delegates at the convention. He took the side of those who wished to participate in the election that would elect governmental officials under the new constitution, while, at the same time, putting up the constitution itself for a referendum. In a closely contested vote Hartmann took the side of the "conservatives," that is, the side of Charles Robinson and George W. Brown.<sup>52</sup> This meant that he voted to propose a slate of candidates during the election initiated by the framers of the despised Lecompton constitution. Although Hartmann's language often betrayed a radical position in the articles for the *Kansas Zeitung*, in this crisis he moved to a less radical position, and away from his partner at the *Kansas Zeitung*, Dr. Kob, who saw no possibility of a compromise and rejected the entire election process as a betrayal of principles. Thus, Kob was on the side opposing Hartmann's faction, along with the followers of the volatile James H. Lane. No compromise appeared possible. Because of alleged voting irregularities, Hartmann's "conservative" faction bolted the convention and moved to its own location to propose a slate of candidates.

A few days later, on January 4, the election took place. The result was an overwhelming victory for the free-state cause. The difference between conservatives and radicals no longer mattered. A sense of relief and triumph pervaded Kansas. The message Serenbetz sent from Humboldt reflects optimism:

You can see how dramatically the population has increased. During the election of last fall, only nineteen votes came from Humboldt and the areas directly to the south; in contrast, Humboldt alone contributed eighty-three votes in the recent election of Jan. 4. It is self-evident that we all voted against the swindle, the Lecompton [pro-slavery constitution] of the Democrats.<sup>53</sup>

With a new sense of legitimacy, Lawrence proceeded to hold city elections on the basis of a recently granted city charter. Hartmann became a candidate for the city council. The *Herald of Freedom* reported on results of the elections for Lawrence officials on March 6:

The election for city officers, under the Lawrence City charter granted by the late Territorial Legislature, came off on Monday last, and was participated in by all our citizens. From the earnestness with which the people entered into the contest, one would have supposed that some great political principle was at stake. The only issue made, we believe, was Conservatism against

Radicalism, and we are proud to say that the whole conservative ticket, with one exception, was elected by a respectable majority. Below we give the figures: Mayor.—C. W. Babcock, 264; James Blood, 173.

Councilmen. —R. Morrow, 285; P. R. Brooks, 290; E. S. Lowman, 280; L. C. Tolles, 299; John G. Haskell, 280; M. Hart[t]man[n], 260; Henry Shanklin, 266; A. J. Totten, 269; S. W. Eldridge, 377; A. H. Mallory, 216; L. Bullene, 275.

Thus, with a respectable margin, Hartmann became a member of the first official city council. Only one of the so-called “radicals,” who had voted against an election slate, S.W. Eldridge, also became a councilmen.<sup>54</sup> Although the *Herald of Freedom* considered it important to distinguish between conservatives and radicals within the free-state movement, in the context of the town’s daily business the pressing issues made these distinctions irrelevant. The newly founded Republican party eventually made the distinctions even less significant.

On March 23, 1858, Hartmann received official confirmation from the governor’s office that he was being appointed notary public for Douglas County.<sup>55</sup> Reports in the *Kansas Free State* about the twice-weekly meetings of the twelve councilmen and the mayor reflect the areas of major concern: The building of a bridge over the Kansas River, school buildings, school closings, police services, planning for the location of a county court house and county jail, salaries, and taxation. On November 4, 1858, the minutes of the commission meeting shows: “Dr. M. Hart[t]man[n], medical attendance on pauper, \$7.” It appears that Hartmann also served as a the physician for hardship cases. His service for the city continued until March 1859. In the election results of March 10, Hartmann was no longer listed as a candidate.

The territorial legislature established the Kansas Medical Society. Hartmann, together with Dr. Kob of Leavenworth, were appointed as members. The society of twenty-nine physicians met on February 10, 1859, to organize. Hartmann, who became the society’s librarian, was an active participant in the meeting. At the first meeting of the society he proposed that a code of ethics be formulated and that the report of the society’s work get publicity in the newspapers. Both the *Herald of Freedom* and the *Lawrence Republican* reported the details of the society’s meeting.<sup>56</sup>

Hartmann’s active participation in Lawrence politics ended at the time when the state’s future as a free state became secure. Unlike most other physicians in town, after an initial ad in 1856, he no longer advertised his services in the city’s newspapers. Presumably he had a circle of patients, and he had difficulty serving more. His availability was restricted, moreover, because of his love of travel. In 1859, for example, he left Lawrence for a three-month trip to Europe.<sup>57</sup>

Following Quantrill’s raid on Lawrence (1863) and the threat of incursion by a Confederate army into Kansas (Fall 1864), all able-bodied Kansan men were called to serve in the military forces. An army under the command of Maj. Gen. Sterling Price approached the eastern border of Kansas, and Governor Thomas Carney issued a proclamation: “The State is in peril! Price and his rebel hosts threaten it with invasion. Kansas must be ready to hurl them back at any cost.” In response to the call, over 12,000 men assembled at Olathe, Atchison, Paola, Mound City, Fort Scott, and Wyandotte City. As the company surgeon, Hartmann became part of the Third Regiment of the Kansas State Militia under Colonel Williamson. He served from

October 10 to 27, 1864. The enemy was defeated in a number of minor skirmishes. These engagements were among the last ones in the Civil War along the Kansas border.<sup>58</sup>

As a member of the Masonic Lodge no. 6, Hartmann was part of a society that supported a recovery and rebuilding effort. The lodge provided emergency aid to the widows of men who had been killed in Quantrill's raid. It also set up a delegation to consult with Hartmann about building a hall for the Masons.<sup>59</sup>

Hartmann was also involved in the aid to immigrants. He is reported to have been a delegate to a society that aided those who arrived by boat in Baltimore. What the position of "delegate" might have meant is not clear. The organization for which he probably served had existed since 1873. It was dedicated to the "protection and assistance of poor emigrants from Germany and Switzerland."<sup>60</sup> The organization worked closely with state government officials to ensure the rights of the arrivals. If Hartmann played a role, it probably had to do with providing information to the emigrants about settling in western states such as Kansas.

Hartmann married Ida Stackfleth in March 27, 1870. It was not a successful relationship; on April 3, 1871, Ida petitioned for a divorce. Ida retained her former husband's name and served as a cook and comanager with her sister in the Globe Restaurant.<sup>61</sup> Hartmann married again. The U.S. Census 1880 helps to reconstruct a later part of Hartmann's life. He was still residing in Douglas County, but now he was in Wakarusa, south of Lawrence, where he was a retired physician, living with his wife, Elizabeth Hartmann, who was forty-nine years old. The census also indicates that a twelve-year-old boy named John Hutt lived with the couple as a servant, and a niece, Christiane Christ, 22 years old, resided in the home as a boarder. All members of the residence unit were Germans from Württemberg.<sup>62</sup>

Travel and exploration were among Hartmann's most frequent ventures. In 1872, he tested the new intercontinental railway to Manitou, Colorado. From there it was a short distance to Pike's Peak, and he climbed to the top of the 14,110-foot mountain. The interest in the area was intense in Kansas in the 1850s and 1860s when many Kansans sought to make their fortunes by discovering gold.<sup>63</sup> In 1874, Hartmann traveled from Lawrence to St. Louis and continued from there to Toronto, on the Lawrence River to Quebec, then visited Lake Champlain, Saratoga, Albany, and New York City. In 1876, Hartmann was in Philadelphia for the Bicentennial celebrations and the World's Fair. If he arrived there at the opening (the fair took place from 10 May to 10 November), he could have heard a march by Richard Wagner, composed for the occasion, as well as an address by President Ulysses S. Grant.<sup>64</sup> In 1879, Lawrence celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. Hartmann was present at the celebration in Bismarck Grove, at the northeastern corner of Lawrence.<sup>65</sup> In 1880, Hartmann traveled to Milwaukee. In 1882, he undertook a six-month trip to Europe, starting from New York to Rotterdam, Cologne, Stuttgart, and Ulm. In 1883, he traveled to Europe again, this time staying in Ulm for about two years before returning to Lawrence. In 1886, he made still another trip to Germany. Ulm, in each case, was his destination.<sup>66</sup>

In 1885, he undertook his most spectacular trip. As an admirer of Alexander von Humboldt, Hartmann must have been intrigued by the idea of seeing the famous places that Humboldt had explored. He started out by traveling to Colorado, and then continued through Texas and New Mexico to Mexico. Since he visited

numerous places that Humboldt had written about, it is possible that he had a biography of Humboldt as a guidebook. Just like Humboldt, Harttmann explored the areas around Toluca, and he climbed to the point where a snow mantle covered Popocatepetl, one of the highest mountains in Mexico. He also explored the ancient Aztec parts of Mexico City and its vicinity. When he had named the Kansas town after Humboldt, Harttmann wished to celebrate Humboldt as a symbol against slavery. His travels in Mexico, on the other hand, reflect the admiration for Humboldt as a great scientific explorer.<sup>67</sup>

In 1887, Harttmann returned to Ulm, at the outskirts of which, in the neighboring Neu-Ulm, he spent the last years of his life. In 1891, he took part in the seventy-year anniversary of the founding of his fraternity, the *Corps Franconia*, in Tübingen. He was the oldest member present on the occasion. The historical record of the fraternity his contribution as a "spirited and poetically inspired speech," which included reflections about his American experiences.<sup>68</sup> The report about Harttmann's death is recorded in an announcement placed by his wife, Elisabeth, in the Ulm daily paper, *Ulmer Tageblatt*, on March 18, 1900: "Yesterday evening my dear husband, Dr. Moritz Harttmann, died. The body will be taken to the crematorium in Heidelberg."

The life of Moritz Harttmann does not require the emphasis of his personal importance. His achievements were not extraordinary. He was just one of many Germans who survived the failed revolution in Germany and started an active, new life in the United States. It is not a coincidence that Dr. Kob, as physician, journalist, free-state advocate, and speculator, played a historical role similar to Harttmann's and was also entirely forgotten. Despite this lack of prominence, Harttmann and Kob reveal a network of alliances. In this wide-ranging network, the Emigrant Aid Company played a important financial and supporting role at almost every point. The company recognized that recent Germans of the revolutionary generation would be ideal allies for keeping the state of Kansas free of slavery. The Germans brought with them ideals of freedom and equality to a country in crisis about the issue of slavery. The German immigrants represented a generation that Alexander von Humboldt had influenced with his keen sensitivity to the aspirations and rights of all races. The Germans formed a significant block of settlers and voters who helped to turn the tide against the established proslavery forces. Although most of the German settlers in Kansas have been forgotten, their legacy is part and parcel of the ultimate defeat of slavery in Kansas and in the United States.

*University of Kansas*  
Lawrence, Kansas

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Eli Thayer, *A History of the Kansas Crusade: Its Friends and Its Foes* (New York: Harper, 1889), 45.

<sup>2</sup> See letter of January 11, 1858, at the Quindaro site of the Kansas City Community College. [http://www.kckcc.edu/territorial\\_news/quindaro\\_chindowan/q52a.pdf](http://www.kckcc.edu/territorial_news/quindaro_chindowan/q52a.pdf). The original letter has appeared in a new edition of Humboldt's letters relating to the United States. Ingo Schwarz (ed.), *Alexander von Humboldt und die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika: Briefwechsel* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2004), 433–36. Cf. Philip S. Foner (ed.), *Alexander von Humboldt über die Sklaverei in den USA* (Berlin: Humboldt-

Universität, 1984), 56–57. Froebel communicated the full text of the letter to the *N. Y. Tribune* with Humboldt's consent.

<sup>3</sup> Frank Baron and Scott Seeger, "Das Leben Moritz Harttmanns und das Fortleben des Namens Humboldt in Amerika," to appear in: Ulrich Gaier and Wolfgang Scheurl (eds.), *Schwabenspiegel II. Literatur zwischen Neckar und Bodensee 1800–1950* (Ulm: Landratsamt Alb-Donau-Kreis, 2005). The appendix of this article contains the entire German text of Harttmann's autobiographical sketch ("Narrative of Travels"). The original German text is also in "Moritz Friedrich Harttmann," Emil Metzger, *Württembergische Forschungsreisende Geographen des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart 1889), 109–10. The authors of the present article are responsible for the translations of German texts.

<sup>4</sup> We are indebted to Dr. Michael Wischnat for copies of documents regarding Harttmann's studies.

<sup>5</sup> W. H. Schneider-Horn, *Die Tübinger Franken: Geschichte des Corps Franconia zu Tübingen* (Tübingen: Funk-Kurier, 1969), 119, 146, and 156–57.

<sup>6</sup> We are grateful to Michael Bing of the church archives of Stuttgart for information about church papers relating to Harttmann and for a copy of Harttmann's article of 1848.

<sup>7</sup> Ira A. Glazier, *Germans to America, Series II: Lists of Passengers Arriving at U.S. Ports in the 1840s* (Wilmington: SR Scholarly Resources, 2003), vol. 6, 285. The record designates "Moritz Hart[t]mann" as a farmer, thirty years old. Despite the lack of accuracy, the record appears to identify the subject of this article.

<sup>8</sup> W. Lang, *History of Seneca County* (Springfield, Ohio: Transcript Printing, 1880), 311–12. *History of Seneca County, Ohio* (Chicago, 1886), 391–92. Myron Bruce Barnes, *Seneca Sentinel Bicentennial Sketches* (Seneca: Seneca County Museum, 1976), 4–5. "Dr. Henry Kuhn, First Mayor," *Advertiser Tribune*, June 17, 1967. The Wyandot tribe of Ohio settled in Kansas, in today's Wyandotte County. The abolitionist town of Quindaro, founded on the banks of the Missouri river, became a stop on the Underground Railway and the home of the free-state paper *Chindowan*, which published Humboldt's anti-slavery letter of 1858 (see note #1 above).

<sup>9</sup> "Narrative of Travels."

<sup>10</sup> "List of Original Owners" Lawrence 1859. A copy is in Spencer Research Library of the University of Kansas. The original is in the Kansas Historical Society Library in Topeka.

<sup>11</sup> Report of Edward Hogland, H. J. Adams and S.A. Kingman, Commissioners of Claims, under act of Feb. 7, 1859. Printed pursuant to a Resolution of the Constitutional convention, passed July 11 [1859]. See also *Herald of Freedom*, July 30, 1859.

<sup>12</sup> "Narrative of Travels."

<sup>13</sup> See letter from Serenbetz to Hale in Territorial Kansas Online. 1854–1861. [www.territorialkansasonline.org](http://www.territorialkansasonline.org). The original sources for the correspondence with the Emigrant Aid Company are deposited in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society and are available as microfilms.

<sup>14</sup> See letter from Branscomb to Hale in Territorial Kansas Online. 1854–1861. [www.territorialkansasonline.org](http://www.territorialkansasonline.org). Also see the New England Emigrant Aid Company Papers 1854–1909

<sup>15</sup> Samuel A. Johnson, *The Battle Cry for Freedom: The New England Emigrant Aid Company in the Kansas Crusade* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1954), 243 and 325. The original sources for the information about Kob's relationship to the Emigrant Aid Company are deposited in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka. Unfortunately, the archival materials were reorganized for microfilming, and the original designations to which Johnson refers are no longer valid. Nevertheless, the archives confirm that the Emigrant Aid Company recommended Kob to the German emigrants in their efforts to find a new home. See the letter of April 7 from the company's secretary, Thomas H. Webb, to Samuel P. Pomeroy: "You probably will have seen the Rev. Mr. Serenbetz, and his Pioneer party ere this reaches you—also Dr. Kob to whom w[ere] introduced whilst here, and from whom we have been for some time anxiously expecting to hear." New England Emigrant Aid Company Papers 1854–1909, Microfilm Reel #2.

<sup>16</sup> Family heads were: Francis M. Serenbetz, Francis Trauz, Herman Trauz, John Lauterwasser, John Frixel, Jacob Schleicher, Lorenz Pauli, Herman Brandt, John G. Handel, John Kemmerer, Florenz Serenbetz, Leopold Pahlke, and Andrew Lerch. On February 8, 1857, the German members met with Serenbetz at their pastor's house to discuss a plan of emigration to Kansas, and they voted on a series of resolutions, including the condemnation of slavery, the determination to emigrate to Kansas; to erect a church building, a school house, dwellings, outhouses, fencing, etc., to consider all agricultural implements, tools, oxen, cows, horses & other cattle are to be considered the common stock of the company; "to oppose the admittance of infidels and adherents of the Pope into our association, as well as drinkers or keepers of

drinksops," and to consider Rev F. M. Serenbetz be president & pastor of the company. See letter from Serenbetz of March 14, 1857 to Hale. [www.territorialkansasonline.org](http://www.territorialkansasonline.org).

<sup>17</sup> "But I fear they will be rather lacking in self-reliance. They seem to be entirely without funds & in trouble because of finding none in the hands of Pomeroy or others. I have lent them \$100. Whitman became responsible for their board at the public house to the amount of \$140. Brassart for a bill of provisions to amount of \$100 & Whitman fitted them out with seeds etc as agent of the Nat. K. A. Com. Parson [erenbetz] preached to his people in der Teusche [sic] [S]prache in our ventry at which they seemed much interested as well as those to whom it was all Dutch." See the letter from Nute to Hale. [www.territorialkansasonline.org](http://www.territorialkansasonline.org).

<sup>18</sup> At the Old Settlers' Meeting of 1879 Reverend Edward Everett Hale recalled: "So when our friend Mr. George Brown came to us, and told us of his grand enterprise of the *Herald of Freedom*, we were glad to risk \$2,000 with him in that operation. And when his type was thrown into the Kansas river here, we were not sorry to hear that it had been fished out to be cast into cannon balls . . ." Charles S. Glead (ed.), *The Kansas Memorial: A Report of the Old Settlers' Meeting at Bismarck Grove, Kansas, September 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup>, 1879* (Kansas City, Mo.: Ramsey, Millett & Hudson, 1880), 146-47.

<sup>19</sup> Letter of August 3, 1857. [www.territorialkansasonline.org](http://www.territorialkansasonline.org). After Serenbetz arrived in Humboldt, he requested \$500 from the Emigrant Aid Company. Johnson, *The Battle Cry for Freedom*, 244.

<sup>20</sup> Miriam Davis Colt, *Went to Kansas; Being a Thrilling Account of an Ill-Fated Expedition to That Fairy Land, and Its Sad Results* (Watertown, N. Y.: Ingalls, 1862).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. John Rydjord, *Kansas Place-Names* (Norman, Okla.: University Press, 1972), 180 and 523.

<sup>22</sup> In an oration held in commemoration of Humboldt's 100<sup>th</sup> birthday in Boston in 1869, Karl Heinzen said: "As far as we know, Humboldt has never, directly or openly, avowed himself to be an atheist or a materialist; he has been content with showing himself as such in his writings." Karl Heinzen, *The True Character of Humboldt* (Indianapolis: Association for the Propagation of Radical Principles, 1869), 5.

<sup>23</sup> The *Kansas Zeitung* of September 9, 1857 (see also note # 38 below) shows the street names Uhland, Herder, Schiller, Tritschler [Trützschler], Goethe, Robert Blum, Wieland, Jean Paul und Lenuu. Trützschler and Robert Blum were considered "martyrs" of the 1848-1849 revolution. Cf. Veit Valentin, *Geschichte der deutschen Revolution von 1848-1849* (Aalen: Scientia, 1968), II, 84 and 679.

<sup>24</sup> *Kansas Free State*, July 30, 1856.

<sup>25</sup> Frank R. Moore, *The Coffey Clan from 1690* (n.p.: Stromberg Press, 1969).

<sup>26</sup> Biographical record deposited by James Hunt Signor at the Kansas Historical Society, Topeka.

<sup>27</sup> Richard Cordley, *A History of Lawrence, Kansas from the First Settlement to the Close of the Rebellion* (Lawrence: Journal Press, 1895). See an ad by Whitman & Searl and additional information displayed at [www.territorialkansasonline.org](http://www.territorialkansasonline.org). Louise Berry, "The Emigrant Aid Parties of 1854," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 12(1943): 126-30. Charles Richard Denton, "The Unitarian Church and 'Kanzas Territory,'" *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 30 (1964), 330-31.

<sup>28</sup> National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy no. 653. Census of July 14, 1865, Lawrence. The age indicated is 46; actually, Hart[t]man[n] was already 48.

<sup>29</sup> Lawrence City Directory (Lawrence: Foley & Co., 1886), 72.

<sup>30</sup> Charles Branscomb, an agent of the Emigrant Aid Company in Kansas, used the slogan: "Let capital be the pioneer." Russell K. Hickman, "Speculative Activities of the Emigrant Aid Company," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 4(1935): 240.

<sup>31</sup> Craig Miner and William E. Unrau, *The End of Indian Kansas: A Study of Cultural Revolution, 1854-1871* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1990), 5. Cf. Paul Wallace Gates, *Fifty Million Acres: Conflicts over Kansas Land Policy, 1854-1890* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978).

<sup>32</sup> Hickmann, "Speculative Activities of the Emigrant Aid Company," 238. The subtitle of Kob's paper ("an organ of free speech, free country, and free men") implied a radical position on slavery. Cf. Johnson, *The Battle Cry for Freedom: The New England Emigrant Aid Company in the Kansas Crusade*, 243.

<sup>33</sup> A copy of this article is in the "Thomas H. Webb Scrapbook" in the microfilm archives of the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

<sup>34</sup> *Wegeweiser für Ansiedler im Territorium Kansas mit vorausgeschickter Erklärung der bestehenden Gesetze und Verordnungen über Besiedelung öffentlicher Staats-Ländereien in den Ver. Staaten von Nord-Amerika*. New York, G. B. Teubner, 1857. The book was underwritten by the Emigrant Aid Company. This was in line with what the *New York Daily Times* (January 6, 1855) had recommended: "Let well-prepared German circulars be scattered about in the principal cities of Germany, and then among the

emigrant lodging-houses in this City; let the office of the Emigrants Aid Association be the place where information could be obtained as to the best routes, etc., to the new territory."

<sup>35</sup> www.territorialkanasonline.org. On the population of Lawrence see note # 46 below.

<sup>36</sup> Don W. Wilson, *Governor Charles Robinson of Kansas* (Lawrence: University Press, 1975), 52.

<sup>37</sup> The Grasshopper Falls Convention took place at today's Valley Falls. Kob, who spoke at the same convention in the name of the Germans, warned against passivity, which he considered dangerous, as the example of the failed revolutions had shown. *Kansas Zeitung*, September 2, 1857. Robinson's optimism was more accurately reflected in a confidential letter of July 18, 1857 from Hale to Nute: "We look upon the great question as now settled, and all political movements in Kansas as having chiefly a local interest." Cf. talk by Kob.

<sup>38</sup> *Kansas Zeitung*, September 9, 1857. Cf. note No. 23 above.

<sup>39</sup> [Moritz Harttmann], "Die Stadt Humboldt in Kansas," *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde* N. F. 3(1858), 368–69. Cf. *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, de la géographie, de l'histoire et de l'archéologie*, ser. 6, 1(1858), 360–62. The editor of *Ausland*, O. F. Peschel, reported to have received a letter (similar in content) about the "German city of Humboldt in Kansas." He wrote that although the fate of Kansas as a free state or a slave state was still uncertain, several active free staters were unwilling to allow slavery to be imposed on them, and being far greater in number than their opponents, they were busy building their cities and villages. They did not allow the noise of Congress, provoked by President Buchanan's slavery-friendly position, to divert them from continuing their work of building settlements. The article refers to Serenbetz, Harttmann, and Coffey as founders of Humboldt. The article also stresses the German names of the town's streets. *Ausland* 31(1858): 407–8.

<sup>40</sup> On March 20 of the same year, the *Herald of Freedom* again reported positive developments, which the paper received from its "friend J. A. Coffey of Humboldt[d]t." Moore, 46–47.

<sup>41</sup> There is no trace of Ingraham in Kansas today. In a message to Congress on December 5, 1853, President Franklin Pierce had related the involvement of the American naval officer Duncan Nathaniel Ingraham, who acted to free the former Hungarian revolutionary, whom Kob evidently wished to have remembered. Koszta had been granted resident status in the United States and was on a business trip to Turkey when he was captured by the Austrians.

<sup>42</sup> Eleanor L. Turk, "The Germans of Atchison, 1854–1859: Development of an Ethnic Community," *Kansas History* 2(1979): 152–53 and 155.

<sup>43</sup> *Lawrence City Directory and Business Mirror* (Lawrence: Sutherland, 1861), 48.

<sup>44</sup> This article was quoted from the Kansas paper *Minneola Statesman*.

<sup>45</sup> Genevieve L. and Harold S. Choguill, *A History of the Humboldt, Kansas, Community, 1855–1988* (n.p., 1988), 5–8.

<sup>46</sup> *Population of the United States in 1860* (D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1864). Douglas county had a population of over 8,000. See also Katja Rampelmann, "Small-Town Germans: The Germans of Lawrence, Kansas, from 1854 to 1918" (M.A. Thesis, University of Kansas, 1991), 20–22. In 1857, Kob estimated the population of Lawrence at 2,500. He estimated the number of Germans at 60. He probably included the land adjoining Lawrence, oven perhaps the entire area of Douglas County. *Wegweiser*, 29–30.

<sup>47</sup> James Christian made the first efforts to establish a Masonic lodge in Lawrence in the summer of 1855. He had to go to the nearest lodge, which was proslavery Westport. Nevertheless, he obtained permission to establish a lodge in Lawrence. In *The Beginning: Centennial History and Roster. Lawrence Lodge No. 6 A.F. & A.M.* (Lawrence, 1955), 7–8. In 1861, "Bro. M. Hart[t]man[n] presented an appeal from the decision of Lawrence Lodge, No. 6, in the case of Hart[t]man[n] vs. Kennedy, which, on motion, was referred to the Committee on Grievances, which recommended that the case be referred back to Lawrence Lodge for a rehearing." *Proceedings of the M. W. Grand Lodge of Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of Kansas* (A reprint of the original minutes, 1889), I, 12–13, 211–12, 223, 289–346, 352, 359, 429, and 511–12. *Proceedings of the M. W. Grand Lodge of the Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of Kansas* (Leavenworth: Ketcheson & Reeves, 1895), II, 206, 314, and 437. *Proceedings of the M. W. Grand Lodge of the Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of Kansas* (Leavenworth: Times, 1870), III, 115–16. See also *Proceedings of the M. W. Grand Lodge of the Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of Kansas* (Wyandotte: Grand Lodge, 1885), VI, 78.

<sup>48</sup> In 1861, forty-four of the forty-eight members, according to a later, unconfirmed report, enlisted in the Union army. Katja Rampelmann, "Small Town Germans," 80–102. Henry Albach, "Turner Hall Sold," *The Lawrence Democrat*, April 9, 1938 (Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas). Albach's list of twenty-five members in 1866 does not show Harttmann's name. Hart[t]man[n] was a member from 1857 to 1886. See *In the Beginning: A History and Roster Published as a Feature of the Observance of*

the *One-Hundredth Anniversary of Lawrence Lodge No. 6, A. F. & A. M.* (Lawrence: Masonic Lodge No. 6, 1956), 67.

<sup>49</sup> H. B. Möllhausen, "Over the Santa Fe Trail through Kansas in 1858," (translated by John A. Burzle) *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 16 (1948): 376.

<sup>50</sup> *Herald of Freedom*, August 15, 1857.

<sup>51</sup> *Kansas Zeitung*, August 26, 1857: "Nein, Herr Braun! Wenn irgend möglich, werden wir nach jeder Office streben, zu der tüchtige Männer nötig sind, um nicht die Rechte des Volkes durch feile Schurken verrathen und verkauft zu sehen!"

<sup>52</sup> A description of the convention from the point of view of Lane's party is in the *Quindaro Chindowan Extra* of December 29, 1857. The delegates' votes are recorded: Hart[t]mann with the "Yeas," in favor of a slate of candidates. [www.kckcc.edu/territorial\\_news/quindaro\\_chindowan/qextrab.pdf](http://www.kckcc.edu/territorial_news/quindaro_chindowan/qextrab.pdf). "On Christmas Eve, the conservative delegates met at the Masonic Hall in Lawrence. When that sanctuary was invaded and the lights doused by Lane's supporters, editor George Brown took the delegates to the basement of the *Herald of Freedom*, covered the windows with paper, and, in what the radical free staters called "Brown's Cellar Kitchen Convention," nominated a free-state ticket. The kitchen convention adjourned on Christmas morning. A Topeka mass convention also resolved to participate in the election of state officers. With characteristic flexibility, even Lane finally endorsed voting in the January 4 election." Nicole Etcheson, *Bleeding Kansas: Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 162.

<sup>53</sup> *Kansas Zeitung*, February 3, 1858.

<sup>54</sup> "Conservative" C. W. Babcock defeated James Blood for the office of mayor. Blood, who had voted for the "radical" position, became mayor of Lawrence in the following election.

<sup>55</sup> "Governor Denver's Administration," *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, ed. By F. G. Adams 5 (1896): 491.

<sup>56</sup> William E. Connelley, *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans* (Chicago: Lewis, 1918), 994. February 19, 1859, *Herald of Freedom* and February 17, 1859, *Lawrence Republican*.

<sup>57</sup> "Narrative of Travels."

<sup>58</sup> Edgar Langsdorf, "Price's Raid and the Battle of Mine Creek" *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 20 (1964): 286–87 and Brian Dexter Fowles, *A Guard in Peace and War: The History of the Kansas National Guard, 1854–1987* (Manhattan, Kans.: Sunflower University Press, 1989), 10–14.

<sup>59</sup> On February 6, 1865, it was "moved by Brother Fisher, and carried, that a committee be appointed to confer with Brother Hart[t]man[n] in relation to building a hall for the Lodge." Perhaps there was some dissatisfaction with the work of the committee; a few months later it is recorded "That old committee on hall was discharged and a new committee appointed consisting of Brothers Duncan, Thacher and Cracklin." *In the Beginning*, 23.

<sup>60</sup> See "Narrative of Travels" in the Appendix. Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans: A History* (Princeton: University Press, 1948), 197–203.

<sup>61</sup> See [http://www.ancestorhunt.com/mormon\\_church\\_records.htm](http://www.ancestorhunt.com/mormon_church_records.htm) for a record of Harttman's marriages to Ida Stackfleth and Elizabeth Hart[t]man[n]. Judy Sweets and Pauline Elniff, "Kansas Territory Divorces. 1857–1861 and Douglas County Divorce Petitions. 1864–1884," manuscript, 1984, 7. *Lawrence City Directory*, 1875–1876, 74 and 127.

<sup>62</sup> 1880 United States Census. See [www.familysearch.org](http://www.familysearch.org).

<sup>63</sup> Calvin W. Grower, "Gold Fever in Kansas Territory: Migration to the Pike's Peak Gold Fields, 1858–1860," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 39 (1973): 58–74.

<sup>64</sup> Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *The German Language Press of the Americas* (Munich: Saur, 1980), 700.

<sup>65</sup> Glead (ed.), *The Kansas Memoria: A Report of the Old Settlers' Meeting*, 228.

<sup>66</sup> See "Narrative of Travels."

<sup>67</sup> See article by Baron and Seeger, "Das Leben Moritz Harttmanns."

<sup>68</sup> Schneider-Horn, *Die Tübinger Franken*, 156–57.

Bonnie J. Krause

## The German Saxon Community in the Illinois Mississippi River Bottoms

“. . . the prospect for the future seems much brighter in the regions along the Mississippi,” Gottfried Duden published in his 1829 *Report on a Journey to the Western States of North America* written as a series of letters to his fellow Germans.<sup>1</sup> During the early nineteenth century, thousands of Germans immigrated, enticed by Duden’s *Report*. One of those inspired to lead others to immigrate from Saxony, the Saxon Duchies and Saxon Province of Prussia was Martin Stephan, an ultra conservative clergyman in conflict with the state Saxon Lutheran church. By 1837 he formed an Emigration Association with plans to move from Dresden to Hamburg on the Elbe River, from Hamburg by chartered ship to New Orleans, then to St. Louis by steamboat. In St. Louis the group would choose a site for their colony. Those plans never fundamentally altered. Between 3 and 18 November 1838, 665 people departed from Bremen on five ships. One ship, the *Amalia* with fifty-eight people on board, was lost at sea. The remaining voyagers arrived in St. Louis during January and February 1839. Four-fifths of the immigrants were farmers and craftsmen. In May 1839, they purchased 4,475 acres of private and government land for \$9,234.25 in Perry County, Missouri.<sup>2</sup>

Some of the German Saxons remained in St. Louis where they could be employed at their traditional crafts. Between 1839 to 1841, Stephan’s “immorality, unfaithfulness and hypocrisy” as well as his expenditures led the clergy to expel Stephan from the colony to “Devil’s Bake Oven,” a rock formation near Grand Tower, Illinois. Later he moved north in Illinois to organize a congregation near Red Bud, where he died in 1846. Eventually it was the Saxon German Lutherans of Perry County and St. Louis that founded a major American church, the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod.<sup>3</sup>

The Missouri colonists separated into six major settlements: Altenburg, Nieder Frohna, Dresden, Seelitz, Johannisberg and Wittenberg, the river landing on the Mississippi River nearly opposite Grand Tower in Illinois. The villages were set up based on the old country’s *Straßendörfer* or string-shaped villages. This elongated village allowed each farmer to have a town lot and a strip of farmland stretching from the back of the village for some distance. Often the narrow town lot faced a major road. For example, Altenburg, Missouri, was two miles long and two lots wide.<sup>4</sup>

The Saxon German settlements continued to grow and attract other immigrants from the fatherland as well as conservative Lutherans in Hanover, Prussia and Germany. As Perry County Lutheran Pastor Heinrich Loeber commented: “Nor did a year pass in which some new families came to us from the old Fatherland





and settled here."<sup>5</sup> Communication through individuals, through churches, spread the news of the American colony. As Frederick Emerson stated in his *Geography of Missouri* concerning chain migration: "If communication lines are kept open between the new settlements and relatives and neighbors back home, positive information may induce the latter to pack up and follow."<sup>6</sup> The Missouri colony continued to expand, and new settlers searched for new land. It was not unusual that they would look across the Mississippi River to Illinois.

Trade and traffic across the Mississippi River between Jackson County, Illinois, and Perry County, Missouri, occurred early in the two states' history. Colonel James Gill settled at Devil's Bake Oven, Illinois, in 1805 and with William Gaston constructed and managed a ferry across the Mississippi River connecting the two counties.<sup>7</sup> After the Civil War, the Grand Tower Mining, Manufacturing and Transportation Company built coke ovens and an iron furnace near the same location. It used iron ore from Missouri and coal from the Illinois Upper Big Muddy River mines.<sup>8</sup> The Company employed workers from both states.

During the 1870s, Township Nine South of Jackson County, Illinois, the county opposite Perry County, Missouri, became known simultaneously as both Big Lake Township and Fountain Bluff Township. Big Lake referred to the northern wetland section of the township and Fountain Bluff to the southern ridge section. Bordered by the Mississippi River on the west, the township contained a limestone ridge of bluffs and the flat bottomlands of the Big Muddy River. During the early days, Big Lake and Swan Pond covered a large portion of the lowlands. The Mississippi River often flooded the remainder of the land. As a floodplain, the soil was deep, rich, and fertile.

The 1878 *History of Jackson County* stated of the township's wetlands: "Big Lake is a hunter's paradise." With lakes, marshes, woods and reeds, the bottomlands attracted migrating fowl including the canvasback, ruffle-headed, Pintail and wood ducks, mallards, teal, spoonbill and Canada geese. According to John James Audubon's early observation of the region, the white swan wintered at Big Lake. Other fowl included jack snipe, woodcock, rails, plovers, grouse, wild turkey, pheasant and quail. Deer and rabbit abounded. The township attracted hunters from the East Coast as well as the Midwest.<sup>9</sup> Joseph Brunkhorst of Grand Tower, son of an 1870s German settler, recalled local stories of hunters coming to the Big Lake region from across the nation. "Game was so plentiful that...some of them had two guns and they would shoot until it [the gun] got too hot and then take the other one."<sup>10</sup>

Mississippi River floods of the Jackson County bottomlands were disastrous. In 1844, the water rose four feet higher than recorded in history and the Big Muddy River ran upstream, opposite its normal course, for a month. The Mississippi widened to four, then to six miles. Recognizing the disaster, the Illinois General Assembly released the flood victims from taxation in 1845. Floods continued to plague Fountain Bluff Township.<sup>11</sup>

Soon after immigration, the German Saxon settlement conceived of possible migration across the Mississippi River into Illinois. In an 1839 letter to family in Saxony, Christina Loeber wrote to potential immigrants that "there is much good land in this neighborhood" and that "twenty farmers who are living at a place a few miles from here" might move to Illinois "to make room for our dear children."<sup>12</sup> Documentation of any 1830-40s Saxon migration from Missouri to Illinois cannot be found.

In October 1861, German Saxon Emmanuel Estel of Perry County purchased land in Jackson County, Fountain Bluff Township that lay almost directly east of

Wittenberg and within one section of the shore of the Mississippi River. Specifically he bought the south half of the southeast quarter of Section 23, Township 9, Range 4 from Benjamin and Mary Ann Bradshaw for \$425.<sup>13</sup> Emmanuel and T. Christian Estel were the children of Johann Estel, a joiner craftsman. They were respectively six and eight years old when they migrated with their family from Saxony in 1839.<sup>14</sup> By August 1863, Emmanuel Estel had sold that same Bradshaw property for \$500 to John D. Moore, by surname probably not a German.<sup>15</sup> The sale was not filed until July 1866, probably because of Estel's activities during the Civil War. The Sixty-fourth Regiment of the Enrolled Missouri Militia organized in Perry County on 27 October 1862. Emmanuel Estel commanded Company I.<sup>16</sup>

Both T. Christian and Emmanuel Estel bought and sold land in Fountain Bluff Township during the late 1860s and early 1870s. The first piece of property sold to another German Saxon from Missouri was on 11 August 1873.<sup>17</sup> The brothers sold John Luedemann irregular lot two, which lay on the Mississippi River and was bounded by Duncan Mill Slough. Joseph Weinhold, a notary public, witnessed the sale at Wittenberg, Missouri. Weinhold was part proprietor of the firm Weinhold and Estel, a flourmill at Wittenberg. Weinhold served as a county judge and a justice of the peace and evidently was both a partner and friend of Emmanuel and T. Christian Estel.<sup>18</sup>

In November 1874, Emmanuel Estel purchased over 600 acres of Mississippi River bottomland in Jackson County. He bought it with the highest bid at the Murphysboro Courthouse auction of the estate of Leonard Woolnick.<sup>19</sup> Also during 1874, he purchased 1,084 acres from his brother T. Christian Estel and wife Ferrike for \$5,000.<sup>20</sup> Throughout this time he continued to purchase land in small segments and began to sell land to other Saxon Germans. In 1874 Estel sold land to Henry Frederking, in 1875 to Henry Ehlers, Leo Hines [probably Heins], John Luedemann, Joachim Heitmann and John Heeszal.<sup>21</sup> This group appeared to be the initial German settlers from Perry County to Jackson County, Illinois. Land purchased was in Sections 25, 26 and 35 in Township 9, known as Fountain Bluff Township. The southern boundaries of Sections 25 and 26 meet Sections 35 and 36, which are fractional sections on the curve of the Mississippi River.

On 15 February 1878, Estel sold the land he had purchased from his brother T. Christian to Peter Versemann, Fredrich Hollmann, Frederick Rathjen, John Bellmann and Johann Brunkhorst for a total of \$6,325. The land sold to individuals fronted on the Mississippi River and had been marked into "irregular lots." For example Peter Versemann's irregular lot number eight lay between the Mississippi River and the church lot. John Bellmann's irregular lot number six was in Section 36 and Survey 683 [an early militia man claim] on the banks of the Mississippi River and contained forty-one acres. An unknown person plotted the land into lots, possibly Estel since he purchased and sold many of the lots which consisted of several acres: Fredrich Hollmann's lot nine held 62.50 acres, Johann Brunkhorst's "irregular" lot contained 53.39 acres. All lots were on the banks of the Mississippi River and formed the traditional string shaped pattern of German villages, *Straßendörfer*, long and narrow, similar to the lots in Altenburg.<sup>22</sup> Brunkhorst constructed a store, house and barn on his property and created Brunkhorst Landing on the banks of the Mississippi River, north of present-day Grand Tower and Wittenberg. The area became known as the Fountain Bluff community.

From the available evidence, Emmanuel Estel never lived in Illinois.

Land sales were conducted from Perry County, Missouri, and witnessed by local notary publics. In fact, Estel moved from Perry County to St. Louis between 1874 and 1875 during the period that he sold land.

Some of the Saxon Germans may have lived in Jackson County, Illinois, before they purchased land and settled. According to the naturalization records, Joachim Heitmann, Henry Ehlers, John Luedemann, John Brunkhorst, Johann Bellmann, John Heeszel, Fredrich Hollmann and Henry Haehnlein all became citizens of the United State on 28 March 1876.<sup>23</sup> For some of the group, this naturalization occurred two years before they purchased land from Emmanuel Estel. To become citizens, these men swore that they had lived in the United States for five years and in the state of Illinois for one year. According to local history, many German Saxons came to Illinois to work for the Grand Tower Mining, Manufacturing, and Transportation Company.<sup>24</sup> The company mined coal and transported it by railroad and up and down the Big Muddy and Mississippi Rivers by steamboat. It later also smelted pig iron from Missouri iron ore. In the 1870 Industrial Census, the Grand Tower Mining, Manufacturing and Transportation Company stated that it employed 647 men, owned three mines that produced 165,000 tons of bituminous coal, and would soon construct an iron foundry that would employ 200 men.<sup>25</sup> Possibly young Missouri German men came to Illinois to earn enough money to purchase farms in the Illinois bottomlands of the Mississippi River.

The 1850 U. S. Census did not list any residents of Fountain Bluff precinct with the birthplace of Germany.<sup>26</sup> The 1880 federal census listed nineteen families of German birth or heritage related to the Perry County settlement out of the ninety-seven families in Fountain Bluff Township. Thus, from the first Saxon Germans settling in 1873, by 1880, only seven years later, twenty percent of the residents of Fountain Bluff were of Saxon German or German heritage. This illustrated the migration across the Mississippi River. The majority of the Germans listed on the U. S. Census had a land connection to Emmanuel Estel.<sup>27</sup>

Stories of the original Illinois settlers continue to be told among family descendants. According to Joseph Brunkhorst, his father, Johann Brunkhorst, came from Germany with an aunt to Wittenberg, Missouri, in 1864 when Johann was twelve years old. Johann recalled that life was hard in Germany. His aunt worked "in a commissary" and would "bring the heel of a piece of bread home and put it under his pillow." When Johann inherited sufficient monies from his father, "he was ready to come over here." At that time in Germany, the state required "them to ... study agriculture, and the women, folk weaving" and "that was the reason they left over there."<sup>28</sup> In 1868, when Johann was sixteen, he and six others from the German Saxon colony in Missouri began working at the Grand Tower Mining, Manufacturing and Transportation Company iron smelters just north of Grand Tower in Jackson County. It is probable that they worked with coal and coke ovens since, according to the census, the iron foundry was not instituted until the 1870s. This information by Joseph Brunkhorst corresponded to the written record of naturalization and deeds, although the exact date of 1868 could not be verified.

The early Illinois German settlers confronted primitive conditions compared to those in Perry County. Anna Stegmann Oetjen related a story as heard from her husband's grandparents. The newly married Guetersloh's arrived to live in a small shanty where an apparent suicide had occurred. The sixteen-year-old wife

was "so scared and... so homesick." The husband as a Civil War soldier "was used to a rough life." The shanty held no windows and "they only had blocks of wood to sit on, they didn't have a chair." For food, "grandpa would get a turkey or whatever. . . . grandma and grandpa cleared all of that where Neunert is (Neunert was three miles northwest of Fountain Bluff). The Guetersloh's were first [to migrate across the Mississippi River] with Brunkhorst, Heins."<sup>29</sup>

Others from the Heins family heard similar family stories. "They [German Saxons in Missouri] had a lot a hills. That's why there was always this or that one drawn over here. . . . This was all in woods." The Heins family arrived around 1875 after purchasing land from Emmanuel Estel. "He was forty and she was twenty. And when they got married, then they just had a little place where they built a cabin and all their land was all woods, in lumber, where they had to clear themselves in order to raise a little bit of something,"<sup>30</sup>

One of the earliest problems the settlers faced was flooding in the spring. Flooding plagued the German settlers as it had their predecessors in the township. Tales of high water abounded. Joseph Brunkhorst related his father's experience of buying land: "about half of it was still under [water] because he could a got land for a dollar an acre." Johann did not take the land "because one man owed him ninety some dollars and he was gonna give him an hundred dollar duck pond" for a farm. Joseph spoke of the later drained bottomland with levees: "Now it's worth a thousand or maybe two thousand dollars an acre."<sup>31</sup>

Under the authority of the Farm Drainage Act of 1885, the Drainage District drained Big Lake in 1895. Drainage of the Big Lake area and levee building was a lengthy process. According to the *Record of the Organization and Proceeding of the Degognia and Fountain Bluff Levee and Drainage District, 1912-1924*, the construction and maintenance of culverts, locks, floodgates, drains, levees and earth embankments continued over time. The District hired engineers, hauled earth for fill, and laid drain-tile. The earth fill embankments settled and eroded with heavy rains and floods from both the Mississippi and Big Muddy Rivers, and therefore levees had to be raised. Government monies and local assessments funded Drainage District improvements. As members of the commission, the German settlement employed workers and petitioned for new drainage systems. In January 1914, G. H. Hahnlein, John Darnstaedt, Henry Vogel, J. Dietrich, John Meisner and Fred Oetjen requested drainage of lands by Forked Lake on the western edge of the settlement.<sup>32</sup>

Before the construction of the modern levee system on the Mississippi River, the most famous flood was in 1903. As Ida Darnstaedt stated: "It was as high as the chair seats in the house."<sup>33</sup> In 1911 the District constructed the first Mississippi River levee by human and horsepower. It withstood many floods but broke in 1922 and 1927. In 1949 the Army Corps of Engineers completed a new levee. They constructed it with sand dredged from the Mississippi River and earth moved by cable cars. The levee changed the Bottoms. Joseph Brunkhorst recalled that since 1903: "Most of the farmers were flooded every third year," but they looked forward to the flooding since it fertilized the soil. "They raised big crops. It [the flood] was nothing for them, they would just take their changes."<sup>34</sup>

In spring 1973, the Mississippi River reached its highest point in history, floodgates closed and the farmers waited with anxiety. The levees held but internal flooding from heavy rains inundated roads for eight weeks. On July 10, the

floodgates opened and the water finally drained away. The Mississippi River always haunted the Illinois German Saxons of the Bottoms. The Brunkhorst family farm originally contained 200 acres, then "the government [Army Corps of Engineers] changed the River and the River come right towards our farm, the main current. It got down to about sixty acres all we had left . . . just kept caving in and caving in."<sup>35</sup>

Stabilizing their land through levees was not as important to the settlement as securing their ethnic and religious community. Like their Missouri relatives, the Illinois German settlers believed in education, especially in the German language and Lutheranism. As if following the original "Regulations for Settlement of the Germans 'Gesellschaft' Emigrating with Herr Pastor Stephan to the United States of North American," the Illinois Germans founded a church and school simultaneously. The original code for public buildings stated: "A church shall be the first of the public buildings constructed, thereafter . . . the school."<sup>36</sup>

In 1876, the community constructed a log Christ Lutheran Church, "Die Deutsche Ev. Lutheran Christus Gemeinde U. A. C. zu Fountain Bluff, Jackson County, Ill." in German, twenty-two by thirty-two feet, on land donated by Emmanuel Estel. Johann Brunkhorst, Johann Bellmann, Heinrich Ehlers, Johann Heeszel, Joachim Heitman, Fredrich Hollmann and Johann Luedemann founded the congregation.<sup>37</sup> All of the church organizers purchased land from Estel between 1873 and 1878. In 1877 the Estel gift of five acres in the northeast quarter of Section 35 and the deed to Christ Lutheran Church in Jackson County was clarified.<sup>38</sup> By 1878 the trustees of the new church were John Heeszel, John Bellmann and Fredrich Hollmann. Heeszel had purchased land from Estel in 1873 and Bellmann and Hollmann in 1878. In 1895 Johann Brunkhorst donated two acres adjoining the church for a cemetery.<sup>39</sup>

According to the church records of the relocated Christ Lutheran Church, Neunert, Illinois, the first death in the congregation was Anna-Maria Brunkhorst in 1877, the year of her birth. She was the daughter of John (Johann) and Maria Bellmann Brunkhorst. The first marriage performed was for Johann Miesner and Anna Luedemann in April 1879 and the first birth was Maria Heitmann, in January 1878.<sup>40</sup> All of these persons were related to settlers who purchased land from Estel. In the church records from 1888, sixty-four families registered as church members.<sup>41</sup> One third of the names connected to the original purchasers of land from Estel; the others were new German names. From this evidence, it is probable that migration from Germany and from Perry County, Missouri, continued into the Illinois bottomlands of the Mississippi River. The last German immigrant recorded in the church records was Anna Meisner who arrived with her parents and seven brothers and sisters in 1885 and died in 1976 at the age of ninety-five years.<sup>42</sup>

Pastors and their assistants held the first school classes in the log church at Fountain Bluff. In 1895, because of the school's distance from the growing settlement, the Germans constructed another school six miles northwest of Fountain Bluff on land donated by G. H. Haehnlein. Students from the pastoral college in Springfield, Missouri, taught at this school. From his early school days in the early 1900s, Joseph Brunkhorst recalled a typical boy's scheme. The school clapboard roof captured the snow and when the potbelly stove heated the roof, the roof leaked. The teacher always sent a student up to clear the roof. "This particular day. I didn't have my lesson too good, the minister, he was our teacher, he sent me and another fellow up there and when I got there the snow was all gone."

So Joseph and his friend concocted a plan: "I took a whole bucket full of snow back up with me and sprinkled it over. It dripped and we worked all afternoon, we'd take down a half-bucket full and bring a whole bucket of snow back up."<sup>43</sup>

In 1904 the Germans purchased land from the Oetjen family in Neunert to centralize the school in the expanding community. Three miles northwest of Fountain Bluff and three miles east of the Haehnlein farm, the Neunert settlement included two stores, a harness shop, a blacksmith, and an 1892 post office. The Germans moved the schoolhouse on the Haehnlein farm and expanded it on the new site to accommodate the children of both the Fountain Bluff and Haehnlein farm schools. A new brick church was erected in 1906 at the same site. The Neunert location became the permanent site of Christ Lutheran School and Church. Although the old log church was dismantled in 1914, the cemetery remained on the original Fountain Bluff site.<sup>44</sup>

According to students in the early twentieth century at the school, subjects included religion, arithmetic, geography, physiology, history and English. The teacher taught the alphabet in German and English. The history of Martin Luther and catechism was in German, although later catechism books included both English and German. *Der Lutheraner*, a religious newspaper of the Missouri Synod, was regular reading. For additional reading in German, books could be ordered through pastors. Students attended for five to seven years, usually beginning school at seven years old and continuing until they were twelve or thirteen.<sup>45</sup>

Beginning in the late nineteenth century and continuing into the twentieth, the Illinois Germans worked together as a community even as small settlements increased. "From here on all the way to Chester [to the north, Randolph County] or Rockwood, . . . all of them is German people that their father or grandfather came from Germany, from Altenburg, and then bought land over here."<sup>46</sup> As Joseph Brunkhorst noted: "All the neighbors would go together and raise barns or even build houses." When acreage was in timber ". . . we would organize, get together and roll logs. Clean the land and burn them. There was no big sawmill down here."<sup>47</sup> Meta Miesner Fritsche also recalled the community working together on timber cutting in the early 1910s. "The men would clear in the winter, make firewood." Brush and large logs that wouldn't split were burned. "They had plenty of wood, could be a little choosy. They'd roll the logs when the women quilted."<sup>48</sup> Farmers found some of the wood to be salable. At Brunkhorst Landing ". . . people would bring logs and they would float them down to Grand Tower, had a big box factory. . . They were tied together [log rafts], had a spike with a chain on it and brought 'em down."<sup>49</sup>

The average sixty-to-eighty acre German farmstead included several cows for milk and butter, horses or mules as work animals, hogs for fall butchering, and chickens for food and marketing. Farm buildings included the barn, smoke house, chicken house, and a shed for storage of machinery and equipment. The farmhouse, originally a log cabin, often grew to a two story white framed house with a steel roof. The total family worked to produce the major crops of corn, wheat and cow peas and performed other farm duties such as milking, churning and butchering.

Like all farmers, the German Saxons worked long full days when planting and harvesting crops. Days ran from sunrise to sunset. Farmers hired extra hands to help with harvesting, and as Natalie Heins recalled: "At that time you washed and ironed and patched for your hired help as well as your own."<sup>50</sup> Farm women also cooked the seemingly endless meals. Hilda Arbeiter Amschler commented about

the "so many darned hired hands." For the summer harvest of spring wheat, a farmer often hired two or three men to help shock wheat. "They eat breakfast, nine o'clock they eat lunch, come for dinner, three o'clock they eat lunch again and then for supper." Beyond the caring for hired help, a housewife continued her daily duties managing the chickens and milking cows. "You was busy. You had your cows . . . to be milked morning and night. You made your own butter. You baked your own bread."<sup>51</sup> German Saxon farmwomen used wheat flour, not the corn meal popular with Southern neighbors, for their bread and multiple varieties of coffeecakes. Late fall sausage making included summer sausage, liver sausage, frying sausage, blood sausage, headcheese and "grid" sausage made with steel cut oats.

Brunkhorst Landing of the Fountain Bluff community, three miles north of Wittenberg, became the major market transportation point for the newly settled Illinois German Saxons in the 1870s through early 1900s. Brunkhorst Landing grew to include several buildings: a restaurant, a blacksmith shop, the Brunkhorst store, house and barn, holding pens for livestock and a wagon shop that built wagons by hand and also supplied the community with furniture and coffins. Riverboats docked at the Landing and carried corn, wheat, oats, cattle and hogs both north and south. The paddlewheel boats sometimes towed an additional barge for products. Wood was sold at the Landing for use in steamboats. Later coal became the fuel and also a product delivered at Brunkhorst Landing.<sup>5</sup>

Corn and wheat were major marketable crops of the Saxon Germans. Cows, pigs, chickens, ducks and hogs were mostly for home use. Farmers shipped by steamboat. Boats stopped for about two days to load and "they would give the Negroes or the white people that came a penny a sack" to put it onboard. "A lot of them would take two sacks at a time to get two cents. They would load a whole boat of corn or wheat."<sup>53</sup>

At the Landing, the Brunkhorst home and store on Sunday morning appeared a beehive of activity. After church, farmers often traded their home cured bacon and brought in cattle hides; "we had to salt them down, put them in barrels and then, most times, my father had water over them." When Brunkhorst wanted to ship the hides, "we'd take it out of the barrel and just have it loose". Eggs also were shipped by boat and "one time, they were down to four cents a dozen" and the next shipment "they wanted us to pay the freight." Prices were so low that the eggs wouldn't sell for enough to pay the freight. On one occasion farmers harvested a bumper crop of potatoes and "we couldn't give them away and they started rotting and we hauled them to the River to get rid of them."<sup>54</sup>

A dinner invitation often accompanied trading. Joseph Brunkhorst remembered that the dining room table seated sixteen people and "I sometimes seen it was loaded three times before they was all through, coffeecake piled up two feet." Salesmen arrived with a horse and buggy and stayed overnight; "For a quarter for the horse and your bed was a quarter and your meal was a quarter."<sup>55</sup>

The steamboat trade faded as the railroads captured more and more trade. The Carbondale-Grand Tower Railroad established a station at Fountain Bluff in the 1850s. A post office opened in 1868 and continued until 1908. Jacob, northeast of Neunert, was established in 1904 on the Missouri Pacific Railroad. Emmanuel Bellmann opened a general store, which included grocery staples, clothing, hardware, furniture, caskets, and also operated as a post office. The community constructed the first grain elevator in the region in 1905.<sup>56</sup> The railroad and the elevator changed

the winter habit of traveling to Missouri to get flour. Formerly the settlers waited till the Mississippi River froze. "We'd take horses and drive from Brunkhorst Landing, ...across the Mississippi River and get flour from Wittenberg." The German farmers wore winter beards and "By the time they'd get back with the flour, their moustaches or their whiskers were all frozen, all solid ice." On their trip home, they stopped at the potbelly stove in the Brunkhorst store and "pulled the ice off of their beards."<sup>57</sup> All three of the German small villages, Fountain Bluff, Neunert, and Jacob, easily adapted to the railroad even though it distanced them from relatives and friends in Perry County, Missouri. The Fountain Bluff community of five buildings and Brunkhorst Landing were destroyed by fire in 1916. This forced residents to travel to Grand Tower to use the Wittenberg ferry to visit relatives in Missouri.

The families in the Illinois Bottoms continued intermarriages as they had in the old country and in Perry County. Early in the nineteenth century because of economic depression and over-population, German states placed restrictions on marriages. Some states demanded proof of income earning ability before marriage was allowed, and by 1852 an additional requirement demanded ownership of land, a needed craft occupation, or tools.<sup>58</sup> This policy indirectly influenced the Germans' descendants and the age for marriage among Germans in Illinois. German women in Jackson County did not marry until their middle twenties. Most, if not needed at home or by relatives, traveled to St. Louis to work as cooks or housekeepers for other German Lutheran families. Young men also often went to St. Louis to earn money to purchase farmland. Many times, attracted by their mutual homesickness, couples formed relationships in the city and returned home to the Bottoms to be married. Other young people were lucky to find employment closer to home. Joe Brunkhorst recalled their ten-room house at threshing time: "We had four hired girls and we gave them a dollar a week and their board and clothing. They did housework and cooking. I guess we could have had a dozen of them because they came from Missouri and they all looking for work." When the young women grew old enough, "then they got married, some big farmer's boy over here."<sup>59</sup>

The couples formed from the work relationship did not wander far from the family farmstead. Carl O. Sauer noted in his Missouri Ozarks Highland geographical study: "Stability remains the most distinguishing characteristic of the German stock. Where Germans have located in most they have remained." Germans did not generally sell their land. "Property is handed down from father to son, and in many cases the descendants of the original entrymen still retain the land."<sup>60</sup> Concerning the Saxon Germans, Russel L. Gerlach recorded with his 1970s research of Ozark immigrants: "In the case of the Saxon area of eastern Perry County, sixty percent of the surnames of the original Saxon immigrants--164 out of 272 original surnames—are represented in the rolls of the present population."<sup>61</sup>

Concerning the Illinois Germans, in a comparison of the Christ Lutheran Church membership list of 1888 with the names on the 1982 plat map of Fountain Bluff Township, sixty-one percent of the surnames remained the same as the original church list.<sup>62</sup> Thirty-nine names out of the original sixty-four family surnames of the earliest 1870s German settlers of Fountain Bluff Township were the same. In all likelihood the percentage could be greater,

since through personal conversations with this author, many residents of the Bottoms linked their names through marriage to the original settlers' group.

Similarly, in a comparison of the 1907 plat map and the 1982 plat map, at least fifty percent of the land ownership continued to remain with the same family. For example, in 1907, Section 17 contained Haehnlein, Darnstaedt, Guetersloh, Luedemann, Weston and Oetjen. In 1982 the same section contained Darnstaedt, Guetersloh, Luedemann, Oetjen and Fritsche. Out of the original six surnames, four remained the same over seventy-seven years.

Many of the settlers in Fountain Bluff Township were related to the original Missouri Saxon German immigrants of 1839. Names found in Fountain Bluff Township of the Illinois Bottoms such as Fritsche, Weber, Mueller, Darnstaedt and Schlimpert appeared on the original immigrant passenger lists of 1839.<sup>63</sup> The original immigrants came from varied Saxon regions: Hanover-eighteen immigrants, Saxony- 460, Prussia (Saxon Province)- sixty-nine and the Saxon Duchies-seventy-eight.<sup>64</sup> Later immigrants into Fountain Bluff Township noted similar homelands including Prussia, Hanover, and Saxony.<sup>65</sup> Word passed through relatives, friends, and churches. Chain migration from the Old World for religious, economic, and political reasons continued into the early twentieth century.

Martin Stephan founded a Lutheran Saxon German colony in Missouri. That colony continued to grow through the nineteenth century and spilled over the Mississippi River to create a new colony in Illinois. Through continued German immigration and intermarriages, the Illinois German Saxon population expanded to become a separate community. Gottfried Duden's comment was well founded; the prospect for the future of the Saxon Germans was much brighter in the regions along the Mississippi River.

Asheville, North Carolina

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Gottfried Duden, *Report on a Journey to the Western States of North America (1824-27)* (Columbia, Missouri: The State Historical Society of Missouri and University of Missouri Press, 1980), 245.

<sup>2</sup> Walter O. Forster, *Zion on the Mississippi* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953), 378-379; P. E. Kreuzmann, "Saxon Immigration to Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review* 33 (January 1939): 159-161.

<sup>3</sup> Forster, *Zion*, 413.

<sup>4</sup> Russel L. Gerlach, *Immigrants in the Ozarks: A Study in Ethnic Geography* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1976), 67.

<sup>5</sup> Gotthold Heinrich Loeber, *History of Saxon Lutheran Immigration to East Perry County, Missouri, in 1839*, trans. Vernon R. Meyr (Cape Girardeau: Center for Regional History and Cultural Heritage, 1984), 8.

<sup>6</sup> Frederick V. Emerson, *Geography of Missouri* quoted in Russel L. Gerlach, *Immigrants in the Ozarks*, 59.

<sup>7</sup> *History of Jackson County, Illinois* (Philadelphia: Brink, McDonough and Company, 1878), 32.

<sup>8</sup> Jess E. Thilenius and Felix Snider, *Tower Rock* (Cape Girardeau, MO: Ramfre Press, 1968), 34.

<sup>9</sup> *History of Jackson County*, 122-123.

<sup>10</sup> Joseph Brunkhorst, Grand Tower, IL, interview by Sharon Celsor, 16 August 1983, transcript, EP 33, Ethnic Patterns in Handwork, University Museum Archives, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.

<sup>11</sup> *History of Jackson County*, 19.

<sup>12</sup> Kreutzmann, "Saxon Immigration," 168.

<sup>13</sup> Jackson County, Illinois, *Deed Record* (1861-1863), Book P, 402-403.

<sup>14</sup> Forster, *Zion*, 542.

<sup>15</sup> Jackson County, Illinois, *Deed Record* (1866-1867), Book T, 316.

<sup>16</sup> *History of Southeast Missouri* (Cape Girardeau: Goodspeed Publishing Company, 1888), 737-738.

<sup>17</sup> Jackson County, Illinois, *Deed Record* (1872-1873), Book 4, 428.

<sup>18</sup> *History of Southeast Missouri*, 737-738.

<sup>19</sup> Jackson County, Illinois, *Deed Record* (1872-1874), Book 6, 497-499.

<sup>20</sup> Jackson County, Illinois, *Deed Record* (1874-1875), Book 8, 247-248.

<sup>21</sup> Jackson County, Illinois, *General Index Grantor* (1873-1881), 48; *General Index Grantee* (1873-1881), 68, 69, 94; *General Index Grantor* (1873-1881), 49.

<sup>22</sup> Jackson County, Illinois, *General Grantor Index* (1873-1881), 50.

<sup>23</sup> Jackson County, Illinois, *Naturalization Record* (1859-1892) (Springfield, Illinois: Illinois States Archives, microfilm 6/232/2) No. 48, 80-85.

<sup>24</sup> Interview with Joseph Brunkhorst

<sup>25</sup> U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Industrial Schedules of Illinois: 1880*, Jackson County, Illinois (Springfield, Illinois: Illinois State Archives, microfilm 951.15)

<sup>26</sup> Jackson County, Illinois, *1850 U. S. Census Population Schedules* (Washington, DC: Microfilm Publications, National Archives) Roll 82.

<sup>27</sup> U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: Population*, Jackson County, Illinois. (Washington DC: Microfilm Publications, National Archives).

<sup>28</sup> Interview with Joseph Brunkhorst

<sup>29</sup> Anna Stegman Oetjen, Murphysboro, IL, interview by Bonnie J. Krause, 2 April 1979, transcript, Southern Illinois Folk Art Research Project, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.

<sup>30</sup> Natalie Vogel Heins, Gorham, IL, interview by Bonnie J. Krause, 19 March 1979, transcript, Southern Illinois Folk Art Research Project, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois.

<sup>31</sup> Interview with Joseph Brunkhorst

<sup>32</sup> Jackson County, Illinois, *Record of Organization and Proceeding of Degognia and Fountain Bluff Levee and Drainage District* (1912-1924), 52.

<sup>33</sup> Ida Guttersloh Darnstaedt, Jacob, IL, interview by Bonnie J. Krause, 18 April 1979, transcript, Southern Illinois Folk Art Research Project, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois.

<sup>34</sup> Interview with Joseph Brunkhorst

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> Forster, *Zion*, 578.

<sup>37</sup> *Serving God and Country 1876-1976: Christ Lutheran Church, Jacob, Illinois* (Sparta, Illinois: Sparta News-Plaindealer, 1976), 8

<sup>38</sup> Jackson County, Illinois, *General Grantor Index* (1873-1881), 50.

<sup>39</sup> *Serving God*, 4.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 19-20.

<sup>41</sup> Christ Lutheran Church Records, Jacob, Illinois, "Baptisms, Weddings, Deaths," (1876-1976),

2.

<sup>42</sup> *Serving God*, 18.

<sup>43</sup> Interview with Joseph Brunkhorst

<sup>44</sup> *Serving God*, 9

<sup>45</sup> Christ Lutheran Church Ladies Aid, Jacob, IL, interview by Bonnie J. Krause, 7 March 1985, transcript in possession of author.

<sup>46</sup> Interview with Joseph Brunkhorst.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> Meta Miesner Fritsche, Steeleville, IL, interview by Bonnie J. Krause, 27 March 1979, transcript, Southern Illinois Folk Arts Research Project, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois.

<sup>49</sup> Interview with Joseph Brunkhorst

<sup>50</sup> Interview with Natalie Vogel Heins.

<sup>51</sup> Hilda Arbeiter Amschler, Jacob, IL, interview by Bonnie J. Krause, 19 March 1979, transcript, Southern Illinois Folk Art Research Project, Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois

University, Carbondale, Illinois.

<sup>52</sup> Interview with Joseph Brunkhorst

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> *Serving God*, 32-35.

<sup>57</sup> Interview with Joseph Brunkhorst

<sup>58</sup> Mack Walker, *Germany and the Emigration 1816-1885* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1964), 54-55.

<sup>59</sup> Interview with Joseph Brunkhorst

<sup>60</sup> Carl O. Sauer, *The Geography of the Ozark Highland of Missouri* quoted in Russel L. Gerlach, *Immigrants in the Ozarks*, 60.

<sup>61</sup> Gerlach, *Immigrants in the Ozarks*, 60.

<sup>62</sup> Christ Lutheran Church Records, Jacob, Illinois (1876-1976) 2; Jackson County Farm Bureau, *Land Atlas and Plat Book, Jackson County, Illinois* (Rockford: Rockford Map Publishers, Incorporated, 1982), 12.

<sup>63</sup> Forster, *Zion*, 542-560.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 562.

<sup>65</sup> *Tenth Census, 1880: Population*, Jackson County, Illinois.

Clair K. Blong  
Jeanette Hlubek Dietzenbach  
Lorraine Bodensteiner Kuennen  
Carl Most  
Rosemary Kuennen Most

### **The German-American Village of St. Lucas, Iowa**

In a lovely rural setting in northeast Iowa lies the small town of St. Lucas. As travelers approach from any direction, they are struck by the sight of the large twin-towered Gothic church in its commanding location on the highest point in the village. St. Luke's Catholic Church is, and always has been, the focal point of the town.

This paper tells the story of how St. Lucas came to be, and it surveys this German-American community over the past 150 years. The survey highlights some key topics for gaining an appreciation of the history of this unique community. Topics include: the German Town and its Families, the Spiritual Center, Key Clergy and Community Benefactor, Land and Livelihood, and the Importance of Education. It concludes with short essays by three of the authors, each with a unique perspective on Preserving the German Language and Heritage.

#### **A German Town and its Families**

The actual beginning of the town of St. Lucas goes back to a chance meeting in 1848 in Cincinnati, Ohio between Johann Gaertner of Oldenburg, Indiana, and Father Remigius Petoit, a French missionary who had worked among the Winnebago Indians in the Neutral Ground in Iowa. The Indians had been moved earlier that year to a reservation near St. Cloud, Minnesota, and northeast Iowa was then ready for settlement.<sup>1</sup>

Father Petoit spoke so highly of the great farming opportunities in the Fort Atkinson area—fertile soil and plenty of water—that Gaertner and fellow Oldenburgers George Bachel and Anton Stathel came to explore the area that same autumn. They traveled by boat down the Ohio River and up the Mississippi River to Dubuque, Iowa. From there they walked to Fort Atkinson, a distance of one hundred miles.

They were so excited about the prospects in Iowa that they hurried back to Indiana to spread the good news to their neighbors. But first, they visited Bishop

Mathias Loras in Dubuque; and he promised them a priest, provided more German-speaking families would settle in the same vicinity, then known as Old Mission.

That winter, six families sold their farms and prepared for the big move. On March 1, 1849, they set out from Oldenburg. The group consisted of two of the original explorers, Bachel and Stathel, joined by Joseph Spielman, Jacob Rausch, Andrew Meier and Frank Huber—all with their families. The heavily loaded wagons were pulled by oxen which, though powerful, moved at a leisurely pace.

Their departure was recorded in two sentences in the *1937 Centennial History of Holy Family Parish in Oldenburg, Indiana*. The city was working on a new set of laws, a thirteen-article constitution, that was to go into effect in early May. The Centennial History conjectured: "Oldenburg was likely taking on too much the aspect of a 'citized' settlement for some people, for about this time an Iowa-bound caravan of Oldenburgers plodded up over the western rim of the valley on the Enochsburg State road and disappeared. They settled Fort Atkins, Iowa, where Father Weninger met them in 1853."<sup>2</sup>

Church and family historian, Lorraine Bodensteiner Kuennen, notes: "Three generations of my mother's paternal family were among this group of early settlers. My Spielman great-great-grandparents and their children had come to America from northern Bavaria in 1836, and farmed for thirteen years near Oldenburg. Margaret Spielman and Jacob Rausch, my great-grandparents, were married in Holy Family Church in Oldenburg on February 24, 1848. Their son John, my grandfather, was born February 13, 1849, just two weeks before the wagon train departed on the long journey to Iowa."<sup>3</sup>

The Rausch family kept detailed journals of later events such as births, marriages, deaths, the weather and the crops, but no record has ever surfaced about what must have been a very arduous trip in the Midwest winter.

It was well into April by the time they reached the Mississippi River near Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin. Spring had arrived and the river was high. The only means of crossing the river at that time was a horse-powered ferry. One load made it across to the Iowa side at McGregor's Landing as the river kept rising, and further trips were impossible for several days. When at last they got to the Turkey River near Fort Atkinson and Old Mission, they found it also at flood stage. Days went by before they could get all the wagons and livestock to the other side. It was the early part of May before they finally made it to their destination.<sup>4</sup>

They purchased some Old Mission log buildings that served as temporary homes until they could purchase land for farming. In September the largest of the buildings on the Huber property—a trading post built of relatively new logs—was selected for use as their church. It was moved to a spot near the Turkey River, on land donated by the Huber family. This was their church—Our Lady of Seven Dolors at Old Mission.<sup>5</sup>

More and more German Catholic families kept coming to Winneshiek and Fayette counties. In 1851, Johann Gaertner, Mathias Duclos, Casper Andrew Meier, John Wesling and others came from the Oldenburg area. Kuennen family members arrived in 1854 after a stay of several years in Pennsylvania and Decatur, Indiana.

## The Spiritual Center

Their log church was of the utmost importance to the settlers. There they gathered from miles around when Father Plathe made a visit from New Vienna, near Dubuque. They also gathered there to pray and sing in the intervals between the priest's visits. They even continued the Old World custom of Corpus Christi processions, without priest or Blessed Sacrament.<sup>6</sup> J. Bernard Kuennen carried a portable organ on his shoulders as he walked approximately six miles to the church.

An eight-day mission was conducted at Old Mission in October 1853 by Rev. Franz X. Weninger, a renowned Jesuit missionary and retreat master. Before departing Old Mission, Father Weninger expressed the wish that by the next visit, the parish, which by now comprised about fifty families, would have a more substantial church. A few months later, the log church was destroyed by fire.<sup>7</sup>

Instead of rebuilding on the same site, Andrew Meyer was instrumental in getting the new log church built at Festina, then called "Twin Springs." The first resident pastor was Rev. Philip Laurent, a young priest who had been brought from France by Bishop Loras five years earlier.<sup>8</sup>

Naturally, it was the desire of the other pioneers to have a church closer to their homes. Consequently, those families who lived farther south built a log church of their own in St. Lucas, then called "Statheltown" after its founder Anton Stathel. Land for the new church was donated by Anton Stathel and Mathias Duclos. The first Mass in St. Lucas was celebrated by Father Laurent, pastor of Our Lady of Seven Dolors in Festina, on October 18, 1855, the feast-day of the Evangelist St. Luke. Because of this, the parishioners agreed that St. Luke would be an appropriate name for their new church. Later, special permission was granted by the government to change the town's name from Statheltown to St. Lucas, which is Latin for St. Luke.<sup>9</sup>

The sum of a special church collection held in 1855 was \$64.00. Following are the names of the pioneers of this parish: Juliana Duclos, Mathias Duclos, Widow Duclos, Bernard Foreman, Herman Foreman, John Foreman, Andrew Kraemer, George Kruse, Gerhart H. Kuennen, H. Henry Kuennen, John Bernard Kuennen, Wenceslaus Kuennen, Gerhart Limke, Casper Meier, John L. Meier, John Nieman, John Nieman, Jr., Theodore Rusabeck, Joseph Schabager, Anton Stathel, Francesca Stathel, John Steffes, Lucas Toenjes, John Wesling, Widow Woeler, Michael Wurzer.<sup>10</sup>

Soon, other parishes were formed and churches were built. Joseph Spielman, Jacob Rausch and George Bachel settled farther to the west and helped establish St. Clement's Church one mile south of Spillville. The early log church was built in 1856, the present church in 1868. The town was platted by Joseph Spielman, approved by Winneshiek County in 1860 and named after Spielman. St. Rose Church was built by Irish Catholics three miles northwest of Waucoma near the western border of Fayette County. St. Terence Parish was also formed by Irish settlers and a log church was built four miles north of Clermont. Such was the growth of Catholicism in the area.<sup>11</sup>

In the late 1850s the following families joined the community: the Balks, Bodensteiners, Vondersitts and Aigners. Still later, Luxembourg, Belgium and French families arrived from the vicinity of Belgium and Lake Church, Ozaukee County,

Wisconsin. Among these were the Blong families, the Croatts, Budkes, Neppers and Perrys. Many years ago, when co-author Clair Blong's great-grandfather John Baptist Blong was asked why he migrated from farmland near Belgium, Wisconsin, on the shores of Lake Michigan to the Fort Atkinson-St. Lucas area, he called the soil "black gold," and stressed the less expensive land and more moderate temperatures as the principal reasons. After serving in the Civil War, a Swiss immigrant, Sigmund Schaufenbuel, came from Spillville where there were several other Swiss families, and settled on a farm southeast of St. Lucas.

Over the ensuing years, additional German Catholic immigrants settled in the St. Lucas area. Today, the area of St. Luke's Parish is approximately eight miles wide and thirteen miles long and still contains very few non-Catholic families. Five miles west, Waucoma and Lawler were originally settled mainly by Irish Catholics. To the north, Calmar, Spillville and Protivin were settled for the most part by Catholic immigrants from Bohemia who retained their Czech and Slovak character; however, German speakers were among them. To the northeast is Festina and that area was largely settled by German Catholics. Farther north is Decorah where Norwegian Lutherans were the predominant settlers. To the east, German Lutherans settled the Eldorado area along the Turkey River. The Little Turkey River, or South Branch of the Turkey, formed an effective barrier for expansion to the south, as it was many years before a bridge was finally built across it.

### **The 1871 Church and a Resident Pastor**

St. Luke's Parish continued as a mission of Festina parish until 1871. Father Conrad Schulte came to live at St. Lucas rather than at Festina for about six months in 1870 to help with the plans and the financing of a new church to replace the original log church. It was built of "Milwaukee brick" on the present church site, the highest point in the town, at a cost of \$4610. There were 108 contributors and amounts given ranged from \$1.00 to \$150.<sup>12</sup>

Father Ulrich Frey became the first resident pastor of St. Luke's in March 1871 and remained until 1882. During his pastorate, he built a 34 x 50 two-story frame school and convent. At his request, three Franciscan Sisters of La Crosse came in September of 1876. Sister Amata and Sister Laurentia came a few years later and taught at St. Luke's for over forty years. St. Rose Convent in La Crosse staffed the parochial school very ably for well over 100 years.<sup>13</sup>

From the beginning, the Catholic clergy and nuns played an important role in instilling a strong faith in persons disheartened by the hardships of frontier life. They placed a strong emphasis on maintaining German cultural values and a distinct identity for coping and adapting to the new cultural environment.

### **Rev. Francis X. Boeding, Pastor of St. Luke's, 1882-1928**

A key personality in the spiritual and economic development of the St. Lucas community was Father F. X. Boeding. Father Boeding was born in Neuenkirchen, Westphalia, Germany, on September 5, 1853. He studied the classics in Paderborn; philosophy and theology in Munster, Germany; and theology and architecture in Montreal, Canada in the 1870s. He was ordained in Montreal on December 22,

1877. He served as pastor in Guttenberg, Iowa from 1878 until coming to St. Lucas. He was appointed pastor of St. Luke's Church on September 22, 1882, and for over 46 years was an active pastor and the driving force, not only at St. Luke's Church and School, but also in the community of St. Lucas.<sup>14</sup>

Father Boeding focused on building the parish. He was very successful in this endeavor as recorded in *The Centennial History of the Archdiocese of Dubuque*. "The first thing was to increase the number of Catholic families. When he came in 1882, St. Luke's Parish numbered about 75 families. At the time of Rev. Boeding's death in 1928, there were 180 families with 975 souls."<sup>15</sup>

How Father Boeding managed to keep St. Luke's Parish all-Catholic is covered in the section titled "Land and Livelihood", with numerous excerpts from the writings of a historian at the University of Illinois in Chicago, and in a lead story in *The Des Moines Sunday Register*.

In 1883 he had an addition built to the church. In 1905 he had an addition built to the convent, and also a new frame school. That school was destroyed by fire on February 11, 1911. The present brick school was erected that same year at a cost of \$13,636.51. There were 148 contributors, with sums ranging from \$4.00 to \$240.00. The lower level of the school served as a chapel for daily Mass and originally seated 300. All students and teachers started every day by attending Mass before they would file to their various classrooms.<sup>16</sup>

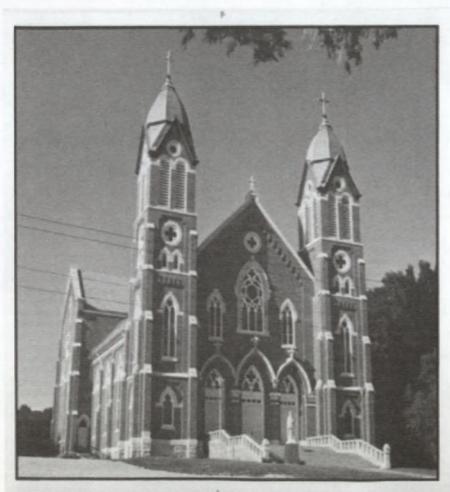


Rev. Francis X. Boeding

### The Present St. Luke's Church, Built 1914-1915

The parish grew so fast in those years that in 1914 Father Boeding saw to the dismantling of the 43-year-old church to make room for the present, much larger church. Father had a very grand vision for his new church—a classic Gothic structure with tall twin steeples, high vaulted ceiling and magnificent large stained glass windows from Bavaria. He revisited the Gothic church in Guttenberg to get additional ideas for the new church.<sup>17</sup>

In 1914, he chose Guido Beck as architect, and Anton Zwack as the general contractor, for the construction of the church. Both Dubuque firms were highly respected



St. Luke's Church

and had extensive experience in church building. Father Arnold Boeding, in his family history, recalls accompanying his uncle Father F. X. Boeding to Dubuque to pick up the architectural drawings. These 90-year-old blueprints are works of art and are still in good condition.

Parishioners helped tear down the 1871 brick church that was in very good condition but much too small. They also donated much labor for the construction of the new church in 1914 and 1915. During this time Masses were celebrated in the new school chapel.

The First Mass in the new church was celebrated on March 19, 1915. His Excellency Archbishop Keane dedicated it on July 7, 1915. It was built at a cost of \$54,597.91 and was completely paid for by 1919, four years after its completion.<sup>18</sup>

The fourteen large Bavarian stained glass windows were installed in 1919, shortly after World War I. Why four years later? A paragraph in the *1937 Centennial History of Holy Family Church and Parish, Oldenburg, Indiana* offers a possibility: "The beautiful stained glass church windows...were ordered in 1914, immediately before the World War, from the German craftsman Zettler of Munich. Only two arrived; the others were portbound in Rotterdam till shipping again became safe in 1919..."<sup>19</sup>

The manufacturer of the St. Luke's church windows is not known at the time of this writing. More research will be done on this intriguing subject. We do know that the windows in St. Luke's Church cost a total of \$5920 and were paid by special donations. Names of the donors are inscribed on each window, in English or German, according to the wishes of the donors.

Father Boeding never forgot the land of his birth. Being in an all-German parish and community, it was natural that only German was spoken in the homes, church and school. He loved to sing, and taught the children many songs he had brought from Germany – among them "Watch on the Rhine" and "Morgen Rot"—about young men leaving for the military service. Ben Bodensteiner, father of Lorraine Kuennen, could still sing many of these songs in his late eighties, and could "still see" how Father would raise up on his tiptoes as he sang, whether in school or during Mass. This was "for emphasis," he would explain.<sup>20</sup>

One of Father Boeding's ambitions was not realized until many years after his death. He had worked very hard to get a bridge built across the Little Turkey River three miles south of St. Lucas, which would have opened up a whole new area for future expansion of his parish.<sup>21</sup>

Father Boeding went to his eternal reward on October 9, 1928, after having served St. Luke's Parish faithfully for 46 years. He was buried at the highest point on the cemetery, in front of the large Crucifixion monument.

### **Rev. Francis L. Schuh, Pastor of St. Luke's, 1928-69**

Rev. Francis L. Schuh served as Pastor of St. Luke's Church from 1928 until he retired on June 1, 1969. He had formed the parish of Hopkinton in the days of the Ku Klux Klan, and many a public defense of the church had to be made. It was a great change for him to come to St. Lucas—an entire Catholic community. Until his arrival, only German was spoken in church and in school.

In his Memoirs, published over a period of years in the Sunday bulletin and

the high school newspaper, he wrote: "Only because I learned German was I sent here. Without it, in 1928, I would never have come. Someone in the parish told me that the first English sermon he heard was mine while I was assistant in Dubuque. In fact, I was commanded by Archbishop James Keane, to speak only English when I became your pastor. I asked him to let me speak German too and I would report how much of each I did. He consented. I remember my first day here, All Saints. I spoke 10 minutes in German and 10 in English, and I used up all the small words I could. When I returned to the sacristy after Mass, Father Kirchhoff said to me, 'Das Deutsch war nichts, das Englisch war schön.'—"The German was nothing, the English was nice."<sup>22</sup>

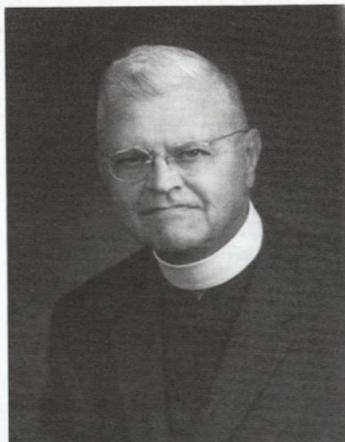
Father Schuh did continue giving occasional sermons in German for some time. However, the change to English in the school was made as soon as possible. Leander Stammeyer recalls Father Schuh as being not only the spiritual leader of the community, but also the driving force in establishing St. Luke's High School in 1941 and single-handedly supervising the operations of the parish and school for forty-one years. He also remembers that Father was very frugal in managing the construction costs for various buildings during his tenure.<sup>23</sup> There were no parish councils then, but there were three appointed trustees who served for many years.

Among the improvements which were undertaken during his first year were the modernization of the convent and the installation of a large used tracker pipe organ in the church. The organ cost \$1000.00 plus \$200 for transportation and installation. It was used for the first time on Christmas Day, 1929.<sup>24</sup> Father Schuh had recorded these costs for posterity, but where the organ had been in use before coming to St. Luke's remains a mystery. Some speculate that it came from a church in Milwaukee, where German-born William Schuelke built his organs, mostly in the 1890s.

The Organ Historical Society included the St. Luke's church organ in their official Northeast Iowa Tour on June 28, 1986. A concert was played on it by Elizabeth Towne Schmitt, the foremost expert on Schuelke organs. Rev. Mark Nemmers, one of the Society's officers wrote to then pastor, Rev. Florian J. Schmidt: "It is one of the few extant Schuelke organs . . . Every Schuelke organ is considered very valuable so I am very happy that you intend to keep and maintain it."<sup>25</sup>

Lorraine Kuennen started playing this very special instrument more than sixty years ago and now comes twenty-three miles from Decorah every other Sunday to play for Mass. She loves playing that organ, and with the church's wonderful acoustics, finds it gratifying to enable the choir and congregation to sing with great enthusiasm.

In 1939, Father Schuh saw to the building of a new rectory. An annex to the



Rev. Francis L. Schuh

northeast corner of the school was completed in 1947. The large old frame convent was razed in 1949 to make room for a new, two-story brick convent.<sup>26</sup>

The annual Corpus Christi celebration was the most significant St. Luke's religious festival in the demonstration of faith and devotion to our Lord, and of community cohesion. On May 29, 1940, the *Fayette County Union* featured a composite of five



Archbishop raising the monstrance during the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. Firing squad salute to the right

pictures under the headline: "Corpus Christi Celebration Draws Many to St. Lucas." The story below the pictures reads: "A procession 300 yards in length escorted a group of priests, headed by the Most Rev. Francis J. L. Beckman, S. T. D., Dubuque,



Horses standing at attention near the procession

around the mile-length course on the grounds of St. Luke's parish Sunday to venerate the blessed sacrament at three altars along the route. The procession consisted of 10 horsemen wearing gold and white sashes, a firing squad, 100 school children in white, St. Luke's Choir, 50 altar boys and a band. In the photo at upper left, the procession is seen leaving the church. At the lower left, the school children in white are seen marching through a shaded grove between the first and second altar, and at upper right, the crowd and the rest of the procession kneel as Archbishop Beckman gives prayer at the second altar. At the lower right, the first altar, beautifully decorated in flowers and papal colors of gold and white is seen with the procession kneeling in front. In the center, is a close-up of Archbishop Beckman, as he knelt with his attendants at the second altar. Cars from many foreign counties were noted in the parking lots, and a multitude of cameras clicked continuously at nearly every point of the procession. At the completion of the ceremony at each altar, the church bells rang out as the procession took up its march."<sup>27</sup>

This was the grandest of all Corpus Christi processions, but all were very memorable events. Gradually the custom was discontinued, perhaps after the weather didn't cooperate for several years in a row.

Lorraine Kuennen has written about the upbringing of the children of her generation in St. Luke's Parish: "I think most of us were raised in loving, faith-filled homes. There were always prayers at meals, and almost every evening the family gathered, on our knees, to pray the Rosary. Our Faith was of the greatest importance in our lives. We lived two miles from town, but rarely missed school or Sunday Mass. The roads could be closed in winter, but my Dad would hitch the horses to a wagon box on runners. It would be lined with horse robes and other blankets and several hot irons to keep us warm. Sometimes it was so bitterly cold that we could ride on top of the snow banks, right over the fencerows! How exciting! And we were supposed to keep our heads under the covers!"<sup>28</sup>

Father Schuh was always quick to point out to visitors that St. Luke's Parish had an unusually large number of vocations for the size of the parish. He encouraged young people to consider becoming priests or sisters. Father and his young assistant pastors through the years surely served as excellent role models, as did the many aunts and uncles in religious life. On May 30, 1950, three sons of the parish—LaVerne Gerleman, Charles Kruse and Francis Perry—were ordained together in their home church. The St. Luke's High School newspaper, the *S.L.S. Highlights* stated: "Their ordinations this year will crown Father's thirty-five years as a priest . . ." <sup>29</sup>

In the autumn of 1960, Pope John XXIII promoted Father Schuh to Monsignor. In his generous and wise fashion, Msgr. Schuh saw the promotion to Domestic Prelate as an acknowledgement of the strong faith of the St. Luke's Parish. In his weekly church bulletin, *The Lucana*, he wrote:

"In granting this honor, I take it that you, the members of St. Luke's parish were taken into consideration as much as your pastor. Here I am only as well as it pleases



Father Aloysius Schmitt

Our Dear Lord to have me, in a rather secluded rural parish, having stayed all these years with your church and with your school work, the son of a widowed washer-woman who worked so I might be a priest, now being signally honored by the church that I loved . . . I know you will congratulate me, but let me congratulate you who really are the cause of my rejoicing. God bless you."

Due to failing health, Monsignor Schuh offered to resign on June 1, 1969, at the age of 79. He died on July 10, 1970. His final resting place on St. Luke's Cemetery is marked by a large, white statue on which is inscribed:

RT. REV. MSGR. FRANCIS SCHUH  
BORN 11. 15. 1889  
ORDAINED 12. 21. 1914  
DIED 7. 10. 1970<sup>30</sup>

At one time, Msgr. Schuh had planned to publish a book of St. Luke's Parish History. Instead, he published bits of history over a period of many years in the *Lucana* and the *S.L.S. Highlights*. Lorraine Kuennen gathered these writings in 1980 and with them as a base, wrote the *125 Year History of St. Luke's Church*.

Perhaps Msgr. Schuh's most important legacy to the parish was his determination to establish the high school. This story will be told in the section titled "Importance of Education."

### **Father Aloysius Schmitt Dies at Pearl Harbor**

St. Luke's parishioners mourned together the loss of native-son Father Aloysius Schmitt during the December 7, 1941, attack on Pearl Harbor. Although most had heard on the radio about the attack, they only learned of Father Al's death the next day at the Masses for the Feast of the Immaculate Conception. They were stunned to hear the announcement.

Survivors of the sinking of the *U.S.S. Oklahoma* told the story of how Father Schmitt had helped so many of his fellow crew by locking watertight compartments and pushing them through a porthole. He, being a big man, was not able to exit through the porthole but continued to help others escape. He was "THE FIRST AMERICAN PRIEST TO MAKE THE SUPREME SACRIFICE IN WORLD WAR II."<sup>31</sup> Father Al was so loved by all, a priest for only six years, and had served as a chaplain in the U. S. Navy for two and one-half years.

A Solemn High Mass was celebrated in St. Lucas on December 20 and in Dubuque several days later. Father Schmitt's heroism has been memorialized nationally, regionally and locally. In June 1943, the Navy named a Destroyer Escort Vessel, the *U.S.S. Schmitt*, for his service. Loras College dedicated its Christ the King chapel to his devotion to God and country, and St. Luke's Church placed a large bronze plaque in his honor in the church vestibule. Much has been written of his short and heroic life.<sup>32</sup>

Sixty years later, on December 7, 2001, present pastor of St. Luke's Church, Rev. Marvin A. Salz, arranged for a very fitting 60th Anniversary Mass of Remembrance

for Father Aloysius Schmitt. Archbishop Jerome Hanus O.S. B. was the Principal Celebrant with area priests as Concelebrants.

### **William Henry Regnery, Community Benefactor**

In 1950, construction began on a Recreation Center next to the school, and connected by a walkway. It was to be completely financed by a Chicago friend of the parish, William Henry Regnery, of the Joanna Western Mills Company.

Due to his frugal nature, Father Schuh kept the cost of the building down to \$40,000. The Regnery family was actually disappointed when they saw it for the first time. They would have been happier to have paid much more for a better building. However, it was put to very good use. The basketball teams could now play in their home gym. A two-lane bowling alley—sanctioned with the American Bowlers' Congress—in the lower level was busy every evening. There were two men's leagues and one women's league, eighteen teams altogether. School lunches were prepared and served on the lower level, and meetings could be held in the dining room.<sup>33</sup>

William Regnery was born on a farm near Sheboygan, Wisconsin. While still a small child, in the 1870s, his family moved to a farm north of St. Lucas. When he was about 12 years of age, they had to sell the farm and the family moved to Kansas City, Missouri, where he soon had to go to work.

His son, Henry H. Regnery, in his 1981 book *William H. Regnery and His Family*, wrote about his father: "The only formal education he ever had, or at least talked about, was in St. Lucas at the Catholic parochial school, which was conducted by an order of Franciscan Sisters whose Mother House is in LaCrosse, Wisconsin. He often spoke of the St. Lucas School, of the firm but understanding discipline of the sisters. . . . Their equipment was doubtless of the simplest, but they must have been dedicated teachers and, judging from my father, they produced results."<sup>34</sup>

Henry continued: "The teaching in the morning, my father said, was in English, and in the afternoon in German. As limited as my father's formal education was, he used English correctly and well, could express himself effectively and clearly, had beautiful handwriting, and spoke good German."

Moving from the farm and community they loved must have been very traumatic for the family. Henry wrote: "There was not only the loss of the farm and the support of the neighbors, but leaving a close, homogeneous community of which they were a part..."

Henry Regnery's first trip to St. Lucas was in 1919 when as a 7-year-old he came with his parents and his three brothers and his sister. In 1989, he finally had his dream to return come true. His nephews Peter and Bill Regnery and two of Bill's sons, David and Jonathan, accompanied him. He was so thrilled to see the church and school, and to visit with descendants of friends and neighbors of his grandparents when they lived on that farm near St. Lucas.

Bill and Peter are keeping up this family tradition. Their most recent visit was in August 2004. They have certainly inherited a love for St. Lucas and St. Luke's Church and especially for St. Luke's School. They were very happy to hear that a St. Lucas Historical Society has been formed to purchase and save the school. Plans are

to turn it into a museum, library and social center. The Regnery Family Foundation has given a generous gift to help the Society in these efforts.

On the front page of the October 1953 *St. Luke's Highlights* there is a news item: *Benefactors Visit Parish*. "The benefactors of this parish, Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Regnery, visited St. Lucas a number of days last week. They spent some time examining the new Community Library which they have donated to this parish." This library was located in one of the new Annex rooms of the school, and was more commonly referred to as the Regnery Library.

William H. Regnery died on January 16, 1954, at the age of 76. Msgr. Schuh was honored to give the graveside prayers for this great man, a friend and benefactor of St. Luke's Parish.

In the April 6, 1969, *Lucana*, Msgr. Schuh wrote: "Thanks to the Regnery family for the fine set of the *World Book Encyclopedia*. A prayer for Mr. & Mrs. Regnery, deceased, and for the whole family."

### Land and Livelihood

During his tenure, 1882-1928, Father F. X. Boeding was a spiritual father and the inspiration and helping hand to the St. Lucas community's growth and prosperity. He loved botany and was instrumental in the planting of hundreds of apple and evergreen trees on the parish and school grounds, and evergreen wind breaks and fruit orchards on the farms. Many of these trees still stand today.

An important goal of Father Boeding was to reawaken the confidence of the parishioners in farming. This young priest came to St. Lucas at a time when this great wheat field community was sadly devastated by the cinch wheat bug. The farmers were discouraged and the times were bad. He made a study of the land and urged people to plant corn and to specialize in blooded stock.

In a tribute to Father Boeding after his death, the Archdiocesan newspaper *The Witness* wrote: "Whenever there was a farm for sale in the vicinity of his parish, Father Boeding bought it. He had no money, but he secured the farm by means of an option to purchase. Then he went in search of a Catholic family . . . and another new family was added to the St. Lucas parish."<sup>35</sup>

The *125 Year History of St. Luke's Parish* reinforces the above statement: "Father Boeding was instrumental in our community becoming all-Catholic. He was always on the alert, and when he heard of a Yankee wanting to sell his farm, he would find him a German buyer, who incidentally was a Catholic. Many of these Germans came directly from their native land and lived with relatives until they could find a place to reside."<sup>36</sup>

Tony Meinert, a life-long resident of St. Lucas states, "When a farm became available mostly south of St. Lucas where the Bodensteiners live now, Father Boeding saw that a German Catholic family got the farm. I don't know exactly how he did that."<sup>37</sup>

In the early 1980s, Mark Friedberger, of the Department of History and Social Sciences at the University of Illinois in Chicago, came to look at the diverse mix of ethnic and religious groups in Fayette County and the considerable variation between townships, including Auburn township that is most of the St. Lucas agricultural area. Friedberger was most interested in the segment of the population that proved most

tenacious in its commitment to the land over the long haul through the depression and beyond.

Friedberger cites the Reicks family, German Catholics near St. Lucas, and their conveyance of real estate and inheritance settlement that passed on the farm as a “going concern” to family members, treated all heirs reasonably fairly in the settlement and at the same time provided sustenance to the widowed spouse. This represented the old world custom of the “bond of maintenance agreement” adopted in some ethnic communities as a method of providing old-age security. Most residents of St. Lucas would agree that farms in the St. Lucas area remain in the same families for many decades and few, if any, outsiders have ever purchased farmland in the community.<sup>38</sup>

In another examination of the St. Lucas community and its social and economic cohesion, the *Des Moines Sunday Register* in 1981 did a lead story on “Thriving Iowa community has avoided the ‘Melting Pot’ and subtitled it ‘Cohesion credited with St. Lucas’ success”. The article explores why St. Lucas has stayed so homogeneous. “The answer lies with the land. By an unwritten community code that has stood up—with few exceptions—for generations, farmland simply hasn’t been sold to outsiders.” Tex Heyer, the Fayette County abstractor noted: “I can’t think of a place of similar size where the town real estate would be as valuable.”<sup>39</sup>

When asked by Daniel Pederson, the *Des Moines Sunday Register* reporter, if he would ever sell to an outsider who offered a good price, Will Kuehner, a local St. Lucas farmer, replied: “Well, if it’s on the open market, it goes to the man with the



St. Luke's School. Reprinted with permission (c) 2003, *The Gazette*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa

highest price. Of course, I'd probably sell it quietly so you wouldn't get it." Pederson goes on to point out "That quiet, word of mouth sales pattern in which land changes hands among generations or neighbors, close kin or shirttail relations before it reaches the open market, has been the almost exclusive practice here for as long as anyone can remember."

Pederson noted, "The glue that binds the community now, it seems, is simpler

and more universal than matters of theology or ethnic origin. It is the glue of family imbedded in the land. Most people in town won't argue much with that assessment. But they'll point out that the historical problem here has been not so much keeping outsiders out, but finding room for insiders who want to stay."<sup>40</sup>

In the post World War II period, with large families and the focus on family farms, St. Lucas parents helped sons buy farmland in neighboring communities and daughters began marrying men from nearby towns and farms. Urban and Lucy Schmitt Dietzenbach of Cresco, Iowa, note that many St. Lucas families helped their sons secure farms in the Hawkeye, Waucoma, Lawler, West Union, Festina and Cresco areas. Urban Dietzenbach also recalls the close-knit family support in sharing heavy farm equipment with his brothers and good neighbors.<sup>41</sup>

Balz Kamm of West Union, the Fayette County seat ten miles from St. Lucas, recalled that during this post-war period there were boundary disputes between the burgeoning Catholics of St. Lucas and non-German or Protestant regions beyond. They were struggles partly inspired on both sides by questions of nationality and religion . . . "No more," says Kamm, who speaks highly of the town to the north, "If everybody was as solid as those people up there, we'd have a helluva country."<sup>42</sup>

Over the past twenty-five years, St. Lucas has lost its grocery store, hardware store and feed milling service to regional retail forces and rapid farm mechanization. The former hardware store has been converted into a community center. Resisting the current tide of steady decline in small towns, St. Lucas has retained a tavern, a branch bank, regionally well-known restaurant and jewelry store, beauty shop, gift shop and gas station. This small town has also witnessed the growth of a large automobile repair service that specializes in transmission work and the establishment of a convenience store. The town retains its attractive homes and well-kept yards and flower gardens.

### **Importance of Education**

St. Luke's School has been the cultural and educational heart, mind and soul of this very unique Iowa community. From the early pioneer days to the last decade, St. Luke's School played a very significant role in the religious, educational, cultural and economic identity of the German, Luxembourg and Swiss Catholic migrants to St. Lucas.

In a log building close to the first church, St. Luke's Catholic School was conducted by laymen from 1855 when the parish was formed until the coming of the Sisters in 1876. The first teacher was H. Henry Kuennen, followed by Peter Kuehner. Records show that in the 1870-1871 school year, Professor Louis Mihm had an enrollment of 49 boys and 51 girls. When he left in 1872 to join the staff at St. John's Institute for the Deaf in Milwaukee, Adam Steffes and others taught until 1876, when the Franciscan Sisters of La Crosse came.<sup>43</sup>

Two early Sisters most remembered and revered were Sister Amata and Sister Laurentia who came in the 1880s and taught at St. Luke's for more than forty years. During the winter months, children who lived some distance from town boarded with the sisters in the large frame school/convent. The wood frame school that Father Boeding had built in 1905 was destroyed by fire on February 11, 1911.

The present St. Luke's School building was erected that summer at a cost of

\$13,636.51. It is a three-story structure with a light red brick exterior, six large classrooms (22' x 32' each) and a small annex added in the late 1940s for the high school. The Chapel, at the lower level, seats three hundred persons.

To date, the identity of the architect—if there even was one—still remains a mystery. According to St. Lucas oral history, Father Francis Xavier Boeding conceived the design of the school and supervised its construction in those summer months of 1911. After all, he had studied architecture while in seminary. He may have consulted with Guido Beck, prominent church architect, and Anton Zwack, prominent church builder, in Dubuque; three years later Father hired them to design and build the present church. The construction work on the school was performed in great haste by the St. Luke's parishioners, including several skilled masons and carpenters. It was very well built ninety-three years ago.

Father Boeding, from 1882-1928, and Msgr. Schuh, from 1928 to 1969, shaped and led the role of St. Luke's School in the preservation and transformation of German-American individual and community values over the decades.

St. Luke's High School was established in 1941 and produced nearly 300 graduates by the time it closed in 1967 because of the school consolidation process. Throughout its history St. Luke's High School was very competitive academically and in its baseball and basketball programs. The high school students produced an award-winning monthly newspaper, the *S.L.S. Highlights*, with a circulation of over



Sister Amata and students at St. Luke's School c. 1912

320 copies.<sup>44</sup>

Enrollment at St. Luke's Grade and High School peaked in the early 1960s at over 275 students. For many years the school was staffed by eight sisters, and Father Schuh and his assistant pastor. By 1961, only six teaching sisters were available as the number of women entering the convent declined. In 1962, two brothers of St. Pius X in DeSoto, Wisconsin were added to the faculty.

More and more lay teachers had to be hired as well as teacher aides. It was

becoming increasingly difficult to support all twelve grades. At the end of the school year 1966-1967, came the shocking announcement that the High School would close. Seventh and eighth grades were discontinued in 1969. As these grades were discontinued at St. Luke's Catholic School and at Holy Trinity Catholic School in Protivin, they had to be absorbed into the rather new Turkey Valley Community School at Jackson Junction. Until an addition could be built at Turkey Valley, classroom space was rented in several former schools.

Of critical importance in the development and sustenance of St. Luke's School was the role of the Franciscan Sisters of Perpetual Adoration of St. Rose Convent in La Crosse, Wisconsin. Both long-time pastors, Father Boeding and Msgr. Schuh, had good business relationships with the Order. They were always given teaching sisters of the highest caliber—especially for the High School. These teaching sisters and the priests placed a heavy emphasis on learning and the value of education that led many students to pursue higher education for positions in the clergy and professions across the nation. In the 140 years of the existence of St. Luke's School, 26 students went on to become priests and 56 students entered the religious life as sisters or as brothers.

Many of the St. Luke's School alumni fondly recall these Franciscan teaching sisters. Linus Bodensteiner praised Sister Theola for "being an excellent teacher. I learned more from her in my last year of school than in all the other grades. She was no-nonsense and more strict. She had a knack for keeping order. She was also kind and fair, and commanded our respect."<sup>45</sup> Soon after Father Schuh came to St. Lucas, he asked Sister Theola to take on the ninth grade, and the following year the tenth grade was added. The goal of having a complete high school by 1940 was realized, and it was accredited to the Iowa State Board of Education in 1941.

Lorraine Kuennen notes: "The sisters and priests who taught us gave us a very well-rounded education. They instilled in us a zest for learning that continues to this day, and has enriched our lives immeasurably. A very favorite sister was our English teacher, Sister Mary Alice, all through high school. Every day she was smiling and sparkly, eager to teach us about Literature—American and English. She was also the sponsor and adviser for the publication of our High School Newspaper, the *S.L.S. Highlights*. All students learned every aspect of publishing a monthly paper. From this experience, and from two years of her typing classes, I learned to love to write."<sup>46</sup>

"It was wonderful! The nuns were like college professors. We got a top-notch education!" said Kathleen Drilling, a grandniece of Rev. Francis X. Boeding, the pastor who drafted the preliminary design for the 1911 schoolhouse.<sup>47</sup>

Many graduates entered teaching, medicine, law, government, other professions, business, trade and farming with the solid educational basics they acquired in St. Luke's School. It should be noted here that there were no choices of subjects. All students learned the same basic subjects, and they learned them very well. St. Luke's High School graduates reported being much better prepared for college than many other freshmen. No wonder those dedicated teaching sisters are held in such high esteem.

A truly unique part of the St. Luke's School experience was the arrangement by which one of the sisters taught 5th grade and half of the 6th grade in the old one-room Public School building located downtown. This was under the auspices of the Fayette County Superintendent of Schools. Classroom space was needed, and the parishioners got something in return for their school taxes. Religious education

was given in the chapel after Mass, and then the students and their teacher walked down to the Public School. Sister Francilia, who taught there for many years, and her students, felt sort of special, spending the day separate from the big school.

Orlan Love, reporter for the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, notes that the commingling of church and state in this Fayette County community might send shivers up the spines of civil libertarians, but it remains a source of pride for residents working to preserve the most visible symbol of that fading union—St. Luke's Catholic School.<sup>48</sup>

St. Luke's School and St. John's School in Fort Atkinson merged in 1975. Grades K-6 were taught at St. Luke's until the school closed in 1997. Presently, there is a 3-parish merger, with classes held in Protivin.

After being vacant for several years, the 93-year-old school was put up for sale by the Parish Council. A St. Lucas Historical Society was formed in 2003 to purchase the building in order to assure its preservation. A museum, library and social center are being developed. *Christmas Reflections 2003* and *2004* were both such huge successes that it will be an annual event. An Open House is held in the beautifully decorated school on the second weekend of December. Highlights of the event are the Sunday Brunch, scheduled choir concerts by various age groups performed in the lower-level chapel, and instrumentalists accompanying the singing of carols in former classrooms throughout the weekend. Former students, that is, all St. Lucas natives, are thrilled to get back inside its "hallowed halls" again.

### **Preserving the German Language and Heritage, Part 1**

*by St. Lucas "Outsider" Carl Most*

Some of these observations were presented in an earlier article, but are still valid today. These observations are not those of a St. Lucas native, nor of someone who was acquainted with this area of Northeast Iowa by birth. Carl Most grew up in Detroit, Michigan, the child of German immigrants. So when leaving a major industrial complex and traveling to a small farming village in Iowa, one notices things in that way of life that are "unique" to a big city perspective<sup>49</sup>:

Wenn man sich dem Dorfe St. Lucas im Bundesstaat Iowa nähert, so sieht man als erstes nicht große Getreideschuppen, wie das in vielen Dörfern und Kleinstädten dieses Staates üblich ist, sondern man sieht die Türme der katholischen Kirche, die weit über diese kleine Gemeinde auf einem Berg in die Höhe ragen. Denn seit Beginn der Geschichte dieser kleinen deutschamerikanischen Gemeinde spielt die Kirche die Hauptrolle im Leben hiesiger Einwohner. Die Kirche war wahrhaftig Kulturträgerin der hier wohnenden Deutschamerikaner; sie war Quelle und schöpferische Kraft für die Erhaltung einer Art deutscher Lebensweise in einem Dorf, das sich bis in die Jahre nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg etwa bewusst von seiner Umgebung und deren Einflüsse isolierte.

Das Dorf St. Lucas liegt südlich und westlich von der Stadt Decorah, Iowa, mitten im Dörferdreick Waucoma-Eldorado-Festina. Heute hat das Dorf etwa 150 Einwohner; dazu müssten allerdings die

Menschen gerechnet werden, die auf Farmen wohnen und wirtschaftlich, kulturell, kirchlich und sozial zum eigentlichen Dorfleben gehören.

Immer wieder haben sich deutsch-katholische Menschen hier angesiedelt, sodass die Erhaltung einer katholische-christlichen Lebensart, auf deutscher Basis ruhend, möglich war. Bis in die vierziger Jahre dieses Jahrhunderts wurde in deutscher Sprache gepredigt, viele der Gläubigen haben in deutscher Sprache gebeichtet und gebetet, und noch heute sind vor und nach den Mahlzeiten deutsche Tischgebete zu hören. Und in den beiden Wirtschaften des Dorfes kann man gelegentlich hören, wie sich die älteren Männer und Frauen auf Deutsch unterhalten. Und bei vielen, welche nur noch vom Hören her ein paar Worte Deutsch können, ist das Englisch mit deutschem Akzent gefärbt. Besonders auffallend ist der Gebrauch des englischen Wortes „not“ für „nicht“ in der Fragestellung: „You're coming over tonight, not?“ Das nenne ich nur als Beispiel von vielen, die sich in die Lokalsprache eingebürgert haben.

Today not many more persons reside in St. Lucas than 50 or 100 years ago, but the nature of the town has changed markedly. Its populace has been relatively stable near 175-200 persons over the years. Now retired farmers move "into town," new streets have been added and paved and new homes have been built.

In der Kirchenschule war Deutsch die Sprache des Unterrichts bis vor dem Zweiten Weltkrieg. Mein Schwiegervater, Herman Kuennen, der jüngste aus einer Familie von zwölf Kindern, versteht noch viel, spricht Deutsch sehr stockend, kann sich aber noch verständigen. Herman Kuennens Eltern, also die Großeltern meiner Frau Rosemary Kuennen Most, sprachen sehr gut Deutsch, und die Sprache im Hause war fast ausschließlich Deutsch. Interessant für uns war, dass meine Frau nach einem Sommer intensiven Sprachunterrichts die Aufnahmeprüfung an der Universität Marburg bestehen konnte und als ordentliche Studierende dort matrikulieren durfte. Dies bezeugt zu welchem Grade Deutsch noch im Hause mit Großeltern und mit Verwandten und Bekannten im Dorf gesprochen wurde.

Today, there are few persons remaining in St. Lucas who have a conversational command of the German language. Leander Stammeyer, a resident and Vice-President of the St. Lucas Historical Society, recalls that the community was so homogeneous—made up almost entirely of devout German-American Catholic farmers—that no one saw a need to separate residents' spiritual and civic lives. In the 1927-28 period, Stammeyer was among the first students at St. Luke's School to use textbooks printed in English rather than German. The last priest capable of giving sermons in German was Monsignor Francis Schuh who died in 1970. In the late 1920s he decided that the community had to learn English and become fluent in English, the language in America. In 1928, he began the transition by giving one sermon a month in English, then reduced sermons in German so that by the 1950s, all sermons were given in English.

This linguistic change reflected the passing of the older German speaking generation and the influence of the war years. In addition, in the post war years,

many of the parents were speaking only English to their children although they would speak German among themselves. When Carl Most made the acquaintanceship of Monsignor Schuh in the 1960s, Monsignor was still able to converse fluently in German and always spoke German with his parents.

Carl Most states that his father-in-law, Herman Kuennen, once showed him postcards and other correspondence that he had received as a young man, and these were all written in German, and in the Sütterlin script. I was amazed to see the extent to which persons born in this country had mastered German writing.

Another man, Mattie Jakobs, a retired carpenter, with whom Carl Most had quite some contact, spoke absolutely fluent German and could express himself well on even rather complicated subjects, such as how weather affects crops, inflation, building new homes in town and other topics. Mr. Jakobs's parents were immigrants from Luxembourg and they spoke German in the home. Mattie had no formal education beyond what was provided in St. Luke's School in St. Lucas.

Father Joseph Vollmecke, a man who grew up on a farm near St. Lucas did not begin his college education until in his thirties. He spoke German extremely well. Father Vollmecke was totally immersed in German until he left for the seminary to



Sister Francilia and students at the public school in St. Lucas (author appears in the middle row)

become a priest. Once, while talking with him about a car he wished to purchase, he forgot the German word for "carburetor." When Carl Most mentioned "Vergaser," Vollmecke continued to tell him it needed an adjustment, but otherwise the car ran well.

Monsignor Leander Reicks, now living in an assisted living facility in Elma, Iowa, also spoke very good German. Carl Most has seen a video of Msgr. Reicks concelebrating a mass in Germany at a Reicks family reunion, when he and several other members of the family visited their ancestral home. Msgr. Reicks recently noted, "My grandfather Heying spoke High German, so we learned High German. My dad spoke Low German but that was not what we used in (St. Luke's) School. Even when

I came home to the farm from college we spoke German." Concerning farm food, Msgr. Reicks said "My Mom made knoedel and speck for breakfast."<sup>50</sup>

These are but a few examples of how German was the vernacular among those who had attended the parochial school when instruction was in German. And as we know, to converse in everyday situations requires a considerable mastery of the structures of a language, as well as a vocabulary special to the environment, in this case farming. I have already noted the use of "not" for "nicht" in interrogatives. In the use of German in St. Lucas, there was no use of the formal "Sie" among the German speakers. Everyone was addressed with "du," probably a natural thing for a small community in which people knew each other. The use of "Sie" was understood as only a plural, rather than a formal form of address.

In so far as spoken English was concerned, many of the older persons who went through St. Luke's School retained a slight accent. The most prominent deviation was the *th* of English, which became a *t* or *d*, depending on the position of the English word and whether the *th* was followed by a consonant or vowel such as three or then. These have been my observations as one from outside the community who has been privileged to view its changes over four decades.

## **Preserving the German Language and Heritage, Part 2**

*by St. Lucas Native Lorraine Bodensteiner Kuennen*

I write from the perspective of one who was born and raised on a farm near St. Lucas, married my high school sweetheart, and worked side by side with him in our hardware store on the town square whenever I wasn't working in the post office just up the street.

Together, Ken and I have observed, and been a part of, the pulse of our hometown for over 75 years. Five years ago we moved to a retirement complex in nearby Decorah. We got away from a large yard and garden and keeping up a house, and now have time to enjoy the extras of living in a college town. At the same time, we have more time to devote to recording the history of St. Lucas, and to help preserve our German culture and heritage.

Our new friends and family here at *Vennehjem*, which is Norwegian for Home of Friends, would attest to the fact that we really have never left Home—St. Luke's Church and School and St. Lucas, Iowa. They enjoy our group outings to St. Lucas, where we tour the beautiful church that our new friends refer to as a "cathedral." They like to study the extraordinary windows that depict the Life of Christ according to the Gospel of St. Luke, and they sing hymns to my organ accompaniment. Then our caravan of cars proceeds down the hill for dinner at the White House, one of the best restaurants for many miles around, owned and operated for more than twenty-five years by St. Lucas natives—and St. Luke's graduates—John and Jann Kuehner. In 2005, we expect to add St. Luke's School Museum to the Tour.

While doing research for a Family History published in 1979, I found many relatives—usually third cousins—still on ancestral farms in Germany. Most of my forefathers had emigrated from various parts of Bavaria by the mid-1800s. Only one of my families came from up north in the Oldenburg area. After corresponding with

all of them for several years, it was wonderful for my husband and me to finally meet all of these relatives, and to be invited to stay a few days in the old ancestral homes.

I had learned to understand and speak quite a bit of German from observing my mother translate many documents and letters for area historians. When she translated important documents for me, I double-checked to make sure she didn't miss even a tiny clue. She wrote letters to Germany for me and interpreted those received from there. When Mother was in her mid-eighties, I finally decided I must try writing in German. The first letter took several evenings as I had to look up almost every word in the *Wörterbuch*. My cousins in the Bavarian Oberpfalz area replied: "Wir konnten alles ganz gut lesen und verstehen. Es war sehr schön!"

A year after our first trip to the land of our forefathers, on October 18, 1980, St. Luke's Parish celebrated its 125th Anniversary. Besides authoring and publishing the church's history book, I decided to organize a *Deutsches Liederfest*. After all, Spillville had its Czech music, Decorah had its Nordic music, why not a *Deutsches Liederfest* in all-German St. Lucas? Twenty-six singers, accompanied by myself on the accordion and Kathleen Drilling on the guitar, enjoyed many practices.

We performed several times on the Jubilee Day, drawing people around us who joined in the more familiar songs, such as "Du, du, liegst mir im Herzen," "O, Du Lieber Augustin," "Muss i denn," "Lauterbach," and "Freut euch des Lebens." Our adviser and song announcer was German-born Wilhelmina Kuennen, longtime teacher of German at North Fayette High School in West Union. For the Jubilee she gave us a German flag and a large wall map on which I marked where in Germany the various St. Lucas families had come from. Interestingly, all of our families had come from what was then West Germany, none had come from East Germany.

In 1983, St. Luke's Parish hosted a reception for Horst Kunke, Deputy Consul General assigned to the West German Consulate in Chicago. Wilhelmina had arranged for him to speak to us. People brought mementos from Germany, we displayed pictures and souvenirs from our trip, and we sang many German Songs.

Kunke had come to North High for their annual *Volksfest*, a farewell program for German exchange students. Other years, Wilhelmina had brought the students for a Mass in St. Luke's Church. At the "Sign of Peace," the congregation would sing "Let There Be Peace on Earth," and the final song was always "Großer Gott"—with all the organ stops out. This hymn of praise has traditionally been reserved for the most important celebrations, in Germany, and from the beginnings of St. Luke's Parish to the present day.<sup>51</sup>

We have returned to Germany two more times, and are hoping to get there at least one more time. We get lonesome for those dear relatives and friends, especially when we exchange photos and letters by e-mail.

At the present time, the St. Lucas Historical Society is working on plans for an All School Reunion, "a Gathering of the Saints," to coincide with our St. Luke's Parish 150th Anniversary celebration which will be held the last weekend of July 2005. You can be sure that we will be celebrating our Germanness that weekend, with some good old German hymns and the singing of "Großer Gott" to close the Mass. And

yes, I will have all the stops out on the wonderful 1890s Schuelke tracker organ! We are, indeed, very proud of our German heritage, and are dedicated to its preservation.

### **Preserving the German Language and Heritage, Part 3**

By Native Son, Clair Blong

The St. Lucas community is organizing to preserve and celebrate its rich cultural heritage on two levels: the group and the individual. Two years ago, 15 community members and St. Luke's School alumni established the St. Lucas Historical Society that has now grown to 125 members from across the nation. These 15 founding members pooled their resources to purchase the St. Luke's School in June 2003.<sup>52</sup> The group established several interesting goals and objectives:

- Preserve St. Luke's School for alternative uses;
- Develop an Internet site;
- Establish a family genealogy center;
- Develop a German-American and Native American Museum;
- Develop a community library; and
- Celebrate the community's heritage with special events.<sup>53</sup>

In just two years, the Society has made significant strides in accomplishing these preservation goals, celebrating the community's history, enlisting the support of the regional business community and alumni from across the country; and in raising the awareness of this unique German-American community's cultural heritage. This brief survey of St. Lucas and its Historical Society offers some insights into the community's social cohesion, historical consciousness and adaptation in today's world.

On an individual level, my parents spoke German amongst themselves but not to their children in the World War II period as Father Schuh was trying to dampen the community's German tradition and help it integrate into the large American society. But I recall classmates who only spoke German when we entered St. Luke's Grade School in 1948. I studied German as an undergraduate at Loras College and researched our family's history to discover relatives in the Tauberbischofsheim locality of Baden.

After some exchange visits, the Dietzenbachs, my mother's family, held a large family reunion in Festina, Iowa, that included relatives from Hochhausen and Mannheim, Germany.<sup>54</sup> In the process, we also discovered that Andreas Dietzenbach, my immigrant great-grandfather, sent monies home to have an outdoor Crucifixion statuary erected near the Catholic church in Hochhausen. Over the past two decades, several Dietzenbach family members in Iowa and Germany have cultivated these German-American ties with more relatives becoming participants in the trans-Atlantic relationship.

Similarly, a significant number of St. Lucas families have explored their family genealogy and developed very stimulating ties and rewarding experiences with their German cousins. These growing bi-national family ties are reawakening the St. Lucas community members to their German cultural heritage and also their unique

German-American community spirit and values. The organization and growth of the Historical Society reflects that spirit and can foster these cross-cultural ties.

*St. Lucas Historical Society*  
St. Lucas, Iowa

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Lorraine Bodensteiner Kuennen, *St. Luke's Church: 125 Years* (1980), 15.
- <sup>2</sup> Robert Wilkin, O.F.M., *A Historical Sketch of the Holy Family Church and Parish, Oldenburg, Indiana* (1937), 41.
- <sup>3</sup> Lorraine Kuennen, e-mail to Clair Blong, March 31, 2004.
- <sup>4</sup> Mary Richmond, "Saint Anthony of Padua Chapel on the Centennial Anniversary, 1985," *Sumner Gazette* (Sumner, IA), 9.
- <sup>5</sup> Kuennen, *St. Luke's Church*, 15.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>9</sup> Kuennen, *St. Luke's Church*, 16.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>11</sup> Archdiocese of Dubuque, *The Centennial History of the Archdiocese of Dubuque* (1937), 195.
- <sup>12</sup> Kuennen, *St. Luke's Church*, 18.
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>15</sup> Archdiocese of Dubuque, *The Centennial History*, 212.
- <sup>16</sup> Kuennen, *St. Luke's Church*, 18-19.
- <sup>17</sup> Denis Kuennen, e-mail to Clair Blong, April 12, 2004.
- <sup>18</sup> Kuennen, *St. Luke's Church*, 19.
- <sup>19</sup> Robert Wilkin, O.F.M., *A Historical Sketch of the Holy Family Church and Parish, Oldenburg, Indiana* (1937), 64.
- <sup>20</sup> Kuennen, *St. Luke's Church*, 24.
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.
- <sup>23</sup> Phone Interview of Leander Stammeyer by Clair Blong, April 10, 2004.
- <sup>24</sup> Kuennen, *St. Luke's Church*, 29.
- <sup>25</sup> Rev. Mark Nemmers, letter to then Pastor Florian J. Schmidt, July 20, 1985.
- <sup>26</sup> Kuennen, *St. Luke's Church*, 29.
- <sup>27</sup> "Corpus Christi Celebration Draws Many to St. Lucas....," *Fayette County Union*, West Union, IA, May 29, 1940.
- <sup>28</sup> Lorraine Kuennen, e-mail to Clair Blong, March 31, 2004.
- <sup>29</sup> Msgr. Francis L. Schuh, in letter to the three native sons ordained in Triple Ordination in St. Luke's Church May 30, 1950, *S.L.S. Highlights*, 9, 8 (April 1950): 6.
- <sup>30</sup> Kuennen, *St. Luke's Church*, 46.
- <sup>31</sup> See Sister Mary Imogene Klein, "Greater Love: The Life of Chaplain Aloysius H. Schmitt, Lieutenant (jg.) U. S. Navy," Thesis, Loras College, 1961, and Rev. Msgr. Francis L. Schuh, "Biography of Father Aloysius Schmitt," (St. Lucas, IA, 1947), 20 pages.
- <sup>32</sup> Kuennen, *St. Luke's Church*, 32.
- <sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.
- <sup>34</sup> Henry Regnery, *William H. Regnery and His Family* (Three Oaks, MI: 1981), 5-9.
- <sup>35</sup> Archdiocese of Dubuque, "Rev. Francis X. Boeding," *The Witness* (October 10, 1928).
- <sup>36</sup> Kuennen, *St. Luke's Church*, 24.
- <sup>37</sup> Tony Meinert interviewed by Rosemary Kuennen Most, April 8, 2004.
- <sup>38</sup> Mark Friedberger, "The Farm Family and the Inheritance Process: Evidence from the Corn Belt, 1870-1950," *Agricultural History* 57, 1 (January 1983): 8.

<sup>39</sup> Daniel Pederson, "Thriving Iowa community has avoided 'Melting Pot,'" *Des Moines Sunday Register* (January 25, 1981), 1A, 3A.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Phone Interview of Urban and Lucy Schmitt Dietzenbach by Clair Blong, April 10, 2004.

<sup>42</sup> Pederson.

<sup>43</sup> Kuennen, *St. Luke's Church*, 37.

<sup>44</sup> Archdiocese of Dubuque, *The Centennial History*, 212.

<sup>45</sup> Linus Bodensteiner interviewed by Lorraine Kuennen, April 8, 2004.

<sup>46</sup> Lorraine Kuennen, e-mail to Clair Blong, March 29, 2004.

<sup>47</sup> Orlan Love, "St. Lucas School Built on Faith," *Cedar Rapids Gazette* (October 28, 2003), 8B.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Also see Carl Most, "Das deutschamerikanische Dorf St. Lucas, Iowa und die Forschung uber eine dort wohnende weitverzweigte Familie," *German-American Studies* 10 (1975).

<sup>50</sup> Msgr. Leander Reicks interviewed by Rosemary Kuennen Most, e-mail of April 8, 2004.

<sup>51</sup> "German Heritage Comes Alive Here: Volksfest Big Success," *The Fayette County Union*, (May 20, 1983), 1, 6.

<sup>52</sup> "Preservation Begins on a Cornerstone of St. Lucas: School Is First Project of St. Lucas Historical Society," *The Fayette County Union* (June 25, 2003), 1, 5.

<sup>53</sup> "First Annual Report to Board of Directors and Members," St. Lucas Historical Society, St. Lucas, IA (March 2004).

<sup>54</sup> "Dietzenbach Family Reunion," *The Fayette County Union* (August 1983).

Katja Rampelmann

### **Infidels, Ethnicity, and Womanhood: Women in the German-American Freethinker-Movement**

Milwaukee, 1853: Eduard Schröter, speaker of the Free Congregation of the city, is about to lose his weekly paper *Der Humanist* to Moritz Schöffler, owner of the *Wisconsin Banner*. Schöffler, who is the principal stockholder in the *Humanist*, offers Schröter a deal. If Schröter refrains from attacking the Democratic Party and commenting on political issues in his paper, Schöffler will hand over his stocks to him. If not, he shall pull out his money and deny Schröter access to his printing presses on which both papers are produced. Schröter is broke and frustrated—and saved by the local *Humanistischer Frauenverein* (Humanistic Ladies Club), which is able to raise enough money for Schröter to buy out Schöffler and purchase his own printing press.<sup>1</sup> The anecdote illustrates key functions of women's club activities throughout the nineteenth century: fundraising and providing financial aid to those in need. However, it also demonstrates that female support became political acts capable of tilting the balance of power from one side to another. Female organizations had power. But women rarely had the opportunity to take part in the activities of their husbands, fathers, or brothers.

Countless societies, clubs, fraternities, and social and professional organizations existed in German-American communities throughout the nineteenth century. Nearly all of them practiced a rigid gender division. Societies were open either to males or females. Even in so-called "progressive" organizations like the Turner societies women were denied full membership rights until the early twentieth century. In the United States the women's movement had been closely tied to Christian religiosity. The Great Awakening of the eighteenth century, Temperance- and Abolitionist-movements have previously been described as phases of great female activity. Especially in church circles women found a place where they could voice their concerns, express their interests, and establish networks.<sup>2</sup> But what about women who rejected the established churches and claimed Christian religion to be morally corrupt? The large American female organizations rarely offered German immigrant women reason to join. Besides the language barrier the Temperance movement, for example, went against their core cultural values. The production of beer and the consumption of alcohol were key elements in German culture that provided for income as well as collective identity. The strong ties to the Anglo-American Protestant tradition further turned away many German Freethinking, Catholic, or Jewish immigrant women.

Therefore, German-American women established their own circles that neither were of Anglo-Saxon origin nor believed in traditional Protestant values.

The German-American Free Congregations, later known as Freethinker-Societies, were gateways for women on their way to equality. In contrast to most other German-American societies of the time, Free Congregations felt the necessity for female participation and granted women equal access to all their resources. Free Congregations, eyed with much suspicion and fiercely attacked by the established churches for the promotion of secularization, and unmoral and dangerous ideologies, followed a reform program that did not define social morality in religious terms. As one of the most liberal societies among the wide range of German-American organizations in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, Free Congregations proposed a wide range of political and social reforms. Along with their attacks on religion they recommended a new social order in which women were to play a significant role. This article explores the role of women in the German-American Freethinker-movement. It demonstrates the principles of equality with regard to membership and examines why and how this was implemented.

### Roots of the Freethinker-Movement in Germany

Today the Freethinker-movement is associated with strong anti-clerical positions and clear secularist standpoints. The roots of the German-American Freethinker-movement, however, lie deep within the German Protestant and German Catholic Churches. Under the rule of the Prussian king Friedrich Wilhelm III rationalism was well rooted in the theological faculties of the universities.<sup>3</sup> Rationalist views had been greatly accepted within the academic world of the universities since the Enlightenment. Nonetheless, in 1840, after his son Friedrich Wilhelm IV inherited the throne, conservative circles won dominance within the state and church and banned the pluralism that had prevailed before. The new king appointed Christian conservative advisors into office who shared his firm pietistic views. Consequently a very strong alliance between state and church was born, one in which Protestant religious values had a powerful impact on state affairs.

The liberal wing of the Protestant church, afraid of an infringement upon past liberties, became increasingly outspoken against the new policies. Their aim to reinforce the position of rationalism and increase democratic structures within the church systems seemed to crumble before their eyes. Instead of discussions and debates that might lead to fruitful compromises and inner reform, church authorities soon directed oppressive measures against their critics. Expulsions from office or excommunication were common means to silence the opposition. Contrary to expectations, these suppressive actions did not intimidate rationalists; rather they aided the popularization of a growing opposition movement.<sup>4</sup>

In 1841 Leberecht Uhlich and Eduard Baltzer organized dissident Protestant ministers into a new organization called the "Society of Protestant Friends," or more commonly known as the "Friends of Light" (*Lichtfreunde*). Individual societies were called "Free Congregations." By 1844 a similar movement within the Catholic Church emerged under the leadership of Johannes Ronge, who founded the rationalistic "German-Catholic Church" (*Deutsch-Katholische Kirche*). Most new congregations were firmly based on Christianity. But they rejected all teachings that opposed the

results of natural sciences such as the Trinity of God, the concept of original sin, or a belief in miracles. Within the next few years an even more radical group emerged and founded the "Religion of Humanity," which was based on the doctrines of Strauss, Hegel and Feuerbach. While Free Congregations and the German-Catholic Church remained close to Christian rationalism, the "Religion of Humanity" broke with the Christian tradition completely and developed into purely secular associations.

The dissent movement grew rapidly and was supported in particular by members of the urban middle-class, who became increasingly aware of their unsatisfactory social and political conditions. Members of the Free Congregations and the German Catholic Church supported the political ideas of the *Vormärz* opposition movement. Prior to and during the Revolution of 1848 they regularly offered their podiums to revolutionary speakers. The popularity of many leaders of the religious dissent movement made them natural candidates for leading political positions. Records show that in some places there was a considerable overlap of the leadership in local democratic societies and the Free Congregations. In Nordhausen, for example, the governing body of the *Demokratischer Bürgerverein* was identical to the leadership of the local Free Congregation.<sup>5</sup> In Marburg Karl Bayrholfer was not only speaker of the Free Congregation but also chair of the *Demokratischer-Sozialistischer Verein*.<sup>6</sup> A number of prominent forty-eighters such as Friedrich Hecker and Gustav von Struwe were members of the German-Catholic movement in Frankfurt, thus revealing the close ties between religious and political reform movements.

The German dissent movement also attracted a large number of women to its cause. Sylvia Paletschek states that approximately 40 percent of the entire membership was female. According to her study, women's emancipation was part of the political and religious goals of the movement and, therefore, naturally attracted many women.<sup>7</sup> Female members played an active part in Free Congregations; their involvement ranged from the establishment of kindergartens and schools to fundraising activities, and the organization of most social functions for the congregations.<sup>8</sup> But female public activity was not limited to Free Congregations. Before and during the Revolution of 1848 women organized themselves in numerous organizations and clubs. Women's newspapers, female societies for the liberation of the Fatherland, and for educational or social purposes all started in Germany around 1848.<sup>9</sup>

The lost revolution left many hopes unanswered. Because of their support of the uprising, members of the Free- and German-Catholic movements became victims of the monarchical reaction that lashed out against everyone who was suspected of collaboration. The measures directed at suspected revolutionists included severe civil restrictions that pushed ministers and leading members of the congregations to the brink of their economic and political ruin. Authorities closed many institutions that had been founded by various female organizations, thus turning the clock back to pre-*Vormärz*-times. Many members left their homes and immigrated to the United States in the early 1850s. Among those who departed were several experienced leaders of former Free-Congregations, such as Eduard Schröter and Friedrich Schünemann-Pott and their wives. All of them would prove instrumental in shaping the German-American movement in many ways.

The first Free Congregations were founded on the East Coast by Gustav Grahll and Eduard Schröter in New York, Boston, New Haven, and Philadelphia. But with the general expansion of German migration to the Midwest a large number of

congregations were soon founded in Wisconsin, Missouri, and Minnesota. In 1852 Wisconsin counted over thirty Free Congregations throughout the state.

### **Principles of the Free Congregations**

Due to their traumatic experience at home in pre- and post-revolutionary German states, German-American members of Free Congregations demanded a strict separation of church and state. They were convinced that the firm grip of the churches had clouded people's minds with myths and religious dogmas, thus causing their inability to judge the highly importance of religious, social, and political reforms. The failure of the revolution therefore was blamed on poor education levels, and ignorance of the masses. In their minds only a comprehensive education could liberate people from their religious ignorance and superstition and open the way to a democratic society. Social and political changes could only occur in a society that left all spiritual matters solely to the conscience of the individual. The strong pietistic influence, nativism, racism, and slavery German immigrants encountered after their arrival in the United States immediately became targets for their criticism and activism.

Due to its small membership the movement encompassed many forms of rationalistic belief. In the United States German rationalists did not divide into Protestant or Catholic camps, but instead completely merged into one movement. Individual member societies became known as Free Congregations. In the absence of a binding dogma the group welcomed people of various forms of rationalistic belief, ranging from being truly antireligious to maintaining a private faith in God. The primary goal for the newly founded German-American Free Congregations was to improve the individual and society in material, intellectual, and moral aspects. To achieve their end, members believed that access to education and schooling about the world would guarantee a more secure framework for making reasonable judgments. Consequently congregations focused their attention mainly on educational work.

In contrast to a strict hierarchical order, Free Congregations modeled their structure after the early Christian church. Members voted for their speakers (ministers), the president, and the other officers on the board who were responsible for all decisions regarding the stability and growth of the congregation. Christian religious rituals mostly were abandoned and replaced with secular forms of sociability. Congregations offered regular meetings jointly for men and women, lectures given by educated individuals, and debates on topics in history, the natural sciences, philosophy, art, and music. Furthermore, Free Congregations became champions in the founding of denominationally free schools for children and adults that emphasized a sound scientific education in areas such as math, geography, nature studies (e. g. biology), literature, music, and languages. Additional efforts to increase the overall educational level in their communities included the support of libraries, reading societies, and public lectures. Their strong anti-clerical stand was translated into very concrete political demands. Among them were the rejection of prayers in Congress and public meetings, removal of the Bible from courts and schools where it was used as teaching material, a ban on ministers and priests serving soldiers in the army, the abolition of

tax-breaks for churches, and that all people would be accepted as witnesses in court proceedings without regard to their religious beliefs.

The first years were marked by financial crisis and a great fluctuation in both membership and leadership. The outbreak of the Civil War put additional pressures on the small congregations. However, the postwar years saw major changes that aided the growth of the movement. Recent advances sparked intense popular interest in sciences after the war. Major scientific books in the field such as Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species*, although already published in the 1850s, rose to public attention in the United States. In Germany the great century of scientific discoveries and technical advancements led by Justus Liebig or Jacob Moleschott had begun. Ernst Haeckel, the German Darwin, and Ludwig Büchner, brother of the dramatist Georg Büchner, and a scientist, became widely known. These men developed new methods that gave birth to empirical sciences. Progress in medicine as well as new archaeological finds, such as Schliemann's discovery of Troy in 1870, paved the way for an increasingly materialistic view of the world. Free Congregations that had questioned traditional religious beliefs grew larger. Furthermore, the negative effects of the Industrial Revolution, such as overpopulated cities, poverty, health problems related to the workplace, poor housing, and unemployment sparked intense social debates. Thus in the 1870s Free Congregations shifted their attention from moral and philosophical topics to scientific, societal, and political issues. This new focus was coupled with a change from their traditional rational theology to Materialism.

### **Women in Free Congregations and Freethinker Societies**

To explore women's roles in Free Congregations, we shall examine various functions that were available to them as members, officers, teachers, or speakers, to determine if women were granted access to these roles and in what ways they participated in the congregations. To grasp the full meaning of the following statistics, one must take into account the status quo of the nineteenth century: neither in German-American Turner societies, nor in most singing societies, countless fraternal organizations, or secret societies were women allowed to hold membership. German-American Free Congregations were an exception. Here women held their place alongside their husbands, fathers, or brothers. Membership records show that women were allowed to become full members with equal rights to vote, and duties to pay dues.<sup>10</sup> Although the early records are very spotty, we find traces of other supporting evidence. In 1857, for example, Eduard Schröter, speaker of the Sauk City Free Congregation, declared publicly in one of his lectures that women were equal to men. The records of the Free Congregation in Philadelphia for 1860 reveal that among the 258 members 27 were female.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, Carl Lüdeking, speaker of the Free Congregation of North St. Louis, held a lecture in September 1867 for the dedication of a newly built hall, in which he compared the *Freimänner-Vereine* (Society of Free Men), another liberal group, with the Free Congregations. As one of the major differences between the two groups he noted that females have a voice in the Free Congregations, whereas they did not in the Society of Free Men.<sup>12</sup> Also in 1867, Paragraph two of the constitution of the Milwaukee Free Congregation clearly stated that everybody over eighteen years of age, regardless of gender, could join the society.<sup>13</sup> And when the Indianapolis Freethinker Society reorganized in 1875, the by-laws stated that all

persons of indisputable character were able to become members.<sup>14</sup> Paragraph two of the by-laws passed at the national Philadelphia convention also specified equal rights for men and women within the societies.<sup>15</sup> And at the fourth national convention of the *Bund der Deutschen Freien Gemeinden von Nord-Amerika* in 1876, resolutions accepted included a demand that the right to vote in the United States should be granted to everyone regardless of their race, skin color, or sex.<sup>16</sup>

The fact that Free Congregations welcomed women into their organizations as equal members therefore is well established. However, it should not come as a surprise, since this feature was "imported" from Germany. A number of Free Congregations, and especially the societies for the "Religion of Humanity," had already accepted women as members into their organizations prior to the revolution. After their arrival in the United States, German women certainly were not willing to accept lesser stature than they had enjoyed before.

Unfortunately, today we lack access to reliable membership information for most German-American Free Congregations. It either has been destroyed or never was recorded. The most substantive numbers we have today are the ones listed in the records of the national organization, the *Bund der Freien Gemeinden und Freidenker Vereine*, after it was reorganized in 1897. The following statistics show the numbers of female and male members for the Free Congregations of Sauk City, Milwaukee, and Bostwick Valley, Wisconsin. Also included are numbers for the Ladies Aid Societies where available.<sup>17</sup> Comments on the Ladies Aid Societies will follow below.

What is interesting is not only the fact that women were allowed to become members, but also that in some societies, such as in Bostwick Valley and Sauk City, female membership reached or even exceeded fifty percent. Although these numbers illustrate clearly that women were attracted to Free Congregations, it would be inappropriate to draw the conclusion that women generally made up the majority of members. Although records are spotty, there is evidence that in other locations women made up only approximately thirty percent of the membership. The degree to which women joined societies most likely depended on local circumstances.

Records also prove that women were allowed to be voted into office. The Free Congregation of Sauk City was led by a female president for a number of years during the 1880s. Such was also the case with the Free Congregation of St. Louis, Missouri, where Mrs. Kalck was elected president in 1899. In March 1880 Fannie Oppenheimer was voted into office as corresponding secretary for the Indianapolis Freethinker Society and continued in this office for a number of years.<sup>18</sup> Also in Milwaukee women held offices on various committees or even the executive body.<sup>19</sup> Women also were represented at the national level. April 13-14, 1871, the *Bund der deutschen freien Gemeinden von Nordamerika* gathered for their second national meeting in Milwaukee. Elise Schröter and Julie Schramm represented the Free Congregation of Sauk City and Mrs. Pietsch was among the delegates for the Milwaukee society.<sup>20</sup> In contrast to nearly all other German organizations, Free Congregations and Freethinker Societies offered women a place in highly responsible executive bodies. The proportion of female members and female officers, however, does not correlate. Men still held the majority of offices in most societies. One can only speculate as to the reasons for this. It is still unknown whether women were more reluctant to be nominated as candidates, or if they simply were not successful in elections. It is noteworthy that in most cases females held specifically the office of

secretary or corresponding secretary for the society. Again it remains in the realms of speculation if it was assumed that women might have better writing skills or were more communicative than men. But the fact that women had a constitutional right to hold office was also "imported" from Germany. The right for women to become officers had firmly been established in Free Congregations in Germany by 1850, prior to the migration of members to the United States.<sup>21</sup>

Although public appearances for women routinely were not encouraged, German-American Free Congregations allowed female speakers to take to the podiums. Woman who belonged to the society as well as prominent females such as Amalie von Ende, Mathilde Franziska Anneke, or Clara Neymann, were frequent speakers throughout the country. In 1866 Auguste Lilienthal spoke publicly before the *Bund der Freidenker* of New York City. Her lecture on equal rights for men and women was printed in the July issue 1866 of the *Blätter für freies religiöses Leben*, the national magazine for German Free Congregations and Freethinker Societies in the United States.<sup>22</sup> From the 1860s onward female speakers appeared in programs throughout the country. In 1883 Mathilde Anneke was declared an honorary member of the Free Congregation of Milwaukee for her many services to the society. From 1887 to 1889 Hedwig Henrich-Wilhelmi, a leading German feminist, toured the United States and lectured in front of nearly all German-American Free Congregations and Freethinker Societies throughout the country. In her lectures she propagated equal rights for men and women, and demanded equal access to university education and employment. In Indianapolis she earned forty dollars for her visit, a substantial amount of money for the time. Her lectures were published by the Freethinker Publishing Company in Milwaukee and advertised widely.<sup>23</sup> In 1899 five of the fifteen lectures held during the year at the Free Congregation of South St. Louis were presented by women.<sup>24</sup> All of this suggests that women in the Freethinker-movement were given a public forum that allowed their voices to be heard.

In Germany, Free Congregations were led by university-trained theologians who were forced out of their positions for their rationalistic beliefs. They were responsible for the preparation and conduct of most meeting lectures. Thus not many laypersons—men or women—had an opportunity to step up to the podiums. Only the organizations of the "Religion of Humanity" had a structure that allowed women to speak to a public audience. Thus the appearance of female speakers within the German-American community was new. It was not brought over with the German immigrants but rather developed during the 1870s and 1880s alongside the overall women's movement in the United States. Although female speakers were already quite common in other radical reform movements in the United States at the time, for most German-American communities this was quite unique, in that they maintained a more conservative viewpoint toward male and female spheres.

The founding of schools and kindergartens became integral parts of the societies' activities, since education was a key issue within the societies. Most parents refused to send their children to Lutheran or Catholic parochial schools. But among the many immigrants who came to the United States after the revolution were a number of well-educated teachers seeking employment. As early as 1851 the Free Congregation of Saint Louis had founded a school for children that offered a secular primary education. Other congregations followed soon thereafter. In 1860 the first report of the four Free Congregations belonging to the national *Bund* revealed that all of

Free Congregation of Milwaukee, WI, founded in 1867

Year	Members total	Female Members	Members Ladies Aid Society, founded 1867
1881	117	No records	10
1897/98	137	No records	40
1898/99	157	No records	40
1899/00	157	No records	40
1901/02	159	No records	29
1902/03	166	No records	22
1903/04	182	No records	18
1905/06	188	No records	20
1907/08	189	58	25
1908/09	189	58	25
1910/1911	147	No records	24
1911/1912	133	No records	21
1912/1913	139	No records	24
1913/1914	126	No records	22
1917/18	150	27	27
1919/20	213	61	39
1921/22	249	74	52

**Free Congregation of Bostwick Valley, WI, founded 1869**  
**No Ladies Aid Society**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Members total</b>	<b>Female Members</b>
1899	27 No record	No records
1901/1902	27	No records
1902/1903	27	No records
1903/1904	27	No records
1905/1906	27	No records
1907/1908	25	11
1908/1909	25 No records	11
1910/1911	22	11
1911/1912	20	10
1912/1913	20	10
1913/1914	20	10

**Free Congregation of Sauk City, WI, founded in 1852**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Members total</b>	<b>Female Members</b>	<b>Members Ladies Aid Society, founded 1885</b>
1899	89	No records	16
1901/1902	88	No records	18
1902/1903	92	No records	21
1903/1904	86	No records	25
1905/1906	83	No records	27
1907/1908	84	49	29
1908/1909	84	48	No records
1910/1911	82	48	No records
1911/1912	78	44	30
1912/1913	76	43	30
1913/1914	82	49	No records

them had independent schools. The largest among them was the school of the Free Congregation of Philadelphia with approximately 100 students; Saint Louis had approximately 85 pupils. In 1855 Friedrich Schünemann-Pott published his *Lieder und Gedichte zum Gebrauch für Versammlungen, Schulen und Haus freier Gemeinden*, a collection of songs, poems, and essays suitable as teaching material.<sup>25</sup> Three years later his first primer, *Erstes Elementar- und Lesebuch für Schule und Haus*, followed.<sup>26</sup> Due to its popularity the book was printed in five editions as of 1874.

These private secular institutions did not only teach in German, but also had two other advantages. First, they paused for only a few weeks in the summer. American public schools, especially those in rural areas, frequently offered as little as only a few months of schooling during the winter time, when children were not needed on the farms. The free schools, however, could be attended for most of the year. Second, the free schools adopted innovative new teaching methods. Based upon the pedagogical concepts of education pioneers such as Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, Friedrich Fröbel, and Adolph Diesterweg, children were to explore their environment and abandon the common practice of mere memorization. The Bible was banned as reading and teaching material. Instead boys and girls received a sound education in German and English, math, drawing, geography, history, chemistry, gymnastics, and music.<sup>27</sup> Corporal punishment also was banned. In cases where Free Congregations were too small to run or finance entire schools, or where independent schools already existed, the congregations offered at least Sunday-school classes for children. We find an example of this in Milwaukee, where the German-English Academy was founded in 1851. In Indianapolis such a Sunday school was established in 1871; Milwaukee followed suit in 1879. Both offered classes to children as young as kindergarten age.<sup>28</sup>

In most cases women were among the teachers for the grade schools as well as the Sunday-schools. Although we can assume that Sunday-school teachers did not receive any financial compensation, records show clearly that teachers in grade schools collected an annual salary. In 1874 two of the four teachers of the school of the Philadelphia Free Congregation were women. Although men were given preference over women in hiring, free schools frequently offered employment and income to females.

In addition to the professional opportunities for women, Free Congregations regarded the sound education for its female members as crucial. Women were also mothers and therefore responsible for the education of their children. Although it went unquestioned that it was a woman's job to raise the children, motherhood was not understood as a biologically determined skill. Instead proper knowledge and insights into pedagogical concepts became increasingly important to fulfill the tasks of a "good mother."

Although Free Congregations and Freethinker societies offered women a place in their ranks, women's rights were also focal points of discussions. The lists of discussion topics for various societies reveal that the question was often brought up during official weekly meetings. Already in 1866, shortly after the Civil War, Auguste Lilienthal, a member of the Freethinker Society of New York City, gave a lecture on "Women's Rights." The topic remained on the lecture list when Adolf Douai spoke in Hoboken on "Woman's Rights and Female Education" in the same year. During subsequent decades the issue remained a focal point of many lectures,

evening debates, and discussions in free congregations from east to west. Generally, members supported women's suffrage. Key figures of the national *Bund* such as Friedrich Schünemann-Pott, the Bund's president and speaker in Philadelphia, or Eduard Schröter, speaker of Sauk City, were very outspoken in favor of equal rights for men and women. Furthermore, Hermann Boppe, chief editor of *Der Freidenker*, the most widely circulating newspaper among Freethinkers, as well as his close friend Karl Heinzen, supported women's rights. On 27 April 1879 Fannie Oppenheimer of Indianapolis gave a lecture on the "Position of Women towards the Social Questions"; and on December 18, 1887, the society engaged in a debate on woman's right to vote; a majority of respondents decided in favor of the proposal.<sup>29</sup> As mentioned above, one of the leading German feminists, Hedwig Henrich-Wilhelmi, toured the United States and spoke on the issue throughout the country. Furthermore, as Anke Ortlepp has shown, Mathilde Anneke was an important link between the Free Congregation movement and the Wisconsin Women Suffrage Association (NWSA) in Milwaukee.<sup>30</sup> Since equal rights for men and women had traditionally been a topic within the movement even since its beginning in Germany, the issue was kept alive in all congregations throughout the United States. Not only women but also men gave their full support. Nearly all the leading members such as Hermann Boppe and Karl Heinzen spoke and published widely on the topic.

Compared to other German-American organizations, the roles female members were allowed to take within the Free Congregations were unusual. Annette Hofmann and Gertrud Pfister have described the long and tedious manner in which women gained equal membership in Turner societies, a struggle that lasted well into the twentieth century. Although the women's auxiliaries, to which female participation was mainly confined to, often provided vital financial backing and the framework for most social functions in the Turner halls, full membership was not officially granted to females by the national Turnerbund until the beginning of the twentieth century. Consequently women did not hold any offices or appear in public. Furthermore, their public appearance in local or national Turnfests also was not permitted until the 1920s despite the fact that females had participated in girls' and women's classes.<sup>31</sup>

The traditional place for women in German-American societies was the Ladies Auxiliaries or Ladies Aid Societies. These were established alongside the male organizations. They had primarily supportive functions although the Ladies Auxiliary operated quite independently from the male society. Most Turner Societies also had their Ladies Auxiliaries which were primarily responsible for catering the many annual events, fund raising, or taking charge of physical education supervision for girls' sport classes.<sup>32</sup> Although one might view the Ladies Auxiliary as evidence of exclusion, it must also be seen as a place that women created by and for themselves. Ladies societies were places that functioned very independently from the main society in terms of leadership, finances, and programs they offered. Here women were elected as officers, spoke publicly to their fellow members, and had full control over their activities. It was also a place for fellowship and networking. Although Ladies Auxiliaries indeed were separate they offered females opportunities the main society did not.

But ladies auxiliaries were not always part of Free Congregations or Freethinker societies. A number of the larger societies such as the Free Congregations of Philadelphia, South St. Louis, San Francisco, or Rochester did not have separate ladies groups. Here women participated actively in the society as discussants, officers,

lecturers, listeners, kindergarten teachers, or Sunday-school teachers. However, one also can find a number of Free Congregations and Freethinker Societies that had Ladies Auxiliaries in addition to their female membership. Similar to the separate Ladies Societies for the Turners, these also had specific functions. As Anke Ortlepp has demonstrated relative to the Milwaukee Free Congregation, the Ladies Auxiliary supported the society financially and created a sense of identity and belonging by organizing many social events.<sup>33</sup>

### **The Concept of Female Nourishment**

But why did women in Freethinker organizations have different roles than in the Turner Societies? And why do we find Ladies Auxiliaries alongside female membership in some Free Congregations and not in others? The Turners and Freethinkers subscribed to two different views on women's spheres, reflecting two ideologies that existed side by side in the nineteenth century. The Turners supported the traditional separate sphere ideology in which men and women occupied two independent and opposing spaces. While males lived in a public world that gave them access to employment outside the home, and involvement in economic and political activities, the female world was associated with the notion of domesticity, emotionality, responsibility for the well being and nurturing of the family, and the education of the children. Men were in constant danger from the assumed corruptness of the outside world, but women would remain morally pure. Therefore, they would be the guardians of a private virtue they would instill in others inside the home. Consequently, it was assumed, the private sphere within the home and its female occupants needed to be protected from the outside.<sup>34</sup>

Although the Turner movement in Germany was closely associated with the reform attempts of the 1848-Revolution, and later with Civil War activities in the United States, its connections to military activities and physical exercise had kept women outside the movement. In the United States the founding of ladies auxiliaries alongside male societies was an appropriate way to be associated with Turner clubs yet also remain in separate units that replicated domestic occupation. Benevolent activities that correspondent with the "private sphere" were an area in which female participation was socially approved and even needed. As described by a number of studies, activities of Turners Ladies Auxiliaries included fundraising, the organization of social functions, catering, caring for the children of the gymnastic classes, and other activities with which women were traditionally familiar with.

The German-American Freethinkers generally subscribed to the same image of women but went one step further and drew different conclusions. Freethinkers also believed in the separate sphere model. However, they also identified with the reform movements that were bound to bring about changes in society. Therefore, if women were indeed morally superior to men, then their virtues could be the force behind the transformation of society. Women not only had a right to be heard but also had a duty to speak out on issues that were important to all. Women had the responsibility to protect and sustain the nation's moral health. Public activism thus was regarded as an expression of their moral duty to reeducate a confused public. From the very beginning Free Congregations offered women a place where they would be equal to men and fulfill their duty of "redemptive motherhood" for the nation. Public

involvement was, therefore, seen as a natural and necessary expansion of the duties of the fostering mother.<sup>35</sup> Interestingly enough, this theory of "redemptive motherhood" that has been proposed to describe the view of women in the time of the American Revolution applies here again. Given the close intellectual ties between the German-American Free Congregations and the American Revolution, this should not appear altogether surprising. The principal role models of the movements were Thomas Paine and George Washington, who were hailed for their religious skepticism as well as their political and civil courage as founding fathers. Therefore, the female virtues that applied to American revolutionary times also swept through Europe, where they were seen in the European revolutions and re-imported to the United States by immigrants. European immigrant women after 1848 brought with them a sound self-conscience and clear ideas about the female role in society. Rooted deeply in the ideologies of the German revolution, Free Congregations displayed an image of women that was typical for reform movements.

The second reason why women had their place in the Freethinker-movement was the educational goals of the movement. By building free schools and offering insights into the latest scientific discussions through public lectures and debates, Free Congregations had proven their sincere interest in education. Learning and knowledge were keys to societal changes and the development of the individual. Additionally, education was one of the main duties of mothers caring for the children and raising families. A "professional" mother needed to be trained and taught. To be a well-versed mother, one had to be informed about the latest pedagogical concepts, and the most up-to-date insights into nutrition and biological functions. A wide range of topics were discussed each week by experts in the congregation and listened to by women. Free Congregations were places where women could be educated beyond a primary level. Before women's colleges emerged in larger numbers and middle-class families sent their daughters to these institutions, these weekly popular scientific lectures, especially in rural areas, transmitted important up-to-date scientific results outside the circles of experts.

By having women's aid societies as well as allowing women to become members, Free Congregations showed that they actually embraced both concepts. Women provided moral, ethical, and bodily nourishment. Yet women also contributed to public debates on social, moral, economic, and political problems in addition to carrying out benevolent activities in the separate ladies group. Although Women's Aid Societies were not connected to all Free Congregations, they were more common in larger congregations that offered more public and cultural events. In Milwaukee, for example, the Ladies Society of the Free Congregation was founded in 1867. The bylaws of 1927 still defined its role as "support of the congregation with all means which belong to the realm of female nourishment."<sup>36</sup>

In the course of the twentieth century Turner societies and most other German-American organizations also adjusted their view of women. From their traditional image of women as being pure and needing protection they shifted to a more modern concept that saw women contribute above and beyond their activities within Aid Societies. For the better part of the nineteenth century, though, Turners proved that most local societies—although they were counted towards the liberal end of German-American Societies—remained true to a traditional concept of the woman's place in society. Free Congregations and Freethinker Societies were the pioneers among

German-American societies of the nineteenth century in striving to gain equal rights for women and support them in their quest for political equality.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> *Blätter für freies religiöses Leben* 5, 9 (March 1861): 140-43.

<sup>2</sup> Barbara Leslie Epstein, *The Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism, and Temperance in 19th Century America* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1981). Also see Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780-1920," *The American Historical Review* 89, 3 (June 1984): 620-47.

<sup>3</sup> Catherine Holden Prelinger, "A Decade of Dissent in Germany: A Historical Study of the Society of Protestant Friends and the German Catholic Church, 1840-1848," Diss., Yale University, 1954, 48-50. This is the most comprehensive English language study on the religious dissent movement in Germany in the 1840s.

<sup>4</sup> Bettina Goldberg, "Radical German-American Freethinkers and the Socialist Movement: The Freie Gemeinde in Milwaukee, Wisconsin," in *German Worker's Culture in the United States, 1850-1920*, ed. Hartmut Keil (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 242-43.

<sup>5</sup> Jörn Brederlow, *Lichtfreunde und Freie Gemeinden: Religiöser Protest und Freiheitsbewegung im Vormärz und in der Revolution von 1848/49* (München/Wien: Oldenbourg, 1976), 85.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 88.

<sup>7</sup> Sylvia Paletschek, *Frauen und Dissens Frauen im Deutschkatholizismus und in den Freien Gemeinden 1841-1852*, Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft 98 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 52; Anke Ortlepp, *Auf denn, Ihr Schwestern! Deutschamerikanische Frauenvereine in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1844-1914*, Transatlantische Historische Studien 17 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2004), 169.

<sup>8</sup> Ortlepp, 169.

<sup>9</sup> Ute Gerhard, "Über die Anfänge der deutschen Frauenbewegung um 1848: Frauenpresse, Frauenpolitik, Frauenvereine," in Karin Hausen, *Frauen suchen ihre Geschichte: Historische Studien zum 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (München: C. H. Beck, 1983), 196-220.

<sup>10</sup> "Jahresbotschaft des Vice-Präsidenten der deutschen Freien Gemeinde von Philadelphia an die Mitglieder derselben," *Blätter für freies religiöses Leben* 4,7 (January 1860): 154. Thirteen of the thirty-four female members payed dues. The remaining twenty-one women were covered by family memberships for husband and wife.

<sup>11</sup> "Jahres-Botschaft des Präsidenten der deutschen freien Gemeinde von Philadelphia an die Mitglieder derselben," *Blätter für freies religiöses Leben* 3,6 (December 1860): 155.

<sup>12</sup> Carl Lüdeking, "Vortrag gehalten bei der Eröffnung der neu erbauten Halle der deutschen Freien Gemeinde von Nord-St. Louis am 29. September 1867" (St. Louis, MO, 1867), 4.

<sup>13</sup> "Constitution der freien Gemeinde zu Milwaukee," *Blätter für freies Religiöses Leben* 12,1 (July 1867).

<sup>14</sup> "Das Protokoll des Freidenker Vereins von Indianapolis, Indiana, 1870-1890," ed. Giles R. Hoyt, Claudia Grossmann and Sabine Jessner, unpublished manuscript, Indianapolis 1988, 19, fourth para.: "Jede Person von unbescholtenem Charakter."

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>16</sup> "Beschlüsse der vierten Tagsatzung des Bundes der Deutschen Freien Gemeinden von Nord-Amerika gehalten in Philadelphia am 26. und 27. Juni 1876," 4. II. "Resolutionen über principielle Fragen: Dagegen soll andererseits das volle Bürgerrecht und Stimmrecht keinem vernünftigen volljährigen Menschen versagt sein, ohne Unterschied der Rasse, Hautfarbe oder des Geschlechts."

<sup>17</sup> "Statistischer Bericht über das erste Jahrzehnt seines Bestehens, 1897-1907," handwritten list among the published annual reports of the *Bund der Freien Gemeinden und Freidenker-Vereine von Nord Amerika*, Records of the Free Congregation of Sauk City, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison.

<sup>18</sup> See "Das Protokoll des Freidenker Vereins von Indianapolis, Indiana, 1870-1890," 58.

- <sup>19</sup> See Ortlepp, 172.
- <sup>20</sup> "Die zweite Tagsatzung des Bundes der deutschen freien Gemeinden von Nordamerika gehalten zu Milwaukee, den 13. und 14. April 1871 (Offizieller Bericht)" *Blätter für freies religiöses Leben* 15,12 (June 1871).
- <sup>21</sup> Paletschek, 174.
- <sup>22</sup> Auguste Lilienthal, "Über die politische Gleichberechtigung der Frauen mit den Männern," *Blätter für freies religiöses Leben* 11,1 (July 1866).
- <sup>23</sup> Hedwig Henrich-Wilhelmi, *Vorträge gehalten von Hedwig Henrich-Wilhelmi, gehalten in Amerika in den Jahren 1887-1889* (Milwaukee: Freidenker Publishing Company, 1889). For biographical information see Katja Rampelmann, *Im Licht der Vernunft: Der deutsch-amerikanische Freidenker-Almanach von 1878-1901*, *Transatlantische Historische Studien* 13 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2003), 257-58.
- <sup>24</sup> *Jahresbericht des Bundes der Freien Gemeinden und Freidenker-Vereine von Nord-Amerika, 1. Juli 1901 bis 30. Juni 1902* (Milwaukee: Freidenker Publishing Co., 1902), 4.
- <sup>25</sup> Friedrich Schünemann-Pott, *Lieder und Gedichte zum Gebrauch für Versammlungen, Schulen und Haus freier Gemeinden* (Philadelphia, 1855).
- <sup>26</sup> Friedrich Schünemann-Pott, *Erstes Elementar- und Lesebuch für Schule und Haus* (Philadelphia, 1858).
- <sup>27</sup> See Bettina Goldberg, "Die Achtundvierziger und das Schulwesen in Amerika: Zur Theorie und Praxis ihrer Reformbestrebung," *Amerikastudien/American Studies* 32,4 (1987): 481-91.
- <sup>28</sup> Ortlepp, 177-78.
- <sup>29</sup> "Das Protokoll des Freidenker Vereins von Indianapolis, Indiana, 1870-1890," 86.
- <sup>30</sup> Ortlepp, 181-83.
- <sup>31</sup> See Gertrud Pfister and Annette R. Hofmann, "Female Turners in Germany and the United States until World War I" in *Turnen and Sport*, ed. Annette R. Hofmann (Münster: Waxmann, 2004), 25-68.
- <sup>32</sup> Alida J. Moonen, "The Indianapolis Athenaeum Women's Auxiliary," in *Turnen und Sport*, ed. Annette R. Hofmann, 147-70; Annette R. Hofmann, *Aufstieg und Niedergang des deutschen Turnens in den USA* (Schorndorf: Hofmann, 2001), 228-31.
- <sup>33</sup> Ortlepp, 174-83.
- <sup>34</sup> For a general discussion on the "separate spheres concept" see Linda K. Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Women's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *The Journal of American History* 75,1 (June 1988): 9-39.
- <sup>35</sup> For similar views of women during the American Revolution and the concept of "republican motherhood" see Linda Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1980); Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters. The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800* (New York: Boston: Little Brown, 1980); Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert, eds., *Women in the Age of the American Revolution* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1989).
- <sup>36</sup> *Verfassung der Freien Gemeinde von Milwaukee* (Milwaukee, 1927), 12: "Zweck: die Gemeinde durch alle Mittel, welche im Bereiche weiblicher Fürsorge liegen, zu unterstützen."

Petra DeWitt

**Searching for the Meaning of Loyalty:  
A Study of the German-American Experience  
During World War I in Osage County, Missouri<sup>1</sup>**

During the late evening hours of 7 July 1918, several young men in Chamois, Osage County, Missouri, forced Erwin Walz, the son of a German preacher, to salute and kiss the American flag. Walz received this public punishment for having made derogatory remarks about the local home guard unit and for having stated "God damn the Flag, to hell with it!" The incident soon turned into a serious brawl, as supporters for Walz appeared in the streets willing to defend his honor. The group of patriotic citizens grew as well and began to force several Walz supporters to kiss the flag. Some of the pro-Germans then ran to get guns. Richard Garstang, the captain of the local home guard unit, received frantic phone calls urging him to step in and maintain law and order. But, he could not act without the authorization of the Mayor who happened to be out of town at the time. In desperation, he gathered a few guardsmen, approached the mob in civilian clothing and convinced the crowd to disperse, thus avoiding a serious riot.<sup>2</sup>

Why did this event occur and why did this happen in Chamois and not elsewhere in Osage County? Did this message apply to anyone who did not fully support the war effort during World War I? Or was it limited to Germans to encourage them to become 100% American? And what impact, if any, did it have on the survival of the German culture in Osage County?

Historians have argued that during World War I the activities of the United States government to unite public opinion in favor of the war created a "strong wave of anti-German hysteria," in which "citizens of German origin were individually harassed and persecuted."<sup>3</sup> This "hatred . . . of German cultural manifestations" struck a "sharp and powerful blow" at the German-American community "from which it never fully recovered."<sup>4</sup> As "the majority of German-Americans complied" with the pressures to Americanize, "hundreds of vereins and scores of German-language newspapers disappeared and organized German ethnic politics ceased."<sup>5</sup> This anti-German sentiment, according to several historians, also impacted Missouri where Anglo-Americans suddenly attempted to destroy the German-American culture during World War I.<sup>6</sup>

National propaganda through the Committee of Public Information and the enforcement of the Espionage Act, and later the Sedition Act, through the American

Protective League and the Justice Department certainly played an important role in the creation of animosity toward German-Americans. But historians should not overlook the importance of local circumstances in the creation of tensions between the dominant culture and the ethnic immigrant minority. Hate crimes and hostility in Missouri during World War I were neither universal nor widespread but varied by locality.<sup>7</sup> And as this particular study of the experience of German immigrants and Americans of German descent in Osage County demonstrates, local relationships, in addition to government incited hysteria, contributed to mistrust of the foreign element and spawned animosity and super-patriotic activity in one part of the county. At the same time, local circumstances also created environments within the same county in which German-Americans were able to weather the storm and maintain their German culture despite World War I.

Settlement patterns and economic competition were important factors that contributed to the presence or absence of tensions on the eve of the Great War. German immigrants, who came to Osage County between 1830 and 1910, established tightly knit ethnic communities along the alluvial bottomlands of the Maries and Osage River in Jackson, Washington and Linn townships where they and their American-born children represented the majority of the population and controlled the local economy and politics. Old-stock Americans from Tennessee, Kentucky and Virginia settled in Benton, Crawford, and Jefferson townships in northern and eastern Osage County where they outnumbered Germans. However, by the turn of the century, as the American-born children of German parents began to move into northern Osage County, particularly Benton Township, they challenged this dominance.<sup>8</sup> Here, competition over valuable river-bottom land and participation in local politics may have increased tensions prior to the war. Resentment toward German townships and German speakers may have also grown after the Rock Island Railroad arrived in southern Osage County in 1902. Chamois, located on the Missouri Pacific Railroad that ran along the Missouri River on the northern fringes of the county, had dominated the railway freight business and now had to compete with the rapidly growing German towns of Freeburg and Meta.<sup>9</sup> This may explain why animosity toward opponents of the war expressed itself in the most violent form in Benton Township and not elsewhere in the county.

The beginning of the Great War in Europe in 1914 was not a divisive issue and residents of Osage County freely expressed their opinions. For example, two English language newspapers, the *Unterrified Democrat* and the *Osage County Republican*,<sup>10</sup> as well as the German language newspaper, the *Osage County Volksblatt*, favored the German side in the conflict. All opposed Britain's anti-German propaganda, published letters from relatives in Germany and did not hesitate to critique President Woodrow Wilson's lack of true neutrality.<sup>11</sup> These three papers also argued that German-Americans had the right to support their old fatherland in this global conflict. And should the unthinkable happen, these papers were confident that the entire county, including its German-American population, would stand behind the president during the national crisis.<sup>12</sup> This public mindset expressed in the newspapers acknowledged the dual identity of being German as well as American, which many German-Americans of Osage County held at the onset of the national crisis. But the

papers did not interpret this identity as divided loyalty and thus did not contribute to a rise in anti-German sentiment during the neutrality period.<sup>13</sup>

This unity also extended toward the issue of prohibition, which in several counties and St. Louis became a hotly debated issue by 1916. The county newspapers opposed prohibition because it would curtail local options and the lack of taxation would hurt the economy.<sup>14</sup> And the almost 3:1 defeat of the Prohibition Amendment in Osage County during the 1916 election demonstrates that Prohibition was not a divisive issue in the county.<sup>15</sup>

However, the 1916 presidential election campaign revealed political division along ethnic as well as party lines that helps explain the presence of anti-German sentiment in one specific geographic area in the county.<sup>16</sup> The Republican candidate Charles Evans Hughes defeated the Democrat Woodrow Wilson in Osage County. Hughes received his primary support from election districts in Benton Township including Chamois, as well as in Crawford, Jefferson, and Linn townships, areas settled primarily by old-stock Americans.<sup>17</sup> By contrast, Wilson won in Westphalia, Rich Fountain, Freeburg, and Loose Creek, the largest German-American communities because in Osage County German-Americans had a long-standing tradition of voting for Democrats.<sup>18</sup> This political division along ethnic and party lines on the eve of World War I shows pre-existing tensions in Republican areas, such as Chamois, where Germans and their children represented an increasing threat due to their growing numbers and increase in political competition.<sup>19</sup> This is also the place where anti-German sentiment would express itself in the most violent form.

Once the United States entered World War I, people quickly learned what loyalty meant and that the war would limit their freedom of speech. The *Unterrified Democrat* on 19 April 1917 published an official government statement, which declared that German aliens living in the United States, who had not conspired against the United States, did not have to fear the Department of Justice as long as they observed the following warning: "Obey the Law; Keep your Mouth shut."<sup>20</sup> The *Democrat* was the only paper in Osage County to publish this announcement, but word of mouth probably spread this warning quickly to both Germans and Americans alike.

Official information from the Committee of Public Information did not appear in Osage County newspapers until late fall 1917.<sup>21</sup> However, by late April 1917 the editor of the *Volksblatt* already informed his readers about the growing push to unite public opinion and to suppress opposition to the war. He warned that unless the readers wanted to be considered disloyal, they had to "heulen mit den Wölfen" (howl with the wolves), bow to hyper-patriotism and wave the flag at every opportunity. Nobody would be exempt, not even the sons of "Dollar Fürsten" (dollar princes).<sup>22</sup> He also predicted that the growing pressure to appear patriotic would surely break friendships and weaken neighborly relations.<sup>23</sup>

In May 1917, readers of the *Unterrified Democrat* learned what could happen to a person, particularly a German-American, who critiqued the war. The paper, which had not discussed Congress' passage of the Espionage Act,<sup>24</sup> explained in detail why August Heidbreder of Bland, one of the richest farmers in nearby Gasconade County, had been arrested after he had remarked that President Wilson should be stuffed into a cannon and shot out to sea.<sup>25</sup> The case received widespread coverage because he was rich and a well-known farmer and federal prosecutors may have used him as an example of what might happen to others who acted like him. Indeed, the *Democrat*

warned its readers that federal authorities would be "zealous in suppressing remarks" such as Heidbreder's even if his "utterances" were "merely a species of inconsequential raving."<sup>26</sup> The Heidbreder arrest suggested that during this war, a person should watch what he was saying or pay the consequences. It is, however, unclear whether the light punishment of a \$100 fine, rather than the possible \$10,000 fine or twenty-year imprisonment, actually deterred residents from speaking their mind.<sup>27</sup>

Maybe the *Osage County Volksblatt* should have taken this event seriously. After the United States entered the war, the *Volksblatt* continued to express anti-British thought<sup>28</sup> and did not refrain from criticizing the war effort. For example, the editor asserted that Congress was beginning to use dictatorial powers to control manufacturing as well as the sale and pricing of foodstuffs.<sup>29</sup> It is thus not surprising that the *Volksblatt* closed its doors and published its final issue on 19 July 1917. The editor, Henry Castrop,<sup>30</sup> stated in his farewell address that rising prices for paper and material and fewer paying subscribers forced him to "turn out the lights." He attributed this decline to Germans who abandoned their mother tongue and chose stimulation through pulp fiction and trashy reporting instead.<sup>31</sup> Circulation numbers indicate that the *Volksblatt* had enjoyed a steady readership with 600 subscribers in 1900, 584 in 1910, and 591 in 1915.<sup>32</sup> And the number and type of advertisements had changed very little between 1914 and 1917. Therefore, additional reasons for closure must have been present.<sup>33</sup>

The editor recognized in his final issue that the pressure to appear patriotic by speaking and reading only English may have reduced readership. The more likely reason, however, was the editor's sense of duty to stand up for and defend the German people who had been insulted, disdained and portrayed as uncivilized barbarians.<sup>34</sup> This made him, the paper and its readership appear pro-German and un-American. It is likely that the leadership of Westphalia, the place of publication as well as the largest German settlement in Osage County, pressured him into either ending his criticism or closing his paper.<sup>35</sup> One could hypothesize that the paper might have survived had it published pro-American material. However, a paper with a history of un-American expressions would have brought attention to the area.<sup>36</sup> Therefore, the absence of this particular German language newspaper made it less likely for government officials to know the attitudes of Germans in Osage County and to interpret them as un-American.

The demise of the *Volksblatt* is the only evidence for southwestern Osage County that the growing anti-German sentiment during the Great War limited the freedom of speech. German-Americans knew the punishments that awaited them should they express opposition to the war. In response they adopted a strategy for the duration of the war that assured their survival. Most were indeed loyal to the United States, but they also complied with the official definition of loyalty at the level that was absolutely necessary to avoid persecution. Knowing everybody had to look patriotic they proved their loyalty by sending men to the front, supporting the Red Cross, purchasing Liberty Bonds,<sup>37</sup> and by serving as patriotic speakers.<sup>38</sup>

June 14, or Flag Day, 1917, became the first opportunity for the German-Americans of Osage County to publicly show their loyalty. This celebration took place on the grounds of St. George's Catholic School in Linn and the "large crowd" enjoyed a program of patriotic music and speeches that demonstrated respect and affection for the flag.<sup>39</sup> These festivities acquire significance when one considers

that Father Muckermann, who initiated and directed the entire ceremony, was a German born priest who still presented sermons in German, and that students who sang patriotic tunes still learned German at the parochial school. In other words, this festivity demonstrated not only the patriotism of the entire county but of the German speaking population in particular.

This strategy of publicly demonstrating loyalty, getting rid of a possibly un-American newspaper, and the fact that German-Americans made up the majority of the population in southwest Osage County, allowed them to continue to speak German and maintain their German traditions beyond World War I.<sup>40</sup>

By contrast, in northern Osage County, loyalty took on a much more complex meaning. Here, one town demonstrated a particularly strong sense of patriotism that would raise expectations for others. The city of Chamois stood out in the county and surrounding area for its volunteer spirit through the creation of the Second Missouri Field Hospital a new and entirely volunteer National Guard company on 21 June 1917. Later renamed the 138<sup>th</sup> Field Hospital, 110<sup>th</sup> Sanitary Train, 35<sup>th</sup> Division, the unit served in France from 1 June 1918 through 5 April 1919 and was engaged as a reserve unit at the St. Mihiel Offensive and in the Meuse-Argonne Offensive in September 1918. Fifty-eight members of the unit were wounded and six were killed.<sup>41</sup> The majority of the troops came from Chamois and northern Osage County, and included seven men whose parents or grandparents had come from Germany. Their volunteerism distinguished this particular geographic area for its powerful sense of service to country.<sup>42</sup> In this climate of public spirit any disloyal remarks would have been interpreted as disrespectful to the sacrifices of these young men.

In addition to this intense patriotism, Chamois was also the only town in Osage County to organize a Home Guard unit,<sup>43</sup> Company M of the 5<sup>th</sup> Regular Missouri Home Guards.<sup>44</sup> The Home Guard, with its low physical qualification requirements offered many aged war veterans, the physically disqualified from active service, and retired guardsmen the opportunity to serve. Home Guard members also had the duty to stimulate interest in all war activities, to keep alive the spirit of patriotism and to stamp out disloyalty.<sup>45</sup> If the Adjutant General's assessment of the average attendance and holding of drills holds true for the unit in Chamois, 80 – 90 % of its members would have attended three drills per week. In Chamois, a city of 649 residents, the Home Guard through its drills and participation in parades became *the* visual representative of the war effort. Any verbal attack upon it would certainly result in some form of discipline. It is therefore no surprise that anyone, including Erwin Walz, who made derogatory statements toward the Home Guard, would raise the anger of guard members and receive punishment.

Chamois also established the first Red Cross chapter in the county and several residents of Chamois served in leadership positions for Red Cross, Liberty Loan and War Savings Stamp Campaigns.<sup>46</sup> Such activism must have raised the level of expectations for the rest of the population. And anything less was interpreted as slacking or aiding the enemy.

During the winter and spring of 1918, the pressure to demonstrate loyalty increased even more as propaganda from the CPI began to flood the county. And it appears that the county as a whole was not living up to expectations because the Missouri Council of Defense classified Osage County as "C" or "Medium" in activity and effectiveness in April 1918 and ordered an official investigation.<sup>47</sup> The

investigation did not find evidence of slacking or aiding the enemy and defined the county as loyal.<sup>48</sup> However, the correspondence of J. Richard Garstang, the co-organizer of the hospital unit and Captain of the Home Guard, indicates that several citizens of Chamois still did not trust some of their German neighbors who initially had supported Germany's side in the war.<sup>49</sup> For example, the Mayor, Dr. Keuper, appeared to be only a "lukewarm patriot" because he was afraid to offend the German members of the town board and the Benton Township Council of Defense seemed "cold-footed" and pro-German because members were afraid to lose business.<sup>50</sup>

The highly successful Third Liberty Loan campaign seemed to temporarily ease the tensions. Possibly inspired by Governor Gardner's warning that "There can be no half-hearted allegiance. . . . Those who are against us are pro-German,"<sup>51</sup> local newspapers reminded residents that they were behind in their purchase of War Savings Stamps, that the county "occupies a status of a slacker," and that this was "an intolerable condition."<sup>52</sup> Within this environment of heightened pressure to appear loyal, anything that would have blemished the area's reputation even further would have to be dealt with quickly.

The opportunity presented itself on 27 May 1918, when the county held a Red Cross rally at St. George's Hall in Linn. The main speaker was Clara Steichen, the wife of a U. S. Army Captain, who told about her experiences while living in France when the war began, including atrocities committed by German soldiers. While this "did not please the German sympathizers" in the county,<sup>53</sup> the meeting nevertheless resulted in "quick and generous" contributions that allowed the county to go over its quota for the second Red Cross campaign.<sup>54</sup> Newspapers reported this positive outcome, but omitted the disloyal remarks Paul Paulsmeyer, son of a German immigrant, had made at the meeting. Paulsmeyer allegedly called Mrs. Steichen a "damned old whore" because he believed that all female Red Cross volunteers were prostitutes.<sup>55</sup> Interestingly, while the event occurred in Linn, the accusers as well as the accused lived in Chamois.<sup>56</sup> And, this appeared to be just the latest evidence of Paulsmeyer's suspected disloyalty. He allegedly had tried to evade the draft and had "sneeringly refused to join the Home Guard or any other institution standing out openly for Americanism." Patriots of Chamois now feared that without further action, "we are likely to have a tar & feather party" because feelings of animosity were "running pretty high."<sup>57</sup>

The Missouri Council of Defense referred the matter to the Secret Service in Kansas City for further investigation<sup>58</sup> but there is no evidence that a government agent actually came to Chamois. Instead, it appears that the matter was solved locally, quietly and to everyone's satisfaction. In order to give Paulsmeyer the opportunity to demonstrate his loyalty, the local draft board cancelled his exemption for physical disability, and on 25 June 1918, he left for Camp Pike, Arkansas, for military training.<sup>59</sup> The incident did not hurt Paulsmeyer's future because after the war he returned to Chamois and his position as the assistant cashier at the People's Bank of Chamois.<sup>60</sup>

Newspapers did not address the incident and it is unclear, to what extent the public knew about it.<sup>61</sup> However, Erwin Walz, who replaced Paulsmeyer as assistant cashier at the People's Bank, must have known that any opposition to the war effort would have serious consequences. On 3 July Walz allegedly stated, "Oh, to hell with the Home Guards!"<sup>62</sup> in front of Frank Oidtmann a private in the home guard.<sup>63</sup> On

the following day, as participants for the 4<sup>th</sup> of July parade lined up, Home Guard members realized that Erwin Walz would be the marshal of the parade on behalf of the Boy Scouts of Chamois. The Home Guard unit stepped out of the lineup and refused to march in the same parade as Walz. To avoid a Home Guard "mutiny on Main Street," 2<sup>nd</sup> LT Harry Steinmann, the officer in charge, approached Walz and requested that he not participate in the parade.<sup>64</sup> Walz initially refused believing the grievance was based on a personal matter<sup>65</sup> but left after the manager of the parade urged him to do so. Later that evening, Steinmann and Walz met again and during the heated argument regarding the events of that morning Walz allegedly stated angrily that no "self-dubbed Captain or self-dubbed Lieutenant" had any authority over him, thus again denigrating the Home Guard.<sup>66</sup> The following day Walz lost his position at the bank and faced charges under the Espionage Act.<sup>67</sup>

During the investigation of Walz's "disloyal and reprehensible conduct"<sup>68</sup> it became apparent that he had made insulting remarks about the home guard, the flag and the war effort at previous times thus indicating "an evil intention and unfriendly feeling toward American military organizations."<sup>69</sup> But no one had bothered to report him and he appeared to be not the only person to make such disloyal remarks. Officers and members of the Home Guard had been the subject of "constant and repeated insult and ridicule"<sup>70</sup> and high tensions had "been brewing for some time."<sup>71</sup> And when it became clear that Walz's remarks would not be prosecuted under the Espionage or Sedition Act, after all, patriotic citizens took the law into their own hands and forced Walz to kiss the flag.<sup>72</sup>

Several reasons or possibilities explain why Walz received this harsh punishment. Walz obviously expressed thoughts that were contrary to the definition of loyalty in Chamois. Yet it is unlikely that ethnicity by itself was the mitigating factor in bringing about such severe treatment. Erwin Walz was also an outsider. His father, Hermann Walz, was a German immigrant who had been a prominent preacher in St. Louis as well as a member of the German-American Alliance. The family had moved to northern Osage County in October 1917 to take over the German congregations in Chamois and Deer.<sup>73</sup> Not only was he an outsider, but as a person from a major city and the son of a preacher he might have also behaved and appeared arrogant and self-conceited. His becoming the assistant cashier immediately after Paulsmeyer left must have indicated to many in Chamois that he had good connections within the German community.<sup>74</sup> This "connection" within the German community may have been one reason why his alleged remarks were not punished sooner, thus leading to resentment among Americans and Germans alike.

Several members in the Home Guard were German-Americans and his alleged insults also outraged them, thus raising tensions between individual members of the German-American community as well.<sup>75</sup> Furthermore, his remarks about the flag and Home Guard would eventually bring more attention on the German community as a whole if he were to proceed unhindered. If those whom he denigrated, including German-Americans, did not punish him then it would be possible for people to think that German-Americans were not loyal but only conformed outwardly while inwardly believing as he did. Tensions had "been brewing for some time" and could easily result in trouble because "seditious utterances go unpunished, and the people simply will not stand for such execrations upon the American flag when they have boys over there giving their lives to uphold that same flag."<sup>76</sup> In this climate, Walz's behavior

and expressions had crossed the invisible line of tolerance within the American as well as the German-American community and punishment would have to be swift and decisive to send a message to *all* to conform. Even Reverend Walz, the father of Erwin, in an open letter in the *Chamois Enterprise* recognized that the situation in Chamois had deteriorated to the point that "it might take only a spark to kindle a fire of injustice [sic] and hatred and lawlessness."<sup>77</sup>

There is no further evidence of violence or mob activity in Osage County<sup>78</sup> and it is possible that the Walz incident did defuse some of the tensions in the Chamois area. However, resentment toward non-conformists remained elevated because the event also coincided with the statewide push to banish the use of the German language in public places.<sup>79</sup> The Osage County Council of Defense followed suit and adopted a resolution during its 6 July 1918 meeting that called upon all citizens to "refrain from teaching the German language in any school or talking it over the telephone, or in any public place during the continuation of the war."<sup>80</sup>

The resolution encouraged some pastors to set aside the German language for the duration of the war. But most, including Reverend Walz, remained defiant despite being fully aware that the singling out of this one language and ethnic group would result in a "mob-spirit ... against everything what is not of American blood."<sup>81</sup> Discussion over the language issue continued for several weeks into August 1918 and since neither the county nor the Missouri Council of Defense had enforcement powers in this regard, the impact of the resolution upon the use of the German language was limited.<sup>82</sup> To make matters worse, the Benton Township Council chairman Fred Stonner gave Walz's congregation, the German Evangelical Church of Chamois, special permission to continue services in German. This outraged patriotic leaders because granting special privilege to one church further demonstrated that the council did not act in the best interest of the country but that members aimed to protect their own interests.<sup>83</sup> Thus the language resolution and enforcement problems kept tensions at an elevated level for several weeks.<sup>84</sup>

Coercive pressures through the CPI and Missouri Council of Defense to demonstrate one's patriotism cannot and should not be ignored in the discussion of the reasons for the injustice directed toward German-Americans during World War I. However, as this study demonstrates, local relationships and circumstances were often more important in creating the climate that spawned violence. While the case of Osage County is by no means unique in Missouri<sup>85</sup> it nevertheless demonstrates that the definition of patriotism at the local level shaped the treatment of opponents to the Great War. In the German townships of southwestern Osage County, the meaning of loyalty was such that keeping quiet and supporting the war at the required level were enough to keep outside pressures to Americanize at bay. Silencing opposition to the war from within during the early days of the conflict assured that the area would not receive the "slacker" or "disloyalty" label.

By contrast, in northern Osage County local circumstances had created an environment that raised tensions. Here, the meaning of loyalty was more complicated because both American and German-American volunteers had created the hospital unit and a Home Guard company, and the sense of service to country by local leaders raised the expectations for all. At the same time, the area appeared divided into an extremely loyal and a less than patriotic segment. And in such an environment of heightened tensions and suspicions any opinion other than mainstream could set

off the fuse because it would smudge the image of super-patriotism. Legal measures, such as reversal of exemptions, were preferred, but if necessary vigilante justice could be used to punish disloyal behavior.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. Larry Gragg and Dr. Lawrence Christensen, who were both my mentors and are now colleagues, Dr. Patrick Huber, and the three anonymous reviewers for their insights because their suggestions have greatly improved this article.

<sup>2</sup> J. Richard Garstang, to W. F. Saunders, 8 July 1918, folder 293, Missouri Council of Defense Papers, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri-Columbia, Columbia (hereinafter cited as MCDP, WHMC).

<sup>3</sup> Fredrick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974), 311-17.

<sup>4</sup> Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 99-100, 135, 137; John A. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German America* (New York: Arno Press, 1970); John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860 - 1925* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2<sup>nd</sup> edit., 1988), 207-09; Erik Kirschbaum, *The Eradication of German Culture in the United States, 1917-1918* (Stuttgart, Germany: Akademischer Verlag, 1986), 13-15; and Carl Wittke, *German Americans and the World War: With Special Emphasis on Ohio's German Language Press* (Columbus: The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1936), 3, 196. See also O. A. Hilton, "Public Opinion and Civil Liberties in Wartime, 1917-1919," *The Southern Social Science Quarterly* 28 (December 1947), 201-24.

<sup>5</sup> Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty*, 311.

<sup>6</sup> Karen Jean De Bres, "From Germans to Americans: The Creation and Destruction of Three Ethnic Communities," (Ph. D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1986), 10. For arguments that World War I extinguished German culture in St. Louis see for example David W. Detjen, *The Germans in Missouri, 1900-1918: Prohibition, Neutrality and Assimilation* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1985), 186.

<sup>7</sup> Petra DeWitt, "Fighting the Kaiser at Home: Anti-German Sentiment in Missouri During World War I" (Master Thesis, Truman State University, 1998); and "Searching for the Roots of Persecution and the Meaning of Loyalty: The German-American Experience in Missouri During World War I" (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Missouri-Columbia, forthcoming 2005).

<sup>8</sup> Timothy Gene Anderson, "Immigrants on the World System: Domestic Industry and Industrialization in Northwest Germany and the Migration to Osage County, Missouri, 1835-1900" (Ph. D. Dissertation, Texas A&M University, December 1994), 188, 193-96, 208, 212-13. Anderson concentrated on the German townships in his research. My analysis of census records for Benton Township, including the city of Chamois, revealed that the number of German immigrants who settled there grew at a steady pace, even after 1880, the peak of German immigration to the United States. The percentage of German immigrants and their American-born children as part of the total population for Benton Township had risen from 10% in 1850 to a peak of 38.5% in 1900. And the children of these immigrants contributed to the rise in the American born population beyond 1900. Manuscript Census, Population, 1850, 1860, 1880, 1900, and 1910, for Osage County, Missouri, located at State Historical Society of Missouri, University of Missouri-Columbia, Columbia.

<sup>9</sup> The Missouri Pacific, which ran along the Missouri River and through Chamois, had been the only railroad in Osage County between 1855 and 1902. Westphalia and Rich Fountain had been well-established villages when the Rock Island arrived. But German communities, such as Freeburg, Meta and Argyle did not become villages until the arrival of the Rock Island. Mary Beth (Schlemper) Marquart "Americanization in Dispersed and Clustered German Settlements in Osage County, Missouri: 1860 to 1910" (Master Thesis, University of Missouri-Columbia, 1997), 23-24, 32.

<sup>10</sup> I have been unable to find surviving issues of the *Osage County Enterprise* published in Chamois for the time period of World War I, despite advertisements in current newspapers, in the newsletter of the

Osage County Historical Society, and requests for information about the paper during a presentation at the quarterly meeting of the society. Newspapers in neighboring Cole County, such as the *Daily Capital News*, which also covered Osage County, were of no help. Thus, I have been unable to gauge public opinion during the neutrality period in this particular area.

<sup>11</sup> "Kaiser Wilhelm," *Osage County Volksblatt* (Westphalia), 7 January 1915, 1; "German Thoroughness and Patience Responsible for Success," *Unterrified Democrat* (Linn), 11 March 1915, 2; "Polite to Victims," *Osage County Republican* (Linn), 6 May 1915, 4; "Close view of War," *Osage County Republican*, 18 February 1915, 1; "Interesting Letters from Germany," *Unterrified Democrat*, 18 February 1915, 1; "From Germany," *Osage County Republican*, 30 March 1916, 1; "Und so weiter," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 27 May 1915, 1; "Nicht lange mehr," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 2 March 1916, 1, expressed confidence that the allies could not remain united for much longer and thus the war would end soon. Examples of anti-British thoughts included "Erin go bragh," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 1 June 1916, 1; and "Ridiculous Stories Circulated by Allies as to Condition in Germany," *Unterrified Democrat*, 10 June 1915, 2. Examples of critique of Wilson's one-sided neutrality include "Wer kann's fassen? Das Elend oder die Gemeinheit!" *Osage County Volksblatt*, 18 May 1916, 1; Untitled editorial, *Osage County Republican*, 11 March 1915, 2; "Zurechtweisung für Wilson," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 31 August 1916, 4.

<sup>12</sup> "German American Loyalty," *Unterrified Democrat*, 20 May 1915, 2; Untitled editorial, *Osage County Republican*, 2 September 1915, 2; "Knock out the Hyphen," *Osage County Republican*, 27 January 1916, 2; Untitled editorial, *Osage County Republican*, 29 March 1917, 2.

<sup>13</sup> This is contrary to John Higham's assertion that charges of disloyalty against German-Americans began to appear in earnest in 1915. Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 196.

<sup>14</sup> "State-wide Prohibition in MO," *Unterrified Democrat*, 12 October 1916, 2; "Prohibitions Paragraphen," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 26 October 1916, 1; "Statewide Prohibition Means State Wide Ruin," *Osage County Republican*, 2 November 1916, 4;

<sup>15</sup> The county overwhelmingly defeated prohibition by 814 to 2,260 votes. Only four districts supported it, and one district was tied on the issue. While German-American communities opposed the prohibition amendment by overwhelming majorities, Bonnots Mill, Chamois, and Gasburg defeated the amendment by huge margins as well. *Official Manual of State of Missouri*, 1917-18 (Jefferson City: The Hugh Stephens Co., 1918), 485; and "Official Election Returns for Osage County," *Unterrified Democrat*, 7 November 1916, 1.

<sup>16</sup> Other parts of the country began to discuss the issue of loyalty during the election campaign. John Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 199. However, there is no evidence that this also occurred in Osage County. The two English language newspapers supported the candidate of the party with which they affiliated. The *Osage County Volksblatt* argued that German-Americans had lost confidence in Wilson in regard to foreign politics and thus should vote for Hughes. Hughes might associate with nativists such as Theodore Roosevelt but Wilson supported England and opposed Catholicism. "Why Wilson Should Win," *Unterrified Democrat*, 22 June 1916, 2; "Republican Thrift is Squandered under Wilson," *Osage County Republican*, 14 September 1916, 2; "Die richtige Ansicht," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 19 October 1916, 1.

<sup>17</sup> "Official Election Returns for Osage County," *Unterrified Democrat*, 16 November, 1916, 1.

	West-phalia	Free-burg	Rich Foun-tain	Loose Creek	Linn	Byron	Hope	Cham-ois	Bon-nots Mill	Total
Wilson	66 %	80 %	66 %	65 %	55 %	13 %	16 %	29 %	40 %	1383
Hughes	34 %	20 %	34 %	34 %	45 %	85 %	80 %	69 %	60 %	1769
Total	147	167	177	155	328	161	122	386	171	

<sup>18</sup> Analysis of election results between 1890 and 1920 indicates that German-American communities in Osage County usually voted for Democratic presidential, gubernatorial and congressional candidates, with the exception of Westphalia in 1918 when Folk ran for the U. S. Senate. They voted against him because as governor, Folk had zealously enforced the Sunday closings of liquor establishments. *Official Manual of the State of Missouri*, 1891-92, 23, 27; 1901-1902, 48; 1905-06, 480; 1909-10, 710; 1913-14, 785, 835; 1917-18, 447-48, 539-40; 1921-22, 359-60, 288; "Official Election Returns for Osage County, November 7, 1916," *Unterrified Democrat*, 16 November 1916, 1. Steven L. Piott, *Joseph W. Folk and the Missouri Idea* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1997), 144.

<sup>19</sup> These political tensions would on occasion come to the forefront. For example, one of the most hotly debated issues during the early days of the war, was the location of a bridge and new state highway

(today's Highway 50) through Osage County to Jefferson City. The *Volksblatt* supported a bridge near Kliethermes Ford on the Maries River because that would have tremendously improved Westphalia's economy and the German region. The County Court's decision to place the bridge near Holtermann Ford on the Osage River benefited the northern, more American region of the county. While there is no evidence of physical altercations, such hotly debated political issues added to pre-existing tensions. "Bridge to be Built at Holtermann Ford," *Unterrified Democrat*, 5 February 1915, 1; "Die Bürger Westphalia's protestieren," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 28 January 1915, 1; "Die Brücke bei Holtermann's Ford wird gebaut werden," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 4 February 1915, 1; "Reasons Why," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 24 June 1915, 1; and "Pro and Con," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 29 July 1915, 1.

<sup>20</sup> "Statement," *Unterrified Democrat*, 19 April 1917, 2.

<sup>21</sup> President Wilson established the Committee on Public Information by executive order on 14 April 1917. Its purpose was to unite public opinion in support of the war, explain the reasons for America's entry into the military conflict, and to spread the message of America's selfless and higher war aims across the continent. Under the capable leadership of George Creel, a newspaperman from Missouri, the CPI became the government's official public relations agency by using every available form of communication to inform the people. George Creel, *How We Advertised America* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1920, reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1927), 3-5; James R. Mock and Cedric Larson, *Words That Won the War: The Story of the Committee on Public Information* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939, Reprint, New York: Russell & Russell, 1968), 5-6; Stephen Vaughn, *Holding Fast the Inner Lines: Democracy, Nationalism, and the Committee on Public Information* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 4-5, 141; Stewart Halsey Ross, *Propaganda for War: How the United States was Conditioned to Fight the Great War of 1914-1918* (Jefferson, N. C.: McFarland & Company, 1996), 1.

<sup>22</sup> "Heraus mit dem Banner," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 26 April 1916, 4.

<sup>23</sup> "Ein Privatissmus über Patriotismus," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 17 May 1917, 4.

<sup>24</sup> The Espionage Act, passed by Congress on 15 June 1917, intended to protect government and military forces from German sabotage and espionage, but the interpretation of its meaning by judges and juries often suppressed the freedom of speech. Peterson, *Opponents of War*, 15-17. "Public Law 64-24: An Act to Punish Acts of Interference with the Foreign Relation, the Neutrality, and the Foreign Commerce of the United States, to Punish Espionage, and Better Enforce the Criminal Laws of the United States," 40 Stat. 217; Date: 06/15/17, Text from: United States Public Laws, Available from: *LexisNexis™ Congressional* (Online Service) (Bethesda, MD: Congressional Information Service).

<sup>25</sup> "A Bland Man Nabbed," *Unterrified Democrat*, 31 May 1917, 1. "Soll Drohung Gegen den Präsidenten Ausgesprochen Haben," *Hermanner Volksblatt*, 1 June 1917, 1. Heidbreder's indictment accuses him of saying: "Woodrow Wilson ought to be killed, and I would like to kill him. If I had him in a cannon now I would gladly shoot it off. He is all for England, and for this reason ought to be shot, and I would like to do it." Docket Case 6418, Records of the United States District Court, Eastern District of Missouri, Criminal Cases, 1865-1966, Record Group 21, National Archives and Records Administration, Central Plainses Region, Kansas City, Missouri.

<sup>26</sup> "A Bland Man Nabbed," *Unterrified Democrat*, 31 May 1917, 1. The *Gasconade County Republican* suspected that this arrest aimed to stop "treasonable utterances." *Gasconade County Republican*, 1 June 1917, 1. August L. Heidbreder, was 64 in 1917. Born in Germany in 1853, he came to the United States in 1865. The 1920 census indicates that he was a naturalized citizen and a farmer. Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Manuscript Census, Population, Missouri, Gasconade County, Clay Township, Enumeration District 88, 1 B, Household 16, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.

<sup>27</sup> Judge Dyer fined Heidbreder \$100 for his "outspokenness." "Local and Personal," *Unterrified Democrat*, 5 July 1917, 3. "Heidbreder um \$100 Bestraft," *Hermanner Volksblatt*, 29 June 1917, 1. Analysis of court cases brought under the Espionage Act before Judge Dyer at the Eastern District Court indicates that he in general handed out such lenient fines. The incident did not appear to harm the family's reputation because his son, County Assessor Henry Heidbreder served on the Third Creek Township Council of Defense. Missouri Council of Defense Directory, 51-52, folder 494, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>28</sup> For example in early June, the editor, Henry Castrop, argued that Wilson should live up to his rhetoric of self-determination, urged his readers to sign and send a petition to the President and Congress to call for Irish Independence. Untitled editorial, and "Petition to the President and Congress for the Independence of Ireland," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 14 June 1917, 1, 4.

<sup>29</sup> "Wer den Bogen überspannt," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 28 June 1917, 4. Another example is a front-page editorial in which Castrop offered the perfect explanation for why the nation had to resort to the draft to man the military. He explained that the numbers of volunteers were so low because few honorable men, who under normal circumstances would gladly support their country, would want to dethrone a

Kaiser who had never hurt them, nor sacrifice limb and life for England or millionaires. Untitled editorial, *Osage County Volksblatt*, 24 May 1917, 1.

<sup>30</sup> According to Arndt, Henry Castrop was the editor and publisher for the *Osage County Volksblatt* from 1902 to 1917. The 1910 Census, however, notes Castrop's profession as steamboating. Karl J. R. Arndt and Mary E. Olson, *German American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732-1955: History and Bibliography* (Heidelberg, Germany: Quelle & Meyer Verlag, 1961; reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1965), 280. Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Manuscript Schedule, Population, Missouri, Osage County, Washington Township, Enumeration District 127, 1 A, Household 8, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.

<sup>31</sup> "Zum Abschied," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 19 July 1917, 1.

<sup>32</sup> The circulation numbers for 1916 and 1917 are not available and could have certainly declined dramatically as the war approached. Arndt, *German American Newspapers*, 280.

<sup>33</sup> One explanation could have been Castrop's recent increase in work because he had been appointed as State Senator Sam B. Cook's clerk. He had already warned his readers that during the legislative session he might not always be able to print the weekly paper. "An die Leser," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 1 February 1917, 1.

<sup>34</sup> "Zum Abschied," *Osage County Volksblatt*, 19 July 1917, 1.

<sup>35</sup> While the reasons are unclear, it appears from the 1920 census that both Henry Castrop and his brother Joseph Castrop as well as their families left Osage County to resettle in Cambridge Township in northeastern Saline County. Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Manuscript Schedule, Missouri, Saline County, Cambridge Township, Enumeration District 184, 12 A, Households 251 and 252, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.

<sup>36</sup> The Missouri Council of Defense relied primarily on newspapers to measure the patriotism of specific areas. For example, the *Missouri on Guard*, the official publication of the state council of defense, asked that county council secretaries send clippings from newspapers that demonstrated the loyalty and pro-war activities of county and township councils to Jefferson City. "Send in Clippings," *Missouri on Guard*, 1, No. 6 (March 1918): 7.

<sup>37</sup> Numbers for the First and Second Liberty Loan are not available. For the Third Liberty Loan, the German school districts all surpassed their quota and Rich Fountain had the highest average (\$319.23) per purchaser in the entire county. "Liberty Loan Report," *Unterrified Democrat*, 16 May 1918, 4; and "Liberty Loan Report," *Osage County Republican*, 16 May 1918, 2.

<sup>38</sup> Several highly respected members from the German communities in Osage County, including W. A. Willibrand from Freeburg and Father Muckermann from Linn, offered their services as public speakers throughout the German communities. "An Able Address," *Unterrified Democrat*, 2 August 1917, 1; and "Korrespondenzen: Westphalia," *Missouri Volksfreund* (Jefferson City), 3 October 1918, 4.

<sup>39</sup> "Flag Day in Linn," *Unterrified Democrat*, 21 June 1917, 1.

<sup>40</sup> During my interview with Martin Schulte, I asked him whether anyone in Freeburg told him during World War I to stop speaking German. His answer was "Hell No! This is a free country." Martin Schulte, interviewed by Petra DeWitt and John Viessman, tape recording, 2 July 2003, Victory Gardens, Vienna, Missouri, located at Capitol Museum, Department of Natural Resources, Jefferson City, Missouri. The Notre Dame Sisters stopped teaching German in the parochial school in Westphalia in 1928 and St. Nicholas "still comes every December 6<sup>th</sup> without fail." Martina Holterman, to Petra DeWitt, 29 September 2003, letter in possession of author.

<sup>41</sup> The unit was inducted into federal service at the state mobilization camp near Nevada, Missouri, on 5 August 1917. From Nevada the unit moved to Camp Doniphan at Fort Sill, Oklahoma where it was renamed 138<sup>th</sup> Field Hospital and became part of the 110<sup>th</sup> Sanitary Train, 35<sup>th</sup> Division. Sergeant Ben Meyer, former staff member of the *Unterrified Democrat*, sent regular updates to the newspaper and kept the readers informed about training, promotions and sickness. For example, five men were sent home from Camp Clark after physical examination due to disabilities. They were H. E. Beckman, B. C. Francis, F. W. Kiesker, Adriel Langendoerfer, and O. E. Fulbright. "Field Hospital No. 2 Notes," *Unterrified Democrat*, 6 September 1917, 1, and 20 September 1917, 1. Report of the Adjutant General of Missouri, Jan 1, 1917 - December 31, 1920, 98.

<sup>42</sup> The hospital company's officers included Major W. W. Gilbert, MD, from St. Louis, First Lieutenant Hans Schaerrer, MD, from Chamois, First Lieutenant Isaac G. Cook, MD, from Morrison, Gasconade County, and First Lieutenant Henry Rothman, MD, from Washington, Franklin County. The majority, fifty of seventy-five enlisted men hailed from Osage County, and of those, nineteen came from Chamois and sixteen from Linn. Search of the 1920 census resulted in five men from Chamois and two from elsewhere in the county having one German parent or grandparents. "Field Hospital No. 2, N. G.

M." *Unterrified Democrat*, 28 June 1917, 1; and "Hospital Co. No. 2," *Unterrified Democrat*, 23 August 1917, 1. Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Manuscript Schedule, Population, Missouri, Osage County, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.

<sup>43</sup> The Missouri National Guard was inducted into federal service on 5 August 1917. According to the Missouri Constitution, the governor had the power to authorize by executive order the organization of a temporary military force that would serve in the absence of the National Guard and fulfill its home defense functions. Governor Frederick D. Gardner on 17 July 1917 called for the organization of Home Guard units in every county. Report of the Adjutant General of Missouri, January 1, 1917-December 31, 1920, 37-38; and "Proclamation," folder 239, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>44</sup> The guard unit was fully established by 11 August 1917, and members had elected their officers. J. Richard Garstang (city attorney and co-founder of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Field Hospital) served as Captain, D. A. Gibbs as First Lieutenant, and Joseph Miller as Second Lieutenant. J. R. Garstang, to Wm. F. Saunders, 11 August 1917, folder 1042, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>45</sup> Report of the Adjutant General of Missouri, Jan 1, 1917 - December 31, 1920, 37-38.

<sup>46</sup> "Brief Items of Passing Interest," *Osage County Republican*, 19 April 1917, 3.

<sup>47</sup> Wm. F. Saunders, to Mumford, 8 April 1918, folder 154, MCDP, WHMC. It is unclear just what caused this order. There is no evidence of reports regarding slacking or outright disloyal behavior or remarks in the correspondence with the Missouri Council of Defense prior to March 1918. There certainly is no evidence of draft dodging in Osage County. Analysis of selective service registration cards indicates that fewer than 40% of registered men requested exemptions. That is much lower than the state's 60% average. Records of World War I Selective Service Registration Cards for Missouri, 1917-1918, Microfilm, M1509, Osage County, Roll 1751 and 1752, located at National Archives and Records Administration, Central Plains Region, Kansas City, Missouri. Christopher C. Gibbs, *The Great Silent Majority: Missouri's Resistance to World War I* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1988), 103. The First Liberty Loan received scant coverage in local papers and it is unclear whether the county met its quota. The Second Liberty Loan received more coverage and a well-organized telephone campaign indicates a growing push to get every citizen involved. But, again, no numbers were published. "Telephone Campaign is Proving Big Success," *Osage County Republican*, 25 October 1917, 3.

<sup>48</sup> Robert A. Glenn, to Wm. F. Saunders, 14 May 1918, folder 880, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>49</sup> J. Richard Garstang, former prosecuting attorney for Osage County, as the president of the Epsworth League of the Methodist Church was instrumental in setting up a letter writing campaign that sent 10,600 letters to American soldiers stationed overseas. And as an attorney he provided free legal service to soldiers and their families. Biography of John Richard Garstang, attachment to letter, Phyllis Garstang, to Petra DeWitt, 15 January 2004, letter and biography in possession of author.

<sup>50</sup> J. Richard Garstang, to W. F. Saunders, 8 July 1918, folder 293, MCDP, WHMC. Dr. Otto Keuper, according to the 1920 census, was the son of German parents and a dentist. Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Manuscript Schedule, Population, Missouri, Osage County, Benton Township, Enumeration District 133, 7A, Household 145. Only two members of the Benton Township Council of Defense, Chairman Fred Stonner and Walter Langeman, had parents born in Germany. Interestingly, Garstang's wife had German-born parents. Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Manuscript Schedule, Population, Missouri, Osage County, Benton Township, Enumeration District 133, 4A, Household 84.

<sup>51</sup> Gardner threatened to declare martial law in Missouri if "at any time I become convinced that there is in any community in this state an organized movement of these traitorous wretches." If found and convicted, these enemies of the nation should "face a firing squad and thus suffer that fate which traitors so richly deserve." "Pro-Germans Classed as Spies by Gardner, Warned to Keep out of Missouri," reprinted from the *St. Louis Republic*, 8 April 1918, by the Missouri Council of Defense, located in folder 1702, Collection 1041, E. Y. Mitchell, Jr., Papers, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri-Columbia. The *Kansas City Times* paraphrased Gardner as stating that pro-Germans should be lined up along a brick wall and "shot at sunrise." "A Pro-German is a Spy," *Kansas City Times*, 8 April 1918, 1.

<sup>52</sup> "The Next Campaign," *Unterrified Democrat*, 25 April 1918, 3.

<sup>53</sup> J. Richard Garstang, to F. B. Mumford, 5 June 1918, folder 1044, MCDP, WHMC

<sup>54</sup> The quota for Osage County was \$5,940 and after the meeting the county had raised \$6,360. "Red Cross Campaign," *Unterrified Democrat*, 30 May 1918, 1; and "Local and Personal," *Unterrified Democrat*, 30 May 1918, 3.

<sup>55</sup> J. Richard Garstang, to F. B. Mumford, 5 June 1918, folder 1044, MCDP, WHMC; and J. Richard Garstang, to W. F. Saunders, 8 July 1918, folder 293, MCDP, WHMC. It is possible that Paulsmeyer

heard the rumor that female Red Cross workers were prostitutes, however, evidence demonstrates that Mrs. Steichen was a respected lady. "Local and Personal," *Unterrified Democrat*, 30 May 1918, 3; and J. Richard Garstang, to F. B. Mumford, 5 June 1918, folder 1044, MCDP, WHMC. This persistent rumor resulted in a fight in Monett, Barry County, Missouri, during the December 1917 Red Cross membership campaign. Henry Fletcher of Caddo County, Oklahoma, was awaiting a southbound train at the Monett depot. A Red Cross worker approached him and inquired whether he would like to join. Fletcher allegedly replied that he would not because the President was sending teen-age Red Cross workers to France as prostitutes. In the subsequent argument an Army sergeant knocked Fletcher down and started to kick him out the door of the depot while onlookers yelled "Kill him! Kill him!" Police arrested Fletcher and he paid a \$100 fine for disturbing the peace. J. F. Mermoud, to W. F. Saunders, no date (response dated 5 Jan 1918), folder 751, MCDP, WHMC. "Taken Before Federal Authorities," *The Monett Times*, 28 December 1917, 3; "Severely Dealt With for Disparaging Talk Made About Red Cross," *Springfield Daily Leader*, 21 December 1917, 5.

<sup>56</sup> Both witnesses, Hugo Lecuru and Joseph Miller, lived in Chamois. Lecuru appears as the bugler for the 2<sup>nd</sup> Field Hospital in 1917. "Hospital Co. No. 2," *Unterrified Democrat*, 23 August 1917, 1. Miller served as Second Lieutenant of the Chamois Home Guard Unit from August 1917 through May 1918. J. Richard Garstang, to Wm. F. Saunders, 11 August 1917, folder 1042, MCDP, WHMC. Paulsmeyer, whose father was born in Germany, was the assistant cashier of the Peoples Bank of Chamois. Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Manuscript Schedule, Population, Missouri, Osage County, Enumeration District 133, 4 A, Household 76, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia. And Richard Garstang who reported the incident to the State Council of Defense was a leading member of the community.

<sup>57</sup> J. Richard Garstang, to F. B. Mumford, 5 June 1918, folder 1044, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>58</sup> F. B. Mumford, to J. Richard Garstang, 7 June 1918, folder 1044, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>59</sup> Paulsmeyer was called to military service and physical examination on 17 August 1917. "Notice of Call and to Appear for Physical Examination," *Osage County Republican*, 2 August 1917, 1. Paulsmeyer was one of forty-one men exempted by the local board "on grounds of physical disability." "Proceedings of Exemption Board," *Unterrified Democrat*, 16 August 1917. Without further explanation Paulsmeyer appears in the 27 June 1918 newspaper list of draftees who had been sent to Camp Pike, Arkansas, on 25 June 1918. "Soldiers and Sailor Boys," *Unterrified Democrat*, 27 June 1918, 2. Paulsmeyer remained a private during his service at a medical infirmary and was honorably discharged at demobilization. Paulsmeyer, Paul J., World War I Military Service Records, State Archives, Jefferson City, Missouri.

<sup>60</sup> Paulsmeyer worked as the assistant cashier until 1935 when the bank closed. George Kishmar, *History of Chamois, Missouri* (Jefferson City: Jeff-City Printing, Inc., 1975), 114.

<sup>61</sup> With possibly the exception of the *Osage County Enterprise* for which I have been unable to find copies. Yet the absence of the publication of this incident speaks volumes in itself. Local leaders may have thought that evidence of such disloyalty would smudge the image of Chamois as a super-patriotic and loyal town.

<sup>62</sup> Affidavit of Private Frank Oidtmann, 5 July 1918, folder 292, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>63</sup> Oidtmann met Walz at the local barbershop and asked him whether he knew why his supervisor, cashier Joseph Kuster, had not reported for drill duty. "Conduct of Irving Walz," J. Richard Garstang, to Adjutant General of Missouri, 6 July 1918, folder 292, MCDP, WHMC. Walz subsequently explained that he had been tired when he made this "foolish" remark. Statement, Erwin Walz, 8 July 1918, folder 293, MCDP, WHMC. It is also probable that many of the home guard members had bragged so much about their unit and preparations for the upcoming Fourth of July parade that Walz had heard enough. Furthermore, Walz, the son of a local minister who had been well known in St. Louis before their move to Osage County in 1917, might have believed himself beyond reproach. "Schwaben ehren Landesmann," *Westliche Post*, 19 October 1917, 7.

<sup>64</sup> Report of H. E. Steinman, to CPT J. Richard Garstang, 5 July 1918, folder 292, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>65</sup> Walz in his defense asserted that he and Steinmann did not like each other. He knew that Steinmann had borrowed money from friends and never made attempts to pay any interest on these loans. Statement, Erwin Walz, 8 July 1918, folder 293, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>66</sup> Report of H. E. Steinman, to CPT J. Richard Garstang, 5 July 1918, folder 292, MCDP, WHMC. "Conduct of Irving Walz," J. Richard Garstang, to Adjutant General of Missouri, 6 July 1918, folder 292, MCDP, WHMC. Walz later stated that he at no time slandered the United States nor the Home Guard but had said "personal things that might have been misunderstood." Statement, Erwin Walz, 8 July 1918, folder 293, MCDP, WHMC. He believed that pre-existing personal relationships and his being an assistant cashier privy to sensitive financial information of clients may have played an important role in

the Fourth of July incident. Indeed, Walz was concerned that sensitive information about this "personal matter" would become public knowledge and thus subject to a libel suit because his statement was to be published in local newspapers. E. Walz, to W. F. Saunders, 8 July 1918, folder 293, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>67</sup> Walz had made the remark "to hell with the flag" before the passage of the Sedition Act. President Wilson signed the Sedition Act into law on 16 May 1918. It made it a crime to "willfully utter, print, write or publish any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language" about the United States government, Constitution flag, or armed forces. Why he was not charged for his remarks against the Home Guard is unclear. J. Richard Garstang, to W. F. Saunders, 8 July 1918, folder 293, MCDP, WHMC. Sedition Act was an amendment to the Espionage Act that outlawed seditious language. Public Law 65-150, "An Act to Amend Section Three, Title One, on an Act entitled 'An Act to Punish....'" 40 Stat. 553, Date: 05/16/18, Text from: United States Public Laws, available from *LexisNexis™ Congressional* (Online Service) (Bethesda, MD: Congressional Information Service).

<sup>68</sup> Adjutant General Harvey C. Clark, to J. R. Garstang, 5 July 1918, folder 292, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>69</sup> For example, Walz on several occasions allegedly refused to salute the American flag and allegedly said "to hell with the flag." "Conduct of Irving Walz," J. Richard Garstang, to Adjutant General of Missouri, 6 July 1918, folder 292, MCDP, WHMC. Walz subsequently explained that when called upon to salute the American flag, he had been startled and had reacted too quickly. Statement, Erwin Walz, 8 July 1918, folder 293, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>70</sup> "Conduct of Irving Walz," J. Richard Garstang, to Adjutant General of Missouri, 6 July 1918, folder 292, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>71</sup> J. Richard Garstang, to W. F. Saunders, 8 July 1918, f 293, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>72</sup> Upon further investigation it became clear that Walz's initial expression "To Hell with the Flag" did not violated the Espionage Act and that he had made the remark before the passage of the Sedition Act, in May 1918, an amendment to the Espionage that outlawed seditious language. W. F. Saunders, to Harvey C. Clark, 8 July 1918, folder 293, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>73</sup> Reverend Hermann Walz was a member of the Swabian Singing Society, Swabian Mutual Aid Society, and St. Louis Chapter of the National German-American Alliance. "Schwaben ehren Landesmann," *Westliche Post*, 19 October 1917, 7; "Kersting is Expelled by Alliance," *The St. Louis Republic*, 26 May 1917, 3.

<sup>74</sup> No only did Erwin Walz replace Paulsmeyer at the bank, but his father, Revered Walz also officiated at the wedding between Paul Paulsmeyer and Vanena Robinson on June 20, 1918, just days before Paulsmeyer left to serve his country. "Paulsmeyer-Robinson," *Osage County Republican*, June 27, 1918, 1.

<sup>75</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> LT Harry Edward Steinmann was the grandson of German immigrants on his father's side. His mother would be considered old-stock American. Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Manuscript Census, Population, Missouri, Osage County, Benton Township, Enumeration District 133, 7 A, Household 137, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia. Frank Oidtman's grandparents were born in Germany. Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Manuscript Census, Population, Missouri, Osage County, Benton Township, Enumeration District 119, 6 A, Household 87, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.

<sup>76</sup> J. Richard Garstang, to W. F. Saunders, 8 July 1918, folder 293, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>77</sup> "From Rev. Walz," newspaper clipping, date unknown, attached to J. Richard Garstang, to W. F. Saunders, 12 July 1918, folder 293, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>78</sup> Possibly inspired by the events, on Sunday, 14 July 1918, a group of eleven men from northern Osage County drove to Potsdam in neighboring Gasconade County and nailed an American flag to the porch of the post office. The following day this rather old and worn flag disappeared "and two new ones had taken its place." It was a surprise to many "why this building should have been the object of the visit" because the post office had always displayed the flag in a prominent place. "Potsdam News," *The Advertiser-Courier* (Hermann), 24 July 1918, 7.

<sup>79</sup> The Missouri Council of Defense decided in its meeting at Cape Girardeau in July 1918 to officially oppose the use of German "in schools, churches, lodges, and in public meetings of every character." Minutes of Meeting, Cape Girardeau, 12 July 1918, folder 409 and 502, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>80</sup> Emphasis the author's. "Speak United States," *Osage County Republican*, 11 July 1918, 1; same title, *Unterrified Democrat*, 11 July 1918, 2; and "German Talk Must Cease," *Osage County Enterprise* (Chamois), date unknown, newspaper clipping attached to letter, J. Richard Garstang, to W. F. Saunders, 12 July 1918, folder 293, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>81</sup> Dr. L. E. Souders, to W. F. Saunders, 2 August 1918, folder 373d, MCDP, WHMC; Walz argued that members of his congregation could only understand "the law and gospel in German." H. Walz, to

Wm. F. Saunders, 25 July 1918, folder 295, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>82</sup> Garstang, for example, lamented that the county council could only request the discouragement of the use of the language but could not prohibit it. J. Richard Garstang, to W. F. Saunders, 15 July 1918, folder 294, MCDP, WHMC. William Saunders also realized that the state council of defense had no enforcement powers but hoped that the general assembly, to meet in January 1919, would surely pass legislation in the matter. W. F. Saunders, to J. O. Barkley, 2 August 1918, folder 373d, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>83</sup> J. Richard Garstang, to W. F. Saunders, 15 July 1918, folder 294, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>84</sup> Reports of disloyal behavior and speech continued to arrive at Secretary Saunder's desk. For example, M. J. Murphy, a well-known speaker and member of the District Draft Board in Jefferson City, allegedly criticized the Missouri Council of Defense and made pro-German expressions during his speech at the dedication of a Service Flag in Linn on 28 July 1918. Wm. F. Saunders, to R. H. Bryan, 2 August 1918, and William Saunders to Father Muckermann, 3 August 1918, both in folder 1046, MCDP, WHMC. Since evidence of disloyal behavior continued to arrive in Jefferson City, Robert Glenn suggested an investigation through the American Protective League in October. There is no evidence that such an investigation actually took place. R. A. Glenn, to Chairman Mumford, 14 October 1918, folder 110, MCDP, WHMC.

<sup>85</sup> My forthcoming study of Gasconade County and St. Louis demonstrates as well that local relationships and circumstances shaped the treatment of German-Americans during World War I. In Gasconade County, middle and upper class German-Americans urged and persuaded their fellow German speakers to demonstrate their loyalty on a daily basis in order to repudiate charges of slacking and disloyalty. In St. Louis, by contrast, pressures to appear loyal came from various sources, including the German community and other ethnic groups. Furthermore St. Louis had closer ties to major eastern metropolitan areas and thus was more likely to receive and publish information from the CPI.

Donald F. Durnbaugh

### **Holy Cow!: The Unlikely Development of a Highly-Recognized Voluntary Agency—Heifer International**

In an episode in January 2003 the popular television drama *The West Wing* built its unfolding story around the request for a photo opportunity with the actor Martin Sheen, playing the role of President Bartlett, with a surprising guest—a live goat. The intent of the odd-seeming incident, according to the plot line, was to provide a presidential stamp of approval for the voluntary agency supplying the animal destined to be donated to a poor family overseas. It was one of thousands of animals (ranging from rabbits to water buffalo) given away annually by an ecumenical agency now named Heifer International. The name has changed over the years from the Heifer Project, to Heifer Project Incorporated, to Heifer Project International, and after 2001 to Heifer International. (Not surprisingly, at a previous juncture a consultant on fund-raising had strongly encouraged the agency to change its name completely, because so many Americans, particularly in urban areas, were unaware that the term “heifer” is given to a young cow.)

By the year 2000, HPI had helped more than 4,500,000 families in 125 nations by donating a variety of 28 food-producing animals and by providing training in animal management, environmentally sound farming, and community development. In 2003 the agency had a budget of 50 million dollars, a headquarters staff of 175 persons in Little Rock, Arkansas, and a field staff of 500 workers worldwide.<sup>1</sup>

Curiously the widely seen television drama recapitulated an actual event of June 1986 when President Ronald Reagan presented one of the prestigious President’s Volunteer Action Awards to representatives of the Heifer Project International at a White House reception. Four years later, the organization was given another presidential citation, this time an End Hunger Award, given annually to eight individuals or agencies that have made significant contributions in easing world hunger.<sup>2</sup>

#### **Forerunner of HPI**

Although unconnected to the movement here to be described, there was a somewhat comparable initiative involving German-American farmers in the Midwest after 1918. Following the cessation of hostilities of World War I, news came to the USA of the stark food shortage in Germany and Austria that threatened the starvation of tens of thousands, especially children. Added to the inevitable strain caused by the impact of total war and the stringency of the British naval blockade of the Central

Powers (continued well after the Armistice was signed on November 11, 1918) was the effect of a clause in the Versailles Treaty. As part of the massive reparations Germans were forced to pay to the victorious Allies, 800,000 head of livestock had to be delivered to replace those said to have been destroyed during the war in Belgium and France. The results of these shortages were massive deaths among children caused by malnutrition and diseases arising therefrom.<sup>3</sup>

German-American farmers from the Plains states, primarily in Kansas and the Dakotas, but also in Iowa, Illinois, and Wisconsin, heard of this crisis; much information was circulated by the newspaper, the *Dakota Freie Presse*, based in New Ulm, Minnesota. The farmers responded by donating cows from their herds—in all four shipments totaling well over 2,000 animals. These were collected and sent from 1920 to 1922 to Germany, where the Red Cross took major responsibility for their distribution. Lutheran clergymen played a dominant role in the project in the United States.

Despite the humanitarian appeal of the quickly organized action, the process did not go smoothly in the Midwest. Bands of super-patriots, largely war veterans inflamed by protests issued by local American Legion posts, violently objected to sending aid to the hated citizens of Germany, their recent enemy. The mob action thus incited resulted in the stampeding of herds, and killing of some animals, waiting to be collected and shipped abroad. In some cases, government officials deputized armed farmers to protect the cows. By 1922, the collapse of the German economy forced the termination of the project because of the prohibitive costs of distribution.

### **The Originator of the Heifer Project**

Some fifteen years after these first shipments, and quite independent of them, the concept of the current wide-scale movement was formed within the context of denominations of German-American background. The originator of the project was Dan West (1893-1971), a farm-based peace activist and staff worker for the Church of the Brethren, known as one of the three Historic Peace Churches along with the Mennonites and the Friends (Quakers). The Brethren originated in Central Germany in 1708, migrating within a few decades to North America, where they became known as one of the groups of "plain people," similar in many ways to the better-known Amish and Mennonites. They maintained their largely German ethnic identity until well into the twentieth century. Like other young men from the Historic Peace Churches, West had been dissatisfied with the uneven response of his church to the challenge of conscription during World War I. He and the others dedicated their lives to a more effective and positive response to a future military outbreak.<sup>4</sup>

West became known for his effective work with young people, whom he challenged to devote their lives to active peacemaking. Their "no" to prospective military demands must be matched, pro-actively, by a "yes" to disciplined work for peace. In so doing, they would be trained and ready to respond to the crushing expectations of society in the advent of another war. As West surveyed the world scene, such conflict was brewing, especially given the failure of governments to create an effective world body to keep the peace. Although proposed strongly by

Pres. Woodrow Wilson, the refusal of the U.S. Senate to ratify the arrangement fundamentally weakened the League of Nations structure he had envisioned.

In the mid-thirties, representatives of the Brethren, Mennonites, and Friends met repeatedly to discuss ways that they could strengthen their peace witness and ready their constituencies for the threatening conflict. This led to closer cooperative effort, both in rallying peace work in the United States and meeting the needs of sufferers abroad.<sup>5</sup>

One focus for the collaboration was, for a time, relief work in Spain, then ravaged by civil war. The socialist-inclined republic had been overthrown in July 1936 by the fascist-oriented Falangist forces marshaled by General Francisco Franco. Under the auspices of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) and the Friends Service Council of the United Kingdom, aid to needy civilians was mounted in Spain in 1936. Congruent with long-standing policy, this aid was to be administered evenhandedly to both sides—Republican and Nationalist.<sup>6</sup>

Dan West was one of the Brethren workers seconded at this time to the AFSC to distribute relief goods. Relief workers in Spain found themselves confronting massive need with insufficient food supplies and other material. Faced with these shortages, workers had to practice a tragic triage—withholding food from those children so severely malnourished or ill that they had little chance of surviving even if food were made available. Powdered milk was the basis of much of the feeding. It was in the course of such wrenching activities that West had a kind of a vision. As he later described it, he had the thought “Why not bring cows to Spain to eat the grass? The cows could give milk, and the Spanish people could feed their children.”<sup>7</sup>

The seeming impracticality of the scheme notwithstanding, West persisted with the dream, especially when his term of service ended. On the way back home, in England he met a Laborite editor, Geoffrey Pyke, to whom West introduced his idea of heifers for Spain. Pyke liked the concept until it became clear the West wanted to aid those suffering on both sides of the civil war. The Republic-favoring editor then withdrew his previous offer of assistance. “Then,” said West, “I’m sorry. In my world, the needs of women and children are above politics.”<sup>8</sup>

### **The Early Beginnings of the Heifer Project**

Back in the United States, Dan West presented his idea to the Committee on Spain, made up of representatives from the Brethren, Friends, Mennonites, and the Federal Council of Churches. Committee members expressed interest but could offer little practical support. For some years little progress was made. In May 1942 West narrated his proposal to Brethren laymen from his home area of Northern Indiana, the location of many German-American families and congregations. They decided to form a committee to encourage the plan. One Brethren farmer, Ora Stine, made the motion that the men’s work group begin the project; Virgil Mock agreed to donate the first heifer, which was given the name “Faith”. It was cared for on the Stine farm by the teenager Claire Stine.

In June 1942 the plan was formally adopted by the Brethren Service Committee, the social action arm of the Church of the Brethren. In January 1943 a national committee was organized, called the Heifer Project Committee, and the movement took on momentum. Although need overseas was the primary motivation for the

response to the project, wartime exigencies made such delivery of animals impossible. For this reason, the first shipment of heifers was sent to Castañer, a poor community in the U.S. Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. This took place in April 1944 with the Farm Security Administration of the U.S. government providing the transportation by sea. Faith the heifer, and seventeen other animals, found homes among needy Puerto Rican farmers, who had no other livestock but had access to enough grazing land to maintain the gift. The director of the Farm Security Administration in Puerto Rico said of the distribution: "They are excellent stock and you and your colleagues are to be congratulated, not only on being humanitarians, but also for being good livestock and dairy people." Other wartime shipments went to sharecroppers in the southern United States and to Mexico.<sup>9</sup>

One of the most creative aspects of the Heifer Project has been the guiding principle established from the beginning by Dan West. That is the principle of "Passing on the Gift." Every recipient of a donated animal pledges to give to another needy person the first female offspring. Committees and organizations responsible for the original distribution check to see that this has been done. In this way the donation is multiplied, in what one observer has called a "chain reaction of love."

It was not solely the expansion of the gifts the sharing principle effected that Dan West had in mind in establishing this requirement. He understood that it could play an important role in renewing self-respect in the hearts and minds of recipients. Their ability to help others would be a significant step in developing positive morale in difficult situations. As a HPI brochure once put it: "'Passing on the Gift' was one of the cardinal principles he [Dan West] gave to Heifer Project. He believed that charity is degrading, but if you pass on what you receive, it is ennobling. Thousands of people have discovered the joy of sharing by 'passing on the gift' they received through Heifer Project."<sup>10</sup>

More animals were donated in the United States with the prospect of their being available when the war ended and distribution to Europe and Asia would be possible. As news of the initial shipment spread, other denominations became interested, many but not all of German-American background. It was agreed that the Brethren-run Heifer Project Committee would "provide information, assistance, and services in dealing with the United States government, administration of any money or heifers contributed to the committee, and finally the opportunity for representatives of other groups to attend the meetings of the committee and [to] receive copies of the agendas and minutes." Thus, from the beginning, an ecumenical and cooperative orientation was to be observed. In some cases at this juncture, when the waiting period before shipment was possible became too extended and there were too many donated animals, some were sold and the proceeds used for humanitarian projects.<sup>11</sup>

### **The UNRRA Connection**

A major breakthrough took place in June 1945 with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA); this large agency had been established in late 1943 to administer and coordinate world-wide relief of war sufferers. Among their pressing tasks was building up war-depleted herds of livestock in Europe, especially of horses and cattle. The agency bought up large numbers of these animals and leased shipping for sending them overseas. UNRRA was then faced with a large

problem—arranging for attendants to care for the horses and cattle on their ocean crossings.

UNRRA administrators had been made aware of the plans of the Heifer Project as early as 1944. Now they asked the Heifer Project Committee if it would take on the huge job of recruiting what came to be called “seagoing cowboys” as attendants. In return, UNRRA pledged that they would provide ocean transportation to the committee, which would be free to distribute their animals as they wished overseas. Very quickly, the deal was struck.<sup>12</sup>

*Time* magazine, which had earlier reported on the Puerto Rican shipment, ran an article on the plan in July 1945:

Baltimore stockyards rang with the impatient bellows of 337 cows, the whinnies of 396 restless mares. A ship stood empty in the harbor, ready to load. And across the water, Yugoslavia, Poland, Greece, Albania, and Czechoslovakia (with more than five million farm animals lost in the war) waited hungrily for replacements. But UNRRA was stumped. The ship was ready. The animals were ready. But there were no livestock hustlers to herd the beasts overseas.

Into the breach stepped brisk, friendly Benjamin G. Bushong, dairy farmer, cemetery owner, and chief red-tape cutter of the two-hundred-twenty-six-year-old pacifist Church of the Brethren (“Dunkers”—because they practice baptism by total immersion). For months Dunker Bushong had been pushing his church’s own overseas relief program, . . . only to strike a snag. City Dunkers had raised money for calves and feed. Country Dunkers had fed and fattened the animals into fine bulls and heifers. The Dunkers had the cattle but they had no ships.

Dunker Bushong made a suggestion: if UNRRA would provide shipping for Dunker cows and bulls, the Brethren would rustle up seagoing hustlers to herd the UNRRA animals. UNRRA was delighted and agreed to pay volunteers \$75 monthly expenses, token salaries of 1¢ daily. Expediter Bushong promptly rallied his people and submitted to volunteers what is probably the war’s shortest, most-to-the-point questionnaire: “Who are you? What can you do? He picked 100 (preachers, teachers, students, and a shrewdly chosen handful of veteran dirt farmers) as herders.

Last week UNRRA was busy fulfilling its half of the bargain. As 100 more Dunker volunteers set sail for Europe, six fat Dunker Brown Swiss bulls were safe in Greece, 150 Dunker heifers awaited passage in Poland. Said pleased Pacifist Bushong: “Perhaps shootin’ isn’t the only way out of this world mess.”<sup>13</sup>

In all, over 7,000 “seagoing cowboys” participated in the program, with shipments from Europe to Asia. The trips were no pleasure jaunts. Many of the horses were wild and bit the handlers in the crowded holds. Providing water and feed took most of the daylight hours, along with cleaning the stalls, all involving laborious hauling between decks in rough weather. Some voyages experienced severe storms, causing deaths among the livestock and injury to their handlers, along with seasickness. In some shipping lanes there were still floating mines, which indeed

damaged some ships. There were ship collisions, involving these lumbering Victory and Liberty cargo vessels, turned out in great numbers in the United States during World War II.<sup>14</sup>

Once arriving in Europe, in war-torn Poland and Greece especially, the volunteers were struck by the near total war damage and the poverty of the survivors. One notable result of these experiences was to heighten the consciousness of severe need in Europe among those who made the trip. A typical reaction was that of Robert Ebe, a pastor in the Church of the Brethren. After his ship reached Gdansk (Danzig) in 1946 he and his fellow attendants were given shore leave.

Among his reactions were these comments:

We had already seen the destroyed piers and heavy machinery for unloading the ship cargo, but even these are rather inanimate. Once a person gets into a war ravaged city there can be doubt of the terrible destruction war causes. . . . This scene left us deeply shocked. The following day we visited Danzig. The scene there left us almost speechless. . . . All the transportation systems were completely demolished. A full year after the fighting stopped all the streets of old Danzig were still blocked by the debris from the buildings falling down. Food warehouses were burned. Power plants were leveled. Drinking water was extremely scarce and polluted. Libraries, churches, and homes were not spared. It was called 90% destroyed. It looked to us to be total devastation.<sup>15</sup>

These experiences had a deep impact on the men involved. After they returned to the USA many became very active in programs for relief and rehabilitation. They encouraged their home congregations to become engaged in programs and projects to alleviate suffering both home and abroad. The compilers of a book relating the memories of these "seagoing cowboys" drew up a list of general observations. Among them were these: "1) The trip gave many a world-view and understanding that was entirely new to them and upon which they began to build"; 2) "The experience of the trip became a call to some to enter the Christian ministry as a full-time vocation"; . . . 5) "The cowboys developed a deep appreciation for the very poor to whom the animals were delivered"; and 6) "Whatever the cause, and the delivering of animals overseas must have played an important role, many of the cowboys have gone on to be leaders/workers in charitable and self-development mission work across the country and the world."<sup>16</sup>

The administrator of UNRRA was F. H. LaGuardia (1882-1947), best known for his charismatic leadership as mayor of New York City. In late 1946 he wrote an appreciative letter to Bushong and the Heifer Project Committee; it read:

Dear Mr. Bushong:

I am informed that your organization, the heifer-project committee of the Brethren Service Committee, has assembled a boatload of heifers which you will contribute to UNRRA for shipment from New Orleans to China in December. This will be the first boat of cattle to go to China, and is one of the most important gifts that UNRRA has received. Thousands of the cattle you have donated are now in Czechoslovakia, Greece, Italy and

Poland helping the farmers there to restore their war-torn lands and feed the populations—rural and urban—of these countries which lost 50% of their livestock in the war. The artificial insemination program in Greece, set up by UNRRA with your assistance, has materially helped to improve the depleted breeding stock of that suffering country.

The fine spirit of practical Christianity and the faith that your group has shown are examples to us all in these days when, without faith, we cannot progress. Your movement, beginning modestly as it did, has spread the spirit and its work. Transcending barriers of nationality and religious conviction, it has drawn to itself members of many denominations, and illustrated what can be accomplished when conviction and efficient enterprise and fine Christian generosity are combined.

I understand that your organization has decided to continue its work for two years after UNRRA ceases. This is further exemplification of its validity. May I congratulate and thank you in the name of those we have all been trying to help and wish you every success in the future.

Sincerely yours,  
F. H. LaGuardia  
Director General<sup>17</sup>

## **Organizational Developments**

Starting as a somewhat informal committee, the Heifer Project took on more organization in January, 1946, when Benjamin B. Bushong (1898-1965) was selected as the executive director, to regularize his already active involvement. Later that year the committee took on a more elaborate form when other denominations became full-fledged members; these were besides the parent Brethren Service Committee, the Mennonite Central Committee, the Evangelical and Reformed World Service Committee, The Home Mission Society of the Northern Baptist Convention, the Rural Life Association, and the National Catholic Rural Life Conference. The last named involved the charismatic figure, Monsignor Luigi G. Ligutti (1895-1984), a close friend of M. R. Zigler, the executive secretary of the Brethren Service Committee. The first three denominations named were predominantly of German-American background, and many members of the last-named agencies named had large numbers of German ancestry among their ranks.

In time many more denominational agencies joined forces. The ecumenical arrangement was another example of the philosophy of the Brethren Service Committee. If the work of relief and rehabilitation could be enhanced by cooperation with other agencies that should by all means be done. If the combined program developed broad interest and support, Brethren were more than willing to step back from active leadership.<sup>18</sup>

As the project expanded, it was found useful to develop branch offices and centers across the country. Within a few years collection point and shipping centers were located in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, and Wisconsin, and later in California. By 1969, offices were in place in New Windsor, Maryland; in Upper Darby, Pennsylvania; in Fayetteville, New York; in Boston, Massachusetts; in North

Manchester, Indiana; in Denver, Colorado; Portland, Oregon; and Modesto and Pasadena, California. The central office moved from North Manchester, Indiana, to St. Louis, Missouri, and finally to Little Rock, Arkansas.<sup>19</sup>

By 1954 (the tenth anniversary of the first shipment of heifers), there were eight agencies involved in the organization, and 7,000 animals had been placed. Three years later, the 10,000th heifer was distributed in Germany, where a large program had been developed following 1949 to help resettle refugees and expellees.

The expansion and growth of the project had its problems. By 1948 and 1949 there were voices raised within the ranks of the administrators (who had been carrying a tremendous load) and board members suggesting that the Heifer Project may have run its course. The worst of wartime devastation was being repaired and the suffering of the affected populations was diminishing. Should not the sponsoring denominations turn their attention to domestic needs and the many normal demands of church life?

On January 1, 1947, UNRRA had ceased its operations and with it, the free transportation of livestock. Throughout 1947 and 1948 the project had to develop alternative means of transporting the donated animals, always an expensive and complicated operation. At the same time the level of contributions was waning somewhat, as many former donors came to feel that charity begins at home. Executives within the Church of the Brethren were increasingly questioning the extreme financial and administrative burden that they had largely carried.<sup>20</sup>

One way to resolve the problem was to spread more responsibility to others, to shift some of the load to other shoulders. In 1953 a major reorganization of the program came into effect. The agency was incorporated, with a logical name change to Heifer Project Incorporated; it became an independent interdenominational entity. Thurl Metzger had replaced Benjamin Bushong as executive director in 1951, serving until 1971. One of his first initiatives (in 1952) was develop a project to deliver hatching eggs to Korea, in cooperation with the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency. As early as 1947, shipments of goats had been sent to the former enemy, Japan, reaching a total of 2,200.<sup>21</sup>

Four years later, as a result of lengthy negotiations carried on by Metzger, it was possible to send a shipment of livestock to the Soviet Union. The cows were to be placed in orphanages and hospitals. When this proposal was presented to the HPI board, there was some hesitation. Some board members expressed the fear that the venture might alienate some supporters and hamper contributions. Dan West, founder of the Heifer Project, blocked the criticism with his statement: "A cow cannot distinguish between the hungry cries of a capitalist baby and a communist baby."<sup>22</sup>

The attendants, two church leaders of the Church of the Brethren from Northern Indiana and a Brethren pastor from Iowa, joined Metzger in the shipment to the Soviet Union. They were well received in their travels after delivery of the livestock, despite the Cold War then raging between the Soviet Union and the United States. Reports of the unusual effort quoted M. R. Zigler's quip, "You can go anywhere on the back of a heifer."<sup>23</sup>

It is impossible by the nature of the program to provide details on the hundreds, even thousands, of shipments around the world and the variety of animals placed. In many areas, it was felt inappropriate to deliver large animals. In those cases, other shipments were used, ranging from bees, to poultry, to rabbits, to sheep. In some

other cases, water buffalo, llamas, or camels were the best choices. Some snapshots may illustrate the impact of the Heifer Project. In 1955 it was calculated that the crossbreeding of cattle in India made possible by the insemination by HPI bulls had quadrupled milk production. One year later it was reported that the half of the chickens in Korea derived from earlier HPI shipments. In 1962 HPI contracted with the U.S. Peace Corps to support its programs in Ecuador and Bolivia. In 1967 a celebration was held in Egypt for the arrival of the one-millionth chick. In 1969, during the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of HPI they counted some 40,000 food-producing animals and several million poultry among the contributions thus far.<sup>24</sup>

The year 1971 saw important changes in the organization of the Heifer Project program. The agency established a Livestock Center at the Fourche Ranch near Little Rock, Arkansas, made possible by the gift of a million-dollar herd of 2,000 pedigreed cattle. The national office was moved to St. Louis, Missouri, and a new director began work, replacing Thurl Metzger, who, however, continued to supervise overseas arrangements. The same year also marked the death of HPI founder Dan West, who had suffered from ALS (amyotrophic lateral sclerosis, often referred to as Lou Gehrig's disease). His memory is perpetuated in the Dan West Memorial Acres of 1977 and the Dan West Visitor Center, dedicated in 1981.<sup>25</sup>

## Recent Developments

About this time, a significant shift occurred in the program outreach of HPI. Greater efforts were taken now to ensure that all recipients had instruction in the proper care and management of their animals. Most of the poultry and livestock were being purchased locally to save shipping costs and also lessen their adjustment period. Beyond that, HPI field staff shifted much of their energies to local development of resources and training of local peoples. Special attention was paid to the empowerment of women, who, in many areas serviced by HPI, were typically relegated to lower status, with little chance for education or private income.<sup>26</sup>

The Heifer Project program has continued to evolve and grow remarkably in recent years. In 1992 Joy Luck, active in Arkansas governmental and social action agencies, was made executive secretary (and later named president and CEO). By 1995 more than a million families in 110 nations had been assisted. In the same year, the agency had the unusual distinction of being given an honorary doctorate by Manchester College, Indiana, alma mater of Dan West and many of the individuals involved with HPI over the years.<sup>27</sup> After only five more years, the number of families aided had increased four-fold. As mentioned earlier, in 2003, the agency, now known simply as Heifer International, had a budget of fifty million dollars, with a headquarters staff of 175 and a field staff of 500 worldwide. In that year construction was begun on a new office center with an award-winning variety of ecologically based features.<sup>28</sup>

The agency was awarded the Conrad N. Hilton Humanitarian award for 2004, valued at one million dollars. The statement accompanying the award stated, in part, referring the original concept that took on form in 1944: "Sixty years later, the gifts come in 30 species, more like Noah's Ark: agouti, alpacas, bees, earthworms, elephants, guinea pigs, silkworms, snails and yaks, to name a few cultural favorites.

The idea has spread to more than 125 countries. Today, the organization brings training in animal health and environmentally sound agriculture. It leaves behind dignity, self-sufficiency, gender equality, sense of community and something close to optimism for millions of the planet's least fortunate."<sup>29</sup>

What began in the mid-1930s as the vision of a relief worker sitting under an almond tree in a Spain wracked by Civil War, has evolved into a highly-respected organization with nearly universal reach. Dan West's widow, Lucy Rupel West, recapitulated the beginning: "Hundreds in line would come past the table where they were doling out powdered milk. Dan had to say, 'What's the use.' See he started just dreaming and, really, it was very simple—not a cup, but a cow."<sup>30</sup>

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> "Taking Heifer Under Their 'Wing.'" *World Ark* (Spring, 2003): 30. The same issue of the Heifer International journal has an article describing the gift by Oprah Winfrey of fifty milk goats to an Ugandan village in September, 2002 (pp. 13-16). The quarterly journal features news of the agency's projects around the world and is the source of the statistics cited.

<sup>2</sup> "Heifer Project Garners Presidential Award," [Church of the Brethren] *Messenger* (October, 1986): 5; "News Release: Heifer Project International Receives Presidential End Hunger Award," (October 16, 1990).

<sup>3</sup> This story is told in great detail in two articles written by La Vern J. Rippley, based primarily on contemporary newspaper accounts and personal interviews: "Gift Cows for Germany," *North Dakota History* 40 (Summer, 1973): 4-15, 39, and "American Milk Cows for Germany: A Sequel," *North Dakota History* 44 (Summer, 1977): 15-23.

<sup>4</sup> The biography of West by Glee Yoder, *Passing On the Gift: The Story of Dan West* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1978), provides much information on the Heifer Project. See also: Kenneth I. Morse, "West, Daniel," in *The Brethren Encyclopedia* (Philadelphia, PA / Oak Brook, IL: Brethren Encyclopedia, Inc., 1983-1984), 2: 1330-1332; Kermit Eby, *The God in You* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), 43-54 and "Faith, Hope, and Heifers," *Gospel Messenger* (November 24, 1951): 8-11.

<sup>5</sup> For information on this cooperative effort, see Donald F. Durnbaugh, "The Fight Against War of the Historic Peace Churches, 1919-1941," in *Challenge to Mars: Essays on Pacifism from 1918 to 1945*, eds. Peter Brock and Thomas F. Socknat (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 218-239.

<sup>6</sup> Information on the Friends' work in Spain is found in John O. Greenwood, *Quaker Encounters: Volume 1: Friends and Relief* (York, UK: William Sessions Limited, 1975), 252-258; Howard E. Kershner, *Quaker Service in Modern War* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1950); Norma Jacob, "The Spanish Civil War," in *Bio of an Ogre: The Autobiography of Piers Anthony to Age 50* (New York: Ace Books, 1988), 229-243; Sylvester Jones, *Not By Might* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Publishing House for the author, 1942).

<sup>7</sup> Eby, *God in You* (1954), 45.

<sup>8</sup> Eby, *God in You* (1954), 46.

<sup>9</sup> Roger E. Sappington, *Brethren Social Policy, 1908-1958* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1961), 111-115. See also Thurl Metzger, "The Heifer Project," in *To Serve the Present Age: The Brethren Service Story*, ed. Donald F. Durnbaugh (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1975), 144-147, and Thurl Metzger, "Heifer Project International," in *Brethren Encyclopedia* (1983-1984), 1: 593-595. For the early days of the project, see "Heifers for Relief: A Rehabilitation Program Sponsored by the Church of the Brethren," *Gospel Messenger* (June 5, 1943) 12. Brethren work in Puerto Rico is described in Mary Sue H. Rosenberger, *Light of the Spirit: The Brethren in Puerto Rico, 1942 to 1992* (Elgin, IL: Association of Brethren Caregivers, 1992).

<sup>10</sup> Cited in Yoder, *Passing on the Gift* (1978), 163.

<sup>11</sup> Sappington, *Brethren Social Policy* (1961), 113.

<sup>12</sup> Sappington, *Brethren Social Policy* (1961), 114-115.

<sup>13</sup> *Time* (July 23, 1945), reprinted by permission in *Gospel Messenger* (September 1, 1945): 10. The

earlier article on the first shipment to Puerto Rico was published in *Time* (July 24, 1944), reprinted by permission in *Gospel Messenger* (August 19, 1944): 10. Later the stipend was set at \$150 per trip.

<sup>14</sup> There are many accounts of the experiences of the attendants; many are gathered in Bill Beck and Mel West, eds., *Cowboy Memories: Published in Honor of the Seagoing Cowboys, Air Attendants, and Truckers of HPI Animals—On the Fiftieth Anniversary of Heifer Project International* (Little Rock, AR: Heifer Project International by Florida United Methodist Conference, 1994). See also Lawrence W. Shultz, *People and Places, 1890-1970: An Autobiography* (Winona Lake, IN: Life and Light Press for the author, 1971), 104-107; John C. Eller, *Wave Rider for Peace: A Diary of a Sea-going Cowboy to Poland—1946* ([n.p.]: author, 1990), and Reuel B. Pritchett and Dale Aukerman, *On the Ground Floor of Heaven* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 105-111. One of the earliest accounts was Donald Lefever, ed., *Relief for Greece: The Experiences of the Cattlemen Who Sailed with the First Shipment of UNRRA Livestock on the S. S. Virginian* ([n.p.]: 1946). The leader of the group was Orville Hersch, a dairy farmer from Manassas, VA, who became very active in support of the Heifer Project. One of the attendants was the young Bob Richards, later to become famous as an Olympic athlete. Another attendant in 1946 was Harvey Cox, later to become well-known as an author and professor at Harvard Divinity School; his autobiography was *Just As I Am* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1983), 31-34.

<sup>15</sup> Beck and West, *Cowboy Memories* (1994), 51-53 and Robert Ebey, *Preacher Bob* ([Kendallville, IN: author,] 1990), 76-92.

<sup>16</sup> Beck and West, *Cowboy Memories* (1994), 7-8.

<sup>17</sup> Published in *Gospel Messenger* (January 11, 1947): 21; see also, Sappington, *Brethren Social Policy* (1961), 128, 137.

<sup>18</sup> Detailed information on the work of Bushong is found in an essay written by a granddaughter, M. Rebecca Bushong, "Ben Bushong—Apostle of Mercy," *Brethren Life and Thought* 24 (Spring, 1979): 71-88. For the work of the Catholic farm expert, see Raymond W. Miller, *Monsignor Ligutti* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1981).

<sup>19</sup> The work of Heifer Project on the West Coast is told in detail in Clara T. Johnson, *Milk for the World: The Heifer Project on the West Coast: A Story of Love in Action* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1971).

<sup>20</sup> This is discussed in Bushong, "Ben Bushong" (1979), 82-85.

<sup>21</sup> A good overview of these years is provided in J. Kenneth Kreider, *A Cup of Cold Water: The Story of Brethren Service* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 2001), 131-149; the author was himself active in the program in Germany.

<sup>22</sup> Kreider, *Cup of Cold Water* (2001), 144.

<sup>23</sup> Paul E. Miller, "A Visit to Odessa and Kiev," *Gospel Messenger* (February 2, 1957): 6-9; Yoder, *Passing on the Gift* (1978), 110.

<sup>24</sup> June Wolfe, "Heifer Project Celebration: 25 Years of Giving Life," *Messenger* (August 28, 1969): 20-22.

<sup>25</sup> Yoder, *Passing on the Gift* (1978), 110-11

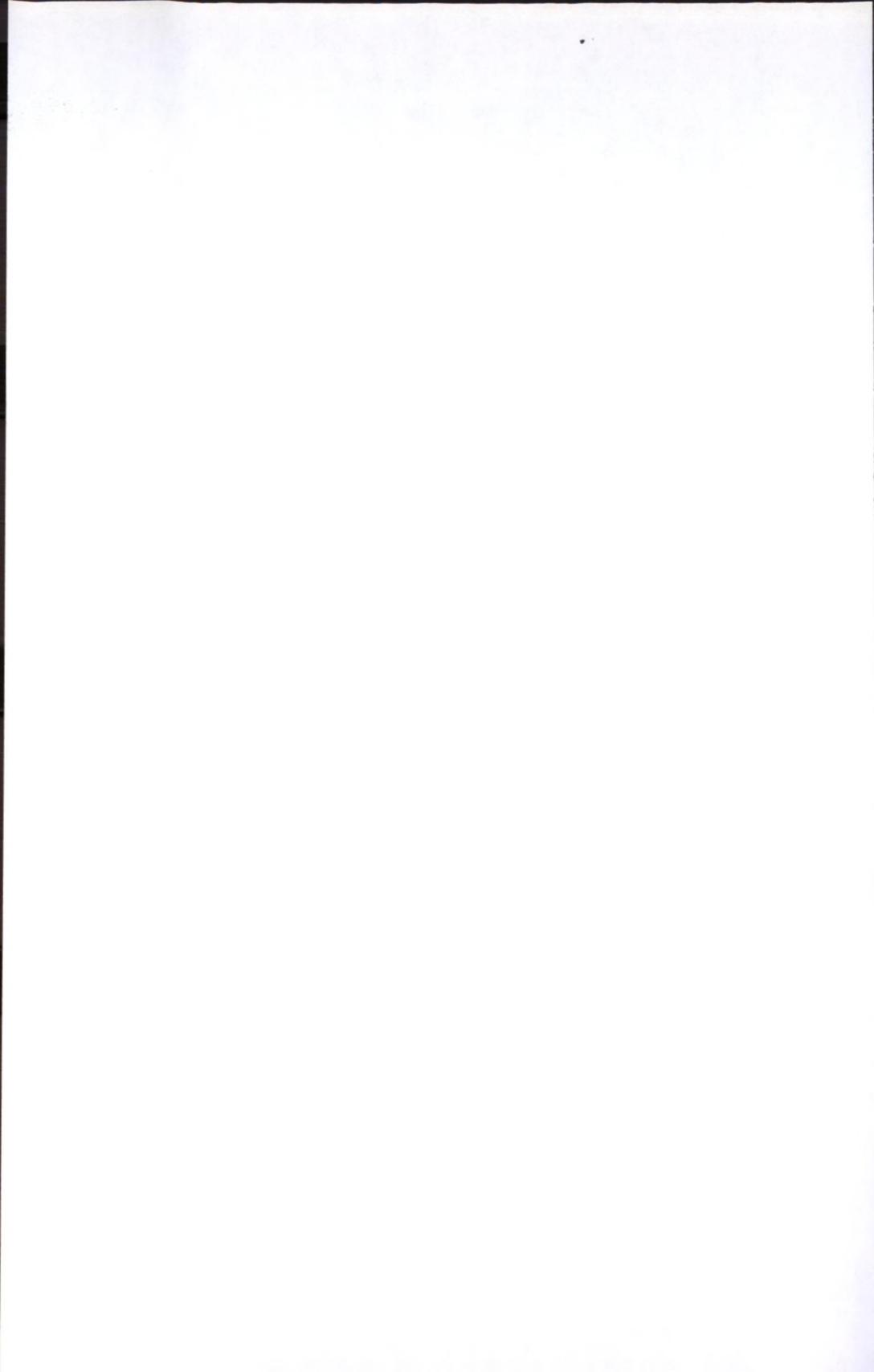
<sup>26</sup> See *From Relief to Development: The Evolving Mission of Heifer Project International, Inc.* ([n.p.]: Clio Research Associates, Inc.—History 7391: Public History Seminary, 1993).

<sup>27</sup> *Manchester College Bulletin* (Summer, 1975): 9, 16-17; *News from Manchester College* 5 (February, 1995) and 6 (June, 1995).

<sup>28</sup> Roy White, "Building for a Green Future," *World Ark* (Fall, 2003): 18-19.

<sup>29</sup> *World Ark* (November-December, 2004): [17].

<sup>30</sup> Sharon Blair, "Dan West: Heifer's Founder a Prophet of Peace," *World Ark* (November-December, 2004): 23-24.



Franz Schüppen

**“Amerika” im Königlichen Schauspielhaus Berlin:  
Rudolf Genées Charakterbild *Stephy Girard* nach  
Charles Sealsfields *Morton* und Theodor Fontanes Kritik  
in der *Vossischen Zeitung* zum 12. Oktober 1878**

Charles Sealsfields (1793-1864) Roman *Morton oder die große Tour* (1835) gilt als ein problematisches Werk. Er mag die spätromantische Verwunderung des Amerikaenthusiasten, dem südstaatliches Pflanzerleben als paradiesisches Idyll vorschwebte, beim ersten poetischen Zugehen auf den Norden der Vereinigten Staaten zeigen, auch eine Reflektion enthalten über die Möglichkeiten der neuen Großmacht wie über das wirtschaftliche und finanzielle Potential, das der realisierte Liberalismus in ihr frei setzte.<sup>1</sup> 1975 nennt Guy Hollyday *Morton* im Vorwort seiner Neuausgabe des Romans für die *Sämtlichen Werke* “Sealsfields verwirrendsten Roman.” Jeffrey Sammons Sealsfield-Buch geht weitgehend an ihm vorbei.<sup>2</sup> Unklar sei insbesondere, welches Ziel der Autor mit ihm verfolge. Er geht von “Lebensbildern aus der westlichen Hemisphäre” zu “Lebensbildern aus beiden Hemisphären” über und nimmt mit dem Titelzusatz “die große Tour” den klassischen europäischen Erziehungs- und Bildungsroman auf. In den beiden Bänden—neben denen ein unveröffentlichter und verlorener dritter keinen Platz hat—wird die Entwicklung des jungen Morton aus Philadelphia zu einem Abschluss gebracht. Er begreift, welche Leistungen man von ihm als Vertreter eines Bankhauses erwartet und welches die Ziele sind, auf die er damit hinarbeitet. Wie alle jungen Helden Sealsfields erkennt auch er, dass weder eine auf Genuss und Glück zielende naive individuelle Existenz noch Unterwerfung und Arbeit im Dienst von Machthabern, die das Wohl der Menschen missachten, ein Leben ausfüllen können, sondern vernünftige Arbeit zum eigenen Nutzen, die dem gegenwärtigen und zukünftigen Wohl der Menschheit dienlich sein will. Sealsfields amerikanische Helden sind fortschrittsgläubige liberale Idealisten. Es gilt für Morton wie für George Howard im *Pflanzerleben*, für Edward Morse im *Kajütenbuch* und die bekehrten Europäer oder Lateinamerikaner im *Legitimen* oder im *Virey*. Mortons Weg zeigt die Entwicklungsgeschichte eines Mannes, der durch einen Schicksalsschlag von der bloßen Beschäftigung mit der eigenen Person abkommt. Im zweiten Teil des Romans ist die Initiationsrede des englischen Bankiers Lomond, der Morton über Macht, Möglichkeiten und Pflichten von Banken aufklärt, falsch bewertet worden, wenn man ihren Zweck in der Verdeutlichung einer gefährlichen Verschwörung sah.<sup>3</sup> Es ist nicht ganz unmöglich, dass Parteigänger Sealsfields—wie Eduard Castle

annimmt—dessen poetische Darstellung nicht schätzten, weil sie auch falsche Folgerungen zu ziehen nahe legen kann, aber dieses Schicksal teilt sie mit mancher anderen poetischen Darstellung, die Bilder des Weltganzen entwirft. Didaktik kann pädagogische Ziele verfehlen, Poesie unverständlich und unpoetische Adressaten finden.

Sealsfields Morton-Roman hat im zweiten Teil durch die Verwendung von Balzacs Bankierschilderung in *Gobseck* seine endgültige Gestalt gewonnen.<sup>4</sup> Unter Verwendung von Balzacs Bild eines Clubs der Pariser Bankiers hat Sealsfield den Machtkampf zwischen grund- und geldbesitzenden Oberschichten als historischen Vorgang im Bild einer Auseinandersetzung zwischen rivalisierenden organisierten Parteien gezeichnet, ihn vor allem aber in der Seele seines Helden—der auch darin mit dem Verfasser Ähnlichkeit haben dürfte—verfolgt. Morton verwendet in einer religiös getönten Sprache überkommene Vorstellungen seiner Jugend wie "Himmel," "Hölle," "Höllengott," überwindet sie aber für die eigene Praxis (SW 10, 2:216).<sup>5</sup> Er nimmt Partei für eine geldbesitzende Oberschicht, damit für die zukünftige Welt, beschreibt sie altmodisch mit den Kategorien, mit denen er aufgewachsen ist, wie es die Position des zu Charles Sealsfield gewordenen Karl Postl in den Jahren vor der Julirevolution gewesen sein wird.<sup>6</sup> Eigene Erlebnisse und Erfahrungen sind in seine Geschichte eines Amerikaners eingegangen, wie er ihn gern selbst darstellen möchte. Sein Held wird akzeptiert in der Welt, in die der Autor hineinstrebt.

Sealsfield gewann aus seinen Honoraren ein Vermögen mit Aktienspekulationen. Seine schlicht poetische und darin missverständliche Welt Darstellung im Roman hatte er um 1848 aufgegeben, aber—wie er mehrfach und bei sehr verschiedenen Gelegenheiten wiederholte—seine politisch-philosophischen Ansichten beibehalten.<sup>7</sup> Er begann schließlich selbst seine "amerikanischen" Vorstellungen von der Notwendigkeit "realistischen" Handelns statt in Bücher und Erzählungen in Taten, in Bankgeschäfte umzusetzen. Der altgewordene Charles Sealsfield war so geworden, wie er sich "Amerikaner" vorstellte, konnte sich "Bürger von Nordamerika" nennen und seinen Neffen eine uneingeschränkt amerikanische Existenz wünschen, nachdem er abschließend in seinem letzten Roman *Süden und Norden* die Gefahren des "Südens," der Poesie, geschildert hatte.<sup>8</sup> Der Roman des Dreiundvierzigjährigen von "Morton of Mortonhall," der wie der deutschamerikanische Sheriff (Oberst) Isling Erinnerungen an die alte Aristokratie weckt, will keine Weltverschwörung der Bankiers beschreiben, sondern die schwierige Wandlung eines jungen Mannes angesichts der Frage, ob er Grundbesitzer bleiben oder Bankier werden soll. *Morton* hat darin Anklänge an Goethes *Wilhelm Meister*, nicht als "Geheimbundroman," sondern als Darstellung ähnlicher Parteinahme eines jungen Mannes, der seiner Verpflichtung für die Mitarbeit an einer besseren Zukunft der Menschen gerecht wird.<sup>9</sup> "Weltverbesserung" ist eine gemeinsame Ausgangsposition von Goethe und Sealsfield, und man könnte ihren Impetus dabei auf Hegel beziehen, von "Hegelianismus" sprechen, der die Entfaltung des Weltgeistes mit Veränderung und Verbesserung der Lebensbedingungen parallelisiert. Mortons Weg ist nicht als Irrweg dargestellt, sondern als Entwicklung zum richtigen Urteil über Welt, politische Verhältnisse und Menschen. Unabhängig von ins Allgemeine zielenden Theorien über den Geist des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, oder der Spätromantik, wird der Leser mit Morton sichtbar über verschiedene Aspekte des Zeitalters aufgeklärt, lernt Bankiers, aber daneben den amerikanischen Farmer und Pflanze als honorigen Edelmann untadeliger moralischer Gesinnung in Gestalt eines Offiziers Washingtons kennen.

Nicht zufällig wird er bei Sealsfield ein Mann deutscher Herkunft sein. Morton erkennt in der Folge Leere und Hoffnungslosigkeit einer im Rokoko steckengebliebenen europäischen Adelsclique im London Wellingtons, setzt dagegen die Zielstrebigkeit und Selbstverleugnung bei bürgerlichen Bankiers auf beiden Seiten des Ozeans. Er versteht in London endgültig, was zukunftssträchtig ist. Lars-Peter Linkes Hinweis auf einschlägige Weltbilder Thomas Jeffersons, den Sealsfield unter die Vorfahren Mortons versetzt, macht den amerikanischen Horizont des Ganzen deutlich.<sup>10</sup> Trotz Sealsfields Nähe zum Präsidenten Jackson wird keine "Entblößung der bösen Macht des Geldes" präsentiert.<sup>11</sup> Sowohl der Amerikaner Girard wie der Engländer Lomond streben nach Macht und Einfluss. Sie beabsichtigen aber nicht, sie zu eigenem Nutzen zu verwenden. Wie Balzacs Gobseck in der gleichnamigen Erzählung macht Sealsfields Lomond im Roman Hausbesuche bei seinen privaten Schuldnern.<sup>12</sup> Er bewegt sich dabei auch in einem politisch brisanten Milieu, was bei Balzac nicht der Fall ist, aber es handelt sich auch da nicht um gewaltige Dimensionen voraus kalkulierten Tuns, sondern um Versuche, eigene Vorstellungen im unmittelbaren Handeln aus der Situation zu fördern. Aus vielen Gründen lässt sich Sealsfields *Morton* nicht als "Geheimbundroman" deuten, wozu Lars-Peter Linke in seiner Freiburger Dissertation neigt. Sein Ergebnis, dass so gezeigt werde, dass keine vernünftige Erklärung der Wirklichkeit möglich sei, orientiert sich an der modernen Fantasy-Produktion, die Subsystemen kein eigenes Systemverständnis erlaubt und das literarisch interessierte Individuum in "Reise, Abenteuer und Geheimnis" sich in einem als Zusammenhang unbegriffenen und unbegreifbaren "Internet" bewegen sieht.<sup>13</sup> Jeffrey Sammons hat richtiger betont, dass es die Ideologie ist, die Karl Postl zu Charles Sealsfield werden ließ.<sup>14</sup> Dass der Amerikaenthusiast mit ihr wirklich nur Jackson oder der Volksmeinung beim Kampf gegen die Macht der Banken folgte—und nicht etwa seinen deutschen Landsleuten zeigen wollte, wo es nicht lang ging—das mag zweifelhaft bleiben. Im Kampf von Geburtsaristokratie und neuen Oberschichten ergriff Charles Sealsfield vehement Partei, wollte vorführen, dass man nur mit dem Neuen Aussicht auf Erfolg habe. Seine Bankiers bilden keine Vereinigung, die über das hinausginge, was in einer "globalisierten" Welt als international tätige Bankengruppe oder Aktiengesellschaft selbstverständlich ist. Konkurrenz ist damit nicht aufgehoben. Der historische Platz der ideologischen Bilder des frühen neunzehnten Jahrhunderts ist ein anderer als der des existentialistisch-individualistischen modernen Zeitalters mit seinen Spekulationen über "Geheimbünde," die das Individuum zur Marionette degradierten. Sealsfields Morton entscheidet sich selbst und eindeutig, auch wenn er die Ideologien, zwischen denen er sich entscheidet, noch vorpositivistisch ins Metaphysisch-Religiöse poetisiert.

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*Stephy Girard* von Rudolf Genée (1824-1914), "Charakterbild in einem Akt (Mit Benutzung eines Sealsfieldschen Romans),"<sup>15</sup> deutet *Morton* aus dem Geist der Sealsfield folgenden Epoche. Es verdeutlicht Sealsfields Konzeption realistisch für das preußische Publikum. Der Menschentyp des freien und tätigen Großhändlers aus den Vereinigten Staaten und seine Möglichkeiten sind das begeistert behandelte Thema. Sealsfield wird, wo Genée das für nötig hielt, korrigiert. Sein das Porträt wurde am 12. Oktober 1878 im Königlichen Schauspielhaus in Berlin aufgeführt. Und Genée konnte resümieren: "In Berlin hat das Publikum das 'Characterbild' als solches mit so lebhaftem Interesse entgegen genommen, dass das kleine Stück, bei

sehr sorgfältiger Inszenierung und Darstellung, sich während der ganzen Saison auf dem Repertoire des Königl. Schauspielhauses erhalten hat." (*Komödien*, Vorwort, vi)

Seit der späten Romantik hatte sich die Weltsicht der Abendländer erheblich gewandelt. Der Journalist, Chefredakteur und Komödiendichter Genée gehörte zur jungen Generation. Vom Kaiser Wilhelm II. wurde er zum Professor ernannt und mit Ehrensold ausgestattet, nachdem er nicht nur durch zwei Bücher zu Shakespeare, dem Hauptautor des königlichen Schauspielhauses, hervorgetreten war, sondern auch zum Berliner Theater historische Erinnerungen und Reformvorschläge publiziert hatte. Er war dort eine wichtige Persönlichkeit, als aktiver Intellektueller dem Zeitgeist auf den Fersen und benutzte bei seinen Publikationen die zeitgenössische Theaterleidenschaft des Publikums. Er repräsentiert das europäische Klima eines gesellschaftsbezogenen bürgerlichen Realismus und kann also für dessen bewusst positives Verhältnis zu den Vereinigten Staaten stehen. In Fontanes Theaterkritiken wird Rudolf Genée im Januar 1875 lobend genannt, weil seine Bearbeitung der *Hermannschlacht* von Heinrich von Kleist alles Exzessive in ihr gemildert habe.<sup>16</sup> Die Betonung von Humanität und Friedensgesinnung mit einer Tendenz zum internationalen Ausgleich passte in das eine längere europäische Friedenszeit beginnende Jahrzehnt nach dem deutsch-französischen Krieg, in dem Genée zur Wirkung kommt.

Was Rudolf Genée veranlasste, Sealsfields *Morton* zum Thema eines Theaterstücks zu wählen, ist unklar. Sealsfield war 1864 gestorben, hatte eine Flut von Nekrologen und Spekulationen über sein Leben in den Zeitungen hervorgerufen. Er war dann schnell vergessen worden. Die Biedermeierzeit galt wie das ganze "romantische" Zeitalter vor 1848 nur noch als exotische Kuriosität.<sup>17</sup> Wenn Genée anders, als man bei seinem Thema vermuten würde, etwa Propaganda macht für ein Bankwesen, das in den siebziger Jahren u.a. die Erweiterung der Steinkohlenförderung im Ruhrgebiet finanziert,<sup>18</sup> bleibt der amerikanische Hintergrund überraschend und für das internationale Klima bezeichnend.

Aus Sealsfields *Lebens-* macht Genée ein amerikanisches *Charakterbild*. Statt des jungen Morton steht bei ihm der alte Girard im Mittelpunkt. Im Vorwort zur Buchausgabe hält er fest: "Bei der Dramatisierung dieses von Sealsfield so drastisch geschilderten Characters war es nicht auf eine eigentliche abgeschlossene dramatische Handlung abgesehen, sondern nur auf eine Skizzierung der Hauptfigur in der geschilderten Situation." Dass das biedermeierzeitliche Genrebild, wie Friedrich Senge nachzuweisen versuchte, als Weg zum Realismus verstanden werden muss, lässt sich hier gut belegen.<sup>19</sup> Es ist nicht nur literarische Gattung, sondern inhaltliche Tendenz, Wiedergabe von Beobachtungen, wie sie Erich Auerbach als "Realismus" definierte.<sup>20</sup> Es interessiert die Figur des Bankiers aus Philadelphia und nicht mehr—wie bei Sealsfield—der Weg des in äußere und innere Schwierigkeiten geratenen jungen Mannes Morton. Zwar wird in Adaption des ersten Morton-Bandes Sealsfields gezeigt, wie der durch den Untergang seines Schiffes finanziell in Abhängigkeit geratene "Kapitän"(!) Morton auf rabiate Weise als Vertreter Girards nach Europa expediert wird, aber um Girard rankt sich nicht nur die Handlung, er ist als Figur der in Rede stehende Typus.

Er stellt sich als Amerikaner vor: "In Frankreich bin ich geboren, aber ich bin noch zeitig genug Amerikaner geworden, um es mit voller Kraft des Wollens sein zu können."<sup>21</sup> Der Chef und sein europäischer Statthalter haben die bei Sealsfield vorgegebene Vision. Der Bankier projiziert: "Sie werden in London [...] - als ein echter Sohn der neuen Welt - [...] in meinem Sinne wirken" (a.a.O.,

59, 11. Auftr.). Der Abgesandte akzeptiert: „... die alte Welt soll mir zur neuen werden“ (a.a.O., S.60, 12. Auftr.). Der Wirtschaftshistoriker Wilhelm Treue hat „Amerikanismus“ in seiner *Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Neuzeit* in einen merkantilen Zusammenhang gestellt: „Die USA waren anders als die meisten europäischen Staaten von vornherein ebenso sehr Wirtschaftsmacht wie politischer Faktor.“<sup>22</sup>

Genée nennt seinen Helden „Großhändler,“ zeigt ihn beim Einlagern von Waren und dabei an kleinen Details und auffälligen Anekdoten, wie intensiv er arbeitet und die Außenwelt zur Kenntnis nimmt. Einerseits ist er rücksichtslos und verlangt Erfüllung seiner Forderungen und Einhaltung der mit ihm abgeschlossenen Verträge. Dafür gibt es krasse Beispiele, die aus Sealsfield stammen und fast in allen Fällen bis auf die Biographie zurückgehen, die gleich nach dessen Tod über Girard erschienen war.<sup>23</sup> Einmal lässt Girard irische Arbeiter sinnlose Tätigkeiten ausüben, um ihren Gehorsam zu testen. Wer nicht pariert, wortlos auch das scheinbar Sinnlose tut, gilt als unbrauchbar, wird nicht eingestellt. War das französisch-preußischer militärischer Drill? Zum anderen weist Genée seinen tüchtigen ersten Buchhalter ab, der durch seine Verlobte wegen seiner Heirat eine Gehaltserhöhung erbittet, „dem Haifisch in den Rachen fühlt.“ Dass der Zähne hat, ist heute gut bekannt. Private Verhältnisse braucht der Arbeitgeber nicht zu berücksichtigen; er bezahlt geleistete Arbeit und die ändert sich nicht positiv durch eine Heirat, meint Girard. Es geht um heute in Deutschland wieder in die Diskussion geratende „Lohnnebenkosten,“ ging damals bei Genée eventuell zusätzlich um Fragen der sozialen Gesetzgebung, die Bismarck in Preußen ins Werk zu setzen begann.

Girard weist einen Spenden sammelnden Geistlichen ganz ab, als der ihm über die zu bescheidene Spendenhöhe Vorhaltungen macht. Sein Werk wird ein weltliches College in Philadelphia werden, in dem Geistliche unerwünscht sind. Er bestraft einen erstklassigen Kapitän mit fristloser Entlassung, weil der ohne Auftrag, seine vermeintlichen Wünsche antizipierend, seine französische Verwandtschaft herantransportiert hat. Girard macht klar, mit wem er handeln will, mit wem nicht, liest genau und streng alle Bilanzen. Er lässt nichts ungeprüft, was in der Firma vorgeht, hält nichts von bloßem Vertrauen. Hier hat Genée die Figur erweitert, ist konkreter und prinzipieller als Sealsfield.

Schließlich ist es Girard wichtig, Morton in allerhöchster Eile nach Europa zu schicken. Das praktiziert er, ohne auf die Gefahren Rücksicht zu nehmen, denen er ihn dabei aussetzt. Im Ruderboot wird er zum Ozeandampfer gebracht, was—wie die Schriftsteller meinen—leicht schief gehen könnte. Girard kennt nur das eigene Programm. Er zeigt sich allerdings erleichtert und glücklich über dessen Erfolg und die Bestätigung durch „Fortuna,“ indem sie Morton wohlbehalten aufs Dampfschiff gelangen lässt. Aus dem abergläubischer Test folgert Girard ein gutes Omen. Die Weltordnung bestätigt die Wahl seines Agenten.

Genée folgt Sealsfield wie dieser der frühen Darstellung Simpsons. Er beschäftigt sich mit dem Charakter des Bankiers. Das Werk redigiert und veröffentlicht Genée 1878 im Augenblick eines engeren deutsch-amerikanischen Flirts, in einem glücklichen Augenblick der Zusammenarbeit, wie sein Stück zeigt. Auf den Sezessionskrieg blickt er ausdrücklich zurück, verschiebt dabei die zeitlichen Perspektiven. Anachronistisch lenkt er den Blick aus der Aufführungszeit zurück und aus der dargestellten historischen Zeit vorwärts; denn der historische Bankier lebte in Philadelphia von 1750 bis 1831, war schon Jahrzehnte vor dem Sezessionskrieg und ein paar Jahre vor

Sealsfields Roman verstorben. Sein Stück nennt Genée in seinem Vorwort allerdings "eine ältere Arbeit," so dass man annehmen kann, sie stamme aus der Zeit bald nach Sealsfields Tod 1864, als der Autor gerade noch einmal in Mode war. Es war die Zeit des Sessionskrieges. Der Anlass zur Abfassung würde verständlich wie eine erstaunliche Zeitverschiebung im Stück. Die Wiederaufnahme müsste nicht aus dem Bedürfnis begründet werden, eine ältere Arbeit endlich vorzulegen, sondern könnte auf Bismarcks Benützung der Berliner Banken für seine Nachkriegspolitik verweisen und Tendenzen zu preußisch-deutscher Zusammenarbeit mit den Vereinigten Staaten 1878.

Über Sealsfields alte Konzeption hinaus gibt Genée Morton zum Vater seiner Verlobten aus eigener Erfindung einen "Sklavenzüchter aus Missouri," was den primitiven Egoismus der Familie erklären soll, aus dem heraus die Braut den Arm gewordenen sofort verlässt. Genée lässt das nicht wie Sealsfield einfach "amerikanisch," sondern "südstaatlich" sein. Er lässt Girard sich zusätzlich mit einem (nördlicheren) Plantagenbesitzer aus Kansas auseinandersetzen, der bei Sealsfield nicht vorkommt.<sup>24</sup> Dieser Kansas-Mann will kein Abolitionist sein (was man im Norden aber war), weil es "Sklaven unzähliger Arten" gibt, womit an des einst *Europa-Müden* (1838) Ernst Willkomm *Weisse Sklaven* (1845) erinnert werden könnte.<sup>25</sup> Für die "Nebraska-Bill" hat der Kansas-Farmer 1854 nicht gestimmt, sondern erläutert: "... die Union liegt mir mehr am Herzen als die paar Millionen Schwarzer" (48). Girard zeigt Zustimmung, bis der junge Morton gegen seine opportunistische Nachgiebigkeit eintritt und von "weitschreitendem Unheil" spricht, "wenn wir den blinden Zufall, die Bestimmung durch die Geburt als sitzliches Gesetz anerkennen" (48). Er lehnt Rassismus ab, ungleiche Behandlung von Menschen. Girard erkennt den Vertreter richtiger Ideen, "wirft einen flammenden Blick auf ihn." Die Wahl des europäischen Vertreters Girards ist bei Genée ausdrücklich ideologisch-moralisch begründet: Morton hat die richtigen Anschauungen, ist Vertreter einer allgemeinen Menschlichkeit vertretenden Philosophie. Wie Girard im Text hat Genée durch ihn Morton ausdrücklich zum Träger progressiv menschenfreundlicher, in Amerika besonders lebendiger Gesinnungen gemacht. Während London und der englische Bankier Sealsfields bei ihm verschwinden und damit die übernationalen Bündnisse, bekommt Philadelphia und Amerika einen höheren Stellenwert. Genée dürfte darin preußische Vorstellungen seiner Epoche spiegeln, wie Sealsfield sie vorwegnimmt in Gestalt des Barons Schochstein als *Deutsch-amerikanische Wahlverwandtschaften* (1840).<sup>26</sup>

Über Hintergründe des Sezessionskrieges will Genée aufklären, zeigt Girard und Morton als Vertreter der richtigen Sache. Die Zeitzusammenhänge werden dadurch zerstört. Der wirkliche Girard konnte auf die Kansas-Nebraska-Bill natürlich nicht reagieren. Sie öffnete die nach dem Breitengrad festgelegten Grenzen zwischen Sklavenhaltung verbietenden und erlaubenden Staaten anlässlich der Gründung des Territoriums Nebraska zugunsten größerer Freiheit für beide Seiten. Genée lässt die Zukunftschancen des Gesetzes hintergründig erörtern. Die Sache war ihm noch wichtig. Er schätzt die Verhältnisse angemessen ein, was für den 1878 rückwärtsgewandten Propheten leicht gewesen wäre. Die Stellungnahme gibt aber den neuen Vereinigten Staaten (Lincolns) nachdrücklich Recht, und sein Charakterbild gilt keiner historischen Persönlichkeit aus alter Zeit, sondern einem Nordamerikaner der Gegenwart. Wo er den von Sealsfield überlieferten Anekdoten folgt, kann man heute Girards Umgang mit anderen Menschen zwar arrogant und selbstherrlich finden, doch betont Genée stärker als Sealsfield, dass das Wohl der Betroffenen dem Arbeitgeber

Girard nie gleichgültig ist. Der Schluss zeigt eindringlich, dass der Buchhalter und seine Braut vor der Hochzeit ein erhebliches Geldgeschenk erhalten, obwohl Girard Gehaltserhöhung aus diesem Anlass ablehnte und dem Buchhalter wegen der Forderung mit Entlassung drohte. Arbeit wird nicht nach sozialen Kriterien bezahlt, versichern Sealsfield und Genée gegen europäische und letzterer gewiss auch gegen Tendenzen im Bismarckreich. Bestimmte liberale, hier "amerikanisch" genannte Spielregeln setzt Girard in Handeln um: Man soll lernen, sich auf einen Punkt zu konzentrieren, Nebenzwecke nicht ins Auge fassen, soll "auf den eigenen Füßen stehen," was bei Sealsfield noch ein wenig fremdartiger "in den eigenen Schuhen stehen" hieß. Genée übersetzt Sealsfield in seine eigene, am amerikanisierenden Vormärzautor gemessen, bürgerlich-realistische Sprache.<sup>27</sup> Auf das kultivierte und fröhliche gemeinsame Essen eines engeren Kreises folgt die überstürzte und gefährliche Abreise Mortons.

Genée ist Sealsfield nach London nicht gefolgt, hat wichtiger gefunden, den neuen Menschentypus zu zeigen, der sich aus den Europäern in Amerika gebildet hatte, wofür Sealsfields Stephy Girard ihm passend schien. Aus beiden Teilen des Romans *Morton* übernahm er Passagen, sein "Charakterbild" endet jedoch mit dem ersten Teil des Romans. Weggelassen ist die in Amerika 1838 unter dem Präsidenten Jackson noch einmal lebhaftige Debatte über Geld- und Grundbesitz, bei der Jackson zugunsten weiterer Besiedlung des Westens für Grundbesitz plädiert hatte, worin Sealsfield im ersten Teil seines Romans sein Gefolgsmann blieb. Jeffrey Sammons hat diese Parteinahme Sealsfields in seinem Buch über deutsche Amerikadarstellungen für den wesentlichen Mangel der Zukunftsfähigkeit des Autors Sealsfield erklärt, dessen Mängel bei dem begabten Schriftsteller sich aus seinem oberflächlich populistischen Jacksonismus herleiteten.<sup>28</sup> Der realistische Genée, der in frühen Jahren Redakteur in Danzig war, vermeidet jeden Gedanken an den Wert aristokratischen Grundbesitzes, eliminiert damit aus seinem amerikanischen Charakterbild jede als positive Aussage verstehbare Andeutung zu "Junkertum." Bei Genée darf und soll Stephy Girard eine eindeutige und als positiv verstandene bürgerliche Weltkonzeption vortragen, was bei Sealsfield im zweiten Teil, durch den Londoner Bankier, weniger idealistisch und vor allem im Blick auf eine gewisse Dialektik geschieht. Genées Girard sagt:

"Was ich will, ist nichts Geringes; ich habe mehr im Sinn, als blos Million auf Million zu häufen: ich will die oberste Hoheit und das Recht der schaffenden Arbeit, will die Herrschaft des erworbenen Besitzes auf dieser Erde befestigen,..." (55)

Machtkampf mit Geburtsaristokratie ist zwar definiert, Morton beeindruckt. Es handelt sich aber ganz und gar nicht um die Art neuer Leistungen. Morton lässt sich also von den "riesigen Wogen seines [d.h. Girards] Geistes treiben" (57) und erfährt also:

"Sie sollen mein Mitarbeiter werden an der großen Umgestaltung der gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse dieser Erde. Eine Weltmacht wie das Geld ist nicht allein für die eigensüchtigen Zwecke kleiner Krämerseelen da."

Es vermag mehr zu reformieren "als alle philosophischen Systeme" oder "alle

Heere von Eroberern." Weltteile werden verbunden; denn "Nichts Großes kann mehr geschehen, was in den Grenzen einer Nationalität verbleibt" (59).

Im Roman liegt ein innerer Konflikt vor und sein Titelbegriff ist mehrdeutig. Das liegt hinter Genée. Neues bietet ihm der Held Stephy Girard, der "den überall hin eingreifenden und segensreichen(!) Einfluss unserer zwei großen Lebensfaktoren, des Geldes und des Handels" zeige, wie der Theaterkritiker Theodor Fontane in seinem Stück finden wird (vgl. Anm. 33, S.164).

Der Romancier Sealsfield bleibt hinter der Entwicklung nach 1848 zurück und wird im Nachmärz nicht mehr publiziert. Genée entfernt seinen altertümlichen Konflikt bei Morton zwischen Option für Girard oder für den Gutsbesitzer Isling, den Genéeich vermute: als eine deutlich vorgewiesene Veränderung der idealen Biedermeierfigur Sealsfields—anders, nämlich Forster, nennt.<sup>29</sup> Der Unterschied zu Sealsfield ist an diesem Punkt äußerlich markiert. Genée lässt Morton von Forster ohne Zögern und Vorbehalt an Girard empfohlen werden. Nur der Bankier kann dem bankrotten Beinahe-Selbstmörder eine neue Existenz schaffen, während bei Sealsfield Morton am Ende des ersten Bandes pathetisch über seine Entscheidung reflektiert. Genée hat sich auf das Bankier-Lebensbild konzentriert, den amerikanischen Bankier in seiner Psychologie verständlich zu machen versucht und seine Arbeit nachdrücklich als im allgemeinen Interesse erklärt.

Wenn es bei Mortons Einholung auf das gestoppte Dampfschiff heißt "Er ist gerettet," ist das eine realistische Zurückweisung religiöser Symbolik, die vielleicht nur zufällig an *Faust I* anklingt, jedenfalls Sealsfields späromantisch-biedermeierliche Dialektik ausdrücklich und endgültig zurückweist: Morton hat richtig gehandelt, und Girard ist zuverlässig in bezug auf seine Absichten und Leistungen. Dem amerikanischen Bankier gebührt wie dem Fortschritt Vertrauen.

Theodor Fontane (1819-98), der seit 1870 in Berlin als Theaterkritiker eine feste Anstellung bei der Vossischen Zeitung hatte, hat in seiner Kritik der Aufführung von Genées Stück am Berliner Schauspielhaus dessen Tendenz, den amerikanischen Bankier zu loben, massiv verstärkt und sie noch unwidersprechlicher gemacht. Stück und Gehalt finden seine Billigung.<sup>30</sup> Man kann das als bewusste Präsentation eines positiven Amerikabildes nehmen, das sich gegen die damals an vielen Punkten bemerkbare literarische Kritik der Realisten stellt.<sup>31</sup> Die Auswanderung erreichte gegen solche literarische Kritik Rekordhöhen, der politische Kontakt zwischen Preußen und den Vereinigten Staaten war erfreulich, stellte einen glücklichen Augenblick in den politisch-ökonomischen Beziehungen dar. Fontane war bei dem für den Preußen scheinbar abgelegenen Thema bedeutender "Zeuge seines Jahrhunderts".<sup>32</sup>

Die transozeanische neue Welt konnte man in Europa 1870 nicht übersehen, wofür Fontane ein bemerkenswertes Beispiel gegeben hat mit einem Gespräch mit einem amerikanischen Korrespondenten auf dem Straßburger Münster nach dem deutsch-französischen Krieg.<sup>33</sup> 1874 hatte er Ernst Wicherts *Die Realisten* besprochen (7.3.1874; Anm. 33, Bd. 1 [1870-74], 174-178). Der geheime Justizrat und hochrangige Richter in Berlin, Verfasser *Litauischer Geschichten* und preußischer Geschichtsromane (1831-1902, mit Namen ohne "ie" und nicht zu verwechseln mit dem ostpreußischen Schriftsteller der Weltkriegszeiten), kann eigentlich nicht ohne Kontakt mit der Stimmung in Berlins leitenden Kreisen geschrieben haben. Er hatte einen inzwischen amerikanischen Onkel heimkehren lassen, der einst als Idealist ausgezogen war. Da er nach achtundzwanzig Jahren zurückkehrt,

ist Zusammenhang mit Vormärz und Märzunruhen klar. Der Neuamerikaner stellt in Deutschland nun fest, "daß dasselbe Land, das mittlerweile die Ideale zurückliegender Jahrzehnte verwirklichte, seiner eigensten Natur untreu werdend, in Anbetung des goldenen Kalbs verfallen ist." Fontane ist mit dem Vorgetragenen nicht einverstanden und kommentiert, der amerikanische Arzt sei bei Wichert "nicht rite promotus und die Kranken nicht gefährlich erkrankt": "Der Gedanke war gut, die Ausführung blieb dahinter zurück" (Anm. 33, 1:178). Das Problem des "amerikanischen Idealismus" erörtert er nicht, weil der Autor Wichert ein konfuses Stück geliefert habe, dessen "Onkel aus Amerika" völlig aus der Rolle falle, Lustspielfigur sei. Ob preußischer Realismus zu loben und amerikanischer Idealismus eine verfehlte Vorstellung sei, blieb auf sich beruhen. Die Hauptfigur sei unkünstlerisch und unangemessen. Sie kann nicht zur Diskussion stehen, wie sie in Wicherts Stück vorkommt, behauptet Fontane. Doch hat Wichert auf dem Berliner Theater über Idealismus echter Amerikaner nachgedacht im Gegensatz zu den vielen Kritikern, die damals in Amerika nur materialistische Gesinnung sahen. Es kann kaum ein bloß persönlicher Einfall des Autors gewesen sein. Doch ergibt sich aus Fontanes Kritik wie aus ihrem Zusammenspiel anlässlich des nächsten Bildes aus Amerika die Absicht, die Vereinigten Staaten realistisch und positiv zu sehen. Genée und sein Stück nimmt Fontane ernst und folgt ihm uneingeschränkt in seiner Tendenz. Für ihn steht fest, dass Girard eine belehrende Vorbildfigur ist. Bei ihm sieht er "über unsere kleinen Akten- und Routine-Verhältnisse weit hinausgehende Ideenfülle" und lehrt, "alle Fragen, auch die größten, sind eben mehr oder weniger zu Geldfragen geworden." Das brachte "Segen": "... die Niederhaltung der bloß dynastischen und der nicht wirklichen, sondern nur karikatur-nationalen Interessen"; "fast eine Unmöglichkeit ist da, um Flachsensingens willen kleine oder gar große Kriege zu führen."<sup>34</sup> "Über die Mauern der engen Stadt fort geht der Blick in die Welt" (165). Girard wird als "selbstsichtslos und im Dienste großer Ideen" gefeiert:

Verbindung der Völker, Austausch ihrer geistigen und materiellen Vorzüge, vor allem Herausbildung eines schönen Menschentums zur Sitte, Freiheit und Erkenntnis, dafür lebt er, dafür hat er erworben, dafür rechnet und regiert er. (164)

Fontane übertrifft Genée in der Verherrlichung des Typus Girard. Sealsfields Probleme sind vergessen. Das Geld könnte wirklichkeitsnäher als Ideologien Frieden stiften, meint der bürgerliche Realist. Er könnte auch an den in seiner Familie, besonders bei seiner Frau Emilie, bestens bekannten Bankier Bismarcks, an den Baron Bleichröder denken. Doch versteht er seine Theaterkritik als Erörterung zum Thema Amerika. Frankreich, sagt er wenn man seine Darlegungen zum zweiten Stück des Abends (nach dem Franzosen Edmond About) hinzunimmt, macht aus alt neu, gut und kultiviert, das muss man in Berlin erst einmal richtig erfahren.<sup>35</sup> Amerika aber, das ist etwas ganz anderes. Hier geht es um Neues. Bei Genée erscheine "ein Mann, der von kleinbürgerlichem Millionenbewusstsein und patrizisch-reichsstädtischen Renommistereien gleich weit entfernt, die dominierende Macht unseres modernen Lebens erkannt hat und gewillt ist, sie selbstsichtslos und im Dienste großer Ideen zu verwenden." "Verwandtem begegnen wir oft, und der reiche Kaufherr und Kapitalist ist fast zu einer stehenden Bühnenfigur geworden;

aber entweder pflegt er sich als Pariser Roué oder als deutscher Philister zu geben, wenn er es nicht vorzieht in romantisch-mittelalterlicher Verklärung aufzutreten."

Fontane will Kritik an dem mangelnden Handlungsgehalt der Skizze gehört haben und weist sie zurück, da sie das Genre des Bildes nicht berücksichtigt, "Charakterbild" sei eine Gattung des Theaters, die mit ihrem eigenen Maß gemessen werden müsse, nur richtig gezeichnet und interessant zu sein habe, wie es hier der Fall sei: "Jedes Kunstwerk kann verlangen, mit seinem Maß gemessen zu werden: Und soweit wird niemand gehen, die Gattung 'Charakterbild' an und für sich von den Brettern ausschließen zu wollen."

Genée folgte in der Buchausgabe seiner *Gesammelten Komödien* 1879 offenbar Fontane, den er als wichtigen Kritiker in seinen Vorwort-Text einband.<sup>36</sup> Der hebt auch bei anderer Gelegenheit die Figur der großen Geldmänner und Unternehmer hervor, selbst da, wo Absage an die "Bourgeoisie" ausdrücklich sein Thema ist. Der Tochter schreibt der Romancier 1884: "Ich kann den Bourgeoisien nicht ertragen [...], angesichts des wohlhabend gewordenen Speckhökertums . . . dreht sich mir jetzt das Herz um." Dem wird entgegengesetzt:

"Wirklicher Reichthum imponiert mir oder erfreut mich wenigstens, seine Erscheinungsformen sind mir in hohem Maße sympathisch und ich lebe gern inmitten von Menschen die 5000 Grubenarbeiter beschäftigen, Fabrikstädte gründen und Expeditionen aussenden zur Colonisirung von Mittel-Afrika. Große Schiffsreder, die Flotten bemannen, Tunnel- und Kanalbauer, die Welttheile verbinden, Zeitungsfürsten und Eisenbahnkönige sind meiner Huldigungen sicher, ich will nichts von ihnen, aber sie schaffen und wirken zu sehen, thut mir wohl, alles Große hat von Jugend auf einen Zauber für mich gehabt, ich unterwerfe mich neidlos."<sup>37</sup>

Tochter Martha, an die er schreibt, stand vor einer Europareise mit einer Amerikanerin. Was im persönlichen Brief einfach klingt, ist in der künstlerischen Gestaltung, von der auch die Theaterkritik bestimmt ist, vielfältiger, schon weil eine bunte Leserschaft bedient werden muss. So findet man in der Genée-Kritik neben der massiven Bestätigung der Sicht Genées die Erörterung einer Antithese; denn mancher Leser oder Zuschauer wird ihm nicht folgen, ahnt der Kritiker. Handelt es sich bei den kritischen Kritikern des Kritikers nur um einen altmodischen, altpreußischen Menschentypus? Fontane ist vorsichtig und—mit einer seiner Haupteigenschaften—tolerant:

"Die Stellung, die der einzelne zu diesen Fragen [über die Rolle der Geldaristokratie] einnimmt, wird freilich auch seine Stellung zu dem Charakterbild' beeinflussen, das uns R. Genée gezeichnet hat. Wer noch ausschließlich auf Botschafter und Gesandte hält, und, gut-bureaukratisch gedrillt, überhaupt nur an alles auf Stempelbogen Geschriebene oder mit dem Dienstsiegel Ausgerüstete seine Hoffnung setzt, der wird in diesem philadelphischen Großhändler einen sonderbaren und etwas komischen alten Mann erblicken, der—mutmaßlich verstimmt über den Nicht-Empfang eines General-Konsulats—sich in großsprecherischer Weise auf Menschheits-Beglückungs-Spekulationen geworfen hat; ..." (165)

Die Leser werden zum Nachdenken veranlasst, ohne bevormundet zu werden, und

dürfen ihre "kleinbürgerlichen" Vorstellungen bedenken. Der Autor nahm zunächst die Gelegenheit wahr, sich eindeutig zu erklären, tritt—nachdem er seine Pflicht in dieser Richtung erfüllt hat—einen halben Rückzug an und spricht von einem möglichen anderen Verständnis, das so recht den Amerikaner Girard gar nicht treffen kann, führt dann auch den eigenen Satz wieder gegenläufig und im Sinn seines Ansatzes zu Ende:

...; wer aber umgekehrt solchen Stephy Girards<sup>38</sup> leibhaftig begegnet und von ihrer über unsere kleinen Akten- und Routine-Verhältnisse weit hinausgehenden Ideenfülle frappiert worden ist, der wird auch einem "Charakterbild" wie diesem, eben weil er an dasselbe glaubt, seine Sympathien entgegnen. (165)

Fontane ist auch als Journalist eine amüsante, aber keine einfache Lektüre. Der Theaterkritiker bleibt ein Schriftsteller ersten Ranges. Fragen kann man, ob man sogar noch eine Verbeugung vor den Sealsfield-Kennern findet, wenn man Sealsfield genau kennt. Ich habe jahrelang nach einem Indiz für Sealsfield-Lektüre Fontanes gesucht, aber nichts gefunden. Dass Sealsfield inzwischen nicht mehr zu gebrauchen war, dürfte Fontane—ob er ihn gelesen oder nicht gelesen haben sollte—klar gewesen sein. Mit einer von Sealsfields dialektischen Lieblingswendungen ("und doch ... wieder") weist er in der Genée-Besprechung, ohne von deren Vorlage zu sprechen, auf diese gleichsam hin als das, was gespielt wurde: "Vieles darin ist nur angedeutet und auch das kaum. Ich vermute hier unbarmherzige *und doch auch wieder* gerechtfertigte Schnitte der Theaterschere" (kursiv nicht im Text). Schnitte machte offensichtlich aber Genée, mit seinem kurzen Stück, kaum die Theaterregie. Fontane, bevor seine politisch-persönlichen Betrachtungen irgendjemanden herausfordern können, geht zur Kritik des im Endeffekt schließlich harmlosen Wasserbades über, das Morton bei der Abreise nehmen könnte. Morton wird auf einen neuen Glauben getauft. Fontane erklärt dazu, dass in Amerika alles ganz anders ist, als man in Europa, in Berlin, denke: "Königliche Schauspielhäuser sind eben keine Horste für das, was über den Atlantik fliegt" (165).

Es gibt weiter Unterschiede zwischen Preußen und Amerika, auch wenn man in Preußen Amerikaner gut versteht, wie Genée und Fontane zeigen wollen. So endet Fontanes Besprechung des neuen Stücks nach den zitierten Erörterungen auch mit Blick auf den Sezessionskrieg und die Härte, mit der er geführt wurde, wobei Kritik, wenn überhaupt, ganz vorsichtig geübt wird und weit hergeholt ist: An exakter Darstellung von Dialekten hapert es auf dem Berliner Theater, meint Fontane. Man sieht das an den beiden Iren im Stück. Wie alle sprachlichen Abweichungen von der Hochsprache werde auch ihr Idiom zu einer Art Sächsisch. Herr Klein, Darsteller des Girard, habe als eine Ausnahme in der für Fremdes wenig aufgeschlossenen Truppe zu gelten. Klein habe den Amerikaner vorzüglich charakterisiert, er verstehe die Figuren, die er spiele:

Das hat der eine, der andere hat es nicht. So tritt beispielsweise in diesem Stück ein "Plantagenbesitzer aus Kansas" auf. Ich glaube nicht, daß ein Plantagenbesitzer je so ausgesehen hat. Entgegengesetzten Falles könnte der Sezessionskrieg nicht so lange gedauert haben. (166)

Im Text ist der in Kansas investierende "südliche" Plantagenbesitzer ambivalenter angelegt, als er nach Fontane auf der Bühne dargestellt wurde.

Süden und Norden sind bei ihm ein wenig verwirrend vorgewiesen. Ob Fontane diskret auf ein Problem verweisen will, das im Gegensatz zu Sealsfield bei Genée im Bild des Südens auftritt, bleibt unbeantwortbar. Jedenfalls wird an dessen etwas konfuse zeitliche und räumliche Verhältnisse (für Kenner) erinnert.

Einer Meinung sind Stückschreiber und Rezensent in der Hauptsache, der Lokalisierung und Beurteilung der Titelfigur. Es ist ein "Großhändler," der in umfangreichem Maße Geld verleiht, der den Lauf der Welt mitbestimmen kann. Morton soll einmal sein Werk fortsetzen. Dass der dem ihm drohenden Tod im Meer entgeht, ist Zustimmung der Fortuna, die zu so weitgehenden Projekten ihr Wörtchen sagen kann. Der Biedermeier-Girard glaubt das jedenfalls. Fontane ist skeptischer, hält die ganze Partie für zu umfangreich. Genées Szene 13 hat freilich bloß 34 Zeilen, so dass das Gefühl von einer zu erheblichen Ausdehnung durch die Darstellung erzeugt worden sein muss. Der Bühnenautor hatte Sealsfield, der fast fünf Seiten verwendet, bereits sehr stark gekürzt. Er hat auch den Schluss des Bildes positiver gehalten, indem er Girards humane Freundlichkeit bei rauher Schale und radikalem Herr-im-Haus-Standpunkt das allerletzte Wort gibt und den Triumph über die Gefahr als selbstverständlich voraussetzt. Der Theaterautor zeigte, dass Girard sehr wohl Anteil an der Sache, am Leben seines Emissärs nimmt, dass er aber weder seine Angst noch seine Erleichterung für andere erkennbar werden lässt, sich für den eigenen Anteil am Ganzen auf eine Art Fatum beruft. Uneingeschränkt loben Kritiker und Theaterautor die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika. Wie man sie präsentieren und repräsentieren solle, darüber haben sie leicht verschiedene Vorstellungen.

Am 2. Mai 1889 gibt eine Aufführung des Lessing-Theaters mit dem inzwischen dorthin gewechselten Hauptdarsteller Klein aus der Schauspielhausaufführung Fontane Gelegenheit, sein Urteil zu wiederholen. Er kommentiert: "Den Stephy Girard hat er (Klein, F.S.) sich aus jenen Tagen (der Erstaufführung, F.S.) nicht nur gerettet, sondern, wenn ich recht berichtet bin, inzwischen sogar zu einer seiner Lieblingsrollen erhoben. Und mit Recht. Denn er gibt diesen alten, ebenso tyrannischen wie gütigen Kaufherrn und Philadelphia-Millionär, der sich mit großen Herrschafts- und noch größeren Beglückungsplänen trägt, in voller künstlerischer Meisterschaft."<sup>39</sup>

Noch einmal erhält Genée ein volles Lob: "Das Genéesche Stück, das sich mit Recht 'Charakterbild' nennt, ist ganz auf die Rolle des Stephy Girard hin geschrieben, und der Dichter [!] darf sich in der Tat beglückwünschen, für seine gut gezeichnete Gestalt einen so glänzenden Darsteller gefunden zu haben." Fontane erwähnt ein Washington-Porträt auf der Bühne, das unzulänglich sei, und eine Afrika-Karte, in der in Deutschland interessierende Kolonialgebiete ein wenig zu plakativ herausgehoben seien. Wenn man so will, kann man hier das Aufkommen von Problemen ahnen, die ironisch und indirekt angesprochen werden; denn die Karte veranschaulicht, sagt Fontane, "mehr als irgendwas den kolonialisatorischen Sinn Stephy Girards und seine den Weltereignissen vorausseilende, ganze bis dahin unentdeckte Landschaften aufschließende Pionierkraft" (687).

In seinem ausführlichen Romanwort zu Amerika mit dem amerikanisch knappen Titel *Quitt* hat Fontane 1891 dann alltäglich-bescheidenere Verhältnisse dargestellt, ausdrücklich die demokratischen Qualitäten gegenüber seinem preußischen Heimatland hervorgehoben.<sup>40</sup> Er verurteilt die gegen die soziale Ordnung gewalttätig revoltierenden Mörder in einem preußischen Aufsteiger und einem französischen Kommunarden. Diese Mörder werden keine "Amerikaner," sind nachdrücklich von

den Amerikanern abgesetzt. Beide werden nicht zu wirklichen Bürgern einer Neuen Welt. Diese sind—im Roman auf einer bescheideneren Ebene als Girard—ökonomisch erfolgreich, produzieren und verdienen. Fontane nimmt als eine Art Fortsetzung der Quäker pazifistische Mennoniten (Taufgesinnte, Baptisten...).<sup>41</sup> Er kombiniert bei ihnen Vermögensfortschritt mit religiöser Haltung, was schon Alexis de Tocqueville für die neue Demokratie als bezeichnend galt,<sup>42</sup> einzufangen versucht auch Fontane in *Quitt* so etwas wie Tocqueville: den "Geist" der amerikanischen Demokratie.

Die Kritik des *Stephy Girard* war einer von Fontanes ersten Anläufen, Amerika zu verstehen, nachdem er das Problem der Neuen Welt entdeckt hatte. Der Roman *Quitt* war ein spätes Ergebnis. Wie viele seiner Themen hat Fontane auch das Thema "Amerika" lange erwogen. Frankreich, in der Theaterkritik scheinbar zufälliges Parallelthema von Genées *Stephy Girard*, ist ebenfalls ein solches Thema gewesen.<sup>43</sup> Es ist vor dem amerikanischen Hintergrund von *Quitt* ebenfalls noch einmal präsentiert, wobei sich das "alte" Frankreich für Amerikaner als gefälliger darstellt als Preußen.<sup>44</sup>

In den dreizehn Jahren, die zwischen Fontanes erstem und dem Abschluss seines zehnten großen Erzählwerks *Quitt* lagen, ist eine von vornherein vorhandene Meinung deutlicher herausgearbeitet. Die besprochene Kritik von 1878 zeigt eine Frühstufe. Schon in ihr ist Amerika eine Art Ziel und Ausgangspunkt für modernes Leben. In der *Büste*, als zweites und französisches Stück, wird französische *Légerté* neben *Stephy Girard* von Fontane bei Walzel/Zell als "entzückend" beurteilt. Er möchte sie nicht mit Oberflächlichkeit verwechselt wissen, denn sie beruht in ihren tieferen Schichten auf dem Wissen um notwendige Sozialverträglichkeit von Handeln und Auftreten, wirkt darum angenehmer, bleibt erfolgreicher als—und das ist der Vergleichspunkt—manches in der heimischen preußischen Welt. Klassische Gesellschaftslehre ist französisch. Man weiß in Frankreich im Unterschied zu der preußischen Wirklichkeit, so zeigt dann der Roman *Quitt*, und man weiß selbst als Mörder, was man den Mitmenschen, der Gesellschaft zumuten darf, korrigiert auch die Wahrheit notfalls im Blick auf ihre Sozialverträglichkeit.

Der Realist Fontane hatte eine Weile gebraucht, bis er die weltweiten Zusammenhänge formulieren konnte, die den Hintergrund seiner Romane bilden. Die Theaterkritik war Schule und Experimentierfeld des Romanciers. Wenn er schließlich erst in seinem späten *Stechlin* (1894) die neue Telegraphenwelt ganz integriert, so hat er "Globalisierung— doch schon bei Girard erkannt. Genée machte sie sichtbar, wenn er neben die große Karte der Vereinigten Staaten in dessen Arbeitsraum einen überdimensionierten Globus setzt. Nüchterner als in der Poesie des preußischen Stechliner Sees bei Fontane, der unterirdisch mit der ganzen Welt verbunden sein soll, ist die Neue Welt als globale Welt bei Genée im Theater-Bild sichtbar.

Fontane, so zeigt seine Theaterkritik, wandte sich in ihr in einer Gegenbewegung langsam über globale Zusammenhänge zur Beschreibung seiner näheren Umwelt im Roman, nahm das als Fremdes und Fernes Erkannte ins Heimische auf als Bereicherung. Für die Theaterkritik gaben die Stücke und der Rang der Verfasser und Aufführungen Themen und Gegenstände vor, die der Kritik zu Grunde zu legen waren, was die Kunst des Kritikers förderte. Fontane brachte aus Italien, als er es 1874 und 1875 besuchte, symbolischen Sinn mit. Seine Auseinandersetzung mit Amerika hatte ihm mehr zu geben, war vielfältiger, dauerte viel länger. Die Besprechung des *Stephy Girard* von Genée steht mit der von Walzels *Büste* unmittelbar vor seinem ersten Roman. In gewisser Weise hatte der preußische Autor einen Durchgang durch

die äußere Welt beendet, als er seine Romane begann. Wie wichtig Fontane Amerika dabei war, ist ein besonders auffälliges Phänomen, das miterklären kann, warum er ein lebendiger Klassiker geblieben ist. Kenntnis der Welt war dem Preußen Fontane, gerade als er sich ganz der Beschreibung der heimischen Welt überließ, ein wichtiges Erziehungsziel, nicht nur für Berliner Theaterbesucher. Zwischen 1835 und 1891 stellt sich der literarische Weg Fontanes zum bürgerlichen Realismus als eine erhebliche Bereicherung an Einsicht und Kultur, an Teilnahme an der Weltentwicklung dar, wofür die Kritik an Genées *Girard* ein besonders schönes Beispiel ist.

Herne, Germany

### Summary

In October 1878 the Royal Theatre of Berlin performed a one-act play about Stephen Girard, an important banker and wholesaler of Philadelphia in the early nineteenth century. The author was Rudolf Genée. After Girard's death several biographies had been published and it was Charles Sealsfield who soon after the first biography had written a two-volume novel in which he described how John A. Morton who had lost his money, becomes Girard's agent establishing himself in the banking industry in London. The main theme for him is the development of the young man who in the situation of bankruptcy becomes a banker instead of a farmer on the Susquehanna. There are some parallels to Postl's/Sealsfield's life and there is a certain demonization of banking establishments in Sealsfield's story. Rudolf Genée painted a portrait of a worldwide businessman, which was produced a whole season in Berlin. Theodor Fontane, Germany's outstanding realistic novelist, reviewed the play with great consent as critic of the liberal *Vossische Zeitung*. By introducing Morton into his new mission Genée described Girard as an example of a tradesman filled with great ideas and a typical American, whom Fontane acknowledges as an important personality and as a representative of a new world and a new age. The author Genée and the reviewer Fontane indicate a certain rapprochement of Prussia to the United States in those years. They emphasize the portrait of a businessman whose contribution of a better world is due to his American way of thinking contrary to that of the slave-holding planters. Genée hints at the difference between the Northern and the Southern states – not quite in accordance with the historical facts, and so Fontane too, mentions the Civil War. He finds the portrait of a character an interesting literary form, in this case the representation of a new species of men, whose "American" qualities will ameliorate the world.

### Anmerkungen

<sup>1</sup> Prophezeiungen über den Weg der Vereinigten Staaten sind damals häufig. Nach Betrachtungen über das Geschick Europas, die u.a. Napoleon zitieren, lässt Sealsfield in *Ralph Doughby* (1835), am Mississippi in den "Nachtgedanken" des Kapitels 2 einen in vielschichtige Zusammenhänge versetzten Amerikaner über Unzulänglichkeit hinweg voraussagen: "Noch sechzig Jahre und dieses Reich steht vielleicht weltbeherrschend und als heilsamer Gegendruck [ . . . ] gegenüber dem großen nordischen Kolosse, . . ." (Charles Sealsfield/Karl Postl 1793-1864, *Sämtliche Werke*, 24 Bände (i.F.: SW), hg. von Karl

J. R. Arndt (Hildesheim/New York: Olms, 1972-91) (und Ergänzungsbände); hier: SW 12 (1976), 53f. Sealsfields Betrachtungen gehen Alexis de Tocqueville voran, den er allerdings dann früh zur Kenntnis nimmt und außerordentlich lobt (vgl. Schüppen, *Charles Sealsfield/Karl Postl* (Frankfurt, 1981), 250-54.) Zur Stellung Sealsfields zur Finanzwelt vgl. Jeffrey Sammons, *Ideology, Mimesis, Fantasy* (Chapel Hill/London, 1998).

<sup>2</sup> *Morton*, SW 10, zwei Teile in einem Band, hg. v. Guy Hollyday (1975). J. Sammons, wie Anm. 1, behandelt *Morton* nicht ausdrücklich.

<sup>3</sup> Eduard Castle hat seine Deutung des späteren Weges des Schriftstellers an den Geheimnisverrat geknüpft, den er mit diesem Werk begangen habe, was nicht plausibel ist (Castle, *Der große Unbekannte* [Wien, 1952], neu hg. v. G. Schnitzler, SW 25, Supplementsreihe, Bd.1 (1993). Vgl. dazu J. Sammons in Schüppen, Hrsg., *Neue Sealsfield-Studien, Amerika und Europa in der Biedermeierzeit* (Stuttgart, 1995), 31-52). Fehler der Verschwörungstheorien dürfte grundsätzlich sein, dass man nicht askzeptiert, dass in Demokratien planvollem Handeln von Gruppen mit ebensolchem planvollen Handeln anderer entgegnet wird..

<sup>4</sup> Die Entdeckung stammt von Richard M. Meyer, *Deutsche Arbeit* 6 (1906/07): 510-12. Zu weiteren Ergebnissen vgl. *C.S./K.P.* (Frankfurt, 1981), 208-14. Balzac sah in seiner Studie eine "Szene aus dem Privatleben." Sealsfield zeigte, dass auch ein mächtiger Londoner Bankier voll Bewunderung nach New York blickte, u.a. ein Kontrastbild zum konservativen Aristokraten Wellington zu zeichnen.

<sup>5</sup> Zu beachten ist die kaum bedachte Stilebene. Mark Twain hat gelegentlich Sealsfield einen "Humoristen" genannt (vgl. *Mitteilungen der Charles-Sealsfield-Gesellschaft* (i.F. CSG) 10: 15), Friedrich Sengle deutet bei Sealsfield Nähe zum Wiener Volkstheater an (*Biedermeierzeit*, 3:790: "Der Landsmann Nestroys"). J. Sammons (Anm.1) urteilt vorsichtig, dass man, wenn nicht "narrative irony," so doch "a certain distance from the thematic preoccupations," finde, später nennt er Sealsfield in bisher kaum erkanntem Maße "a comic writer" "through long stretches of his work" (S.77 u. 87).

<sup>6</sup> Sealsfield/Postl ist als Korrespondent amerikanischer Zeitungen nach Europa zurückgekehrt (vgl. SW 24:95-333). Er überhöht die eigene Biographie.

<sup>7</sup> 1847 schreibt er an seinen Verleger: ". . . - denn wir sind liberal seit 25 Jahren - fest und unerschütterlich gewesen—und wollen es bleiben" (Castle, *Briefe* (Wien, 1955), 219) 1854 wiederholt er "30 Jahre im Weinberge des Volkes gearbeitet zu haben" und "consequent bleiben" zu wollen. (a.a.O., 237f.) und erklärt sich im Jahr vor seinem Tod 1863 nachdrücklich im Zusammenhang seiner Kontakte zur Familie Napoleons zu einem "Republikaner," "der die Grundsätze des Republikanismus als sein Hauptbanner sein Leben hindurch verfochten" (a.a.O., 335).

<sup>8</sup> Der Solothurner Grabstein hält unter dem Pseudonym fest: "Bürger von Nordamerika." Das Testament begünstigt die Erben, die in die Vereinigten Staaten auszuwandern bereit sind (Castle, *Briefe*, wie Anm.6, S. 347ff.)

<sup>9</sup> In der "Zuschrift des Herausgebers an den Verleger der ersten Auflage" findet sich neben der Hervorhebung des historischen Romans von Walter Scott, der historische Persönlichkeiten zu behandeln gewagt habe, ein nachdrückliches Lob Goethes: "ein allseitig gebildeter [ . . . ] gleichsam Richtung gebender Geist" (SW 10:9). *Wilhelm Meister* wird von verschiedenen Seiten angesehen (vgl. Schüppen, "Ein Haupterbe des goetheschen Nachlasses," CSG (1999): 5-16).

<sup>10</sup> L.-P. Linke, *Reise, Abenteuer und Geheimnis: Zu den Romanen Charles Sealsfields* (Bielefeld, 1999), 159-63. Schwanken im Text zwischen den Begriffen "(Groß)Neffe" und "Enkel," "Großonkel" und "Großvater" bei der Zuordnung könnte allgemein "politische" Zusammenhänge betonen wollen.

<sup>11</sup> Das Geldthema ist zeittypisch. Gutzkow behandelt in einem Essay die Familie Rothschild, aber auch Gotthelf "Geld und Geist" wie immer wieder Balzac. Bei S. ist die Macht des Geldes u.a. an einem englischen Geschäftsmann im *Virey* für Mexiko dargestellt. Wynfrid Kriegleder zieht das mit dem Lomond des *Morton* zusammen: "In 'Morton' glaubt Sealsfield diese geheimnisvolle Macht identifizieren zu können. Es ist das englische Großkapital" (Pichl/Clifford, Hg., *The Other Vienna* (Wien, 2002), 221). Auch im *Virey* handelt es sich aber nicht um eine böse Macht, sondern eindeutig um die Ermöglichung des Happy End. durch den englischen Geschäftsmann gegen die Absichten des spanischen Vizekönigs. Der junge Held wird vor grausamer Hinrichtung durch die Geheimpolizei, die Unternehmungen des Kreolen Grafen werden gegen den Vizekönig aus Spanien gerettet. Sealsfields Tendenz ist nirgendwo zwiespältig, sondern eindeutig "ideologisch."

<sup>12</sup> Die Entlehnung erfolgt in *The Englishman's Magazine* für die Erzählung "The little grey landlord" ([Juni 1831], 268-80). Balzacs "Le danger de l'inconduite" ist mit Angabe der Quelle benutzt in der Fassung der Zeitschrift *La Mode* vom 6.3.1830, aus der eine in England spielende Erzählung gemacht wurde, die mit politischen Vorgängen der unmittelbaren Gegenwart kombiniert wird. Sealsfield ist in den

Jahren der Juli-Revolution als amerikanischer Journalist in Europa (vgl. SW 24 (1991):95-332; und SW 25, Supplementreihe, Castle, S.299ff.).

<sup>13</sup> Vgl. L.-P. Linke, wie Anm. 9. Er lenkt von der Epoche und ihrer "formalen Unbekümmertheit" (Sengle) ab zu einer "literarischen Interpretation der Auseinandersetzung von Individuum und Gesellschaft," in der man die "Unmöglichkeit einer Beantwortung thematisiere" (vgl. "Fazit," 205).

<sup>14</sup> "Ideologie" sieht Sammons (wie Anm.1) als Ausdruck der vorrealistischen Epoche, die er für und mit Sealsfield beschreibt. Zum "anticapitalist affect," der den Aufstieg zu einem der "most progressive German-language writers" verhindert habe, s. allerdings S.78.

<sup>15</sup> Gedruckt in *Gesammelte Komödien* (1), (Berlin, 1879), 31-62.

<sup>16</sup> Vgl. Th. Fontane, "Causerien über Theater," *Nymphenburger Werkausgabe*, 22/1, 395 (19.1.1875).

<sup>17</sup> Vgl. Schüppen in Hermand/Windfuhr, *Zur Literatur der Restaurationsepoche* (Stuttgart, 1970), 285-339. Zu den Nekrologen vgl. deren Sammlung in Castle, *Das Geheimnis des großen Unbekannten*, neu hg. v. W. Kriegleder, *Sämtl. Werke*, Bd. 26, Supplementreihe, Bd. 2 (1995). Genée nennt (im Vorwort) sein Stück eine "ältere Arbeit," was auf die Zeit des Sealsfield-Interesses um 1864 deuten könnte (s. u. im Text).

<sup>18</sup> In den siebziger Jahren gibt es eine Veränderung der Besitzerstruktur der Kohlengruben. Die teilweise ausländischen Besitzer—wie der bedeutende Düsseldorfer Industrielle Thomas W. Mulvany aus Irland oder manche belgische und französische Gesellschaften—müssen mangels Investitionsmitteln an Berliner Banken verkaufen, vornehmlich an den Baron Bleichröder. Ausdehnung und Förderung nehmen zu.

<sup>19</sup> Friedrich Sengle hat in Band 2 seiner *Biedermeierzeit* (1972) "literarische Genremalerei" in einem eigenen Kapitelzusammenhang als biedermeiertypisch behandelt (6. Kap., 743-803), sein Schüler Eberhard Seybold behandelte *Das Genrebild in der deutschen Literatur: Vom Sturm und Drang bis zum Realismus* (Stuttgart, 1967).

<sup>20</sup> Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis, Dargestellte Wirklichkeit in der abendländischen Literatur* (Bern, 1946).

<sup>21</sup> Genée wie Anm.13, S. 54, 10. Auftritt..

<sup>22</sup> Wilhelm Treue, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Neuzeit*, Bd.1, 3.Aufl. (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1973), 4.

<sup>23</sup> Stephen Simpson beschrieb ihn unmittelbar nach seinem Tod 1832 anekdotisch. Sealsfield benutzt Simpson für seinen Morton-Roman. Vgl. Eduard Castle, *Der große Unbekannte* (Wien, 1952), 287ff. Späteres ist bei Linke (Anm.9) aufgelistet.

<sup>24</sup> Rudolf Genée zeichnet sich durch Kenntnis amerikanischer Verhältnisse und Ahnung von der Bedeutung des großen amerikanischen Kriegs aus.

<sup>25</sup> Der Titel hat in der populären Literatur parallel: Ernst Hackländer, *Europäisches Sklavenleben*, 4 Bde. (1844).

<sup>26</sup> Sammons (Anm.1) spricht von "enlightened Prussian liberalism" bei dem jungen Baron Schochstein (83). Seine Behandlung des Werkes als "Attempt at a Social Novel" (79-89) verteilt in dieser ersten gründlichen Untersuchung Licht und Schatten gleichmäßig.

<sup>27</sup> Eine Untersuchung, die Sprache der "Biedermeierzeit" von der des "Realismus" nach 1848 scheidet, in Marie Luise Gansberg, *Der Prosaortschatz des deutschen Realismus unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des vorangehenden Sprachwandels 1835-1855* (Bonn, 1964).

<sup>28</sup> Jeffrey L. Sammons, Anm.1, bes. "What is an Austrian Jacksonian?" (23ff.) und zum "anticapitalist affect" (vgl. Anm.13).

<sup>29</sup> Es bedürfte gründlicher Kenntnis Genées, um Spekulationen über einen beabsichtigten Zusammenhang mit dem Aufklärungsschriftsteller dieses Namens anzustellen.

<sup>30</sup> Der ganze Fontane ist in dieser Kritik anwesend. W. Müller-Seidel hat ihn in einem erfolgreichen Buch unter dem Titel *Soziale Romankunst in Deutschland* behandelt (Stuttgart, 1975), "sozial" dabei nicht in politisch-parteilichem Sinn verstanden, sondern als Anteilnahme an Gesellschaft und am Menschlichen überhaupt. Karl Richter hat die Theaterkritiken im Nachwort der Hanser-Ausgabe "Gebilde von einem ungewöhnlichen Reiz und Rang genannt" (1969) und auf erzieherische Absicht nachdrücklich verwiesen. Beide Aspekte sind in der Genée-Kritik zu erkennen.

<sup>31</sup> Vgl. des Wieners Ferdinand Kürnberger *Der Amerika-Müde* (1855), mit seinem Bild des Poeten Lenau nicht das einzige Beispiel einer in den Folgejahren sich verstärkenden Nachmärz-Tendenz.

<sup>32</sup> Dieter Storck hat im Fontane-Handbuch (Stuttgart.: Kröner, 2000) im Anschluss an die Biographie ein ganzes Kapitel unter diesem Titel publiziert (103-91).

<sup>33</sup> "Aus den Tagen der Okkupation," 1871, Hanser-Ullstein-Ausg., Bd. 37 (1973/1980), 319-27, mit grundsätzlichen Betrachtungen. Vgl. Schüppen in *Schriftenreihe der Charles-Sealsfield-Gesellschaft* 5 (1993): 85-98.

<sup>34</sup> Fontane ist zitiert nach der leicht zugänglichen Hanser-Ausgabe. Theaterkritiken 1-4 nach "Fontane-Bibliothek" in den Ullstein-Taschenbüchern 4537. Hier: Bd. 2 (Bd. 30, 1875-78), 1979 (1969), 12.10.1878, S.163-69. Zitate mit bloßer Seitenzahl im Text.

<sup>35</sup> Fontane bespricht Genée zum 12.10.1878 zusammen mit der gleichzeitig aufgeführten Komödie *Die Büste* von F. Zell (= Camillo Walzel) nach der französischen Erzählung von Edmond About, die er zum Anlass für eine meisterhafte Darstellung französischer Kultur nimmt (166-69; Nymphenburger Werkausgabe 22,1:706-8). *Stephy Girard* bepricht er als erstes Stück des Abends( Nymphenburger, 703-6).

<sup>36</sup> Es blieb bei diesem einen Band (Berlin: J. Guttentag).

<sup>37</sup> Brief vom 16.4.1884 an Martha (Br. 3, Nr.288). Man muss den Eindruck haben, es gehe dem Autor hier nicht nur um Belehrung der Tochter—obwohl die, mit einer Amerikanerin in Rom reisend, auf die Unterschiede im Bürgertum gewiss diskret verwiesen werden soll—, sondern um recht bewusste Selbstdarstellung. Der Blick auf Bergarbeiter und Industriestädte lässt an Berliner Bankiers denken.

<sup>38</sup> Fontane benutzt den beigeetzten Vornamen hier, um seine persönliche Nähe zum Typus auch sprachlich anzudeuten.

<sup>39</sup> Werke, Nymphenburger, 22/2: 636f.

<sup>40</sup> Vgl. Schüppen, "Deutsche, die das Glück haben, Amerikaner zu sein" (Fontane-Zitat!), *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 22 (1987): 99-116. - Eine Darstellung dessen, was sich zu Amerika bei Fontane findet, habe ich in der *Schriftenreihe der Charles-Sealsfield-Gesellschaft* 5 (1993) "Paradigmawechsel im Werk Theodor Fontanes" mit dem Untertitel "Von Goethes Italien- und Sealsfields Amerika-Idee zum preußischen Alltag," zusammengestellt. *Quitt* habe ich nach der Untersuchung im *Yearbook* mit neuen Fakten dargestellt in "Fortschritt und Verbrechen im Roman des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Neohelicon* 29,2 (1997): 179-216.

<sup>41</sup> Das ist ein ausdrücklicher Widerspruch zu Ernst von Wildenbruch, dessen Stück *Der Mennonit* (1888) gegen den Pazifismus am Beispiel der napoleonischen Zeit Stellung nahm.

<sup>42</sup> Der von Tocqueville befragte "Mann von der Straße" lässt erkennen: Der Respekt vor der Religion ist in seinen Augen die beste Garantie für die Stabilität eines Staates und für die Sicherheit seiner Bürger. Zur politisch-ökonomischen Liberalität kommt eine selbstverständliche religiöse Bindung, die Zuordnungen zu diversen Gemeinden und Gruppen liberal möglich macht, das Prinzip "Religion" aber nie zur Diskussion stellt.

<sup>43</sup> Immerhin ist es in den "Tagen der Okkupation" (s.o., Text) mit dem Amerikathema ebenso verbunden, wie später in *Quitt*.

<sup>44</sup> Im Roman *Quitt* stellt sich heraus: Politisch im Sinn eines vagen Fortschritts hat der französische Kommunarde mit dem sprechenden Namen L'Hermite gehandelt, der in die gleiche Kolonie des Indianerterritoriums gelangt ist wie der Schlesier Lehnert Menz. Er ermordete den als Geisel festgehaltenen Erzbischof von Paris. Er bleibt in der Kolonie beliebt, während brave orthodoxe Preußen trotz ihrer Tugenden je länger je weniger von den jungen Leuten dort akzeptiert werden. Die Preußen Kaulbaars sind zu starr, zu ordnungsbessenen. Lehnert Menz hatte eine kalifornische Katastrophe hinter sich, aber auch danach bringt der mittlere Westen dem Förster-Mörder keine Erlösung. Sein Versuch, durch Heirat Amerikaner zu werden, endet mit seinem Tod. Er bekommt aus Amerika—auch nach Schlesien transferiert - einen freundlichen hochpoetischen religiösen Nachruf. Der französische Kommunarde L'Hermite bleibt angesehen, versucht freilich nie, über die ihm zugestandene reduzierte Existenzform als nicht integrierter und integrierbarer Asylant hinauszukommen. Franzosen, zeigt Fontane, verstehen gesellschaftliche Zusammenhänge besser, sind bessere Realisten, werden in ihrer alten gesellschaftlichen Kultur akzeptiert.



Grant W. Grams

### Wilhelm Dibelius and His Influence on German-Canadian Studies

This essay will focus on Wilhelm Dibelius and how he influenced Heinz Lehmann and Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland (Society for Germandom Abroad: VDA) through his observations and research in Canada. Dibelius was professor of English studies at the University of Berlin; he had already established an international reputation with his publication on Great Britain entitled *England*.<sup>1</sup> In this work, Canada was briefly discussed in terms of its relations to the mother country and role within the Commonwealth.<sup>2</sup> Dibelius' intention was to write a large-scale study on Canada;<sup>3</sup> for this reason he traveled through the country during the summer of 1928. His research expedition was undertaken with the purpose of understanding Canada's cultural diversity and observing how German nationals were absorbed into society. Dibelius took a personal interest in the progress, struggles and accomplishments of all German speakers. Once in Canada, he was surprised to find so many German speakers and evidence of their influences.<sup>4</sup> But his interest in German speakers abroad had not been suddenly awakened; Dibelius had been interested in German minorities abroad prior to his Canadian research. Dibelius and his brother Otto became involved with the VDA when they were university students, but Wilhelm's relationship with the VDA was solidified during his contribution to the publication *Handbuch des Deutschtums im Auslande* (Handbook of Germandom Abroad, 1903).<sup>5</sup> It was during this research on Posen, that he became acutely aware of the plight of German minorities on Germany's borders. After its completion, Dibelius remained in contact with the VDA and contributed to other publications.

The VDA was the oldest private non-political organisation trying to protect the German culture and heritage from assimilation in foreign countries. It was formed in 1881 for the defence of the German language and culture. The main areas of interest were schools in the border regions of Austria-Hungary and the German settlements in central-eastern Europe. Prior to WW I little interest was paid to Canada. After WW I, the VDA's mandate evolved and it extended their areas of interest outside of Europe. It was now not only directly active within the cultural work occurring in Europe but they also took an active interest in Germans scattered throughout the entire world. This field of interest expanded yet again when VDA became interested in German emigration.<sup>6</sup> The VDA's goal was to save German speakers abroad from assimilation; it was one of the most influential private cultural institutions that was

active between the two world wars. Dibelius was the most prominent person affiliated with the VDA to visit Canada during the Weimar Republic.

After his return to Germany, Dibelius suggested that Lehmann write his doctoral dissertation on the ethnic Germans residing there.<sup>7</sup> Lehmann eventually completed his thesis *Geschichte der Deutschen in Kanada* in 1931;<sup>8</sup> unfortunately Dibelius died on 28 January 1931 prior to its completion.<sup>9</sup> Due to Dibelius's observations concentrating on German speakers in western Canada and Lehmann's dissertation focusing on ethnic Germans in eastern Canada a direct correlation between the two may not be immediately obvious.<sup>10</sup> Dibelius influenced Lehmann's dissertation, but this is more apparent within his *Habilitationschrift* (post-doctoral thesis) as he followed in his advisor's footsteps by repeating a fact-finding mission in Canada six years later - May to August 1934. This work, entitled *Das Deutschtum in Westkanada* (The Germandom in Western Canada), was published eight years after Dibelius's death. Possibly Lehmann was able to use his advisors' research notes and unfinished manuscript for his own research purposes.<sup>11</sup>

Similar to other VDA scholars, Dibelius compared Canada to the United States and concluded that both countries had similar problems regarding immigration and assimilation.<sup>12</sup> Although he had traveled in both countries, Dibelius concluded that he had seen Canada more thoroughly than many German scholars, but cautioned that Canada was immense and so thinly populated that matters of interest or research were often hundreds of kilometers apart, hence traveling between destinations took considerable time and effort. During his research expedition Dibelius spent an unspecified amount of time in Quebec, followed by three weeks in Ontario, four weeks in the prairie provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta and an unknown amount of time in British Columbia.

Dibelius reported that everywhere in Canada he was accepted in a friendly manner. Although there were many memorials and remembrances to those that died during WW I, he experienced no personal animosity. While in the country he was invited to hold speeches at four Canadian universities—McGill (Montreal), Toronto, Kingston, and Winnipeg. He suggested that Canadian and German universities develop exchange programs for students, not only for the benefit of the respected institutions but also to improve relations between the two countries. Throughout his travels Dibelius was able to meet influential Canadians, including professors and scholars, but concluded that the educated elites' level of knowledge regarding Germany was poor. Another observation was that relations between Canada and Great Britain appeared strained. Dibelius expected to find relations somewhat aloof, but what he discovered was even beyond his expectations. In Ontario there was some affiliation with the former motherland, but even Canadians of an English heritage believed that Canada had too eagerly participated in the war, therefore many Canadians were killed merely for the pomp and prestige of the empire. A similar indignation was found in British Columbia but even greater resentment lingered in Quebec and the Prairie Provinces, overall relations between Canada and the United Kingdom were viewed negatively.

In comparison to Canadian and British relations, matters between Canada and the United States were more complicated. Many Canadians viewed the American administration as corrupt, which in Dibelius's opinion, was an exaggeration. Dibelius observed that some individuals contemplated both the advantages and disadvantages

of a formal union between the two countries, but noticed that this was not an issue for most Canadians, even though some Europeans believed it was. No one could deny the economic link between the two countries, but Canada had its own economic interests and priorities. Dibelius had believed that French-Canadians strengthened Canadian unity, but after his visit to Quebec he was left unsure of this sentiment. Dibelius reported that after a conversation with French-Canadian politician Henri Bourassa, he departed with the impression that Quebec's political agenda was dictated only by Francophone concerns—the agenda of outsiders carried no weight. French-Canadians wanted their province to receive as many rights, privileges and grants as possible while committed to a united Canada. Yet this position within the Dominion could become jeopardized by the growth of the western provinces. If the influence of the French-Canadians decreased they would do what was best for them, including the break up of Canada or a union with the United States. French-Canadians simply wanted a strong Catholic, French-speaking province to uphold their culture and heritage. Dibelius claimed that some Anglo-Canadians wanted to control the French, who put up stiff resistance to any such maneuvers.

The French-English language and Catholic-Protestant conflicts of eastern Canada were not merely limited to Quebec but had spilled over into Ontario and the western provinces. European immigration to western Canada had made Francophones a small minority even though bilingual schools had been possible. But with WW I minority linguistic privileges had been eroded in western Canada, thus affecting German speakers. Dibelius believed that the future of the French language in Canada was linked to the settlement of the western plains - if the French-Canadians could establish a stable footing there, the survival of the French language was ensured. Albeit another equally important question regarding the future of Canada regarded the assimilation of immigrants. It was on the prairies that Dibelius believed the language struggle between “the nationalities of the world“ would take place because its residents were aloof to British traditions.<sup>13</sup> Dibelius stated that foreigners made up forty-seven percent of Saskatchewan's population, forty-three percent in Manitoba and forty percent in Alberta; it was due to this mixed population that English would succeed as the language of communication.

Yet within certain districts of Saskatchewan, where non-English speakers were the majority, it was possible to have German religious language instruction; however this was limited to half-an-hour a day, provided the local clergy was proficient in German. Dibelius warned that although this was helpful in the support of the German language one could not ensure that German was spoken between the pupils outside of lessons.<sup>14</sup> Long-term prospects did not appear favorable because “everywhere I made the observation that school children of German nationals spoke English with each other. English is the language of the culture, the language of the teacher, the language of the newspapers, the language of the movies, the language of public life. Where the Germans live in closed settlements, like the small colony of Münster in Saskatchewan, this was not any different.“ Dibelius observed that the assimilation of immigrants in the Canadian prairies, especially Saskatchewan, was an important question for the security of the country—this matter was especially precarious due to the Anglo Saxons barely being in the majority. Dibelius explained, “the numbers of immigrants is so large that it is extremely difficult to assimilate them.“ Some English speaking Canadians called for an American style quota system because “the

Anglo-Saxon population will not accept this large scale [immigration of] additional foreigners." Others saw the need to ensure that English-speaking immigrants would receive preferential treatment when immigrating to Canada.<sup>15</sup>

Lehmann followed Dibelius's lead and proclaimed that western Canada, most notably Saskatchewan, was favorable for the retention of the German language.<sup>16</sup> Representatives of the *Auswärtiges Amt* (German Foreign Office - AA) and members of the German government made the same assessment that the western province of Saskatchewan offered the best possibilities for cultural and language retention of Germans in Canada.<sup>17</sup> Lehmann explained the situation this way:

in Saskatchewan the Anglo-Saxons have a very slim majority within the population and assimilation of the foreign ethnic groups is done energetically. On the other hand the many ethnic groups have not yet attempted a combined resistance against the Anglo-Canadian cultural policy. The Anglo-Canadian schools are not only to be in the English language, but rather the entire liberal urban civilization of [North] America itself, especially the present prairie regions and uses its appeal on the youth in German areas. They have often rejected the demanding religious life of the parents and with it the external lifestyle of the elders [including] their German ethnic identity. The intellectual leadership lies, until now, almost entirely in the hands of the clergy of the various confessions, they have tried with German private lessons church services and German social gatherings within their congregations.<sup>18</sup>

Dibelius explained that the dominant position the English language enjoyed was slightly stronger in Alberta and Manitoba than Saskatchewan, but the number of immigrants was also quite large, thus contributing to assimilation problems in the prairie provinces. For some Canadians immigration represented a danger to the integrity and security of the nation. He also noticed that the Canadian railways and sections of the provincial and federal governments supported immigration.<sup>19</sup> For example both of Canada's railways, the Canadian National Railway (CNR) and Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), possessed land, which they wanted to sell, and were affiliated with religious immigration boards, which encouraged Germans to emigrate.<sup>20</sup>

Dibelius noted that according to the 1921 census, the number of German nationals in Canada was given as 25,266; he estimated the number of ethnic Germans as being between 300,000 and 400,000. The majority of these German speakers were from the Volga, Crimea, Galicia, Volhynia or the United States; most had lived outside of Germany for generations and had only vague notions of Germany, its history and cultural heritage. Dibelius reported that ninety-nine percent were farmers and had no ideas regarding the maintenance of German heritage or traditions yet German was still the language at home and in most churches. Their sole cultural inspiration and defense against assimilation came from the church and the Bible—it was only possible for ethnic Germans to retain their language and culture through these two traditions.<sup>21</sup> It appears that Lehmann believed this as well as he echoed similar statements within his own publications.<sup>22</sup>

Dibelius concluded that at the moment the best means for the cultural survival

of the ethnic Germans in Canada lay within the strengthening of German churches and church organizations. Both were to be as German as possible and strive for the retention of their culture, language and character—this called for the revival of German cultural clubs. Although some clubs existed, Dibelius lamented that they often had no cultural goals. Where German cultural aspirations existed special attention should be given in the form of books and pictures, including visits from AA representatives from Winnipeg and Montreal. Protestant and Catholic Church representatives could make donations periodically; these would be in the form of reading material. Dibelius realized that the survival of Canada's Germans depended on the younger generation retaining contacts to both Germany and the German culture.<sup>23</sup>

Dibelius's assessment directed VDA's awareness to the problems experienced by ethnic Germans in Canada and marked a turning point in the amount of exposure Canada enjoyed in its publications.<sup>24</sup> Prior to Dibelius's trip to Canada the VDA had already established contact with the ethnic Germans in Canada and had sent literature to selected groups and settlements.<sup>25</sup> The VDA recognized that newspapers, magazines and books represented an important cultural pillar in connecting ethnic Germans in foreign countries to Germany—this also fostered a leadership class in the German hierarchy abroad. This conclusion was essential for retaining one's culture and language when living as a linguistic minority.<sup>26</sup> Upon his return to Germany Dibelius wanted the VDA to become more active in its cultural support of Canada's Deutschtum and suggested more literature be sent. As a direct result, the VDA became more generous supplying Canada's German speakers with reading material. He believed that all Germans, especially those in western Canada, could retain their heritage if emigration continued and cultural support from Germany was received. It appears Dibelius's suggestion that more books be sent to Canada was accepted by the VDA. Unfortunately for Canada's Germans, shipments of reading material did not remain constant. Successive years saw a decline in the VDA's literary efforts in Canada. The VDA viewed ethnic Germans in Eastern Europe as more closely linked to Germany.<sup>27</sup>

Dibelius reported "some ministers that come from Germany give a heroic effort and perform the same work twice. But since most ministers are not from Germany, but rather sent from American seminaries or from German Lutheran Synods of North American the care of the Deutschtum [German culture] is dying at its roots."<sup>28</sup> Lehmann also used similar vocabulary to describe the efforts the German-Canadian clergy made on behalf of Canada's German speakers.<sup>29</sup> The preservation of German elements within Canada rested solely upon the strengthening of German-Canadian church organizations and solidifying their commitment toward the preservation of their culture. Dibelius called for the revival of German clubs, societies, choirs, reading groups, etc. to strengthen Canada's Deutschtum—whatever would serve to make the German language present within the daily lives of all German speakers in Canada. Until WW I German speakers received some German schooling. With the war this privilege fell ending formal German language instruction. But some pastors and priests were attempting to provide German youth with language training - their actions represented the only educational measure that could be taken to protect and support the German language in Canada.

Although Dibelius hoped that language instruction by the German-Canadian

clergy gave German speakers a future, Lehmann examined this possibility and believed that not all ministers and pastors were truly committed to saving German speakers from assimilation in Canada. Lehmann wrote that the question of education split the German clergy in Canada. There were those that heroically defended the German culture and language with great energy and sacrifice while others actually acted within the assimilation process and weakened the German heritage in Canada.<sup>30</sup> Although German churches were seen as a method to help maintain the German culture, others warned that one should not put too much faith in them because they had their own goals and interests, they were not solely motivated to save the German language or culture from assimilation. Despite the fact that churches offered German speakers in North America an opportunity for both cultural and intellectual support they continuously defected from them. The VDA had already noted that if German emigrants were lost to the church, most were soon separated from their ethnic identity.<sup>31</sup>

Dibelius also posed the question if Canada could serve as a viable emigration alternative to Germany's lost colonies; regretfully the answer appeared to be no due to the high rate of assimilation. Dibelius wanted to keep German nationals in Germany but it seemed to be a necessary evil to sacrifice part of this surplus population to emigration. Yet those that left Germany must be incorporated into a worldwide community of Germans. Another possibility for German cultural survival entailed mass immigration of German citizens. Dibelius speculated that if there were more German nationals in Canada, perhaps 200,000 instead of a mere 25,266 with a few hundred having a good education and vision for the future while living in closed settlements, the ethnic Germans of western Canada would be much stronger. Dibelius believed without steady large scale German immigration, and ethnic Germans living in closed settlements, the existence of the German culture in Canada could not be assured. He was convinced that the Canadian railways and German-Canadian immigration boards would support increased German immigration to Canada, but the real question was how the other residents of Canada would react.<sup>32</sup>

Similar to the praise others lavished on the Canadian railways and their German-Canadian immigration boards,<sup>33</sup> Dibelius also saw such organizations as performing good deeds on behalf of newcomers. In Winnipeg, for example, German church organizations affiliated to the CPR provided immigrants with work and protected them from possible exploitation. He noted that there were many false impressions in Germany regarding Canadian wages. Although salaries were higher during harvests this was only for a few weeks—this was incorrectly advertised in Germany as being the typical wages offered year round. CPR representative Colonel Dennis and CNR representative Mr. Black acknowledged that this problem existed, but insisted this only occurred through the advertising of some shipping agents abroad. Both men reported that Canadian envoys and railway agents could not suppress the stories that existed in Europe. Dibelius remained skeptical to this reply, but admitted that those that ventured overseas without acquiring accurate information from dependable sources were sometimes responsible for their own misery.<sup>34</sup>

Lehmann also seized on the vein of thought, that German nationals were beneficial for the support and maintenance of Canada's German language and culture German speakers.<sup>35</sup> Dibelius surmised that the English speaking population of Canada would not stand for a massive immigration of Germans and allow for their settlement

within closed communities. If this would be attempted, Dibelius feared that teachers' unions, protestant organizations, women's groups, WW I veterans groups, etc. would protest. In order to counter such pressure groups Dibelius maintained that ethnic Germans had some political leverage through their loyal support of the Liberal Party, but Germans lacked proper leadership. Yet there was some hope for Canada's German speakers through W. D. Euler federally and J. M. Ulrich provincially in Saskatchewan. Both men claimed to place importance on their cultural heritage but Dibelius speculated that their true loyalties were to their political party. He did not believe that Germans alone had the voting power to control their own destiny, but a federation of ethnic groups could be strong enough to introduce legislation on the usage of foreign languages.<sup>36</sup>

Dibelius suggested an alliance of non-British immigrants involving German speakers and Ukrainians—in the Prairie Provinces this could achieve some political and cultural goals. Unfortunately, the ethnic Germans on the prairies were separated religiously through the Lutheran, Catholic and Mennonite churches, the Ukrainians were also divided between Roman and Greek Catholic churches.<sup>37</sup> Lehmann repeated this idea that such an affiliation of newcomers in western Canada could achieve political aims. Based on his research he expanded on Dibelius's idea and proposed a German, Ukrainian and French alliance.<sup>38</sup>

At the end of his observations in Canada Dibelius supported a small scale German emigration to Canada, he was not alone in his support. Others that held some prestige and influence in Germany such as Reverend Dr. Friedrich Caspar Gleiss, Dr. Erich Koch, and Manfred Grisebach held similar views. Before traveling to Canada in 1928 Dibelius consulted Gleiss and Koch.<sup>39</sup> Gleiss served as Lutheran Immigration Board (LIB) representative in Germany from May 1924 to April 1925 and steadfastly supported a restricted emigration of German citizens and eastern European Germans to Canada. The LIB selected and fostered Germans emigration to Canada – it enjoyed good relationships with the Canadian government and a formal alliance with the CPR. Gleiss traveled in Canada for six weeks in the fall of 1924 and concluded that a controlled emigration to Canada allowed Germans to prosper and their cultural integrity remained intact. As a result of this support, Gleiss came into conflict with Germany's emigration authorities, which wanted to keep German farmers at home.<sup>40</sup> Gleiss had an article printed in a VDA publication, the 1928 edition of *Deutsche Welt* (German World). How Dibelius came to know of Gleiss' work on behalf of the LIB is unknown, but this probably occurred through the VDA administration.<sup>41</sup> Dibelius also had personal contact with Gleiss' successor, Dr. Hermann Wagner. Although the extent of this association cannot be documented Wagner also supported German emigration to Canada after WW I.<sup>42</sup>

In conversations with prominent Canadians Dibelius asked the question if Canada could become a multilingual country, similar to Switzerland - he hoped this might offer German speakers the possibility for cultural survival.<sup>43</sup> Others in Germany, most notably Reichsminister (Imperial Minister) Erich Koch, came to a similar conclusion that "Canada is becoming an American Switzerland". Koch also believed that Canada's German speakers could survive and even prosper.<sup>44</sup> Koch was named Reichminister des Innern (Imperial Minister of the Interior) in 1919, from 1920 to 1930 he served as member of the German parliament; from June 1928 to April 1929 he headed the Reichsjustizministerium (Imperial Justice Ministry). Koch

traveled to Canada in the fall of 1926 to personally inspect whether Canada was suitable for German emigrants. Koch concluded that Canada offered all German speakers the opportunity of financial success, as well as the retention of their ethnic culture and heritage.<sup>45</sup> The CPR later reported that Koch intended to establish an emigration society in Germany with the aim of selecting suitable German emigrants for settlement in western Canada.<sup>46</sup> Similar to Koch, Dibelius wanted to support Canada's ethnic Germans through emigration. Their proposals would have called for the emigration of German farmers; however, this was part of German society that the German government did not want to emigrate and represented a contradiction to VDA's traditional co-operation with Germany's emigration authorities.

Manfred Grisebach of the Deutsches Ausland-Institut (German Foreign Institute—DAI), another large German cultural institution that was active during the Weimar Republic also supported German emigration to Canada. Although Grisebach traveled to Canada in 1929 he had already been actively supporting German emigration to Canada at an earlier date.<sup>47</sup> Another advocate of German emigration to Canada was German Foreign Affairs Minister Gustav Stresemann. Stresemann was impressed with the Canadian disposition regarding the treatment of minorities and was influenced by Koch into supporting a small-scale movement of German citizens to Canada. Both Koch and Stresemann saw the obstructions to German emigration to Canada caused by the German government as unnecessary. Pressure exerted on the emigration authorities appeared to bear fruit for those favoring German emigration to Canada as LIB representatives visiting Germany were told that the government would no longer fight against emigration to Canada.<sup>48</sup> Important members of the German Catholic and Lutheran church also supported a limited immigration of Germans to Canada.<sup>49</sup>

Upon returning to Germany Dibelius sent a text of his travels to the AA and asked for copies to be given to its representatives in Montreal and Winnipeg, German Caritas Association, German Lutheran Church Committee and VDA. This report was not only sent to the AA representatives in Canada but also to those in London, Washington, Pretoria, Dublin and Sydney. Members of the AA administration emphasized that Dibelius's opinion was not to be published or shown to the German press for fear of encouraging emigration to Canada. German authorities did not want Dibelius' report influencing German nationals in any way<sup>50</sup>—during the inter-wartime years German emigration to Canada was strongly discouraged by the German government.<sup>51</sup>

As a result of his research Dibelius concluded that Canada needed only farmers and agricultural workers; those interested in other careers were not to consider emigration here. Although Dibelius supported a limited emigration to Canada, he warned that only those Germans that were prepared to do hard physical labor and endure great sacrifices would be able to withstand the working conditions and the challenges that emigration entailed. After approximately two years of sacrifice and toil one could buy some land and lead a comfortable but humble lifestyle. However, this relied on having some luck due to the elements of nature often wrecking havoc on farmers' plans.<sup>52</sup>

Dibelius's research and observations influenced German-Canadian studies through his contacts with the VDA. His protégé, Heinz Lehmann, was also affected by his opinions and findings. Praise has been lavishly bestowed upon Lehmann due

to his books and articles being valued as "the most comprehensive and scholarly account of the immigration and settlement of the entire ethnic German settlement in Canada." His research is ranked as the most "comprehensive critical account of the history of Canada's Germans." Lehmann is also known as "the leading German scholar in the interwar period on German Canadians."<sup>53</sup> Lehmann's research did for Canadian scholars what Albert B. Faust "The German Element in the United States" did for American researchers. Dibelius's contacts with the VDA also proved beneficial to Lehmann as his early articles were published in its journals<sup>54</sup> or with their financial aid,<sup>55</sup> e.g., Lehmann's post-doctoral thesis was fiscally supported by the VDA.<sup>56</sup> In addition to influencing Lehmann, Dibelius had good relations with the VDA and influenced their opinion of Canada. Dibelius's research in Canada caused the VDA to direct greater attention to Canada as an emigration destination and a country with a German-speaking minority that needed cultural support.<sup>57</sup> As a direct result of his visit VDA's interest in Canada initially increased, but later waned. But the best testimony of Dibelius's long-term influence can be found through Heinz Lehmann owing to the huge impact he had on the historiography of ethnic Germans in Canada. Dibelius' influences in Germany on the study of Canada's German speakers continued long after his death in January 1931 for his former student, Heinz Lehmann, made groundbreaking research regarding the settlement, immigration and culture of German speakers in Canada. This research has been for the benefit of both contemporary and future scholars.

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Lehmann, Heinz *The German Canadians 1750-1937 Immigration, Settlement and Culture*, translated, edited and introduced by Gerhard P. Bassler (St. John's, NL: Jespersen Press, 1986), xxvii-xxxix (hereafter Lehmann and Bassler). Dibelius also published a bibliography on C. Dickens that was well received internationally.

<sup>2</sup> Dibelius, Wilhelm, *England* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlag Anstalt, 1931), 1: 62-68.

<sup>3</sup> Lehmann, Heinz, "Wilhelm Dibelius," in Hermann Ullmann, ed., *Deutsche Arbeit 1931* (Dresden: Deutsches Buch und Kunst Verlag), 190-91; Lehmann, Heinz, *Zur Geschichte des Deutschtums in Kanada, Band I, Das Deutschtum in Ostkanada* (Stuttgart Ausland und Heimat Verlags – Aktiengesellschaft, 1931), v-vi.

<sup>4</sup> Lehmann, "Wilhelm Dibelius," 190-91; PAAA R60032 Abt.VIa Deutschtum im Ausland Band 1 Nr.1: Bericht über eine Reise nach Kanada und den Vereinigten Staaten by Prof. Dr. Dibelius, 1928, 12-16 (hereafter Bericht, Dibelius).

<sup>5</sup> Weidenfeller, Gerhard, *VDA, Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland. Allgemeiner Deutscher Schulverein (1881-1918), Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Deutschen Nationalismus und Imperialismus im Kaiserreich* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang Verlag, 1976), 294-96.

<sup>6</sup> Komjathy, Anthony, and Stockwell, Rebecca, *German Minorities and The Third Reich* (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1980), 2-5; Weidenfeller, 290-94, Ausker, Wolfgang, *Behörden und Bestandesgeschichte Einleitung* (Berlin: Bundesarchiv, 1963), vi.

<sup>7</sup> Lehmann, *Deutsche Arbeit 1931*. 190-91, Lehmann, *Zur Geschichte*, v-vi; Grams, Grant, *German Emigration to Canada and the Support of Its Deutschtum during the Weimar Republic. The Role of the Deutsches Ausland Institut, Verein für das Deutschtum in Ausland and German-Canadian Organisations* (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang Publishers, 2001), 205-12.

<sup>8</sup> Bundesarchiv Koblenz R57/1281/I (hereafter BAK): Zu Heinz Lehmann, "Geschichte der Deutschen in Kanada," undated and unsigned document. The dissertation was published as "Zur Geschichte des Deutschtums in Kanada."

- <sup>9</sup> Lehmann, *Deutsche Arbeit 1931*, 190-91 and Lehmann, *Zur Geschichte*, v-vi.
- <sup>10</sup> Lehmann, *Zur Geschichte*, 114-15.
- <sup>11</sup> Lehmann, "Wilhelm Dibelius," 190-91.
- <sup>12</sup> Hammann-Perleberg, "Vom Deutschtum in Kanada, Reisebeobachtungen und -erfahrungen," in *Das Deutschtum im Ausland - Vierteljahreshefte des Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland* (Berlin: Hermann Hiller Verlag, 1911), 502; Oppel, Alwin, "Das Deutschtum in Kanada," in Paul Langhans, ed., *Deutsche Erde* (Gotha: Justus Perthes Verlag, 1906), 47-51; Oppel, Alwin, *Kanada und die Deutschen*, A. Geiser and H. von Staden, eds. (Dresden: Heimat und Welt Verlag, 1916), 28.
- <sup>13</sup> PAAA R60032 Abt.VIa Deutschtum im Ausland Band1 Nr.1: Bericht, Dibelius, 1-31.
- <sup>14</sup> Alt-Hamburg Archiv Bestand Auswanderungsmission IV 31: Dibelius, Prof. Dr., Aus der kanadischen Prärie, in *Klasinger Monatschrift*, June 1929, pp. 407-408 (Hereafter Dibelius, Aus der kanad. Prärie).
- <sup>15</sup> PAAA R60032 Abt.VIa Deutschtum im Ausland Band1 Nr.1: Bericht, Dibelius, 14-32.
- <sup>16</sup> Lehmann, Heinz, "Kanada," in Carl Petersen, Paul Hermann Ruth und Hans Schwalm, eds., *Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtums, Band III* (Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt, 1938), 272 (hereafter Lehmann, *Handwörterbuch*, translation by author).
- <sup>17</sup> Lehmann, Heinz, "Der Kampf um die deutsche Schule in Westkanada," in Hermann Ullmann, ed., *Deutsche Arbeit 1936*, 26 and 72-73; Grams, 250-51
- <sup>18</sup> Lehmann, *Handwörterbuch*, 272.
- <sup>19</sup> PAAA R60032 Abt.VIa Deutschtum im Ausland Band1 Nr.1: Bericht, Dibelius, 14-15.
- <sup>20</sup> Grams, 127-81.
- <sup>21</sup> PAAA R60032 Abt.VIa Deutschtum im Ausland Band1 Nr.1: Bericht, Dibelius, 17-32.
- <sup>22</sup> Lehmann, Heinz, *Das Deutschtum in Westkanada* (Berlin: Junker and Dünnhaupt Verlag, 1939), 272-73.
- <sup>23</sup> PAAA R60032 Abt.VIa Deutschtum im Ausland Band1 Nr.1: Bericht, Dibelius, 17-32.
- <sup>24</sup> *VDA Jahresbericht 1928* (Berlin: Thormann und Goetsch Druckerei), 84; Lehmann, *Deutsche Arbeit 1931*, 190-91.
- <sup>25</sup> *VDA Jahresbericht 1928*, 53-54, Grams, Grant W., "Der Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland and its Observations of Canada prior to World War One," *Journal of Canadian Ethnic Studies* (2001): 117-23; *Deutsche Welt 1925* (Dresden: VDA Wirtschaftsunternehmen GmbH), 208.
- <sup>26</sup> "Erziehungsaufgaben des Vereins für das Deutschtum im Ausland," *Deutsche Arbeit 1923*, 213-15.
- <sup>27</sup> PAAA R60032 Abt.VIa Deutschtum im Ausland Band1 Nr.1: Bericht, Dibelius, 21-31 and BAK R57/1564: VDA to Ludwig Eid signed Hagl, dated Feb. 23, 1933.
- <sup>28</sup> PAAA R60032 Abt.VIa Deutschtum im Ausland Band1 Nr.1: Bericht, Dibelius, 20-21.
- <sup>29</sup> Lehmann 1935, 12-14.
- <sup>30</sup> Lehmann, Heinz, "Das Deutschtum in Ostkanada," in Hermann Ullmann, ed., *Deutsche Arbeit 1935* (Dresden: Deutsches Buch und Kunst Verlag), 12-14; Lehmann, Heinz, "Der Kampf um die deutsche Schule in Westkanada," in Hermann Ullmann, ed., *Deutsche Arbeit 1936*, 26-27.
- <sup>31</sup> *Deutschtumarbeit in der Vereinigten Staaten von Nord Amerika, Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland*, Druck von Thormann und Goetsch Berlin, 1925, p. 3.
- <sup>32</sup> PAAA R60032 Abt.VIa Deutschtum im Ausland Band1 Nr.1: Bericht, Dibelius, 17-32.
- <sup>33</sup> Grams, 189-95.
- <sup>34</sup> PAAA R60032 Abt.VIa Deutschtum im Ausland Band1 Nr.1: Bericht, Dibelius, 26-29.
- <sup>35</sup> Lehmann and Bassler, 257-60.
- <sup>36</sup> PAAA R60032 Abt.VIa Deutschtum im Ausland Band1 Nr.1: Bericht, Dibelius, 21-23.
- <sup>37</sup> Alt-Hamburg Archiv Bestand Auswanderungsmission IV 31: Dibelius, Aus der kanad. Prärie, 407-8.
- <sup>38</sup> Lehmann, 1939, 310-11.
- <sup>39</sup> PAAA R60032 Abt.VIa Deutschtum im Ausland Band1 Nr.1: Bericht, Dibelius, 2-3. At the conclusion of his research in Canada Dibelius took the time to thank the Norgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft (Crisis Society of German Science), preußisches Kultusministerium (Prussian Ministry of Education and Arts), the Auswärtiges Amt (German Foreign Office) and its representatives in Montreal and Winnipeg, Prelate Schreiber, Deutscher Caritasverband (German Caritas Association), Pastor Dr. F. Geiss and Reichsminister Dr. Erich Koch, the Canadian National Railway, Canadian Pacific Railway and Canadian Prime Minister King for their information and help.
- <sup>40</sup> Grams, 131-51.
- <sup>41</sup> Gleiß, Friedrich, "Das Deutschtum in Kanada," in Carl Friedrich Badendieck, ed., *Deutsche Welt*

(Dresden: Wirtschaftsunternehmen GmbH, 1928), 69-74.

<sup>42</sup> Wagner, Hermann, *Von Küste zu Küste bei deutschen Auswanderern in Kanada* (Hamburg: Verlag der Evangelischen lutherischen Auswanderermission, 1929), 114-15; Grams, 161-64.

<sup>43</sup> PAAA R60032 Abt.VIa Deutschtum im Ausland Band1 Nr.1: Bericht, Dibelius, 18-19.

<sup>44</sup> "Eindrücke von Reisen in Amerika und Rußland" (speech by Reichsminister Dr. Erich Koch-Weser), *Der Auslandsdeutsche 1929* (Stuttgart: Verlag des Deutschen Ausland Instituts), 394.

<sup>45</sup> Jonathan Wagner, 11-175.

<sup>46</sup> Glenbow Museum and Archiv (hereafter Glen) M2269 File 689: Memorandum for Mr. Colley, dated Calgary, Alberta, December 1, 1926. Koch intended to work in collaboration with Baron von Lindequist and George Wolff.

<sup>47</sup> Jonathan Wagner, 11-15.

<sup>48</sup> Handelskammer Bremen A I 4(5): Bremische Gesandtschaft an die Senatkommission für Reichs- und auswärtige Angelegenheiten, Bremen signed Nebelthau, dated Berlin Dec. 9, 1927 and Handelskammer Bremen A I 4(5): Norddeutscher Lloyd to Handelskammer Bremen signed Raven, dated Bremen Dec. 15, 1927. See Krüger, Peter, *Die Außenpolitik der Republik von Weimar* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1985), 471; Walters, F. P., *A History of the League of Nations* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), 408; *Bericht über die Jahresversammlungen des DAI's 1928/29* (Stuttgart: Verlag des Deutschen Ausland-Instituts), 15-16.

<sup>49</sup> Timpe, Georg, *Durch USA and Kanada von See und Landfahrten* (Hamburg: Anton Lettenbauer Druck und Verlag, 1928), 51-74 and 155-82; Größer, Max, "Deutsche Prärie," in *Die Getreuen* 1,4 (Berlin: Josef Habel Verlag, 1924), 89-94; Jahresbericht des St. Rapahaelsverein für das Jahr 1924, Flugblatt 14, Buchdruckerei der Osnabrück Volkszeitung; and Größer, Max, *Die Möglichkeit deutscher Auslandsiedlung, Antwort auf Fragen zur Auswanderung* (Berlin: Zentralverlag GmbH, 1932), 8-20, Staatsarchiv Bremen (hereafter STB) 3-A.4. File 552: Auszug aus dem Senats Protokolle [Bremen] to die Auswanderungskommission vom Feb. 1930; STB 3-A.4., File 611: Ev. Auswanderer-Mission Bremen to Behörde für das Auswanderungswesen signed Carsten and Meyner, dated Bremen Jan. 27, 1930; Wagner, H., 114-15.

<sup>50</sup> PAAA R60032 Abt.VIa Deutschtum im Ausland Band1 Nr.1: Prof. Dr. Dibelius to Auswärtiges Amt, dated Englisches Seminar der Universität Berlin, January 21, 1929.

<sup>51</sup> Grams, 14-22 and 101-200.

<sup>52</sup> Alt-Hamburg Archiv Bestand Auswanderungsmission IV 31: Dibelius, Aus der kanad. Prärie, 408; PAAA R60032 Abt.VIa Deutschtum im Ausland Band1 Nr.1: Bericht, Dibelius, 26-29.

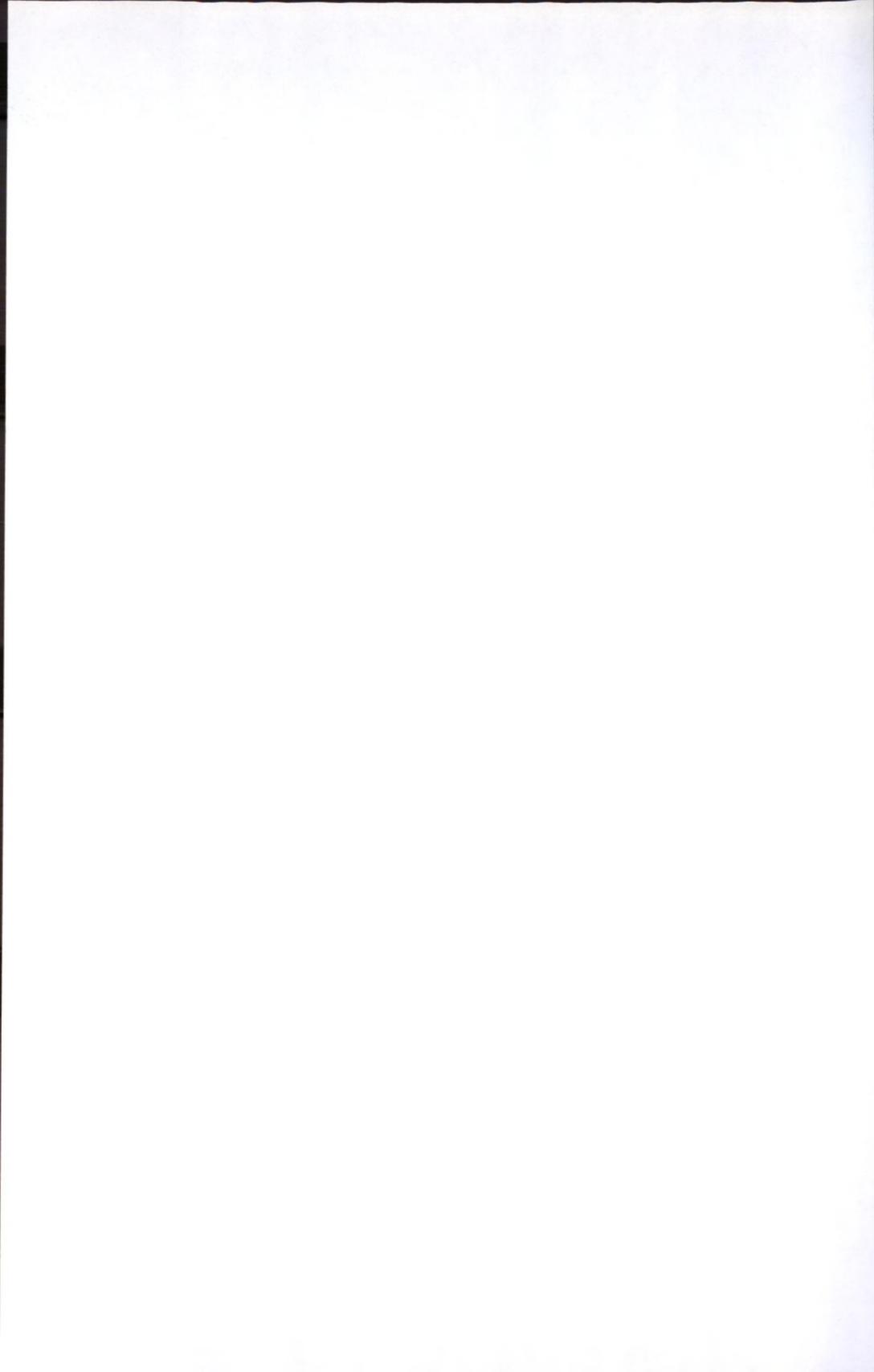
<sup>53</sup> Lehmann and Bassler, xxiv-xxxv; Wagner, Jonathan, 6.

<sup>54</sup> Lehmann, *Deutsche Arbeit 1931*, 190-91, Lehmann, Heinz: "Das Deutschtum in Ostkanada," in Hermann Ullmann, ed., *Deutsche Arbeit 1934* (Berlin: Grenz und Ausland Verlag), 610-13; Lehmann, Heinz, "Das Deutschtum in Ostkanada," in Hermann Ullmann, ed., *Deutsche Arbeit 1935* (Dresden: Deutsches Buch und Kunst Verlag), 12-18; Lehmann, Heinz: "Das Deutschtum in Westkanada," in *Deutsche Arbeit 1935*, 394-402; Lehmann, Heinz, "Deutsche Zeitung für Canada," in *Deutsche Arbeit 1935*, 482-87; Lehmann, Heinz, "Der Kampf um die deutsche Schule in Westkanada," in Hermann Ullmann, ed., *Deutsche Arbeit 1936*, 26-31 and 72-78.

<sup>55</sup> Lehmann, *Deutsche Arbeit 1931*, 190-91; Lehmann, *Zur Geschichte*, v-vi; Faust, Albert B., *The German Element in the United States* (Boston, 1909).

<sup>56</sup> Lehmann, 1939, 9.

<sup>57</sup> Lehmann, *Deutsche Arbeit 1931*, 190-91.



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## **An Investigation of Consonant Inventory Development in East Frisian Low German Utilizing Optimality Theory**

### **Introduction<sup>1</sup>**

Traditionally, research on language change in German-American speech enclaves has been a post-mortem activity, focused on isolated changes that are often complete or in the final stages of completion. Recent scholarship in German-American dialectology, however, has shifted its primary focus to linguistic change in real-time. These real-time studies highlight and analyze the different types of sociolinguistic change involving these speech islands, namely: reduction of dialectal variety, maintenance of dialectal variety and expansion of dialectal variety. Contemporary studies in the field are beginning to shift their focus to real-time analyses, and accompanying this shift in focus is an increase in the implementation of theoretical linguistic frameworks to account for and interpret collected natural data from German-American speech enclaves (cf. Louden 1988, 1997, Fuller 1997, Salmons & Geiger 2001 among others). Generative studies concentrating primarily on German-American dialects investigate the phenomena in these speech enclaves and help associate these with other similar phenomena in typologically distant languages, thus opening the door to a deeper understanding of shifts underway in German-American dialects while improving our understanding of natural linguistic change across the board.

The purpose of this study is to provide an analysis of specific elements of the phonological inventory of East Frisian Low German (hereafter, EFLG) currently spoken in Grundy County, Iowa within the framework of Optimality Theory (OT).<sup>2</sup> The baseline for this study is the dissertation of Jan Bender (1970), which compares EFLG spoken in continental Europe and southeastern Nebraska. These data illustrate the highly constrained nature of the importing of new phonemes into a language via lexical borrowing, and are represented within the framework of OT. Furthermore, this study probes to what extent alveo-palatal fricatives exist in modern EFLG speech islands.

### **East Frisian Low German (EFLG)**

The particular variant of Low German researched in this project is East Frisian Low German (EFLG). EFLG finds its geographic origin in East Frisia, a peninsula in the northwestern corner of Germany, bordering on the Netherlands. Politically,

East Frisia is part of Lower Saxony and enjoys a population of ca. 450,000. The dominant language of this region has undergone many changes throughout the course of the last 800 years. Until the fourteenth century the language of the region was Frisian. Most written records in Frisian are legal documents, dating from between 1276 and 1450, but there are indications that Frisian continued to be spoken up until the sixteenth century, albeit by a minority in the region.

During the fourteenth century, however, power struggles emerged among the influential landowners or *Hovetlings*. After a century of civil war, the Hanseatic League decided to intervene. "Their main reason for intervention was Frisian collaboration with pirates, who had become a threat to North Sea trade, and were offered shelter by some of the Frisian chieftains in exchange for a share of their loot. The Low German-speaking pirates who found shelter in large numbers in East Frisia may have been the first group of speakers to introduce Low German into the area, though even earlier Low German had begun to play an important role as the language of trade and a *lingua franca* for communication outside of the region. Between 1408 and 1453 fleets of Hanseatic war ships occupied East Frisia three times. Between 1433 and 1453 a Hanseatic force occupied the city of Emden, the economic and political center of the region" (Matras and Reershemius 2-3).

The subsequent linguistic developments in the region that ensued after the Hanseatic occupation of Emden indicate a shift in the dominant language from Frisian to Middle Low German. Foerste (1957) claims that Emden's middle class were among the first to adopt Low German, the Hanseatic *lingua franca*, not just as a written but also as a spoken language. Matras and Reershemius (2-4) argue that structural differences between EFLG and the surrounding Low German varieties - such as the plural concord marker *-n* in EFLG and *-t* in the neighboring regions - indicate that East Frisia imported Hanseatic Middle Low German. Given the aforementioned complex linguistic history of the region, it is not unreasonable to assume that the existence of a Frisian substratum might have effected the formation and acquisition of EFLG. By the nineteenth century yet another alteration in language usage enveloped this area: the shift to Standard German. The suppression of Low German initially occurred in the upper and middle classes of society. The sociolinguistic impact of this shift to Standard German associated Low German speakers with lower social classes and rural areas. The two groups analyzed in this paper belonged to these perceived 'lower' social classes and occupied rural areas of East Frisia (near Krümmhorn). The dialect of both the Nebraska and Iowa EFLG speakers displays no effects of this nineteenth century suppression of Low German.

### **The Settlement History of EFLG Speakers in North Central Iowa and South Eastern Nebraska**

In the middle of 1850s news of cheaper farmland in Central and North Central Iowa (Butler, Hardin and Grundy Counties) came to the attention of East Frisians in the German Valley colony in Northern Illinois. Grundy County today still holds the largest concentration of East Frisians West of the Mississippi River. The area was originally settled by East Frisians in Northern Illinois in 1854 and Lutheran and Reformed adherents who came directly from East Frisia (Krümmhorn) in 1867. Immigration

directly from East Frisia to North Central Iowa continued until 1952. Most of these European immigrants and daughter colony settlers were in search of a better way of life. This dream was realized in North Central Iowa's cheap, yet prosperous farmland.

The settlement history of the Hanover community in Southeastern Nebraska shows a strong resemblance to the settlement patterns in North Central Iowa. Already in the early 1850's immigrants from East Frisia and other mother colonies in the US began to arrive in Nebraska. Most of the immigrants that came directly from East Frisia sought a better way of life after the failed Revolution of 1848. Bender explains that the settlement of Nebraska by East Frisians reached its height in the beginning of the 1880s. The travel of these late arrivers was eased considerably due to the large number of East Frisian settlers who had already established communities there 20-30 years ago: "Auch dadurch, dass es im damaligen 'Hanover township' in Nebraska schon eine ostfriesische Gemeinde gab, wurde den Vorfahren jener Leute der Entschluss zur Einwanderung nach Nebraska erleichtert. Sie kamen zu ihren Verwandten und Landsleuten, die ihnen oft das Reisegeld vorgestreckt hatten und die sie jetzt aufnahmen" (Bender 18).

### **Methodology and Demographic Background of Informants**

For this study we implemented a simplified version of the wordlist developed by Bender (217-29) in her dissertation. Using Bender's dissertation materials as a point of departure afforded us the opportunity of comparing the forms that we obtained in Grundy Center with EFLG speech islands in southeastern Nebraska. Provided the similar geographical origins of these two groups, another benefit of integrating Bender's wordlist into our corpus of study is the diachronic comparisons that we can make between Bender's data and our data gained through this study. Bender's study, which was conducted in the late 1960s and completed in 1970, makes descriptive linguistic data available to us that are 30 years older than the data that we acquired in Iowa. Surprisingly, as will be observed in this project, the Grundy County EFLG speakers exhibit forms and behaviors that are more restrictive and conservative than their Nebraska counterparts.

The Grundy Center EFLG speakers interviewed for this project were all senior citizens, with the youngest speaker at age 68. In total, a group of 12 people were interviewed, consisting of 7 men and 5 women. Two separate sets of interviews were conducted. For the first round of interviews in Grundy County, the entire group of 12 informants sat around a table as wordlists were distributed to them. The format of the first interview consisted of one of the researchers reading a lexical item from the wordlist out loud and then having the individuals in the group successively repeat the lexical item in their variant of EFLG. Although most forms were identical among all speakers of the group, occasionally discussion would ensue regarding the proper pronunciation of particular forms. The second set of interviews was conducted on an individual basis, i.e., between the interviewers and individual informants. The two sets of interviews proved to be providential in eliciting some of the lexical borrowings exhibiting targeted features. The nexus of EFLG in and around Grundy Center extends into many smaller communities; therefore, it was deemed necessary to investigate what individual differences existed as well as to see if there were any overarching features that prevailed in the speech patterns of inter-community communication. Admittedly, distinct lexical and phonological differences between

these communities are worthy of further study; however, a detailed analysis extends beyond the scope of this current endeavor. In the round of individual interviews, all of the speakers produced the lexeme 'kitchen' without the alveo-palatal fricative [tʃ]. In the group interview, only one of the speakers produced the form with the homorganic palatalized alveolar affricate [tsʃ]; all others said *Kucke* [ku:kə]. In the group interview individuals expressed that this latter lexeme exists in EFLG as it is spoken today in continental German-speaking Europe. The interviewed group as a whole—affiliated with the Ostfrisian Heritage Society—seeks to re-establish its linguistic identity with contemporary Low German as spoken in East Frisia; however, it is clear that these lexical similarities with modern European Low German are simply lexical borrowings and therefore not relevant for the examination of the historical development of the consonant inventory of the investigated speaker group.

Although the Grundy County EFLG speakers were the target for our elicitation, the data represented in Bender's (1970) observations of the Nebraska EFLG group are equally important for our present study in which we compare differences in the development of consonant inventory in related speech communities. Therefore, the disparity in time between Bender's data collection and our own becomes a concern. To minimally address this concern, four speakers from the Beatrice, Nebraska area were interviewed in person, and the fricative inventory of Nebraska EFLG as recorded by Bender remains the same.

### Brief Introduction to Optimality Theory (OT)

Following is a brief guide to Optimality Theory (hereafter OT) and its application to the phonological data being examined in this paper. OT offers an alternative methodology to traditional, rule-based phonology. Rule-based phonology employs the ordering of phonological rules in a rigid sequence with each rule having either no effect or producing an intermediary form, which in turn is acted upon by following rules. A principle point of departure for OT from rule-based phonology is the absence of these intermediary forms, as the theory is solely concerned with input-output relationships. Phonological change is modeled within the theory not through rules acting upon intermediary forms but through a hierarchy of constraints eliminating potential outputs from a single input, resulting in the selection of the "optimal" candidate. A crucial assertion is that these constraints are universal in nature, meaning, that they are present in all languages. Constraints exist as either *faithfulness* constraints or *markedness* constraints. Faithfulness constraints seek to preserve features of the input form intact in the output. Markedness constraints enforce phonologically prohibited features, i.e. "marked" forms, from surfacing intact from the input to the output.<sup>3</sup> These two principles are inherently conflicting, and it is the ranked hierarchy of these two types of constraints that selects a single, optimal candidate by eliminating competing forms. Considering that each constraint is universal, variation across languages results from the differences in ranking these markedness and faithfulness constraints.

In order to aid in the introduction of this theory and to facilitate the understanding of its application to the data throughout this work, below we present a simple model grammar, or "toy" grammar, with examples of basic constraints and their application. Two basic examples of constraints are **ONSET** and **\*CODA**. These are both markedness constraints, the former indicating that there is a tendency

for languages to have onsets for syllables. Thus, an onset-less syllable would be considered a “marked” form. Likewise, \*CODA signifies the universal markedness of syllables with codas. The diacritic \* indicates a prohibition for the feature it precedes, here “CODA” is disallowed. The aforementioned markedness constraints illustrate a tendency for language to be [ba.ba.ba.ba. . .]. However, we realize that the complexity of individual languages far exceeds this general tendency. This is due to the other force at work here, represented by constraints which seek to preserve segments, features, etc. in the output form, or surface form (SF), as they are in the input, or underlying representation (UR). These are faithfulness constraints, of which an example is MAX(C), which indicates the preservation of all consonants (C) present in the UR into the SF. Another faithfulness constraint used in the ranking below (Constraint ranking 1) is DEP(V), which restricts the addition of vowels (V) to the SF that are not present in the UR. Below is an example of these constraints ranked within a hierarchy to elicit an optimal output for the example grammar.

Constraint ranking 1: \*CODA, DEP(V) >> MAX(C)

-This is to be read as: No Coda (markedness) and a ban on the epenthesis of vowels (faithfulness) *outranks* preservation of consonants in the UR.

These constraints are fed into a *tableau*, that also incorporates an infinite number of potential output forms<sup>4</sup>, called *candidates*. These are created by a process referred to as *GEN*. An infinite number of candidates is necessary, because OT predicts that every possible *rival candidate* is eliminated by the constraint ranking, leaving only the *winner*, indicated in the tableaux by the symbol  $\sigma$ . Here is one such tableau, using the aforementioned constraint ranking:

Tableau 1:

The first two constraints, \*CODA and DEP(V) are equally ranked, or said to be

/bat/	*CODA	DEP(V)	MAX(C)
$\sigma$ ba			*
bat	*!		
ba.ta		*!	

on the same *stratum* (indicated by the broken line), so any violation of either, marked by “\*”, carries the same weight. MAX(C) is ranked lower, so any violation of it is only considered after violations of those constraints ranked higher. In effect, these tableaux are read left to right, and the violations are evaluated in this manner. Any constraint that is violated by a candidate before a constraint is violated by the winner is considered a *fatal violation*, eliminating that candidate from further consideration. Fatal violations are indicated by “!”, and the following columns for that candidate’s row are grayed out in the tableau, as that candidate is no longer being considered.

Not all violations are fatal, however, as even the winner experiences violations, as seen in Tableau 1, with the Optimal Candidate violating **MAX(C)**. This is a facet of the *violability* of constraints, due to the conflicting nature of markedness and faithfulness.

This type of ranking reflects natural languages that have only coda-less syllables. Subsequently, such languages would deal with incorporating a new or foreign UR, via lexical borrowing, with a syllable that has a coda by deletion of this final consonant(s), due to the lowly ranked faithfulness constraint for preserving such consonants. Also, epenthesis of a final vowel to resolve this illegal form is not favored, due to the highly ranked faithfulness constraint against adding vowels to the SF that are not present in the UR.

The preceding tableau demonstrates the constraint ranking that would produce a SF of [ba] from a UR of /bat/. However, by simply altering the ranking of these same constraints they produce a different SF from the same UR. This illustrates the universality of constraints and that it is the differences in rankings that produce parametric variation across languages.

Constraint ranking 2: MAX(C), DEP(V) >> \*CODA

-This is to be read as: Preservation of consonants from the UR and No epenthesis of vowels outranks No coda.

Tableau 2:

The winner using constraint ranking 2 from a UR of /bat/ is [bat]. One final adjustment of the constraints yields yet another SF from /bat/

/bat/	MAX(C)	DEP(V)	*CODA
bat			*
ba	*!		
ba.ta		*!	

This type of ranking illustrates types of natural language that place a premium on preserving all consonants present in the UR, despite the natural, universal tendency of languages not favoring consonants that produce a coda. Also, these languages prefer to preserve the existence or absence of vowels in the UR over not having codas.

Constraint ranking 3: MAX(C) >> \*CODA >> DEP (V)

-This is to be read as: Preservation of consonants from the UR outranks No coda, which outranks Epenthesis of vowels.

Tableau 3:

/bat/	MAX(C)	*CODA	DEP(V)
ba.ta			*
ba	*!		
bat		*!	

This ranking of the same constraints exemplifies types of natural languages that do not favor the existence of codas, yet wish to preserve all consonants in the UR, and are able to accomplish both through tolerating the epenthesis of vowels not present in the UR.

### Data Analysis Utilizing OT

The data elicited from EFLG speakers in Grundy Center, Iowa exhibit several features that depart from the data collected by Bender in the EFLG speech island found in southeastern Nebraska. Both of these communities display features of Low German that are more traditional—such as the overall presence of unshifted voiceless plosives in all environments—than the features of EFLG in continental Europe, which is undergoing assimilation caused by the socio-linguistic pressure from the superstratum of Standard German (Wagener 283; Bender 217-29).

One of the first things that caught our attention at the onset of this comparative evaluation was the alternation found in Bender's data between the continental European speakers of EFLG producing [lʊf] and the EFLG speakers in Nebraska producing [lʊ] for *Luft* 'air.' An initial analysis incorporating only these two forms might lead to the interpretation that the speakers in Nebraska have simply lost the final, voiceless fricative consonant through apocope from the UR /lʊf/ to form /lʊ/. However, once we encountered the form [lux] produced by the EFLG speakers in Grundy Center, the process underlying the shift from a final [f] to [x] was opaque. As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, the /f/ - /x/ allophony has long plagued investigations of continental West Germanic dialects. Accordingly, it is difficult to assume that the underlying form exhibits either [f] or [x]. However, this led us to consult the *Digitaler Wenker Atlas (DiWA)* hosted by Philipps-University in Marburg for the historical form for Low German *Luft*. We discovered that the historical form in the Emden area is predominantly [lux(t)], which alters and simplifies our analysis. The apocope of the final stop [t] is grounded in perceptual salience: elements in an inventory tend to be maximally distinct from each other perceptually, and contrast between them tends to be neutralized in contexts where its perceptibility is reduced. Whereas fricatives have frication noise and sonorants have formant structure, plosives lack internal perceptual cues altogether; therefore, they are perceptually weak and are cross-linguistically shown to have a higher tendency of deletion (cf. Côte 2004, Steriade 1999a, 1999b, 2001). Consonants in coda position produce very weak phonetic cues. As for the /f/ - /x/ allophony, the distinction between these two fricatives in coda position is often difficult to recognize on the basis of spectral energy distribution (cf. Vaux 1998). Norman (1988) shows place neutralization of final [f] and [x] in Mandarin Chinese. This same neutralization has been observed in other German-American dialects; for

example, Keel, Putnam and Weiss (2005) provide a spectral analysis of final syllabic fricatives—based largely on Johnson's (1994) dissertation—in Volga German dialects located in Western Kansas that also display this neutralization of these fricatives. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the continental European EFLG variant [lʊf] is the result of borrowing of the Standard German [lʊft]. Both American EFLG dialects were imported prior to this borrowing with the UR /lʊx/ intact.

The different surface representations in the two American EFLG dialects can both be elicited from the UR /lʊx/ through an OT analysis. Due to highly ranked faithfulness constraints, the Grundy Center dialect speakers produce the SF [lʊx] that is unchanged from the UR. In the Grundy Center dialect, the faithfulness constraints are at least more highly ranked than the particular markedness constraint that outranks them in the Nebraska EFLG dialect, which motivates the loss of this final consonant, as a marked form. The question that remains pertinent to these data is: what is the marked form that is motivating the change? Part of the answer appears in another section of the data elicited from the Grundy Center speakers that differs from the Nebraska speakers in a similar way. For the word *Säge* 'saw,' the Nebraska speakers produce [sə:ɔ] and the Grundy Center speakers produce [sə:ɔy]. The UR here would appear to be /sə:ɔy/, with the Nebraska speakers losing the final consonant in the same way they lose the final consonant for *Luft*. The similarity between the two consonants being lost in word final position is clear: they are the voiced and voiceless variants of the velar fricative.

The loss of underlying word final velar fricatives can be illustrated in OT by means of a highly ranked markedness constraint. This constraint will be \*x / \_ #, hereafter abbreviated \*x, and is to be read: No velar fricative (either voiced or voiceless) in word final position. Simply re-ranking this markedness constraint does not in and of itself constitute a phonological change in either EFLG dialect (cf. McMahon 2000). As pointed out by Gess (2003), the re-ranking of phonological constraints is the result, and not the cause, of change. Gess proposes a three-tier system of how phonological change takes place and can be represented in a re-ranking of OT-constraints. Gess (2003:72) argues that phonological changes enter the grammar at the post-lexical level, at the register-dependent level. Phonetic cues and acoustic parameters (i.e., periodicity, spectral shape and fundamental frequency) are regarded as the rationale behind the change, and sociolinguistic factors promote the spreading of a given change. Due to the universal nature of constraints, this constraint has to be present in the constraint rankings of both American dialects of EFLG, but their different surface forms are the result of the different place \*x occupies within the respective rankings.

Constraint ranking 4 - Nebraska EFLG: \*x, DEP(V) >> MAX(C)

Tableau 4:

/lʊx/	*x	DEP(V)	MAX(C)
☞ lʊ			*
lʊx	*!		
lʊ.xə		*!	

Here, [lʊ] violates the faithfulness constraint **MAX(C)**. However, the other two candidates violate \*x, a markedness constraint, and **DEP(V)**, a faithfulness constraint, which are both on a higher stratum than **MAX(C)**, thus eliminating the rivals and leaving [lʊ] as the winner.

Constraint ranking 5 - Grundy Center EFLG: **MAX(C), DEP(V) >> \*x**

Tableau 5:

/lʊx/	MAX(C)	DEP(V)	*x
☞ lʊx			*
lʊ	*!		
lʊ.xə		*!	

Here, [lʊx] violates the markedness constraint \*x. However, the other two constraints violate the faithfulness constraints **MAX(C)** and **DEP(V)**, which are on a more highly ranked stratum, thus eliminating these rival candidates and leaving [lʊx] as the winner. The same two rankings produce the correct tableaux for the two dialectical variants of *Säge*.

Nebraska EFLG (Constraint ranking 4 applies):

Tableau 6:

/sɔ:oy/	*x	DEP(V)	MAX(C)
☞ sɔ:oy			*
sɔ:o	*!		
sɔ:oyə		*!	

Grundy Center EFLG (Constraint ranking 5 applies):

Tableau 7:

/sɔ:oy/	MAX(C)	DEP(V)	*x
☞ sɔ:oy			*
sɔ:o	*!		
sɔ:oyə		*!	

Another observed difference between the two American EFLG dialects involving a loan word from English can be examined in a similar way. Crucially, this difference was observed in other English loan words as well as EFLG words used in continental Europe; however for the scope of this study, we decided to focus on one particular example of this phenomenon. The loan word in question is “kitchen” or [kɪ.tʃən], which is produced as [kɪ.tʃən] in the Nebraska dialect and as [kɪ.tʃən] in the Grundy Center dialect. Both these forms display a feature common to Low German to not include the alveo-palatal affricate [tʃ] in their phonological inventory. This segment is included in the EFLG inventory presented by Matras and Reershemius, but it is distinguished by parentheses (12). Clearly, there is an aversion to these palatal phonemes, as the data indicate. The EFLG speakers we interviewed in Grundy Center are bilingual, but with English serving as their primary language. Presumably, the Nebraska informants interviewed by Bender possessed a similar level of bilingualism. Therefore, a safe assumption would be that all the speakers in both groups are fully capable of producing the segment [tʃ] while speaking English, but apparently do not do so while speaking EFLG, even when producing a word that has been borrowed from English.

The phonological integration of loanwords, in cases of relatively light to moderate contact, tend to be adapted in terms of the phonology and morphology of the recipient language thus becoming, according to Winford, “essentially indistinguishable from native terms” (46-47). Phonological borrowing, even under heavy lexical borrowing, appears to be quite rare and subject to strong constraints. Based on Thomason’s *borrowing scale* (70-71), the EFLG speakers in both Grundy Center and southeastern Nebraska incorporated such lexemes as “kitchen” into their vernacular at a time in their linguistic development when few bilingual speakers existed in the community. The borrowing of phonological features has been attested in many cases of relatively intense contact. One of the conditions under which this tends to occur is the substantial importation of foreign lexical items along with foreign phones or phonemic distinctions. An example of this phenomenon is found in the massive lexical borrowing from French into Middle English. This intense borrowing had some influence on Middle English phonology. For example, the introduction of French loans with initial [v ð z] led to the development of separate phonemes of former allophonic variants such as [f] and [v], [θ] and [ð], and [s] and [z]. The phonemicization of voiced fricatives and

affricates in opposition to their respective voiceless counterparts in Middle English, is classified by Winford under the following constraint on phonological borrowing:

The existence of gaps in the phonemic inventory of the recipient language facilitates the importation of new phonemes or phonemic oppositions that fill such gaps (55).

The abovementioned constraint postulated by Winford does not account for the length of time during which both languages exist in a heavy-borrowing nexus. The period of time between the Norman Invasion of 1066 and the production of written texts in Middle English consists of roughly three centuries. Obviously, both the Grundy Center and southeastern Nebraska EFLG-speaking communities have existed in the Midwest for approximately 150 years, with some speakers coming to America as late as the early 1950s. Although the linguistic borrowing, be it lexical, phonological, etc., between EFLG and English is continually on the rise, this example, namely, the variant pronunciations of the borrowing "kitchen", clearly show that although both groups of speakers can and *do* pronounce this lexeme with a medial alveo-palatal affricate [tʃ] when speaking English, this phoneme does not appear in EFLG. The current pronunciations of "kitchen" in both EFLG-speaking communities still reflect the phonemic inventories at the time of incorporation of these forms into the individual EFLG dialects.

The differences in the phonology of the two American EFLG dialects, as exhibited in the variant borrowings of "kitchen", are examined below utilizing OT. First, the three segments involved, [tʃ], [ts], and [tsʰ], need to be analyzed with respect to their phonological features.

[tʃ] - [+coronal, -anterior, +distributed]

[ts] - [+coronal, +anterior, -distributed]

[tsʰ] - [+coronal, +anterior, -distributed; +dorsal]

[+dorsal] = [+high, -back]

This breakdown does not assist in illustrating the intuition here; that [tsʰ] is a "closer" approximation of original [tʃ] than [ts], because [tsʰ] incorporates the palatal nature of the alveo-palatal affricate into the more favorable, homorganic, alveolar affricate. The reason why the Nebraska dialect favors [ts] rather than [tsʰ] has to involve the markedness of this particular complex articulation ranking higher than the faithfulness.

As shown in the feature representation of the segments above, there is no simple way to show the preference for [tsʰ] over [ts] and vice versa in the Grundy Center and Nebraska dialects, respectively, making use of only these features. To make use of the above stated intuition about [tsʰ] being "closer" to [tʃ] for the Nebraska speakers we need to incorporate constraints regarding the faithfulness to the place of articulation of the segment in relation to the UR. Since [tsʰ] partially preserves the palatal nature of underlying [tʃ] through the complex articulation,

we will label this as a violation of **IDENTITY(place) -1** (hereafter **IDENTITY** will be abbreviated to **IDENT**). The feature, place of articulation, in the SF is not entirely faithful to the same feature as it is in the UR, but this is quantified as a “-1” violation for the purpose of comparison with the same violation in [ts]. The palatal nature of the underlying place of articulation, as present in [tʃ], is completely lost in [ts], therefore we label this a violation of **IDENT(place) -2**.

Now that constraints have been postulated to distinguish between the selection of either [tsʰ] or [ts], we next need to identify the other constraints involved in tableaux 8 and 9 below. There is a clear selection against the segment [tʃ] in both dialects, designating this as a marked form, which in turn means there is a markedness constraint against this, indicated by \*tʃ. The other marked form is the homorganic affricate with complex articulation, [tsʰ]. The constraint selecting against this is represented by \*[+coronal, +dorsal]. With these two additional constraints, we can now set up the variant constraint rankings of the two dialects that produce the two distinct SF.

Constraint ranking 8 - Nebraska EFLG:

\*tʃ >> \*[+coronal, +dorsal] >> IDENT(place) -2 >> IDENT(place) -1

Tableau 8:

/kɪ.tʃən/	*tʃ	*[+coronal, +dorsal]	IDENT (place) -2	IDENT (place) -1
☞kɪ.tʃən			*	*
kɪ.tʃən	*!			
kɪ.tsʰən		*!		*

The Nebraska dialect of EFLG has the constraint denoting [tʃ] as marked as the highest ranked constraint in this tableau. Therefore, the candidate that produces the borrowing identical to the UR and English representation, and thus includes this marked segment, [tʃ], is eliminated by this constraint. The candidate that uses the homorganic affricate with complex articulation, [tsʰ], is eliminated by the constraint that selects against this type of complex articulation, [+coronal, +dorsal]. The winner violates both faithfulness constraints dealing with place of articulation, but due to the low position of these constraints within the ranking, motivates this form, [kɪ.tʃən] to be the winner. This is a case of violations of faithfulness being selected over violations of markedness.

Constraint ranking 9 - Grundy Center EFLG:

\*tʃ >> IDENT(place) -2 >> \*[+coronal, +dorsal] >> IDENT(place) -1

Tableau 9:

/ kɪ.tʃən/	* tʃ	IDENT (place) -2	*[+coronal, +dorsal]	IDENT (place) -1
☞ kɪ.tsʲən			*	*
kɪ.tʃən	* !			
kɪ.tsən		* !		*

In the Grundy Center dialect, the alveo-palatal affricate is also selected against by the highly ranked markedness constraint \* tʃ. However, the rankings illustrate that a “2 interval” violation of **IDENT(place)** is more egregious than using the marked form that includes the features [+coronal, +dorsal], [tsʲ].

This tendency to not favor alveo-palatal fricative articulations is further evidenced by the diachronic example in the Germanic consonant clusters /sk/ and those similar to it. This consonant cluster experienced palatalization in the High German dialects, and most of the modern Low German dialects now exhibit these forms as alveo-palatal fricatives (Wagener 283). Some Low German dialects, such as West Phalian and East Frisian Low German, however, still retain the Germanic consonant cluster /sk/. Schirmunski (362-63) confirms that even in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century the oldest generation of Low German speakers in Hamburg and Oldenburg produced the alveolar fricative [s] rather than the alveo-palatal fricative [ʃ] in lexemes such as *Busch* “bush”, *Fisch* “fish” and *fischen* “to fish”. Grundy Center EFLG speakers also produce these forms with alveolar fricatives [s] serving as the coda. This phenomenon strengthens the hypothesis that EFLG speakers do not favor alveo-palatal fricative articulations, and that such features may not exist in their phonemic inventory.

### Conclusion

This study has illustrated how differences in modern German-American dialects can be presented and analyzed within the framework of OT. The constraints that shape the phonological inventory are present in all the dialects, indeed in all languages, yet it is the variant constraint hierarchies that produce the differences in phonological inventories and SF. In both Midwestern EFLG-speaking communities we observed a tendency to ‘maintain the dialect variety’ in regards to its phonological inventory (Wagener 254). This analysis has revealed that both the Grundy Center and Hanover Nebraska EFLG dialects have not participated in the phonemicization of alveo-palatal fricatives/affricates. The fact that these phonemes are present in their pronunciation of English indicate that lexical borrowings including these segments from English into EFLG occurred at a time when very few bilingual speakers existed in these communities (Thomason 70-71). Although this research shows promise, we caution against the postulation of broad generalizations given

the limit corpus of data analyzed in this study. However, based on our findings to date, we expect to elicit more forms to support the hypotheses rendered in this study.

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup> This paper is the result of numerous discussions with colleagues at the University of Kansas. In particular, the comments and guidance from William Keel, Jie Zhang and three anonymous reviewers were most beneficial. These data and analyses were presented in similar form at the 28<sup>th</sup> Annual SGAS Conference. Further input from Daniel Nützel aided in strengthening and clarifying this work. Lastly, we would like to thank the Ostfrisian Heritage Society in Grundy Center, Iowa for their time and hospitality in providing us with relevant data. Without them, this work would not have been possible. All inaccuracies and shortcomings are our own.

<sup>2</sup> For those unfamiliar with the theory employed in this article, Section 4 serves as a condensed account of the theory. For a more detailed treatment of OT, we suggest the reader consult Kager (1999).

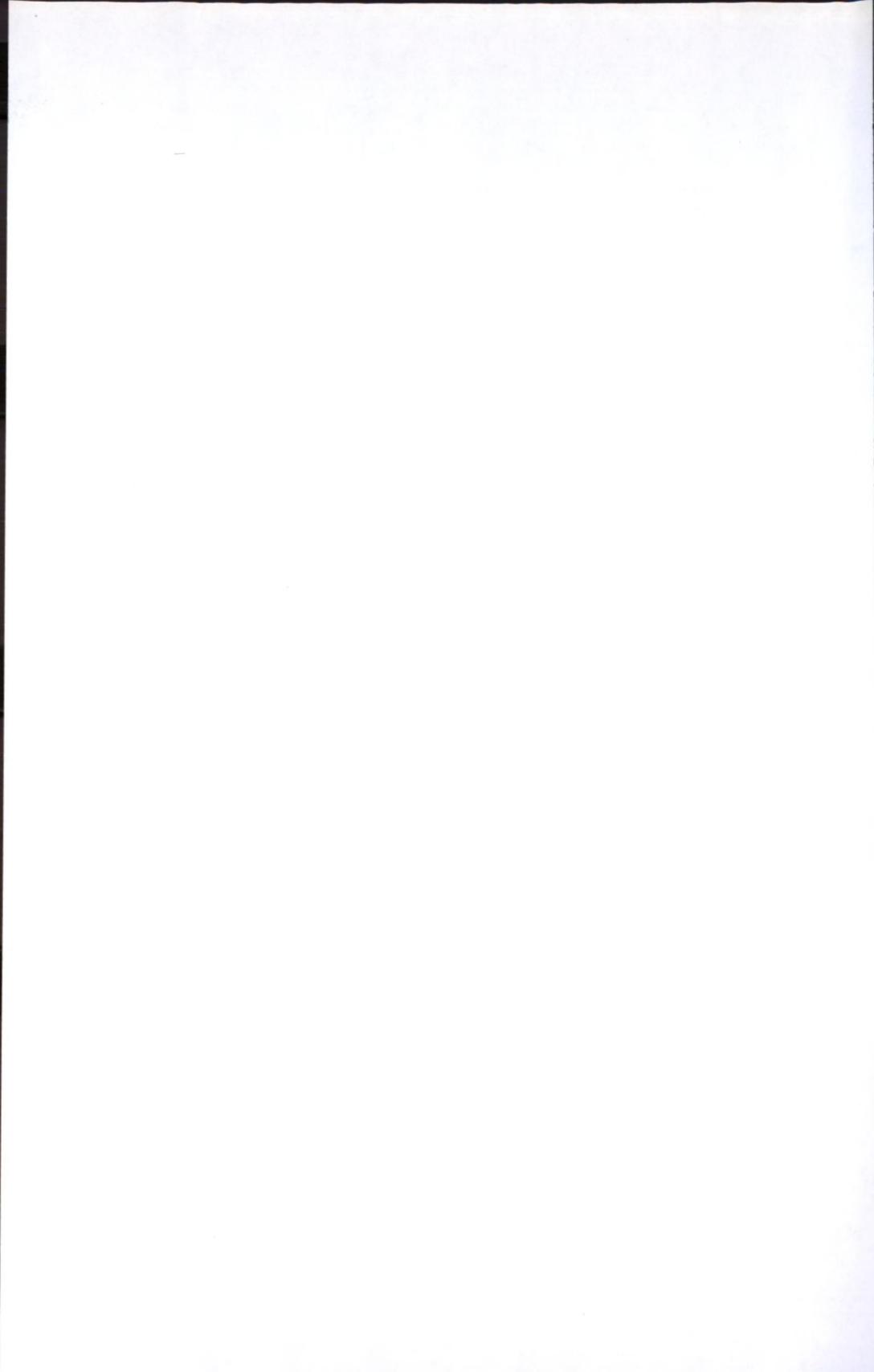
<sup>3</sup> We wish to clarify that it is the phonology that determines the constraint ranking, not the constraints determining the phonology.

<sup>4</sup> While OT states that an infinite number of candidates are generated, by the process GEN, to be evaluated, by EVAL, the following tableaux, as for any OT tableau, are required for practicality to include only a limited number of *relevant* forms, as the majority of the infinite number of possible candidates will incur extravagant violations, and need not be considered in the model.

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Elfe Vallaster-Dona

## German-American Literary Reviews

### **Von Partituren, Lesezeichen, und so weiter: 60 Bilder mit 12 Collagen und Umschlagbild von Annegret Heint.**

*By Margot Scharpenberg. Duisburg: Gilles & Francke, 2003. 124 pages. EUR 14.60.*

### **StadtFluchten, CityEscapes: Selected Poems.**

*By Claudia Becker. Translated by Jerry Glenn, Renate Sturdevant, and Aine Zimmerman. Edited by Jerry Glenn and Maja Gracanin. Cincinnati, OH: Cincinnati Occasional Papers in German-American Studies, 2004. 28 pages.*

### **Wooden Shoe Hollow: Charlotte Pieper's Cincinnati German Novel.**

*Edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann, Milford, OH: Little Miami Publishing Co., 2004. xxxix + 275 pages. \$22.50.*

### **Near Occasions of Sin.**

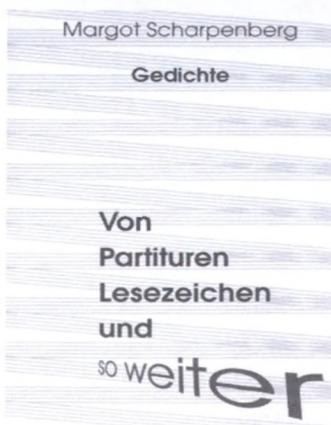
*By Stuart Friebert. Long Beach, California: Doom-Ah Books, 2004. 70 pages. \$12.00.*

### **The Country I Come From: Poems.**

*By Norbert Krapf. Santa Maria, California: Archer (Midpoint Trade, distr.), 2002. 142 pages. \$15.00*

In her most recent volume of poetry *Von Partituren, Lesezeichen, und so weiter* German-American author **Margot Scharpenberg** returns to a format she has used successfully before in many of her twenty-six volumes of poetry and three books of prose. She fuses sixty German poems with twelve collages of visual representations. 12 black-and-white scores by visual artist, Annegret Heint accompany her poems. All pictures are variations of the same geometrical shapes of score sheets. It is interesting to see how Scharpenberg and Annegret Heint work together with media to create a new whole.

In the first twelve of her poems Scharpenberg uses signs to draw a metaphor between her poems written on sheets of paper, to the lines and notes found on a page of sheet music. In a sense the reader receives the denotative meaning of the poem and the equivalent representation or 'translations' of the visual aspects of the text. And it



is these visual aspects that contain the poetic sense of the text.

Heinl has already collaborated with Scharpenberg in 1995 with her publication of *Gegengaben und Widerworte*. "Partitur" is the German word for "score" and is used in music to describe a way of organizing voices of a composition on a music sheet. "Score" refers to all types of written ways to solidify a composition on paper. Heinl playfully creates sculptured, geometrical figures that remind us of scores whereas Scharpenberg uses words to create variations of that theme.

### Statt Notenpapier

Wer muss denn auf Notenpapier  
die Noten schreiben  
wo doch Natur so viele  
offene Flächen hat  
durchsetzt mit Firsten und Stangen  
...  
mit Vogelfüßen  
krallen die Töne sich an  
es flattern die Kehlen im Takt  
nach allerlei Arten  
ganz stur  
Moll oder Dur (21)

That is the beginning of one of the poems by Scharpenberg that sets the tone for the collection. By leaving out the actual musical notes, by creating empty spaces on the score sheet, by producing songs without notes, the reader and spectator is encouraged to fill in the empty spaces in Scharpenberg's poems and Heinl's collages and geometrical patterns.

Lyrical language, artistic word formations, and creative sound patterns are again combined in Scharpenberg's latest book of poetry. Even Scharpenberg's themes and images remain familiar. She divides her new collection of sixty poems into four categories: scores ("Partituren"), book marks ("Lesezeichen"), miscellaneous ("Und so weiter"), and waves-water-ocean ("Welle-Wasser-Meer"). Language, and time, both central themes in all of Scharpenberg's works, receive an additional dimension by adding the act of reading to her poems.

The first group of poems focus on form and sound; an awareness that a destruction of form can lead to new beginnings ("was tut ihr nun / ihr dürft jetzt selber spielen / vertagte Notenträger / mit Vergnügen / zerreisst und stückelt eure / leere Form / setzt sie dann ganz neu / und mit Bedacht zusammen / - Collagenwerk," 13-14). Frequent references to musical terms, scores, and sound reinforce the connection between the poems and the twelve black-and-white pictures that are used to illustrate the themes

of first twelve poems. One representative example of this blending technique can be found in the poems entitled "Statt Notenpapier," "Wassermusik," and "Zopfonate für Geige." The success of these poems is a result of Scharpenberg's direct language and lyric style that creates this new perspective through the usage of her language. A poem becomes enigmatic by the white space which surrounds it on the page, in the way a song has to appeal to the ear. Poetry must be musical, but must also please an inner ear.

The poems in the second segment center on the act of reading and book marks in general. Book marks are loosely connected items that are used to mark a certain spot within a book. Book marks are made of paper strips in "Leser" (61), a book cover itself, "Buchumschlag" (65), colored ribbons in "Eingebunden" (66-67), a letter in "Zweckentfremdet" (70), and a green leaf in "Grünes Blatt als Lesezeichen" (71-72).

The themes of the third section, "Und so weiter" are time and language, peace and tranquility, love, and adoration. Only two poems contain references to Scharpenberg's emigration status: "Reisesege: auch zum Auswandern gültig" (99-100) and "Vom Vorteil zweifacher Zugehörigkeit" (111-112). Interestingly enough the lyrical I in the first poem does not request a blessing for leaving a certain location, but wishes to return to the homeland: "Wohin / soll ich mich wünschen / wenn ich nach Hause will" (99). Being equally content and discontent in two different worlds provides little room for solid anchoring. The dilemma knows only one answer: the physical surroundings, the individual country is not as essential for the feeling of being at home and therefore the poem ends with the following lines:

...  
Dort will ich immer  
auf Tod und Leben  
zu Hause sein  
wo ich bin (100)

To belong to two worlds must not be a disadvantage, but rather creates an opportunity as in the poem "Vom Vorteil zweifacher Zugehörigkeit":

wer mich kennt  
der weiss ja ich gehöre  
fest ins eine  
und ein weiteres Land

bin ich nicht in diesem  
hält mich gerade das andere (111)

Belonging to two countries, one which gave you birth and tradition and the other which gave you a means of living, is seen as a privilege. In the light of such opportunity, neither a re-union with a country nor a farewell can therefore cause a lack of identity: "drum bedenkt / wir bleiben fest verbunden / ob ein Wiedersehen / bevorsteht oder / erst ein nächster / Abschied nah." (112)

The final section, entitled "Welle-Wasser-Meer" addresses Scharpenberg's favorite theme of longing not for a place or a country, but a certain type of place

where she can stay. The fluid image of waves and water are employed to express that feeling of constancy and destruction:

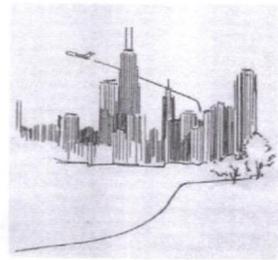
Geständig das Meer  
ja  
ich vernichte mich  
Welle um Welle  
ja  
ich will bleiben  
unbestattet  
in ständiger Wiederkehr (122)

Scharpenberg's quiet, understated style fits her subject beautifully. In the poem "Gezeiten" she writes: ". . . und hörbar nur für mich / ein Prost auf den Mond / den Abendpartner / der Einsamen / bring ich die Wellen zum Klingen." (121) This perfectly self-contained image draws the reader into the poem, and makes the last line not just interesting but believable. By referring to sound again in the end cycle, Scharpenberg comes full circle in a book of poetry that started out with sound images. Anyone who has ever heard Margot Scharpenberg's own voice speak each word of the poem will find the experience of poetry even more superior. Although there are no recordings added to the collection, there is a brief biography on the poet and the illustrator, Annegret Heinel, as well as photos. This collection is simply a must for anyone who enjoys poetry.

The next volume by **Claudia Becker** approaches the idea of migration from one place to another in almost every poem of the collection entitled *StadtFluchten: CityEscapes*. Claudia A. Becker received the Robert L. Kahn Annual Poetry Award 2001 from TRANS-LIT, the literary journal of the Society for Contemporary American Literature in German, for her poem "Beobachtungen einer Buchenwald-Besucherin—1998" which is contained in the present volume. This book of poetry is now made available in a translated form. In 2004, three translators affiliated with the University of Cincinnati, Jerry Glenn, Renate Sturdevant, and Aine Zimmerman created an excellent side-by-side translation of twelve selected poems by Becker. The title *StadtFluchten (CityEscapes)* implies migration, a demographic structural development that might lead to an alternative lifestyle. The term *Stadtfluchten* usually refers to people leaving a city in search for a better, new, different lifestyle. The themes of the poems circle around finding the "true homeland," fate in "foreign lands," "philosophical observations" of love, the "experience of the

STADTFLUCHTEN  
CITYESCAPES

SELECTED POEMS



Claudia A. Becker

Translated by Jerry Glenn,  
Renate Sturdevant,  
and Aine Zimmerman

American way of life," "German-American" life, the "meaning of homeland," the "adventure in foreign lands," and "the feeling of being 'the Other.'"

Anyone ever trying to translate a poem is faced with a problem: when the poetic meaning of the original is bound to the form it becomes impossible to translate the text as a whole. It is here that the translator must choose between translating the form, or translating the meaning. Throughout the volume of poetry, the three translators maintained the poetic sense of the work, by combining free translation (concentrating on the individual meaning as a whole) and at times focusing on the meaning of each individual lexical item. Translators have to make choices when to abandon the literal translation in favor of a more meaning oriented approach. One such example of a translation is the poem "Observations of a Buchenwald Visitor—1998" where the poetic sense of the work is maintained although the b-alliteration does not translate into the English.

<i>Beobachtungen einer Buchenwald-Besucherin—1998</i>	<i>Observations of a Buchenwald Visitor—1998</i>
Baracken unter Buchen... Bundeswehrler in Bussen... Betonstrasse über Boden –	Baracks under beeches... soldiers in buses concrete street over soil—
Begegnung mit dem Barbarischen: Blutiger Sport... blutige Arbeit... blutiges Spiel:	Encounter with the barbaric: bloody sport... bloody work... bloody game:
Ohne Belohnung. Ohne Bezahlung. Ohne Begleichung. (2)	Without reward. Without wages. Without salary. (2)

The translators showed the reader where some of the difficulties in translating such a poem lie: "No attempt was made to capture the hammering-and utterly untranslatable-repetition of the letter "B." (3) This is a good example to demonstrate how the quality of the poetry survives the transposition into English. The translators have not tried to reproduce the assonance of the first two lines" "Bundeswehrler in Bussen . . . /Betonstrasse über Boden . . ." This explanation can help the audience understand what aspects of the original poem the translators decided to translate and which aspects they chose to leave alone. In cases like this the bilingual reader appreciates the translation of the poem which is accompanied by the original work side-by-side in order to make sense. For some purposes, it is desirable to reproduce the linguistic features of a source and find the equivalents in another language.

In "Lähmendes Schweigen" the lines "wäre die Welt eine 'Tabula rasa', / wären . . . , / wäre . . . , / wären . . . ," (8) had to be translated as "if only the world were a tabula rasa, / if they were . . . , / if it were . . . , / if they were . . . ," (9) to be understood by an English-speaking reader. When poems offer a mix of English and German ("Verwandlung," "German-American,") or are written in English exclusively,

it becomes particularly challenging to maintain the original denotative and poetic meaning.

Poetry and translation have only very rarely intersected so strikingly as in the poem "German-American."

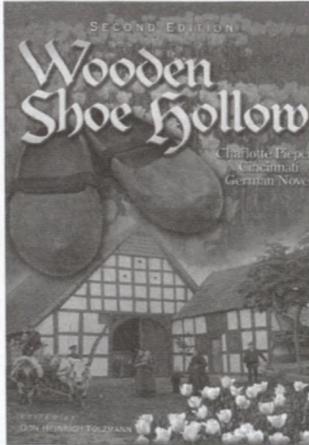
GERMAN(-)AMERICAN	GERMAN(-)AMERICAN
<b>G</b> wie Goethe, Ghetto, gaffen	<b>G</b> like Goethe, ghetto, gawk
<b>E</b> wie Einstein, Endlösung, ehren	<b>E</b> like Einstein, Endlösung, esteem
<b>R</b> wie Rosa Luxemburg, Recht, regeln	<b>R</b> like Rosa Luxemburg, rights, resolve
<b>M</b> wie Mauer, Meisterschaft, messen	<b>M</b> like Munich, mastery, measure
<b>A</b> wie Anstand, Andacht, arbeiten	<b>A</b> like Accord, activity, adore
<b>N</b> wie NATO, Neisse, nörgeln...	<b>N</b> like NATO, Neisse, nitpick...
(-)	(-)
<b>A</b> like August Wilson, Affirmative Action, alone	<b>A</b> wie August Wilson, Affirmative Action, allein
<b>M</b> like Martin Luther King, money, muscular	<b>M</b> wie Martin Luther King, mehr, muskulös
<b>E</b> like Einstein, eternity, eccentric	<b>E</b> wie Einstein, Ewigkeit, exzentrisch
<b>R</b> like Rumsfeld, rules, racial	<b>R</b> wie Rumsfeld, Regeln, rassistisch
<b>I</b> like Iraq, intervention, independent	<b>I</b> wie Irak, Intervention, individualistisch
<b>C</b> like Circus, challenge, chaotic	<b>C</b> wie Comics, Cash, chaotisch
<b>A</b> like Alert, aware, assertive	<b>A</b> wie Aufmerksam, aufgewacht, aufdringlich
<b>N</b> like Never-ending nervousness of a Neophyte...	<b>N</b> wie nicht-endende Nervosität eines Neulings...
(15)	(15)
	Translated by Jerry Glenn and Aine Zimmerman

Nowhere else but in this poems does a parallel text edition transform the reader's perception of the nature and function of the translation. Poems like these are culture-specific and the translator is now compelled to construct bridges between cultures that are far apart. In a sense the translated poem becomes a poem in its own right. Sometimes it is not the perfect correspondence between the original and the translation that makes for a good translation. In the case of the above-mentioned

poem, the translators evoke different images that could almost be variations to the same theme while re-creating the original.

M wie Mauer, Meisterschaft, messen	M like Munich, mastery, measure
A wie Anstand, Andacht, arbeiten	A like Accord, activity, adore

With a little bit more freedom, something closer to the original might be created. A good translation of a 'weaker' English poem is exemplified in "No More Questions Asked." (24-25) Here the original poem which was created in English seems less convincing than the translated German version.



What the reader interested in German-American contributions and materials is mostly interested in is to understand people divided by language and culture to communicate, and to enable the development of a mutually enriching interaction across the globe. This small volume by Claudia Becker, entitled *StadtFluchten: CityEscapes*, contributes to exactly that notion.

After reading *Wooden Shoe Hollow*, a historical novel that illustrates the German-American life in Cincinnati around the turn of the twentieth century, one has to agree that this book has been out of print too long. This book is a reprint of a historical Cincinnati German novel written by Charlotte Pieper in 1951. The colorful book cover shows a German immigrant family standing in front of a half-timber family home which is reminiscent of northern Germany as well as some parts of Cincinnati. Two wooden shoes or clogs, which were primarily a work shoe and appear to be roughly carved, dominate the picture. Readers can see the actual wooden shoe used in the design of the front cover of the book on display at the German Heritage Museum in Cincinnati, Ohio.

The novel, set in Wooden Shoe Hollow, a location on the northern edge of present-day Winton Place, illustrates the arrival of German immigrants to that rural, fertile area and documents their lives. The reader experiences the ups and downs of immigrant life through the main character, a young German woman, Rica Heber, who has emigrated from Osnabrück, Germany, and lived in this area around the turn of century. Already the first few sentences draw you into the story which describes actual people and real places:

Grossmutter Betz had come to Rica Heber out of the mist and smoke of a gray morning at the Osnabrück railway station. A tiny black bonnet was tied primly under her enthusiastic little chin. The word Amerika shuttled past her lips many times, but it was the first mention of the name which

drew Rita to her side with breathless expectancy. "You are going to America, too?" she asked. (13)

As this young girl learns the different customs in a new world and deals with her own history she left behind in Germany, the reader will understand how a town in Germany, Osnabrück, and a little farming community in Cincinnati can share a common bond.

The geographic location, *Wooden Shoe Hollow* in Cincinnati, is not merely used as a convenience for telling a story in some fanciful setting, but Cincinnati is portrayed in this rich historical novel as an essential part of the life of the time. The reader almost feels that he is living in that time period. The editor of this edition, Don Heinrich Tolzmann, contributed valuable background information to the novel. Much has been added to the current edition of 2004 if compared to the novel's first publication by the author, Charlotte Pieper, in 1951. Don Heinrich Tolzmann, long known as president of the German-American Citizens League of Greater Cincinnati and curator of its German-American collection, has included several major parts to the original novel in order to make the novel a true historic document of Cincinnati's German heritage. Readers of the re-published version have now access to many materials, such as historic maps that help researchers locate the places referred to in the novel in Germany and Cincinnati, 36 pictures of street signs, churches, relatives of Charlotte Pieper, the Pieper family home, German cemeteries. Genealogist might find the complete index to new materials useful and a page-locator note section of the story will illustrate lesser known terms or places found in the novel. Don Tolzmann even researched some names of the novel by looking up what was written about them in different newspaper articles of the time. What makes this historic novel even more interesting to today's reader is the information provided by Tolzmann about families who still live and work in greenhouses and flower shops in Wooden Shoe Hollow. Tolzmann points out in his introduction: "Today, many of the family businesses have made the transition from the vegetable to the garden business, and these are the places where many Cincinnati residents go to get flowers, plants, seeds, shrubbery, trees, garden equipment, etc."(xxviii). *Wooden Shoe Hollow*, which was once the gardening district of Cincinnati developed by German immigrants, is still today showing traces of that heritage. The city of Cincinnati was not just used as a backdrop for Charlotte Pieper's novel, but the city was described in detail to provide a vivid picture of what life might have been like in early Cincinnati history.<sup>1</sup>

The true relevance of a historical novel is how it affects a particular reader. Following the publication and book signing of *Wooden Shoe Hollow* in April of 2004, a lively discussion and exchange of letters ensued about the significance of the novel. Residents of Wooden Shoe Hollow, pastors, and other residents of Cincinnati shared stories of that old German settlement and their German immigrant past. Even readers in Germany tried to obtain a copy of the book.<sup>2</sup> The re-publication of *Wooden Shoe Hollow* once again illustrates that the relationship between literature

and society is meaningful. If a book can motivate readers to discuss their own stories of how their families are connected to the area, it is worth the modest price.

<sup>1</sup> For more information about novels that used Cincinnati as a setting, see <http://www.cincinnati.library.org/booklists/?id=cincinnati-fiction>.

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.genesearch.com/queryview.htm>.

Elfe Vallaster-Dona

**Stuart Friebert** has always been a special case in German-American literature. His first four books, mainly poetry, were written in German and published between 1969 and 1975. Since then, more than half a dozen of poetry collections have come out in English, the most recent one titled *Near Occasions of Sin*, a relatively small volume, but in tone and attitude indicative of the mature author's philosophy and view of the world.

It may be noteworthy that Friebert, of Jewish background, went as a student to Germany not many years after the Holocaust. He spent most of his time in Darmstadt, where he took courses at the Technische Hochschule and the Pädagogische Institut (1949/50), but he also traveled to Austria and Switzerland. During those early postwar years, he established contacts and friendships with leading German authors of the time, among them the late Karl Krolow, whose poetry he translated into English. It will probably be fascinating to anyone concerned with things German to read about this period in Friebert's soon to be published memoirs.

The six-part collection *Near Occasions of Sin* reflects the author's skepticism of the *conditio humana* – a skepticism that expresses itself in irony and humor, sometimes in a laconic acceptance of the absurd. Often the poem becomes the vessel of anecdotes, working its way to a moral (and if there is no moral, the moral is that there is no moral). Friebert indulges in an easygoing, intentionally informal language that tries to pierce the essence of our existence and unveils a causality of which we have not yet been aware. One may be tempted to identify this approach as philosophic poetry or *Gedankenlyrik*. The narrative flow (enjambment without rhyme), so prevalent in contemporary American poetry, almost invites this classification.

Although small in its number of pages, this poetry collection spans a spectrum of themes and motifs. There are memories of a not necessarily idyllic family life with the dominant father figure, there are references to Jewish identity and German past, and again and again we find epigrammatic observations of fish and fishing and almost scientific descriptions of all kinds of animals. One sometimes wonders if the poet found solace in the animal world after experiencing the dubious value of human behavior.

It certainly would have been a sin not to convey those insights and to suppress the experiences from which they evolved because this oblivion comes easily from our general self-complacency. The poet (in this volume identical with the poetic persona,

the *lyrische Ich*) avoided those occasions, although he may have come near them (after all, he is human, too).

Ocean County College, New Jersey

Gert Niers

In der amerikanischen Gegenwartsliteratur gibt es keinen Autor, der sich so anhaltend und intensiv mit seiner deutschen Herkunft befasst hat, wie **Norbert Krapf**. Der aus dem ländlichen Süden Indianas stammende Lyriker, Erzähler, Herausgeber und Übersetzer hat die meiste Zeit seines beruflichen Lebens als Englisch-Professor auf Long Island, New York, verbracht, wo er zuletzt an der dortigen Universität das C.W. Post Poetry Center leitete. Seit Sommer 2004 lebt er mit seiner Familie in Indianapolis.

Krapf hat vor allem in der Lyrik immer wieder seine Identität als Deutschamerikaner thematisiert, allerdings nicht in sentimentaler oder chauvinistischer, sondern vielmehr in phänomenologisch beschreibender, vorsichtig konstatierender Weise. Mehrere seiner kurzen Gedichtsammlungen sind später zu größeren und leichter zugänglichen Ausgaben zusammengefasst worden. Zu nennen wären *Somewhere in Southern Indiana: Poems of Midwestern Origins* (St. Louis, Missouri: Time Being Books, 1993), *Blue-Eyed Grass: Poems of Germany* (im selben Verlag, 1997) und *Bittersweet Along the Expressway: Poems of Long Island* (Hardwick, Massachusetts: Waterline Books, 2000). In *The Country I Come From* setzt Krapf seinen literarisch-philosophischen Weg fort.

Bereits der Titel der dreiteiligen Gedichtsammlung macht deutlich, wie der Autor seinen Band verstanden wissen will: als Versuch der Selbstfindung und Selbstidentifikation des in eine bestimmte geographische Landschaft gestellten Individuums, wobei man das lyrische Ich weitgehend mit dem biographischen Autoren-Ich gleichsetzen darf. Wäre der Name aus historischen Gründen nicht so sehr belastet, könnte man Krapfs poetisches Unternehmen durchaus als *Heimatliteratur* bezeichnen, und zwar in einem ursprünglichen, ideologiefreien Sinn. Den Titel der Sammlung hat Krapf einem Lied Bob Dylans entlehnt, ohne weiterhin auf den Inhalt des Dylan-Songs einzugehen (Krapf, ein Bewunderer des Protestsängers mit dem ursprünglichen Namen Zimmerman, hat in diesen Band auch ein Gedicht über die Publikumswirkung Bob Dylans aufgenommen).

Bereits der erste Text (Prolog) stellt die Verbindung zur deutschamerikanischen Vergangenheit her. Dabei wird die Erinnerung durch ein Geruchserlebnis (ähnlich wie bei Proust durch ein Geschmackserlebnis) ausgelöst und holt die verlorene Zeit ein. Krapf setzt jedoch auch kritische Anmerkungen zur Kolonialgeschichte und bekundet Solidarität mit verfolgten und ausgebeuteten Minderheiten, etwa in "Mississinewa River Lament" und "Fire and Ice". Für den letztgenannten Text hat ihm 1999 in New York die *Poetry Society of America* ihren *Lucille Medwick Memorial Award* überreicht. Bemerkenswert sind auch die Betrachtungen zu Natur und Sprache, so die Idee der Sprachwerdung aus der der Natur ("The Language of Place", zugleich der Titel des ersten Teils der Sammlung). Die deutschen Romantiker und Walt Whitman haben hier Pate gestanden.

Es folgen weitere Naturbetrachtungen im zweiten Teil, der den Titel "When the House Was New" trägt und vor allem Szenen aus dem Landleben enthält. Der Leser

begegnet Leuten, die in einer kleinen, vorwiegend von deutschen Einwanderern bzw. deren Nachfahren bewohnten Enklave leben, aber durchaus in die größere Struktur, die Amerika heißt, integriert sind. Für diese Menschen (und anscheinend ihre Zeit) gibt es keinen Konflikt zwischen Deutsch und Amerikanisch. Krapfs Verdienst als Autor und Zeitzeuge besteht darin, dass er seine zumeist ethnisch gefärbten Erinnerungen naht- und widerspruchlos in die kollektive Erinnerung dessen, was Amerika und amerikanisch ist, einbringt. Diese Sehweise eröffnet auch neue Perspektiven für eine deutschamerikanische Literatur.

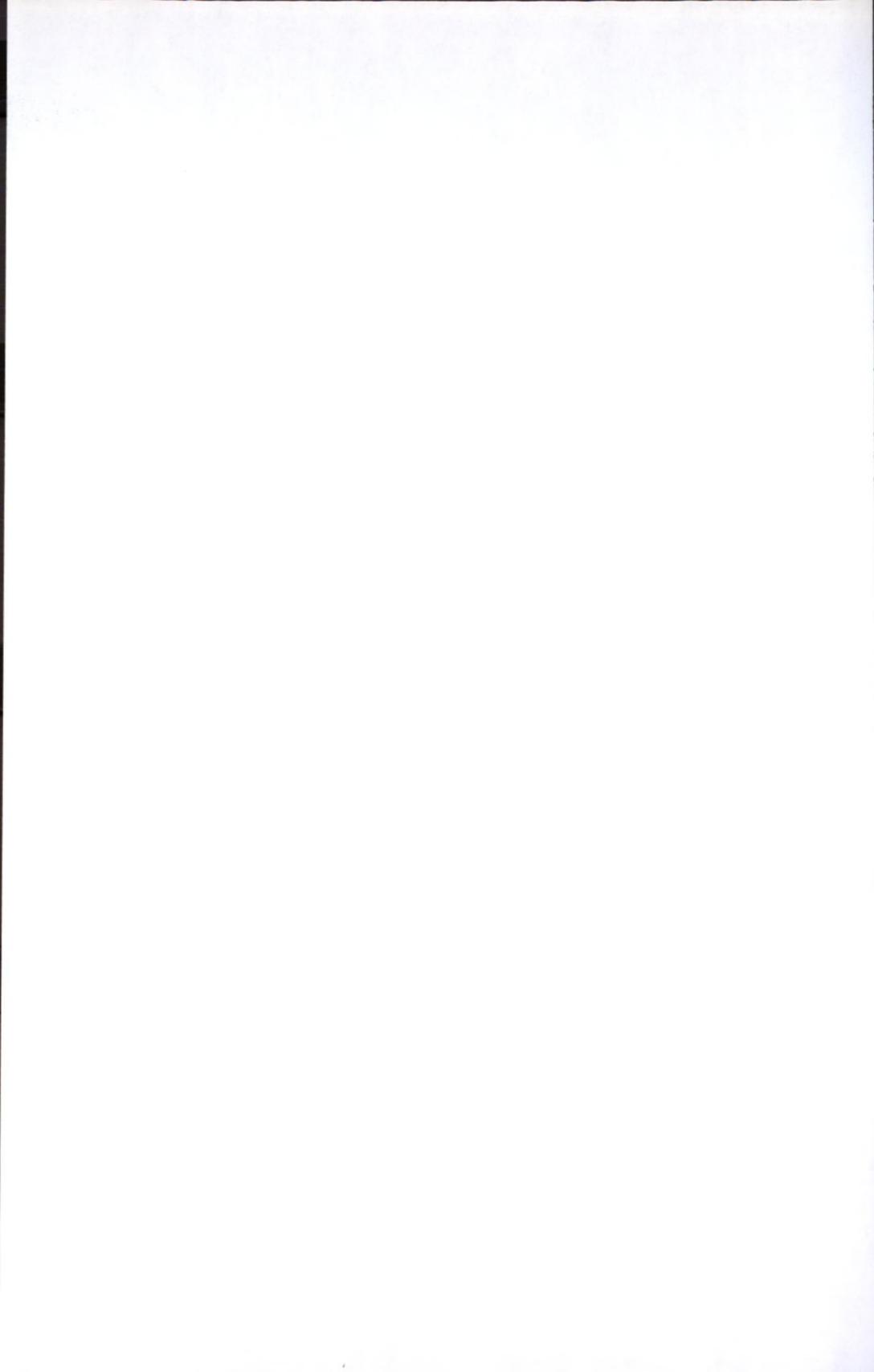
Wie der Titel "Odysseus in Indiana" ankündigt, enthält der dritte Teil der Sammlung Erinnerungen an verschiedene Rückkehr-Erlebnisse. Antike Mythologie findet ironischen Niederschlag in der Gestaltung des Gegensatzes von geruhsamem Landleben und anstrengendem Vorstadtleben (der Autor hatte bei Abfassung der Gedichte seinen Wohnort noch auf Long Island). Obwohl der ganze Band dem Andenken an die Mutter gewidmet ist, wird dieser Bezug erst im letzten Teil voll ausgearbeitet. Dem Verfasser gelingen liebevolle, eindringliche Porträts seiner alternden Mutter und anderer Familienmitglieder.

Krapfs Umgang mit seiner deutschamerikanischen Identität hat nie die Last jüngerer deutscher Vergangenheit ignoriert. Im Gegenteil: fern jeglicher Absicht, historische Zusammenhänge beiseite zu schieben oder zu verschleiern, hat sich der Angehörige des Jahrgangs 1943 immer wieder ein waches politisches Bewußtsein bewahrt. Das zeigte sich bereits in *Blue-Eyed Grass* und kehrt auch im jüngsten Lyrikband in dem auf den ersten Blick unscheinbar anmutenden Text "Dorothy and the Jewish Coat" wieder.

Die Sprache dieses Lyrikers ist einfach und ungekünstelt. Ihm kommt es eher auf distanziertes Understatement als auf flammende Rhetorik an. Krapf hat seine Texte einmal als Erzählgedichte bezeichnet, was auf die leichte Lesbarkeit der durchgehenden Zeilen und Strophen verweist. Insofern liegt Krapf voll im Trend amerikanischer Gegenwartslyrik. Man darf seinem für April 2005 angekündigten Gedichtband *Looking for God's Country* (wiederum bei Time Being Books) mit einiger Erwartung entgegensehen.

*Ocean County College, New Jersey*

Gert Niers



## Book Reviews

*Edited by Timothy J. Holian  
Missouri Western State University*

### **Arthur Preuss: Journalist and Voice of German and Conservative Catholics in America, 1871-1934.**

*By Rory T. Conley. New German-American Studies/Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien, vol. 16. New York: Peter Lang, 1998. 361 pp. \$61.95.*

Arthur Preuss, a German-American editor and conservative Catholic lay leader, was perhaps the most respected Catholic journalist in the United States in his day. Preuss stood in the tradition of independent Catholic journalism established by Orestes Brownson and James McMaster and, in a career spanning more than forty years, emerged as a leading spokesperson for German-American and Conservative Catholics.

Preuss was educated at two Catholic colleges that had strong German-American roots, Canisius College (Buffalo) and St. Francis Solanus College (Quincy, Illinois), where he graduated in 1890 with a master's degree in philosophy. His father, Edward Preuss, a Lutheran minister who converted to Catholicism, edited the German-Catholic daily *Die Amerika* (St. Louis) for more than twenty years and transformed it into the flagship of the German-Catholic press in the United States. Preuss served a journalistic apprenticeship under his father and in 1892 was named editor of two German-Catholic weeklies in Chicago, the *Katholisches Sonntagsblatt* and *Die Glocke*.

In 1894 Arthur Preuss launched his own journal, the *Fortnightly Review*. Although Preuss was closely involved with the publication of Catholic newspapers, including stints as editor at *Die Amerika* and *The Echo* (Buffalo), his reputation rests primarily on his role as long-time editor of the *Fortnightly Review*. From 1894 to 1934 Preuss used the *Review* as a bully pulpit to confront liberal prelates and regularly questioned their policies. His well-reasoned and thoughtful style earned him respect even among liberal Catholics. The *Review* thus emerged as a powerful conservative voice that covered most important contemporary issues affecting the Catholic Church, such as Cahenslyism, the crisis over Americanism, the social question, the founding of The Catholic University of America, the German Catholic experience during World War I, the emergence of the liturgical movement, and the establishment of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

Preuss was an avowed anti-Modernist and quick to affirm the connection between Americanism and Modernism. Conflicts between German Catholics

and the Irish-dominated American Catholic Church, particularly the one about the status of national parishes that served ethnic Americans, shaped his worldview and reinforced his ultramontanist leanings. These struggles were particularly bitter and divisive in St. Louis, his home base, and only partly resolved in 1896 when Archbishop John Kain finally declared parishes to be independent entities that were entitled to identical parochial rights and privileges.

Notre Dame historian Philip Gleason describes the German-Catholic intellectuals of the St. Louis-based *Central Verein* as "Conservative Reformers" and Arthur Preuss fits into that mold. He was a supporter of parochial schools and monastic communities, but at the same time, as a cultural pluralist, called for more equitable treatment of African-Americans. Preuss was grounded in a transplanted German intellectual tradition that built on the teachings of the *Katholische Soziallehre*. Like the *Central Verein* leaders, Preuss embraced the "Christian Solidarism" of Heinrich Pesch with its harsh critique of capitalism and was an advocate of social reform.

From 1896 to 1934 Arthur Preuss served as literary editor for the B. Herder Publishing Company of St. Louis. In that capacity Preuss was responsible for the adaptation and translation of German theological texts and works on spirituality. The theological textbooks which he edited, "Koch-Preuss" on moral theology and "Brunsmann-Preuss" on fundamental theology, were standard fare in many Catholic seminaries. Preuss is particularly known for his translation of Joseph Pole's *Lehrbuch der Dogmatik*, which Herder published as the "Pohle-Preuss." These neo-Thomistic volumes were still in use on the eve of the Second Vatican Council.

This is an important study of a prominent German Catholic layman who enjoyed tremendous stature among educated Catholics of his day. Conley's book serves as an authoritative guide to Preuss's career and his voluminous writings.

Indiana University

Heiko Muehr

### **Out of the Ashes: Berlin 1930 to 1950.**

By Annemarie Reuter Schomaker. n.p.: 1st Books Library [now AuthorHouse], 2003. 236 pp. \$14.50.

Annemarie Reuter was born on November 3, 1930, in Berlin. Her book, *Out of the Ashes*, relates the circumstances of her life and that of her family from her earliest recollections through the rise of National Socialism, the Second World War, and ultimately the formation of two German states and a divided Berlin in the post-war period. The story is to some degree well-known. For scholars and students of twentieth-century Germany, images such as those pictured on the cover of the book—the Brandenburg Gate, cityscapes in flames, and swastikas—are all too familiar. Yet Schomaker relates a fascinating tale which is at once captivating, inspiring, and eerily detached from the main events on the world stage at the time.

In a section entitled "About the Author" at the close of the volume, Schomaker's style is described as "unique, humorous and always entertaining" (unnumbered page 235). The characterization is apt but fails to recognize the poignancy and bittersweet tone of the whole. Schomaker relates her own story with the innocence of the child she was

when she lived the events but from the vantage point of the adult she has become. The humor and poignancy of the story arise from the tension between the two points of view.

Viewed from the comfort of today, the deprivation which Annemarie's family and others suffered is almost unimaginable. School-age children in Berlin were removed to distant rural areas to protect them from the dangers of daily bombings. The precaution was probably necessary to protect the country's youth, yet it rent families asunder and separated very young children from their parents and siblings. The story is heart-rending.

From a human perspective, Schomaker's narrative has epic qualities. The struggle for survival in the face of massive destruction and the dislocation of millions of people was monumental. Young Annemarie's actions to reunite her siblings and be reunited herself with her family in Berlin may well strike the reader as heroic. Yet while she frankly relates the horror and the suffering, Schomaker makes no claim to heroism. She is simply relating from the distance of some decades her story, which is by no means unique, particularly for those who lived in Berlin. Indeed, Schomaker frames her story in terms of three generations of women in her own family, starting with her maternal grandmother and ending with herself (and by implication extending on to her own children). She ties the historical events of the time as well as the prevailing customs and social circumstances to her family, giving her story depth and a very personal face.

For all its readability, however, the book does have its flaws. Although one understands that the volume was for all practical purposes published by the author, it is difficult to reconcile the many typographical and grammatical errors with Schomaker's conscientious attempts to verify certain historical facts by reviewing original sources. Moreover, some readers might find certain parts of the book a bit unsettling. The title itself and the cover images evoke a stereotypical view of Berlin and Germany during the time of National Socialism and create a false impression of the true content of the volume. Conversely, although Annemarie's father was a party member from the early days and his widow and children enjoyed a certain protected status for a period of time after his death, Hitler himself is mentioned only briefly in Schomaker's narrative. Of course, politics would likely have been lost on the young Annemarie, but this reader felt at times frustrated as certain historical associations were introduced into the story only to be ignored. Finally, however, Schomaker's story is both moving and informative. It provides insights into life in Germany during the 1930s and 1940s which one rarely glimpses. The story is a very human one, one well worth the reader's time.

*Loyola College in Maryland*

*Randall P. Donaldson*

**Unser Leute: The Volga Germans of West Central Kansas—Aspects of Their History, Politics, Culture and Language.**

*Edited by William D. Keel with James L. Forsythe, Francis Schippers and Helmut J. Schmeller. Lawrence, KS: Max Kade Center for German-American Studies, the University of Kansas and the Volga German Society, 2004. 258 pp. \$17.00.*

Editor William Keel explains the purpose of this collection well in his introduction. The volume is a product of the continuing cooperation between the Max Kade Center for German-American Studies at the University of Kansas

and the Volga German Society in Hays, Kansas. This particular project aims to preserve the "history and culture of the Catholic settlements in Ellis and Rush counties" (2) with an eye to providing further information on all Volga German communities in Kansas. Twenty of the twenty-one contributions are distributed across five major sections, with three to seven essays per section. The remaining article is a photographic essay with commentary on the six communities under scrutiny. In addition, there is an appendix with suggestions for further reading.

Most of the essays were created specifically for this publication. Those which were reprinted from elsewhere were revised or rewritten where possible. In at least one instance, where the author of a classic article was deceased, the article was augmented and annotated to guarantee its applicability to the current collection. In all, the essays present a view of the history, life, and customs of the Volga Germans in Kansas which is both expansive and thorough.

The major sections, in order, are: History; Legal and Political Life; Culture and Folklore; Religion and Education; and Volga German Dialects. "Culture and Folklore" contains the greatest number of essays at seven; the final section, "Volga German Dialects," has the second largest number at four. That the two sections between them provide a significant portion of the twenty regular contributions betrays the emphasis of the volume—language and folklore.

Although an uninitiated observer reading the volume could school him- or herself thoroughly in the history, speech, and customs of the Volga Germans in West Central Kansas, particularly the Catholics who are the major focus of study, it is likely that the specialist or enthusiast will benefit the most. The essays on Christmas traditions or marriage and burial customs would, of course, be accessible to many, as would the discussions of butchering and baking. However, most of the essays in the section on dialects demand more than a modicum of training in German and some knowledge of linguistics. Then, too, the genealogist, the ethnologist, or the social historian might well benefit from any one of the articles in ways its author could not even have anticipated. All readers will enjoy both the photographic essay with its sixteen full-color pictures and the many black-and-white photographs scattered through the volume, particularly in the section on culture and folklore.

*Loyola College in Maryland*

*Randall P. Donaldson*

**"Auf denn, Ihr Schwestern!" Deutschamerikanische Frauenvereine in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1844-1914.**

*By Anke Ortlepp. Transatlantische Historische Studien, vol. 17. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2003. 308 pages. EUR 39,00.*

The expert knows: thousands of *Turnvereine*, singing societies, clubs, church- and political groups, lodges and social organizations existed in German-American communities in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although their number must have been overwhelming, most of their records are gone: burned, thrown out, or taken away to unknown places. Single anniversary booklets or personal accounts, sometimes discovered in archives or private collections, allow an occasional glimpse

of their glorious days. Therefore, the study of German-American organizations is not easy. This book by Anke Ortlepp is unique in two ways. It is the first book-length study that systematically investigates the wide range of club activities in one city—here Milwaukee. It also focuses specifically on women's clubs, a topic that so far has gone wanting for solid investigation. Milwaukee is a logical choice: the city and state archives hold plenty of material; Milwaukee has a distinct German-American history and image; and some German-American club activities have remained in existence until today.

Ortlepp argues that women's clubs played an important role in "community building" and "community maintaining." Through female societies, women demonstrated their public engagement, their interest in opinion processes, and their influence within the German-American community. Their fundraising actions supported important community sustaining structures such as churches, kindergartens, and schools. Their benevolent work compensated for a lack of public responsibility, especially in an immigrant community. Furthermore, female organizations offered women a space to build up networks, self-awareness, and self-esteem through their accomplishments.

To support her arguments Ortlepp looks at the spectrum of female clubs, their activities, and their development from 1844 to 1914. The study opens with a general overview of the growth of the German-American community of Milwaukee. It reaches back to the initial settlement of the city in the 1830s and illustrates German settlers' involvement in politics, economics, and social activities. This general introduction is followed by eight chapters on various female clubs in the city: women's activities in Catholic churches; benevolent societies; the Women Aid Societies of the *Turnvereine*; school and kindergarten support groups; the women's club of the Free Congregation; Socialistic Women's Societies; unions; and the Sister Lodges of the Sons of Hermann. To allow easy comparisons between those different societies, all chapters are structured identically. Ortlepp begins with the historical background of the essentially male organization, which often reaches back to its German roots. She continues to outline its specific female branch; its goals and organizational structure, the social composition of its membership, their actions, and concludes with a summary and analysis of the female activities for this specific type of organization.

The example of the Ladies Auxiliaries of the Milwaukee Turnverein suffices to illustrate this system. The chapter begins with a synopsis of the history of the Turner movement in Germany. Although most expert readers will be familiar with this, Ortlepp frames the description according to her main interest: the role of women. She continues with a review of the establishment of Milwaukee's Turner societies. Again most of her information is based on previous studies. Her next sub-chapter, however, turns to the discussion of females, their roles, and activities within Turner societies. Although she bases her interpretation on primary materials, her three-page analysis does not compare favorably to other studies on the same topic. Annette Hofmann and Gertrud Pfister, both experts in the field, have given us more elaborated and detailed accounts. Their works, especially Hofmann's book on the German-American Turners that includes several chapters on women, published in 2001, unfortunately are not cited. But after the reader leaves behind the general introduction, the study turns to the topic itself: the Ladies Auxiliaries of Milwaukee's Turner societies. Based on golden jubilee booklets, newspaper articles, constitutions and by-laws, and minute books, Ortlepp constructs a convincing picture of the aims and structures, membership developments, and activities of

women in Milwaukee Turner societies. In her conclusion of the Turner chapter, she investigates the important supportive functions of the Ladies Auxiliaries.

In cases where local branches of national organizations are treated (e.g., Turners, the Free Congregations, Unions, or the Sons of Hermann) the brief historical introductions only allow for a very superficial picture. However, they still serve as a frame for the discussion of the associated female groups. But for a number of local institutions (e.g., Deutsch-Englische Akademie) that have not been looked at before, Ortlepp certainly offers new and valuable insights. The overall pioneering achievement of this study is her comparative look across all the different female organizations in Milwaukee. In the present book she convincingly illustrates how the growing German-American community of Milwaukee built up social structures that reflected the complexity of its community. This was also carried over to the wide range of female associations that set themselves apart by the distinct social construct of their membership, their goals, and the means by which they could be reached.

The work incorporates a large amount of primary and secondary material. Ortlepp has used a wide bandwidth of available sources and turned them into a compelling and thorough study. The text is supplemented with a number of tables and graphs that illustrate the growth of the German population, membership developments of specific female societies, financial information, and occupations of husbands. It also includes an impressive bibliography and an index.

The book is certainly a very valuable addition to immigrant studies, in particular German-American studies, gender studies, and local Milwaukee and Wisconsin history. Anybody working on topics pertaining to German-American women should consult it in the future.

Bonn, Germany

Katja Rampelmann

**A Milwaukee Woman's Life on the Left: The Autobiography of Meta Berger.**

*Edited by Kimberly Swanson. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 2001. 208 pages. \$15.95.*

The autobiography of Meta Schlichting Berger (1873-1944) unfolds the fascinating life of a woman who left her mark on the Socialist Party, on educational reform, on the Women's Movement, on Wisconsin, and on Milwaukee in particular. Along with her well-known husband Victor Berger—co-founder of the Socialist Party, journalist, and wholehearted politician—Meta led a life of public service with many ups and downs, major rewards, and threatening crisis. The story reveals her development from a shy young woman into a major political activist of the early twentieth century and allows readers a private view into both the Berger home and United States party politics.

Born on February 23, 1873, into a German middle-class immigrant family in Milwaukee, Meta's comfortable childhood abruptly ends with the death of her father in 1884. Her youth is marked by the family's struggle to avoid poverty. At age twenty-four she marries Victor Berger, her former teacher and thirteen years her senior, in 1897. Victor, an Austrian-Hungarian immigrant, is restless, asserts himself in several professions, and finally becomes publisher of the German weekly *Wisconsin Vorwärts*

and the English daily *Milwaukee Leader*. In her private life the young woman has to come to terms with her husband's dominance, their constant financial struggles, and Victor's devotion to his political course in the Socialist Party. His participation in meetings, rallies, strikes, conventions, and local and national meetings take him away from home most of the time. Slowly Meta finds her way into his political theories and ambitions whereas Victor remains oblivious to her family- and household concerns. By 1902 Meta is obliged to take care of three children: their two daughters Doris (born 1898) and Elsa (1900), as well as a nephew, Jack, son of her oldest sister Paula.

But Meta is not content with her life and in 1904 rolls the dice and becomes politically active herself. While accompanying her husband to many party events she becomes acquainted with prominent party and national labor leaders, and slowly begins to appreciate Victor's work for social reforms. She also helps out in the newspaper office and assists in Victor's political campaigns coordinating the fundraising activities and the distribution of literature.

After Victor's election to Congress in 1910—the first Socialist congressman in the nation—she joins her husband for part of the term in Washington but does not feel comfortable in the capital and its particular political atmosphere. The couple is met by warm welcomes as well as by open hostility and disapproval. Their unconventional political views and the representation of Socialist viewpoints make their fellow congressmen uneasy and they often remain isolated. The situation worsens when Victor is convicted and sentenced to a twenty-year prison term under the Espionage Act in Chicago 1918 and 1919. Meta describes how much the family suffers from the war-hysteria of World War I in much detail. Due to the Socialist Party's antiwar position the federal government focused much of its scrutiny on party leaders, including Victor Berger. Meta not only fears for her husband's freedom but also for their family income, since the mailing privileges for Victor's papers are lost. Through all this trouble Meta remains strong. By now she is so well connected that she is able to secure the enormous sum for Victor's bond money for his release. The persecution of her husband by the United States government continues when he loses his seat as congressman in 1918. Their socialist and German connections make them easy targets for attacks. They remain political outcasts until after the war, when the charges against Victor are finally dropped.

Although Victor's political accomplishments stand in the spotlight, Meta's own career is scarcely less impressive. She is elected to the Milwaukee School Board, on which she serves for over 30 years from 1909 until 1939. As the first female school board president in the United States she holds a very prominent public office from 1915 to 1916. Furthering her lifelong interest in educational reform, she also serves on the Wisconsin State Board of Education (1917-19), the Wisconsin Board of Regents of Normal Schools (1927-28), and the University of Wisconsin Board of Regents (1928-34). In 1914 Meta joins the Wisconsin Women Suffrage Association (WWSA), later establishes a chapter of the National Women's Party, and joins the national committee of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

But in addition to her public activities, Meta also remains a loving mother and wife. When her oldest daughter Doris follows her husband to the Philippines, where he has taken a position as instructor at the University of the Philippines in Los Banos, Meta decides to visit them and embarks on a seven-month journey through Asia. In 1921 her trip takes her to Honolulu, Japan, Korea, and China, and she returns to

the United States with many favorable impressions. With Victor she also travels to Germany and Austria in 1923 to participate in an international convention. On their tour they witness first-hand the devastating effects of the German hyperinflation.

After Victor's death in 1939, Meta continues her work in the Socialist Party but progresses from Socialism to Communism. As part of a U.S. delegation she is invited to visit Russia in 1935. Although her journey is not endorsed by the Socialist Party, she accepts the invitation by the Friends of the Soviet Union. The study and sightseeing tour leads her to Leningrad, Moscow, and the Ukraine, where she is shown schools, factories, mines, and farms. After displaying open sympathies for Communist activities back in the United States Meta is asked to resign from the Socialist Party, which she subsequently does in 1940.

The autobiography remained unfinished. The book is based on Meta's autobiographical notes that she wrote during the final years of her life in the 1940s. A close friend, Miriam Frink, assisted Meta and organized her handwritten pages into a first draft before she deposited the original text and a typed early version in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in 1971. Kimberley Swanson went back to Meta's original notes, transcribed them again, and organized them in such a way that her autobiography has become a fascinating piece of writing. Additionally Swanson added footnotes throughout the text that allow for more details on dates and events and identify persons named throughout the text. The footnotes not only reveal the substantial research effort undertaken by the editor but also show where Meta's memory was distorted. As is typical of autobiographies, some of the dates or events Meta presents to her readers turn out to be mistaken. With the help of archival material, letters, newspaper articles, other autobiographies, and an impressive list of secondary sources, Swanson has turned Meta's personal reflections into a history book. The autobiography ends abruptly in 1935, but Swanson provides an afterword summarizing Meta's final years until her death on June 16, 1944. A brief foreword by Genevieve G. McBride and an introduction by the editor delineate the work with regard to its historical and social context and allow for more details. The book also includes photographs and an index.

Meta's autobiography chronicles a life of service to the public and to her family. A pioneer in the educational reform movement, she influenced Milwaukee's and Wisconsin's educational history; as an activist within the early Socialist Party she wrote political and social history; as the wife of a politician and Congressman she served as his advisor and confidant; and as a mother she provided and ran a loving home for her family.

This book offers a fresh and intimate look into an unusual life, the political scene of the Socialist Party and its struggles at the beginning of the twentieth century, educational reform, role expectations, and family life. Meta's personal story allows for insights only an autobiography can provide. It should be included on higher education reading lists for numerous political science, local Wisconsin history, and gender studies classes, although its distribution and availability might be limited due to its publication by the Wisconsin State Historical Society. It certainly deserves a larger audience.

*Bonn, Germany*

*Katja Rampelmann*

**Wooden Shoe Hollow: Charlotte Pieper's Cincinnati German Novel.**

*Edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Milford, OH: Little Miami Publishing, 2004.*

*xxxix + 273 pp. \$22.50.*

In 1951 Charlotte Pieper published her novel *Wooden Shoe Hollow*, in large part as a reflection of contributions made by German-Americans with ancestral roots in the northern German-speaking area of Europe. The connection was by no means abstract: the title of the book was derived from Wooden Shoe Hollow, a 150-acre northern Cincinnati community bordering Spring Grove Cemetery and suburban Winton Place and where immigrant farmers in its midst, primarily from North Rhine-Westphalia, indeed wore wooden shoes. Originally published in 1951 (Exposition Press), the book grew out of a University of Cincinnati journalism class project and became Pieper's fourth publication, following two plays and a worship service. Pieper did not have to look far for inspiration in formulating the short story-turned-novel: her maternal grandfather had emigrated from Hannover and her father came from Westrup, located northeast of Osnabrück. Through a unique series of literary, familial, and community circumstances, Pieper eventually put to paper the story of Rica Heber, a German emigrant who finds her way to Wooden Shoe Hollow in the early twentieth century only to realize that no matter how far one travels, there is neither hiding place nor escape from the realities of one's personal problems. Yet in many ways Heber's story, while compelling, is scarcely more than a sidebar to the narrative concerning Wooden Shoe Hollow. The community itself is portrayed with a palpable sense of love and admiration, which in turn allows figures such as Grossmutter Betz, Pastor Schicht, and Hermann Toepfer to shine no less brightly than Heber in illuminating the uniquely German character of the settlement. Wooden Shoe Hollow emerges as a haven for new German immigrants, a comfortable place where both recent arrivals and longtime residents could feel at home and thrive via a shared cultural bond.

Over fifty years later, long after the novel had gone out of print, Don Heinrich Tolzmann has resurrected the work in loving tribute to Pieper and the German-American enclave she depicted. While it is rewarding enough to have the book readily available again, Tolzmann has added several useful features which make this updated version of the text a desirable addition to the German-American literary canon. Within part one of the book, a map of the Wooden Shoe Hollow area, found at the beginning and directly in front of the table of contents, grounds the village within a specific area of suburban Cincinnati and makes its location readily identifiable to anyone with a reasonable knowledge of the city. A brief Editor's Foreword is followed by nine pages of illustrations, including recent photographs of Mary and Fred Pieper—Charlotte's sister and brother—in front of their sturdy brick home along Pieper Way in Golf Manor and Fred undertaking some gardening work, a longstanding family tradition. A seventeen-page Editor's Introduction discusses in depth the background of the Pieper family—including an insightful first-hand explanation from Mary about how her sister came to write the novel—and the evolution of Wooden Shoe Hollow as a German-American settlement, as well as important nearby landmarks such as Spring Grove Cemetery and the community of Winton Place. An additional segment clarifies the significance of the novel to an understanding of both immigration from

the northern German area and the sense of *Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl* (feeling of togetherness) exhibited within the tight-knit Wooden Shoe Hollow neighborhood.

Part two of the book is a faithful reproduction of the 1951 Pieper text, 233 pages and thirty-three chapters in length—including the author's Preface—as well as in the original font and layout. Part three is labeled as the Editor's Conclusion; photographic rather than textual in nature, it comprises eight pages of historical and contemporary pictures further examining the Wooden Shoe Hollow area and its longtime residents, and is culled from various sources including the Pieper family collection and Tolzmann's own photographs. Many of the contributions in this section incorporate captions which add an intriguing oral history component to the book, albeit too briefly so; here one wishes for a written "Editor's Conclusion" to contextualize further these interesting observations and provide the reader with a unifying theme to the illustrations and their relevance to the overall work. The book concludes with sections devoted to notes and suggested additional readings, in addition to a useful and comprehensive index. The latter feature is thoughtfully presented in a research-friendly format, with author names printed in small capital letters and publications in italics.

In sum, the reissue of *Wooden Shoe Hollow* provides a welcome glance into a time and place beforehand largely left consigned to history, even by its own residents. By extension it can be seen as a role model for other studies into German-American life and culture where the identity of a smaller community has been obscured by the presence and significance of a much larger nearby city. One wonders if comparable cases might be encountered in other German-American centers (e.g., Milwaukee, St. Louis, Indianapolis) and, if so, what might be done to document their presence in a similar light. Lacking a literary work such as Pieper's as a starting point, a clear benefit which accrued to Tolzmann, such projects would do well to utilize an oral history component as at least part of the overall investigation. In the present study the brief instances of first-hand commentary leave the reader wanting more; it is hoped that Tolzmann and/or other scholars might avail themselves of this unique opportunity—in Wooden Shoe Hollow or elsewhere—before it is too late.

*Missouri Western State University*

*Timothy J. Holian*

### **The Body and the Book: Writing from a Mennonite Life.**

*By Julia Kasdorf. Center Books in Anabaptist Studies. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001. xvii + 207 pp. \$26.00.*

For those outside of a tightly organized group which has withstood misunderstanding and unwanted interest for centuries, a quandary exists for the process of understanding. In a useful way, Julia Kasdorf has created a welcome introduction to modern Mennonite sensibilities. In her book, three approaches work in bridging the chasm between the charmed circle and the outsider: memory, poetry and images.

Her ten essays are arranged into sections which draw upon her personal remembrances and the early Mennonite injunction to disturb no one. She appreciatively sketches in her early memories of the Big Valley, north of Lewiston. She focuses upon her step-grandmother who spoke Pennsylvaniaian

German with her. The reader is drawn in further as she creates a vignette of her father, showing obligatory hospitality. Then she illustrates the tensions common to Mennonite writing which she sees as several paired opposites: individual vs. community; outside vs. inside; city vs. country; and profane vs. sacred.

Her unexpected meanings for the outsider come together in a disconnected series of poems interspersed with her perspective on expectation, and a personal voice for understanding important historical episodes in Mennonite life such as the "blessed martyrs" of the faith. The open-ended possibilities come alive when words and rhythm connect to thirty-six images, in this case twelve photos and twenty-four reproductions.

This is all too brief for the outsider: tastes and sampling from one who was part of the group, and then was not, after college and removal. In 207 pages Kasdorf conveys meaning by presenting that which is "useful and bluntly true" (xiv). It is an experience to stretch the imagination of many practitioners of German-American Studies.

*Scott Community College*

*William Roba*

**The German Pioneer Legacy: The Life and Work of Heinrich A. Rattermann.**

*By Sister Mary Edmund Spanheimer, 2d edition, ed. by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. New German-American Studies/Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien, vol. 26. Oxford: Peter Lang, 2004. xxx + 152 pp. \$42.95.*

The first edition of Sister Mary Edmund Spanheimer's book about Heinrich A. Rattermann was published in 1937. It was, as Don Heinrich Tolzmann points out, the first full-length study of Rattermann, a man who searched out and assembled so much previously unknown historical data about the German immigrants and their contributions to the development of the United States, and who collected information on German-American literary life. Spanheimer had the good fortune to work at a time when some of Rattermann's friends and family were still alive and could be interviewed. She also based her study on primary source material: Rattermann's files and manuscripts which had been acquired by the University of Illinois Library.

This second edition of Spanheimer's *Heinrich Armin Rattermann* makes Spanheimer's work available again, but it does much more. Don Heinrich Tolzmann has added a short Foreword. Its footnotes (nine times as long as the Foreword) can be read as a bibliographical essay on resources useful for studying Rattermann. Next, in his Introduction, Tolzmann describes how he became interested in Heinrich A. Rattermann. Tolzmann, who lives in Cincinnati, was able to meet some of the Rattermann descendants and recalls especially the granddaughter, Dorothy Rattermann, who reminisced about her grandfather. Also useful is the addition of the essay "Rattermann's Life and Work" by A. E. Zucker. This appeared in 1939 after Spanheimer's book. Zucker acknowledges the use of her work for his essay and says, "Fortunately Rattermann has now found a capable and enthusiastic biographer whose book gives us in detail well-documented information on the many phases of his active life" (xxviii). The essay is a good overview of Rattermann's life and work and his

importance in the field of German-American studies. Thus, rather than hunt for a hard-to-find copy of the first edition, this reviewer suggests acquiring the second edition.

Spanheimer begins her study with the section "Rattermann, the man" in which she gives biographical information. Rattermann was born in Ankum, north Germany. As a child he was an eager student, but his studies were cut short when the family emigrated. After the family arrived in Cincinnati he worked at a variety of jobs to help out financially. Then his father died, and at age 17 Rattermann had to support the family. He studied bookkeeping to get a better paying job, and only six years later launched a successful insurance company. In Cincinnati he educated himself in literature and history, especially the history of the German element in the United States. Rattermann was active in many cultural organizations; as Spanheimer notes, he gave 150 lectures at the Deutscher Literarischer Klub von Cincinnati, which he helped to found.

Part two is titled "Rattermann, the poet." Spanheimer states that Rattermann's early life close to nature in Germany as well as the influence of his teacher there instilled a love of poetry and music. In Cincinnati he educated himself by studying poetic forms, the poetry of classical antiquity and German literature. Rattermann valued poets such as Klopstock, Platen, Hölderlin, and Goethe. Spanheimer states that he was most influenced by Herder, and he had no use for Sturm und Drang or the new Naturalism. Rattermann wrote poems in all forms, but she says, his forte was odes and sonnets. Writing poetry was only part of his work in literature. He made perhaps an even greater contribution by collecting the work of other German-American poets, keeping these works from getting lost. He often lectured or wrote about German-American authors and used the material he collected in his study/anthology of eighty-five German-American poets.

Spanheimer's third section is "Rattermann, the German-American historian." Rattermann valued his American citizenship and admired the founders of the nation, but he noticed that American history was overlooking the contributions of its German immigrants, so he set out to change that. Spanheimer describes how Rattermann collected his information from primary sources, such as a government archive; "he aimed at a rigid objectivity, never injecting himself, but stating facts as they are" (101). Rattermann was self-taught in history also, and Spanheimer says that he modeled his output after that of Justus von Moeser and Leopold von Ranke. Rattermann did the spade work for later historians. She discusses his eleven years of labor on *Der Deutsche Pionier*, his next project—the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*—and the *Bio-graphikon* that was part of the collected works which he printed near the end of his life. Finally, she describes the Rattermann library of 8,000 volumes, the files, clippings and manuscript volumes. He collected these over the span of fifty years to do serious research.

Spanheimer concludes that Rattermann had to divide his time between providing for "material needs" and the work he loved in history and literature, and he made great contributions to the fields of German-American history and literature. Don Heinrich Tolzmann has added a section, "For Further Reading," to her bibliography.

Sister Spanheimer has an engaging writing style and the book is a pleasure to read. She does look more closely at Rattermann's relationship to religion than one might expect. This second edition of the Spanheimer book should be on one's reference shelf. It is also a very good book for students in the field of German-American studies because of the clarity of its presentation and the way it invites further study.

Heinrich Armin Rattermann has brought many treasures to the field of

German-American studies. His contemporary, Gustav Brühl, summarized what Rattermann was about so beautifully in his poem dedicated to Rattermann, which Tolzmann has included in the preliminary pages.

University of Cincinnati

Franziska C. Ott

### **Missouri's German Heritage.**

*Edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Milford, OH: Little Miami Publishing Co. 152 pp. \$15.95.*

Those familiar with the history of German immigration and settlement in the American Midwest need not be reminded of the significance of that ethnic group in the history of the state of Missouri. With a plethora of scholarship on the language, culture, social and political life and the commercial importance of the German element in Missouri, it is, indeed, a Herculean task to condense that wealth of information into a short volume that addresses a general audience. Given that framework, Tolzmann has done an admirable job of making the story of the Germans in Missouri accessible to the general public.

In doing so, Tolzmann has also brought to life an English translation of the three chapters by Gustav Körner on the Germans in Missouri from his 1880 *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, 1818-1848*. The previously unpublished translation of those chapters by noted regional historian William G. Bek (1873-1948) comprises the first three chapters of Tolzmann's edition. Two subsequent chapters focus on two individuals of undisputed importance for the early history of Missouri's Germans: Gottfried Duden (1789-1856), whose *Bericht über eine Reise* (1829) induced thousands of Germans to immigrate to Missouri, and Friedrich Münch (1799-1881), who came to symbolize as the author "Far West" the positive contributions of the Germans to the intellectual, political and social fabric of the state in the nineteenth century. The chapter on Duden is an original contribution by Doris Keeven Franke while the chapter on Münch is an English translation by Siegmund Muehl of Heinrich Rattermann's account of a visit to Münch's Missouri farm in December 1874 (originally published in the April 1875 issue of *Der Deutsche Pionier*). In a concluding chapter, Tolzmann attempts to summarize the development of German Missourians from where Körner stopped in 1848 to the present day. In addition to providing an introduction and index to the volume, Tolzmann also appends an annotated list of selected sources as well as web sites relating to the German heritage of Missouri.

The highlight of the volume is without doubt the depiction of Rattermann's visit with Münch in 1874. Without being able to compare the translation to the original, the English version by Muehl provides a vivid portrayal of Münch in his later years, having survived the trials and tribulations of the hardships of pioneer life and even Civil War in his new homeland. Franke also offers a few new insights into the background of Duden and on his life after his sojourn in Missouri. Bek's translation of the Körner chapters often gives us glimpses of truly significant events such as the tumultuous reception accorded 1848 Revolutionary hero Friedrich

Hecker upon his arrival in St. Louis in December 1848 as well as the earlier mass demonstration in support of the Revolution in October 1848 (pp. 79-81).

The Körner chapters overwhelm, however, with much detail that in retrospect only clutters the description of the historical evolution of the German element in Missouri. And at times the translation misses key terms, such as translating *Freistaat* as "free state" instead of "republic" (e.g., pp. 8, 15). In addition to a fair number of typographical errors ("Westphalia" p. 29; "Barnard" instead of "Bernard Bruns" p. 35), one of the chapters of the Körner account also omits note number 3 in the endnotes, rendering the numeration of all remaining 44 notes incorrect and totally confusing for the general reader.

Tolzmann's own final chapter tries to condense such momentous episodes in the history of Missouri's Germans as the efforts to preserve Missouri for the Union in 1861, the period of anti-German hysteria during World War II—involving not only the Prager lynching but also a major court case against the state and local leader of the Deutsch-Amerikanischer National-Bund in St. Louis, Dr. Charles Weinsberg and the revival of Missouri's German heritage in the late twentieth century. Each of these periods easily deserves its own chapter. Yet the highlights are sketched so that the reader has some idea of what has transpired in the last 150 years in Missouri's German community. Especially moving is the depiction of the 1914 dedication of the statue "Die nackte Wahrheit" honoring the liberal German newspaper editors in St. Louis such as Carl Schurz, Carl Dänzer and Emil Preetorius (pp. 118-21), marking the high water mark of the German element in Missouri prior to its rapid retreat during World War I. Again, however, several glaring errors such as labeling Franz Sigel as a "major" instead of a "major-general" in the caption for his equestrian statue (p. 113) and the use of square brackets around the first name of every U.S. president mentioned in the text (e.g., "[Woodrow] Wilson" p. 123), mar the overall impression of the chapter.

Despite the relatively minor editorial flaws, Tolzmann has done a masterful job in putting together significant historical texts together with modern accounts that highlight the history of Germans in Missouri. The suggestions for further reading and information about web sites as well as the detailed notes provide the depth for the interested student or researcher. A second edition of the volume with editorial corrections will make a handsome guide to the history of the Germans of Missouri.

*University of Kansas*

*William D. Keel*

### **Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity.**

*By Russell A. Kazal. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004. 383 pp. \$35.00.*

Kazal's detailed case study of the social changes in the German ethnic community of Philadelphia at the beginning of the twentieth century attempts to unravel the mystery surrounding the apparent disappearance of the largest ethnic group in American society. Immigration records and census statistics define those of "German" ancestry as the most numerous by far of the many groups composing the great "melting pot." Yet, Kazal, a professor of history at Arcadia University, readily admits that the "Germans" in America never really formed a cohesive ethnic group. Split along

regional and political lines even after the unification under Bismarck in 1871, divided linguistically into mutually unintelligible dialects from the *Plattdüütsch* of the northern German plains to the Swiss and Bavarian dialects of the Alps in the south, severed into religious denominations marking them as Catholics, Lutherans, Reformed, Baptists (Brethren, Amish, Mennonites, etc.), Free Thinkers (Unitarians) and atheists, Kazal argues that in the aftermath of World War I the "German-Americans" melted into or became the core of some of the modern-day elements of American society—white ethnics and old-stock—following, in essence, their already existing lines of division.

Focusing on two Philadelphia "German" neighborhoods—suburban Germantown, originally founded by Mennonite-Quakers from the Lower Rhine region in 1683, and the Girard Avenue district, dominated by a working-class population of more recent immigration—Kazal examines the markers of ethnic identity in the period around 1900 and again in the 1920s. He utilizes, in particular, an analysis of sample households in those neighborhoods from the federal manuscript census in both 1900 and 1920 to determine the extent to which German-stock residents assimilated with their neighbors. In measured steps he traces the evolution of these ethnic neighborhoods and the greater German community of Philadelphia on a roller-coaster ride in the years before, during and after World War I. Kazal is careful to note the differences in the reaction to the anti-German hysteria of that period in Eastern cities such as Philadelphia versus that in cities of the Midwest such as Milwaukee and St. Louis as well as in the larger agricultural communities in the states west of Pennsylvania.

Kazal's four-part study grew out of his Pennsylvania University dissertation. Using quantitative methods (explained in some detail in an appended chapter), oral history, and a cultural analysis of written sources about Philadelphia's German communities—many of them from the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania—Kazal rethinks German ethnic assimilation and its relationship to American pluralism. In his first part, Kazal sets the stage by providing a social portrait of the two Philadelphia German neighborhoods in 1900. The second part examines the pressures of assimilation in the pre-World War I period by focusing on the social and economic ties of the German ethnic groups and how over time they led to less German and more American associations. The ultimate demise of public Germanness is chronicled in his third part dealing with the war years, 1914-19. In the final part, Kazal explores the transition of Protestant middle class Germans to American "Old Stock" as well as the evolution of Catholic working class Germans toward a "white ethnic."

Ultimately, the paradox of German-American identity lies in the makeup of the group itself. Kazal suggests that scholars have tended to ignore the group because it is difficult to categorize and because of its longer history of immigration. Some lump middle-class German Protestants into the group of "White Anglo-Saxon Protestants," ignoring the German Catholic workers. Others omit the German Catholic workers from their definitions of "white ethnics." Kazal concludes that it is precisely the diversity of the German ethnic group that merits further study and offers new insights into American society. This is a masterfully done study of the German ethnic group in the setting of an Eastern urban environment that complements the studies done on Germans in

the Midwest by such notable scholars as Kathleen Niels Conzen. *Becoming Old Stock* by Kazal belongs on the shelf of every student and scholar of German-Americana.

University of Kansas

William D. Keel

### **Germans of Louisiana.**

By Ellen C. Merrill. Foreword by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Co., 2005. 380 pp. \$25.00.

While it should come as no surprise to readers of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, the contribution and impact of German-speaking settlers in Louisiana rank equally with those of many Midwestern states. Comprising over a quarter of the state's current population in terms of ancestry, the German element has been present in Louisiana since the earliest times of settlement by Europeans (1720s). Additionally, the position of New Orleans as a major port of entry for German immigrants during the second third of the nineteenth century led to the establishment of numerous settlements and institutions by the Germans, primarily in and near New Orleans, but also throughout the state. Merrill deserves much credit for bringing together in one volume a compendium of highly useful and important information for the student of the German heritage of Louisiana.

After a foreword by Don Heinrich Tolzmann, placing the collection of materials offered by Merrill within the context of German-American Studies and sketching the achievements of several notable scholars in Louisiana such as J. Hanno Deiler and Karl J. R. Arndt, Merrill provides an extensive overview of the chronology of German settlement in Louisiana. She details the history of the colonial settlements of the eighteenth century, primarily in the area known as the *Côte des Allemands* (German Coast) along the Mississippi River some twenty miles upriver from New Orleans. A second chapter chronicles German immigration of the nineteenth century with focus on the establishment of a *Deutsche Gesellschaft* in New Orleans to aid German immigrants as well as the impact of the Forty-Eighters, the turbulent Civil War years and the gradual decline of German institutions following World War I.

Following a set format, chapters three through nine detail the separate categories such as "associations" or "churches" that make up the German element in Louisiana. After an introductory overview of the significant aspects of a particular category, Merrill presents an annotated list of the items pertaining to that category. In chapter three she describes individual settlements, German street names, monuments and historical markers. Chapter four is devoted to architects, commercial buildings and private residences. Chapter five documents German professions, trades, and businesses in Louisiana, from bakeries to mortuaries, with a special emphasis on breweries and newspaper publishing. Chapter six focuses on German churches, congregations, synagogues, schools, and cemeteries. Chapter seven lists orphanages, homes for the elderly, social and benevolent associations, turners, musical groups, and theatrical societies among others. Chapter eight includes bars, taverns, saloons, restaurants, coffee houses, hotels, and theaters under the heading of "entertainment." Chapter nine begins with biographical sketches of Deiler, Louis Voss, and John Frederick Nau,

and then appends biographical annotations for some 164 prominent Germans and German-Americans who are part of the German heritage of Louisiana. The volume is illustrated with numerous photographs, drawings, and documents. A bibliography of primary and secondary sources and an index bring the volume to a close.

As a resource for the plethora of German institutions, societies and individuals who played a role in Louisiana's German history, Merrill's volume is very welcome. The reader may find the different approaches used in compiling the extensive lists mildly annoying: at times alphabetical, at other times chronological. There are also a few unfortunate factual errors in the historical chapters such as claiming that nearly one million German immigrants landed in the U.S. in 1857 (51; the figure is correct for the entire decade of the 1850s, however). And the 1817 immigrants from Württemberg traveling on barges on the Rhine River for seaports on the North Sea were headed downriver rather than *upriver* (49). This reader was also puzzled by the mention of *Mississippi steamboats* (instead of *steamships*) bringing immigrants from New York to New Orleans in 1866 (73).

A minor stylistic annoyance is the repetition of certain passages or phrases. Within five pages, the reader is told three times that Congress began requiring ports to keep records on immigration statistics in 1820 (49, 50, 54). Similarly, the trek of a group of Germans from Maryland in 1769 from the Texas coast (Spanish-controlled) to Natchitoches is repeated, in part nearly verbatim, first on pages 36-37 and again on page 82 (perhaps due to the disjointed approach, with each chapter standing on its own). A final suggestion for improving the volume in a second edition would be to add more maps and also to include them within the appropriate chapters. There is an excellent map of the *Côte des Allemands* on the dust jacket—that will unfortunately get discarded, especially in university libraries—that should be included in the first chapter. The general map of Louisiana with German settlements in the front matter might also find a better location within one of the historical chapters or the chapter on settlements and definitely needs to be reworked so that it is legible—the parish designations and borders interfere with the names of the settlements. It would also be helpful to have a list of maps in the table of contents. Despite the caveats noted above, this volume contains a treasure trove of data on the Germans of Louisiana and will become an important source to turn to when undertaking any study of that group. It is most certainly a significant addition to the documentation of the German element in Louisiana and the South.

University of Kansas

William D. Keel

### Deutsch in Texas.

By Marcus Nicolini. *Studien und Quellen zur Sprachwissenschaft*, vol. 1. Münster: LIT Verlag, 2004. x + 232 pp. EUR 24,90.

Nicolini presents with this relatively compact volume a comprehensive historical and contemporary description of the variety of German he calls "Texas German." His aim is to chronicle the German settlements in Texas, their institutions, and their use of German in everyday interactions and publications from a historical

perspective. He then compares the earlier, largely late-nineteenth-century, linguistic situation with that of the following the period of language assimilation and the demise of "Texas German" during the course of the twentieth century. In particular, Nicolini focuses on German religious communities and German newspapers as carriers of the language as well as the role played by the anti-German sentiments during World War I in accelerating the process of assimilation to English.

In his introduction, Nicolini defines "Texas German" as the variety of German that can be described as "ein etwas altertümlich anmutendes Deutsch gesprochen mit texanischen Beimischungen" (4). While he is primarily concerned with a spoken variety of old-fashioned sounding German, he also treats the use of standard High German in Texas. He characterizes his approach as a "soziale Sprachgeschichte" (7) with emphasis on the domains of family, school, church and publications. Nicolini also explores the impact of the World Wars on Texas German that he characterizes as "verheerend" (8). An additional area of focus for Nicolini is the role of particular religious denominations, especially the Evangelical-Lutheran Synod in Texas, in the process of linguistic assimilation.

A second chapter is devoted to a general history of German immigration to the United States, with subsections treating the "Mühlenberg legend," German in Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Missouri, and the German of the Amish and Hutterites. The following two chapters sketch the history of German immigration and settlement in Texas. In his fifth chapter on everyday Texas German, Nicolini claims that "die Deutschen in Texas bildeten eine einheitlichere Gruppe, als dies in den meisten Staaten des Mittelwestens der Fall war" and that a koiné on the basis of High German quickly emerged that supplanted the local and regional dialects of the immigrants (62-63). He goes on to discuss the use of German in newspapers, schools, and church, in particular the role of German as a marker of Lutheranism.

In a lengthy sixth chapter, Nicolini explores the myriad aspects of linguistic assimilation, including intra-generational issues, the decline in readership of German-language newspapers, and the language controversy in churches—especially the First Protestant Church of New Braunfels. He considers the impact of the First World War on the teaching of German in the schools of Texas and the use of German in Texas churches and concludes the war and its aftermath was the ultimate death knell for the use of German in all domains. Chapter seven provides a description of Texas German today—the koiné that emerged from the many immigrant dialects based on High German—that exists now only as a spoken variety.

The main chapters of Nicolini's study are followed by an extensive bibliography, including primary Texas German sources and secondary literature covering the broad spectrum of German-American linguistic research. Appended to the text are summaries of eighteen interviews with speakers of Texas German, five poems about the German language by Texas Germans, six maps and three examples of printed Texas German. The main text is copiously footnoted.

In general, one can readily see that Nicolini has taken pains to incorporate the relevant available research into his study of the German koiné in Texas. In compiling the results of prior research, he has done an outstanding job of weaving a narrative. His writing style and approach make this a very accessible study of a very significant speech community within the German-American context.

However, there are some aspects of the study that remain questionable. The

claim of a koiné emerging rapidly in Texas because the speakers of disparate dialects had to use High German to interact—and in fairness Nicolini cites none other than Glenn Gilbert to back this claim—stands in direct conflict with other statements in the book that the isolation of German settlements in Texas permitted the immigrant languages to continue for several generations. Furthermore, the settlements in Texas were certainly not in any particularly different situation from those in Missouri at approximately the same time. Yet, the Germans in Missouri found no need to give up their dialects to communicate with other Missouri German settlements. It is more likely that the distances between settlements in Texas practically precluded much interaction between, for instance, the Westphalian Catholics (Low German) in the Red River Valley in northern Texas and those of New Braunfels in central Texas.

A possible explanation for the existence of a “Texas German” is that there were two rather large settlements in central Texas dating from the mid-1840s based largely (but not solely) on immigrants from southern Hesse (New Braunfels, Comal County) and Württemberg, Baden and Alsace (Castroville, Medina County). The two German speech communities together had, according to Nicolini, some 20,000 German speakers at this early stage of Texas history—certainly a significant mass. The close relationship of the southwestern German dialects of Hesse in New Braunfels, the neighboring Alemannic dialects in Castroville, and the relative closeness of both to the literary form of German—as opposed to Low German dialects or even Swiss or Bavarian dialects—form a plausible basis for the development of a koiné (the situation would be comparable to that of southeastern Pennsylvania in the mid-eighteenth century with an admixture of very similar southwestern German dialects that led to the emergence of another koiné—Pennsylvania German, or to that of the Volga Colonies in Russia where a German koiné, termed *Neuhessisch* by Viktor Schirmunski, emerged following the establishment of German settlements there in the 1760s).

The general southwestern German dialect features of the Texas German koiné described by Nicolini in chapter seven support this alternate thesis. It is much more likely that the early immigrants to Texas brought unrounded umlaut vowels with them from southern Hesse, Württemberg and Alsace than to claim that unrounding is due to English influence (145)—the southern German dialects were already without rounded vowels in the late Middle Ages, long before the settlement of Texas. The same holds true for the examples cited by Nicolini of apocope and syncope (*verheirat* instead of *verheiratet*), the replacement of the simple past tense by the present perfect, and the use of *tun* as an auxiliary verb in the present tense (146), as well as the elimination of allomorphy in verb conjugations such as *du laufst, er läuft* (147) and the absence of a formal *Sie* pronoun of address (149). The confusion and collapse of case distinctions noted by Nicolini (147-49) are also not due to English influence—even Gilbert now views the loss of case distinctions in Texas German as part of a natural internal development common to German varieties worldwide (see Gilbert, Glenn, and Janet Fuller, “The Linguistic Atlas of Texas German Revisited,” *German Language Varieties Worldwide: Internal and External Perspectives*, ed. William D. Keel and Klaus J. Mattheier [Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2003], 165-76).

Despite this reviewer’s dispute with the author about the notion of what precisely Texas German is and some problematic aspects of his description of the Texas German koiné, this volume still offers many insights into the usage and the evolution of Texas German that are of great value. The wealth of background research

forms the basis for several cogent discussions of relevant issues such as the role of the First and Second World Wars and the significance of religious communities in the transition to English. Nicolini's study is an excellent starting point for any student interested in investigating the varieties of German and its dialects in the United States.

*University of Kansas*

*William D. Keel*

**German Language Varieties Worldwide: Internal and External Perspectives /  
Deutsche Sprachinseln weltweit: Interne und externe Perspektiven.**

*Edited by William D. Keel and Klaus J. Mattheier. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2003. 325 pp. EUR 49,80/\$55.95.*

How might a generalist use the rarified specialty of linguistics for the purposes of furthering an understanding of German-American studies? Part of the answer is to read this collection of essays, which were presented at an international symposium on German settlement dialects at Kansas University. The "Sprachinsel-Konferenz" took place from March 29–April 1, 2001, and involved more than forty symposium participants and the active support of the Max Kade Center for German-American Studies at the University of Kansas. Both the Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies at the University of Wisconsin–Madison as well as the Institut für deutsche Sprache in Mannheim, Germany, were represented by a number of conference participants.

The conference focused on the concept of language preservation as an "island" in the midst of a powerfully overlying language. What made the conference so successful, and the resulting collection of papers especially useful, was the number of participants and their degree of interaction. The group was small enough to be cozy at times, but it was the heady atmosphere of the conference and rare combination of scholarly exchange that was deep and intense.

It is always difficult to convey a sense of the atmosphere for a three-day conference; this one will remain memorable for the community involvement, highlighted by a field trip to a neighborhood in Topeka and a dinner meeting with members of a Volga German ethnic "island." There was also a fascinating presentation of digitally re-mastered dialect recordings of the 1940s from the collection of the Madison Kade Institute. Finally, the interaction of scholars from North and South America as well as from Europe was educational and useful for developing the applicability of the concept.

One particularly noteworthy essay was "Language Attitudes Across Society and Generations in a Pennsylvania German Speech Island," by Achim Kopp of Mercer University (Macon, Georgia). He carefully analyzed 161 questions on language attitudes as shown by fifty family members living on the edge of the Pennsylvania German area.

He was careful in handling aspects of the duality of dialect perceptions. The more positive aspects included ethnic pride, honesty and trust, nostalgia and humor; at the same time, negative reminders existed for speakers who thought that the dialect was not sophisticated ("Dutchified English"), not a language, and an entity that

created a self-consciousness (stereotype). As an example of the scholarly exchanges not included in this text, Glenn Gilbert, of Southern Illinois University (Carbondale, Illinois), argued that American English is not monolithic and noted influences of both Yiddish and English on Pennsylvania German.

The obvious applicability of this concept in the Great Plains area of the United States was highlighted in "Comparative Speech Island Research: Some Results from Studies in Russia and Brazil," by Peter Rosenberg, Europa-Universität Viadrina (Frankfurt/Oder). He suggested the reason for the validity of the concept in Kansas was linked to the settlement of Russian Germans in Kansas. In these islands a closed community continued complex attitudes both from the vernacular and super-regional varieties. From his presentation it became clear, to this observer that the operational concept of "islands" stems from the period after World War I, when linguistic analysis was applied to German-speaking populations in Russia: great cities, rural colonies of the Black Sea Region, the area around St. Petersburg, and the Volga region. Not included in the text was the invaluable handout of the 1925 *Volgarepublik* map that offered a clear visualization of the ongoing assumptions of this concept. He also briefly compared and contrasted Rio Grande do Sol in South Brazil with the colonization dynamics, linguistically similar to Russia.

Another short essay, on German varieties in Iowa, failed to extend the debate over the "island" concept. "Speel up't Plattdüütsch: ... so ein Theater!" by Philip Webber, Central College (Pella, Iowa), discussed the persistence of the East Frisian dialect of *Plattdüütsch*. He described his own experiences in Wellsburg, Iowa, in adapting a Low German play by Hans Balzar. This success story relied upon speaker pools in the community who could learn the lines and present the modified play in Central Iowa and in Oldenburg, Germany. Webber touches on some of the indirect reasons for this success, including the successful performance of Ingo Sax's adapted play, *Achter de Sünn an*, which was financially underwritten by the Iowa Sesquicentennial Commission in 1995 and performed throughout Central Iowa. This regionally infused interest was then carefully refined by a series of oral history videotapes sponsored by the state NEH humanities board. While certainly an interesting contrast to many of the other papers which assumed language death as a certainty, Webber failed to indicate whether this experience represented an island; with other Low German speaking communities such as Ackley within the Iowa county of Grundy, and a series of successful heritage tours organized by Wolfgang Grams, with participants coming from the Oldenburg area during the previous years, it remains unclear whether this is indeed a "Sprachinsel" example, or rather a "Prärieblümchen" region.

A final essay proved helpful in suggesting the continuity of "island" communities over a very long period of time. "Sprachwahl und kommunikative Handlungsformen der deutschen Minderheit in Ungarn," by Elisabeth Knipf-Komlósi, Eötvös Loránd University (Budapest), very adroitly sketched in the Habsburg legacy of linguistic ethnicity and the persistence of German minorities in Hungary. What makes this approach informative was her careful consideration of generational differences. She described four different epochs and their influence upon language persistence. The first, the Dialect Generation, was born before 1930. The second, the War Generation, was born from 1930 to 1945. The third, the After the War Generation, was born

between 1946 and 1960. The final one, consisting of those using German as a foreign or second language, was born after 1960.

The specialists thus offer the general participant and reader useful analyses of the problems concerning language persistence over time and distance. It remains a fruitful topic of comparative study and one that provides another technique in the interdisciplinary approaches of the field.

*Scott Community College*

*William Roba*

## Annual Bibliography of German-Americana: Articles, Books, Selected Media, and Dissertations

Dolores J. Hoyt and Giles R. Hoyt in collaboration with the Bibliographic Committee of the Society for German-American Studies.

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The Bibliographic Committee wishes to thank the IUPUI University Library for its generous cooperation. The Bibliography includes references to books, articles, dissertations and selected media relating to the experience of German-speaking people in North America and their descendants.

### I. Supplements for 2001

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4. Anderson, Timothy G. "The Creation of an Ethnic Culture Complex Region: Pennsylvania Germans in Central Ohio, 1790-1850." *Historical Geography* 29 (2001): 135-57.
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# SOCIETY FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

## BYLAWS

### Article I. Name and Purpose

1. The name of Society shall be the Society for German-American Studies.
2. The purpose of this Society shall be:
  - 2.1. To engage in and promote interest in the study of the history, literature, linguistics, folklore, genealogy, theater, music and other creative art forms of the German element in the Americas.
  - 2.2. To publish, produce, and present research findings and educational materials of the same as a public service.
  - 2.3. To assist researchers, teachers and students.
  - 2.4. To improve cross-cultural relations between the German-speaking countries and the Americas.

### Article II. Membership

1. Membership in the Society shall be open to all persons and organizations interested in German-American Studies.
2. Application for membership shall be made in the manner prescribed by the Membership Committee.
3. If any person being a member of the Society shall at any time be guilty of an act which is prejudicial to the Society, or to the purpose for which it was formed, such person shall be notified of his/her right to submit a written explanation of such acts within thirty days after formal notification. If the clarification is not acceptable to the Executive Committee, then at its discretion the individual's membership can be terminated.

### Article III. Officers

1. Except as otherwise required by law or provided by these Bylaws, the entire control of the Society and its affairs and property shall be vested in its Executive Committee as trustees.
2. The Executive Committee consists of the elected officers of the Society and the editors of its publications.

3. The term of office in the Society shall be for two years.
4. Officers are elected at the annual meeting.
5. The officers of the Society shall be president, first vice president, second vice president, secretary, and treasurer, all of whom are members of the Society, and are elected at the annual meeting of the members, and shall hold office for two years.
6. The duties of the officers are as follows:
  - 6.1. The president shall perform the function as the official spokesman of the Society, serve as chair of the Executive Committee, and preside over the annual meeting.
  - 6.2. The first vice president shall maintain the procedures for the annual meetings, and coordinate the annual meeting schedule.
  - 6.3. The second vice president shall coordinate the annual awards for outstanding achievement in the field of German-American Studies.
  - 6.4. The secretary shall function as the secretary of the annual meetings, and will also be the coordinator of all membership drives of the Society.
  - 6.5. The treasurer shall keep the financial records of the Society, and shall present an annual report at the annual meeting to the membership.
7. The resignation of any officer shall be tendered to the Executive Committee.
8. If any vacancy should occur the Executive Committee shall elect a member of the Society to fill such vacancy for the unexpired term of the person whom he or she replaces.
9. No organization shall serve as a member of the Executive Committee.
10. No officer shall receive directly or indirectly any salary, compensation, or emolument from the Society. The Society may, however, pay compensation to employees or agents who are not members of the Society.

#### **Article IV. Meetings**

1. The Society shall hold an annual meeting and symposium.
2. The Executive Committee shall meet at the annual meeting.
3. A quorum of any meeting of this Society shall constitute a majority of the members present.

## **Article V. Order of Business and Parliamentary Procedures**

1. Robert's Rules of Order shall be the authority followed for parliamentary procedures at all meetings of the Society.
2. The order of business at any meeting of the members of the Society shall be as follows:
  - 2.1. Call to order
  - 2.2. Reading of minutes of the last meeting
  - 2.3. Reports of officers
  - 2.4. Reports of committees
  - 2.5. Unfinished business
  - 2.6. Communications
  - 2.7. Election and installation of officers
  - 2.8. General business
  - 2.9. Adjournment
3. The order of business at any meeting may be changed by a vote of the majority of the members present. A motion to change the order of business shall not be debatable.

## **Article VI. Dues and Finances**

1. The annual dues of all members are on a calendar-year basis payable in advance by 31 January. Non-payment of dues will result in a cancellation of membership.
2. The funds of the Society shall be deposited or kept with a bank or trust company. Such funds shall be disbursed upon order of such officers as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee.
3. The fiscal year shall be from January through December.
4. The amount of dues and assessments shall be set by a vote of the membership at the annual meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose.

## **Article VIII. Nominations and Elections**

1. The Executive Committee shall appoint an Election Committee. It is this Committee's duty to conduct the election of the officers.
2. The Election Committee shall not consist of persons who have been nominated for an office.
3. Election of officers will be at the annual meeting during the general business meeting of the membership.

4. All officers shall take office on 1 June of the year in which they were elected.

#### **Article IX. Affiliates**

1. The Executive Committee shall determine regulations pertaining to affiliate membership in the Society.
2. The Executive Committee shall have sole discretion, subject to these Bylaws, in authorizing the approval of affiliates of the Society.

#### **Article X. Committees**

1. The Executive Committee consists of the elected officers and editors of the Society.
2. The Executive Committee shall supervise the affairs of the Society and regulate its internal economy, approve expenditures and commitments, act for and carry out the established policies of the Society, and report to the membership through the president at its annual meeting. Four members of the Committee shall constitute a quorum.
3. Except as otherwise provided by these Bylaws, the president shall annually designate committees other than the Executive Committee and the Election Committee, and at the time of the appointment shall designate their chairpersons.

#### **Article XI. Publications**

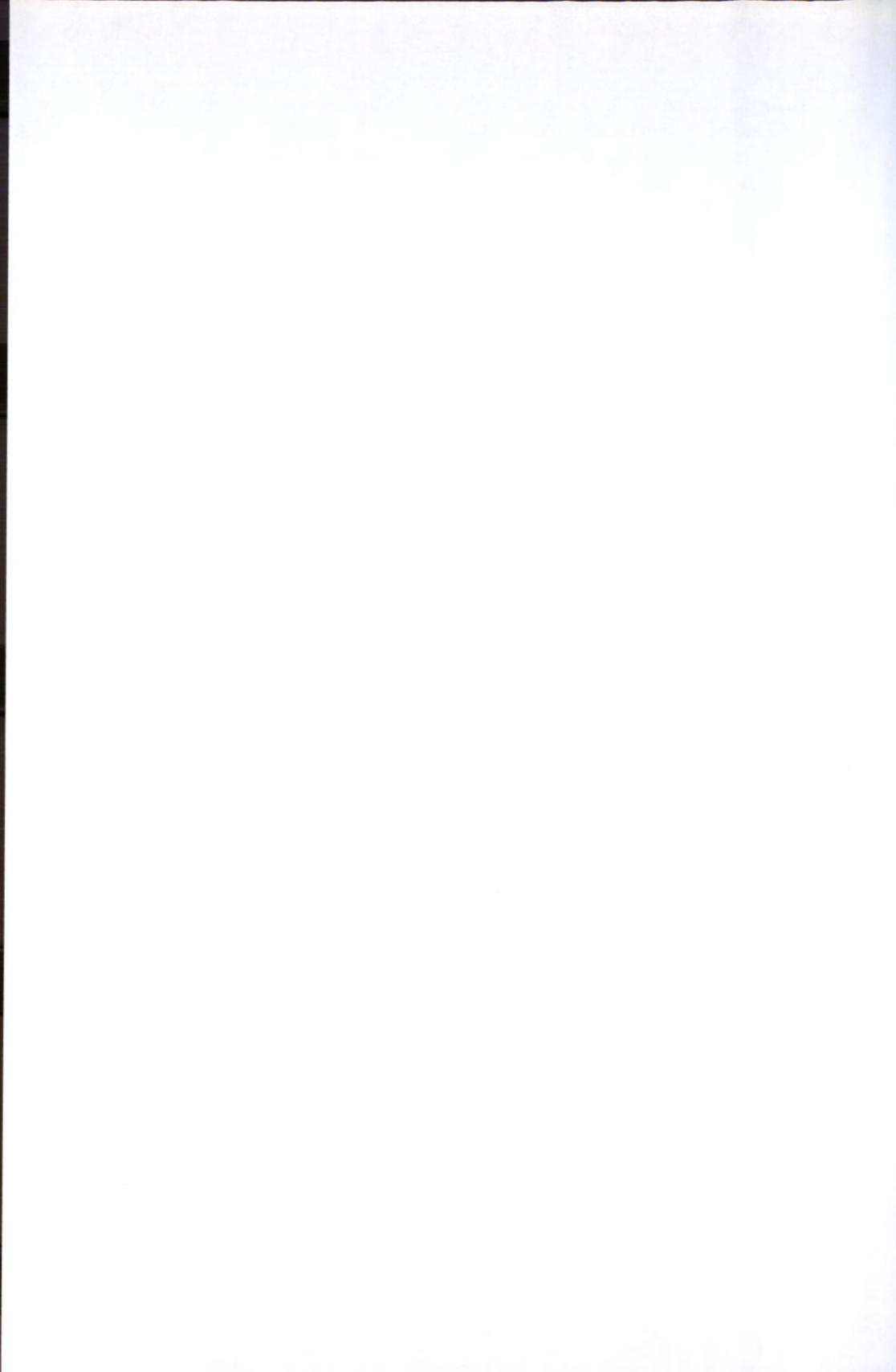
1. The official publications of the Society are its quarterly *Newsletter* and its annual *Yearbook of German-American Studies*.
2. The editors of SGAS publications shall be appointed by the Executive Committee.
3. Copyright in all publications of the Society is held by the Society for German-American Studies.

#### **Article XII. Amendments**

Alterations or amendments to these Bylaws shall be considered at any meeting of the members of the Society and become effective if a majority of the members present at such meeting, either present in person, or by mail ballot, vote in favor of such change in the Bylaws, provided that notice of the proposed amendment has been mailed by the secretary to the members of the Society with provision for voting by secret mail ballot.

#### **Article XIII. Dissolution**

Upon the dissolution of the Society, the Executive Committee shall, after paying or making provision for the payment of all of the liabilities of the Society, dispose of all of the assets of the Society exclusively for the purposes of the Society in such manner, or to such organization or organizations organized and operated exclusively for charitable, educational, religious or scientific purposes as shall at the time qualify as an exempt organization or organizations under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (or the corresponding provision of any future United States Revenue Law), as the Executive Committee shall determine.



# Society for German-American Studies

## Publication Fund Policy

### Publication Fund

Thanks to the foresight of the Executive Committee and the generosity of numerous individual contributors, the **Karl J. R. Arndt 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, Saint Olaf College  
Gerhard Weiss, University of Minnesota-Twin Cities  
Adolf Schroeder, University of Missouri

