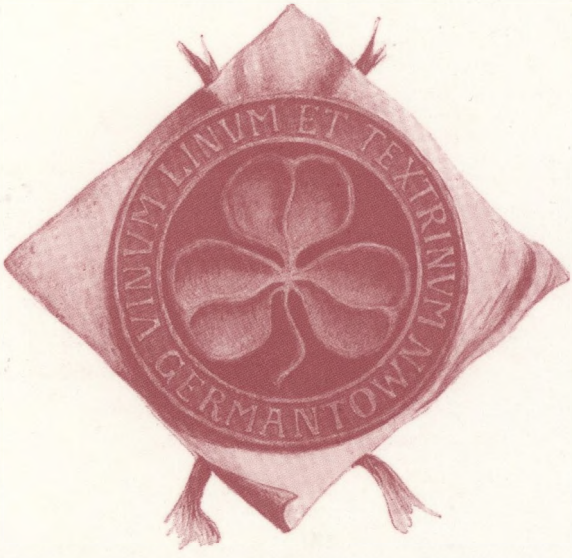
# YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Volume 41

2006




The Society for

German-American Studies

# YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Volume 41

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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, University of Wisconsin-Waukesha, 1500 N. University Dr., Waukesha, WI 53188-2799. 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 $30.00 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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## From the Editor

As promised in volume 40, we have returned to the regular format for our *Yearbook* in this issue with ten essays representing the multidisciplinary nature of German-American Studies. The editor had earlier invited contributions on the involvement of German-Americans in the U.S. Civil War. Our first essay in this volume by Christian Keller on anti-German sentiment following the debacle at the Battle of Chancellorsville in 1863 is a welcome response to that invitation and exposes a raw nerve in the ethnic relations of that period. We encourage others to explore the many aspects of the German-American presence in that era during the Civil War anniversary years to come.

Other essays in the volume explore the biography of an immigrant from Franconia to Iowa by Heinz Stark, the nature of the German-American elite in Cincinnati by Gregory Redding, and George Stuart Fullerton's view of modern Germany during the World War I era by James Campbell. Sarah Emery-Hall describes the reaction of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod in Michigan to the anti-German campaign during that "Great War."

Gregory Knott explores the success of the Austrian presence at the St. Louis World's Fair of 1904 while Patricia Kollander examines the biographies of German émigrés who ended up serving in the U.S. Army during World War II. Angelika Arend analyzes the poetry of German-Canadian Walter Bauer. Richard Page and Joshua Brown present the initial results of their sociolinguistic study of the language attitudes among the speakers of Pennsylvania German in Big Valley, Pennsylvania. The set of essays concludes with Gary Grassl's intriguing speculations about the presence of German glassmakers in Colonial Jamestown. With contributions ranging from literary and linguistic analysis to biography, cultural history, military history, and colonial history, these essays reflect a number of disciplines that find it productive to conduct scholarship within the framework of German-American Studies.

Following the regular essays are three literary reviews edited by Elf Vallaster-Dona and our book review section evaluating some seventeen recent monographs under the editorship of Timothy Holian. The final regular section of this volume is the "Annual Bibliography of German-Americana" compiled by Dolores and Giles Hoyt. The tireless efforts of these four colleagues continue to enhance and enrich our *Yearbook*. Given the variety of media involved in the dissemination of research, the preparation of the annual bibliography, in particular, is a truly Herculean task. Our deepest appreciation goes to the entire Bibliographic Committee and especially to Dolores and Giles Hoyt.

Our Editorial Board members also deserve our heartfelt thanks. Each essay was evaluated anonymously by three members—in many instances more than once due to the revisions required. The attention to detail and to scholarly form by these colleagues ensures the continuing quality of the contributions published in our *Yearbook* and their

criticism of submissions reflects a genuine interest in working with authors to improve their essays.

We look forward to our next Symposium in Colonial Williamsburg in April 2008.

William Keel, Editor
*Max Kade Center for German-American Studies*
*at the University of Kansas*
Lawrence, Kansas
May 2007

Christian B. Keller

# "All We Ask Is Justice": German-American Reactions to the Battle of Chancellorsville

On 5 May 1863, the readers of the *New York Times* awoke to find a full account of what had just happened at a small Virginia hamlet called Chancellorsville. The promising spring campaign of Major General Joseph Hooker, commander of the Army of the Potomac, had come to naught. Disappointed, the northern population would want to know why yet another Federal thrust to Richmond had failed, and L. L. Crounse, the paper's correspondent with the army, supplied them that information:

> But to the disgrace of the Eleventh Corps be it said that the division of General Schurz, which was the first assailed, almost instantly gave way. Threats, entreaties and orders of commanders were of no avail. Thousands of these cowards threw down their guns and soon streamed down the road toward headquarters .... General Howard, with all his daring and resolution and vigor, could not stem the tide of the retreating and cowardly poltroons.[1]

Cowards, poltroons, rascals, damned Dutch—these were the words used to describe the men of the half-German Eleventh Corps in the northern English-language press. Crounse was not the only journalist to send in a report. L. A. Hendricks, correspondent of the *New York Herald*, was hardly more sympathetic. His story also appeared on 5 May, claiming "the disastrous and disgraceful giving way of General Schurz's division of Gen. Howard's corps (Sigel's old corps) completely changed the fortunes of the day. The men, I am told, fled like so many sheep before a pack of wolves, and the enemy rushed up, taking possession of the abandoned line." T. M. Cook, also of the *Herald*, complained that the German regiments "broke in confusion ... and fled from the field in panic, nearly effecting the total demoralization of the entire army," and another eyewitness exclaimed that "the flying Germans came dashing over the field in crowds." Horace Greeley's *New-York Daily Tribune* was the harshest of all. Greeley called for "swift justice" to "overtake the regiments that broke," suggesting that "if it be deemed too rigid to shoot them all, they may at least be decimated and then dissolved."[2]

In a matter of days, the stories published by the major New York City newspapers were copied, quoted, and paraphrased all over the rest of the North. The reason for the most recent Federal defeat had to be made known, especially after the high hopes that had accompanied this campaign. A scapegoat was necessary. The Hartford *Evening Press* argued the Germans "ran without fighting at all," and labeled this "an inexcusable piece of cowardice." The Philadelphia *Public Ledger* claimed the "losses sustained by the [Eleventh] corps, either in killed or captured, could not have been great—they ran too fast for that." The Philadelphia *Inquirer* called the corps' performance "unaccountable

and inexcusable," exclaiming that "its position ought to have been held, and *somebody* (emphasis orig.) is to blame for this disgraceful affair." Echoing the words of the other papers, which also exonerated Hooker for the defeat, the *Inquirer* added that only "the superb generalship of the Commanding General" saved the Army of the Potomac from utter disaster. Corps commander Oliver Otis Howard had likewise performed brilliantly, the paper reported, and was not culpable for the debacle that befell his men.[3]

The abuse heaped upon the Eleventh Corps, bad enough in the press, was positively scorching within the Army of the Potomac itself. Although Hooker came under some fire for mismanaging the battle, especially by high-ranking officers, nearly everyone else criticized the Germans. Colonel Robert McAllister of the 11th New Jersey told his wife the Germans "were panic-stricken and perfectly worthless. But our brave boys heeded them not and treated them with perfect contempt." Private Abram P. Smith of the 76th New York lamented that the Germans "broke and ran in the most cowardly manner," pushing aside "the brave regiments" in "cowardly waves," and a soldier in the 4th Ohio wrote his son "every Dutchman was making for the river . . . trying to save his own cowardly body." Within Captain Hubert Dilger's own Ohio German battery, Private Darwin Cody claimed the German infantry supporting his artillery had all "run without firing gun." Cody blamed the loss of some of the battery's horses and cannon on Germans: "I say dam [*sic*] the Dutch!" French-American Colonel Regis DeTrobriand probably best summed up the general mood in the rest of the army: "The Eleventh Corps was the object of a general hue and cry, nobody stopping to ask if there were not some extenuating circumstances."[4]

Anglo-Americans in the Army of the Potomac and at home strongly blamed the German-born element of the Eleventh Corps for the Union defeat at Chancellorsville in May 1863. In so doing, they found an easy scapegoat and an excuse with which to ease their consciences. With an identifiable foreign element upon which they could pin the badge of disgrace, the morale of the Anglo-American soldiers in the army and their loved ones at home would quickly recover. That of German-Americans, both in and out of the army, would not.[5]

* * * * *

The events of 2 May 1863 that created this "general hue and cry" against the Germans of the Eleventh Corps are important in a purely military sense because they influenced the course of the battle and its operational aftershocks. Other historians have dealt with this aspect of Chancellorsville, however fleetingly, and a detailed recounting of the actions of the German regiments in the Corps would provide little that challenges their interpretations, most of which do exonerate the military performance of the Germans. Yet the social and psychological results of the battle for the German-Americans of the North have remained relatively unexplored, and are even more interesting and significant. How did German immigrants react to the nativist backlash following Chancellorsville, and how did it alter their ethnic identity? How did it affect their thinking regarding assimilation? This essay grapples with these primary questions. It also provides a glimpse into how German-America remembered the Civil War as a whole, and contends that, at least partly because of the prejudice they encountered during the conflict, German immigrants tended to recollect it as Germans first and Americans second. This, it might be argued, calls into question the idea of the

Civil War as a catalyst for Americanization, a theory once popular among Civil War and ethnic scholars, but one increasingly challenged by research in original German-language records.

Historians have been quick to characterize the nature of the rout of the Eleventh Corps at Chancellorsville and have even spilled considerable ink on the reactions of non-Germans to the defeat. How the Germans responded to their critics, however, has gone almost completely undocumented. As the ones deemed the guilty party in the affair—let alone as the country's largest ethnic group—the opinions, statements, and public actions of the North's German-Americans should have been analyzed before, but even the best known historical defender of the Germans, Augustus Hamlin, never really delved into the *aftermath* of Chancellorsville. Instead, he focused on the performance of the German regiments during the battle, accurately concluding that they had fought as well as could be expected under the circumstances, and, in many instances, had fought with courage. Likewise, the self-appointed chronicler of German-America in the Civil War, Wilhelm Kaufmann, surprisingly failed to mention anything substantial about what happened afterwards in his fileopietistic 1911 history. Ella Lonn, long considered "the source" for information on ethnics in the war, spent very little time indeed on German reactions to the nativistic backlash in her 1951 study, characterizing them instead with sweeping generalizations. More recently, William Burton, in his analysis of the North's ethnic regiments, limited his discussion of the battle to a page and said nothing about the resulting fallout. The two most respected modern historians of the battle, Stephen Sears and Ernest Furgurson, also leave us in the dark regarding German-American reactions. Only Wolfgang Helbich and Walter Kamphoefner, in their collection of edited Civil War letters and in one very recent article, touch upon the fact that Chancellorsville was a major event for the nation's German-born citizens. Yet their analysis of the meaning of the battle is necessarily limited by the scopes of their studies.[6]

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In May 1863 the Eleventh Corps was identified by both German and non-German soldiers and civilians as "the German Corps" of the Army of the Potomac. Even though only a little more than 50 percent of the corps was ethnically Teutonic, public attacks against it in the press were viewed as attacks against the Germans. Nearly all of Ludwig Blenker's earlier "German Division" had been absorbed into the command, and Franz Sigel, symbol of German-America, had led its precursor, the First Corps of Pope's Army of Virginia, in the summer of 1862. Sigel had then actually commanded the corps for several months before his resignation in February 1863, and Carl Schurz, that other highly visible spokesman for the Germans, served as its next leader before Oliver Otis Howard, a Westpoint-trained, teetotaling, and evangelizing New Englander, took over. Most of the newly-raised German regiments of 1862 from both the East and the Midwest had been assigned to the corps, such as the much publicized 26th Wisconsin, 82nd Illinois, and 119th New York. Taken together, these actions ingrained in the northern public's psyche the idea that the Eleventh Corps was a German organization. Colonel Patrick R. Guiney of the 9th Massachusetts wrote on 7 May 1863, "we would have gained a great victory were it not for the cowardice of the 11th Corps—a German corps which was formerly commanded by Sigel but now by Howard of Maine. The Dutch Corps ran." Even Second Lieutenant Oscar D. Ladley of the 75th Ohio, an

Anglo-American regiment attached to the Eleventh Corps, remarked that "the 11th Corps is composed principally of New York dutch." The famous poet William Cullen Bryant also described the Eleventh Corps as an ethnic command. Writing to President Abraham Lincoln about the chances of restoring Sigel to command of the Corps, Bryant claimed "it [the Eleventh Corps] is composed of German soldiering . . . ."[7]

It was with this sort of mindset that both the northern Anglo- and German-American populations waited anxiously for reports from the Virginia wilderness in the spring of 1863. When news broke of the defeat at Chancellorsville and the Eleventh Corps received the blame, most in the North automatically thought of the Germans.

## "The Spirit of This Corps Is Broken"

Major General Oliver O. Howard never came close to admitting his culpability in the disaster which befell his corps. In his official report, issued a week after the battle, he blamed the rout of the Eleventh Corps on the density of the wilderness, which shielded the enemy from detection, the absence of his reserve brigade under Brigadier General Francis Barlow when the Confederates attacked, and a poorly-defined "panic produced by the enemy's reverse fire." He said nothing about the multitude of warnings he and brigade commander Charles Devens received from various scouts, nor a word about the valor of his troops. A few officers received some credit, such as Captain Dilger of the First Ohio Light Artillery, and Howard vaguely admitted that "a part of General Schimmelfennig's and a part of [Colonel] Krzyzanowski's brigades moved gradually back to the north of the Plank Road and kept up their fire." Absolutely nothing addressed the specious accusations directed towards his men. On 10 May he issued a General Order obviously meant to uplift the spirits of his troops, but the timing of this dispatch, as well as the tone that it adopted, could not have inspired many at all:

> As your commanding general, I cannot fail to notice a feeling of depression on the part of a portion of this corps. Some obloquy has been cast upon us on account of the affair of Saturday, May 2. I believe that such a disaster might have happened to any other corps of this army, and do not distrust my command. Every officer who failed to do his duty by not keeping his men together, and not rallying them when broken, is conscious of it, and must profit from the past.[8]

Howard clearly failed to understand that his German soldiers did believe they "rallied" and fought, and did not blame themselves or their regimental officers, but were crestfallen by the aspersions cast upon them by the Anglo-American press and the rest of the army. He was completely misguided in gauging the feelings of the Germans under his command at the time, and only worsened his plummeting reputation with them by issuing two unpopular orders. The first, dated 12 May, demanded the wearing of the crescent badge on all caps (many of which no longer bore them). By itself, this order was harmless. Following it, however, came the infamous ban on lager beer for all enlisted men.[9]

This order created incredible dissatisfaction. Practically every major German-language newspaper reported it and the soldiers' reactions. A private in the 26th Wisconsin wrote a letter back home that was prominently reprinted in nearly all the

major papers: "We have become Temperance men against our will," he complained. "The beer is gone forever, "and now it's all water-drinking for us . . . This General Howard is a pure Puritan, who not once will find an order good enough to sign on Sunday. Honestly a worse exchange the 11th Corps could not have made. 'If we only still had our Sigel!' is the correct and universal complaint." The Philadelphia *Freie Presse* claimed that the 11th Corps was now "completely demoralized." Captain Howell of the 153d Pennsylvania, a regiment that suffered relatively few losses in the fighting on 2 May, was still not upbeat when he wrote his wife on 10 May that "our last movement did not amount to much and our 11th corp has to bear all the blame . . . I suppose it will be investigated and the blame be putt [*sic*] where it belongs."[10]

Howell was mild in his description of the despondency that descended over the Germans of the Eleventh Corps. Soldiers in other regiments, especially those that had fought hard and suffered heavy losses, were far more crestfallen. Adam Muenzenberger of the 26th Wisconsin wrote of his regiment's return to its old camp at Brooke's Station: "When we reached our camp again, and pitched our tents, we saw only misery. One-third of the tents in the camp were empty. And why? Because those who had occupied them were no more. Where are they? Dead! In the hospitals. Captured by the rebels. That is the worst thing that could happen to a regiment that was once so excellent." Muenzenberger's comrade, Frederick Winkler, declared on 7 May that "the army, at least our corps, is demoralized; officers talk of resigning and a spirit of depression and lack of confidence manifests itself everywhere; this may be, and I hope is, transitory." The *depth* of the demoralization would improve as the men of the 26th and other hard-fighting regiments came to terms with their losses and put time between themselves and the events of 2 May, but it would not vanish because of the prejudicial criticisms lodged against the Germans from within and without the army. Large numbers of officers from the German regiments resigned and asked for leaves of absence after the battle, beginning just days afterward and continuing through early June. These actions were not simply the result of losing so many comrades—they had to do with indignance. Officers in the 26th Wisconsin resigned wholesale, but found their resignations unaccepted. In the 119th New York, four company-grade officers resigned and six received a leave of absence. In the 58th New York, the major and three lieutenants tendered their resignations and four other officers went on leave. The 82nd Illinois lost five officers who requested transfers out of the Army of the Potomac and four more resigned, whereas the lieutenant colonel, a captain, and four lieutenants resigned in the 68th New York.[11]

Colonel William H. Jacobs of the 26th Wisconsin went home on a leave of absence but then wrote to his division commander, Carl Schurz, asking to resign. Schurz was adamant in his response. "Whoever fights for a great cause has to consider that one's steadfastness will be crucially tested," he wrote, continuing, "Whoever does not pass the test has no right to claim manliness." He chided Jacobs for wanting to resign now, arguing that "to do such a move after a defeat and to give 'reluctance' as the reason for doing so" would prove to the Germans' critics that they were right. "Even the most disheartened of your men thinks more manly," he said, admitting that "the spirit of your men is definitely better than at the time you left." Apparently, Jacobs wanted to resign as an example of how to counter false charges of cowardice. Schurz was quick to deny the request. "I cannot allow that a colonel serves his men as an example of demoralization." Jacobs ended up staying with his regiment, but the numbers of requests for leave from other officers became so unmanageable that on 27 May Howard issued an order

explaining that no further leaves of absence would be granted except for medical reasons and "special circumstances."[12]

By mid-June the demoralization of the majority of the German officers in the Eleventh Corps continued unabated. The Pittsburgh *Freiheitsfreund* printed a letter from a correspondent who visited the camp of the corps. He claimed that a "comprehensive bitterness against Howard is evident that borders on insubordination—as expected, morale is quite depressed, especially among the officers, who without exception feel offended and outraged in the aftermath of the strenuous denunciations from the American press." However, the mood among the troops "is much improved than after the infamous affair at Chancellorsville." Music had re-entered the lives of the German rank and file and raised their spirits. "Lusty singing" could be heard at night in the camp of the 82nd Illinois, and even more so in the 26th Wisconsin. A letter from an officer in the 82nd to Colonel Friedrich Hecker, recovering in a hospital from his battle wound, supported the correspondent's story. "The change of camp has made a good impression on the men," he wrote. "Instead of living in the middle of many abandoned and empty huts of the old camp which, of course, makes us reflect on the fate of our former comrades, we now live on a beautiful vacant hill." The enlisted men of the 27th Pennsylvania also had regained much of their morale, but still complained about "dirty Virginia water" and the loss of "cognacs, brandies, etc. to higher authorities" who confiscated them.[13]

Despite the improved morale among the men of some of the German regiments as early as mid-May, an ongoing mood of depression still lingered, and Carl Schurz correctly ascertained that the reason lay in the inability of the German soldiers to feel vindicated. Their honor had been badly impugned, their ethnicity lampooned, and, indeed, their status as men questioned by the torrent of invective ushering from Anglo-Americans. As long as the affronting allegations from the English-language press and the non-Germans of the army went publicly unrepudiated, the German soldiers would continue to feel despondent and, he feared, be unreliable troops. Singled out for blame for the defeat in certain newspapers, Schurz also keenly felt the sting of nativism and embarked on a month-long letter-writing campaign seeking justice for both himself and his fellow Germans.

No official investigation was ever launched into the disaster at Chancellorsville, and that bothered Schurz to no end.[14] As early as 7 May he began to bombard Howard, Hooker, and Secretary of War Edwin Stanton with continual protests about the treatment he and his men were receiving in the press and the army, and requests to publish the "truth" about what had happened.

On 12 May Schurz wrote a nineteen-paged report (the bulk of which would later become his official report in the *Official Records*) to Howard discussing in detail the actions of his Third Division during the entire campaign, offering substantial evidence that he and his troops fought as well as they could have. The majority of the report covered the deployment and action of the various regiments under Schurz's command (most of which were ethnically German), and carefully explained the general's own whereabouts and decision-making on 2 May. But in the last two pages the general wrote frankly about his growing exasperation with the nativist press coverage and concern about his men's state of morale: "In closing this report I beg leave to make one additional remark. The 11th Corps, and by error or malice especially the 3d Division, have been held up to the whole country as a band of cowards. My division has been

made responsible for the defeat of the 11th Corps and the 11th Corps for the failure of the campaign." There was the crux of the whole issue—Schurz clearly expressed the truth of the situation facing himself and his fellow Germans, and knew it, pressing his point further: "Preposterous as this is yet we have been overwhelmed by the Army and the Press with abuse and insult beyond measure. We have borne as much as human nature can endure." Here was another very pointed, and very accurate statement. Schurz was aware that the odium now attached to his corps and especially his division was emanating both from the rest of the army *and* the Anglo-American press. And he and his men could not take any more of it without serious ramifications. "These men are no cowards. I have seen most of them fight before this, and they fought as bravely as any," the German declared.[15]

Howard would not allow Schurz to publish his report, most likely because the corps commander did not want to be upstaged—or implicated. So Schurz did what any disgruntled subordinate would do in the same situation: he went over his superior's head. Schurz went to see Army Commander Joseph Hooker sometime between 12 and 15 May and asked permission to make the report public. Hooker said he had "no authority" to permit its publication, but that the Secretary of War, Edwin Stanton, might allow it.

Despite this less than favorable meeting with Hooker, Schurz nonetheless wrote him on 17 May, again asking for the army commander's blessing, this time in the form of an endorsement when the request to Stanton was officially passed back to Hooker for his approval. Schurz prophesied that "the battle of Chancellorsville is not a thing, that happened yesterday in order to be forgotten tomorrow. It will fill a prominent page in the history of this Republic, on which every incident and the conduct of every commander and every command ought to be presented in their true light. This, you will admit, is no matter of small moment." Then he touched upon a more emotional note, just as he had with Howard:

> You may believe me, General, when I say that the spirit of this corps is broken, and something must be done to revive it, or the corps will lose its efficiency. Too much humiliation destroys the morale of men . . . The bad effect produced upon the men by the sad occurrences of the 2nd May and of the obloquy to which we have been and still are subjected, will be in some measure obliterated by a fair and complete exposition before the country of the real facts in the case . . . . Every private in this command knows and appreciates them as well, that it would be looked upon as the grossest injustice, if they were ignored in official publications. Permit me to suggest that it would have an excellent effect upon the troops if you in your report would notice those whose conduct on that occasion would justly entitle them to credit or at least to an exemption from blame and reproach.

Schurz ended his starkly-written letter by asking again for the publication of his report, apologizing if anything in it "might seem objectionable," and claiming that it only purported "to protect the honor of those, whose past career and whose conduct on this sad occasion deserve regard." If Stanton did not grant his request, Schurz spared no words about his next action: "I should [then] find myself under the disagreeable necessity of asking for a court of inquiry."[16]

In the end, Schurz never was permitted to publish his detailed report nor granted a court of enquiry. Its official publication would have too easily exonerated the Germans and by fiat indicted Howard and Hooker for the disaster on 2 May. The Anglo-American high command could not allow that.

Those who had witnessed Schurz's performance at Chancellorsville never doubted his personal courage. Howard himself published letters in both the Anglo-American and German-language press refuting the allegations that Schurz had led his men in running away, and Friedrich Hecker, recovering in Washington from his wound, wrote that "Schurz led the regiments in the retreat to good defensive positions" and "stood like a man in the rain of bullets and did his duty as soldier and general." But these protests to the contrary could not begin to remove the stain of cowardice that had by now so embedded itself in the Anglo-American public's image of Schurz and his Germans. "I fights mit Sigel und runs mit Schurz" became the snide taunt in and out of the army.[17]

The outrage Schurz forced himself to stifle, however unhappily, exploded in his subordinate, Brigadier General Alexander Schimmelfennig. Schimmelfennig had been in the thick of the fight on 2 May, rallying his brigade from the double blow of the fleeing refugees from Devens' First Division—who crashed into the forming ranks of their comrades of the Third Division—and the rebel onslaught, and had assisted Schurz in reorganizing much of the division for a stand near the Wilderness Church. Thanks to timely reports from various scouts, Schimmelfennig had expected the Confederate flank attack and witnessed firsthand the courage of the German soldiers under the difficult conditions in which they fought. Colonel Hecker wrote in his letter that Schimmelfennig had been "in the middle of his troops and did his utmost." It had not been enough, however, and Schimmelfennig was so depressed after the battle that he remained alone in his tent for days, refusing to talk to anyone, even his favorite aide, the German nobleman Baron Otto von Fritsch.[18]

One day Fritsch "scratched on his tent," entered, and confronted Schimmelfennig with the bad news being printed in the northern press. "Just what I expected," the General said. "Bring me all the papers tomorrow," he told Fritsch, and commenced to read them aloud in his tent one night, adding several expletives in German as he progressed. He rode to see Schurz, then Howard, lambasted them with his invective, and then assembled his staff and proceeded to defame the northern press, Howard, Hooker, and their staff officers. "It was an astonishingly good oratorical effort," von Fritsch wrote. Schimmelfennig then followed up his speech with a scathing official report on 10 May to his immediate superior, Schurz, which more than any other extant letter or report clearly explained the Germans' sense of betrayal.[19]

> General, the officers and men of this brigade of your division, filled with indignation, come to me, with newspapers in their hands, and ask if such be the rewards they may expect for the sufferings they have endured and the bravery they have displayed . . . . It would seem a nest of vipers had but waited for an auspicious moment to spit out their poisonous slanders upon this heretofore honored corps.

Schimmelfennig continued, stating that the accusations in the northern press were bad enough, but could be singly dealt with, as they were "but emanations from the prurient imaginations of those who would live by dipping their pens in the blood

of the slain." However, the official dispatches and letters leaked to the public "dated 'headquarters of General Hooker,' and signed by responsible names," compounded the problem immensely. A detailed account of his brigade's performance at Chancellorsville followed, and then Schimmelfennig added a concluding paragraph:

> General, I am an old soldier. To this hour I have been proud to command the brave men of this brigade; but I am sure that unless these infamous falsehoods be retracted and reparations made, their good-will and soldierly spirit will be broken, and I shall no longer be at the head of the same brave men whom I have had heretofore the honor to lead. In the name of truth and common honesty; in the name of the good cause of our country, I ask, therefore, for satisfaction. If our superior officers be not sufficiently in possession of the facts, I demand an investigation; if they are, I demand that the miserable penny-a-liners who have slandered the division be excluded, by a public order, from our lines, and that the names of the originators of these slanders be made known to me and my brigade, that they may be held responsible for their acts.[20]

Schimmelfennig felt a lot more than depression as he wrote these lines. His language reveals a sense of betrayal, and no doubt this reflected the mood of his troops. Like Schurz, he cried out for justice for his men. Although his report was filed early and the mood of at least some of the German rank and file of the Eleventh Corps would recover in the weeks ahead, Schimmelfennig probably represented the overall feeling extant in the corps during May 1863. It was not one that boded good things for the future. There was only one possible way to help heal the pain until another battle came along: turn inward, internalize, and seek solace and vindication among other Germans. The German-language press would prove mightily useful in this regard, even though it did little to change the attitudes of Anglo-Americans by virtue of its foreign language.

### "For the Idiocy of the Commanding Generals the Poor Corps Must Take the Fall"

The German-American press, normally bitterly divided by partisan and regional differences, united on the subject of Chancellorsville. Newspapers in both the eastern and western theatres of operation expressed outrage at the depictions of the Eleventh Corps and its German soldiers in the Anglo-American press and quickly attempted to disprove the allegations, defend the courage of the soldiers, and place the blame for the defeat where it supposedly belonged. Subtle differences in what was reported, the tone of the editorials, and the breadth of coverage were evident among the papers, and were due in part to the political and geographic diversity of the German-American communities from which they hailed, but an unmistakable sense of ethnic solidarity shone forth in the months after the battle. The German immigrants of the Civil War-era would never unify, and the editors of the major newspapers were partly responsible for that, but the outrage over Chancellorsville and the resulting nativistic attacks brought them closer together than they had ever been before.

As the Eleventh Corps retreated northward with the rest of the Army of the Potomac and reoccupied its old camps, the officers of the German regiments found time to dispatch lists of the dead, wounded, and missing to the major German-language newspapers. These lists appeared side by side with the early editorials reporting the first

nativist attacks lodged against the Germans. The irony was not lost on the German editors. One of the first themes they argued, and one which was lost on the Anglo-American newspapers, was the fact that the numbers of dead and wounded throughout the German regiments indicated that some of them, at the very least, held their ground and fought. There was no way they all could have run or they would not have suffered such casualties. As the Pittsburgh *Freiheitsfreund* maintained, "the dead and wounded of the late battle show they (the German regiments) did not fall back without a fight." Of course, the Germans lost hundreds as prisoners, but the sacrifice in blood clearly evident from the published casualty lists made allegations of German cowardice appear blind, untruthful, and disrespectful to the German dead.[21]

It struck many German-Americans as especially ungrateful that the English-language papers would so quickly and enthusiastically blame the Germans for the Chancellorsville defeat when they had more than proved their mettle earlier and elsewhere in the war. Editor Friedrich Thomas of the Philadelphia *Freie Presse* recounted the martial deeds of German soldiers up to Chancellorsville, observing that "the German names which appear in the 'dead and wounded' lists of every major battle of this war show how bravely their namesakes fought . . . . Have we not sent able generals and a hundred thousand German soldiers into the field?" The Germans had fought well on numerous fields before and including Chancellorsville, and their spilled blood alone should have silenced any rumors of cowardice. The *Louisville Anzeiger*, *Milwaukee Seebote*, and Highland, Illinois *Highland Bote* all agreed. Regardless of partisan affiliation or geographic location, however, it would take more than the recounting of past valor for the editors to refute the criticisms lodged against the Germans.[22]

Many editors tried to prove to their readers that the reports in the Anglo-American press were false, that the accusations of cowardice were founded on pure fantasy, and that the German regiments had fought as well as could be expected under the circumstances. They used all manner of official reports, letters from soldiers in the field, and even concocted evidence in their editorials—anything that could be construed as excusing the German soldiers from the calumnies heaped upon them. A sense of desperation pervaded some of these stories, whereas others were straightforward and reported the facts as truthfully as possible. On 12 May the *Philadelphia Demokrat* printed in full a letter from Adolph von Steinwehr, who commanded the Eleventh Corps' Second Division. Steinwehr's letter explained the dispositions of his division on 2 May, praised the stand of Colonel Adolphus Buschbeck's brigade (composed of over 50% German soldiery), and attempted to exonerate at least his portion of the corps from criticism. It was reprinted by many newspapers after the *Demokrat*'s initial publication. "Despite their limited strength, [the second brigade] most decisively resisted the enemy," von Steinwehr wrote. "Colonel Buschbeck showed such an extraordinary bravery and prudence that he can rightfully claim the thanks of the government." The Cincinnati *Wöchentlicher Volksfreund* expressed relief that some of the truth had finally come out, stating that von Steinwehr's letter "fulfills our expectation, that our view will be substantiated through further news." In Illinois, the wounded Friedrich Hecker and his 82nd Illinois were singled out for praise by the *Belleviller-Zeitung* for displaying "great bravery" and suffering heavy losses, indicating that Illinois Germans had nothing to fear from nativist accusations.[23]

Lieutenant Colonel Louis Schirmer, Chief of Artillery for the Eleventh Corps, also wrote a letter defending the role of the corps artillery on 2 May. The New York

City German-language press picked up his report and extolled it as evidence that their soldiers had fought well at Chancellorsville. The batteries of Captains Michael Wiedrich and Hubert Dilger retreated only at the last possible moments, Schirmer claimed, and conducted their retreats well. "These captains then repeatedly took position with their batteries and directed a fearful destruction on the ranks of the storming rebels." At one point in the battle, "18 guns fired uninterruptedly and attempted to halt the advancing masses of the enemy, which they partially did," but the deadly holes in the grey ranks were repeatedly filled, and the infantry defending the artillery was forced to retreat. The artillery then had to withdraw, Schirmer explained. In closing, the artillery chief observed that "the artillery comported itself bravely and damaged the enemy's ranks so severely that they are completely shattered. The battlefield was bedecked with dead and wounded rebels and this compensates our losses." In a final stab at those who belittled the Eleventh Corps, Schirmer added, "that the Eleventh Corps fell back is not due to the men, but instead to their deployment and the lack of decisiveness of certain officers of high rank."[24]

Franz Sigel's absence at Chancellorsville became one of the favorite whipping boys for the German-language press. Again, this theme was universal among the newspapers regardless of political affiliation and geographic location, and kept being offered as a reason for the German soldiers' less than stellar performance. Ironically, however, by so doing the editors unconsciously gave a sort of tacit acknowledgment that the Eleventh Corps could have fought better. And there was certainly no guarantee that an Eleventh Corps led by Sigel would have succeeded where Howard failed, although it is likely that Sigel would have paid more attention to reports from German scouts who discovered Jackson's flank march. At the time, German-Americans focused on what could have been as a salve for what actually occurred.

Philadelphia Germans were told emphatically that Sigel's presence at Chancellorsville would have changed events for the better. The *Freie Presse* argued on 7 May that

> had General Sigel not arrived at his unlucky decision to relinquish the command of the 11th Corps, had this seasoned and beloved leader still stood at the peak of the German division, the scenes which the Know-Nothingism is now using to resurrect the almost-dead hate against the Germans would certainly not have occurred.That is the conviction of the majority of the Germans.[25]

The *Highland Bote* agreed that Sigel's absence created the defeat, which in turn spawned the resurge of nativism. The "bigots, witch-burners, temperance men, and Know-Nothings that hate the German population from the bottom of their soul" had been silenced up to this point in the war because the Germans "had sent equal, if not better officers and soldiers as the Americans" into the service. But now the Germans' enemies had "their much wished-for opportunity to attack the 'cowardly Dutchmen.'" The editor bemoaned the lost Sigel, but wondered "what kind of spectacle would have been made" if the Eleventh Corps had still retreated under his command. "The old German-haters are and remain still German-haters!" The Pittsburgh *Freiheitsfreund* claimed that the end result of the disaster at Chancellorsville should be the reinstatement of Sigel—"The Stonewall Jackson of the North"—at the head of his German troops. Under

the leadership of Sigel once again, the Eleventh Corps might soon avenge the attacks against its honor. More ominously, the New York *Criminalzeitung und Belletristisches Journal* remarked that "it is still in question" whether "the old [German] regiments will quickly reorganize" without Sigel in charge of the corps. "The situation will probably be strongly helped if Sigel once again takes over the 11th Corps."[26]

Private Ernst Damkoehler of the 26th Wisconsin combined both the "numbers of casualties" argument with the yearning for Sigel, and added elements of yet another major German-American defensive argument when he wrote his wife about the battle: "The number of dead and wounded are sure evidence how the Regiment stood up and even though the whole Corps which had covered the retreat last summer at Bull Run under Sigel and saved the whole army from being imprisoned, and lost its good name through the stupidity of a General, Howard, the regiment is well respected." Whether Damkoehler really checked to find out others' opinions of the 26th is unknown, but it is probable he was being optimistic in his assessment of his regiment's post-Chancellorsville reputation among non-Germans. Nonetheless, he did speak for the vast majority of northern Germans in his criticism of Howard. That criticism would become one of the keystones of the German-language press's response to Chancellorsville.[27]

The Philadelphia *Freie Presse* printed a letter from an indignant soldier of the 74th Pennsylvania on 18 May that solidly put the onus of the disaster on the non-Geman commanders of the Eleventh Corps. "Whoever had the bad luck to blame the 11th Corps the newspapers will make blush with shame and compare with our point of view. We soldiers know that it is the fault of Corps commander Howard and then First Division commander Devens. The first division was poorly deployed, therefore completely misaligned [for the coming attack] and broke up our division [Third] in its flight." A visitor to the camps of the German regiments in the week after Chancellorsville wrote in his diary that the men told him, "'We will again be sacrificed in the next battle because of the incompetence of the native generals,'" and complained that Howard believed in winning battles "with prayers and bible-reading." Louis Schleiter of the 74th joined in the attack on the corps commander, claiming that he not only failed to heed warnings from his staff about the impending Confederate attack, refused Carl Schurz's request to realign his division in expectation of it, and generally "proved utterly incompetent in his duties," but also displayed notable cowardice. Witnessing the disorder of Schimmelfennig's brigade as fleeing elements from the First Division slammed into it, Howard reportedly yelled, "Stand, boys, and do not disgrace me entirely!" and then wheeled his horse and galloped to the rear. The *Milwaukee Herold*, operating on reports from its field correspondent, stated the issue quite plainly: "The main person to blame is the commander of the 11th Corps, General Howard."[28]

The *Pittsburger Demokrat* agreed: "For the idiocy of the commanding generals the poor Corps must now take the fall. Hooker and especially General Howard are at fault. Both received several reports that the enemy had marched to our right flank and concentrated there great masses of troops, but nothing was done, we stayed where we were, even our reserve artillery was not once brought into position. It remains just like the old song, 'What matters the lion's courage of the soldier, with Generals that are not worth a shot of gunpowder—and yet they would have been worth that.'" Sergeant Karl Wickesberg of the 26th Wisconsin spared even fewer words condemning the corps commander. "In time the truth will come out," he wrote bitterly, "It was all General Howard's fault. General Schurz was going to give us reinforcements and give us some

cannons to help us. But that coward, I cannot call him by another name, said he was going to try it first with what we have here. He is a Yankee, and that is why he wanted to have us slaughtered, because most of us are Germans. He better not come into the thick of battle a second time, then he won't escape."[29]

The German-Americans of the North were outraged at being made the scapegoats of the Chancellorsville campaign. They and their friends, sons, brothers, and relatives had spilled ample blood in defense of the Union, and instead of receiving sympathy for their sacrifices, got back the equivalent of a spit in the face. Their favorite leader, Franz Sigel, had not been permitted to be with them, and Germans maintained that had he been in command of the Eleventh Corps the battle would have ended differently. The editorials which appeared in the German-language newspapers, as well as the contents of private letters, argued that the Germans had indeed fought as well as possible and not all run like cowards. Most importantly, northern Germans united in condemning the resurge of nativism which was displayed by the Anglo-American press, and roundly blamed Howard and the non-German leadership of the Eleventh Corps for the debacle. The Germans were defending themselves from the nativistic prejudice that they perceived had been resurrected by the Chancellorsville defeat. As they continued to do so, they grew more and more indignant and increasingly affronted. By the time of the Gettysburg campaign, the North's German-American citizens were so affected by this perception that they strongly questioned their place as an ethnic group within greater American society.

**"Let Us Organize in Defence of our Common Honor"**

The post-Chancellorsville nativism prompted the Germans of the North, at least in the East, to temporarily halt on the road to Americanization, more aware than ever of their own ethnicity and girded by an irrepressible resolve to defend it. The war would drag onward, Germans from around the country would continue to support the Union in the field and at home, and would ultimately amalgamate with the greater American population. But they would do so on their own terms and in their own time, because to rashly assimilate now meant to accept all the negative qualities of Anglo-Americans that had been made so apparent by the aftermath of Chancellorsville. Many began to ask themselves what, exactly, becoming an American would garner them if Americans were themselves so bigoted. Germans' enthusiasm for the war—and consequently for Americanization—was irrevocably altered.

The Chicago *Illinois Staatszeitung* was unabashed in expounding the issue of ethnic prejudice at hand. Its 7 May issue clearly blamed *New York Times* correspondent L. L. Crounse for slandering the Germans and instigating ethnic tensions out of Republican zeal. "The correspondent of the N. Y. Times looks to create the impression in his nativistic, abolitionistic perfidy and rage as if the German sections of the Corps performed especially bad, and the American ones rather well." Another Democratic German paper, the Cincinnati *Wöchentlicher Volksfreund*, attacked the Know-Nothing rhetoric of both the *Times* and the *New-York Tribune*, claiming that "the Republican Party is transforming with amazing alacrity into a pure Know-Nothing Party." Yet the fact that these New York papers and their correspondents were Republican was only a small part of the problem.[30]

Since the Anglo-American journalists had made such a stark and negative

distinction between Americans and Germans, the editors of the Chicago *Illinois Staatszeitung* and Pittsburgh *Demokrat* followed their lead, specifically referring to the "American parts" of the Eleventh Corps, the "American officers and men" of the Army of the Potomac, and the "American newspapers" that attacked the Germans. They unequivocally intended their readers to see the clear-cut difference between Americans and Germans. They also did not classify German-speakers as German-Americans, or, as Teddy Roosevelt would later put it, "hyphenated Americans"; rather, the editors of these two important newspapers considered them Germans and those who spoke English as Americans. These certainly were not the words of men who wanted their readers to become any more American than they already were. If the Americans so despised us now, the editorials insinuated, why bother becoming more like them? Additionally, the Americans, by sinking so low as to falsely accuse German soldiers of single-handedly losing the battle of Chancellorsville, and by flinging ethnic epithets, had proven just how vulgar they really were. The Germans, editor Georg Ripper of the *Demokrat* claimed, would not follow such a base example. "We will not imitate the evil example of the Times correspondent, we make no malicious differences between the nationalities; the above parallels clearly show how groundless overall and stupid it is to make the Germans especially responsible for the sorry shame of the Eleventh Corps of the Army of the Potomac."[31]

Other German papers agreed with the *Staatszeitung* and the *Demokrat*. The Republican Cleveland *Wächter am Erie* called the preoccupation of the Anglo-American press with purported German cowardice "stinking nativism." The Republican Pittsburgh *Freiheitsfreund*, arch-rival of Ripper's organ, echoed his words in its 9 May editorial, attacking the "stupidity of the N. Y. Times correspondent for reactivating nativism" and blaming the other Anglo-American newspapers for reprinting the *Times* version of the battle verbatim. The Philadelphia *Freie Presse* reprinted Carl Schurz's official complaints and requests for a court of inquiry on 12 May, in order to clear his name and take a stab "at the insidious traitor's band in the North," who were "overjoyed at the opportunity to blame Gen. Schurz for incompetence and even cowardliness." Thus it appeared that the accusers of the Germans were now portrayed not only as prejudiced liars, but also deadly enemies to the country.[32]

Speaking for all northern Germans, the *Freie Presse* issued a warning to its readers and German-Americans in general on 29 May. The anti-German attacks in the Anglo-American press had not abated, the morale of German soldiers in the Eleventh Corps had bottomed-out, and "what did it all mean?" editor Thomas asked. "Is it stupidity or cunning calculation? Why now are only the Germans singled out?" Waxing sarcastic, he continued, "do they wish that the Germans in our armies are forced home, in order to weaken the courage of our arms? What is it then?"[33]

The editor then suggested what he believed was the true motivation behind American nativist attacks: the German language. Emphasizing, like Georg Ripper of the *Pittsburger Demokrat*, the differences between Germans and Americans by clearly terming those who read German papers as German and those who did not as American, Thomas claimed the actual "separateness" of the German language made Germans everywhere appear completely unlike "Americans" as well as incomprehensible to them. So long as the German press existed, Americans would never understand the Germans, because "the Americans don't understand German; moreover, they also don't know what the Germans want, and it really doesn't matter what is said, whether we remain quiet

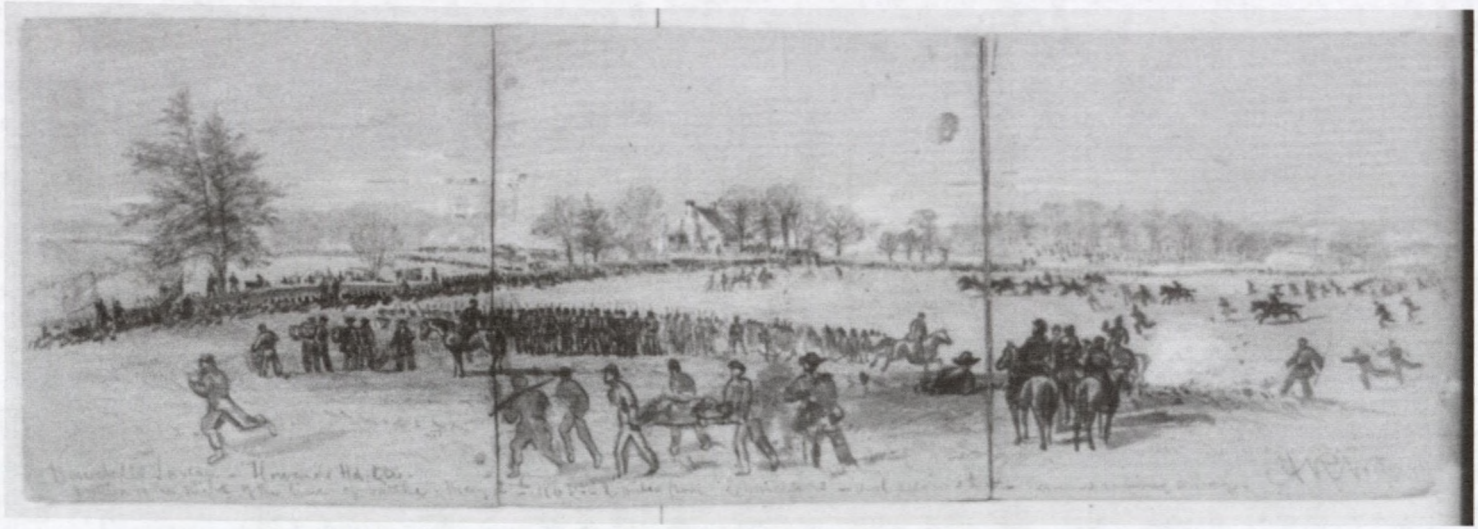

Fig. 1. Sketch by Alfred R. Waud on 2 May 1863 during the Battle of Chancellorsville showing Howard's headquarters (Dowdall's Tavern) and the "Buschbeck Line" forming up in front of it at about 6:30 pm. Note the refugees from the shattered First and Third Divisions streaming back from the right as well as the order and discipline of the regiments in this final defensive line of the Eleventh Corps.

or whether we continue in a language that they cannot read. The German newspapers are for the Americans so many empty sheets of paper." Rhetorically asking what could be done to help the situation, the editor threw up his hands in despair. The German press would continue to print in German, and "hence the result is the same: because one doesn't understand us, he mistrusts, despises, and encroaches upon us. And that will last as long as the Germans neglect to make themselves understandable to Americans through the press." Thomas clearly believed the Germans were caught in a vicious circle, one which spawned nativist hate and misunderstanding. Just as importantly, they were unable, or unwilling, to leave the circle (i.e., the German language) behind because it was integral to their ethnic identity.[34]

In some German-language newspapers, warnings began to appear in the editorial sections about the nativist threat. Reports circulated that wounded Eleventh Corps soldiers had been struck down in the streets of Washington simply because they were Germans and therefore "cowards." Fear that the temperance movement would gain momentum from the recent Anglo-American criticism grew rife. Indeed, the old nativists of the 1850s were frequently enmeshed with the temperance cause, so it was easy in this atmosphere of anxiety and despair to link the two together. After reporting an account of an anti-German editorial in a local American paper that accused Schurz's soldiers of being drunk at Chancellorsville, the *Highland Bote* of 22 May announced:

Germans Watch Out!

> The Know-Nothings and Temperance men left us alone for a while because they needed us Germans for voting and fighting. Now the humbug is back again . . . . We must pay attention when [the local towns of] Lebanon and Greenville already belong to the Temperance men; it is high time the local German element unifies a little. Otherwise we will be spied upon, criticized, and labeled "traitors" right and left, during which time the enemy of our race (the Know-Nothings and Temperance men) will wait for an opportunity to grind us under foot.[35]

Less than a week later, on 4 June, the Philadelphia *Freie Presse* reported yet another slander against Germans. Word leaked out that the officers of the Anglo-American 25th, 55th, and 75th Ohio of McLean's brigade in Devens's First Division wished their regiments to be formally separated from the rest of the Eleventh Corps and had put that request in writing. This action was not motivated from "mistrust of our commanding general, but instead the unsoldierly character of the German troops with which we have been forced to serve, and with whom we must undeservedly share the blame." Under the headline, "New Nativistic Attacks Against the German Volunteers," the editor responded, "We can scarcely hold this news to be true." "Despite the energetic protest" of the 107th Ohio, a predominantly German regiment which refused to sign the petition of the other Ohio regiments, "it appears the will of nativism got its way. From Washington it is reported the German regiments will be detached from the 11th Army Corps and attached to Heintzelmann's Corps." If this exchange takes place as a "punishment," "without a military investigation" of the performance of the Germans in the last campaign, it would be seen by Germans as "a new, indeed egregious insult, which a tenacious nativism can hurl in the face of German honor." The proposed transfer

never occurred, but the readers of Thomas's paper had probably reached the limit of their tolerance. It was time to quit refuting each new ethnic barb individually in each newspaper, clinging to a forlorn hope that the prejudice would simply go away. The time had come to organize formally against the American assault.[36]

In Washington, D.C., leading Germans from around the North, representing various local German-American political societies, held a forum in late June to create a blanket organization to coordinate and unify the efforts of the local groups. Many of the delegates were minor forty-eighters and more than a few were federal bureaucrats working in the capital. They believed that in order to address the virulent rebirth of nativism, Germans needed to be nationally unified to meet the threat head-on. Only through political unity could the Germans then exercise the necessary strength, as one, distinct voting bloc, that would force the hand of any major political party espousing anti-German philosophies. In this way, nativism could be contained and ultimately defeated.

The delegates unanimously voted to form a pan-North American German National Committee, which would be based in Washington, coordinate the political activities of the local "chapters," represent the national interests of Germans across the North, and agitate to stifle the anti-German prejudice sweeping the country. "The need for a German-American Organization is unquestionably before us," declared chairman Dr. C. F. Schmidt. "The ignominy, which was recently piled with lies and perfidy upon the German regiments and their leaders in the 11th Army Corps, is a new stimulus for an organization which alone promises us protection and power." The official address of the convention, signed by over thirty delegates, was reprinted in German newspapers throughout the North, and included strong words of indignation towards the federal government, the two political parties, the Union leagues, and especially the American press. Yet the delegates claimed "we are far from the thought of wanting to build a German-nativistic party. We wish as Germans to organize only on the grounds of equality and brotherhood as American citizens." They even went so far as to extend the olive branch to Anglo-Americans but insisted that all Germans must persevere to achieve the goals of the national organization. Espousing a political philosophy described as "the radical middle," the German leaders proclaimed "through a pan-German organization we will raise ourselves at least to a balance of power in the decision-making process of all important political questions."[37]

On 2 June a great German-American rally was held in the Cooper Institute in New York City specifically to denounce the charges made against the Germans in the Eleventh Corps and to demand satisfaction from the Anglo-American press. It was the largest assembly of Germans yet witnessed in the United States. Thousands, primarily from the eastern states, attended, and the audience reflected the diversity of the German-American population: old forty-eighters, filled with fiery indignance at the stain on German honor, crippled German veterans who demanded justice for their dead comrades, fearful widows who had lost their husbands in the war. Presided over by the famous forty-eighter Friedrich Kapp, the rally was chaired by noted insurance mogul Hugo Wesendonck and included speeches by Brigadier General Leopold von Gilsa (of the Eleventh Corps), Charles Goepp (another forty-eighter), and Kapp himself. Those present adopted nine resolutions that defended the Germans of the Eleventh Corps, explained the rout, thanked Germans soldiers for their prior service, blamed Howard,

Hooker, and Halleck for the disaster, asked for Sigel's reinstatement, and lamented the resurgence of nativism.

Wesendonck opened the meeting by saying "this meeting is no political demonstration . . . . It has been called and is supported by men of all parties, and is emphatically a German demonstration." Recounting many of the principal German-American defensive arguments, he quickly turned to attacking the criticism of the Anglo-American newspapers. "Never in my life have I felt so indignant," Wesendonck continued, "as when I read these reports. Never has such a flood of insult been poured upon brave soldiers. Never have any reports contained more falsehoods and baser calumnies." Why did they continue, even "to this day," he asked? "They are not meant to disparage the German soldier only, they are aimed at the German population of the United States generally, nay, they are flung at the German nationality everywhere. It is our duty to rebuke these columniators, and to hurl these slanders back into the teeth of their fabricators."

Pennsylvanian Charles Goepp then rose to accentuate the "national blunder" that was made in accusing the Germans. The North needed them now more than ever, he asserted. But since the battle of Chancellorsville, the time had come "to set forth our estimate of the value of our active adhesion to the Union cause." In essence, the Germans were necessary for northern victory. "Without one word of invidious comparison, we do insist that the American people stand in need of the military knowledge of the German immigrants. Without a tinge of bitterness we say, that they have not, by their actions, manifested a sense of the full extent of that necessity." Goepp then ended on an ominous note:

> So hasty has been the cry of slander against the German rank and file, that the criminal shortcomings of the high officers have passed unnoticed, and are likely to be repeated and repeated, until the command ceases to be useful to the country . . . . Soldiers cannot fight under the conviction that they are predestined to be the scapegoat of the imbecility of their commanders. If the Eleventh Corps is left under this ban, it will be betrayed, and slaughtered, and broken in engagement after engagement, until not a man of it will be left to bear the designation of the "cowardly Dutchman."[38]

Following Goepp, Friedrich Kapp took the stand to thunderous applause. "All we ask is justice," he proclaimed. "We desire to be no more, but we will be no less, than Americans; we mean to be weighed in the scale of our actions and our merits." He mentioned the slanders of the American press again, agreeing with his fellow speakers that Germans would no longer endure such insults. Reiterating Goepp's argument that the Americans were blind to the martial attributes of the Germans, he continued, "But it pains me still more to see, even at this late day, the Americans are so entirely unaware of the momentous sacrifices yet to be made" and still "are carried away by a paltry national conceit" aimed at Germans. "If this ebullition of ill feeling were a crime only, it would be of little use to protest against it. But it is worse, it is a blunder. It must inevitably chill the enthusiasm of the German population, and retard, if not prevent the reenlistment of the soldiers whose terms are just expiring." Kapp recalled that German volunteers "enlisted readily" before Chancellorsville, but now, "of those regiments which have just returned, not fifty men have reenlisted, in spite of liberal bounties and promises." Why

was that? "I never knew a soldier who was willing to fight the enemy in front, when his comrades, or the people for whom he fights, stand ready to stab him from behind." Raising his voice for a climactic ending, Kapp issued a universal appeal to all Germans: "Let us organize in defence of our common honor." The cheers and applause following his speech reverberated out into the New York evening.[39]

The rally at the Cooper Institute in New York was duplicated on a smaller scale in several other northern cities with sizeable German-American populations. Philadelphia, for instance, witnessed its own version on 13 June in the Turnerhalle "to answer the infamous calumnies that have been spread about the German regiments of the Eleventh Corps." Two Philadelphia officers in the 29th New York gave speeches to a packed house, as did the editors of both the major German-American daily newspapers and other respected dignitaries from the German community. Many of the primary arguments emphasized in New York were repeated, but the issue of a resurgent nativism took center stage. "Nativism, which was believed dead, only hid itself, and jumped at the first opportunity to air its hate through slanders," one delegate declared, and "the government owes the Germans a restoration of their honor through the publication of official reports." The well-attended rally closed with the adoption of resolutions demanding these reports, thanking German soldiers for their efforts thus far in the war, calling for the sacking of incompetent generals, and praising the bravery of the German soldiers at Chancellorsville. The meeting ended "with three hurrahs for the 11th Army Corps."[40]

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The German-Americans of the North were strongly affected by the battle of Chancellorsville and the Anglo-American response to it. Nativist attacks in the English-language press, especially, wreaked havoc with German trust and morale. Soldiers, civilians, and newspapermen alike rallied to the defense of the German troops accused of cowardice, carefully refuting the slanderous criticism in the American papers. Yet the shock and outrage at these accusations changed into a bitter sense of betrayal, and later into a realization that the best defense against nativism lay in unity. Germans from throughout the northern states shed their previous differences and joined together in a real attempt to present a common defense against American prejudice. There was no doubt in the minds of German immigrants at this time who was a German and who an American. Articles appeared in German-language newspapers starkly distinguishing the difference between Germans and Americans in the Chancellorsville affair, and several national meetings occurred in which German patriotism and virtue were held up against American slander and military failure. The German-Americans of the North had clearly experienced a severe jolt on the road to Americanization. Chancellorsville forced them first to defend themselves, and then look to one another for solace and support. They would continue looking inward after Gettysburg, and indeed well into the postwar period.

Years after the last accusations of "cowardly Dutchmen" disappeared from the Anglo-American newspapers, the memory of Chancellorsville and its resultant nativism remained strong among German-Americans, especially veterans of the battle. In postwar histories written in German, German-language literary and historical journals, private letters, and even in English-language veterans' publications, the sting of prejudice was

evident for decades to come. Certain Anglo-American histories and accounts of the battle enhanced the perception among Germans that nativism still lingered. The ghost of 2 May 1863 would not die and kept reminding Germans that they had a stigma attached to themselves, one that constantly needed countering. In so doing they kept revisiting and strengthening their own ethnic identity.

William Vocke, a former officer in the German 24th Illinois Infantry who had demanded redress about prejudicial anti-German comments appearing in the western newspapers in 1863, toned down his defensive invective only a little by 1896, when he delivered a speech to Illinois veterans. The indignance and outrage at the post-Chancellorsville nativism persisted in him over thirty years after the battle. Even though his regiment was hundreds of miles away from the Virginia wilderness at the time, Vocke still smarted under the obloquy cast upon his countrymen. Providing the popular name "Schneider" to represent German-America, Vocke said that "the cowardly slander of Schneider's men occasioned by the disaster at Chancellorsville seems to have created at the time a perfect 'Schneiderphobia,' not only in the press of the country, but also in the Army of the Potomac . . . ." Vocke turned the tables on the nativists, calling them "cowards" for being so base as to criticize the Germans, and proceeded to poke holes in their inaccurate recollections and accusations. Only recently was the truth coming out thanks to the efforts of authors such as Theodore Dodge and Abner Doubleday. But "the prejudice which was created against Schneider's great army on account of the unmerited abuse and the base charge that his men were to blame for the defeat at Chancellorsville is deep-seated and far-reaching." Unfortunately, anti-German nativism was still not dead, because "we experience it among Grand Army men even at this date." These men were and are "prompted by blind race-prejudice," and amounted to nothing more than "the most unpatriotic wretches."[41]

That sort of prejudice was one reason the German veterans from the eastern ethnic regiments were not scattered throughout "mixed" Grand Army of the Republic posts (GAR), but were instead concentrated in a few entirely ethnic ones. Much like African-American veterans of the Union army, who had also experienced extreme prejudice during the war and formed their own posts composed exclusively of former black soldiers, German-American veterans throughout the postwar North created all-German posts. Not all German veterans belonged to such organizations, but it appears that those who served in ethnic regiments tended to cluster together just like they did in the war. The John Koltes Post 228 in Philadelphia, for example, was composed almost entirely of German veterans from the German 27th, 73d, 74th, 75th, and 98th Pennsylvania and the 29th New York. Five of those regiments served in the Eleventh Corps and each was present at Chancellorsville. The 75th Pennsylvania had a thriving veterans organization which was determined to disseminate the story of the regiment to the greater public, and had "a reputation of being the best organized regtl. Vet. Ass. In the state of Penna.," according to former Sergeant Hermann Nachtigall, secretary of the association. In a private letter to Augustus Hamlin, the only author to strongly defend the Eleventh Corps after the war, Nachtigall wrote that "the episode of Chancellorsville very frequently forms the topic of conversation among [the men] . . . . Although numerous essays have since been written about that terrible conflict and disaster . . . yet the stigma still remains, and very frequently the phrase is heard, 'I fights mit Sigel and runs mit Howard' and I am sorry to say that one frequently has to hear slurs thrown even by men who call themselves Comrades—and Comrades, too, of the G.A.R. It seems to me that


Fig. 2. 1888 Tipton photo of the 74th Pennsylvania monument at Gettysburg with inscription "German Regiment." Twenty-five years after the battle the ethnic pride of the German-born veterans was still evident for all to see.

the government should take measures to set matters right before the whole country."[42]

Unfortunately, the government took no such measures, and Anglo-American prejudice, although generally muted in the decades after the Civil War, combined with painful German-American memories of wartime nativism to create a reluctance among German immigrants, especially those who had endured the "fiery trial," to fully assimilate into greater American society. This reluctance—joined with a predilection among most German-Americans toward a "culturally pluralistic" weltanschauung in which things German were lavishly praised—was no better illustrated than in an article that appeared in the November 1883 issue of *Der Deutsche Pionier,* a Cincinnati-based historical, news, and literary journal for German-Americans.[43] Entitled, "The Assimilation of the Germans," the article's main theme questioned the need for Germans to quickly Americanize. About half-way through, the author, "J. G.," included these thoughts:

> We fought in the war of the rebellion on your side; our part of the population sent a full delegation to the ranks of the Union army, and we fought bravely together. We mourn together and take pride together when we honor the dead, who fell in defense of us both, and our combined means have erected soldiers homes for the crippled heroes of the war . . . .
>
> But must we all go the same way? Just as the individual has certain personal characteristics that make him unique, so it goes with peoples and nations. So it is with the Anglo-Americans and so it is with the Germans. Must everyone live exactly like everyone else, and is the existence of our nation threatened when we do not spend our days in the same manner? Must we citizens of German background go to 'Camp Meetings,' 'Women's Crusades,' 'Prize Boxing Matches,' 'Sit-Down [Temperance] Tourneys,' 'Minstrel Shows', or listen to the religious-political babble of a preacher in the joyless and dusty halls of a Presbyterian church? . . . .
>
> You do not need to participate in our excursions, picnics, and theatre shows on Sundays. You do not need to drink our beer and our wine, or to sing our songs. It is not necessary that you learn the beautiful German language, so that we can understand each other. But do not force men, who are proud of their American citizenship and their sincerity and honesty, to become hypocrites . . . .[44]

If these words are to be taken at face value, it appears that their experiences in the Civil War as a whole had not hastened German immigrants' assimilation into greater American society. Certainly, Germans were proud that they had fought hard to preserve the Union, but that fact did not predicate jumping into the melting pot. To do so would be to be to accept the old nativists on their own terms. The ghost of Chancellorsville still lingered, casting doubt on the virtue of Americanization. It would not be a leap of faith to assert that that fearful specter heightened the Germans' consciousness of their

ethnic identity and provided a firm foundation for the postwar flowering of a culturally pluralistic German-America.

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## Notes

[1] *New York Times*, 5 May 1863. The fact that Carl Schurz was singled out here for blame reflects the fact that he was viewed by many as the new leader of the army's Germans after the departure of Franz Sigel in February 1863. After Chancellorsville, the northern public identified Schurz with all things German, especially within the Army of the Potomac, just as they had with Sigel, and any defamation aimed against Schurz was also aimed against his German troops. Stephen Engle states that "Schurz commanded a division of Germans who were forced to retreat during the battle . . . and the label "Flying Dutchman" which had previously been applied to Sigel's military blunders, now applied to Schurz's exploits." James S. Pula, *The Sigel Regiment: A History of the Twenty-Sixth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, 1862-1865* (Campbell, CA: Savas Publishing Company, 1998), 119; Stephen D. Engle, *Yankee Dutchman: The Life of Franz Sigel* (Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press, 1993), xiii, 157, 160-61.

[2] *New York Herald*, 5, 6, 7 May 1863; *New-York Daily Tribune*, 6 May 1863.

[3] Washington *Daily National Intelligencer*, 6 and 7 May 1863; New York *Evening Post*, 5 May 1863; Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, 6 May 1863; Philadelphia *Inquirer*, 6, 7, and 9 May 1863; *Weekly Pittsburgh Gazette*, 6 May 1863; *Hartford Evening Press*, 13 May 1863; *Chicago Tribune*, 6 and 7 May 1863; *Pittsburgh Post*, 6 and 8 May, 1863; *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 23 May 1863. Although the bitterness of the invective in the Anglo-American papers drained away by the end of May, unveiled aspersions and ethnic lampooning continued throughout the summer of 1863.

[4] Carol Reardon, "The Valiant Rearguard: Hancock's Division at Chancellorsville," in Gary W. Gallagher, ed., *Chancellorsville: The Battle and its Aftermath* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 171; James Biddle to wife, 9 May 1863, James Biddle Civil War Letters, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Colonel Robert McAllister, 11th NJ, to Ellen McAllister, May 1863, in James I. Robertson, ed., *The Civil War Letters of General Robert McAllister* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1965), 301; Abram P. Smith, *History of the Seventy-Sixth Regiment New York Volunteers* (Cortland, NY: Truair, Smith, and Miles, Printers, 1867), 218; "Laird" to "my dear boy, 10 May 1863, George S. Lester papers, Louisiana State University Dept. of Archives and Manuscripts; Darwin Cody to parents, 9 May 1863, Fredericksburg-Spotsylvania National Military Park Archives; Stephen W. Sears, *Chancellorsville* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1996), 433; DeTrobriand quoted in Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), 594.

[5] For the purposes of this study, the term "German-American" or "German" indicates a person or persons either born in any of the nineteenth-century German states or their immediate offspring, i.e., sons and daughters, then living in the United States. Most of these individuals arrived in the 1840s and 1850s, clustering together in ethnic neighborhoods in the great cities of the North (New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Milwaukee, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, and Cleveland all contained "little Germanies") or in small farming communities in the Midwest. The term does not refer to the Pennsylvania Dutch, or the "Pennsylvania Germans," who were descendants of the colonial-era Germanic immigrations and who considered themselves Americans "with a difference." The appellation "Anglo-American" refers to a person or persons born in the United States and descended mainly from colonial-era English or Scots-Irish colonists. As the most "foreign" of the country's ethnic groups in the Civil War era, German-Americans made an easy target for nativists, and not only because of their foreign language and customs. As the German-born began to see themselves as a distinct, quasi-separate group within greater American society, started breaking down the old barriers of German state particularism, class, and religion, and agitated for looser naturalization and anti-temperance legislation, many non-Germans perceived a threat. This trend toward a more unified German-America—tentative as it was in the antebellum period—nonetheless alarmed many Anglo-American Whigs and northern Democrats, who coalesced briefly in a political coalition devoted, among other issues, to stricter naturalization laws, temperance, and a xenophobic world view. In the mid-1850s, the nativistic Know-Nothing or American Party challenged the Democrats for supremacy in national and state leadership, and was only replaced by the Republican Party, which absorbed many of its constituents, because the Know Nothings split over the slavery controversy. Disdain and prejudice for immigrants was therefore only a few notches below preservation of the Union and hatred of slavery in the minds of many in the Republican-dominated North in the early 1860s. See Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism* (1938, reprint Gloucester, Mass: Peter Smith, 1963); Dale T. Knobel, *"America for the Americans:" The Nativist Movement in the United States* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1996); Tyler Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery: The Northern Know Nothings and the Politics of the 1850s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); and Knobel, *Paddy and the Republic: Ethnicity and Nationality in Antebellum America* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1986). For good examples of the development of the little Germanies and a pan-German-American spirit in the antebellum period, see Stan Nadel, *Little Germany: Ethnicity, Religion, and Class in New York City, 1845-80* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990), and Kathleen Neils Conzen,

"German-Americans and the Invention of Ethnicity" in Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh, eds., *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred Year History*, vol. 1: *Immigration, Language, Ethnicity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985).

[6] Augustus Choate Hamlin, *The Battle of Chancellorsville* (Bangor, ME, 1896), 34-47, 66-78, and especially 154-66; Wilhelm Kaufmann, *The Germans in the American Civil War* (1911; reprint Carlisle, PA: John Kallmann Books, 1999); Ella Lonn; *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy*, previously cited; William L. Burton, *Melting Pot Soldiers: The Union's Ethnic Regiments*, 2d ed. (New York: Fordham University Press, 1998); Ernest B. Furgurson, *Chancellorsville: The Souls of the Brave* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993); Stephen W. Sears *Chancellorsville*, previously cited. Furgurson devotes 11 out of 350 pages of text to the actual fighting done by the Eleventh Corps and Sears allocates 9 out of 449 pages. Wolfgang Helbich and Walter Kamphoefner, eds., *Deutsche im Amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg: Briefe von Front und Farm, 1861-1865* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2002), is an excellent collection of edited letters written by German immigrants, both soldiers and civilians, during the Civil War era, but the editors' analysis of the criticality of Chancellorsville is scant. Helbich deals with the battle a bit more in "German-Born Union Soldiers: Motivation, Ethnicity, and 'Americanization,'" in Helbich and Kamphoefner, eds., *German-American Immigration and Ethnicity in Comparative Perspective* (Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute, 2004), 295-325. In both of these works, however, Helbich is more interested in the effect of the war overall on German immigrant soldiers (drawing his evidence primarily from individual soldiers' letters) rather than examining the greater significance of Chancellorsville for them and their families at home. I believe Chancellorsville was *the* key event in the war for the North's German-Americans, its reverberations evident well into the postwar period.

[7] Patrick R. Guiney to "My Dear Jennie," 7 May 1863, reprinted in Christian G. Samito, ed. *Commanding Boston's Irish Ninth: The Civil War Letters of Colonel Patrick R. Guiney, Ninth Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1998), 187-88; Oscar D. Ladley to "Dear Mother and Sisters," 8 May 1863, reprinted in Carl M. Becker and Ritchie Thomas, eds., *Hearth and Knapsack: The Ladley Letters, 1857-1880* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1988, 121-22; William C. Bryant to Lincoln, 11 May 1863, reprinted in Roy Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* 9 vols. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 6:216.

[8] United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901) I, vol. 25, 630-31. Hereafter cited as "O.R."

[9] 45th New York Infantry Letter, Order, and Index Book, RG 94, National Archives and Records Administration (hereafter NARA). Whether or not the ban on beer was intended as a punishment is unknown, but based on the timing and Howard's evangelizing personality, this is a possibility.

[10] Howard's ban on lager beer editorialized and Wisconsin soldier's letter reprinted in the Philadelphia *Freie Presse*, 11 May 1863 and the *Pittsburger Demokrat* 8 May 1863; Theodore Howell to "Dearest Wife," 10 May 1863 (Lehigh County Historical Society). All translations from the original German are mine unless otherwise indicated.

[11] Muenzenberger quoted in Pula, *The Sigel Regiment*, 135; Frederick Winkler letter, 7 May 1863, in Frederick C. Winkler, *Letters of Frederick C. Winkler, 1862-1865*, ed. and trans. by William K. Winkler, 1963 (privately published), 50-1; 119th New York Infantry Regimental Letter and Order Book, 58th New York Infantry Regimental Order Book, 82nd Illinois Infantry Consolidated Morning Report, Letter, and Order Book, all in RG 94, NARA; Register of Letters Received Relating to Leaves of Absence, Resignations, and Furloughs, 11th A.C. 1863, RG 393, pt. 2, entries #5317 and #5322, NARA.

[12] Carl Schurz to "dear Jacobs," 11 June 1863, container 4, Carl Schurz Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress (hereafter LOC); 119th New York Infantry Regimental Letter and Order Book, RG 94, NARA.

[13] Pittsburgh *Freiheitsfreund und Courier* 17 June 1863; Rudolph Mueller to Friedrich Hecker, 18 May 1863, available at http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Parthenon/419/mueller.html; *Philadelphia Demokrat*, 19 May 1863.

[14] The Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War held hearings on the battle in late 1863, and cross-examined Hooker, Hancock, Couch, Pleasonton, Sickles, and other high-ranking officers in the Army of the Potomac, but failed to question Howard, and refused Carl Schurz's request to be heard. The Committee never publicly blamed the defeat on the Germans of the Eleventh Corps, but the testimony of these officers indicted the corps for the disaster in no uncertain terms. See the *Report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War*, vol. 4 (reprint: Broadfoot Publishing Company, 1999), 12, 66, 85, 30-1, 35-36, 45, 127, and 141.

[15] Schurz to Howard, 12 May 1863, Carl Schurz Papers, Container 4, LOC.

[16] Schurz to Hooker, 17 May 1863, ibid.

[17] See the *New York Herald*, 11 May 1863 and the *New-Yorker Staatszeitung*, 12 May 1863 for examples of Howard letters exonerating Schurz; Hecker letter reprinted in Pittsburgh *Freiheitsfreund und Courier*, 22 May 1863; Hans Trefousse, *Carl Schurz: A Biography* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1998), 135. Schurz remained extremely sensitive to any allegations of cowardice, both regarding himself and his troops, for the rest of the war. He even threatened fellow division commander, Adolph von Steinwehr, with a court martial because von Steinwehr delivered a farewell address to the departing 29th New York which insinuated that von Steinwehr's first brigade (of which the 29th was a part) was the only 11th Corps brigade to hold firm "while all around were in wild flight." Schurz thought this impugned the valor of the regiments in his division. An angry exchange of letters between the two generals resulted. See Schurz to von Steinwehr, 16 June 1863 and von Steinwehr to Schurz, 16 June 1863, both in Schurz Papers, Container 4, LOC.

[18] Philadelphia *Freie Presse*, 15 May 1863; Pittsburgh *Freiheitsfreund und Courier*, 22 May 1863; Alfred C. Raphelson, "Alexander Schimmelpfennig: A German-American Campaigner in the Civil War," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 87, no. 2 (April 1963): 168-70.

[19] Diary of Friedrich Otto Baron von Fritsch, unpublished manuscript written in 1903, LOC, MMC416, 183-84.

[20] O.R., I, vol. 25, 662-63.

[21] Pittsburgh *Freiheitsfreund und Courier*, 15 May 1863. For good examples of other newspapers reporting the casualties alongside the first reports from the Anglo-American press, see the *Philadelphia Demokrat*, 8 May 1863 and the losses of the 27th Pennsylvania, or the Cincinnati *Wöchentlicher Volksfreund*, 20 May 1863 and the losses of the 107th Ohio.

[22] Philadelphia *Freie Presse*, 15, 18, and 29 May 1863; Highland, Illinois *Highland Bote*, 15 May 1863. Also see the *Louisville Anzeiger*, 12 May 1863 and the Pittsburgh *Freiheitsfreund und Courier*, 8 May 1863. The *Milwaukee Seebote* was quoted in the other papers.

[23] *Philadelphia Demokrat*, 12 May 1863; Cincinnati *Wöchentlicher Volksfreund*, 20 May 1863; Belleville, Illinois *Belleviller-Zeitung*, 14 and 21 May 1863.

[24] *New-Yorker Staatszeitung*, 15 May 1863.

[25] Philadelphia *Freie Presse*, 7 May 1863. See Engle, *Yankee Dutchman*, 230-33, for a critique of Sigel's performance as a general in the Civil War.

[26] Highland, Illinois *Highland Bote*, 8 May 1863; Pittsburgh *Freiheitsfreund und Courier* 9 and 30 May 1863; New York *Criminalzeitung und Belletristisches Journal*, 15 and 22 May 1863. Also see the Boston *Pionier*, 20 May 1863. The anti-Halleck rhetoric in the *Freiheitsfreund* was reprinted from an editorial taken from the prominent *Illinois Staatszeitung* of a few days earlier. Another editorial in the *Higland Bote* on 29 May also originated with the *Staatszeitung* and offered hope that Sigel would be reinstated.

[27] Ernst Damkoehler to Mathilde Damkoehler, 10 May 1863, quoted in Pula, *The Sigel Regiment*, 141.

[28] Philadelphia *Freie Presse*, 18 May 1863; Friedrich Kapp, *Aus und über Amerika: Thatsachen und Erlebnisse*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Verlag von Julius Springer, 1876), 292; Pittsburgh *Freiheitsfreund und Courier*, 15 May 1863; *Milwaukee Herold* 23 May 1863.

[29] *Pittsburger Demokrat*, 16 May 1863; Karl Wickesberg, 26th Wisconsin, to family, 21 May 1863, quoted in Pula, *The Sigel Regiment*, 142.

[30] Chicago *Illinois Staatszeitung*, 7 May 1863; Cincinnati *Wöchentlicher Volkfreund*, 13 May 1863.

[31] *Pittsburger Demokrat*, 8, 9, and 10 May 1863; Chicago *Illinois Staatszeitung*, 7, 8, 9 May 1863.

[32] Cleveland *Wächter am Erie*, 30 May 1863; Pittsburgher *Freiheitsfreund und Courier*, 9 May 1863; Philadelphia *Freie Presse*, 12 May 1863.

[33] Philadelphia *Freie Presse*, 29 May 1863.

[34] Ibid. The editor specifically stated that the "morale of the troops is quite low."

[35] Heusinger, *Amerikanische Kriegsbilder*, 119; Highland, Illinois *Highland Bote*, 22 May 1863.

[36] Ibid., 4 June 1863. The remarks of the Ohio officers were reprinted at the top of the page, in German. Also see the Pittsburgh *Freiheitsfreund und Courier* on 6 and 7 June 1863 for similar sentiments about the Ohio troops' petition and proposed transfer of the German regiments. Unfortunately, I was unable to locate an English-language copy of the Ohio officers' petition, but evidence of it exists in the National Archives. A letter to the Assistant Adjutant General of the Eleventh Corps from the new colonel commanding the second brigade, first division on 19 May 1863 reads: "I have the honor to forward herewith a paper bearing the signatures of certain officers of the 25th, 55th, and 75th Ohio Regiments. Also a communication with accompanying resolutions from the 107th Ohio. I do this, in conformity with the wish expressed in the resolutions and in compliance with the request of the officers whose names are attached to the paper above named. I desire, however, to say that the paper was drawn before my connection with this Brigade and that it was circulated without my knowledge. It has my unqualified disapproval." (see "Letters Sent, May 1863-May 1864, Dept. of Florida, Entry #5364, RG 393, pt. 2, NARA).

[37] Philadelphia *Freie Presse* 23 June 1863; Boston *Pionier* 8 July 1863; Belleviller *Volksblatt*, 8 July 1863; Jörg Nagler, *Frémont contra Lincoln: Die deutsch-amerikanische Opposition in der Republikanischen Partei während des amerikanischen Buergerkrieges* (New York: Peter Lang, 1984), 122-23, 127. The Pittsburgh *Freiheitsfreund und Courier* of 24 and 25 June 1863 also carried coverage of the Washington meeting but did not reprint its proceedings verbatim. The "Washington Conference" as it became known in the German-American communities, soon came under fire by Democratic Germans as being too radical and too dominated by Republicans. The radical Missouri Germans, for their part, claimed it was not radical enough.

[38] "The Battle of Chancellorsville and the Eleventh Army Corps," (New York: G. B. Teubner, printer, 1863), 7, 8-12, 16, 19-20. The full texts of each major speech were published and distributed in both German and English pamphlets. Following the texts of the speeches was an "appendix" containing the letters of Schurz and Schimmelfennig previously mentioned, letters from other officers of the Eleventh Corps, reprints of the reports in the American press, and the set of resolutions unanimously passed by those at the rally.

[39] Ibid., 22-27.

[40] *Philadelphia Demokrat*, 13 June 1863.

[41] William Vocke, "Our German Soldiers," *Military Essays and Recollections,* vol. 3 (Chicago: Military Order of the Loyal Legion of Illinois, 1899), 350-7.

[42] Stuart McConnell, *Glorious Contentment: The Grand Army of the Republic, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 55, 272; Hermann Nachtigall to Augustus C. Hamlin, 28 January 1893, Augustus Hamlin Papers, bMS Am 1084 [temp. box 22, file N-O], Houghton Library, Harvard University. Post 8 in Philadelphia was also primarily composed of German-born veterans.

[43] Several scholars have previously pointed out that German-America from the 1870s to 1914 increasingly assumed a "culturally pluralistic" appearance. This belief structure, evident throughout the German-language press, German-American academic writings, and in German-American artistic endeavors, stressed at once the desirability and benefits of assimilation *and* the defense of German ethnicity. Leading proponents of this vision argued that American society owed much of its finer qualities to German immigrants and that

the country would continue benefiting only if the Germans were permitted to continue being German. See Michael Novak, *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics* (New York: Macmillan, 1973); Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City* 2d ed. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970); Werner Sollors, ed., *The Invention of Ethnicity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Kathleen Neils Conzen, "German-Americans and the Invention of Ethnicity"; David L. Salvaterra, "Becoming American: Assimilation, Pluralism, and Ethnic Identity" in Timothy Walsh, ed., *Immigrant Americ: European Ethnicity in the United States* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1994), and more recently, Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998). Wolfgang Helbich and Walter Kamphoefner are even more pointed than these scholars in their arguments regarding the Germans, assimilation, and the war; Helbich, especially, makes a strong case that the Civil War on the whole not only did not enhance Americanization but instead promoted an actual feeling of "separateness" among many German-born Union volunteers. See Helbich and Kamphoefner, *Deutsche im Amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg*, 82-84, and especially Helbich, "German-Born Union Soldiers," 295-325. I would not go so far as to say that a separatist movement arose in the postwar period because of Chancellorsville and the greater experience of the war, but would argue that the German cultural pluralists, such as Friedrich Lexow, received a mighty impetus from the nativism of the war years in their postwar quest for a culturally pluralistic pan-German-American identity. See the last chapter of my forthcoming book, *Chancellorsville and the Germans: Nativism, Ethnicity, and Civil War Memory* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2007).

[43] *Der Deutsche Pionier* 15, no. 8 (November 1883): 330-31. For other examples of German-American literature both questioning the wisdom of quick assimilation and referring to the Civil War, see "General Adolph von Steinwehr, *Die Deutsche Pionier* 9, no. 1 (April 1877): 17-28; Friedrich Kapp, "Rede, gehalten am 19. Juli 1865 in Jones Wood, in New York, zum Schluss des neunten deutschen Sängerfestes," reprinted in *Deutsch-Amerikanische Monatshefte* (August 1865): 182-88; "Der Nativismus in den Staatschulen," in J. B. Stallo, *Reden, Abhandlungen und Briefe von J. B. Stallo* (New York: E. Steiger and Co., 1893): 193-96; Friedrich Lexow, "Die Deutschen in Amerika," *Deutsch-Amerikanisch Monatshefte* 3 (January 1866): 149-54; Address of Lieutenant T. Albert Steiger in "Dedication of Monument: 75th Regiment Infantry, Orchard Knob, November 14, 1897," Chickamauga and Chattanooga Battlefield Commission, *Pennsylvania at Chickamauga and Chattanooga: Ceremonies at the Dedications of the Monuments* (Harrisburg: William S. Ray, 1900), 167-185; and Address of Captain Paul F. Rohrbacker in "Dedication of Monument, 74th Regiment Infantry, 2 July 2 1888," in Gettysburg Battlefield Commission, *Pennsylvania at Gettysburg: Ceremonies at the Dedication of the Monuments Erected by the Commonwealth*, vol. 1 (Harrisburg: William S. Ray, 1914), 427-30.

Heinz Stark

# An American Pioneer from Bavaria: The George Schramm Story

*In commemoration of the 100th anniversary of George Schramm's death and dedicated to his great-granddaughter Carol Thomason*

"There is probably no more impoverished region than this one where people strive so hard just to earn their daily bread under such bitter conditions," declared Evangelical Lutheran Pastor Wolfgang Ludwig Munzert of the Upper Franconian market-town of Plech in 1833. At the same time he expressed "the wish that the young people of the region consider traveling to other areas to profit by associating with educated and religious people, and that many would even consider emigrating entirely in order that the population, and with it the poverty, should not get out of hand and thereby adversely affect morality."[1]

Fig. 1. The market-town Plech as it appeared in the 19th Century.

Only a few years before, Munzert had given Latin and Greek instruction to six boys including two of his sons and an intelligent, alert boy from Plech, Georg Schramm. Georg was born on 12 February 1816 to Johann Christoph Schramm, a general merchant, and his wife Margaretha Barbara[2] (also called Anna[3]), nee Kießling, from Plech. Georg was

the fourth of their ten children who grew to adulthood. He was a boy of many varied talents. His mother taught him to read when he was five years old. As the offspring of a musical family—his father was an excellent violinist—Georg played the "clarionett" and flute and was a soloist in the boys' choir where Pastor Munzert compared his voice to a "silver bell."[4] So it goes without saying that Georg's family, which was composed of devout, exemplary members of the Evangelical faith, "always furnished instrumental music at Church festivals." It was not surprising that the boy, who from "early infancy, as a sort of prophecy, [was] called the little parson," had a heartfelt desire to continue his education at the "Gymnasium" in Bayreuth and eventually to study theology.[5] However, a catastrophe happened in the winter of 1829-30 just as this goal was within reach. Fourteen-year-old Georg and some of his fellow Munzert Latin scholars were returning home from ice skating. In a spirit of "boyish bravado,"[6] Georg jumped over a small barrier at the shore of a pond, stumbled, fell, hit the back of his head hard on the ice and lost consciousness. He suffered a fractured skull which was not treated medically, and he was robbed of his splendid memory. Then Georg, originally among the top pupils, found himself struggling along at the bottom of the class. This ultimately forced him to abandon his beloved studies. As a result of his serious accident he suffered from vertigo for over fifty years. Not long after this catastrophe, Georg began a five-year apprenticeship as a merchant with a tradesman of Kulmbach named Gummi, where his eldest brother, Johann Georg, was employed. Johann Friedrich Gummi was also the Mayor of Kulmbach. Georg exchanged his Latin exercises for French lessons, which now would be of greater practical benefit to him.[7]

Everything changed when in 1835 Georg's father, Johann Christoph Schramm, decided to take his entire family away from Plech and try his luck in the New World.[8] Plech was a small market-town, through which ran the ancient road leading from Nuremberg to Eger[9] and continuing to Prague in Bohemia. Since the Middle Ages the road was certainly, on the one hand, a lifeline for the locality; on the other hand, it was a constant source of affliction as Plech was regularly inundated by enemies and a variety of other riffraff. So it was the fate of Plech, which belonged to the Franconian Principality of Brandenburg-Kulmbach-Bayreuth since 1402, to be marked by continuous ups and downs. Severe devastation followed times of peace during which the oppressed people could recover somewhat; modest improvements in living conditions were followed by reverses due to new calamities: As early as 1402, Plech was burned to the ground by the Free Imperial City of Nuremberg, then in 1430 by the Hussites, and in the First Margrave War in 1449 again by the Nurembergers.[10] However, the people of Plech did not allow themselves to become disheartened, and by 1436 had already constructed a new stone church.[11] An enormous relief for all inhabitants was provided by a town well, dug in 1539-40, which supplied long wished-for well water. In the Second Margrave War, Plech was once more set on fire by Nuremberg in 1553, then anew by the Blacksmith Rüßner in the first months of 1606. The latter was to blame that the entire lower market went up in smoke. Plague raged in the years 1627 and 1628; in 1627 alone it took 168 lives in Plech. To fill the cup to the brim, in 1628 fire broke out in the house of the barber-surgeon and the entire Bath Lane was consumed by flames. During the Thirty Years' War it was the Swedes in 1634 that plundered and reduced Plech to ashes. The list of fire catastrophes continued, as in 1673, evidently through the carelessness of the imperial troops who were staying in Plech, 40 homes of citizens and 33 harvest-filled barns burned, and, in addition, during the fire the soldiers looted the poor inhabitants.

Thirty years later, Plech was so destroyed during the War of the Spanish Succession that even the Pastor and his family could no longer live in Plech but had to stay in the neighboring little town of Betzenstein until better times returned. However, even in these times there was progress. In 1740 the present parsonage was built;[12] in 1747 the Nuremberg businessman and native of Plech, Conrad Lothes, established a school endowment—Johann Christoph Schramm was Secretary and Treasurer of this fund for many years[13]—and in 1770 fire insurance was introduced. In the years 1770-71 failed harvests caused famine and an extremely high cost of living, and also in 1816-17 poor harvests caused unheard-of price increases which resulted in hunger, misery and illness.[14] Yet, Plech experienced an indisputable highlight during the time of the Margraves—the construction of its impressive new church nave from 1779 to 1782.[15]

Fig. 2. The home of Georg Schramm's parents in Plech in a photograph of about 1910 (the second house on the right side of the street).

The Margraves of Brandenburg ruled in Plech for almost four centuries. In 1791 the last Margrave, Alexander, abdicated to Prussia's benefit. The reasons for this action were summed up briefly and precisely by the well-known German historian Golo Mann:

> Through Hohenzollern family contracts . . . it had long been decided that the lands of the childless Margrave [Alexander] would pass to Prussia after his death. . . . It is a certainty that he was weary of ruling . . . , Lady Craven [Lady Elizabeth Craven was Alexander's life partner, whom he married after the death of his wife] supported him in his inclination. In addition, and this may have been the deciding factor for his choice of the moment, he was deeply shocked by the French Revolution, whose far reaching consequences he foresaw, as did few others, even though it was still in its comparatively harmless beginnings. With the glory of the Reich, and so also with its princes, most certainly the smaller and smallest, there would soon be an end; in any case a

> mighty kingdom such as Prussia would still be able to protect his principalities Ansbach-Bayreuth and what he had done for them. He considered it better to leave voluntarily instead of allowing himself to be ignominiously driven out, and to leave under as favorable conditions as he was able to obtain from a voluntary abdication.[16]

The protestant Principality of Kulmbach-Bayreuth finally, in 1810, was annexed to the Kingdom of Bavaria.

The main reasons for Johann Christoph Schramm's emigration were the gloomy prospects for the future of his children[17] and the oppressive poverty which surrounded him. The residents of Plech were poor and therefore could purchase only the most essential products. As a result, merchants had to endure drastic sales problems. As early as 1832 there were complaints that only a few items could be sold, and then with great difficulty. In addition, the old connecting road to Eger no longer enlivened trade. Over time it had become so unimportant that in 1838 a new road from Plech to Neudorf was laid out.[18] For the Schramms, however, this promising development came too late. How difficult it was at that time for a merchant in Plech to earn an income and maintain himself financially is brought out in Georg Schramm's "Autobiographical Reminiscences":

> To furnish my progeny . . . an idea to what diminutive dimensions trade was reduced in Germany I will give you an example: a girl, about four years old opens the door and addressing Father, say[s]: "Herr Sram . . . for a penny sulphur, for a penny onions, for a penny snuff and a penny in change." The coin she had offered was a Kreutzer, worth two thirds of an American cent. It took six of these pennies to make one cent.[19]

"Most of the various professions who still were part of the 'propertied class' emigrated when things were going badly for them; those without possessions left when things were going well, that is, when they had the necessary means for the journey."[20] The consideration rather to emigrate than sacrifice property would certainly have influenced the decision of Johann Christoph Schramm as well.[21] Also, the regimentation and constrictions in the old homeland must have been unbearable in the long run for such a many-talented, well-educated and cultured man.[22] Thus, this citizen born on 10 May 1782—whose male ancestors are documented to have resided in Plech at least since 20 November 1731,[23] who served as Mayor of Plech several terms, and who fought with the Prussians against Napoleon at Jena on 14 October 1806—was a loyal Prussian who made no secret of his republican convictions. Moreover, he held a basic antipathy for the ruling Bavarian King Ludwig I. Georg at first was firmly opposed to leaving his native country and only changed his mind after a conversation with a business friend of his father's in Nuremberg. Georg's position is understandable when one knows that he was madly in love with Ottilie Loewel from Kulmbach, the young sister-in-law of his eldest brother, Johann Georg. Ottilie's farewell greeting, to which she had attached a lock of her hair, was regarded by Georg as a valuable treasure throughout his life.[24] In May of 1837 his father sent him by stagecoach to Bremen to book a ship for the crossing for his own and a few other families. The carefully planned emigration of Johann Christoph Schramm and his wife and his children was approved on 24 June

1837 in the name of His Majesty the King by the government of the "Obermainkreis"[25] (now Upper Franconia). The father had to pay a bill of "two hundred florins (Gulden)" for "a substitute in the army" for Georg.[26] The two-story dwelling with its store—today Hauptstraße 16 in Plech—had already been sold on 13 January 1837 to Johann Meyer for 1,875 Gulden.[27]


Fig. 3. The route from Plech to Cuxhaven which the Schramm Family traveled during their emigration in 1837 and which lasted one month.

On Monday, 10 July 1837, nearly everyone in Plech who could walk accompanied the Schramms to the edge of Veldensteiner Forest where the final, tearful farewell took place. They traveled in a wagon especially designed for the long journey in order that, from town to town, only the coachman and the draught animals had to be changed. The details of the family's journey indicate that with this method of forward movement an average of 50 kilometers per day could be covered: the first stops on the trip, which Georg Schramm meticulously noted in a travel diary,[28] were Pegnitz (10 July) and Kulmbach

(11 and 12 July). In Kulmbach they stayed at brother Johann Georg's home (he did not depart for America until 1841[29]). Then the journey continued through Lichtenfels-Karolinenhöhe to Coburg-Ketschendorf (13 and 14 July), through Hildburghausen and Schleusingen to St. Kilian-Erlau (15 July), through Suhl, Zella-Mehlis, Oberhof, Schwarzwald and Ohrdruf to Schwabhausen (16 July), through Gotha, Westhausen and Bad Langensalza to Mühlhausen-Ammern (17 July), through Dingelstädt, Leinefelde, Breitenbach, Worbis, Wintzingerode and Teistungen to Duderstadt (18 July) and through Katlenburg-Lindau, Hammenstedt and Northeim to Einbeck-Salzderhelden (19 July). Thus followed one stopover after the other—the last stretch from Bremen on the Weser River on Master Krell's ship—until the emigrants finally arrived in Cuxhaven on 10 August at about six o'clock in the morning. There on 14 August 1837, when towards nine o'clock in the morning a favorable wind arose, the *Caecilie & Sophie* put out to sea. She was a Danish ship more than 30 years old, a poor sailer with two masts instead of the originally promised year-and-a-half-old three-master.[30] Moreover, Georg reported in his "Reminiscences" that the ship broker Traub's clerk previously had attempted to cheat the emigrants out of "eight Thalers per head" additional pay: "On my threatening that I would return to Bremen and prosecute Traub for extortioning, this demand was abandoned."[31] The brig was commanded by Captain Thomsen, whose crew of ten included a first and a second mate. On 18 August 1837 Georg mentioned in the first English entry in his "Diary" that the captain, though "yet a young man of about 36 years of age," seemed "to be a very experienced seaman."[32] On board, according to the passenger list handed down to us, were 98 German emigrants.[33] Among them was Friedrich Messerer from Plech, a shoemaker, whose wife, Elisabeth, gave birth to a daughter at 4 A.M. on 17 September during a heavy storm,[34] and who later became a preacher. Also on board from Plech were Georg Herzog and Vitus Tauber, a weaver, and Johann Kemmater, a farmer from "Attenhof" (Ottenhof is now a section of Plech), as well as from Betzenstein a citizen named Köchel—all with their families, and, like the Schramms, all had given their travel destination as Missouri. Johann Georg Albrecht Köchel, a cooper, evidently took the forename of his first child who had died at the age of twelve days on 10 July 1832,[35] as he is listed as "Bernhard Koekel" on the passenger list. The crossing subjected these people to not only many severe storms, strong contrary winds and barely edible food which was spoiled due to the putrid or sour (acidic) water, but also, once the seasickness finally subsided, there was hardly a day without quarreling among the passengers. The crew's nerves were likewise on edge: Georg related in his "Reminiscences" that on 10 October 1837 the

> second mate, of brutal appearance, and brutal acting, commenced a quarrel with the cook (an innocent looking and feeble young fellow), after striking him several times in the face, knocked him down. This happened on the forepart of the deck. The Captain, standing in the door of his cabin, noticed this, ran to the scene, and without waiting for an explanation, took hold of a cable (they called "Brambrass") and mercilessly belabored the poor, no doubt innocent, cook. What was our surprise to see an old tar, of small stature, about fifty years old, run to the scene, tear the rope from the hand of the Captain and tell him to go to his cabin, and to see the Captain do as ordered by the old sailor. This sailor's name was Nöls. He was an uncompromising enemy to the ruffian, the second mate, who, though almost twice the size of Nöls, seemed to

be mortally afraid of him; Nöls having once threatened to knife him for some of his brutalities.[36]

To crown it all, about noon on 16 October, a fire broke out. From the chimney of the passengers' kitchen a flame had already shot up man-high: "Many of the male passengers began to rush up to aid in extinguishing the flames; but the ship's crew forbid [*sic*] them, as they would only be in their way. Although the fire had made considerable progress, it was extinguished without doing much harm, after causing much alarm among the passengers."[37] But the journey also had its beautiful aspects. On Friday, 25 August 1837, Georg—using English, which for him was still an unfamiliar language—confided in his "Diary":

> A very fine day; the sun shines laughing upon our deck; Neptun[e] and the children of Aeole [Aeolus] favour our passage; nearly all enjoy the bettest [*sic*] health. Thank to the highest beeing [*sic*], which has again given us this day. . . . During the mid-day we had a very pleasing spectacle; a society of more than twenty fishes, the most springers [flying fish] and some sea-swines [porpoises] came near our ship and danced about her; we regretted that they soon disappeared.[38]

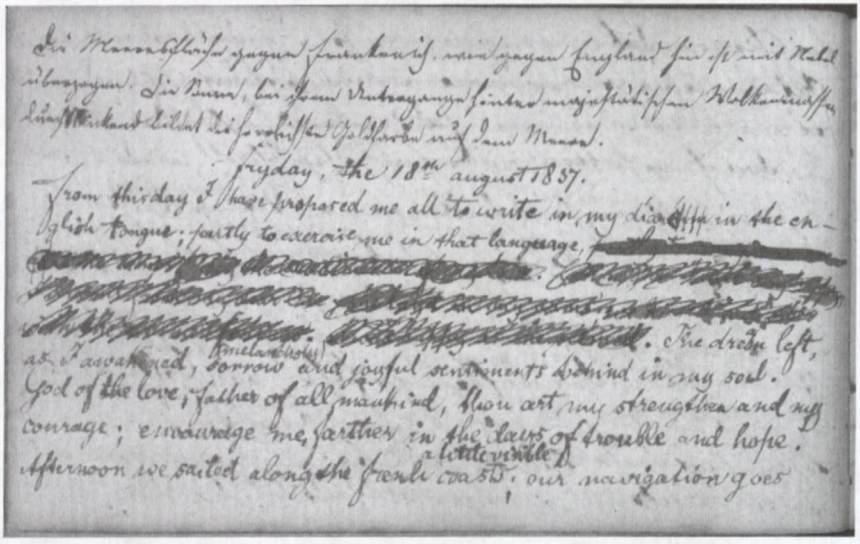

friday, the 18th august 1837.
from thirday I have proposed me all to write in my diary in the en-
glish tongue; partly to exercise me in that language,
. the dream left,
as I awakened, (melancholy) sorrow and joyful sentiments behind in my soul.
God of the love, father of all mankind, thou art my strength and my
courage; encourage me, farther in the days of trouble and hope.
afternoon we sailed along the french coast, a little visible
our navigation goes

Fig. 4. On 18 August 1837, Georg began to write in English in his "Diary."

At last on Friday, 20 October 1837, a relieved Georg could write in his "Diary": "Early morning land sighted, the pilot arrived . . . ; after several gentlemen had been on our ship we reached New York before evening, this fine city with its many sea-going vessels, steamboats, towers and beautiful buildings."[39] Only three days following their landing, the Schramms left New York where they had lodged with a German and where one of Georg's trunks was stolen: "The Germans are the greatest swindlers; Kranz, a landlord, one of the same."[40]

Fig. 5. George Schramm at about 30 years of age.

On their way up the Hudson River and then through the Erie Canal, the family passed Albany (23 October), Schenectady (26 October), Utica (27 October), Rochester (30 October) and Black Rock[41] (31 October 1837) to Buffalo. From there, after about a two-week stay, they continued their journey by steamer across Lake Erie to Cleveland. They were to go via the Ohio Canal to Portsmouth and on to St. Louis, but, because the canal was freezing over, the master of the boat could not be induced to go further and broke off the trip for the winter in Circleville, Ohio. Johann Christoph Schramm and Georg Herzog, a carriagemaker, stayed with their families in Circleville, where employment opportunities existed and where the Schramm Family's band, the so-called "Mozart Band,"[42] held performances and also played in the Lutheran Church. George, as he now called himself, was even "elected a Deacon" of the church, and the Council elected him "as their secretary."[43] For nearly two years after arriving in America, George was homesick, even though the whole family was present. But he spent a happy time in Circleville where he became an American citizen. After almost eight years[44] George responded to the call of his brother Johann (John) Siegmund Schramm who had been living in Burlington, Iowa, since 1841.[45] George, now the young head of his own family, with his wife and daughter, Paulina, arrived there by Mississippi steamer on 19 July 1845. On 4 May 1843 he had married Isabella Christ(y), who bore him eight children.[46] She was a descendant of Pennsylvania Germans (Pennsylvania "Dutch") who came from the Canton of Basel, Switzerland, in 1740.[47]

Fig. 6. Isabella Christ(y) Schramm (*27 January 1826 - †31 May 1900), wife of George Schramm, who gave him eight children.

Siegmund had already, as the first advertisement of 19 April 1845 in the *Iowa Territorial Gazette and Advertiser* shows, established a retail store with the name "J. S. Schramm Company," later "Schramm's Department Store." This store existed over 150 years until 11 January 1997[48] and it "is believed that this store had the longest continuous operating record under one family of any store west of New England."[49]

At the suggestion of Siegmund, George subsequently decided to establish a general store in Farmington, Iowa, first in a rented store but as early as 1848 in his own three-story brick building. After a difficult beginning, George Schramm was a successful and an assertive businessman. However, his partner, Elijah Gallagher, because of his disappointment "at the small profits,"[50] left the business as early as 1846 and went back to Circleville, and Charles Frederick (Carl Friederich Theodor) Schramm[51] hurried to Farmington to help his brother. Charles F. Schramm "remained in Farmington until 1853, when he returned to Burlington, and entered mercantile life on his own account with J. S. Schramm as a partner, this continuing until 1859."[52]

George Schramm's writings present valuable historical sources which until now have not been publicly accessible. For this reason it is essential that he be allowed to have his say when his eyewitness reports of the times are of general interest. Thus George

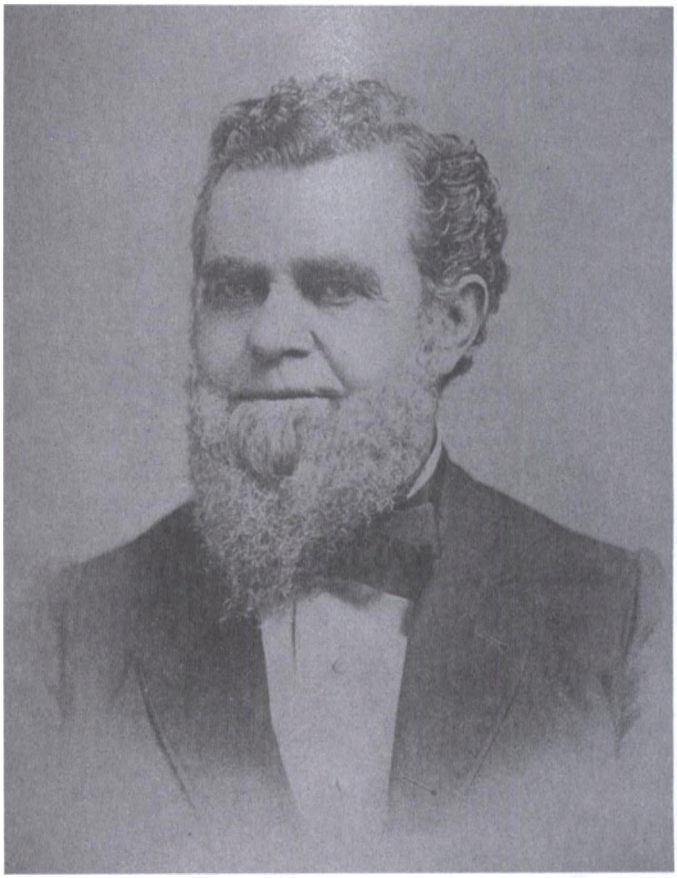


Fig. 7. Johann (John) Siegmund Schramm (*31 March 1818 - †17 February 1898), who was part of the 1837 emigration and also composed a travel diary.

wrote in his "Reminiscences" that he had the Mormons to thank for some of his first good business during these early years:

> I think it was in the summer of 1846 that they passed through Farmington by thousands, in all kinds of conveyances, on horseback and on foot. Brigham Young and his wife, escorted by a bodyguard of fifty Danites [members of "an alleged, secret Mormon organization, supposed to have been formed about 1837"[53]], rode in a sumptuous carriage and held for a short time before our store. [White] goods were in demand. They were needed for what they called sealing robes for the maidens, to wit [to] become plural wives, as no woman, according to Mormon doctrine, can enter heaven, unless, sealed to a man. Our white goods were at a low ebb.[54] . . . Mormonism was very unpopular among the masses, as no doubt it deserved to be; but occasionally cruelties were committed against individuals, for which there was no excuse. In passing through the county, [there were] many [who] were very poor, and [who] were anxious to perform labor for any one who might need their services; and many

> persons were glad to avail themselves of the opportunity. Many of these poor Mormons were apparently honest and sincere and found ready employers. But it was really somewhat dangerous to employ them. Any one doing so was at once termed a Jack Mormon and belittled by a class who were really no better than the worst Mormons.[55]

Considering the prevailing spirit of the age, which was anything but well disposed towards the Mormons,[56] it is noteworthy how well George Schramm speaks about them. His attitude is a shining example of a benevolent disposition and strength of character.

Over the years, George made money in various ways such as by pork packing, stone quarrying, and even by oil prospecting, but he was struck by bitter reverses as well, which he did not gloss over: According to George's "Funeral Sermon" by the Reverend John A. Wirt, the

> necessity of building a bridge across the Des Moines river [at Farmington] was discussed for years, our main support coming from Western Iowa and Missouri. In 1860 I called a meeting and formed a bridge company of which I was elected president, secured subscriptions for $18,000.00, one-fourth of which I furnished. The bridge was built, the pride of Farmington and the envy of surrounding towns, and we expected great profit therefrom. It was in operation for months; the toll keeper was instructed to prevent droves of cattle from passing in larger numbers than twelve at a time. One day while standing in front of my door I saw a large drove of big cattle on the opposite shore approaching the bridge. To my horror I saw the whole drove of over two hundred stampede on to the bridge, and by the time the first were nearly across and the last on the bridge, the center of the bridge gave way. No one could imagine my grief over this catastrophe.

Another initiative which was named "The Iowa and Missouri State Line Railroad" led to the next disaster: It was called into existence in 1859 to make Farmington the initial point for a railroad through the states of Iowa and Missouri.[57] George Schramm, Treasurer and Secretary of the newly formed company, was in Washington where Representative James Faulkner Wilson[58] promised that the Bill for the necessary land grant, then on its third reading, should be passed in the Senate. George watched hopelessly as the Bill was not called up; Wilson let it go by default—and the project was defeated. George's deep dismay was revealed by the Reverend Wirt: "Our astonishment and disappointment were great when we learned next morning that he [James F. Wilson] had failed to do so, thus ending the whole enterprise, about twelve years' work."[59]

George also was not spared involvement in the Civil War, and gave in his "Reminiscences" this eyewitness report concerning the battle of Athens, Missouri, which occurred "about four miles south of Farmington" on 5 August 1861:

> For some time previous to this conflict-in-arms, rumors were rife that the rebels would cross the Des Moines river about half a mile above town. One day it was confidently asserted that about two hundred rebel cavalry had been seen a short distance west of Farmington and [it] was surmised that they would cross on a shallow, as above indicated. Our Mayor had procured about

Fig. 8. George and his wife Isabella in their midlife with their children Schiller (*1847 - †1925), Herder (*1849 - †1916) and Alice (*1852 - †1916).

seventy-five muskets from the Government. General Swacey, our spokesman on public occasions and also a kind of a military genius, enlisted as many men as we had arms [for] and, late in the evening, at the head of his little army, [he] proceeded to the place of the expected conflict. Taking about a dozen of us apart, and placing us behind a huge felled tree, being on the high banks of the river, he told us in subdued tones that he placed little confidence in the greater part of the young men who were with us. "I fear," said he, "that the most of them would take to their heels as soon as they would see the hostile cavalry crossing the river; but, Gentlemen!," added he, "we, a baker's dozen, can defeat the rebel cavalry by taking it cool[l]y." . . . We waited patiently, when about two o'clock A.M., we heard the tramping of hoofs, as they passed over a small bridge directly opposite to where we were stationed. It was pitchy dark, and the objects moving could not be seen. But we were quite sure that the enemy was coming. I never was a fighting character, but I felt it within me, that I would not run but stand to my post. By the bye the darkness gave way a little and I detected that the supposed enemy across the river were only cattle crossing the bridge. Soon everybody could see them. Remaining [for] a reasonable time we finally returned home, well satisfied that the rebel cavalry kept on the Missouri side.[60] . . . Just now [Tuesday, 8 April 1902] one incident comes to my mind, which I will relate in as few words as possible. It was in the second year of the Civil War when, about noon, a Mr. Gill—John, I think, was his Christian name—met me alone at the store. He was a man of means and had bought five hundred dollars worth of U. S. Bonds. He came in, looking very much dejected, so much so that I asked him if anything untoward had befallen him. "That's what's the matter," said he. "This war has cost the United States already five hundred millions; we are ruined! Our country will fall to

pieces, four republics will issue from it and our money [will be] lost forever." "My dear Mr. Gill," I replied, "if we allow this country to fall to pieces and form four republics, there will [be] as many independent republics formed as we have States, and in that case I would as [lief] live in Mexico, or Turkey, as in one of those republics. We cannot allow this Republic to be torn to pieces; every drop of blood and every dollar in money necessary must be spent to avert this calamity. Five hundred millions in money are a bagatelle for this nation; we must preserve it if it should cost ten thousand millions ($10,000 millions) and the Republic preserved will be able to pay for it."[61]

Finally something quite special filled George with great and life-long pride. In the fall of 1852, he was a candidate of the Whig Party for the Iowa State Senate.[62] He was elected for a term of four years[63] and was one of the Senators who in 1855 voted for Des Moines to become the new capital of Iowa.[64] George moved to Des Moines on 18 October 1867,[65] mainly—according to his "Reminiscences"—because of the failure to raise three thousand dollars as a first step for establishing a college in Farmington. Everyone who was asked—George included—was to pay one hundred dollars but, unfortunately, half of the required pledges came from Whigs. Therefore the Democrats

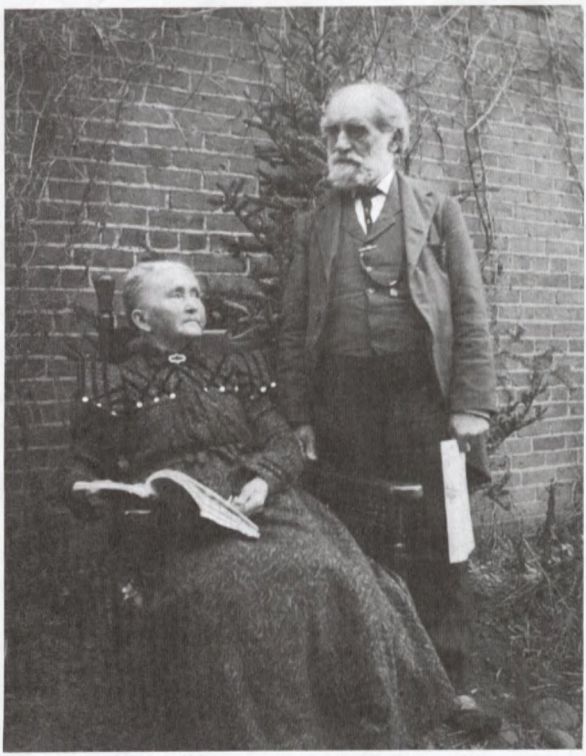


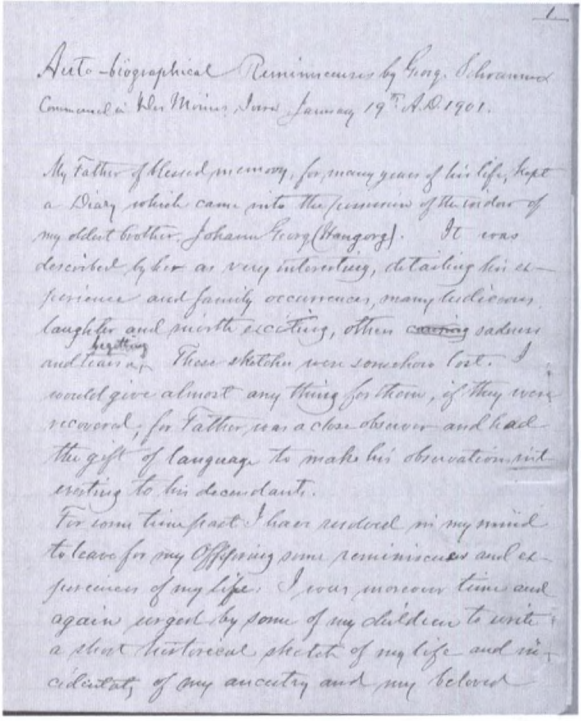
Fig. 9. George Schramm and his wife Isabella about the end of the 19th Century.

in Farmington claimed this would be a scheme of the Whigs to fortify their party and so the necessary thirty pledges could not be obtained. The reason George joined the Whig Party, with whom many of his friends sympathized, can also be found in these notes:

> It may be worth mentioning that, during the Presidential canvass in 1840, it was asserted by the Whigs, that the then party in power in the United States had entered into a secret treaty with Bavaria to encourage the emigration of Catholics, whose votes could be and were controlled by the priests, who were in favor with the administration of Martin van Buren. Father's experience with the American Consul at Bamberg confirmed him in his suspicion, and me in attaching myself firmly to the Whig party. The Consul doubtlessly was a Catholic.

George stated in this context that it "took Father nearly two years to get permission to emigrate, while some Catholic families in our neighborhood got ready in a few weeks."[66] This aversion towards Catholics stems from the time of the protestant Margraves, when wars and violent rivalries with the neighboring Catholic territories were a part of daily life. George is only showing himself here as a genuine Evangelical "Plecher" and as a child of his time. Indeed, in this case a bitter injustice was done to Catholics because the American Consul, Louis Mark, who lived in Bamberg since 1823, was—a Protestant![67]

From 1862 to 1864 George served in the Iowa State House of Representatives,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Auto-biographical Reminiscences by Geo. Schramm
Commenced at Des Moines, Iowa, January 19th A.D. 1901.

My Father of blessed memory, for many years of his life, kept a Diary which came into the possession of the writer of my eldest brother, Johann Georg (Hangorg). It was described by him as very interesting, detailing his experience and family occurrences, many ludicrous, laughter and mirth exciting, others causing sadness and tears of [illegible]. These sketches were somehow lost. I would give almost any thing for them, if they were recovered, for Father was a close observer and had the gift of language to make his observations suit exciting to his descendants.

For some time past I have pondered in my mind to leave for my Offspring some reminiscences and experiences of my life. I over moreover times and again urged by some of my children to write a short historical sketch of my life and my ancestors of my ancestry and my beloved

Fig. 10. The first page of George Schramm's "Autobiographical Reminiscences."

elected as a candidate of the Republicans.[68] The Reverend Wirt documented George's opinion of America which was expressed in an impressive speech he gave at the Semicentenary of the "Pioneer Lawmakers' Association of Iowa"[69] which took place on 12–13 February 1902[70] in Des Moines: "Before leaving the fatherland I made to myself a vow that I would retain everything that was laudable or praiseworthy in the German character, and that I would receive and adopt everything I found laudable or

Fig. 11. George Schramm's stores and residence.

praiseworthy in the American character." George's closing words were like a personal testament: "The German fatherland is ever dear to my heart, but, the remains of my parents of blessed memory being safely imbedded in the sacred soil of Iowa, I feel a pleasant satisfaction in calling America my true fatherland:—the more so that I love it, its people and its institutions."[71] At the end of a long road there was only one homeland for George Schramm—America, into which he had become intimately bound and where he belonged.

As one of the famous and highly regarded pioneers of the State of Iowa, George Schramm, who was known everywhere simply as "Father Schramm,"[72] died at the blessed age of 90 years on 26 July 1906 in his summer home on Lake Okoboji.[73] That he was always proud of his German birth and also never forgot the well-rounded education which he enjoyed in his youth, is evidenced by his naming the first two of his sons after two great German poets and thinkers: "Schiller" and "Herder."[74]

Plech (Upper Franconia), Germany

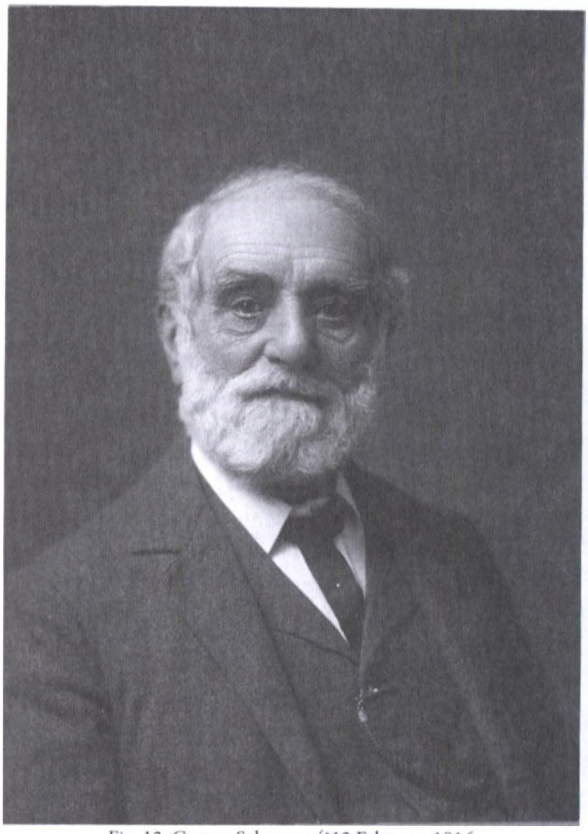

Fig. 12. George Schramm (*12 February 1816 - †26 July 1906) at the age of 85.

## Acknowledgments

I am sincerely grateful to Margaret E. Birnstiel, Forest Hills, New York, for critical reading and assisting with the English translation of this biography. For their complete confidence and support I thank Carol L. and David G. Thomason, my "American family" from West Des Moines, Iowa.

## Notes

[1] Translated from the German: Quoted in Heinz Stark, *Zur Geschichte des Marktes Plech* (Simmelsdorf: Altnürnberger Landschaft, 1994), 26.

[2] The further account essentially follows the four-volume "Autobiographical Reminiscences" of the Nineteenth Century (during the period 1820 through 1868) by George Schramm, in all 573 pages handwritten in English (commenced on 19 January 1901—last entry on 6 January 1904) and his 1837 "Diary" (in all 173 and X pages) handwritten partly in German and partly in English during his journey to America (both in possession of his great-granddaughter Carol Thomason, West Des Moines, IA); further, the travel journal of his brother Johann (John) Siegmund Schramm (* 31 March 1818–† 17 February 1898), "A Short Description of my Voyage from Plech to Bremen and America 1837," trans. Erich Funke, *The Palatine Immigrant* 26, no. 4 (September 2001): 209-30 (part I), and 27, no. 1 (December 2001): 24-45 (part II); see also the original in German "Kurze Beschreibung meiner Reise von Plech nach Bremen" about the voyage to Bremen and America: Manuscript Ms S3768, Special Collections, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City; as well as the "Funeral Sermon of Father [George] Schramm" by the Reverend John A. Wirt (in possession of Mrs. Carol Thomason, West Des Moines, IA).

For a general report on emigration from the Kingdom of Bavaria see Georg Krieg, "Entwickelung und gegenwärtiger Zustand des Auswanderungswesens im Königreich Bayern," in Eugen von Philippovich, ed., *Auswanderung und Auswanderungspolitik in Deutschland: Berichte über die Entwicklung und den*

*gegenwärtigen Zustand des Auswanderungswesens in den Einzelstaaten und im Reich* (Leipzig: Schriften des Vereins für Socialpolitik LII, 1892), 1-96. For a broad survey on emigration from Upper Franconia to America, see: Hans Schaub, "Auswanderung aus Oberfranken nach den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika im 19. Jahrhundert" (diss., Universität Bamberg, 1989); Hans Schaub, "Hintergründe der Auswanderungen aus Oberfranken nach Nordamerika," *Heimatbeilage zum Amtlichen Schulanzeiger des Regierungsbezirks Oberfranken* 206 (Bayreuth, Januar 1994). A recent overview is also Klaus Guth, "Wanderungsbewegungen in und aus Franken im 19. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbuch für Fränkische Landesforschung* 49 (1989): 109-33. For biographical essays and sketches on members of the Schramm Family, see: Augustine M. Antrobus, *History of Des Moines County, Iowa and its people*, vol. II (Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1915), s.v. "F. [Frederick] W. Schramm" (a grandson of Charles F. Schramm), 284-86, and s.v. "Charles E. [Eugene] Schramm" (a son of John Siegmund Schramm), 394-95; *Biographical review of Des Moines County, Iowa: containing biographical and genealogical sketches of many of the prominent citizens of to-day and also of the past* (Chicago: Hobart Publishing Company, 1905), s.v. "Charles F. [Frederick] Schramm," 148-50, and s.v. "John Siegmund Schramm," 220-22; Johnson Brigham, *Iowa, Its History and Its Foremost Citizens*, vol. I (Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1915), 238-39; Joseph Eiboeck, *Die Deutschen von Iowa und deren Errungenschaften: Eine Geschichte des Staates, dessen deutscher Pioniere und ihrer Nachkommen* (Des Moines: Druck und Verlag des "Iowa Staats-Anzeiger," 1900), s.v. "Johann Sigmund Schramm," 358-62; Frank H. Schramm, "The Schramm Family" (October 1973), 1-40 (in possession of Mrs. Carol Thomason, West Des Moines, IA).

[3] See the tombstone of "Anna B. Wife of John C. Schramm" (* 11 October 1786–† 11 July 1850) at the Aspen Grove Cemetery in Burlington, Iowa. She married Johann Christoph Schramm on 28 February 1808. Her husband (* 10 May 1782) died on 10 May 1849 and she was buried beside him. They both died of cholera.

[4] George Schramm, "Autobiographical Reminiscences," 88 [page in the typed copy: 45]: All the quoted texts out of the "Autobiographical Reminiscences" are according to the handwritten original by George Schramm. But it was very helpful to work with an interpretation of his handwritten manuscript which was edited with changes as a typed copy (in all 268 typed pages) by George Robert Killen (* 11 July 1897–† 11 January 1981; see "California Death Records," http://vitals.rootsweb.com/ca/death/search.cgi?surname=Killen&mlast=Schramm), Capitola, California, and which is also in possession of Mrs. Carol Thomason. To facilitate research, citations from the "Reminiscences" will be given the page numbers of the handwritten original and [in brackets] of the typed copy. "George Killen writes that his mother [Jessie who was a daughter of Schiller Cyrenus Schramm, the eldest son of George Schramm] used to tell him that her grandfather [George Schramm] was a striking looking man in spite of his rather short stature" (quoted by Frank H. Schramm, "The Schramm Family," 14). George Schramm himself said ("Reminiscences," 203 [99]) that he was only five feet six inches tall.

[5] George Schramm, "Reminiscences," 120 and 210 [62 and 102]. "George ... (born in 1816) was by all accounts the best educated member of the family" (Frank H. Schramm, "The Schramm Family," 13).

[6] George Schramm, "Reminiscences," 120 [62].

[7] Ibid., 125 and 131-32 [63 and 67-68]; see also Reverend John A. Wirt, "Funeral Sermon of Father [George] Schramm."

[8] George Schramm, "Reminiscences," 52 [27]. The application to emigrate of Johann Christoph Schramm and his wife (who signed as "M. B. Schrammin") on 13 January 1837 states specifically: "Wir wiederholen daher unsere Bitte um baldige Erlaubniß zur Auswanderung nach Nordamerika über Bremen" (Bavarian State Archives of Bamberg, Signature K 17 no. 3389, 5'). Thus, Johann Christoph Schramm actually must have tried to obtain permission to emigrate at an earlier date.

[9] Heinz Stark, "Ritter, Burgstall, Wirtschaftshof und Altstraße im Gebiet des Marktes Plech," in Gustav Voit, Heinz Stark and Volker Alberti, *Burgen, Ruinen und Herrensitze der Fränkischen Schweiz: Edelfreie Geschlechter im Mittelalter*, 2nd ed. (Simmelsdorf: Altnürnberger Landschaft, 1998), 48-49; see also Karl-Heinz Betz and Heinz Stark, "Geschichte einer Hofanlage: Plech, Neuhauser Straße 3," in Helmut Gebhard and Bertram Popp, eds., *Bauernhäuser in Bayern: Oberfranken* (München: Heinrich Hugendubel Verlag, 1995), 119.

[10] Stark, *Geschichte*, 20.

[11] Heinz Stark, *Plecher Kirchengeschichte im Mittelalter: Zur kirchlichen Entwicklung im Nürnberger Umland* (Simmelsdorf: Altnürnberger Landschaft, 2002), 28-29.

[12] Stark, *Geschichte*, 20.

[13] George Schramm, "Reminiscences," 45-46 [23-24]; see also Heinz Stark, "Conrad Lothes aus Plech—Kaufmann, Nürnberger Marktvorsteher und Mäzen," *Archiv für Geschichte von Oberfranken* 87 (2007).

[14] Stark, *Geschichte*, 20 and 22.

[15] Heinz Stark, "Ein Plecher Baumeister: Friedrich Prey (1700–1784)," *Mitteilungen der "Altnürnberger Landschaft e. V."* 43, no. 2 (1994): 261 and 264, note 15.

[16] Translated from the German: Golo Mann, *Der letzte Markgraf von Ansbach: Seine Zeit, sein Land, seine Bank und er selber* (München, 1980), 24.

[17] The following reasons for the emigration of the Schramm Family to America were brought forward in the application of 13 January 1837: "Von unseren 10 lebenden Kindern ist, wie schon angegeben, ein einziges ansäßig und verheirathet [Johann Georg in Kulmbach], zwei Söhne sind Handlungs Commis [Georg and Johann Siegmund], die kein Unterkommen hier finden, ein Sohn ist Buchbindermeister [Johann Michael], welcher ebenfalls keinen Verdienst findet, weil zu viele Buchbinder in der Nähe sind. Wir haben auch keine Aussicht zur Unterkunft für die übrigen Kinder, weil alles hier übersetzt ist. Ueberdieß habe ich einen Verwandten Namens Konrad Schramm von Eschenbach, L[and]Ger[icht] Hersbruck, welcher als Hopfenhändler nach Nordamerika reiste, sich dort in dem Staat Indiana ansäßig machte, dort wohlhabend ist

und uns versicherte, für unser Unterkommen dort zu sorgen" (Bavarian State Archives of Bamberg, Signature K 17 no. 3389, 4'-5'). In the report of 14 January 1837 of the royal district court Pegnitz in Schnabelwaid to the royal government of the Upper Main Circle in Bayreuth, the royal district Judge Ertl expressed his reaction to the application very ungraciously: "Alle Belehrungen von diesem Vorhaben abzugehen waren vergeblich, weil die Familie überspannt ist und in ihrer vorgefaßten Meinung großes Vermögen zu erwerben hofft" (Bavarian State Archives of Bamberg, Signature K 17 no. 3392). Thus, the so-called "push factors" (in this case finding work for the children) and the "pull factors" (in this case becoming wealthy like Konrad Schramm) came together. The names of the children who emigrated with their parents Johann Christoph and Margaretha Barbara were (see their Baptismal Entries in the Register of the Evangelical Lutheran Parish of Plech): Johann Michael (* 1809), Friedrich (* 1814), Georg (* 1816), Johann Siegmund (* 1818), Margaretha (* 1823), Carl Friederich Theodor (* 1825), Margaretha Mathilda (* 1827), Elisabetha (* 1832) and Georg Wilhelm (* 1834).

[18] Stark, *Geschichte*, 26 (see also Schaub, "Auswanderung," 85, and ibid., 80: "Die Menschen brachten die Geldmittel nicht mehr auf, um die teueren Waren kaufen zu können") and 113, note 156. See also Heinrich Bauer, *Geschichte der Stadt Pegnitz und des Pegnitzer Bezirks*, 2nd ed. (Pegnitz, 1938), 452, note 14.

[19] George Schramm, "Reminiscences," 47-48 [24-25].

[20] Translated from the German: Marianne Wellhausen, "Über deutsche Auswanderung nach den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika im 19. Jahrhundert: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Mittelfrankens" (diss., Universität Erlangen, 1949), 81.

[21] The Schramms at the time of the family's emigration (father, mother and nine children) were able to prove assets of 4,000 Gulden (florins), which, in fact (even for eleven people), was a relatively high amount. However, this included proceeds from the sale of their home with its contents and all their agricultural real estate (see Bavarian State Archives of Bamberg, Signature K 17 no. 3389, 2-4). Also, since previously, no or only a small amount of cash assets were on hand, the family—without sufficient income—probably had to live on their capital. Since the Schramms were among the early emigrants (statistics indicate the first official Upper Franconian emigration to America was in 1833) they still obtained good prices from the sale of their possessions. Later the increasing numbers of emigrants caused the prices to decline (see Schaub, "Auswanderung," 50 and 84).

[22] See for an obituary on Johann Christoph Schramm *Des Moines County Genealogical Society Quarterly*, vol. II, no. 3 (1977): 46: "Died in this city [Burlington] on the 10th, Mr. John Christopher Schramm, a native of Bavaria, Germany and recently from Circleville, Ohio, aged 67 years. The deceased had but 4 days before his death, rejoined several of his children, at this place, who had receded [preceded?] him here as residents, and among whom he had come to spend the evening of his life. The fatigue of the journey, it is supposed, brought upon him the illness which at his advanced age, proved so suddenly fatal. He was a gentleman of education and most exemplary character, and in all respect worthy of the sympathy which has been manifested by the public here on the occasion of the peculiarly mournful circumstances attending his death. (May 24, 1849 Wisc.[onsin] Terr.[itory] Gazette & Burlington Advertiser.)"

[23] Marriage Entry in the Register of the Evangelical Lutheran Parish of Plech: Wedding of Johann Georg Schramm and Anna Büttner on 20 November 1731 (these were George Schramm's great-grandparents). Actually the Schramms were millers at the Stone Mill at Pittersdorf, Gemeinde Hummeltal, near Bayreuth. Georg Schramm (the father of the said Johann Georg) then accepted a position as choirmaster and court clerk first at Lindenhardt and then at Kasendorf, while his son Johann Georg, who practiced the same profession, came to Plech. For further details on the Stone Mill see Annemarie Leutzsch, "Die Mühlen im Gemeindebereich Hummeltal," *Hummelgauer Heimathote* 32, 9. Jahrgang (März 1996): 7: "Dazu schreibt Lehrer Heerdegen, der von 1853-1858 in Pittersdorf unterrichtete, in seinen Aufzeichnungen: 'Zur Gemeinde Pittersdorf gehört auch die Steinmühle, welche ¼ Stunde von hier entfernt ist. Geschichtlich läßt sich von derselben angeben, daß sie auch im 30-jährigen Kriege ihre Zerstörung gefunden haben mag. Ihr früherer Standort soll um mindestens 80 Schritte weiter oben an der Mistel, näher an Pettendorf gewesen sein. . . . Sie befand sich bis zum Jahre 1765 in den Händen einer gewissen Familie Schramm, kam durch Verheiratung im genannten Jahre in die Hände eines gewissen Lorenz Ruckriegel von Pettendorf . . . .' "

[24] Ottilie's greeting was even presented by Dr. Margot Hamm, Center of Bavarian History, in a report on Bavarian Television relating to the exhibition "Good Bye Bayern—Grüß Gott America" (see the Website of the Center of Bavarian History which provides in English a broad survey over the exhibition and the related topics, including photographs not shown before in Europe: http://www.hdbg.de/auswanderung/english/index2.htm). The sheet with the attached lock of hair was shown in the exhibition as a part of a small chest with farewell letters from Georg's friends from the years 1836-37 (in possession of Mrs. Carol Thomason, West Des Moines, IA). Georg met Ottilie once again in Kulmbach on the way to America, where she wrote these lines on 12 July 1837: "Muthig verlaße das Vaterland, die Hoffnung, die süße Gefährtin Unserer Wünsche, Beflügele Deine Schritte. Und will das Schicksal uns günstig sein, so sehen wir gewiß uns wieder, bis dort hin lebe wohl,—und gedenke Deiner Ottilie." Georg and Ottilie never met again.

[25] Bavarian State Archives of Bamberg, Signature K 17 no. 3392.

[26] George Schramm, "Reminiscences," 195-96 [95A-96A]. At this time, a family having a son between the ages of 17 and 21 whom they wished to take to America had either to find a substitute who would serve in the army for him (Krieg, "Königreich Bayern," 15-16, note 2) or redeem him for the sum of 800 Gulden or later 1,500 Gulden (see Schaub, "Auswanderung," 96). Therefore it was good fortune that a discharged soldier, namely the 28 year-old Heinrich Brendel from Schnabelwaid, could be found as a substitute for Georg (Bavarian State Archives of Bamberg, Signature K 3 A no. 2488[1]). From the files in the Bavarian State Archives of Bamberg it is not clear if Brendel actually received 200 Gulden.

[27] Stark, *Geschichte*, 49; see also note 21.

[28] In his "Diary," Georg even broke down the family's expenses for the entire journey: The costs of the

trip as far as Bremen amounted to 91 Gulden and 34 ¼ Kreuzer; ship broker Traub was paid 140 Gulden earlier, and on 27 July 1837 Traub again received 688 Gulden and 40 Kreuzer. The total cost of the journey, including the Atlantic crossing, therefore came to 920 Gulden and 14 ¼ Kreuzer (George Schramm, "Diary," VIII).

[29] On 22 July 1841 the merchant Johann Georg Schramm from Kulmbach (* 2 March 1807), with his wife Amöna (Carolina Friederike Georgina Louise Amöna), nee Loewel, and his three children Oskar Heinrich Clotar Otto (* 24 August 1837), Selma Emma Julia (* 14 October 1838) and Hugo August Friedrich (* 29 January 1840), was granted permission to emigrate to North America. This permission only became valid after he had satisfied all his creditors (see Bavarian State Archives of Bamberg, Signature K 3 A I no. 2407[II], 27).

[30] George Schramm, "Diary," 67 (Friday, 18 August 1837). Georg's brother Johann Siegmund, who also composed a travel diary (Manuscript Ms S3768, University of Iowa Libraries), gave this information on the *Caecilie & Sophie* (Thursday, 7 September 1837): "[Um] 3 Uhr morgens stürzte durch den heftigen Wind der über der Kajüte hinterliegende Mast unter furchtbarem Getöse auf das Vordeck; o du alte Brigg[,] wie werden wir mit dir nach Neuyork kommen! Hier sieht man deutlich[,] was für ein schlechtes Herz unter manchem Prachtgewande schlägt, ohne eine Zeitlang bemerkt zu werden; das Schiff innen u[nd] ausen [*sic*] bei den wichtigsten Stellen mit schöner Oehlfarbe [*sic*] bestrichen, mußte man den Worten der Betrüger glauben, es wäre erst 9 Jahre auf der See gegangen; allein deutlich sieht man jetzt, daß der eine Matrose, der mit den Pasagiren [*sic*], die sich jetzt sehr getäuscht finden, Mitleiden zeigte u[nd] mir selbst versicherte, daß es schon 30 Jahre auf dem Meere geht, dieses die letzte Fahrt ist, u[nd] zu einem Kauffahrtteischiff [*sic*] für untauglich erklärt wurde; o ihr Betrüger[,] für Menschen ist es gut, mit ihnen verliehrt [*sic*] ihr, wenn es scheitern sollte[,] kein Kapital, . . . von einer Untersuchung, ob das Schiff tauglich zur Abfahrt ist[,] war keine Rede; auch war bei der Abfahrt von Cuxshafen [*sic*] niemand, als [der] Kapitän, ein Kauf[m]ann, der aus Hamburg ist u[nd] Schiffseigner ist, zugegen; diese, mit Traub [the ship broker], spielten nach meiner Ansicht mit uns einen Schleichhandel, auf einem höchst mangelhaften Schiffe." I am grateful to Mrs. Kathryn J. Hodson, Special Collections Department Manager of the University of Iowa Libraries, for obtaining a copy of the original of Johann Siegmund Schramm's "Diary."

[31] George Schramm, "Reminiscences," 221-23 [108]. Presumably the person mentioned is Carl Traub, Bremen, for whom agents worked in Bamberg and Bayreuth beginning on 17 May 1842 (see Schaub, "Auswanderung," 294 and 313).

[32] George Schramm, "Diary," 67 (Friday, 18 August 1837).

[33] Mr. Jack R. Raum, Winchester, Virginia, I thank for procuring the passenger list of the *Caecilie & Sophie* (1837) from the U. S. National Archives and Records Administration in Washington, D.C.

[34] George Schramm, "Diary," 81 (Sunday, 17 September 1837), and the passenger list of the *Caecilie & Sophie* (1837).

[35] Baptismal Entry of Bernhardt Köchel (* 28 June 1832–† 10 July 1832) in the Register of the Evangelical Lutheran Parish of Betzenstein.

[36] George Schramm, "Reminiscences," 238-39 [115-16].

[37] Ibid., 241 [117].

[38] George Schramm, "Diary," 73 (Friday, 25 August 1837).

[39] Translated from the German according to George Schramm, "Diary," 165 (Friday, 20 October 1837): "Früh Morgens Land erblickt, den Lotsen bekommen . . . ; nachdem mehrere Herren auf unserem Schiffe gewesen waren, erreichten wir vor Abends Neuyork, diese feine Stadt mit ihren vielen Seeschiffen, Dampfbooten, Thürmen & schönen Gebäuden." A consulate of the Kingdom of Bavaria existed in New York since 1834 (Krieg, "Königreich Bayern," 71).

[40] Translated from the German according to George Schramm, "Diary," 168 (Tuesday, 24 October 1837): "Die Deutschen sind die größten Betrüger; Kranz, ein Wirth, einer derselben."

[41] Mr. Jack R. Raum, Winchester, VA, identified the correct place name "Black Rock" (in George Schramm's "Diary," 171, erroneously "Blackwood"). See also Ronald E. Shaw, *Erie Water West: A History of the Erie Canal, 1792-1854* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1990), 162: Black Rock became "a part of Buffalo by 1853."

[42] George Schramm, "Reminiscences," 287 [139].

[43] Ibid., 338 [164].

[44] The case of the Schramms and the Herzogs confirmed what Klaus Guth had observed (Guth, "Wanderungsbewegungen," 129), that the immigrant groups remained together when they reached their first goal. And, as well, the weakening of neighborly and family ties ensued already in the immigrant generation (see ibid., 132), in this instance through Siegmund's and George's migration to the interior of America, from Circleville, Ohio, to Iowa.

[45] Mrs. Pat Latty, Burlington, IA, to whom I am much obliged for information and background data on John Siegmund Schramm. See also: *Biographical review of Des Moines County*, 220-22; Eiboeck, *Die Deutschen von Iowa*, 358-62; Frank H. Schramm, "The Schramm Family," passim.

[46] Isabella Christy Schramm was born on 27 January 1826 and died on 31 May 1900. Her "Funeral Sermon" (in possession of Mrs. Carol Thomason, West Des Moines, IA) was preached by the Reverend John A. Wirt, D.D., on 3 June 1900.

[47] Margaret E. Birnstiel, "The Story of Johann Christ and Anna Susan Spanhauer and their Descendants" (typed manuscript draft no. 1, 15 December 2006), 1.

[48] Carolyn Noon, "J.S. Schramm Co.: Department store famous for beautiful fashion," *The Hawk Eye: Millennium Edition*, Saturday, 6 November 1999, http://www.thehawkeye.com/features/1999/millennium/mm06117.html.

[49] Special Collections Department of the University of Iowa Libraries, "MsC 354 – Manuscript Register:

Papers of James S. Schramm, Collection Dates: 1932-1979" (October 2002), http://www.lib.uiowa.edu/spec-coll/MSC/ToMsc400/MsC354/MsC354_schramm.html. James S. Schramm (* 4 February 1904–† 23 August 1980) was a grandson of John Siegmund Schramm and the brother of the author of "The Schramm Family" Frank H. Schramm (* 17 January 1900–† 10 November 1995).

[50] Reverend Wirt, "Funeral Sermon of Father Schramm."

[51] See for further details on Charles Frederick Schramm (* 9 November 1825–† February 1906): Antrobus, *History of Des Moines County*, vol. II, s.v. "F. W. Schramm," 284-85, and Frank H. Schramm, "The Schramm Family," 16-17.

[52] *Biographical review of Des Moines County*, s.v. "Charles F. Schramm," 149.

[53] *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language* (Cleveland and New York: College Edition, 1959), 372.

[54] George Schramm, "Reminiscences," 415 [199].

[55] Ibid., 420-21 [202].

[56] Even the chapter about the Mormons in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* of 1890 (*The Encyclopaedia Britannica, A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and General Literature*, Ninth Edition: Complete Reprint, vol. XVI, New York, 1890, 825-28) seems not to be very objective.

[57] George Schramm, "Reminiscences," 540 and 542-43 [253-54].

[58] Brigham, *Iowa*, vol. I, Historical Biographies—XX, 457-68 (James Faulkner Wilson). For a biographical sketch on James F. Wilson, see also: http://all-biographies.com/politicians/james_wilson.htm.

[59] Reverend Wirt, "Funeral Sermon of Father Schramm."

[60] George Schramm, "Reminiscences," 531-33 [249-50].

[61] Ibid., 554-55 [259-60].

[62] Ibid., 506 [238]; see also Brigham, *Iowa*, vol. I, 238-39.

[63] George Schramm, "Reminiscences," 126 [in the typed copy erroneously "five years": 64]; see also Benjamin F. Gue, *History of Iowa from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century*, vol. III (New York, NY: The Century History Company, 1903), 462-64.

[64] Reverend Wirt, "Funeral Sermon of Father Schramm." See also Brigham, *Iowa*, vol. I, 255-56.

[65] George Schramm, "Reminiscences," 568 [266].

[66] Ibid., 195-96 [95A-96A]; see also note 8.

[67] Klaus Guth, "Louis Mark: Konsul der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika für das Königreich Bayern (1844)," *Bericht des Historischen Vereins Bamberg* 116 (1980): 195-96. For two Prussian Talers, Louis Mark provided confirmation of approval of admission to the United States, which he was forbidden to do since 11 September 1837 as these confirmations were not necessary (see Schaub, "Auswanderung," 158). The Schramms also had paid for such a confirmation: "Nach dem Zeugniß des Consulates der vereinigten Staaten von Amerika vom Dez[em]ber 1836 werden wir zur Reise über Bremen nach Nordamerika dort vorläufig aufgenommen" (Bavarian State Archives of Bamberg, Signature K 17 no. 3389, 4).

[68] Brigham, *Iowa*, vol. I, 238-39; see also George Schramm, "Reminiscences," 126 [64], and Gue, *Iowa*, vol. III, 474.

[69] Reverend Wirt, "Funeral Sermon of Father Schramm."

[70] George Schramm, "Reminiscences," 393 [189].

[71] Reverend Wirt, "Funeral Sermon of Father Schramm."

[72] See *The Annals of Iowa*, ed. Charles Aldrich, vol. 7, 3rd series, issue 7 (October 1906): 558: " 'Father' Schramm was a member of the Polk County Octogenarian Society, and its president at the time of his death. He also held membership in the Tippecanoe Club, the Old Settlers' Association and the Pioneer Law Makers' Association. He was a member of the Senate in the 4th and 5th, and a member of the House in the 9th General Assemblies, from Van Buren county. While exceedingly quiet and unobtrusive, Mr. Schramm was much more than an average legislator. His services are recalled as those of a man who was always clear in his convictions, whose habit it was to be found on the right side of questions which challenged public attention. His record is one from which nothing need be expunged. Though living to an advanced age, he was blessed not only with health and strength, but with a most happy temperament, which always made him a pleasant man to meet. His smile of cordial greeting was never absent. There are always men in the ranks of a regiment in active service whom their associates will not forget to the last day of their lives. So it is in a legislative body. After forty years the majority of faces will fade from the brightest memory; but those who were associated with Mr. Schramm in those far-off days have ever borne him in kindly remembrance."

[73] Frank H. Schramm, "The Schramm Family," 15. Father Schramm is buried in Des Moines, Iowa—a large boulder is the family plot marker in the Woodland Cemetery.

[74] This detailed biography is the expanded version of two publications on George Schramm in German: Heinz Stark, "Von Plech nach Iowa—Die fränkisch-amerikanische Erfolgsgeschichte des George Schramm: Zu George Schramms 100. Todestag seiner Urenkelin Carol Thomason gewidmet," *Mitteilungen der "Altnürnberger Landschaft e. V."* 54, no. 2 (2005): 15-20; Heinz Stark, "George Schramm—Ein amerikanischer Pionier aus Oberfranken," in Margot Hamm, Michael Henker and Evamaria Brockhoff, eds., *Good Bye Bayern—Grüß Gott America: Auswanderung aus Bayern nach Amerika seit 1683; Katalogbuch zur Ausstellung* (Augsburg: Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte, 2004), 122-23 and 301. Moreover two lectures on George Schramm were given in English by the author for The German Society of Pennsylvania on 2 May 2006 in Philadelphia and for The Society for German-American Studies at the Annual Symposium on 5 May 2006 in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. See also Alexander Freund, "Review of Margot Hamm, Michael Henker and Evamaria Brockhoff, eds., Good Bye Bayern—Grüß Gott America: Auswanderung aus Bayern nach Amerika seit 1683," *H-German, H-Net Reviews*, October 2006, http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.cgi?path=117461162826384 (I thank Dr. William Roba, Scott Community College, Bettendorf, IA, for calling my attention to this review).

For their pictures I thank Mr. Karlheinz Escher, Plech (Fig. 13), Mrs. Kathryn J. Hodson, University of Iowa Libraries (Fig. 7), Mrs. Carol L. Thomason, West Des Moines (Fig. 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12), and Mr. Georg Schmidt († 23 September 1994), Plech (Fig. 1 and 2).

Fig. 13. Plech today.

J. Gregory Redding

# The *Deutscher Literarischer Klub von Cincinnati* and the German-American Elite

It has become a truism in the field of German-American Studies that immigrants who settled in urban areas belonged to one of two groups: *Kirchendeutsche*, or Church Germans, and *Vereinsdeutsche*, or Club Germans. These categories continue to be widely accepted and repeated as a way of understanding the social dynamics of German-American communities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and not without reason. The terms had found their way into scholarship at least as early as 1937, when Heinz Kloss published *Um die Einigung des Deutschamerikanertums: die Geschichte einer unvollendeten Volksgruppe*. Kloss does not carefully define his use of the words "kirchendeutsch" and "vereinsdeutsch," as though they were already a well-understood means of subdividing the German-Americans. Indeed, he refers to a speech at the 1933 German-American Congress in Philadelphia that addressed the relationship between the two groups.[1] Thus the divide between those who maintained their Germanic heritage via their church and those who did so through club membership was acknowledged at the time by the immigrants themselves, even if the contemporary nomenclature would not be developed until later.

This neat bipartite view of the German element has been challenged at times as a simplistic and ultimately unsatisfactory way of analyzing a large and complex community. For that reason, Frederick Luebke added a third category in his 1974 study *Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I*. He called this group the German-American Elite, and defined it simply as "those persons who enjoyed noteworthy social and economic success."[2] Don Heinrich Tolzmann picked up Luebke's notion of an elite class among the German-Americans. He split the group into an economic elite (which corresponds to Luebke's definition) and an intellectual elite, which he defined as either "actively ethnic," "passively ethnic," or "marginally ethnic" according to the descriptions of intellectuals given by the social scientist Milton Gordon in his work *Assimilation in American Life*.[3] The works by Luebke and Tolzmann recognized the need for a more nuanced understanding of the social divisions among urban German-Americans in the United States. However, the new category that they proposed remains vaguely defined at best. This study seeks to move beyond a mere implicit understanding of the German-American Elite through the explicit analysis of the history, demographics, and purpose of the *Deutscher Literarischer Klub von Cincinnati*.

The late nineteenth century was the Golden Age of society life in German-American communities throughout the United States. Cities with a sizeable German element boasted dozens of *Vereine* (clubs or societies), the best known of which were singing groups (*Chöre*) and the gymnastic societies known as the Turners. These clubs provided outlets for immigrants and their descendants to preserve what they considered

worthwhile aspects of their Germanic heritage. It follows, then, that the members of such societies are thought of as *Vereinsdeutsche*, defined by Luebke as those "whose bonds with German culture centered in secular societies." Luebke goes on to say that "club Germans were oriented toward secular values and attitudes. Overwhelmingly urban in residence, they demonstrated a tendency to be liberal or even radical in their politics. Most significantly, they seemed to value, defend, and promote German language and culture as ends in themselves."[4] The Club Germans are thus distinguished from the Church Germans, whose primary ethnic anchor was their church. *Kirchendeutsche* are generally viewed as politically and socially conservative, and although they were divided along sectarian lines, they shared a commitment to the German language and to religious values.[5]

On the surface, the *Deutscher Literarischer Klub* von Cincinnati was a typical *Verein*: it served as a forum for its members to celebrate the great cultural achievements of the German-speaking world and to cultivate the life of the mind. As will be shown, however, its members were not typical *Vereinsdeutsche*. While they valued, defended, and promoted German language and culture as ends in themselves (per Luebke), they also exhibited a political and social conservatism that was more typical of the Church Germans, and in some cases they demonstrated a commitment to religious values that was eschewed by many—if not most—Club Germans. The members of the *Deutscher Literarischer Klub* blurred the distinction between Church Germans and Club Germans because they were neither of those things: they were the German-American Elite.

**The Founding of the Club**

The *Deutscher Literarischer Klub von Cincinnati* (hereafter: DLK) was founded by a group of men that included Heinrich A. Rattermann and Heinrich H. Fick, two of the most prominent figures in Cincinnati's German-American community. The purpose of the club, as stated in the first line of its original constitution, was "to cultivate and promote German literature within a small social circle."[6] This was not the first such club in Cincinnati. As early as 1839 a group called *Harmonie* offered a forum for lectures on poetry and music. This group faded after a few years and was succeeded by a *Deutscher Lese- und Bildungsverein*, which also did not last long. Other attempts were made by societies like the Masons and the Turners to form literary groups within the main organization, but since the cultivation and promotion of German literature was at best tangential to the goals of those societies, there remained a perceived need among some members of Cincinnati's German community for an organization dedicated exclusively to intellectual pursuits.[7]

The immediate inspiration for the DLK was actually an English-language group that called itself simply the "Literary Club." On its roster were a number of German-American citizens of Cincinnati, notably Rattermann, Gustav Brühl, Wilhelm Mueller, and Thomas Vickers.[8] These men desired to have a similar group in which German would be the *lingua franca*, and they joined with other members of the German-American community to make their idea a reality. On 28 November 1877, a group of seventeen founders met at Hoffman's wine tavern in the heart of the Over-the-Rhine district that marked the center of Germanic life in Cincinnati. Heinrich Rattermann led the meeting, during which the aforementioned mission statement was affirmed and some very basic by-laws were established. Key among those was the establishment of

lectures by members as the main activity of the club. An annually elected officer corps would establish a lecture schedule, and members were obliged to give their lectures in the established order. The founders left that meeting sensing that they had created an organization that would play an important role in German-American civic life in Cincinnati.[9]

**Club Activities**

In the beginning the group convened every two weeks. As membership grew, the club met weekly, usually on Wednesday evenings.[10] In the 1700 club meetings between 1877 and 1927, members spoke on just about every subject that would capture the interest of human knowledge. Lectures given over a five-year period by Hermann Barnstorff, for example, illustrate the breadth of topics that were addressed:

Die Richtlinien der deutschen Lyrik
Theodore Dreiser
George Bernard Shaw
Anatole France und die Skeptik
Roman Rolland, ein guter Europäer
Frankreichs Reparationen nach 1870-71
Wall Street, die Geschichte einer Straße
Cecil Rhodes
Der Dollar, die Entwicklung der amerikanischen Währung
Brigham Young, der Moses der Mormonen[11]

In his chronicle of the club's first fifty years, Barnstorff states that lectures of a polemical nature about religion and politics were not permitted.[12] Yet he himself presented on a religious topic (Brigham Young and the Mormons) and political issues (France's reparations after the Franco-Prussian war and Cecil Rhodes, the British imperialist for whom Rhodesia was named). He also addressed economic issues with his talks on Wall Street and the development of the American dollar. Presumably he was able to conform to established practice by discussing all of these topics in a non-controversial way. Barnstorff does reveal that religious discussions were accepted "as long as objectivity was maintained." Thus on at least two evenings the club discussed the notion of life after death "ohne das jemand merklichen Schaden an seiner Seele genommen hätte."[13]

The German-American press in Cincinnati covered the activities of many different *Vereine*, but the activities of the DLK received special attention. The tone of reportage in the *Tägliches Cincinnatier Volksblatt* in particular seems to accord the DLK singular status among other organizations. One account begins: "Herr Ludwig Wojeczek, der fähige und taktvolle Präsident des Deutschen Litterarischen Klubs, war der Vortragende in der gestrigen Versammlung." Further in that same account, almost out of context, is the following line: "Es gibt in Cincinnati—und auch in vielen anderen amerikanischen Städten—keinen Verein, der dem Deutschen Litterarischen Klub von Cincinnati ebenbürtiges an die Seite stellen kann."[14] There are no bylines for these small reports, so it is likely that they were written and submitted by the club secretary or some other member of the club. It also turns out that the local editor of the *Volksblatt* was Carl Pletz, who just happened to be a member of the DLK. Other accounts in the *Volksblatt*

give a good idea of what happened at club meetings. The following is a press report of one of the more mundane gatherings:

> Der Deutsche Litterarische Klub lauschte gestern Abend einem philosophischen Vortrag des Dr. Geo. Fette, der sich als Thema "Das Kriterium der Gewißheit" gesetzt hatte. Die interessante Diskussion spielte auch auf das Gebiet der Geschichte über und hier war es Dr. Gotthard Deutsch, der einige der sogenannten Geschichtslügen festnagelte. In der folgenden Geschäftssitzung wurde Herr Heinrich Willig, einer unserer jüngeren deutschen Lehrer, einstimmig als Mitglied aufgenommen. Zwei Herren wurden zur Mitgliedschaft vorgeschlagen. Da die Wandgemälde des Clubs anfangen infolge von Ruß und Staub "Patina" anzusetzen, wurden sie zu einer durchgehenden Reinigung verurteilt, damit sie später wieder zu neuem Glanz erstehen können.[15]

Other newspaper accounts show that this was a typical format for the club's meetings: a lecture by one of the club members or by an honored guest, followed by discussion that used the lecture as a starting point, but sometimes crossed over to other topics. Official business was conducted in the form of recommending and confirming members, and plans were made for special ceremonies, such as *Gedenkfeiern*, as well as events to honor members of the club itself.

The press reports show that the club had strayed somewhat from its main purpose, which Rattermann had said was to "spur the members to literary activity and to elevate the form and the intellectual contents of their work through friendly discussions, critiques, and exchange of opinion."[16] This suggests that the intended focus of the club was on the production of original literary works by its members, and to some extent this took place. But even Rattermann's extensive collected poetry dates mostly after 1899, and the published writers and poets among the membership remained in the minority. Club members did recite their own poetry at meetings and even published their literature and their research, although not systematically. Some of the members' lectures and poems found their way into newspapers and journals, and the DLK as an organization occasionally printed bound versions of lectures given during *Gedenkfeiern*. Publication in book form was rare. Rattermann himself, who was by far the most highly regarded and prolific writer in the club, was unable to find a publisher for his collected works, and this in spite of the fact that fellow club member Samuel Rosenthal was founder and president of a successful printing company in Cincinnati. Like Rattermann, Rosenthal was a rags-to-riches success story. One can only assume that he did not rise to prominence by making bad business decisions—it is thus telling that his press was not a reliable outlet for German-American literature by members of the DLK.

### Club Demographics

Although the members of the DLK did not achieve much literary success, they still saw themselves as representatives of the intellectual elite. In his reflections on the ten-year anniversary of the club in 1887, Rattermann wrote of the founding members, "Alle waren Verteter des Geistesadels der deutschen Bevölkerung Cincinnatis."[17] Some thirty years after the DLK was founded, club president Dr. Otto Jüttner also claimed

a special role for the DLK and its members within the German-American community in Cincinnati:

> Der Deutsche Litterarische Klub muß nicht zufrieden sein, sich für die geistige Elite des Cincinnatier Deutschthums zu halten und in selbstsüchtiger Weise ein geistiges Protzenthum zu verkörpern. Er muß, den Anforderungen der Zeit entsprechend, die geistige Führerrolle für die Deutschen Cincinnati's übernehmen.[18]

Jüttner's comments reveal how the club's members generally regarded their position within the Cincinnati German community. He perceives a kind of intellectual smugness among the members and makes it clear that they saw themselves as the intellectual elite.

Barnstorff's chronicle suggests that the DLK was envisioned as a complement to, if not opposite of, the Cincinnati *Turngemeinde*. While not openly disparaging the popular Turner societies, Barnstorff does imply that the DLK filled an intellectual void that could not be met by organizations that focused primarily on physical training, and it is probably with the Turners in mind that he describes the DLK as a group that "pursues intellectual sport."[19] The distinct missions of these organizations are revealed by their membership profiles. The records of the DLK contain a number of inconsistencies, but enough verifiable information exists to give a good impression of the demographics of its members. Early records frequently included professional titles with member entries, but this information was sometimes omitted: for example, the diplomat Johann Bernhard Stallo is listed as one of four "Richter" (judges) in the record, but Judge A. K. Nippert carries no title. There are also several prominent medical doctors who are known to be members of the club, but who are not listed in the member registry. After 1899 no distinction is made in the records between medical doctors and PhDs, further complicating attempts to understand the club's membership profile. But for points of comparison with Turner membership the distinction between an MD and a PhD is of little importance: both groups belong to the well-educated upper class of German-American society. More than a quarter of the founding members were medical doctors, and over its first fifty years nearly 24% of club members carried the title of "Doctor" in one form or another.[20]

Turner membership was quite different. The most accurate information about Turner occupations is from the years 1866, 1867, and 1869, which is slightly earlier than the founding years of the DLK, but which nevertheless reveals known membership trends among the American Turner societies. It would seem that the "sound mind, sound body" mission of the Turners would attract wholesale support from the medical and academic communities, and certainly there were representatives of these professions who were active in the Turners. But these "Gelehrter" account for an average of just 3.5% of membership during the years in question, compared with nearly 24% in the DLK. On the other end of the spectrum are the "Handwerker"—factory workers and skilled laborers who comprised 63% of Turner membership at that time.[21] There is no evidence that this group was represented at all in the DLK, which seemed more inclined to admit factory owners than factory workers. The Turners, therefore, were much more

clearly an organization for the lower and middle classes, while the DLK was for the intellectual, social, and economic elite.

This elite status was maintained by the membership policy of the club. Admission was by invitation only. Prospective members had to be nominated by one current member and seconded by two others. After a waiting period, the vote was taken: a three-quarters majority was required for acceptance.[22] With membership by invitation, it should come as no surprise that such a large percentage of the membership was doctors and academics, who presumably found prospects among professional colleagues. The record is silent on the personal qualities that led to acceptance into this inner circle, but it is logical to conclude that discussions of prospective members revolved around their academic, professional, and artistic qualities as well as their ability to contribute to the intellectual pursuits of the organization by lecturing on topics of interest to the general membership. Apparently there were plenty of men in Cincinnati who met these qualifications, for the club grew quickly. According to records, from its founding in 1877 to its 50-year anniversary in 1927, 361 members were accepted into the society. This averages out to about seven new members per year, but the actual enrollment patterns rose and fell over the years.[23]

Women were not eligible for membership, and the club had no women's auxiliary, as did some other organizations at the time. The only access women had to the DLK was the occasional *Damenabend*, or ladies night. These were often connected to the *Gedenkfeiern*, special ceremonies to commemorate great figures of German art, letters, and music. Women were first invited to the *Gedenkfeier* on 15 February 1881, to mark 100 years since the death of Lessing. Other examples of *Damenabende* that coincided with *Gedenkfeiern* were the 200th birthday of Johann Sebastian Bach in 1885, a Brahms celebration in 1898, and a Heine celebration in 1906. For most of the club's history these *Damenabende* took place relatively frequently, but some club members were strictly opposed to the participation of women in their intellectual pursuits, and so there were periods when no *Damenabende* were offered in deference to that segment of the membership.[24]

**The Parameters of the German-American Elite**

It is apparent from printed comments that the members of the DLK regarded themselves as the intellectual elite in Cincinnati's German community. Analysis of club demographics supports their position, at least to the extent that education and occupation can indicate cultural and intellectual sophistication. However, club leaders did not limit their claims of cultural hegemony to Cincinnati—they saw themselves as intellectual missionaries charged with bringing German culture to America. A steadfast belief in the primacy of all things German pervades the written record of the DLK. When considering the club's purpose, co-founder Wilhelm Mueller wrote: "Let our German traditions, our soul qualities, and our cultural heritage be used in giving our best efforts and our most earnest work for the enrichment of the life of the New World."[25] This world view is echoed in Otto Jüttner's 1910 address to club members:

> Der Deutsche ist der vornehmste Träger der heutigen Kultur geworden. Er ist der Vorkämpfer einer Sache, die in ihren letzten Konsequenzen die Lösung aller Probleme moderner Humanität, sowohl auf dem Gebiete des Geistes

als auch des Herzens, in sich schließt. Jeder Deutsche ist ein Sproß jenes Volkes, welches heute an der Spitze der Menschheit marschirt. In diesem geistigen, kulturellen Sinne ein Deutscher zu sein, heißt an dem Vermächtnis theilzunehmen, welches uns die große Vergangenheit als kostbares Erbe hinterlassen hat zu unserer eigenen Veredlung und zu Nutz' und Frommen der ganzen Menschheit. Es ist der Adel des Blutes, die Vornehmheit des Geistes, die uns das Land unserer Geburt mit auf den Weg gegeben hat, uns, die wir auf fremdem Boden deutsche Kulturarbeit thun.[26]

Jüttner's speech suggests a rigid adherence to Germanness that was both the strength and the weakness of the DLK: on the one hand it is only by virtue of their reverence for their German heritage that the club existed at all, but on the other hand it reveals a palpable *Besserwisserei* vis-à-vis American culture that would contribute to resentment and distrust of German-Americans during World War I.

The world view reflected in the remarks by Mueller and Jüttner calls to mind Milton Gordon's description of the "actively ethnic intellectual." In his effort to refine the definition of the German-American Elite, Tolzmann subdivided the group into an economic elite and an intellectual elite. He cited Luebke to define the former group and Gordon to define the latter. Intellectuals, according to Gordon, are "people for whom ideas, concepts, literature, music, painting, the dance have intrinsic meaning—are a part of the social-psychological atmosphere which one breathes."[27] These people are typically found among the professional ranks, including teachers, professors, journalists, lawyers, and doctors. Gordon identifies three "ideal types" of intellectual responses to the conflicting forces of ethnic heritage and cultural assimilation, the representatives of which he calls the "actively ethnic intellectual, "the "passively ethnic intellectual," and the "marginally ethnic intellectual."[28] The first type emerges as the most relevant to this study:

> The "actively ethnic intellectual" remains within his ethnic group and focuses his intellectual interests precisely on his ethnicity. He is the cultural historian of the group, the theologian, the communal leader, the apologist, the scholar of its art, its music, and its literature. While he maintains a respectable acquaintanceship with the broader ideological currents and events around him, his primary interests and passions are reserved for the racial, religious, or nationality background ethos in which he considers his roots to be firmly placed. His is a confident approach, and he appears to be spared many of the problems of marginality.[29]

The personal qualities of the most vocal members of the DLK correspond closely to Gordon's description of this type. These men revered German music, art, and literature and they believed Germans had made the greatest contributions to world culture, particular when compared with the United States. By establishing themselves as disseminators of the German cultural legacy, the high esteem in which they held that culture fed their own self-esteem.

The DLK members who could be described as "actively ethnic intellectuals" may have been in the minority. In his 1910 speech, Jüttner complains that only about thirty percent of the membership regularly attended the weekly meetings, and he calls on

those who attend just one or two meetings per year to resign from the club. Whether they actually did so is unknown, but the observation by the club's president shows that a sizeable majority of members did not share his active commitment to the DLK and its mission.[30] The thirty percent who did participate fully in club activities can be thought of as actively ethnic intellectuals. Gordon surmises that of the three intellectual subgroups, the actively ethnic type is the smallest within its ethnic group; this appears to hold true within the DLK as well.[31]

Gordon's second category, the "passively ethnic intellectual," finds it "easier, safer, or more in line with his personality style" to remain "within the subsocietal boundaries of his ethnic group and social class." Thus a passively ethnic German intellectual will associate primarily with other ethnic German intellectuals and is either not able or not willing to interact with intellectuals outside his ethnic group.[32] It is likely that many DLK members were passively ethnic intellectuals in accordance with Gordon's typology. Indeed, the structure of the DLK made it almost inevitable that much of its membership would fit that description. Since potential members had to be admirers of Germanic culture and speak fluent German, the club was essentially limited to recruiting within Cincinnati's German-American community. This is supported by the fact that the membership roster for the club's first fifty years consists almost exclusively of German names. The members that Jüttner complains about may have been merely the typical rank and file that forms a substantial portion of almost any organization. At some point they had been engaged enough in the German-American intellectual community to have met the relatively strict membership standards of the DLK, but they lacked the devotion to cause of the active thirty percent.

It seems unlikely that many members of the DLK would have conformed to Gordon's third type, the "marginally ethnic intellectual":

> As the appellation indicates, he wears his ethnicity lightly, if not in his own eyes at least in the eyes of the world. Whatever his social psychology, he finds ethnic community unsatisfactory and takes his friends, and probably even his spouse, where he finds them, so long as they share his fascination with Kafka and his passion for Heinrich Schuetz.[33]

Gordon's study explores how people of different ethnic backgrounds assimilate into American life, so for him the marginally ethnic intellectuals are of greatest interest. They are the group that most easily sheds its ethnic identity in favor of established society. People who fall into this category would have lacked the reverence for German culture that was a prerequisite for admission to the DLK.

Luebke had defined the German-American Elite as "those persons who enjoyed noteworthy social and economic success," and by any objective standard this can be said of the active DLK membership. However, other comments by Luebke would seem to disqualify the DLK as representative of the Elite:

> The German-American elite . . . found little in the vereins to attract them. While these better-educated and more richly talented persons would often retain memberships in some of the clubs, they rarely gave them leadership. As upwardly mobile persons, they were generally more interested in developing contacts with established society than in maintaining their bonds with a

> disintegrating ethnic group. The result was that leadership positions often fell to persons who had recently immigrated, persons for whom German culture remained intensely important.[34]

The members of the DLK were among the "better-educated and more richly talented" people in Cincinnati's German community, and it would not be misleading to describe them as upwardly mobile. Some, like Rattermann and Rosenthal, came from modest backgrounds and rose to economic prominence by founding successful businesses. Most of the DLK's most prominent figures, however, were not recent immigrants to the United States. Yet they also founded their own *Verein*, provided its leadership, and recruited members from within their ethnic group.

Luebke's definition conflicts with the evidence that the DLK formed an Elite subgroup within Cincinnati's German-American community. He bases his description on socio-economic factors rather than cultural and intellectual ones. In that sense Luebke's Elite corresponds closely to Gordon's marginally ethnic intellectual. But ethnicity is not necessarily the basis of identity for that type of person, and if they are so far removed from their ethnic identity, it ceases to become meaningful to describe them as "German-American" at all. Thus the marginally ethnic intellectual—and by extension Luebke's socio-economic elite—is not a useful way of describing the German-American Elite. It is perhaps in recognition of the shortcomings of Luebke's definition that Tolzmann expanded it to include an intellectual component. Tolzmann's refinement represented an improvement over Luebke, but in defining the intellectual elite he merely cites Gordon's three categories without comment on the relevance of each type to a discussion of ethnic heritage. As has been shown, not all are equally applicable to a definition of the German-American Elite.

### Defining the German-American Elite

Luebke, Tolzmann, and other scholars have been careful not to speak in absolutes when defining the German-American subcommunities. As Luebke prudently observed:

> It is possible to draw too sharp a line of distinction between the church Germans and the club Germans. Not all the societies, of course, were antipathetic to religious institutions. It was more often the other way around. A verein was unacceptable to the church Germans to the extent that it partook of the heritage of the Forty-eighters. That is to say, if the vereins were anticlerical, rationalist, politically active, liberal, or radical; if they tended to give precedence to cultural and social values over religious values; if they advocated German-language instruction in the public schools and opposed parochial schools; or if their leadership and constituency included large numbers of turners and lodge members, then the church Germans were likely to look elsewhere for their associations.[35]

The line between these two established groups and the German-American Elite is similarly indistinct. Like *Vereinsdeutsche*, the members of the DLK celebrated their

cultural heritage via their club. As has been shown above, cultural values were preeminent in the DLK; indeed, they were the very reason for its existence. Further, one of the club's founders and its honorary president was Heinrich H. Fick, who was perhaps the strongest advocate for German instruction in the public school system in Cincinnati. Fick served as Supervisor of the German Department of Cincinnati Public Schools until the anti-German sentiment during the First World War put an end to German instruction. It would seem that this combination of factors would lead *Kirchendeutsche* to avoid associating with the DLK. However, unlike most *Vereine* the DLK roster included members who would usually be labeled Church Germans. At least eleven were pastors of Cincinnati churches, the most prominent among them being Hans Haupt, who became pastor at the United Protestant Evangelical St. Peter's Church in 1910, joined the DLK in 1913, and served as an officer in the club for many years, including as president.[36]

The welcoming stance toward religion was not limited to Christians. One honored member of the club was Dr. Gotthard Deutsch, a prominent Jewish scholar and professor at Hebrew Union College. Judge Friedrich S. Spiegel, who presided over the court of common pleas in Cincinnati, was also Jewish.[37] Thus not only were people of other faiths admitted to the DLK, but given the club's admission policy they must have been actively recruited and approved by three-quarters of the members. The requirement in the constitution that club functions be governed by an air of political and religious neutrality seems to have been observed. Members like Pastor Hans Haupt show that religious persons could be looked to as leaders, and Deutsch and Spiegel reveal interfaith tolerance as a general club principle.

The fact that women were not eligible for membership suggests that the members of the DLK were socially conservative. There is also evidence that they were politically conservative as well. A newspaper account from 1917 gives some insight into the political bias of the active membership:

> Der Deutsche Litterarische Klub hat sein reiches Vereinsjahr gestern mit dem üblichen Sommerfest beschlossen, das bei Phillipi in Westwood gefeiert wurde. Die Theilnahme war nicht sonderlich stark, aber die Getreuen des Klubs fehlten dennoch nicht, und der Abend verfloß in heiterer Weise. Nach erfolgter Labung . . . wurde zur Fidelitas übergegangen, die in muntern Reden und heiteren Liedern ihren Ausdruck fand. Herr S. Einstein hatte einen besondern lustigen Einfall, indem er einen Delegaten zur Stockholmer Sozialistenkonferenz ernannte. Da demselben jedoch die Pässe verweigert werden, ist nicht daran zu denken, daß aus der Sache etwas wird, obgleich der Klub seinen tüchtigsten Mann für den Posten ausgewählt hatte.[38]

The notion that it would be especially funny for a member of the DLK to attend the Stockholm Socialists Conference suggests that their politics lay at the opposite end of the spectrum. If they had embraced the kind of political liberalism associated with Club Germans like the Turners, Sol Einstein's suggestion would have been met with a different kind of enthusiasm. The DLK appears to be the kind of politically and socially conservative *Verein* that was acceptable to Church Germans.

The DLK straddles the boundary between *vereinsdeutsch* and *kirchendeutsch*. It shares similarities with both groups, but is distinguished from them by the demographics

of its membership, its devotion to intellectual pursuits, and its self-appointed role as cultural arbiter. Its leadership was comprised of actively ethnic intellectuals, while the rank and file likely fell into the passively intellectual group as defined by Gordon. There must have been religious people who were Club Germans, and political radicals among the Church Germans. Certainly there were actively and passively ethnic intellectuals in all segments of German-American society. But it is the combination of all these factors—embodied by the *Deutscher Literarischer Klub von Cincinnati*—that defines the Elite.

In sum, the German-American Elite is a sub-community consisting largely of well-educated persons who shared a reverence for the language and the cultural achievements of German-speaking people. They regarded themselves as guardians and purveyors of the German cultural aesthetic. Because their identity was so closely tied to their Germanic heritage, the German-American Elite was composed by degrees of actively and passively ethnic intellectuals. They tended to come from the professional ranks of education, law, and medicine, but their devotion to the life of the mind was more important than economic status. Indeed, definitions of the elite that are based on socio-economic status are of questionable value since they correspond closely to Gordon's marginally ethnic intellectual. That group discarded its ethnicity so readily that it is disingenuous to think of it as German-American at all.

**Epilogue**

The *Deutscher Literarischer Klub von Cincinnati* no longer exists. The club had recovered from the anti-German hysteria of the first World War, and a newspaper account from 1937 suggests that the club was entering its seventh decade from a position of strength: "Der Klub scheint im letzten halben Jahr in eine neue Periode des Aufblühens geschritten zu sein, was aus vielen Neuanmeldungen und dem guten Besuch der Vorträge ersichtlich ist."[39] That the club nevertheless dissolved shortly thereafter is not remarkable—many German-American organizations ceased operations as a result of the conflicts with Germany. What is remarkable is that it survived as long as it did. Even without the world wars, it seems likely that a society like the DLK would have become increasingly marginalized as fewer and fewer Cincinnati German-Americans could claim a favorable bond with the old country, and also speak the language. With a membership that never numbered much more than 70 in any given year, the club was small compared to the Turner societies and the various singing groups. Yet among its members were many of the most influential shapers of German-American civic life in Cincinnati. That in itself is reason enough for the *Deutscher Literarischer Klub* to receive closer attention, but it also serves as a tangible example of the German-American Elite and provides a model for the study of similar groups.

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## Notes

[1] Heinz Kloss, *Um die Einigung des Deutschamerikanertums: die Geschichte einer unvollendeten Volksgruppe* (Berlin: Volk und Reich Verlag, 1937), 31-36.

[2] Frederick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I* (DeKa1b: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974), 44.

[3] Don Heinrich Tolzmann, "The Survival of an Ethnic Community: The Cincinnati Germans, 1918 through 1932" (Ph.D. diss., University of Cincinnati, 1983), 38-39.

[4] Luebke, 42.

[5] Tolzmann, 34.

[6] The first line of the club's constitution states: "Der 'Deutsche Literarische Club von Cincinnati' hat zum Zweck, die Deutsche Literatur im engen socialen Kreise zu pflegen und zu fördern." From an 1881 pamphlet published by Mecklenborg and Rosenthal of Cincinnati. This is the earliest known print version of the club's constitution.

[7] See the chronicle compiled by Hermann Barnstorff and published by the club, *Festschrift zum goldenen Jubiläum des Deutschen Literarischen Klubs von Cincinnati 1877-1927*, pp. 7-8. The narrative portion of Barnstorff's *Festschrift* was reprinted as a special insert in the *Cincinnatier Freie Presse*, Nov. 6, 1927.

[8] The Literary Club of Cincinnati still exists and claims to he the oldest literary club in the United States. See John Johnston, "Cincinnati's Literary Club quietly marks 150 years," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 25 October 1999. For membership information see their centennial publication *The Literary Club of Cincinnati 1849-1949*, pg. 13.

[9] Barnstorff, 8-9.

[10] Unlike its English-language counterpart, the DLK did not have its own building. Instead, rooms were rented over the years in various German taverns and lodge halls. The location changed frequently. See Barnstorff, pp. 13-17.

[11] Ibid, 55.

[12] Ibid, 18.

[13] Ibid, 19. Translation: "without anyone incurring noticeable damage to his soul."

[14] *Tägliches Cincinnatier Volksblatt*, April 12, 1917. Translation: "Mr. Ludwig Wojeczek, the capable and tactful president of the German Literary Club, was the lecturer at yesterday's meeting." And later: "There is in Cincinnati—and also in many other American cities—no club which can claim to be the equal of the German Literary Club of Cincinnati."

[15] *Tägliches Cincinnatier Volksblatt*, March 22, 1917. Translation: "The German Literary Club heard yesterday evening a philosophical lecture by Dr. Georg Fette, who discussed the topic 'The Criterion of Certainty.' The interesting discussion touched also on the topic of history, and here it was Dr. Gotthard Deutsch who nailed down some of the so-called historical falsehoods. In the following business meeting, Mr. Heinrich Willig, one of our young German teachers, was unanimously accepted as a member. Two gentlemen were recommended for membership. Since the murals of the club have begun to acquire a patina of soot and dust, they have been sentenced to a thorough cleaning so that they might regain their luster."

[16] Barnstorff, 18. Rattermann's comments in German were: "die Mitglieder zu schriftstellerischer Tätigkeit anzuregen und durch Meinungsaustausch, freundliche Besprechungen und Kritiken die Form und den geistigen Inhalt ihrer Arbeit zu heben."

[17] Dr. Karl G. Zwick, "Aerzte des Literarischen Klubs," "Sonderbeilage" of the *Cincinnatier Freie Presse*, Nov. 6, 1927, p. 14. Zwick quotes Rattermann: "All of them were representatives of the intellectual aristocracy among the German population of Cincinnati."

[18] Otto Jüttner, "Der Deutsche Litterarische Klub von Cincinnati im Lichte seiner eigentlichen Bestimmung. Rede, gehalten vor dem Deutschen Litterarischen Klub von Cincinnati während der Schlußversammlung des Vereinsjahres 1909-10, am 7. Dezember 1910," p. 8. Published as a pamphlet by the DLK. Translation: "The DLK must not be satisfied with regarding itself as the intellectual elite of Cincinnati's German community and in an egotistical way to embody intellectual showing off. It must, in accordance with the needs of the times, assume the intellectual leadership role for Cincinnati's Germans."

[19] Describing precursors to the DLK, Barnstorff writes: "Die 'Tumgemeinde' versuchte an ihren geistigen Turntagen und Abenden dem Bedürfnis nach intellektueller Befriedigung entgegenzukommen. Doch konnte solches Bestreben nur stiefkindlich sich entwickeln und mußte sich dem Hauptziel der Turnerschaft, der körperlichen Ausbildung, unterordnen" (8). He then refers to his society as a "literarischer Klub, der geistigen Sport treiben will" (9).

[20] Zwick, 14-15. Additional membership statistics are compiled from the "Mitglieder-Verzeichnis" appended to the Barnstorff *Festschrift* (43-52) and supplemented by information in the 1881 program pamphlet (see note 6) and in articles published over two decades in the *Tägliches Cincinnatier Volksblatt* and the *Cincinnatier Freie Presse*.

[21] See Dolores Hoyt, *A Strong Mind in a Strong Body: Libraries in the German-American Turner Movement* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 24.

[22] Barnstorff, 9.

[23] Ten or more new members were admitted in 1877-1881, 1886, 1888, 1903, 1906-07, 1923, and 1926. Two or fewer members were admitted in 1894, 1896, 1898, 1901, 1917-1921, and 1927. The club did not meet at all from 1919 to 1921.

[24] Barnstorff, 21.

[25] Quoted in Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *German-American Literature* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1977), 216-17.

[26] Jüttner, 5. Translation: "The German is the most distinguished representative of contemporary culture. He is the champion of a cause which has as a final consequence the solution to all the problems of modem humanity, both in the realm of the intellect as well as the heart. Every German is a descendant of that folk, which marches at the head of humankind. To be a German in this intellectual, cultural sense means to take part in this legacy, which the great past left as a valuable inheritance for our own ennoblement and for the greater good of all humanity. It is the nobility of blood, the refinement of intellect, which the land of our birth has bequeathed to us, we who practice German cultural activities on foreign soil."

[27] Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 224.

[28] Gordon, 227-28.

[29] Ibid, 228.

[30] On page 4 of his 1910 talk, Jüttner says "Der regelmäßige Besuch der Versammlungen ist die erste, vornehmste und bedeutungsvollste Pflicht eines jeden Mitgliedes."

[31] Gordon, 229.

[32] Ibid, 228.

[33] Gordon, 228-29.

[34] Luebke, 44.

[35] Ibid, 44.

[36] Other pastors included Erich Becker, Eugen Ernst, Ernst Guntrum, E. T. Henzel, Reinhold Köstlin, J. C. Kramer, Jakob Pister, W. L. Scheding, J. C. Scholz, and Eduard Votz.

[37] See Jonathan D. Sarna and Nancy H. Klein, *Jews of Cincinnati* (Cincinnati: Center for the Study of the American Jewish Experience, 1989), pp. 73 and 108 for Deutsch and p. 101 for Spiegel. Several other members of the DLK bear the last names of known Jewish families of Cincinnati, but ties to those families could not be confirmed.

[38] *Tägliches Cincinnatier Volksblatt*, June 28, 1917. Translation: "Yesterday the German Literary Club concluded a rich season of meetings with the customary summer festival, which was celebrated at Philippi in Westwood. Attendance was not especially strong, but the club faithful was not absent and the evening passed in a cheerful manner. After refreshments . . . came merriment in the form of lively discussion and cheerful songs. Herr S. Einstein had the especially funny idea of naming a delegate to the Stockholm Socialists Conference. Since that person had been denied travel documents it seems that nothing will come of the matter, although the club had chosen its most capable member for the post."

[39] *Cincinnatier Freie Presse*, December 5, 1937. Translation: "The Club appears in the last half year to have entered into a new time of blossoming, which is evident from many new members and good attendance at the lectures."

James Campbell

## George Stuart Fullerton and *The Truth about the German Nation*

I would like to tell you a story about the American philosopher and psychologist, George Stuart Fullerton. The story begins, as good stories often do, with a suicide. The *New York Times* of 24 March 1925 contains an article entitled: "DR. G. S. FULLERTON COMMITS SUICIDE: Health Broken in German Prison Camp, He Hangs Himself in Poughkeepsie." The unsigned piece includes a good deal of information about this tragic event and its background. "A chronic and despairing sufferer from ill health, contracted through a long internment in German prison camps in the World War, Professor George Stuart Fullerton, former Professor of Philosophy at Columbia, 66 years old, committed suicide this morning [March 23] by hanging himself in a clothes closet of his home." After a brief description of the method that Fullerton had employed – involving some clothesline and a closet door hook – the account discusses his deteriorated mental condition. "Professor Fullerton's poor health caused him to express the desire to die and he had seldom been left alone." On this occasion, his wife had left the house only briefly to develop plans for "a trip South for the professor's health"; but, when she returned home, she found his body.

After praising Fullerton's philosophical writings – the *Times* called him "one of the most significant and important contributors of recent years" – the account points especially to the fact that "his works are charged with an eagerness and a desire to promote amity among the peoples of the earth." This trait, however, seems to have landed him in trouble with the German authorities, because "[s]hortly after the outbreak of the World War in Germany Professor Fullerton was among the first to point out the difference between that country and the militarism by which it was ruled. He held that the German people, as such, were a peaceful folk and victims of a system which they espoused against their inherent impulses." The *Times* notes that "[t]hese doctrines, especially dangerous at that time and place, caused his internment in a German prison camp where he suffered severe hardship and starvation for more than four years." After his release, the account continues, Fullerton returned to America "too ill to teach, except for short intervals," and eventually his depression resulted in his suicide.[1]

In a parallel account beginning on the front page of the *New York Herald Tribune* of the same date, we read that Fullerton "[d]espondent over chronic illness dating back to his confinement from 1917 to 1918 in a German internment camp . . . hanged himself this morning in the closet of his study in his home." In this account, the particulars of the sad event that transpired in Poughkeepsie are a bit different; but the underlying cause is roughly the same. The main difference is that Austria is now implicated as well. "When the United States declared war on Germany and Austria he was arrested and lodged in an Austrian internment camp, later being transferred to Germany." The *Herald Tribune* continues, "[t]he poor food, insanitary accommodations and confinement broke his

health and he was returned to this country an invalid when peace was signed."[2] These accounts, and others,[3] while unanimous about Fullerton's internment and abuse and their long-term negative consequences, offer us little indication of why Fullerton was in Germany at the outbreak of the War, or any further specifics about his presumed internment.

## II

Fullerton's story thus ends tragically. The facts of his early life, however, while unusual, offer no hint about what was later to occur. George Stuart Fullerton was born to Presbyterian missionary parents in Fatehgahr, India, on 18 August 1859. His father, Rev. Robert Stewart Fullerton died soon thereafter and his mother, Martha White Fullerton, returned with her six children to the United States in 1860. At the age of fifteen Fullerton contracted polio, and he walked with a severe limp for the rest of his life.

Fullerton received the A.B. degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1879. After a brief period of study at the Princeton Theological Seminary (1879-80), he received the B.D. degree from the Yale Divinity School in 1883. He was ordained an Episcopal priest three years later. Fullerton began his academic career teaching philosophy and psychology at Pennsylvania in 1883, and was named four years later to be the first holder of the Adam Seybert Chair of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy, a position that he held from 1887 to 1903. During his years in this chair, in addition to his classroom work, he served in a number of administrator posts: Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy (1889-90), Dean of the College (1894-96), and Vice-Provost (1894-98). Fullerton was also a prolific writer during these years at Pennsylvania. His books include: *The Conception of the Infinite, and the Solution of the Mathematical Antinomies: A Study in Psychological Analysis* (1887); *A Plain Argument for God* (1890); *On Sameness and Identity: Being a Contribution to the Foundations of a Theory of Knowledge* (1891); *The Philosophy of Spinoza, as Contained in the First, Second, and Fifth Parts of the "Ethics"* (1894); and *On Spinozistic Immortality* (1899). Among the honors that Fullerton received during his time at Pennsylvania include being elected to membership in the American Philosophical Society in 1890, receiving two honorary doctorates from Muhlenberg College (Ph.D. in 1892, and LL.D. in 1900), and being elected the fifth president of the recently founded American Psychological Association in 1895.

Fullerton's relationship with Germany begins to develop only after the death of his first wife, Rebekah Daingerfield Smith, in 1892. Five years later, he married Julia Winslow Dickerson. The second Mrs. Fullerton seems to have had health problems and found living in Europe – especially in Germany – to be more to her liking. Beginning in 1897, the Fullertons resided whenever they could in the Munich area. During the years 1898-1900, they spent an extended period of eighteen months in Germany; and, to continue living there as much as possible, Fullerton resigned from the Seybert Chair at Pennsylvania in 1903 and took a position as "research professor" at Columbia University. The position required only a limited commitment of lecturing on Fullerton's part – by design only one semester every other academic year – although his semesters at Columbia may have only been Fall 1905/6, Spring 1909, and Spring 1912.[4]

While living primarily in Munich, Fullerton continued his research efforts, publishing: *A System of Metaphysics* (1904); *An Introduction to Philosophy* (1906); and

*The World We Live In: or, Philosophy and Life in the Light of Modern Thought* (1912). He also developed some connections with the University of Munich, the specifics of which will be discussed below. During the Winter Semester of October 1913 to February 1914, Fullerton served as Columbia's exchange professor to Austria. This position found him lecturing primarily at the University of Vienna, but also at the universities in Graz, Innsbruck, Krakow, and Lemberg (now: Lviv). One of these series of lectures was on higher education in America, later published as *Die amerikanischen Hochschulen.*[5] For his services to Austrian education, Fullerton was appointed "Honorarprofessor" at the University of Vienna by Kaiser Franz Josef in 1914. When the War began in August 1914, the Fullertons were again living in the Munich area.[6]

Perhaps it will be useful here to summarize my story so far. Fullerton, a highly regarded university professor who had dedicated himself to working for international understanding, finds himself accidentally caught up in the First World War. These facts seem uncontestable. At this point, with no further evidence until the suicide itself, the story continues in a more speculative mode. Fullerton, as an enemy alien, is cruelly thrown into prison where, because of barbaric treatment by the Central Powers, his health is destroyed. When the pieces of his life are assembled in this way, we get the story of a tragic figure who is unable to work and eventually kills himself. This story did not ring true to me, however, when I compared it with another piece of Fullerton's life that is not yet part of the story. This piece was his 1915 volume, *The Truth about the German Nation*, or to use its American title, *Germany of To-day*, that I had examined during the course of another project.[7]

## III

*Germany of To-day*, published in America in 1915, was dedicated "[t]o those who desire a mutual understanding among civilized nations and who work for the cause of international conciliation." In this volume, Fullerton offers "a collection of facts that may easily be verified by anyone who has access to a public library." His stance is as one whose family "has been American as long as there has been an American nation"; he intends this volume to overcome misconceptions "among my countrymen" by offering them "a just conception of the political and social constitution of the German nation and of the spirit with which it is penetrated." Fullerton's ultimate hope was to improve mutual understanding between the two countries, and to counteract the effects of British propaganda. As he continues: "United Germany is a young and vigorous nation. So is the United States of America. The better the two understand one another, the better for both."[8]

In *Germany of To-day*, the chapters discuss the general nature of the German empire–which Fullerton calls "The United States of Germany"–the political situation of German citizens, the German education system, militarism and imperialism, and future possibilities. We can consider these themes in order. Politically, he writes, Germany was combination of "twenty-two states, three free towns [Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck], and the imperial territory of Alsace-Lorraine [Elsaß-Lothringen]. There are four kingdoms, six grand duchies, five duchies, and seven principalities." In spite of Germany's monarchical and heredity government, Fullerton tries hard to suggest some similarities between Germany and the United States. Discounting "the fact that the chief executive of the German nation is an emperor, inheriting his title, and the fact that the

same individual is king of Prussia," Fullerton suggests that an unthinking interpretation of these facts has "caused in the United States a wide-spread misconception, even among well-informed people, as to the imperial office." He maintains, however, that the correct understanding of the situation is the more modest one that "the German Emperor is virtually the president of the confederation of the German States."[9]

With regard to the German citizens, Fullerton continues that they were not being crushed under some presumably oppressive 'Prussian' system, but were in fact living lives that were quite similar to those of Americans. As he writes, "the average German does not appear to be more restlessly discontented than the average American, who is usually agitating for reforms of some sort . . ." While he points to some obvious dissimilarities between the situations in Germany and America – for example, "the political rights of the Germans are not identical with ours" – Fullerton also suggests that the Germans were certainly no worse off than were the Americans. Modifying somewhat Lincoln's formulation, he writes of Germany that "a government, which the average American would not be inclined to describe as *of* the people and *by* the people, may, nevertheless, be most emphatically a government *for* the people . . ." Especially with regard to social legislation, Fullerton writes that he finds the German system to be preferable; while the involvement of the government in citizens' lives was greater in Germany, this was not necessarily an evil. As he writes, "although the German is very thoroughly governed, he is governed in his own interests."[10]

Turning to education, Fullerton writes that "[i]t is education that has made Germany what it is, and Germany knows it." Part of his interest in education is content-oriented, discussing the mastery of the data that science was yielding about the nature of the world, and part of it is in what is more properly understood as socialization. "The German is trained to discipline from his earliest years," Fullerton writes. "He learns when young to obey, and this discipline is capped later by his [two] years of military service." The German is taught that he has a place, that he is a part of something larger than himself. "All are taught to obey; all have their burdens to bear. The German belongs to the state and he is educated to believe that he owes something to the state and that the state owes him a good deal." Fullerton recognizes that all of this consideration of the centrality of the national state might raise for some Americans the issue of militarism; but, for him, "the standing army of Germany is no more and no less than a school. The officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, correspond to the teachers." Fullerton emphasized that what is gained in military service is not the technical skills of soldiering so much as the general social benefits of "discipline, orderly habits, cleanliness and prompt obedience . . ." Moreover, he maintains that if America faced the geopolitical realities that Germany faced, Americans would quickly come to appreciate the value of having a standing army themselves.[11]

Fullerton's final two themes are imperialism and post-War reconstruction. He admits that the term 'empire' has a negative sound in American ears, especially when it means "the control exercised by a nation over peoples which cannot properly be regarded as belonging to it and truly sharing in its national life." Using this definition he maintains, however, that the great imperialist country was not Germany but Great Britain, followed closely by France and Russia. The German empire was a different sort of empire, not like that of the British. Germany consisted of "a homogeneous people, having the same blood, the same speech and much the same traditions." In this, Germany was like the United States: "both nations represent confederations of

civilized states which naturally belong together; and . . . certain dependencies remote from [their] own shores," and neither has been "compelled to seize the lands of foreign peoples." Another similarity between the United States and Germany was that neither accepted the map as configured prior to its birth. "Did we accept the *status quo* when we dispossessed the Indians?" he asks. "Did we bow down before the principle when we published our Declaration of Independence in 1776?" The Americans had expanded to fill the continent and, more recently, to move overseas; the Germans were simply doing what the Americans had already done.[12]

In both cases the *status quo* was upset; but, in itself, this is not wrong. "The *status quo* makes for peace," Fullerton grants under normal circumstances; "but, if conditions change beyond a certain point, the peace may reveal itself as a frozen immobility which nations with life in them will reject as intolerable." Such nations, which he further describes as "developing nations, civilized nations whose growth in wealth and power signifies a contribution to the total wealth of the world and to the richness of its civilization," must be allowed to expand even if their expansion destabilizes the current situation. As he puts it, "such nations should have a place made for them . . ." Germany's possible expansion had been prevented, however, because Great Britain had the most to lose in any such change and because its naval power controlled the oceans. Fullerton maintains that this clash between Germany's legitimate rights of expansion and Britain's selfish policies had led to the War; and, when it ends, some "flexible system of international organization that growth may take place unaccompanied by convulsions and the rupture of the system" will have to be instituted. Fullerton believed that Americans and Germans, if they "work together in harmony for the welfare of the whole family of nations" and do "not fall, through blindness, into useless and harmful conflict," could make this new international system easier to attain. His message to his fellow Americans in 1915, therefore, was that they should resist the pressures of British propaganda and stay out of the War.[13]

## IV

We can now return to the story of Fullerton's suicide. It might be better to say that two very different stories have emerged. In the first, Fullerton was the victim of cruel Germany; in the second, he was the defender of heroic, or at least misunderstood, Germany. In the first, he winds up suffering for years in an internment camp; in the second, he writes a volume that presents a very flattering version of the background to the War entitled: *The Truth about the German Nation*. Clearly, these two stories do not mesh at all; but what could be done to integrate them? The first story involves a great deal of speculation about what happened to Fullerton after the War broke out, and especially after the Americans entered the War in April, 1917. Was there some way to move beyond this speculation? Were there any records that detailed Fullerton's wartime years in Germany. Fortunately, I was recently able to spend a year teaching in Munich where, working in various archives,[14] I uncovered a number of materials that helped me integrate these two stories.

We can begin with a consideration of the place that Fullerton held in the intellectual community in Munich before the War. Working with papers in the archives of the University of Munich, I was able to recover what might be called 'the honorary professor episode' of December 1908 to July 1909. In late 1908, Fullerton was put forward as a

candidate for an honorary professorship by the Munich Philosophy Department. In a pair of letters to the Philosophical Faculty, the chair of philosophy, Theodor Lipps, praised Fullerton for his "solid character, and at the same time extraordinary kindness." With regard to his scientific qualifications, Lipps notes that "although he is certainly not the best known of American philosophers abroad, he is perhaps the greatest mind among them." Lipps writes that "Professor Fullerton is without question one of the premier American philosophers of the present day. Even here in Germany there is no philosopher or historian of philosophy who has not profited from the numerous works that Fullerton has published . . . Fullerton is a first-class figure and we should consider ourselves lucky to get him." In his *Introduction to Philosophy* and *Metaphysics* – volumes that Fullerton had completed during his years in Munich – Fullerton "shows his astoundingly rich and comprehensive education, his intellectual creativity, the composure and prudence of his judgments, as well as the proper charm and fine humor of his writing style." Lipps continues that Fullerton would bring these deep philosophical gifts and his wide life-experience to benefit the academic situation at the University of Munich. He points especially to the advantage of having instruction offered by a senior scholar like Fullerton, rather than by private docents, when dealing with questions of "the philosophy of religion, conceptions of life and the world, and the large cultural and epistemological questions."

In these letters, Lipps also discusses Fullerton's unusual relationship with Columbia University. Fullerton, he writes, "was only required to be in residence at Columbia for a few months every other year to offer a course of lectures. Otherwise, he was to be permitted to reside wherever he wanted, for example, here in Munich." Lipps continues that the primary reason why Fullerton, "in spite of his extraordinary position at Columbia," was willing to be nominated for an honorary professorship in Munich was that "his wife is ill; and, for reasons that I do not understand, she cannot endure the climate in New York. The climate here in Munich, however, suits her better." Thus, Fullerton had arranged the last few years to maximize their time in Munich, "and now he would like to sever his connections with Columbia because of his wife's condition and reside here permanently." Lipps continues that Fullerton was understandably reluctant to break all ties with the academic life and, at Lipps' own suggestion, agreed to be considered for an honorary professorship.[15]

Lipps' petition was acted upon favorably by the Philosophical Faculty in early 1909; but, when the petition reached the Academic Senate, strong resistance developed. Part of this resistance seems to have resulted from a lack of familiarity with Fullerton's philosophical writings; part, from some doubts about his German-language skills. The bulk of the resistance, however, seems to have resulted from a reluctance on the part of the Faculty Senate – apparently fed by some earlier honorary professorship cases that had turned out badly – to welcome as a professor an individual who did not have a long relationship with the University.[16] In the face of this resistance, Fullerton eventually withdrew his candidacy in a gracious hand-written letter to the Royal Bavarian Internal State Ministry for Church and Social Affairs. After indicating his sense of the honor of the nomination and his gratitude to the members of the Philosophical Faculty for recommending him, Fullerton, writing in English, emphasizes that "I should be very unwilling to accept the honor of the appointment if I believed that it could cause the slightest embarrassment to the Senate or to the Faculty, or if it could give the least annoyance to any of my colleagues." He notes that his administrative experience in

America had taught him the importance of collegiality in academic life. "I have met with so much kindness and courtesy from German scholars, both in Munich and elsewhere, that I prize their good-feeling more highly than any appointment," he continues, "I beg, therefore, that they may understand that I have no wish to put myself forward, and would much rather quietly withdraw than cause them any perplexity, or add any complication to their already difficult task of ruling a great University."[17] This episode offers a clear indication of Fullerton's respect for things German and of some level of respect for Fullerton on the part of German academics at the midpoint of his approximately two decades in Germany.

## V

The next important theme is the background to the publication of the volume, *The Truth about the German Nation*, and the American version, *Germany of To-day*. Fullerton wrote the book while living in the Munich area during the early stages of the War; and, contrary to the suggestions of the *Times* obituary, this book did not outrage the German authorities. In fact, they were behind its publication.

To begin to get a better sense of this background, we can consider the letter of Counsel General Thiel of the Central Office for Foreign Service in Berlin to Professor Ernst Sieper, another of Fullerton's friends and a professor of *Anglistik* at the University of Munich of 18 May 1915.[18] In this letter, Thiel writes of Fullerton that "through his formulation of matters German, the author has performed an extraordinarily valuable service. The Central Office is most interested in bringing about the dissemination of this book." Thiel indicates that the Central Office would bear the costs for printing the volume in Germany and then divide any potential receipts with the publisher. His intention at this point was to distribute a large number – perhaps five hundred – copies of the book gratis, with the Imperial Treasury also paying the costs of distributing the volumes. He writes that the exact number of copies "will depend upon the special possibilities for using the work for particular propaganda purposes." One target that he foresaw for these free books was to be the "leading members of Congress and other educated persons in the United States." Thiel also expressed his concern that Fullerton's book find a publisher in the United States.[19]

The American edition of Fullerton's book, entitled *Germany of To-day*, was published with the assistance of a Mr. Pagenstecher, a friend of Fullerton's German publisher, Paul Oldenbourg, and William R. Shepherd of Columbia University. Oldenbourg – an uncle of Sieper – introduces the pre-publication copy of *The Truth about the German Nation* that he had sent to Pagenstecher on 7 June 1915 by indicating that Fullerton's work "without a doubt is completely suitable for eliminating the false impression about us Germans, and especially about our so-called 'militarism,' that exists in the United States." Moreover, it was written by an American: "this book is not simply sent into the world from the lectern of a self-important German professor, like so many clumsy books that have no recognition of, or feel for, American ways of thinking . . . Professor Fullerton's book has set just the right tone." Oldenbourg requests Pagenstecher to find a publisher – preferably "a completely American, rather than a German-American, publisher" – "whose independent voice has not yet been drowned in the sea of lies that has flooded American from the naval-power England." Oldenbourg notes that Fullerton had declined any royalties on the volume, and indicates that his

publishing house is "prepared if necessary to pay the printing costs." These costs were to be reimbursed, presumably, by the Central Office for Foreign Service. Given these favorable circumstances, Oldenbourg does not feel it out of place to impose the following provision: "The only condition that I must put on the publishing house would be that it send a free copy to all members of Congress and Senators, and be ready to send a few additional free copies to some specific addresses later." Oldenbourg indicates that there is some urgency to Pagenstecher's task. He notes that, lest the book be seen as a German export, "Professor Fullerton's book is yet to be announced here in Germany, and it will not be announced until it is released in America." The copy that Oldenbourg had sent Pagenstecher was thus one of the very few that would leave his publishing firm "until I have received notice from you that the book has appeared in the United States." At that point, Oldenbourg indicates, "I will welcome the news and release the book here in Germany approximately one week later."[20]

On 4 October 1915, Shepherd writes to Pagenstecher in English that he had just signed a contract with Bobbs Merrill for the publication of Fullerton's book. The contract required an up-front payment of $1,000 to Bobbs Merrill for preparing five thousand copies of the book. The publisher was to release the book within two months and advertise and sell it in an ordinary fashion so that it would be successful. If the trade edition sold well at $1 a copy, a popular edition would follow at 50¢ a copy. The publisher would pay Fullerton a 12½% royalty on the first two thousand copies and 25% after that, with the usual exclusion for author and complimentary copies, and discount sales. Although there is no record to be found of this payment, or of the ultimate source of the funds, the volume appeared from Bobbs Merrill late the next month.[21]

On 7 December 1915, Oldenbourg writes to Fullerton in Munich announcing that, following the November publication of *Germany of To-day* in America, *The Truth about the German Nation* had been released in Germany.[22] Oldenbourg perhaps included a copy of the advertisement that he had placed in the *Business News of the German Book Trade* the day before. This advertisement points out that Fullerton's volume "offers Americans in a popular presentation a clear picture of our constitution, our social legislation, and most of all the military organization of our Fatherland." About Fullerton's qualifications, Oldenbourg had written: "The author, who stems from one of the oldest American families and who is active as a professor of philosophy at Columbia University in New York City . . . knows Germany, where he has also been an exchange professor, from his personal experience and from decades of affectionate study." Oldenbourg notes in particular that this American professor is "full of deep appreciation for the strength of Germany that flows from inner sources, for the organization of our government that confirms itself as a government *for* the people in far higher levels than in the democratic Anglo-Saxon countries, and for the unsurpassed status of the German army."[23]

Oldenbourg's letter continues with a promise to Fullerton that, despite the appearance of *The Truth about the German Nation* during the Christmas season, he would do all that he could "to turn the attention of the public to your splendid book." After advising Fullerton about the procedures for handling the copies intended for free distribution, Oldenbourg closes with a statement of his own deep appreciation. "I cannot allow the announcement of the appearance of your book pass, my dear Professor, without expressing – not as your publisher but rather as a German citizen – how uncommonly highly I treasure your volume from a patriotic standpoint." Oldenbourg's appreciation continues: "If, as I hope and believe, your book opens the eyes of many in

your country about our much slandered Fatherland, you will thereby have performed an eternal service."[24]

While Oldenbourg's formulation may be over-the-top, the sentiment that he expresses in this letter would seem to reflect the appropriate German reading of *The Truth About the German Nation*. Is it possible that anyone in the German government, even under the pressures of wartime, could have interpreted Fullerton's writings as dangerous to the German war-effort and consequently ordered his internment?

## VI

Another possible source of information is Fullerton's correspondence during the War. Prior to my year in Munich, I had consulted the collection of wartime letters between Fullerton and Nicholas Murray Butler, the president of Columbia University, that were written between 26 August 1914 and 22 December 1916. In a letter of 23 June 1915, Fullerton promises to forward a copy of his forthcoming volume, *The Truth about the German Nation*, which was intended, he writes, to strengthen international understanding and foster conciliation. On 2 March 1916, Fullerton writes to Butler that, after approximately eighteen months of war, things were going about as well as could be expected in Germany, that Americans are well treated, and that his only real inconvenience had come from the British interference with the mail traveling on neutral ships. Fullerton's later letters to Butler discuss his efforts on behalf of the Red Cross, the general suffering of the German people, his wife's medical problems and his consequent inability to return to New York City, his willingness to resign from Columbia,[25] and, repeatedly, how well he and the other Americans were being treated in Munich.[26] It is possible to maintain, of course, that these letters from Fullerton in wartime Germany are themselves part of an elaborate charade, and that the interned philosopher was writing these upbeat letters under duress; but there is no corroborating evidence for this interpretation.

There is, instead, a considerable amount of evidence that indicates that Fullerton was not interned. We can consider, for example, a trio of letters that Fullerton wrote to the German authorities that indicate that, while he was living under some restrictions, he was traveling in the Munich area until at least early 1918 – and probably until the very end of the War. Fullerton writes to the Immigration Office at Royal Police Headquarters on 18 October 1916, for example, requesting "an exemption from the requirement to register when traveling or making short trips within the district of the Royal Bavarian First Army Corps for myself and for my wife, Julia W. Fullerton." This permission was granted. On 29 August 1917, Fullerton writes directly to a Captain Roth of the Central Command in Munich, indicating that they are about to return to Munich from their summer residence in Oberammergau and requesting that he and his wife "be freed from the standard duty to register in Munich" because of their ongoing medical problems. This request was also granted. On 28 March 1918, Fullerton again writes directly to Captain Roth, requesting "that my wife and I be permitted to spend eight days in May in Kempten, and fourteen days in July on Lake Tegern, for the purpose of a medical recovery." In this letter, Fullerton continues that, "with the kind permission of the General Command of the First Bavarian Army Corps," they had been allowed (as we have just seen) to spend the summer of 1917 in his villa in nearby Oberammergau. His wife's medical condition – she had had an appendicitis operation and other difficulties

– and the lack of proper care facilities in Oberammergau would make a similar trip there unadvisable this summer. For this reason, Fullerton was requesting to be allowed to travel to more favorable locales. This request seems to have been granted as well. In support of his latter two letters, Fullerton provides a long list of individuals in the Bavarian Army and Government, the Munich Government, the University of Munich and the local business world as character witnesses.[27]

These documents could all be fabrications as well, although it is inconceivable to me that Fullerton would merit such an elaborate charade. As far as I can tell, Fullerton and his wife lived through the war years in the Munich area under the prevailing difficult conditions; but there was no internment or mistreatment. Fullerton's high regard for Germany and its people continued after the War when, as the registration documents indicate, he and his wife returned to the Munich area for an extended stay in 1921.[28]

## VII

The final piece of evidence that I can offer to counter the claim that Fullerton was interned and abused in Austria and Germany during the War is the death notice that was published in Munich's *Neueste Nachrichten* on 31 March 1925. The main theme of this notice is lament over the recent suicide of a great friend of Germany. It details Fullerton's tireless efforts during the early stages of the War; and, while it itself contains numerous claims that must be seen as inaccurate in the light of the other evidence that I have gathered – for example, that Fullerton was expelled from Munich after the Americans entered the War in 1917 – it contradicts the claim of internment. I reprint this death notice in full.

### Prof. George Fullerton †

> Professor George Stuart Fullerton of Columbia University in New York City, a well-known and highly valued personality in Munich, departed this life by his own hand on March 23rd. Fullerton, 66 years of age, committed suicide in his home in Poughkeepsie. He had suffered for a number of years from a nervous disorder; and, under the influence of his insanity, he hanged himself while his wife was out of the room.
>
> This tragic end of an esteemed teacher has produced heartfelt sympathy in Munich because Professor Fullerton was an ardent friend of the German people. He came in the summer of 1914 as exchange professor from Vienna to Munich. The outbreak of the War prevented him from taking up his teaching duties. Nevertheless, he remained quite active. In association with the former American Consul General Gaffney, Professor and Mrs. Franz Jung, and other Americans who were living in Munich, he founded the American Hospital in Prinz-Ludwigstraße. This hospital afforded numerous wounded men admission and care. He also distributed large amounts of bandages and hospital linen that were received from the American Red Cross. In a private magazine called *American Notes*, Professor Fullerton also published a series of articles in which he opposed the actions of his country in delivering war materiel and assorted food supplies to the enemies of Germany, actions that

contradicted all neutrality. Further, a stirring protest signed by the numerous Americans living here was sent to Washington.

Among the articles that Fullerton published, the following are prominent: "The Meaning of German Militarism," "Why the German Nation Has Gone to War," and an additional article opposing the transgressions of the neutrality that America had assured. Thousands of copies of these articles were sent to his friends and acquaintances in America to offer some truth to counter the dishonest reports of the enemy. Professor Fullerton and his wife spent the summers in Oberammergau, with which so many Americans had fallen in love, and where he was a well-known and esteemed guest.

When America officially declared war on Germany in February 1917, Professor Fullerton had to leave Munich. He was one of the few who had remained in Germany up to the last minute. Before his departure, he delivered a letter from the departing Americans to Munich's Lord Mayor Dr. v. Borscht and to the commanding officer of the city. In this letter, they expressed their deepest sympathy for Germany and their sincere admiration for the courage and the self-control of the German people. They also gave recognition to the hospitality that the citizens of Munich had showed so many Americans in difficult times. In this letter, special emphasis was placed upon the fact that during this horrible crisis the Americans had felt just as safe in Munich as in their own country. Professor Fullerton departed Munich with the most friendly impression, and numerous friends and acquaintances escorted him to his train.

We have emphasized these facts, which can be confirmed by numerous witnesses including Lord Mayor Dr. v. Borscht, because the Paris edition of the *New York Herald* of March 24th has connected Professor Fullerton's mental illness, and further his death, to his supposed internment in a prison camp in Munich. He was, according to this report, so badly treated here that he returned to America in broken health. These assertions completely contradict the truth and constitute a slander against the German people. The truth is that Professor Fullerton was not interned in Munich or anywhere else in Germany during the War, and that he left Munich in the best of condition. He admitted himself that his stay in Munich, and especially in Oberammergau, had done wonders for his health. It is very deplorable that the American newspapers continue to feed anti-German sentiments with such false reports.[29]

## VIII

These assorted, and themselves unrelated, pieces of evidence from numerous archival sources in Munich lead me to believe that Fullerton – as I had suspected – was not interned or mistreated in Germany during the War. He suffered, of course, as did many others who were caught up in the War. Restrictions on travel, limitations on communication, rationing of foodstuffs, and difficulties accessing money from abroad were aspects of their everyday life. For those with medical problems, including Fullerton

and especially his wife, life was harder still. Yet Fullerton, while an enemy alien, was respected and continued to be treated as a true friend of the German people.

There is still much to be resolved. For example, while it is surely safe to say that the internment and abuse story is false, we can still wonder about its origin and when it began to be circulated. Was it perhaps developed by Fullerton, or his American supporters, in an attempt to explain away his time in Germany when he returned at the end of the War? Or was it perhaps extrapolated by deadline-pressed reporters from the fragmentary comments of well-meaning neighbors after his suicide? Or was the internment and abuse story perhaps part of the mentally failing Fullerton's unconscious compensation for his feelings of guilt over having misunderstood the War. Or was it perhaps simply fabricated at his death by the American newspapers as part of an ongoing anti-German campaign?[30] It seems likely at this point that no clarification of the internment and abuse story will ever emerge.

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Toledo, Ohio

## Notes

[1] "DR. G. S. FULLERTON COMMITS SUICIDE," *New York Times*, 24 March 1925.

[2] "PROF. FULLERTON, PHILOSOPHER, VASSAR SUICIDE," *New York Herald Tribune*, 24 March 1925.

[3] Cf. *Philadelphia Inquirer, Philadelphia Public Ledger,* and *Washington Post*, all of 24 March 1925.

[4] Fullerton File, Columbia University Archives.

[5] Fullerton, *Die amerikanischen Hochschulen* (Wien: K. Tempsky & Leipzig: G. Freytag, 1914). See also: Fullerton, "Impressions of Austrian University Life," *Columbia University Quarterly*, 17 (December 1914): 27-39.

[6] Fullerton File, Columbia University Archives.

[7] An earlier version of the next section appears in my volume, *A Thoughtful Profession: The Early Years of the American Philosophical Association* (LaSalle, IL: Open Court, 2006), 214-17.

[8] *Germany of To-day* (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill, 1915), iii-vi.

[9] *Ibid.*, 1, 8, 14-15.

[10] *Ibid.*, 26, 33, 35-36, 55.

[11] *Ibid.*, 60, 81, 55-56, 86-87.

[12] *Ibid.*, 135, 1, 150-51, 158.

[13] *Ibid.*, 161-62, 173, 181.

[14] I am very grateful for the assistance that I received at the following archives in Munich: Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv; Bayerisches Wirtschaftsarchiv; Kriegsarchiv München; and Universitätsarchiv, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität. Except where noted, all of the materials are originally in German. The translations are my own.

[15] Lipps to the Philosophische Facultät (31 December 1908, 11 March 1909), Universitätsarchiv, E-VII-10.

[16] Dekan H. Granert to Akademischer Senat (14 February 1909); Rektor von Bollinger to Philosophische Facultät (25 February 1909); Granert to Senat (13 March 1909); von Bollinger to K. Staatsministerium des Innern für Kirchen- und Schulangelegenheiten (10 May 1909), Universitätsarchiv, E-VII-10; Staatsministerium to Senat (20 May 1909), Universitätsarchiv, O-N-14 (Fullerton); von Bollinger to Staatsministerium (15 June 1909), Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, MK-11344; and Staatsministerium to Senat (7 July 1909), Universitätsarchiv, E-VII-10.

[17] Fullerton to Kultusministerium (22 June 1909), Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, MK-11344.

[18] In a letter of 25 November 1915 to LTC. von Sonnenburg of the Ministry of War, Sieper claims that Fullerton had prepared *The Truth about the German Nation* "according to an outline that I had devised." He also reports that he had prepared a German translation to appear under the title, *Die Wahrheit über Deutschland* (Sieper to Oberstleutnant v. Sonnenburg [25 November 1915], Kriegsarchiv München, Mkr 13871). Sieper later claimed to have written *The Truth about the German Nation* himself ("Memorandum by Dr. Kanner of a Conversation with Professor Sieper, July 13, 1915," *Fall of the German Empire, 1914-1918*, ed. Ralph Haswell Lutz, [Stanford: Stanford UP, 1932], two volumes, 1:78-79). While the former claim may have some validity, the latter has none.

[19] Generalkonsul Thiel, Zentralstelle für Auslandsdienst, to Ernst Sieper (18 May 1915), Bayerisches Wirtschaftsarchiv, F5 / 20.

[20] Paul Oldenbourg to Pagenstecher (7 June 1915), Bayerisches Wirtschaftsarchiv, F5 / 20.

[21] William R. Shepherd to Pagenstecher (4 October 1915), Bayerisches Wirtschaftsarchiv, F5 / 20.

[22] Fullerton, *The Truth about the German Nation* (Munich & Berlin: R. Oldenbourg, 1915). This book was also translated into German and French: *Die Wahrheit über Deutschland*, tr. Ernst Sieper, (Munich & Berlin: R. Oldenbourg, 1916); *La Vérité sur la nation allemande* (Brussels: A. Norz, 1916).

[23] *Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel*, 6 December 1915, Bayerisches Wirtschaftsarchiv, F5 / 20.

[24] Paul Oldenbourg to Fullerton (7 December 1915), Bayerisches Wirtschaftsarchiv, F5 / 20.

[25] Columbia University records list his resignation date as 30 June 1917.

[26] Fullerton File, Columbia University Archives.

[27] Fullerton File, Kriegsarchiv München, 1. Armee-Korps 2025.

[28] Summary of Fullerton's Fremdenkartothekkarte, Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, MK-11344.

[29] *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*, Number 89 (31 March 1925), Universitätsarchiv, O-N-14 (Fullerton).

[30] For aspects of this campaign, and its aftermath, readers may want to consult: Kuno Francke, *A German-American's Confession of Faith* (NY: Huebsch, 1915); William Roscoe Thayer, ed., *Out of Their Own Mouths* (NY: Appleton, 1917); Hermann Hagedorn, *Where Do You Stand? An Appeal to Americans of German Origin* (NY: Macmillan, 1918); *The University of Chicago War Papers*, I-VIII (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1918); Clifton James Child, *The German-Americans in Politics, 1914-1917* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1939); and Frederick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I* (DeKalb IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974).

Gregory Knott

# *Felix Austria*, or: Modernism and the Success of the Austrian Presence at the 1904 World's Fair[1]

"Was Berlin von Wien auf den ersten Blick unterscheidet, ist die Beobachtung, daß man dort [in Berlin] eine täuschende Wirkung mit dem wertlosesten Material erzielt, während hier [in Wien] zum Kitsch nur echtes verwendet wird."[2] This quotation from Karl Kraus does not explicitly address the World's Fair in St. Louis, but it does provide an interesting starting point for comparing the German and Austrian participation at the Fair. Without wanting to read too much into Kraus's claim, one can draw clear parallels. Germany had, in fact, created a "*täuschende Wirkung*" with its reconstruction of *Schloß Charlottenburg*, which was made of the worthless, temporary material developed specifically for the buildings on the exposition grounds. In doing this, Germany had followed a particularly conservative directive from the Emperor.[3] Austria pursued a much different plan of action in regard to its government's official contribution, focusing on contemporary, modernist style when designing its pavilion and assembling its cultural displays. The unofficial representation of the country at the Tyrolean Village, on the other hand, provided a stark contrast to this, emphasizing stereotypical images of rural and imperial life, in a decidedly unmodern depiction of the country. The three most significant cultural elements constituting the *königlich-kaiserliche* presence provide evidence of the approaches that formed this dichotomy and illustrate how Austria's representation succeeded by marrying the disparate levels at the Fair: the pavilion, the display items, and the German and Tyrolean Alps, which had formed an important part of the Pike.[4]

For the purposes of this analysis, modernism embodies a general principle, rather than a specific movement, such as Viennese Modernism, with which one could associate the idea of modernism in this context. Following the arguments of Matei Calinescu, modernism requires a belief in the linear progression of time coupled with development within that time. Two conflicting ideas of modernism emerge in Western culture, but both ideas share a belief in the possibility of progress, either in a material-technical or in an aesthetic sense.[5] The modernism discussed here implies both ideas. That is, that the organizers of the Austrian participation believed in technical progress, as displayed in the educational, railway, industrial goods, and technical exhibits. The organizing committee also felt strongly about the value of aesthetic progress, as evidenced by the stylistic choices of the pavilion and art exhibits. The inclusion of both types of modernism and progress allowed Austria to stand apart from other nations that emphasized tradition.

Before coming to the individual components of the Fair, an introduction to the history of Austria's participation will provide some useful background information. Unlike its neighbor to the north, Austria, still under the rule of Emperor Franz Joseph, only committed to participating in the Fair at the last minute, waiting until June 18, 1903,

to send a telegraph to the organizing committee in St. Louis confirming this, which made it one of the last European nations to do so.[6] As part of the efforts to convince Austria to participate in the Exposition, Francis also sent Charles W. Kohlsaat, representative to the Scandinavian countries, to Vienna to speak on his behalf.[7] The country's delay had even caused the *World's Fair Bulletin* to conclude that Austria's "people seem loth [sic] to exhibit their products in America," which led it to state that "Russia and Austria seem to be the countries where it is advisable our most energetic efforts be put forth."[8] Since this statement did not appear in the *Bulletin* until the August 1903 issue, however, it would appear that some confusion on the part of the organizers or press department may have clouded the reporting on the matter. Chevalier Albert von Stibral, head of the government's post and telegraph department, served as the Commissioner-General, the person charged with directing the Austrian government's activities at the Fair.[9] Charles M. Rosenthal, of Vienna, served as the Executive Commissioner of the Commercial Commission, and a group of craftsmen, businessmen, and intellectuals from Vienna and Bohemia assisted him in his efforts.[10]

The documentation of the World's Fair does not specify why Austria hesitated, but the general atmosphere of *Ausstellungsmüdigkeit* and internal political turmoil could both have caused this.[11] The lack of interest in such exhibitions resulted from recent events in Paris, Chicago, Buffalo, and other cities. The political troubles resulted from leadership conflicts and the cornucopia of nationalities represented in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, "all of whom looked elsewhere for their future prospects." According to Eric Hobsbawm, the country was "held together only by the longevity of her ancient emperor [Franz] Joseph . . . and by being less undesirable than any alternative fate for a number of the national groups."[12] One can speculate endlessly on the relations between the national groups, of course, but concrete evidence of a split comes from the participation at the Fair, which presented Austria and select provinces, but not Hungary, which had its own representation.

The Austrian government provided $220,000 (over 1,000,000 Austrian Kronen, or about 4.4 million US Dollars in today's equivalent figure) for construction and display costs, which also provided for a railway exhibit.[13] According to the *World's Fair Bulletin*, "a special attempt" was to be made "to show what the country can do in the way of interior decoration, and of art and the applied arts."[14] As it turned out,

> [t]he preparation of Austria's exhibits was begun so late that the idea of a full representation of her arts and industries was abandoned, and the displays were confined to a few select lines of private enterprise and a few representative features of the Government's activities in the way of internal improvements, education, etc.[15]

The restricted scope of the display forced the organizers to concentrate on the most important cultural developments of the time, which they saw, among other things, in the Secessionist style of *moderne Kunst*, which the design of the national pavilion displays. In spite of the claim of the *Gartenlaube,* a bourgeois German journal of the time, that the Austrians "bieten wenig Neues, sondern so ziemlich das Nämliche, was sie in Chicago und Paris zur Schau gestellt hatten," the country offered many new developments, both in cultural and technological respects.[16]

The country's displays filled the Austrian pavilion and spread into other palaces,

as well. Ludwig Baumann served as Chief Architect of the Austrian Pavilion, which he designed and had manufactured in Austria. In January, 1904 the entire structure came by ship with Austrian Lloyd from Trieste across the Atlantic, arriving at the port in New Orleans and then coming via train to St. Louis. The same contractor who erected the French pavilion also assumed responsibility for the Austrian structure.[17] The building occupied the space just south of where Washington University's Whitaker Hall now stands, i.e., on the parking lot in front of Brookings Hall. The dedication of the building took place on June 2, 1904, in a ceremony attended by about 1,000 guests, including prominent citizens of St. Louis, representatives of the Austrian government, and Miss Alice Roosevelt, daughter of the American President, Theodore.[18]

The Pavilion itself by no means fits in with Kraus's claim about Viennese kitsch, although its *art nouveau* design was "not appreciated by all of the visitors [who were] more familiar with the classical architecture" of most other pavilions.[19] The style, also

Fig. 1. Austrian Pavilion

known as "*Moderne Kunst,*" convinced many critics, and the architect won a gold medal for its design in spite of such reservations.[20] It also stood out among other pavilions for its style, and was described in a 1905 history of the Fair as: "a fine specimen of the new European architecture in the so-called secession style . . . wholly unlike any other structure on the grounds."[21] While the structure does not entirely follow the motto of the style of the day, as expressed by Baumann's fellow Viennese architect Otto Wagner, "*artis sola domina necessitas,*" it generally emphasized clean lines and functional design.[22] The $50,000 building had a "t-shape," consisting of a great hall and two other chambers with two broad wings. According to the official Austrian guide, the pavilion measured

60 by 35 meters, with a middle aisle of 24 meters width extending from the transepts to the building line.[23] The great hall, into which visitors entered, prominently displayed a marble bust of Emperor Franz Joseph, which a certain Professor Strasser[24] had designed and made. *The Greatest of Expositions* describes the pavilion as follows:

> [t]he exterior decorations consist of bas relief ornament, statues, and fresco paintings . . . The wide front door opens into a reception hall . . . Opening off this hall are two beautifully furnished salons, the one a library and the other a drawing room. The next three rooms are filled with models, panoramic views and photographs showing the work of the Austrian Imperial Rail and Waterway Commission. The remaining six rooms are filled with works of art from the two *Kunstgewerbe* schools and the four art societies of Austria, Poland and Bohemia.[25]

The impression made on the individual guests varied greatly, of course. Upon touring the Austrian Pavilion, visitor Edmund Philibert commented that "some of the rooms had beautiful paneling and inlaying on the side walls." The lace collection impressed him much more, however, and he marvels at two different points in his diaries about the expensive handkerchiefs, which cost as much as $175. He also praises the Austrian glassware displays, which included Bohemian works, at several points in his writings.[26] Other guests, such as the above-mentioned Frank Lloyd Wright, praised the pavilion's decorative and architectural style.

It should also be noted that the above-mentioned division of the Austro-Hungarian Empire into a Hungarian section and the remaining parts of the monarchy, including Bohemia and Poland, existed throughout the Fair and in other events, such as the Olympics, as well. One representative at the Arts and Science Congress, Count Albert Apponyi, a member of the Hungarian Parliament, spoke at length on this political and cultural division. His presentation, "The Juridical [*sic*] Nature of the Relations between Austria and Hungary," not surprisingly concluded that Hungary was "not subject to any other kingdom or nation." Apponyi delivered the presentation in a bizarre style of English, in which he also apologized for being unable to prepare adequately for the speech, because he had not learned that he would be giving a presentation in St. Louis until he had already left Hungary.[27]

Rooms in the pavilion featured a variety of themes. One section of the pavilion focused on the "instructive exhibit of models, designs, paintings, photographs and panoramas of railway and other engineering works." This area also featured information on the local waterways, such as the ice prevention measures on the Danube canal in Vienna. Civil engineers, in particular, came to view these displays, among them the Engineers' Club of St. Louis, which organized a visit for over 100 members on June 25. Other interesting rooms included a collection of photographs of mountains, villages and tourist resort scenery in rural Austria and an exhibit on the country's technical schools. Austria went to great lengths to publicize its schools, informing the visitors about the over 40 technical schools it maintained to further craftsmanship and industrial progress.[28] The pavilion fell to the wrecking ball after the fair, but a gate from it, albeit in a different style and form, still remains in St. Louis, decorating the Blessed Sacrament Chapel in the Cathedral Basilica of St. Louis on Lindell Boulevard.[29]

Because of space limitations in the Art Palace, which housed national exhibits from

the participating countries, Austria's art display took place in both the Art Palace and the Austrian Pavilion, a division which also affected other nations, such as Hungary.[30] The Austrian collection included 500 items, among them paintings, sculptures and assorted artisan crafts. This amounted to about 5 percent of the total of all countries, a slightly larger presence than Holland, but containing 142 fewer works than Germany's collection.[31] In the Art Palace itself, Austria displayed 154 paintings.[32] The two Austrian exhibition rooms in the Art Palace garnered strong praise in the Art Department's guide to the galleries. It claims,

> In no section of the department is there greater harmony in the scheme of color in the decoration of the galleries than in Austria. The wall colors are delicate in tone, and vary from a strong straw color of a slightly grayish tone to a tender mauve. Broken purples and deep greys have also been used, the surfaces broken by figures woven in silk. The friezes are of a similar tone to the wall color . . . Students or others interested in household decoration could well devote time and study to the scheme of color and method of treatment followed in this series of galleries.[33]

This point regarding Austria's successful implementation of design and style gains further strength from Frank Lloyd Wright's praise of the country's pavilion. Wright had visited the Fair as a 37-year-old, who had never traveled outside the U.S., and observed that the Austrian structure exhibited particularly successful architectural conception. The Fair also displayed a building by Joseph Maria Olbrich, a Viennese architect who had designed the Secession Building, which had been built in Vienna in 1898. Olbrich had also participated in the developments of the *Secession*, and his "Summer House of an Art Connoisseur," constructed for the Palace of Varied Industries, demonstrated this quite well. As a result of the style at the Fair, among other things, many other structures in St. Louis later took on Secessionist characteristics, including homes in the city's Central West End neighborhood and the Wednesday Club.[34]

Some of the countries featured artists who had or have acquired international fame, such as Switzerland's Arnold Böcklin, whose *Sappho* was displayed in the Art Palace. Austria apparently did not have any artists of major significance or international fame represented in its collection, and artists such as Gustav Klimt, who had already established a name for himself in Austria and parts of Europe, did not exhibit their works in St. Louis.[35] The grand prize for painting and drawing did, however, go to Walter Hampel, a relatively minor member of the Hagenbund, also known as the Ha(a)gener Gesellschaft, a group of Viennese artists of the time. Hampel had been born in Vienna in 1867, where he established himself as a painter in a group at the beginning of the *Wiener Secession* movement.[36] He studied under Professor Hans Makart in Vienna and made several trips to Italy, France and Germany "for the purpose of artistic study." His award-winning painting, "The Dwarf and the Woman" is supposed to illustrate a scene from an Arabian Nights tale. The Art Department guide claims "the woman is beautifully drawn and the flesh-painting is superb."[37]

The sculpture section's grand prize went to Kaspar Ritter von Zumbusch, a Westfalian German who had been ennobled by the Emperor of Austria for his artistic achievements. Zumbusch had gained renown for his "Empress Theresa" sculpture in Vienna, as well as the Maximilian monument in Munich. In St. Louis he won with his

"Equestrian Statue of Field Marshal Radetsky [*sic*]," "a work of great dignity" which stood in front of the war office in Vienna.[38] This work of course takes on a much different significance today than one hundred years ago in light of subsequent work on Radetzky.

The Austrian presence at the Fair takes on a much different cast with respect to unofficial actions. The German and Tyrolean Alps exhibit on the Pike, which also featured a zoo exhibit by Carl Hagenbeck, a building with scenes from the afterlife, and many other extremely diverse offerings, provided a marked contrast to the refined official presentation of Austria and the professional commercial displays by its industrial representatives. Both of these groups sought to advertise the merits of Austrian culture and industry in their displays, as has already been discussed. In the German and Tyrolean Alps, on the other hand, the organizers' efforts focused much more on showing German-American friendship, according to the *World's Fair Bulletin*. The April 1904 edition stated, "The spirit of patriotic ardor and civic pride, which are the abiding principles of the German-American character, have prompted every expenditure. St. Louis wants the Tyrolean Alps to tell the story of the St. Louisan's affection for the old country and faith in the new home."[39] The Alps functioned as a hybrid exhibit both with regard to the host country as well as their place of origin, Germany and Austria. The content of German and Austrian folk traditions, such as the *Passionsspiel* in Oberammergau, or *Schuhplattler* dancing, respectively, attempted to utilize any means necessary to draw visitors.

The German and Tyrolean Alps complex, which was completed on April 25, ended up quite extravagant and large.[40] Hermann Knauer served as Chief Architect for the project, which constructed mountains, including the Zugspitze and the Ortler range, as its backdrop. On the main street of the town, dancers and other performers demonstrated

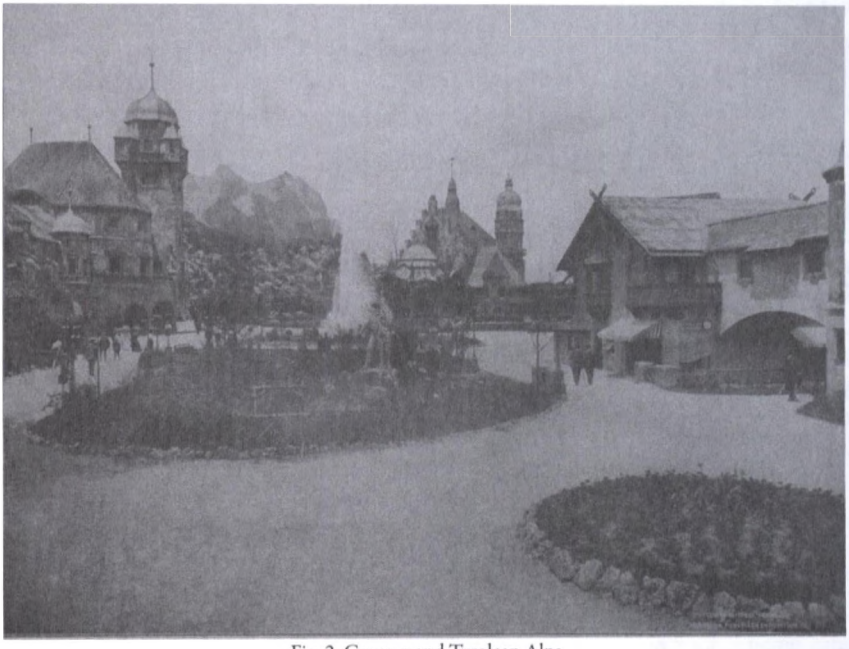

Fig. 2. German and Tyrolean Alps

typical Austrian customs. Underneath and around the mountains there was a model railway. A church, a town hall, a statue of Andreas Hofer and numerous murals rounded out the picture. The site occupied a 500 square foot area and subscriptions totaled nearly $1,000,000, with the funds coming from American businessmen and the Austrian region of Tyrol, which hoped to boost its tourist industry.[41] Austrian artist Joseph Rummelspacher and a team of twelve men painted the panorama of the Alps over a three-year period and then sent them to St. Louis from Berlin. The customs fees for the paintings apparently came to more than the value of the works upon their entry to the U.S.[42] Hermann Feuerhahn sculpted the Alps in the exhibit, including the Ortler peak and the Zugspitze. These mountains do not lie next to each other, since the Zugspitze is on the border between Germany and Austria and the Ortler is in South Tyrol, but the planners nevertheless included both of them as part of their pan-alpine display, presumably because more visitors would recognize the names. People celebrating the *Richtfest* of the German Pavilion also toured the site of the German-Tyrolean Alps on December 10, 1903, and construction on the project ended before the beginning of the Fair, a deadline which many exhibits and structures did not meet.[43]

The structures remained standing until 1907, when their decay became too great and the entire complex was demolished by a crew of approximately 180 men.[44] The crew dismantled the structure, which had holes in the roof allowing snow to enter into the structures, by hand over a lengthy period of time. Two natives of Tyrol who had emigrated to the U.S. many years earlier worked among the demolition crew, George Snitzer and Frank Schiebe. They found the representation of the Tyrolean Alps quite accurate, in spite of its odd combination of disparate elements, and expressed sadness at its loss. Snitzer stated, "I hate to see it [one particular peak] go, although it means more money for me. It seems a shame that such a good imitation of the most wonderful mountains in the world should be torn down like any old warehouse."[45] Snitzer and the others completed their work as ordered, however, although Snitzer reportedly took time to show off for visitors by putting a 368-pound bar above his head six times.

The Alps complex attempted to showcase typical Austrian scenes by referring to a number of general motifs of Tyrolean life as well as specific cultural institutions found there. Rudolf Cronau mentions in the *Gartenlaube* that the exhibit features the *Goldenes Dachl* in Innsbruck and a church and cloister in Bozen (Bolzano), among other notable architectural references.[46] The *Dominikanerkirche* had stood in central Bozen since 1270 and featured frescoes by the Giotto school of painters, among them one of the triumph of death.[47] In addition to this, the buildings also featured "ancient Hanse council chambers" with Bacchus figures, which fit quite well with the activities in the main restaurant hall. Presumably, the *Globe Democrat* did not have its facts straight with the claim about the "Hanse" chamber, since the Hanseatic League did not extend into the various regions represented in the German-Tyrolean Alps.

The artwork in the Tyrolean Village concentrated on scenes of rural life, depicting them in a traditional, conservative manner. Joseph Rummelspacher created some of the most important works, as already mentioned. In addition, Austrian artists Franz von Defreger, Mathias Schmid and others contributed to the collection, which in part returned to Europe after being housed in the Tyrolean national society, a local club for emigrants from that region, for some time. Much of the artwork ended up being sold in St. Louis and around the U.S., however. The paintings had an estimated value of around $200,000 at the time, which would translate to about $3,800,000 at today's prices.[48]

Various summer gardens throughout the country were expected to buy them. The clock from the tower of the municipal building and the other arts and crafts from it found new owners within the city of St. Louis, functioning as decorations in the homes of many local citizens.[49]

Two attractions in particular drew visitors, one cultural and one culinary. The *Ober Ammergau Passion Play* produced the famous religious piece from the southern German town for those "millions and millions who have not had the opportunity, time or means to visit Ober Ammergau." Professor Emil Gobbers, of Düsseldorf, directed the production, as he had in 1900 in Oberammergau. The *World's Fair Bulletin* used reviews from German newspapers in Breslau, Danzig and Cologne to advertise the event. The other major attraction at the German and Tyrolean Alps was the Tyrolean Alps Restaurant, run by August Lüchow, of New York, and A. E. "Tony" Faust, of St. Louis. Lüchow had already proved his mettle at the 1901 exposition in Buffalo, and Faust added his excellent reputation in St. Louis to the mix. [50]

The massive facility offered seating for 8,000 people and could hold and feed up to 20,000 guests, including the outdoor and standing capacity. The largest wine cellars in America and numerous "Tyrolese" concerts also aimed to lure in guests. One of the great dining halls attempted to reconstruct the banquet hall in the castle of Ambras, a princely seat near Innsbruck. In the original hall, the Archduke Ferdinand wed the Augsburg patrician maiden Philipine Welser in 1581.[51] The restaurants catered to a wide variety of people, both notable celebrities and average people. David Francis, organizer of the Fair, took no chances when Alice Roosevelt visited, dining with her in the huge restaurant beneath the Alps. On the final day of the Fair, Francis, along with his wife Jane, Director of Works Isaac Taylor and others, had a long dinner at the Tyrolean Alps just before proceeding to address a crowd of over 100,000 people in the final act of the Fair.[52]

In addition to the fares of the restaurant, a number of other elements contributed to the Tyrolean atmosphere. These included a "grand orchestra of 80 men," which regularly played in musical contests at the Tyrolean Alps. St. Louis Symphony Orchestra Conductor and Vienna-native Alfred Ernst led the ensemble, with the exception of special concerts led by two "celebrated Vienna conductors of 'popular' music" who had also been engaged specifically for the Fair.[53] The Tyrolean Alps were on the whole of a very commercial nature, as evidenced by the remarks of frequent Exposition visitor Edmund Philibert, who has already been mentioned because of his diary entries about the expensive Austrian handkerchiefs. Philibert paid a visit to the German-Tyrolean Alps, as well, including the various events showcased in the facility. His commentary primarily addresses the cost of the multiple admission fees to different parts of the Alps. He had expected to receive entrance to all for one price, but, much to his chagrin, he had to pay extra for the *Passion Play* and the railway, among other things.[54]

The Austrian presence at the 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis varied in several respects from Germany's. On an official level, the country succeeded quite well with its award-winning pavilion and cultural and industrial displays. It displayed the progress and many achievements of Austria's technology and especially its contemporary culture to great advantage. In regard to unofficial elements, the quality and vision changed significantly, portraying Austria in a much more broadly-based, popular-culture light. Unofficially Austria achieved great success with large numbers of visitors, who wanted to see the extremes of culture they had heard so much about but never experienced

themselves. Karl Kraus's view of Vienna certainly described the Tyrolean Alps well, and it also fit some parts of the official art exhibitions, but it by no means applied to the entire Austrian contribution. Through the combination of the cultural displays with the mass culture phenomenon of the Tyrolean Alps, Austria achieved a degree of respect and popular appeal beyond that which most visitors would have expected.

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## Notes

[1] Since the submission of this article for publication, a volume of essays has appeared which refers in summary form to the findings of an earlier version of this work. See Lynne Tatlock and Matt Erlin, "Introduction," in Lynne Tatlock and Matt Erlin, eds., *German Culture in Nineteenth-Century America: Reception, Adaptation, Transformation* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2005), xv and Paul Michael Lützeler, "The St. Louis World's Fair of 1904 as a Site of Cultural Transfer: German and German-American Participation" in the same volume, 66-67.

[2] Karl Kraus, *Pro Domo et Mundo* (Munich: Albert Langen, 1912), 124. The comparison comes up in the course of the chapter titled, "Von zwei Städten," a comparison of Vienna and Berlin with reference to a a variety of characteristics.

[3] Peter Paret, "Art and the National Image: The Conflict over Germany's Participation in the St. Louis Exposition," *Central European History* 11, 2 (1978): 173-83.

[4] The Pike was an "avenue of amusements and attractions," an "enchanting street of private concessions stretching for nearly a mile along the northern edge of the [Fair] grounds." James Neal Primm, *Lion of the Valley: St. Louis, Missouri, 1764-1980*, 3rd ed. (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1998), 389. The Pike's location approximated the area of present-day St. Louis bounded by Lindell Boulevard on the south, Skinker Boulevard on the west, Forest Park Parkway on the north, and De Baliviere Avenue on the East. Elizabeth M. Armstrong, *Then and Now Map: The 1904 World's Fair* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1996).

[5] This is a greatly simplified version of the discussion of modernity in Matei Calinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity: Modernism, Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987), 13-92.

[6] The Austrian Minister of Commerce sent the telegram. *World's Fair Bulletin* (St. Louis: World's Fair Publishing Co. July 1903), 12. See also Mark Bennitt, ed., *History of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (St. Louis: Universal Exposition Publishing Company, 1905), 237.

[7] David R. Francis, *A Tour of Europe in 19 Days. Report to the Board of Directors of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition on European Tour, Made in the Interest of the St. Louis World's Fair* (St. Louis: s.n., 1903)

[8] WFB, August 1903, 9. These statements are echoed in Francis 61.

[9] WFB, May 1904, 31.

[10] WFB, December 1903, 28.

[11] Peter Paret contends that Austria also exhibited the lack of enthusiasm for exhibitions found in Germany at the time in "Art and the National Image," 177. For a discussion of Austrian political and cultural conditions around 1900, see John W. Boyer, *Culture and Political Crisis in Vienna: Christian Socialism in Power, 1897-1918* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 444-62, 448 in particular.

[12] Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire: 1875-1914* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 107-8.

[13] John J. McCusker, "Comparing the Purchasing Power of Money in the United States (or Colonies) from 1665 to Any Other Year Including the Present" Economic History Services, 2001, URL : http://www.eh.net/hmit/ppowerusd/

[14] WFB, March 1904, 29.

[15] Bennitt, 238.

[16] Rudolf Cronau provides a very strongly pro-Germany description of the Fair, which must be taken with a grain of salt, in his article, "Die Weltausstellung zu St. Louis," *Die Gartenlaube* (1904): 550.

[17] WFB, February 1904, 43.

[18] *History of LPE*, 238.

[19] Timothy J. Fox and Duane R. Sneddeker, *From the Palaces to the Pike: Visions of the 1904 World's Fair* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1997), 175.

[20] *History of LPE*, 239.

[21] Cited from Frank Peters, "St. Louis' Legacy of Secession: Austrian *avant garde* at World's Fair impressed Frank Lloyd Wright," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* 13 Dec. 1987: 4E.

[22] Inge Lehne and Lonnie Johnson, *Vienna: The Past in the Present: A Historical Survey* (Riverside, CA: Ariadne Press, 1995), 91.

[23] "The Austrian Government Pavilion; Described by Order of the Imp. Royal Ministry of Commerce" (St. Louis, 1904), 5.

[24] Neither St. Louis University nor Washington University, the two local institutions in existence at the

time of the Fair, has a record of this particular professor. The works cited in this article also make no further mention of him.

[25] *The Greatest of Expositions Completely Illustrated: Official Publication / Illustrations Reproduced from Goerz Lens Photographs; Made by Official Photographic Company; William H. Rau, Director of Photography of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (St. Louis: Official Photographic Company, 1904), 92.

[26] Martha R. Clevenger, ed., *"Indescribably Grand": Diaries and Letters from the 1904 World's Fair* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1996), 83 and 111.

[27] Graf Albert Apponyi, "The Juridical Nature of the Relations between Austria and Hungary" (publisher and publication date not provided anywhere in the work), 1-24.

[28] Bennitt, 238.

[29] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 4E.

[30] Halsey L Ives, *The Art Department Illustrated* (St. Louis: 1904), xix-xxi.

[31] Ibid, x.

[32] Bennitt, 238.

[33] *Art Department Illustrated*, xxiii-xxi.

[34] The house at 39 Hortense Place, on the corner of Kingshighway Boulevard, is a particularly good example of this style. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 4E.

[35] The Secessionists had suggested sending works by Klimt to St. Louis, but the Ministry for Education refused to include his works in the Fair exhibition. Catherine Dean, *Klimt* (London: Phaidron Press, 1996), 19. See also Otto Breicha, ed. *Gustav Klimt: Die Goldene Pforte* (Salzburg: Verlag Galerie Welz, 1978), 14.

[36] Waissenberger 28.

[37] *Art Department Illustrated*, 307-9.

[38] Ibid, 373-75.

[39] *WFB*, April 1904, 52.

[40] Hermann Knauer, *Deutschland am Mississippi* (Berlin: L. Oehmigke's Verlag, 1904), 66.

[41] Ibid, 52-3.

[42] *St. Louis Daily Globe Democrat* 20 Jan. 1907. Page number not available in Missouri Historical Society archives.

[43] *WFB*, January 1904, 31-32.

[44] *Globe Democrat*.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Cronau, 549.

[47] http://www.bolzano-bozen.it/storia012-d.htm.

[48] McCusker, see note 10.

[49] *Globe Democrat*.

[50] *WFB*, April 1904, 54-55.

[51] *Globe Democrat*.

[52] Harper Barnes, *Standing on a Volcano: The Life and Times of David Rowland Francis* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society in association with the Francis Press, 2001), 157-59.

[53] *WFB*, May 1904, 54.

[54] *"Indescribably Grand,"* 29 and 79.

Sarah M. Emery-Hall

# Faith and Loyalty under Fire: The Michigan Congregations of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, 1914-20

*"Nothing is quite so difficult as changing the worship habits of a people."*[1]

The turn of the century brought with it many challenges and changes for the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States. The group would change in name, eventually becoming known as the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, or LCMS, as it is in the present-day. Besides name changes, the LCMS faced many battles during the first two decades of the twentieth century, the majority of which were fought during the "Great War" that would later become known as World War I.

Many states with heavy German-American immigrant populations experienced severe periods of anti-Germanism and even aroused suspicions of disloyalty during the Great War. Michigan, as one of the charter states of the LCMS, fought many controversies over the question of loyalty, the need for Lutheran chaplains in the war, and the purpose of the German language press. In this study, the question of what many LCMS congregations in Michigan had to overcome during the World War I period is addressed. Furthermore, deep inquiry will examine the struggles, hardships, and sacrifices that many LCMS churches had to endure from 1914-to the post-WWI period of the early nineteen-twenties. Many instances of anti-German or anti-German-American sentiment cannot be attributed to one state alone. Instead, numerous states with heavy German-American populations such as Nebraska, Missouri, and Illinois, felt the repercussions of the war, just as the state of Michigan had.

In 1845, the seeds for a conservative sect of Lutheranism were sown amongst a handful of churches scattered throughout the Midwest region and the Mississippi River Valley (see image 1). These churches were in such states as Ohio, Illinois, Missouri and Michigan. Much later, they would come to be known as the "Charter Congregations of the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod." What these charter congregations brought with them had great importance; strong German heritage and culture, steadfast faith, as well as the desire to worship and preach what they believed to be pure, unadulterated, Lutheran doctrine.

These congregations were filled with hearty characters to be sure. Many of them were recent if not immediate immigrants from Europe, and most of the Lutherans who came to the United States did so to escape the pressures of the Evangelical church establishment of Prussia. "The founders of conservative American Lutheranism who came to this country in 1845, left their native land because they found that rationalism was stifling the true doctrine as proclaimed by Martin Luther. First, that the scripture is the only word of light, second, that Christ is the only mediator between God and the sinner."[2] These disputed doctrines had threatened to weaken or ruin the integrity of the

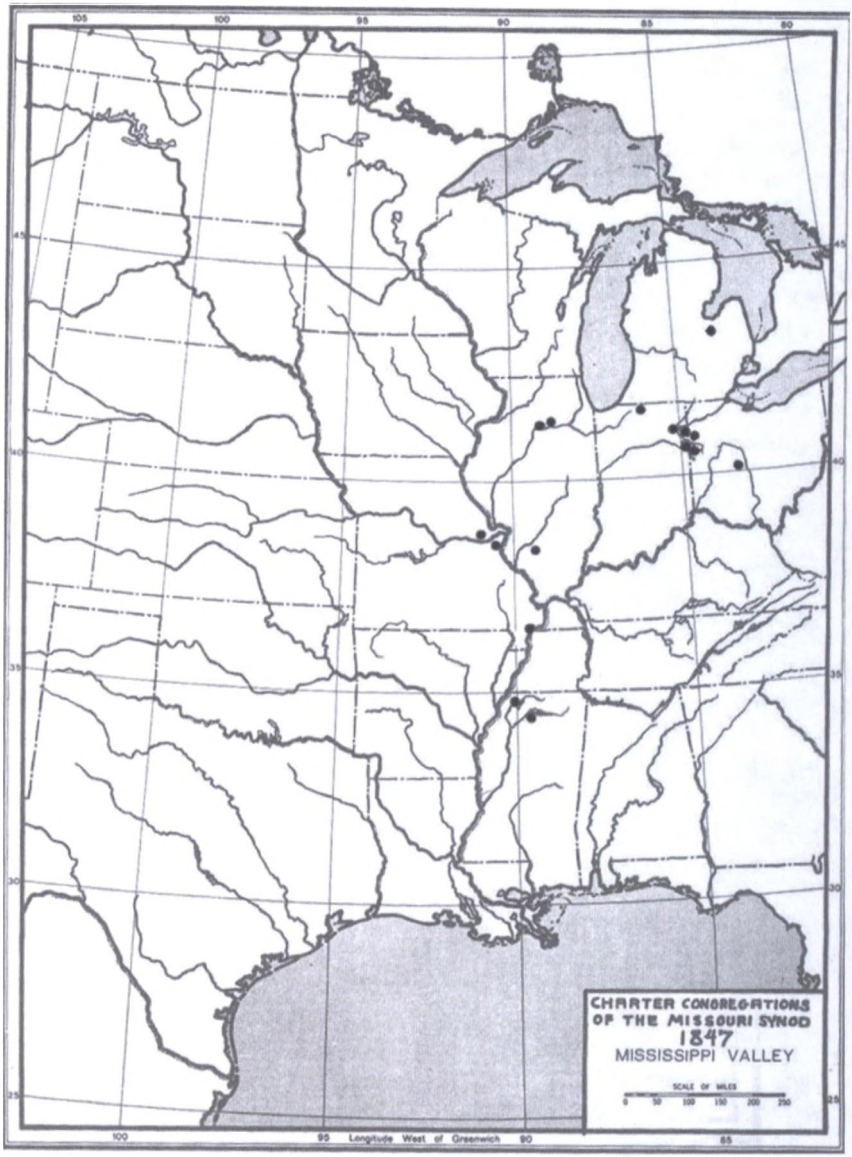


Fig. 1. The Charter Congregations of the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, 1847.
Source: Meier, Everette. *Moving Frontiers: Readings in the History of The Lutheran Church Missouri Synod.* Edited by Carl S. Meyer. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964. p. 502.

Lutheran faith, and due to such movements, there was a massive influx of Lutherans to the Midwestern region of the U.S. Many of these Lutheran immigrants were either of German or Scandinavian ancestry, and they settled into these farming regions of the United States—areas that often closely resembled their previous lands in both climate as well as aesthetics.

Throughout the remainder of the nineteenth and the beginnings of the twentieth centuries, the LCMS grew voraciously. Congregations within the new group of

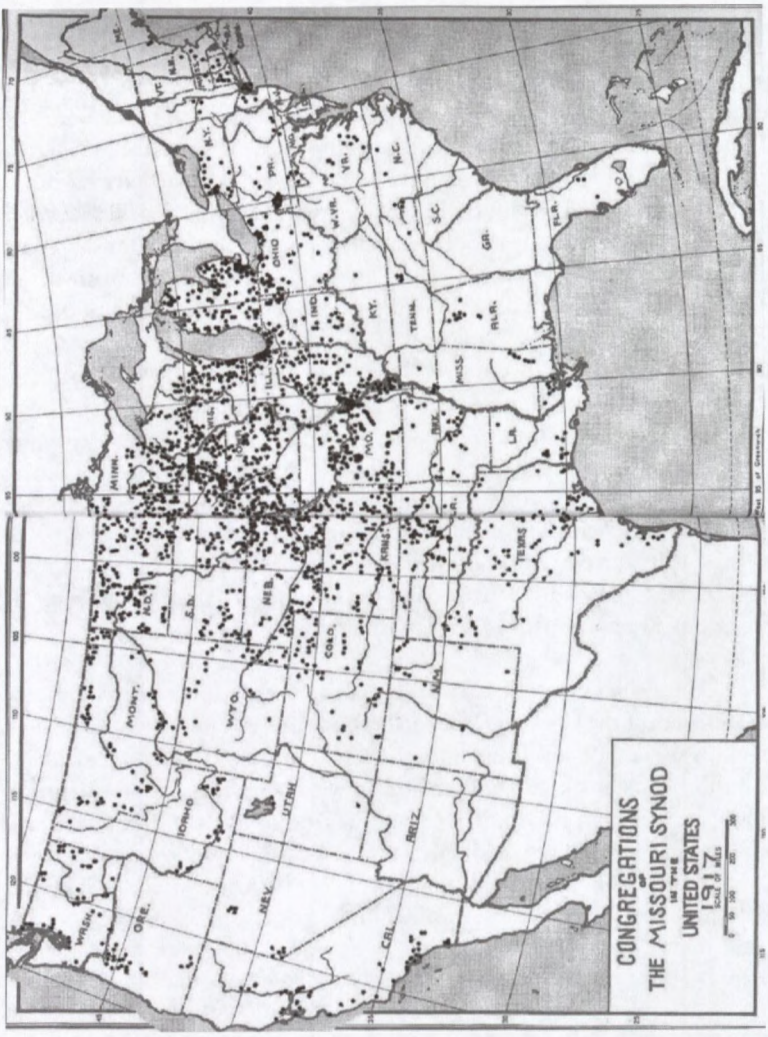


Fig. 2. The Congregations of the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, 1914.
Source: Meier, Everette. *Moving Frontiers: Readings in the History of The Lutheran Church Missouri Synod.* Edited by Carl S. Meyer. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964. pp. 507-508.

Lutheranism appeared all over the United States, and by the close of the nineteenth century, there were Lutheran Churches of the sort stretching from one coast to another (see image 2).[3]

The roots of the LCMS in Michigan are most notably attributed to the founders of the German village of Frankenmuth in 1845.[4] Located in the "Thumb" of Michigan's Lower Peninsula, the German immigrant settlers founded what is today one of the largest churches of the Synod, St. Lorenz. At the time of the chartering of the LCMS, St. Lorenz was the only Lutheran church of its kind in all of Michigan. As a large focal point within the Saginaw River Valley, Frankenmuth literally boomed with population, as it became an ever-increasing haven for German immigrants. Frankenmuth would later prove to be a nestled German community, protected by its neighboring German villages and townships such as Frankenhilf, Frankenlust, and Frankentrost. With such a large German population in such a small area, it earned the nickname of "Michigan's Little Bavaria," which still stands today. St. Lorenz would later enjoy the secure feeling

that the heavily populated German community would give in the ensuing years of the early 1900s, most notably during the First World War.

On the opposite side of the state, in Southwest Michigan, the Grand River Valley saw its own share of German immigration in the late 1800s. Later known as the "Church on the Hill," Grand Rapidians erected the "Deutsche Evangelische Lutherische Immanuels Kirche" at the end of the nineteenth century. Later known as Immanuel Lutheran Church, the downtown Grand Rapids LCMS sanctuary would grow just like her sister parish in Frankenmuth had initially done. Immanuel, over time, built and operated its own parochial school, and would be of a major importance to the German-American community of Grand Rapids, and the surrounding West Michigan communities.

Many other parishes would grow both in size, as well as importance to the LCMS. Churches in the Saginaw River Valley as well as the greater Detroit area would swell the overall ranks of Missouri Synod congregations in Michigan. Until the early 1910s, these churches held services, and preached the Gospel with the German language permeating the chancels, lecterns, pulpits and parochial schools. The immigrant communities settled into their respective congregations after the pioneering movement began to slow, and for a time, it seemed as if America truly was the haven that so many Lutheran immigrants had sought and prayed for. However, "the outbreak of hostilities in August of 1914, the start of the First World War, and the years that followed would affect for all time the former positive image of the German American community, both nationally and locally."[5]

When the United States first reacted to the explosion of the 1914 Balkan "powder keg," and the practices of the German Kaiser, many citizens were quick to point blame. "Some of English-speaking descent, harboring a long-dormant ethnic prejudice, felt that 'no good thing can come out of Germany, and what is more, no good thing ever did come out of her.' In some ways, they blamed their neighbors of German heritage for the troubles in Europe."[6] This would only prove to be the start of the anti-German sentiment that so many Lutherans would face not only in Michigan, but throughout the Synod. When the United States became involved in the war, the problems for German-Americans and their church became increasingly intense. At the time, there seemed to be a general hostility toward specific groups of immigrants in the U.S., and these immigrants became known as "hyphenates," referring to the title of their nationalities, be it "German-American," "Polish-American," "Irish-American," or otherwise. However, as a whole, the class of German-American immigrants would face the burden of hardships during the World War I period. Prior to the outbreak of World War I, and during the very war itself, German-Americans found themselves under fire for their culture and nationality. The United States was at war with Germany, and there were many people residing in the U.S. who had strong heritage ties to the German nation. They "composed the single largest group among foreign-born, as well as among immigrants of the previous generation." While the majority of these German-Americans had no outspoken opinions of the war, they were still considered by many to be potential enemies of the U.S. cause. German-American activities were scrutinized at every opportunity, and "the nation went through a vast guilt-by-association spasm directed against all persons and all things German."[7]

From the very beginning of the war, the Lutheran Church adopted a neutral stance on the war. Instead of placing blame, the LCMS declared that, "the war was the hand of God chastening a sinful world. Each nation was guilty of irreligion, jealousy, and

greed."[8] Soon, the United States would be guilty of such things as well, not just the countries of Europe.

As the United States entered the Great War in 1917, the LCMS was faced with ever-increasing tensions regarding how they handled services, operated parochial schools, utilized German as a dominant language, and dealt with the diplomatic question of loyalty. With a high percentage of a German immigrant population within its ranks, the LCMS became an object of suspicion in the minds of many. After all, Germany was the main country that the American Expeditionary Forces were fighting. Were these large groups of German Lutherans a threat to American society, not to mention liberty, and security? With frequent, and looming questions such as these, the LCMS found that responding truthfully and simply was not enough.

The LCMS, eventually would become one of the single most severely criticized bodies during World War I. When immigrant infusions began to slow, the Missouri Synod came to the rationalization that assimilation was inevitable. Whereas the church fathers had previously relied upon cultural norms such as language and customs, to promote loyalty and unified solidity, a nation at war loudly voiced its intolerance for the long-held cultural policies of the LCMS.[9]

Repeatedly, LCMS congregation members were forced to swear allegiance to the United States. Even measures such as letters to the War Department and President Wilson himself did little to alleviate the pressures of "potential disloyalty" that were placed upon the shoulders of the LCMS. In a letter to Dr. Theodore Graebner, LCMS minister, and editor of the LCMS magazine, *"The Lutheran Witness,"* Rev. E.C. Fackler, of St. Andrew's Evangelical Lutheran Church in Detroit, Michigan, declared that this anti-Germanism and anti-Lutheran sentiment had seeped into the national culture of the day, continuing to harangue so many Lutherans, even those of his own congregation: "Stepping into the library a few weeks ago I picked up *Life* and read their 'list of fellows to watch.' I quote from memory: Watch the fellow who 1) criticizes the government, 2) carries a billy & 3) who always talks about the Quadricentennial of the Lutheran Reformation!" Fackler continued on to urge Graebner, who had "pull" with the church press, to have the publication *(Witness)* take a stand against anti-Lutheranism as it was occurring throughout the United States: "Enough said. We have no apologies to offer for the patriotism of our Lutheran citizenship as a whole. It defies unbiased criticism. Let's however slap facts in the face of Jesuitical slander, thereby strengthening ourselves and confirming the truth."[10] As editor of *The Lutheran Witness*, Graebner would later prove to be a frontrunner for the LCMS to declare the loyalty and patriotism of the faith, as representatives of the United States government, as well as citizens, were increasingly challenging it. On an opposing front, the German language counterpart of *The Lutheran Witness, Der Lutheraner* was an equally-favored church publication read in the homes of many German-American Lutherans at the time. While *The Lutheran Witness* dared to speak about this "language question," records from *Der Lutheraner* do not address it, perhaps speaking to the severity and hostile tensions surrounding the issue.

Anti-Germanism, and anti-Lutheranism continued to plague the LCMS. All sorts of German organizations, including churches, were labeled subversive and their members were assaulted with: paint and flagging raids, the banning of German language and music, the destruction of portraits of German poets. Missouri Synod Lutherans, among other supposedly "backward Germans," had the pleasure of reminding the nation about

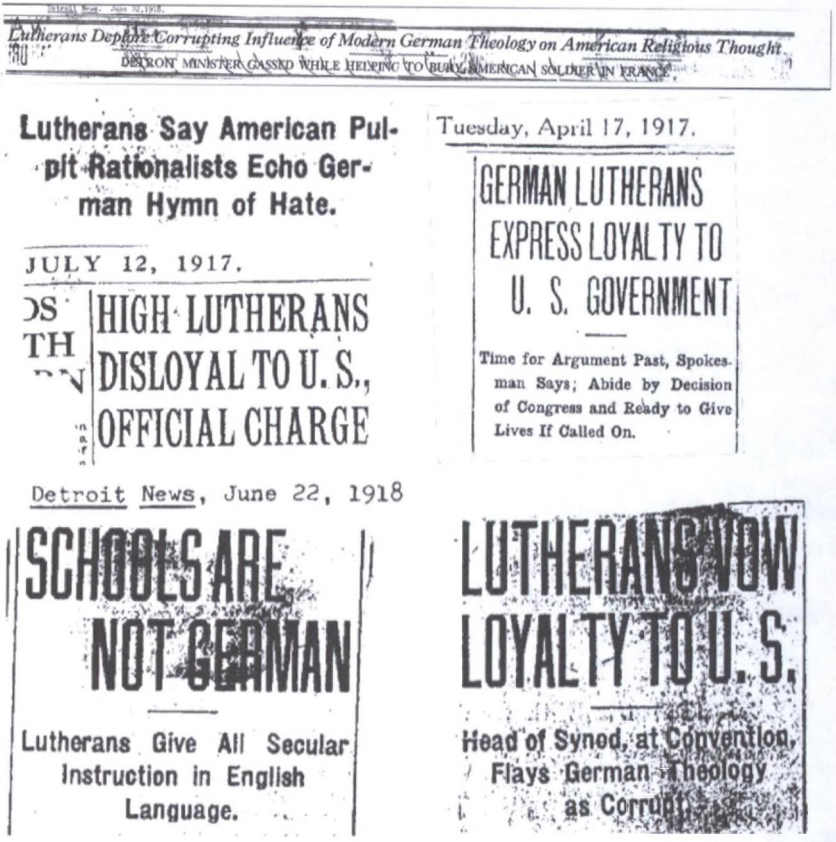


Fig. 3. Various newspaper headlines from 1917-1919 displaying anti-German/anti-Lutheran sentiment, and LCMS rebuttals.
Source: The Detroit News, The Saginaw News, and The St. Louis Republic 1917-1919.

civil liberties and the dangers of conformity, words they had been hearing from self-styled progressives for half a century (see image 3).[11]

Several key issues would come to the forefront when the topic of anti-Lutheranism and anti-Germanism was raised. Issues such as national loyalty, the use of the German language, the willingness of the LCMS as a whole to contribute financially to the war effort by purchasing war bonds, and the need for Lutheran chaplains in the war all would become hot topics that would be debated and criticized as the war pressed on in Europe.

This question of the necessity of the German language was an immediate one on the minds of loyalty critics. Most critics were under the assumption that even though these immigrants had only been in America for half of a generation or less, they should have assimilated and anglicized themselves enough to speak English. Nothing was further from the truth. In another letter to Dr. Graebner, Rev. R.H.C. Meyer spoke of his apprehension toward what appeared to be an inevitable language shift, fearing what would happen to his congregation in Detroit, if the change were deemed immediately necessary: "If I had to cease preaching in the German language, we would simply have to

close our doors. Ninety-five percent of my voting members immigrated to this country within the last 10-15 yrs, the majority of them are simply unable to understand the English language."[12]

This pressure to switch from German to English had a variety of "justifications" from critics. Most notably though, was the idea that speakers of German in America must somehow still have ties to the Fatherland. With this theory, the German speakers also were still assumed to be loyal to a government that the United States considered an enemy. It was believed that German-Americans themselves were intent upon *refusing* to assimilate and anglicize church services, schools, and the foreign-language press. This of course made it impossible for "Americanism" to be 100% present throughout the United States, and for this reason the "Pan-German consipiracy" came to light, whereby language itself was viewed as a loyal tie to the German Kaiser.[13] It was irrelevant to think that the language was retained simply because most citizens who still spoke German were relatively recent immigrants to the United States.

LCMS congregations and ministers however, still desired to hold onto their native tongue. For them, the German language held religious significance, as well as the obvious importance a language has upon a culture. It seemed as if the pros initially outweighed the cons when it came down to choosing German over English for many LCMS congregations. Many simply felt that a language shift within the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod congregations would corrupt the original doctrines and dogmas of the church,[14] and that a language shift would compromise the integrity of the religion. The reformer Martin Luther had translated the Bible into German, and for the LCMS, this appeared to be the "true language" of the "true faith." By changing the language of services as well as religious education in parochial schools, it was believed that some purity would be lost in translation, and the true essence of the religious doctrines taught and practiced would not be the same. Without anglicizing the language of the Church, the LCMS would continue to appear suspect. This language shift from German to English throughout the United States LCMS congregations was inevitable. All LCMS churches would change the language of their church in time, but the majority of these changes were a result of the Great War, and the looming language question. It seemed as if the foreign tongue itself instilled fear, hatred and suspicion for many in the United States, and a religious organization like the LCMS became suspect simply because it held onto its original roots. In reality, "the Lutheran Church in America lost millions of its members to other denominations because of the language question."[15]

The language question affected not only church services, but the press and the schools (parochial and public), as well. The *Germania*, Grand Rapids' German language newspaper, was an enthusiastic supporter of the German and Austrian cause. Whereas other German papers in the state exercised caution, the *Germania* was not at all timid about which side it was on.[16] Other instruments of the foreign-language press also came under scrutiny by the U.S. Government. The Council for National Defense published an article explaining the "dangers" of the foreign-language press. "There were many instances of German newspapers edited by aliens apparently sent here for the sole purpose of misleading American opinion."[17] Since the foreign-language press was potentially threatening American values and swaying opinion toward that of sympathy for the wartime enemy, Congress passed what became known as the Trading With The Enemy Act on 6 October 1918. This required all foreign language press publications to submit translated copies of articles relating to any matter or any country involved

with the war, and that these articles be placed on file with the government before the very same items could be mass-published and distributed. In the article distributed by the Council for National Defense, it was approved that a foreign-language voice was needed in many communities throughout the United States, and that many would be allowed to stay and continue printing articles and newspapers. However, this would not come freely of course. The Council for National Defense also saw a need for censorship within the foreign-language press, stating that, "It is better to have accurate news and reading matter circulated among them under supervision than to leave them at the mercy of hostile liars."[18]

Although the *Germania* was secular, anti-Germanism only continued to fuel the hate in Grand Rapids. "The study of German was dropped from the local high schools. The local Ryerson Library proudly reported that "literature in the German language in the reading rooms . . . has been reduced to a single periodical."[19] *The Grand Rapids News* reported on 22 April 1918 of a local event in a Catholic high school where "Catholic Central high school pupils, aroused by portraits of two German poets, Goethe and Schiller, hanging on the school walls, took them down, opened the frames, and destroyed the pictures."[20]

Cultural life soon became a casualty of war. In the heart of Grand Rapids, the elders of Immanuel Lutheran felt strong societal pressures to remove all German lettering from the building's exterior. In addition to exterior changes, other changes would face the congregation of Immanuel. All services that had previously been in German were immediately terminated, and inside the church, members removed a large German

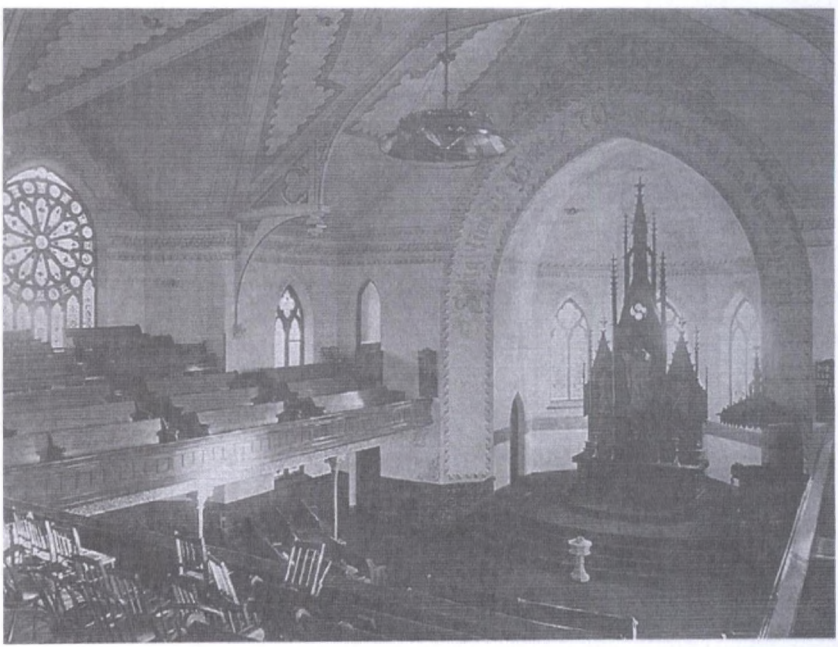

Fig. 4. The archway over the main chancel inside Immanuel Lutheran Church, Grand Rapids, Michigan - circa 1917.
Source: James D. Bratt and Christopher H. Meehan, eds., *Gathered At The River: Grand Rapids, Michigan, And Its People Of Faith*. (Grand Rapids, MI: The Grand Rapids Area Council for the Humanities William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1993.), Figure 26.

passage that hung over the arch of the main chancel, which read: "*Selig sind die Gottes Wort hören und bewahren*" (see image 4). When translated, the passage was a simple, and innocent religious promise, akin to the promises of the Beatitudes, reading: "Blessed are those who hear and preserve the word of God."[21] This was removed simply because it was in German, written in German script, nothing more (see image 5).[22]

Immanuel Lutheran Church in Grand Rapids would continue to face other pressures from the language question. All outdoor bulletin boards and signs no longer included German wording, or any reference to German church services. Not wanting to be singled out, or to appear suspect, the Immanuel Lutheran parochial school also changed from teaching classes in German to teaching classes in English, literally overnight.[23] Like many Lutheran parochial schools in its day, this became quite common. The *Detroit News* ran an article in June of 1918, relating to the defense of the German language in Lutheran schools. The author, who appeared to be anonymous, declared that: "They are sometimes called German schools, but that is a misnomer. The German language is taught in them, only in connection with the instruction in religion. The object of these schools is not to perpetuate the German language."[24] He continued on to justify the rights of the teachers and administrators of these schools, saying that their actions were in line with their political rights, as they were described in the Bill of Rights of the State of Michigan. "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged . . . . The parochial schools truthfully claim that they foster true patriotism . . . . No more loyal and patriotic

Fig. 5. The interior of Immanuel Lutheran Church, Grand Rapids, Michigan after removal of the German scipt.
Source: Immanuel Lutheran Church, Grand Rapids, Michigan.

soldiers and citizens can be found anywhere than among the products of our Lutheran parochial schools."[25]

By simply changing the course of instruction to English, and practicing American patriotic rituals such as singing "The Star Spangled Banner," and pledging allegiance to the flag, many of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod parochial schools would have lost a lot of suspicion that had been placed upon them. Instead of being viewed as institutions for perpetuating German culture and loyalty to the Kaiser, there may not have been such a problem as had occurred during the latter years of the war. However, "perhaps fifty of approximately 1,500 institutions were closed because of anti-German hysteria."[26] Eventually, instruction in English became *law* in regards to parochial schools. In 1918, Congress passed the Smith-Towner Act, which provided that "no state could share in federal funds unless it enacted and enforced laws requiring that the chief language of instruction in all schools, public and private, be English."[27]

Even though the questions challenging the use of the German language in the LCMS parochial schools typically came from outside the LCMS community, there were contesting opinions on the matter within the Synod itself. Some pastors were dead-set against changing from German to English. Some pastors saw it as an absolute necessity, if the suspicions of Lutheran loyalty were to ever subside. Rev. H. Grueber, a minister of a LCMS congregation in Saginaw, Michigan, stressed the importance of this very language shift in the parochial schools in his correspondence to Rev. Theodore Graebner. "Of course I know that there are synodical authorities who seem to think: 'Remain German or die' which is heresy. We have suffered staggering losses through this mistaken policy. The public simply cannot see anything but pro-Germanisism in our schools when they are made instruments for maintaining German communities in America."[28]

Graebner, as editor of *The Lutheran Witness* during the World War I period, naturally received the majority of voiced concern over the anti-Lutheran sentiment. He also fielded a majority of his complaints from the various Michigan districts of the Synod, for that was where his own congregation was located. In addition, he entertained issues of concern from across the nation. Wielding what power he had, he utilized the Lutheran press in his own letters to journals and parishioners, as well as the pages of *The Lutheran Witness,* to profess what he called "Lutheran Loyalty." Graebner vocally spoke out on the war, wishing that Lutherans would attempt to distance themselves from it. "The Church is not in this war. It is here for an entirely different purpose. It is here to lift the people above the world's war and turmoil and misery, and to turn men's thoughts to things heavenly and divine. It is here to proclaim the glad tidings of salvation, and not to foster the spirit of hatred with which the nations now seek to encompass each other's ruin."[29] Graebner saw a purpose for the war, but it was not necessarily a military venture, in the minds of Lutherans. To him, the war brought a strengthening of faith in a way, even though the news of turmoil and bloodshed seemed to be unrelenting. "The less the people hear of war when they come to the sanctuary, and the more they confess their sins and plead for peace, the nearer will the Church come to fulfilling the mission which Christ has charged her with. The newspapers are keeping hell before us seven days of the week; let the Church speak of heaven on Sunday."[30]

In arguably what would come to be the main article bearing proof of German-Lutheran loyalty to the United States, Graebner, in his article entitled, "Testimony and

Proof Bearing on Relation of the American Lutheran Church to the German Emperor," laid the clear truths down as to how Lutherans really stood in relation to the Kaiser:

> The Lutheran Church of North America, and more specifically the Synodical Conference, of which we are members, has never had connections of any kind with the United Church of Prussia, nor with any one of the State Churches of Germany. It must be clear to all that in a religious way the Kaiser and the Lutheran Church of North America are not on a friendly, but on an oppositional footing.[31]

Graebner asserted that the Lutheran Church of the present day would not be welcomed with open arms by any means in relation to Germany or the Kaiser. The *Detroit News* agreed: "For 50 years the Missouri Synod had been a thorn in the side of the Kaiser and the leaders of the Evangelical church establishment of Prussia. It has stood firm for the integrity of the faith while other churches have succumbed to the flood of false doctrine made in Germany."[32] Indeed, the religious practices of the Kaiser were some of the very reasons for the mass influx of German Lutherans to the United States at the end of the nineteenth century—the very same immigrants that chartered the original foundation congregations of what would come to be known as the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod.

Many Lutherans were unsure as how to go about answering the questions of loyalty, if they were brought about. Graebner asserted that answering the doubts of Lutheran loyalty was not only important, but also completely necessary to alleviate the claims of misrepresentation that so many LCMS congregations and individuals struggled with. Graebner asserted that is was a responsibility of the Lutheran church to stand up and explain their loyalty if questioned. Only the church itself could discredit any questions brought upon them. They were the source, it seemed, and only the church itself could truthfully explain where it stood in relation to American loyalty.[33] He concluded that, "We shall—only by plainly asserting that we are with our Government and against Germany . . . overcome such doubts as are in the mind of the public concerning our 'loyalty' in the war-time sense, the only sense which now counts. No one has a right to doubt our loyalty."[34]

Michigan LCMS congregations whole-heartedly agreed with the loyalty stance of Graebner. At the 1918 LCMS Michigan District convention, ministers spoke about the war, and the relation of the Michigan designation of the Synod. Rev. R. H. C. Meyer, of Concordia Lutheran Church in Detroit, emphasized that the war was not an unjust war. He "expressed his conviction that President Wilson sought to 'keep us out of war,' but was forced into it by the Junkers and militarists of Germany." Meyer continued that "true Lutherans" should not speak evil against the present government administration, be it Congress, President Wilson, or the like. He vehemently stressed the importance of not speaking out against the present governmental powers; presumably knowing what detrimental harm it would do to the church proper.[35] At the same synodical convention, leaders of various LCMS congregations and districts drafted a letter to President Wilson, articulating the concerns regarding Lutheran suspicion and the war (see appendix A).[36] The Committee on Public Information would later seize this letter, which was never published. It is uncertain as to whether President Wilson ever had the chance to read it.

The LCMS pastors continually felt unalleviated pressure about the Lutheran stance on the war, regardless of numerous confessions of loyalty. The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod was indeed a "red-flagged" faith, one that the government desired to watch carefully during World War I. A letter from Meyer to Graebner expressed disgust and tiresome emotion over pastors having to devote so much time away from church efforts, instead devoting time to diverting assumptions and criticisms brought to the church by the U.S. government. Meyer told Graebner, "Hoffentlich hat dieser leidige Krieg bald ein Ende; man ist jetzt mehr 'Government Agent' als Pastor" (Hopefully, there will soon come an end to this unfortunate war. One is now more of a Government Agent than a Pastor).[37]

Meyer's wish was one shared by many LCMS congregations. Over the few years that the war raged on in Europe, the tensions were unrelenting at home. Even more tensions would surface when the Lutheran Church wished to send chaplains into war, and the government's desire for the sale of war bonds came to light. Both of these issues could not shed the doubt of loyalty however. In *The St. Louis Republic*, an article relating to LCMS loyalty seemed to be linked solidly with the sale of war bonds, declaring that a "check upon the un-American activities" would ensue, depending wholly upon the American patriotism of the Lutheran Church. Accusing that the LCMS had "conspicuous representatives" showing "marked partiality for the German cause," the article suggested that LCMS congregations were scrutinized for every financial banking withdrawal, opposition to war bond sales, or failure to organize war-relief work.[38] There was no mention of how much effort had actually taken place on behalf of the church. In actuality, many churches held war-bond drives and supported Red Cross relief efforts to aid the war. This instance of LCMS war effort, or lack thereof (whichever the case may be), was a matter of immediate convenience, which seemed to have been blown out of proportion by a local St. Louis media outlet.

In a letter to Meyer, a fellow minister articulated disgust with the United States' Government's insistence that the church join the effort of selling war bonds, or else remain suspect. In the letter, another LCMS minister expressed his disgust with submitting an article to a national journal, and having it repeatedly refused for publication simply because he, as well as other pastors had not taken an aggressive interest in buying or setting up sales for Liberty Loans (see appendix B).[39] Following such accusations that the LCMS refused to sell war bonds, many congregations felt compelled to work what seemed like "double-duty" in terms of war effort, merely in the attempt to alleviate concerns of Lutheran loyalty. Michigan newspapers published information about congregational war-bond drives to raise funds for the overseas fighting boys.[40] In addition, LCMS Michigan congregations published their efforts relating to the appointment of committees to aid in Red Cross, Liberty Loan and War Thrift Stamp campaigns, as well as the amounts of money raised.[41] Without the outward appearance of efforts to aid the war, LCMS congregations would be considered anti-war, and even more suspect, given their history of "German ties," it was thought.

When the United Stated entered World War I in 1917, there was a call for Lutheran churches to supply chaplains to both training camps as well as to the fighting trenches overseas. The Lutheran Church Board for Army and Navy, U.S.A. (Under the Auspices of LCMS and the Joint Synod of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan and other states) issued a letter to many district ministers saying that the overall chaplaincy requirement overseas had been increased from one chaplain to three per regiment, greatly increasing

the numbers of jobs to fill.[42] Naturally, Lutheran churches felt a competition with other denominations, and therefore desired to fill as many vacancies as possible, lest they be given to individuals representing the Roman church. The Board strongly cautioned the ministers however in making their chaplain recommendations. "Let us bear in mind, that none can enter our service that have been accused of any pro German activities or pro German expressions, either before the war or during the same. It is our aim to have none but truly loyal and in every way acceptable to the government enter our work. The near future may demand that we send a larger number of men into the service."[43] Even the *Lutheran Witness* received requests from Michigan pastors to include items in the magazine about "a call to chaplaincy."[44]

Although eager to serve, many LCMS ministers who applied to be war chaplains or training camp pastors were denied. Few religious posts in the United States military were ever filled by LCMS pastors, due to the history and doubt relating to U.S. loyalty among Missouri Synod Lutherans. Infuriated by these denials, the *Lutheran Witness* received numerous letters from ministers that were receiving pleading requests to send Lutheran ministers into war (see appendix C).[45] The United States Government answered few of these pleas for Lutheran chaplains. As records show, 5 LCMS chaplains served in France, and 8 LCMS chaplains served in the U.S., a far cry from the numbers of Lutheran clergymen who were willing to serve their flocks of fighting men overseas during the Great War.[46]

Due to the strong sense of German culture that pervaded the Missouri Synod, the church could appear nothing but suspect when it came to World War I, where the Kaiser and Germany itself were viewed as the enemy. One exception to the rule however, was St. Lorenz church in Frankenmuth. At the beginning of this study, it was noted that due to the strong German community in the Saginaw River Valley of Frankenmuth, St. Lorenz was more exempt than other parishes when it came to facing anti-Germanism and anti-Lutheran sentiments during the 1914-1920 period. Norman Krafft, a historian for St. Lorenz Lutheran church in Frankenmuth explained that "everything in and around Frankenmuth, during those years, was so thoroughly German that they were not affected nor intimidated by the pressure to be anglicized. Frankenmuth was a fairly isolated German community with other German communities in the region, and they were in a small German world of their own."[47] The language shift barely even seemed to affect the rather-large German-American community in Michigan. St. Lorenz church records show that the first regular English service was not even held until September 1931, nearly twelve years after World War I had ended. Even so, the English worship service did not completely eradicate the German services, which were still a mainstay. At first, the English services occurred once a month on Sunday evenings. It was not until 1939 that the regular Sunday morning services switched to English, two whole decades after the armistice that ended World War I. The German language service has even survived at St. Lorenz. Today, German language services still take place on the second Sunday of every month. [48]

Viewing St. Lorenz in Frankenmuth as an exception to the rule, the remainder of the LCMS churches in Michigan as well as throughout the United States felt pressured to prove their loyalties to the nation. One pre-World War I estimate held that about half of the approximately two million Lutherans in America at that time attended worship services in the German language.[49] However, the language shift was inevitable, and occurred almost immediately in many parishes. The *Statistical Yearbook* published by

the Missouri Synod reported that "services conducted in German had dropped from 62 percent in 1919 to 46 percent in 1926. Within 10 years after the close of the war, the language question was no longer generally an issue in synodical circles."[50]

In retrospect, the case study of Michigan LCMS churches during World War I, proved to be a trying time for the church as a whole. With the exception of one extraordinary congregation in a very large and supportive German community, all LCMS churches during World War I appeared suspect, either in a small, or large way. The heritage of the faith, with roots in German culture and tradition, made the church threatening to the outside world. Regardless of measures taken to aid the war effort, the LCMS ministers and congregations could not shed the negative connotations that their heritage had inscribed upon this collection of peoples. Their presses were censored, and chaplains discriminated against simply due to national origin, even if it had only been considered foreign over a generation earlier. The LCMS was denied chaplaincy service into the military, and congregations had to hide nearly all identities of heritage. These changes left a lasting impact upon the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, often casting by the wayside many elements of German culture that had initially created the church itself.

*Valley Lutheran High School*
Saginaw, Michigan

## Appendices

### Appendix A

**LCMS Michigan District 1918 Convention Letter to President Woodrow Wilson, Dr. Theodore Graebner Collection, Concordia Historical Insitute, St. Louis.**

We, the undersigned, believing that the time has come for all Americans of German blood to stand forth and declare in unmistakable accents that faith that is in them, herewith beg to inform you that we have organized ourselves into a National Council of Americans of German origin with the following purposes:

1. To make unmistakably clear to the rest of the American people that the overwhelming majority of their fellow-citizens of German blood are emphatically and absolutely for America in this War and *against* Germany, for an American victory and for a German defeat.
2. To cooperate with the National government in rooting out disloyalty and sedition; and with local organizations and patriotic individuals in support of every good movement aimed to bring the war to a victorious conclusion.
3. To conduct an educational campaign among German-Americans who may yet be in doubt regarding the justice of America's cause, recognizing that in the great majority of cases, failure to support the government wholeheartedly is due not to malice or disloyalty but to ignorance of the issues involved.

We recognize that the world today has no room for straddlers or men who serve two masters. It has room only for men capable of heroic decisions. Mr. President, we have burnt our bridges. We who in the past dreamed that a man can have two countries to call his own, recognize now that he can have one and one only. We have made our irrevocable choice. We stand with and for America. We have no other country, we know no other allegiance.

## Appendix B

**Letter to R. "Rudi" H. C. Meyer to Theodore Graebner, Detroit, MI, 20 May 1918, Dr. Theodore Graebner Collection, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis.**

Early in 1917, before the war was declared I wrote an item for "Chronik", asking our people to guard their lips and to give no one cause for doubting our Americanism. This item was refused space. I submitted it again in June 1917 and in the fall of 1917 again asked that some expression on problems be given to our readers. Then I gave up. Soon I got reports proving that our people had taken a very moderate interest in the Second Liberty Loan. I realized at once what that meant. A little later I observed a tendency among many of our pastors to resent all requests from government as interference with the duties of the pastors and churches. It was quite plain what that would lead to. Pretty soon the word "disloyal" was used in the secular papers about the Lutheran ministers.

## Appendix C

**Letter from Rev. H.J. Riethmeier, Evangelical Zion Church, Tawas City, MI, to Rev. Theodore Graebner, 16 April 1919, Dr. Theodore Graebner Collection, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis.**

Each week appeals are reaching us from our Lutheran men abroad pleading, crying, for the ministrations of their Lutheran church, appeals growing more insistent as they approach the day when they may be called upon to pay the supreme sacrifice for Democracy and the principles of liberty which our country has espoused. Unless relief is provided, the situation is bound to arouse strong resentment of a condition which obviously curtails and at times even nullifies an American basic principle, the individual's right of religious liberty to worship God in the spirit and according to the order of the church of his choice. Thousands of our Patriotic American Lutheran men in the service are cut off from this privilege and are pleading for relief.

## Notes

[1] Rev. Ralph J. White, D.D., ed., *Golden Anniversary: Fifty Years of Spiritual Ministering* (Grand Rapids, MI: Trinity Evangelical English Lutheran Church Publishing, 1946).

[2] "Lutherans Deplore Corrupting Influence of Modern German Theology on American Religious Thought: More Haeckel Than Bible, Lutherans Say American Pulpit Rationalists Echo German Hymn of Hate," *The Detroit News*. 22 June 1918.

[3] Everette Meier, *Moving Frontiers: Readings in the History of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod,* ed. Carl S. Meyer (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), 506-7.

[4] Ibid., 105

[5] Wilhelm W. Seeger, "The German Americans in Grand Rapids, Michigan: An Historical Survey," (Presented at the Society for German American Studies Symposium, Grand Rapids, MI, 1986), 10.

[6] Mark Smith, *Lifting High The Cross for 200 Years: St. John's Lutheran Church* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, Inc., 1998), 306-7.

[7] Wayne Moquin, "Makers of America—Hyphenated Americans 1914-1924" (Encyclopaedia Britannica Educational Corporation, 1971), 107.

[8] Frederick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German Americans and World War I* (Dekalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974), 102.

[9] Ibid., 315.

[10] Letter from E.C. Fackler, Pastor of St. Andrews Ev. Lutheran Church, Detroit, MI to Rev. and Editor Dr. Theodore Graebner, 31 December 1917, Theodore Graebner Collection, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, MO.

[11] James D. Bratt and Christopher H. Meehan, eds., *Gathered At The River: Grand Rapids, Michigan, And Its People Of Faith* (Grand Rapids, MI: The Grand Rapids Area Council for the Humanities William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1993).

[12] Letter from Rev. R. H. C. Meyer to Theodore Graebner, Detroit, MI, 25 Septemeber 1918, Theodore Graebner Collection, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, MO.

[13] Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty*, 251.

[14] Meier, *Moving Frontiers*, 356.

[15] White, *Golden Anniversary*, 3.

[16] Seeger, "The German Americans in Grand Rapids," 11.

[17] "Foreign Language Newspapers," 5 June 1918, United States Council of National Defense, State Councils Section, Washington, D.C.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Seeger, "The German Americans in Grand Rapids," 11.

[20] "Catholic Pupils Destroy Pictures of German Poets," *Grand Rapids News*, 22 April1918.

[21] Matthew Goode, "Obey The Law And Keep Your Mouths Shut: German-Americans In Grand Rapids

During World War I," *Michigan History Magazine,* March/April 1994, 22.

[22] Carl Eschels, email to author regarding Immanuel Grand Rapids information, 13 November 2004.

[23] Ibid.

[24] "Schools Are Not German: Lutherans Give All Secular Instruction in English Language" *The Detroit News*, 22 June 1918.

[26] Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty*, 288-89.

[27] Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty*, 312.

[28] Letter from Rev. H. Grueber to Rev. Theodore Graebner, Saginaw, MI, September 27, 1918, Theodore Graebner Collection, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, MO.

[29] Theodore Graebner, "Lutheran Loyalty," *The Lutheran Witness* (the official organ of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other states), St. Louis, MO, 7 August 1917, Theodore Graebner Collection, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, MO.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Theodore Graebner, "Testimony and Proof Bearing on Relation of the American Lutheran Church To The German Emperor," Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1918, Theodore Graebner Collection, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, MO.

[32] "More Haeckel than Bible," *The Detroit News,* 22 June 1918.

[33] Theodore Graebner, "Unjustified Aspersions," *The Lutheran Witness,* Vol. 37, 28 May 1918, 168.

[34] Ibid., 169.

[35] "Lutherans Vow Loyalty To U.S.: Head of Synod, at Convention, Flays German Theology as Corrupt," *The Detroit News,* 20 June 1918.

[36] LCMS Michigan District 1918 Convention to President Woodrow Wilson, 1918.

[37] Letter from Rev. R. "Rudi" H. C. Meyer to Theodore Graebner, Detroit, MI, May 20, 1918, Theodore Graebner Collection, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, MO.

[38] "High Lutherans disloyal to U. S., Official Charge," *The St. Louis Republic*, 12 July 1917.

[39] Letter to R."Rudi" H. C. Meyer, Detroit, MI, 27 September 1918.

[40] "Lutherans of Valley Pledge Government Aid: Pastors in Conference At Midland, Adopt Resolutions Pledging Every Assistance," *The Saginaw News,* 10 January 1918.

[41] Rev. L. A. Linn of Holy Cross Evangelical Church, Saginaw, MI, 31 December 1917, to Theodore Graebner, Theodore Graebner Collection, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, MO.

[42] Letter to D. C. Brewer, War Department, Washington, D.C., June 1918, Theodore Graebner Collection, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, MO.

[43] Letter from the Lutheran Church Board for Army and Navy, U. S. A., (under the auspices of the Ev. Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and other States and the Joint Synod of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan and other states), 1918.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Letter from Rev. H. J. Riethmeier, Evangelical Lutheran Zion Church, Tawas City, MI, to Theodore Graebner, 16 April 1919, Theodore Graebner Collection, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, MO.

[46] Letter, Detroit City Conference (F. A. Hertwig, W. Hagen, and E. C. Fackler) to Theodore Graebner (editor of *The Lutheran Witness)*, September 1918, Theodore Graebner Collection, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, MO.

[47] *Statistical Yearbook IV* (1916-1922), 111.

[48] Norman A. Krafft, letter to author, 28 September 2004, St. Lorenz Lutheran Church records, Frankenmuth, MI.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty*, 38.

[51] Meier, *Moving Frontiers*, 380.

Patricia Kollander

# Reflections on the Experiences of German Émigré Soldiers in the U.S. Army during World War II

Until the 1990s, scholars paid scant attention to the experiences of German-Americans during World War II. General surveys on the subject simply stated that a vast majority of German-Americans opposed Hitler. The past two decades, however, have witnessed the publication of works that present a far more intricate picture of the German-American experience during the war. Works published in the 1990s showed that non-naturalized Germans living in the U.S. during the war were labeled as "enemy aliens" and that thousands of enemy aliens and German-born American citizens were interned in camps all over the country. But here it is important to point out that the exact number of internees and the extent of their sympathy for the Nazi regime are both open to debate. On the one hand, works by Don H. Tolzmann, Timothy Holian and Stephen Fox estimate the number of German internees to be between ten and eleven thousand. They, along with published memoirs by internees, suggest that a great number of the internees were opposed to Nazism and were victimized by the U.S. government's exaggerated fear of the Nazi menace. Max Friedman's recent work, on the other hand, argues that many internees were openly sympathetic to the Nazi movement. Marian L. Smith, historian for the Immigration and Naturalization Service, has also shown that the actual number of internees was much lower than ten thousand.[1]

In the past few years, researchers have turned their attention to German newcomers who fought in the American army during the World War II. These men have become the subject of two documentary films, "About Face" by Steven Karras, and Christian Bauer's "The Ritchie Boys" and two books: Bauer's book *Die Ritchie Boys: Deutsche Emigranten im amerikanischen Geheimdienst* and my recently published biography of K. Frank Korf, *"I Must be a Part of this War": A German-American's Fight against Hitler and Nazism*.[2]

The following essay will make a case for the significance of research on German émigré veterans. It shall provide brief sketches of the careers of K. Frank Korf and three veterans not featured in the works mentioned above: Joachim Elbe, Hans Schmitt, and Tom Frazier (born Ulrich Heinicke). The sketches will focus on the reasons why they left Germany, their experiences as immigrants and their response to the internment of German-Americans. It also features their military careers, especially their reactions to being back in Germany, and highlights their special contribution to the war effort in general and opposition to Hitler in particular.

Joachim von Elbe was born in Westphalia in 1902. His father was a member of the Prussian civil service. Following in his father's footsteps, Elbe studied law and passed the bar exam in 1928, and became member of the district government in Potsdam. After the Nazis began forcing Jews out of the civil service in1933, Elbe received a questionnaire

asking him about his descent. He dutifully reported that his maternal grandmother was Jewish. He hoped that the fact that his grandmother had converted to Christianity would help, but it did not. The only concession made for him was that he was allowed to resign before he could be formally fired from the civil service. This experience convinced Elbe that he had no desire to remain in Germany. As he put it, "A compromise with Nazi ideology was out of the question."[3]

Thanks to an affidavit of support from a brother who lived in the United States, Elbe emigrated in 1934. Four years later, he was graduated from Yale Law School, and became an instructor. He became a citizen in 1941, shortly before the United States entered World War II. The naturalization process, as he noted, made final his "separation from Germany, from Hitler's Third Reich." He added, "I had undergone a spiritual transformation during the past several years without realizing it." Yet he had no interest in jettisoning his background and posing as American-born, as some of his fellow refugees had done.

In 1942, Elbe was drafted in to the U.S. army. At age forty, he could have waived his right to serve on the basis of advanced age. But he had no reservations about serving. As far as he was concerned, Hitler's declaration of war on the U.S. meant that he wished to destroy the foundations of Elbe's new life in America. "To fight Hitler," Elbe concluded, "was a matter of self-defense . . . it was either him or me."[4] Shortly after he was inducted into the army, Elbe filled out a questionnaire indicating that he spoke German and French fluently. He was then dispatched to the army's Military Intelligence Training Center at Camp Ritchie in Maryland. The men who came to Camp Ritchie were trained to become battle specialists, photo interpreters, and interrogators of prisoners of war. Joachim Elbe was one of nineteen thousand men who trained there during the course of the war.[5]

In early 1944, Elbe was shipped overseas and assigned to evaluate German military documents within the G-2 division (military intelligence) of the Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Expeditionary Forces or SHAEF. In this capacity, he was a non-combatant. A few weeks after the end of the war in Europe, Elbe's document section was moved from Belgium to Germany. Elbe commented: "After twelve years I was on German soil again. Yet what an appalling sight! The city [of Aachen] was almost totally demolished; in its place stood nothing but mounds of rubble."[6] Elbe was also appalled at the horrors perpetrated by the Nazis against the Jews. While he believed that most Germans were ignorant about them, he believed that top officials must have known. When he learned that Dönitz, Hitler's successor, claimed that he knew nothing about the Holocaust, Elbe observed:

> The ignorance of millions of Germans must be distinguished from the alleged ignorance of high Functionaries of the Third Reich. Despite deceptions and concealments, they were in a position to find out if they had wanted to. Or was the reason for their indifference a sentiment I once heard expressed—it may have been in 1933 or 1934 by an army officer: "Germany will not perish by what may happen to the Jews."[7]

He was complimentary of the work of the German resistance. He wrote: "The men of the resistance knew. They paid with their lives for the consequences they drew from their knowledge."[8] According to historian Peter Hoffman, the price for resistance was quite

high: "Tens of thousands of Germans were killed for one or another form of resistance. Between 1933 and 1945, Special Courts killed 12,000 Germans, courts martial killed 25,000 German soldiers, and 'regular' justice killed 40,000 Germans."[9]

Elbe was stationed in Marburg, where his sister—whom he had not seen in twelve years—happened to live. He encountered no hostility from the Germans whom he passed on his way. When he reached his sister's home, she did not recognize her brother at first: "The change wrought by my appearance, and the feelings of delivery and relief were almost beyond my sister's capacity to comprehend," he recalled. He was able to convince his superiors that her home should not be seized or intruded upon.

By the time that the war ended, Elbe was eligible for immediate discharge since he was 42 years old. Elbe was proud of his accomplishments:

> I had worn the uniform of my new country for almost three years. I had crossed into Germany as a member of the victorious army. What a feeling to be a victor! It did not express itself in arrogance or superiority toward the vanquished; its main ingredient was freedom of movement. And there were no longer SA and SS uniforms on the street, a sight which had formerly sickened me.[10]

When he was inducted in the army in 1942, Elbe had hoped to contribute to the destruction of Nazi Germany while at the same time helping to promote German-American understanding, and he felt that he had been successful on both counts.

Elbe's experiences as an emigrant and as a soldier were positive. Because he was naturalized before the United States entered the war, he was never subject to being classified as an enemy alien. His memoir also makes no mention about the detainment and internment of Germans after Germany declared war on the U.S. nor does he hint at any measure of prejudice being exacted against him at any point during his tenure in the U.S. army. After the war, Elbe was anxious to help restore Germany's legal system. He secured a job with the American Military Government for Germany and eventually became the legal advisor at the American Embassy in Bonn, West Germany.

Kurt Friedrich Franz Korf's career as an immigrant was not quite so smooth. He was born into a prosperous Berlin family 1909, and his family background was distinguished: his father's family traced its roots to a crusading knight in the thirteenth century, and his mother was descended from a prosperous Jewish family of bankers. Korf's maternal grandfather, Curt Mossner, converted to Protestantism and raised his children in the Protestant faith.[11]

Korf witnessed the rise of Nazism with dismay. On the day that Hitler was made chancellor, Korf observed the new chancellor exiting from his car into the Berliner Hof hotel, and caught a glimpse of him at close range. Korf reeled from the experience. He told his mother, "This is a madman. He is obsessed." Shortly thereafter, the Nazi movement touched Korf's personal life. In March of 1933, less than two months after Hitler came to power, he learned that the Ministry of Justice would soon deny admission to the bar to candidates who had any Jewish blood. Korf made haste to apply before the April deadline. Shortly thereafter, he received his application, accompanied by the "dreaded" questionnaire, which asked him to disclose religious affiliation of immediate family members.

Korf initially felt he had nothing to worry about, since his paternal grandparents were Catholics and his maternal grandparents Protestants. But he stumbled by the

phrase: "I hereby declared under oath that there are known to me no facts from which I could conclude that any of the above is not of Aryan ancestry." Since Korf's maternal grandfather was born a Jew, he could not declare in the affirmative. Korf was advised to have himself "Aryanized" by submitting an affidavit stating that his Jewish grandfather was abroad for at least ten months so that it would have been impossible for him to have fathered Margarete Korf, née Mossner. In effect, Korf was asked to sign a statement making his mother illegitimate. Korf was outraged. As he put it, "I would not let [the Nazis] drag my grandfather's memory into the mud or my mother's honor. I was proud of my descent."[12]

Unlike Elbe, who left Germany because of the 1933 laws against Jews in the civil service, Korf tried to work around the new restrictions. After his application for admission to the State Board of Examination was denied, making it impossible for Korf to practice the law in court, Korf earned a doctorate in Jurisprudence so that he could become a legal consul. In the meantime the rising tide of anti-Semitism upset him more with each passing day. The Nazi program against the Jews was institutionalized by the Reichstag's passage of the Nuremberg Laws in September of 1935. The laws not only effectively severed all so-called "full-blooded" Jews from official life in Germany, but also stigmatized millions of other Germans who had one or more Jewish grandparents. With the passage of the laws, Korf and others like him who had one Jewish grandparent were now called "mixed bloods of the second degree" (*Mischlinge zweiten Grades*). As such, they could serve in the armed forces, but could not be commissioned and were not allowed access to most of the Party organizations.[13]

Korf was horrified by the laws and their impact. He noted, "You suddenly discover in 1935 that you are not a German at the same level with anybody else. [This] is so incredible, coming from a family which goes back almost a thousand years!"[14] Korf came to realize that his status as a "mixed blood of the second degree" would eventually force him to face two unacceptable alternatives. First, it did not exempt him from the draft. If the Nazis waged a war of aggression, as he suspected they would, Korf would be forced to fight alongside them. As it turned out, thousands of "mixed bloods" or *Mischlinge* ended up serving in Hitler's army during World War II.[15] On the other hand, Korf's *Mischling* status made him vulnerable to persecution as a non-Aryan.[16] Since neither of these alternatives were acceptable, Korf considered going underground to resist Nazism, but sensed that given the strength of the Nazi terror network, he felt that resistance would be extremely difficult at best, and at worst put his family, especially his more "full-blooded" Jewish relatives, at greater risk. Weighing his options, he decided to leave Germany in early 1937.

Unlike Elbe, whose immigration was sponsored by a brother already living in the United States, Korf arrived on a tourist visa with little money and no connections. He first found employment as an elevator boy in New York and later as a reporter for the *New Yorker Staatszeitung und Herold*, a German-American publication. Though he felt safer in America, Korf was very concerned about the growth of Nazism in the United States. When he discovered that Fritz Kuhn, the leader of the pro-Nazi German-American Bund was living in the apartment above him under the alias "Franz Karsten," he dutifully relayed this information to the FBI.[17]

But at the same time, his adopted country was beginning to view citizens of Germany such as Korf with suspicion. In August of 1940, Congress passed an act requiring non-citizens to be registered and fingerprinted. In the event of war, the

government would use the list to identify those who came from countries that were enemies of the United States and classify them as "enemy aliens." Approximately five million registered foreigners in the United States came under this classification, and were put into a separate category from naturalized citizens. They were not allowed to vote or hold public offices, they were ineligible be licensed to practice medicine and law, and could not travel more than five miles away from their homes during the day, and could not venture beyond a mile of their residences after dark. They were also subject to FBI probes to determine whether they represented a threat to the United States; the latter were sent to internment camps generally located in the south and southwestern sections of the country.[18]

When the United States entered the war against Japan and its allies, Korf, who was not yet naturalized, became an enemy alien. In March of 1942, the FBI searched his apartment while he was out. Korf was incensed at the intrusion, especially after he had gone to the trouble of being an FBI informant. Korf went to the FBI to inquire why his apartment had been searched. Although he was cleared, he knew of others who were sent to internment camps during the war.[19]

Korf was eager to serve in the U.S. army when his adopted country entered the war. In 1942, he wrote his mother:

> Now the arms of madness [of Nazism] are stretching across the Atlantic, and they are gripping us with the fingers of those men and boys who were once close to me. They are the ones who are arming the torpedoes that are blasting the ships that supply our food . . . maybe they have reservations about what they are doing, but they are doing it anyway. I, however, am committed to fighting against them. . . . I do know one thing: I must be a part of this war. It is being fought for me and for you. It concerns us both. I hope the army will accept me . . . or I will feel like a coward for the rest of my life.[20]

But Korf's enthusiasm did not assure him an automatic place in the armed forces; several things had to be ironed out first. The Selective Service Act stipulated that enemy aliens like Korf could not be inducted unless they were deemed acceptable to the armed forces.[21] Therefore, Korf had to petition to join, and in October of 1942, he received a "Notice of Alien's Acceptability" form, clearing him to serve. In November of 1942, he finally received his notice to report for induction into the U.S. Army.[22]

Within a matter of months after he was inducted into the Army, Korf rose from the rank of private to the rank of technical sergeant and was admitted to transportation officer candidate school (OCS) in Lake Plauche, Louisiana. But his smooth progress through the ranks ended at OCS. He was chastised for lacking a "proper command voice" and for not knowing anything about playing baseball. In late 1943, Korf was informed that he had washed out of OCS for failing to "exhibit leadership qualities" but he suspected that his German accent was to blame. His military career was saved shortly thereafter when he was invited to enroll in Military Intelligence Training School at Camp Ritchie, Maryland. By the time Korf got to Camp Ritchie, Allied forces were closing in on Germany, and men with Korf's linguistic abilities were in demand at the front. Korf found his niche at the Military Intelligence Training school. He breezed through the training program and graduated as a commissioned second lieutenant.

Korf was shipped overseas in November of 1944. For a time, he worked as a desk

officer in Paris, but soon put in for a transfer to the front, where he wanted to serve. His request was granted, but only after his colonel demanded that he change his name to something that sounded "more American." If captured under his birth name, the colonel warned, he might be shot as a traitor. Korf objected at first—but finally agreed to abbreviate his first name to K, omit his second name Friedrich, and Americanize his third name, Franz, to Frank. Henceforth he would be known as K. Frank Korf.[23]

Many years later, Korf wondered whether the exchange with the colonel had been in reality a test of his loyalty to the United States and its army. Regardless of the reason for the name change, Korf felt bound by the compromise he had reached with the colonel and kept the name K. Frank Korf for the rest of his life, and introduced himself as "Frank" instead of "Kurt."

Shortly after Korf Americanized his name, he finally received the chance to do what he had wanted to do for some time: go to the front. He was assigned to Headquarters of the European Theater of Operations of the United States of America (HQ ETOUSA) as an interpreter for military intelligence. In the early spring of 1945, Korf was given permission to go behind enemy lines to visit his mother, who he had not seen in several years. After a heart-rending reunion, he experienced another emotional shock. In early May of 1945, Korf was ordered to assist victims of the concentration camp at Flossenbürg.[24] Though the SS had abandoned the camp a few weeks earlier, hundreds of camp inmates remained who required immediate attention. As the only German-speaking officer in his unit, he had his hands full coordinating the treatment of survivors and the capture of remaining SS personnel. His accounts of conditions there are detailed and horrifying. As he toured the crematorium, he observed:

> I saw piles to my right and left as I entered. I looked closer in the dim light. They were corpses. They looked very much like railroad ties, dark and close together, hands on their sides, skeletal legs straight. At that moment I felt that I should lose my mind. But a miracle happened. It was like a veil was suddenly put before my eyes. I saw clearly, but did not feel . . . I seemed to be in a haze for the next few days. The terrible things I saw did not seem to penetrate until much later, but the views were needle-sharp. [25]

When Korf was able to process his feelings later on, his distress was even more pronounced because he was born a German, but yet Germany was the scene of what he referred to as "the dirtiest, filthiest, shameless acts the world has ever seen!"[26] From his experiences at Flossenbürg and his subsequent interrogation of prisoners who participated in the executions of Jews, he came to the conclusion that not only German leaders but also many Germans were guilty of crimes against humanity during the war.

At war's end, Korf remained in Germany to interrogate prisoners of war and ferret out Nazi war criminals. In the midst of helping an injured GI to safety in early 1946, Korf slipped on the ice and shattered his leg bone, and was shipped home. During his lengthy convalescence, he finished his law studies at Fordham University in New York. Thereafter, he hoped to land a good position working on Wall Street, but had no luck securing the kind of job he wanted. He suspected that his German heritage, which had

been such an asset to his military career, now served as an obstacle to success in his postwar career. As he put it,

> I looked to the future as a lawyer, [but] I had a few strikes against me. Five years of absence in New York is a lifetime. Nobody knew me now. My connections were gone. Strangely enough, the fact that I had fought against the Nazis and clearly showed my scars did not dispel the fact that I was German-born, and therefore a "Nazi." The doors were politely slammed in my face.[27]

He ultimately found employment at the Department of Justice, which sent him back to Germany in 1948 as part of an Overseas Mission assigned to determine which Germans were eligible to reclaim their property in the United States. He remained there until 1951 and continued with the Justice Department in Washington until his retirement in the early 1970s. He donated his papers to Florida Atlantic University in 1999, and passed away in September 2000.

Like Korf and Elbe, Hans Schmitt also became a *Mischling* after the passage of the Nuremburg Laws. He was born near Frankfurt in 1921. His father was an expert on social legislation and his mother was a lawyer and teacher. Schmitt and his family moved to Berlin in 1933. The rise of the Nazis put the Schmitt family in peril; though Schmitt's father was a gentile, he was also a socialist, and his maternal grandparents were both Jews. In 1934, his parents decided to send their son to a Quaker boarding school in Holland dedicated to children whose parents were suffering political persecution. Schmitt's mother and brother joined him a year later; the elder Schmitt remained in Germany. Thanks to sponsorship by distant relatives in the United States, Hans emigrated in the fall of 1938 and enrolled at Washington and Lee College in Virginia, and later moved to Chicago. In 1940, the elder Schmitt died in Germany from a heart attack. Meanwhile, his wife and younger son languished in Holland. After the war began, Schmitt was classified as an enemy alien because he was not yet a citizen. He had to be cleared by the FBI before he could take job in a war factory. But he was unaware of the internment of German-Americans at that time.

Like Korf, Schmitt was eager to serve was when the U.S. entered the war, but his was upset to discover that his status as enemy alien made him ineligible for the draft. He expressed his frustration as follows:

> December 7, 1941 . . . found me, as well as millions of American citizens, before the radio . . . we were at war. The time of passive suffering was over. Now I could do something. The next day, I hastened to the recruiting office . . . soon my turn came, but not to enlist. The non-commissioned officer who spoke to me was civil but firm I was an enemy alien and could not volunteer. I must wait until my draft number was called. Crestfallen, I went back to my typewriter . . . for the time being, I would have to continue to help decorate the elegant homes of Chicago's North Shore and leave the epic struggle against evil to those of more fortunate birth.[28]

Schmitt finally received his draft notice in April 1943, and was naturalized shortly thereafter. Like Korf, he had no desire to spend the war behind a desk. He applied and

was accepted at Engineer OCS at Fort Belvoir, Virginia. After he was accepted, however, he realized he had made a mistake, and like Korf, felt out of place at OCS. He recalled:

> My foreign background and limited experience in traditional American ways soon proved a severe handicap. I was "different," and that could prove fatal to one aspiring to attain a commission in the United States Army. I was, for example, the only member of my platoon who had never owned or driven a car . . . It was also soon discovered that I was deficient in another area, namely that all-American sport, softball. Our tactical officer . . . simply refused to believe that there was alive on this earth a human being who never pursued this commonplace pastime.[29]

Schmitt barely made it through OCS. After graduation in 1944, he was sent to the 1298th Engineer Combat Battalion, where he became a battalion adjutant. One day he was asked to list all officers of the command who could speak German. Schmitt was the only one. Shortly thereafter, he was ordered to report to the Military Intelligence Training Center at Camp Ritchie.

When he arrived at there, he observed, "My new station seemed more like a resort than a military post. The wooded hills north of Hagerstown inclined one to sit back and enjoy the scenery rather than ponder matters of life and death. But the large and competent teaching staff kept one's mind on the grim business at hand."[30] After two months, Schmitt was put in charge of the Interrogation of Prisoners of War Team 221. His team consisted of one warrant officer and four noncommissioned officers.

In the spring of 1945, the team was shipped overseas. After brief sojourns in England and France, he was sent to the command post of the 106th Infantry Division at Bad Ems. His chief duties were to interrogate POWs for intelligence information, and ferret out possible war criminals and black marketers. By the time that Schmitt's job was underway, the war was all but over, and he never saw action. But he did get the opportunity to observe the enemy in defeat. He recalled: "We found few admitted supporters of National Socialism . . . Everyone, whatever his role in the regime, claimed to have been the victim of irresistible coercion." Schmitt was also dismayed by what he saw as general ignorance about the Holocaust. One family acquaintance that Schmitt visited admitted that his pest control firm had unwittingly supplied poisonous gas to Auschwitz. The acquaintance told Schmitt: "It is true by the way . . . what most people tell you. We, too, did our work without knowing what went on behind the scene. Why, I actually visited Auschwitz without ever realizing what was happening there."[31] Soon thereafter, Schmitt recalled that his pity for defeated Germans was soon replaced by contempt. He wrote his wife: "These Germans are mighty poor losers. They lack dignity in defeat."[32] He had expected the Germans to hate their conquerors; but instead, they denied their past and asked their conquerors to pity them.

Schmitt, however, did not allow his feelings to translate into actions against his former countrymen. At the prisoner of war enclosure where he worked processing German POWs, he and his men were criticized for taking too long to process former German POWs. They were teased and called "Kraut lovers." He recalled, "These toughened infantrymen needed our help to reduce the large prison population, but they resented our painstaking pace and what they considered to be unduly lenient methods of investigation."[33] Some infantrymen took their out their resentment on the prisoners

by making them march on the run and kicking those who failed to keep pace. Schmitt complained to his battalion commander about the physical abuse, and it was stopped.

Schmitt was finally granted leave to visit his mother and brother Richard in July of 1945. His mother had spent the war working as a teacher of foreign languages at a boarding school. In 1943, she was arrested and sent to Westerbork, a transit camp for Auschwitz, but was released to raise her half Aryan minor son. The rationale was that a mother from "an inferior race" was better for a half Aryan boy than none at all. In the waning months of the war, Richard had hidden out at a farm to avoid being drafted into the German army. Hans brought them both to the United States after his tour of duty.

Schmitt later received his Ph.D. in history and became a member of the faculty of the University of Virginia.[34] Given what Schmitt had suffered under Nazism, he was only too eager to become an American. As he put it, "After I ceased to be a German, I became an American, and what is equally important, a historian. This transition involved passage through material uncertainties and certainly demanded hard work, but never anguished soul-searching. I survived and changed without having to sell my soul, and with that I am satisfied."[35]

Tom Frazier was more hesitant about serving in the army than the other three men. He was born Ulrich Heinicke in Danzig in 1921. His parents moved to Berlin in the 1920s, and divorced in the early 1930s. Ulrich's mother married a Jew, Al Levy, head surgeon at a leading Berlin hospital. Shortly after Hitler came to power, Levy lost his job and went into private practice. When Ulrich's youth group was taken over by the Hitler Youth, Levy surprisingly advised his stepson to remain, believing that Ulrich could simply enjoy social activities and ignore the organization's anti-Semitic focus. At first, Ulrich enjoyed the athletic activities and camping trips, but he later became disillusioned with its program to turn members into anti-Semites.

By the mid 1930s, Levy began to fear not only for himself but for his wife and stepson; as Ulrich put it, "Although only Al was Jewish, we were considered a Jewish family."[36] They secured an affidavit of support from Levy's sister, who lived in the United States. Shortly before he left, Ulrich was informed by local Gestapo that his exit papers were not in order, and that he had to report for an interview. He recalled, "I was interviewed by one of the officers who asked me whether I would remain loyal to the Fatherland. What could I say but yes?[37] Days before his departure in May of 1937, Ulrich was confirmed in the Lutheran Church by Pastor Martin Niemöller, the prominent anti-Nazi theologian. Shortly thereafter, Niemöller was arrested, and remained in concentration camps until 1945.

After arriving in the United States, Ulrich and his family eventually settled in Portland, Oregon. Ulrich found the adjustment to American life difficult; he noted "In spite of my intense desire to be an American, I did not catch on easily to the American ways of social interaction. It was easy to accept the role of 'poor little refugee' that was assigned to me, although the attention it brought was not very satisfying."[38] The adjustment was difficult for Levy when he came to the uncomfortable realization that anti-Semitism was not something that was confined to Germany. Although he passed the state medical boards and received a license to practice surgery, he was denied permission to operate in Portland hospitals. Heinicke wrote, "Our suspicion, which as later confirmed, was that he was refused because he was Jewish."[39] Heinicke eventually was accepted to Reed College, where he majored in history. College life was not easy, for he had to balance course work with full time employment in order to pay tuition.

When the U.S. entered World War II, Levy and his family, who were not yet citizens, had to register as enemy aliens, abide by curfew, and stay within a radius of five miles from their homes. Heinicke appears to have known nothing about the internment of Germans. He observed that the rules for enemy aliens "were the only restrictions placed on the Germans even though some of them retained strong attachments to the fatherland. The Japanese, on the other hand . . . who were loyal American citizens, were forcibly moved to distant 'relocation' camps . . . I was upset that the United States would do something so unfair."[40] He also was upset that though his pro-Nazi German immigrant employer was interviewed by the FBI, "there was no suggestion that he should move to a relocation camp."[41]

The U.S. entry into World War II against Germany confronted Heinecke with a dilemma. As he put it: "If I fought in a war against Germany, I would be fighting against my friends . . . who was my enemy now? I was strongly anti-Nazi but not anti-German." After he was cleared as an enemy alien to register for the draft, he initially considered registering as a conscientious objector. But upon reflection, he reconsidered his position:

> Now I wondered if I was more concerned about my personal welfare than about saving democracy or stopping the evil that I knew was coming out of Germany . . . I finally decided to register 1-A as a "good American" even though I was an enemy alien. I had more reason than most to know the danger imposed on the world by Hitler, and to recognize the values we had in America and how important it was to save them. Once I made the decision to go, I was prepared to do whatever necessary . . . to carry out the mission of the United States in World War II.[42]

After he entered the army in February 1943, Heinicke's first assignment was light; he served as a chaplain's assistant at Camp Philips in Kansas. During the first few months of service, he became eligible to take the U.S. citizenship test. He passed, and was naturalized. He observed, "I was very proud to officially be part of my new country." Shortly thereafter, he received top secret orders from the War Department to report to Camp Ritchie for intelligence training. He learned all about German weaponry and was trained to interview prisoners of war. He had the option of volunteering to work behind German lines to rescue allied prisoners. He decided such work would be "important and useful" and volunteered. But then it dawned on him that his German name would be a liability in such an assignment: "I suddenly realized that with my German name . . . if I were caught, I would be considered a traitor, and I would be tortured or killed at once rather than taken prisoner as an ordinary American soldier would. I rushed to the adjutant general's office, and the captain . . . told me to change my name at once." He was given a half-hour to do this. Heinicke grabbed a phone book, and recalled the name of two founders of the Unitarian church, and decided on the name Thomas Lamb Frazier.[43] His adjutant general "rushed the name change to the local superior court to make it official."

Frazier shipped overseas in the spring of 1944, and arrived in France shortly after the Normandy invasion. His unit rescued many British and American troops from behind enemy lines. After the liberation of Paris, he was dispatched to northern Italy to rescue Italian partisans from the Germans. The mission lasted six months, and he

received a medal for organizing the rescue of a British soldier who had been given up for dead. In March of 1945 he and his men were assigned to move with the forward infantry into larger German cities and evaluate documents found there. In the course of his work, Frazier, like Korf, came into contact with horrors inflicted by the German army and the SS killing machine. In France, he took pictures of dead French partisans who had been tortured by German troops. In Germany, he toured Dachau shortly after its liberation, and was both horrified and confused by what he saw. He recalled:

> My anger toward the Germans reached a climax... were my people responsible for these indescribable cruelties? I began to ask myself other questions as well . . . I had been born a German. Could I have done this? I was not Jewish. I would have had to serve the Fatherland . . . Deep down, was I angry with myself? But why? Where did this cruelty in the Germans come from? Thanks to my Jewish stepfather and my mother I had managed to flee the Nazis, and now I was fighting them and taking big risks in the process. I wondered what my German school comrades had done. At one time, we had been very much the same; had the same ideas and goals . . . Could I have been a guard in a concentration camp, or would I have been six feet underground on the Russian front . . . The only truth I knew was that I was an angry and upset soldier . . . My mind simply could not comprehend what I had seen. Life seemed so unfair, and I felt so helpless in the face of all this horror.[44]

Frazier was discharged from the army in late 1945. He later received a master's degree in social work, and after his retirement he conducted workshops on group dynamics and counseling in Europe, particularly in Germany.

These sketches make several points clear. First, the men left Germany because they found themselves in an uncomfortable position. On the one hand, they were discriminated against because they had Jewish relatives. Elbe and Korf had one Jewish grandparent, Schmitt a Jewish mother, and Frazier had a Jewish stepfather. But the very same laws that discriminated against them—the Nuremberg Laws—also permitted them to serve in the German army. They therefore left because they did not want to fight for a regime that discriminated against them.

Though life in America was certainly better than life in Germany, adjustment to American life was at times problematic; Korf and Frazier were uncomfortable with their status as enemy aliens and were resentful about being investigated by the FBI after the war began. It is interesting that of the four men, Korf was the only one who knew about the internment of Germans in camps. Korf's job as reporter for a German-language publication may have given him better access to such information. In addition, of the four men highlighted in this essay, Korf was the only one who lived in New York, an area where an inordinately large number of arrests occurred.[45] The fact that the other three men had such limited knowledge about the camps suggests that the numbers of internees as cited by historians Tolzmann, Holian and Fox have been perhaps exaggerated; though certainly many more veterans have to be interviewed before a definitive conclusion can be reached on the subject.

Their German background made their adjustment to army life difficult at times. Korf and Schmitt discovered that they were not "American" enough to be fully accepted at OCS. The men found their true niches in military intelligence and counterintelligence,

agencies that made the best use of their backgrounds and language skills. Though they were understandably shaken by the horror of the concentration camps, the men had different interpretations of whom they believed was responsible for it. Elbe and Schmitt leveled blame on Germany's leadership, and believed that German people were ignorant about what was going on. Korf and Frazier, on the other hand, seemed to feel that "ordinary" Germans were also involved in the tragedy; this may well be conditioned by the fact that both saw the horrors of the concentration camps of Flossenbürg and Dachau first-hand.

All four made important contributions to the war effort. As recent immigrants from Germany, the four servicemen were more intimately connected with the German way of life than their American counterparts. This in turn enabled them to do their various jobs—interpreting German documents, interrogating prisoners of war, and ferreting out war criminals and administering the occupation—more efficiently and rapidly than their American counterparts. Their treatment of their former countrymen appears to have been even-handed and quite fair; this also made the Germans perhaps better disposed towards their American conquerors.

Their stint in the army enabled them to contribute to the defeat of Nazism, and it also allowed them to complete the transition from being victims of Nazism to being victors over Nazism. But although they wanted to be regarded as Americans during and after the war, they remained connected to German affairs for the rest of their lives. Elbe became a member of the military government in Germany, Korf worked for the Berlin and Munich Overseas Missions for the Department of Justice, Schmitt became a distinguished professor of German history, and Frazier conducted counseling workshops in Germany during his retirement.

These four men were part of a sizeable cohort: 33,396 men who served in the U.S. army during World War II were born in Germany. Of this group, 14,452 were non-citizens, and probably had some memories of Hitler before leaving Germany.[46] Their stories have a special place in the history of Nazism and World War II. Most studies on World War II deal with its military aspects and with experiences of American soldiers.[47] But the German emigrants did not fit into the latter category because their commitment to fighting the war was different from that of native born American soldiers. As Korf put it, "I felt very strongly that I should go into combat, because these boys that came from Pennsylvania and South Dakota, they didn't even know what a Nazi was. They had no idea what they were fighting for, and they were going to get killed for it, too. I felt I had a much higher obligation."[48] This sentiment was shared by the other three as well. Most studies on Nazism deal with its major perpetrators and its victims, and those who opposed the regime. The emigrants' experiences, however, do not fit into these categories either. Victims of Nazism are typically billed as those who lived under Hitler's regime in Germany—or in areas under control of the German army—for the duration of the Second World War. The emigrants were victimized for a shorter period of time, but the fact that they opposed Nazism not only by leaving Nazi Germany but also by joining the U.S. armed forces shows that they fought Nazism in their own special way.

More research—including oral histories need to be done on men who escaped Nazism and then confronted its demise as members of the United States army. Their memories on the subject of the internment of German-Americans and recent émigrés would help to flesh out the debate on this problem. But obtaining information from them is becoming increasingly difficult; only a few have written their memoirs, and their

cohort of World War II veterans is dying out at the rate of about fifteen hundred per day—it is therefore important that historians and researchers retrieve their memories before it is too late.[49]

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## Notes

[1] See Don H. Tolzmann, ed., *German-Americans in the World Wars,* 5 vols. (Munich: KG Saur, 1995); Timothy J. Holian, *The German-Americans and World War II: An Ethnic Experience* (New York: Peter Lang, 1998), and Stephen Fox, *America's Invisible Gulag: A Biography of German-American Internment and Exclusion in World War II* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000); Arthur D. Jacobs, *The Prison Called Hohenansperg: An American Boy Betrayed By His Government During World War II* (New York: Universal Publishers, 1998); Max Friedman, *Nazis and Good Neighbors: The United States Campaign against the Germans of Latin America in World War II* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005). In 2001, U.S. Senator Russell Feingold of Wisconsin cast his lot with the former group and introduced a bill, entitled Wartime Treatment of European Americans, which states that approximately eleven thousand German-Americans were "unfairly arrested, detained, interred, or relocated by the U.S. government." When the bill came up for review in the Senate Judiciary Committee in March 2002, its sponsors argued the injustices suffered by the German-Americans and other ethnic groups during World War II warrant further investigation. Two commissions were subsequently created to review the U.S. government's treatment of these groups; a vote on the Senate floor is currently pending.

[2] Christian Bauer und Rebekka Göpfert, *Die Ritchie Boys: Deutsche Emigranten beim US-Geheimdienst* (Munich: Hoffman und Campe Verlag, 2005). A description of the Bauer film is at http://www.theritchieboys.com. The book and the film are based on interviews with ten veterans: Werner Angress, Victor Brombert, Phillip Glaessner, Fred Howard, Si Lewen, Morris Parloff, Rudolf Michaels, Richard Schifter, Hans Spear and Guy Stern. Karras's film is explained on the website http://www.aboutfacefilm.com. He interviewed Martin Selling, John Slade, Karl Goldsmith, Werner Rindsberg, Fritz Weinschenk, Sigmund Spiegel, Theodore Bachenheimer and Erich Boehm. Korf's story is the subject of the biography *"I Must be a Part of this War": A German-American's Fight Against Hitler and Nazism* by Patricia Kollander with John O'Sullivan, contributor (New York: Fordham University Press, 2005).

[3] Joachim Elbe, *Witness to History: A Refugee from the Third Reich* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), p. 202.

[4] Ibid., p. 254.

[5] John Patrick Finnegan, *Military Intelligence* (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, United States Army, 1998), p. 65.

[6] Ibid., p. 281.

[7] Ibid., p. 286.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Peter Hoffmann, *The History of the German Resistance, 1933-1945,* 3rd ed. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), p. xiii.

[10] Elbe, *Witness to History,* pp. 292-93.

[11] Interview with K. Frank Korf, 24 February 2000. K. Frank and Rita Korf Collection, Florida Atlantic University Library (hereafter Korf Collection).

[12] English composition by Korf dated 17 April 1940 entitled, "Admission Denied," Korf Collection.

[13] In his book, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), Holocaust expert Raul Hilberg notes that as of 1939, there were 64,000 *Mischlinge* of the first degree and 43,000 *Mischlinge* of the second degree living in Germany, Austria and the Sudetenland. The original census figures are published in *Statistik des Deutschen Reiches,* Heft 3: *Die Bevölkerung des Deutschen Reiches nach der Religionszugehörigkeit* (Berlin: C.H. Beck Verlag, 1942) and Heft 4: *Die Juden und jüdischen Mischlinge im Deutschen Reich* (Berlin: C.H. Beck Verlag, 1944).

[14] Interview with K. Frank Korf, 24 February 2000. Korf Collection.

[15] Until fairly recently, historians assumed that all *Mischlinge* were exempt from military service by virtue of their "tainted" blood. But research by historian Bryan Mark Rigg shows that up to 150,000 *Mischlinge* served in the German army during World War II. Though scholars have disputed Rigg's numbers, Rigg is probably correct in his conclusion that "The *Mischlinge* experience clearly demonstrates the complexity of life in the Third Reich. Nazi policy toward them was a maze of confusion and contradictions, which reflected the regime's uncertainty about how to deal with Germans of partial Jewish descent." See Bryan Mark Rigg, *Hitler's Jewish Soldiers: The Untold Story of Nazi Racial Laws and Men of Jew Descent in the German Military* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2002).

[16] Tent, In the Shadow of the Holocaust, p. 268.

[17] In December 1939, Kuhn was found guilty of embezzling Bund funds, and sentenced to a two to five year jail term in Sing-Sing. Released in 1943, he was subsequently stripped of his American citizenship

and held for extradition on Ellis Island. He returned to his native Germany in 1946, and died five years later. LaVern J. Rippley, *The German-Americans* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1976), p. 206.

[18] Krammer, *Undue Process*, p. 3.

[19] The National Archives contains records of FBI interviews with camp detainees regarding their associations with pro-German organizations in the United States. Records of the Office of Alien Property. Records of German Organizations: Deutsche-Amerikanische Berufsgemeinshcaft. Records of FBI Investigations and Exhibits in Court Cases, 1936-43. Expert Testimony, Exhibits. RG 131 Box 3.

[20] K. Frank Korf to Margarete Korf, 24 November 1942. Korf Collection.

[21] *Selective Service and Victory: The 4th Report of the Director of Selective Service* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1948), pp. 206-7.

[22] Interview with Rita Korf, 6 January 2001.

[23] K. Frank Korf, Unpublished memoir, p. 74, Korf Collection. German-born soldiers in the American army were not always shot, but suffered ill-treatment. Jay Bitzer, who emigrated from Germany as a small child, became a ball turret gunner in the air force and was shot down in France in 1943. He spent the rest of the war in prison camps in Germany. Though he never divulged any information beyond his name, rank and serial number, the Germans somehow found out he was born in Germany, and singled him out for beatings and sessions in solitary confinement. He recalled that at Luft Stalag IV there was "one guard who singled me out. He hit me on the side of the head and sent me sprawling. After a few more punches he let me know that he was not happy about my fighting against the 'Fatherland.'" Interview with Jay Bitzer, December 2003.

[24] For a long time, Korf believed that he was one of the first to liberate the camp, but when he attended Liberators Conference sponsored by the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council in 1981, he learned that this was not necessarily the case. Members of the 358th and 359th Infantry Regiments of the 90th Infantry Division told Korf that they had entered the camp on 23 April—five days prior to Korf's arrival. Korf himself admitted in a letter to the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council that, "considering the flux which is normal to combat and the fact that Flossenbürg was not actually defended, it is hard to say who the liberator was, the 97th or the 90th division." The website of the memorial of the camp states that it was liberated by the 90th division on 23 April. See http://www.gedenkstaette-flossenbuerg.de/ and Kollander and O'Sullivan, *I Must be a Part of this War*, p. 111.

[25] Ibid, p.104. Korf Collection.

[26] Interview with K. Frank Korf, 9 March 2000, Korf Collection.

[27] K. Frank Korf, Unpublished memoir, p. 176, Korf Collection.

[28] Hans Schmitt, *Lucky Victim: An Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), pp. 185-86.

[29] Ibid., p. 187.

[30] Ibid., pp. 196-97.

[31] Ibid., pp. 208-9.

[32] Ibid., p. 206-7.

[33] Ibid., p. 217.

[34] Schmitt is the author of several books, including *Charles Péguy; the Decline of an Idealist* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967), *Quakers and Nazis: Inner Light in Outer Darkness* (St. Louis: University of Missouri Press, 1997), *The Path to European Union: From the Marshall Plan to the Common Market* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University State Press, 1962).

[35] Schmitt, *Lucky Victim*, p. 66.

[36] Tom Frazier, *Behind the Lines* (Oakland, CA: Oakland, CA, 2001), p. 72.

[37] Ibid., p. 80.

[38] Ibid., p. 91.

[39] Ibid., p. 107.

[40] Ibid., p. 117.

[41] Ibid., p. 120.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid., p. 131.

[44] Ibid., pp. 338-39.

[45] See Don H. Tolzmann, ed., *German-Americans in the World Wars, vol. 4: The World War II Experience. The Internment of German-Americans* (Munich: KG Saur, 1995).

[46] A 1948 report by Watson B. Miller, Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization entitled "Foreign Born in the US Army During World War II, with Special Reference to the Alien" contains a table entitled "United States Citizenship Status of Foreign Born Who Enlisted or Were Inducted, United States Army: July 1, 1940, to June 30, 1945." The table reports that 33,396 men who served were born in Germany. Of this group, 18,944 were citizens, and 14,452 were non-citizens. Watson B. Miller, "Foreign Born in the US Army During World War II, with Special Reference to the Alien" (Carlisle Barracks, PA: US Military History Institute Library).

[47] Stephen Ambrose, *Citizen Soldiers: The U.S. Army from the Normandy Beaches to the Bulge to the Surrender of Germany* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997) and Paul Fussell, *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

[48] Interview with K. Frank Korf 8 June 2000. Korf Collection.

[49] Apart from the memoirs of Elbe, Schmitt and Frazier, other memoirs include: Kurt Gabel's *The Making of a Paratrooper, Airborne Training and Combat in World War II* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 1990); Werner von Rosenstiel, *Hitler's Soldier in the U.S. Army: An Unlikely Memoir of World War II* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2006) and Alfred Meyer's unpublished manuscript "My Life as a Fish" excerpts of which can be found on the website www.theritchieboys.com.

Angelika Arend

# *"Der Linie folgend, schrieb entzückt ich: Blau":* Tradition and Modernism in the Poetry of Walter Bauer

## I

If statistics are to be trusted, blue is by far the most popular color both with (German) men and women.[1] This is not surprising: we live on the "Blue Planet," we are surrounded by the blue sky, the blue seas, by blue mountains and blue distances. Germans speak of "blau machen" and "ins Blaue fahren," they often "reden das Blaue vom Himmel herunter" and "erleben ihr blaues Wunder."

The special significance of the color blue reaches back to the known origins of mankind. Since times immemorial, blue has been the color of the gods. Marduk, the highest god of the old Babylonians, the Persian god Mithras, the Egyptian goddess Isis, the Germanic god Wotan – all were clad in a blue robe. Hinduism imagines the beginning of the world as a blue light, and an elephant painted blue serves as a symbol of divine inspiration. Similarly, in ancient Egypt, a blue hippopotamus was considered to possess the power of bestowing life. Tibetan Buddhism sees blue streaming forth from the heart of the god Vairocana and forming the highest spiritual essence, the primal form of all consciousness. In Christian religious painting, "Himmel-Blau" (blue as the color of both "sky" and "heaven") symbolized the wisdom and power of the divine creation emanating and descending from above. As the color of both Christ's and Mary's mantle, blue served to symbolize the revelation of the divine presence on earth. In Renaissance landscape painting with its newly introduced perspective, the symbolic function of the color blue became an expressive one: it now served to depict distance and openness of the natural setting.

This effect was described more precisely by Goethe in the sixth "Abteilung" of his "Farbenlehre," completed in 1807:

> Diese Farbe macht für das Auge eine sonderbare und fast unaussprechliche Wirkung. Sie ist als Farbe eine Energie; . . . ist in ihrer höchsten Reinheit gleichsam ein reizendes Nichts. Es ist etwas Widersprechendes von Reiz und Ruhe im Anblick.
> Wie wir den hohen Himmel, die fernen Berge blau sehen, so scheint eine blaue Fläche auch vor uns zurückzuweichen. Wie wir einen angenehmen Gegenstand, der vor uns flieht, gern verfolgen, so sehen wir das Blaue gerne an, nicht weil es auf uns dringt, sondern weil es uns nach sich zieht.[2]

To Goethe, the color blue was an energy which, as it seems to recede into the distance,

beckons the eye to follow it. Similarly, Schiller ascribed to this color an elevating power. In the thirteenth stanza of his philosophical poem "Das Ideal und das Leben," he wrote:

> Aber in den heitern Regionen,
> Wo die reinen Formen wohnen,
> Rauscht des Jammers trüber Sturm nicht mehr.
> . . .
> Lieblich, wie der Iris Farbenfeuer
> Auf der Donnerwolke duft'gem Tau,
> Schimmert durch der Wehmut düstern Schleier
> Hier der Ruhe heitres Blau. (lines 1-3; 7-10)[3]

But there is a difference. Goethe's "sinnlich-sittliche" perception of colors remained firmly rooted in a nature symbolism that centers around light. To Schiller, the color blue, as it appears in the higher regions of "pure form," evoked the vastness of the universe and with it the freedom of the mind to ascend and create its own spiritual universe. As Angelika Overath explains: "[Diese Farbe] öffnet die Sphäre des Ideals nach oben, wo früher ein Himmel . . . eine Weltordnung sichtbar verbürgte, und führt ins Innere, in die freie 'Heiterkeit' des Künstlers, aus der heraus die 'Kunst des Unendlichen' entsteht."[4] The color blue "opens the realm of ideals upward" and elevates the artist to a higher state of "serenity" from which he may draw his "infinite" art.

From here, it is only one small step to the romantic poet Novalis who saw the poet's task as one of "poeticizing the world" ("Poetisierung der Welt") – of intensifying and transforming man's experience of the world and raising it to another sphere. In his novel *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* (1802), Novalis employs the motif of the "blaue Blume" in his protagonist's transformation from a burgher's son to a poet. The blue flower first appears to Heinrich in a dreamscape saturated with blue light; as he later leaves his father's house and departs into the blue distance, he has a strong sense of being on his way "home" to his "Vaterland"; when he encounters Mathilde he recognizes in her face the blue flower of his dream; in a second dream, he and Mathilde embrace under the blue waves of the river, and with her kiss she passes him "ein wunderbares geheimes Wort" which fills his entire being. Would this "wonderful mysterious word" continue to live within him even after the dream has ended – and make him a poet? Novalis did not complete the novel.

Be that as it may, in this novel fragment, as elsewhere in his works, Novalis has assembled some significant symbols: the loving woman and the (blue) flower, the latter bowing as if in greeting to the onlooker – both encountered in a setting of either blue light, mostly emanating from a blue sky, or blue water. These images represent various aspects of the complex notion of poetic creativity which together they symbolize. The flower and the woman embody a "feminine" force which, as it generates life and beauty, is the source of poetic creativity. The blue light or sky bear witness to the otherness of the state of mind such creativity involves, and to the clarity and transcendence it may afford. Water, the fluid element, brings to this symbolism the all-important dimension of "Auflösung" – of dissolving, melting, fusing. The implications here are twofold. As in music, this may be a process of resolving rigid and/or discrepant structures in harmonious form: poetry. On an existential plane, this may be a process by which the

"poeticized" self is dissolved and fused into oneness with the universe. All of the images serving this complex symbolism – woman, flower, sky and water – are blue or bathed in blue. This color, then, is the unifying element and eidetic hallmark of a symbolic complex developed by the Romantic poet to render poetically the agency of a creative force that he hoped would "poeticize the world" and restore human life to the original oneness of all being.

The nineteenth century with its bent towards realism and scientific precision was not inclined to embrace any idea of such transforming power of poetry. It was up to the Impressionists to revive in their paintings of air and light the symbolism of colors, and of the color blue. The Expressionists, too, as they strove to bring about a spiritual renewal, were quick to seize on the psychological effect and transcending power of blue. They clearly picked up the thread spun by their classical-romantic forefathers. In his pioneering book *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* (1910), Wassily Kandinsky wrote the following:

> Die Neigung des Blau zur Vertiefung ist so groß, daß es gerade in tieferen Tönen intensiver wird und charakteristischer innerlich wirkt. Je tiefer das Blau wird, desto mehr ruft es den Menschen in das Unendliche, weckt in ihm die Sehnsucht nach Reinem und schließlich Übersinnlichem.[5]

This recalls Goethe's description of the color blue as "energy." And both the "yearning for purity and transcendence" and the synaesthetic aspect of Kandinsky's perception of the color blue hark back to the romantic sensibility:

> Musikalisch dargestellt ist helles Blau einer Flöte ähnlich, das dunkle dem Cello, immer tiefer gehend den wunderbaren Klängen der Baßgeige; in tiefer feierlicher Form ist der Klang des Blau dem der tiefen Orgel vergleichbar. (Overath 22)

German lyric modernism continued to spin the blue thread. Stefan George ("Blaue Stunde"), Rainer Maria Rilke ("Blaue Hortensie") and Georg Trakl ("Kindheit," "An Novalis") gave us notable examples. George's poem "Blaue Stunde" (1899) is particularly interesting. The title served to acknowledge and confirm a new artistic convention: "Blue Hour" was the name given to late-afternoon gatherings set aside for conversation and reflection away from quotidian concerns. The color blue with its special "energy" – its beckoning effect, its intensifying power and evanescence – effectively points to the otherness of an hour that may bring, for its short duration, deep inner experience:

> Sieh diese blaue stunde
> Entschweben hinterm gartenzelt!
> Sie brachte frohe funde
> Für bleiche Schwestern ein entgelt. (stanza I)

> Wie eine tiefe weise
> Die uns gejubelt und gestöhnt
> In neuem paradeise
> Noch lockt und rührt wenn schon vertönt. (stanza IV)[6]

The "happy finds" of this "blue hour" continue to "beckon" and "move" as "a deep melody" would do even after it has ended. This is a clear pointer to poetry, associated since Novalis's blue flower with the color blue: to the joys of poetic creativity and its long lasting effect.

No other poet has made the color blue "his" color as did Gottfried Benn, the principal mediator and initiator of modern lyric poetry in post-war Germany.[7] Even though in his influential lecture "Probleme der Lyrik" (1951) he emphatically rejected "Farbadjektive" as cheap clichés "die besser beim Optiker und Augenarzt ihr Unterkommen finden," he confessed in the same breath his passion for the color blue: "In Bezug auf eine Farbe allerdings muss ich mich auf die Brust schlagen, es ist Blau–" (VI, 18).[8] The title of his well-known poem "Blaue Stunde" (I, 246-7), clearly borrowed from Stefan George, serves to bring to his poem the notion of the profound otherness of an intensely experienced hour of fulfillment. However, the borrowing also serves to accentuate a significant difference. While George, at the turn of the nineteenth century, could exult in "frohe funde" afforded by such a "blue-hour" and enjoyed long after the "hour" has ended, Benn, in the middle of the twentieth century, could only reap from it a vague and evanescent "Kunde" of something existing beyond the confines of words, beyond the confines of consciousness:

> Wir wissen beide, jene Worte,
> die jeder oft zu anderen sprach und trug,
> sind zwischen uns wie nichts und fehl am Orte:
> dies ist das Ganze und der letzte Zug. (I, stanza 2)

> Du bist so weich, du gibst von etwas Kunde,
> von einem Glück aus Sinken und Gefahr
> in einer blauen, dunkelblauen Stunde
> und wenn sie ging, weiß keiner, ob sie war. (II, stanza 3)

> "Was sich erhebt, das will auch wieder enden,
> was sich erlebt – wer weiß denn das genau,
> die Kette schließt, man schweigt in diesen Wänden
> und dort die Weite, hoch und dunkelblau." (III, stanza 2)

The erotic encounter here rendered seems to be an apt metaphor for an experience that yields intimations of worlds beyond the lexicon of common discourse: one inner realm ("Glück aus Sinken") and one distant realm ("dort die Weite"). The logic of contrast suggests that both these realms are places where other words, poetic words, may be found.[9] Significantly, both realms, the inner and the distant one, are symbolically described as blue. No feat of imagination is required to recognize the imagery here employed as a modern vehicle of the old twin-notion of poetic creativity as possessing a "feminine" and a "masculine" dimension. Indeed, to Benn, the word "blue" with its long literary tradition encompasses the entire complex of poetic creativity. Describing the creative process, he elaborates:

> Da wäre vielleicht eine Befreundung für Blau, welch Glück, welch reines Erlebnis! . . . nun kann man ja den Himmel von Sansibar über den Blüten der

> Bougainville und das Meer der Syrten in sein Herz beschwören, man denke dies ewige schöne Wort! Nicht umsonst sage ich Blau. Es ist das Südwort schlechthin, der Exponent des "ligurischen Komplexes," von enormem "Wallungswert," das Hauptmittel zur "Zusammenhangsdurchstoßung," nach der die Selbstentzündung beginnt, das "tödliche Fanal," auf das sie zuströmen, die fernen Reiche, um sich einzufügen in die Ordnung [des Gedichts]. (VI, 25-6)

Translated into plain words, this means: "thinking" the word blue sets in motion an imaginative process of calling up the manifold denotations and connotations this word may yield, of breaking up given contexts of meaning and association, and creating new ones. All this, of course, is predicated on wide-ranging knowledge and life-experience, on a readily "inflamed" imagination and a special linguistic sensitivity.

Benn envisions this newly created, "poetic" context or "order" as a concise structure devoid of discursive or descriptive detail, but pregnant with implication and association; as a structure depending not so much on syntactic elaboration as on the expressive power of the word. The word is used as a "cipher" – a "Chiffre," "eine stilistische Figur" (VI, 25) whose encoded riches are to be explored by the reader.[10]

Specifically, the word blue, embraced as such a "Chiffre," calls up in the poet's mind the range of meaning and the evocative richness it has accumulated in the course of its long history: the purity, absoluteness, (masculine) spirituality and transcendence of the sky; the deeply primordial, fluid, life-giving (feminine) force of the ocean. Both these dimensions – one metaphorically located in the culturally rich Mediterranean sphere, the other in the natural and exotic realm of "the south" – are seen to be active agents of the creative process. Clearly, this latter can no longer aim at a "Poetisierung der Welt," but it may grant moments of pleasure ("Glück"), moments enriched by a "Transzendenz der schöpferischen Lust" (VI, 14), by a temporary liberation of the creative mind – the poet's as well as the reader's – from the tribulations of our fractured modern existence.

## II

What does all this have to do with the German-Canadian poet Walter Bauer? No doubt the most significant Canadian immigrant writer hailing from Germany, Bauer (1904-1976)[11] remained firmly rooted in the German literary tradition. His continued use of German even after his emigration to Canada is the most obvious indicator of this unbroken connection. His choices of themes and poetic means, too, remained in large measure indebted to his German heritage. No wonder, then, that he availed himself repeatedly of the tradition-laden symbol "blue." An examination of its various uses in his poetry will not only provide evidence of Walter Bauer's lasting German-ness but, more importantly, yield insight into the historical context of his poetic work.

In his unpublished manuscript "Atemzüge" (1971)[12] we find the following thought-provoking poetic miniature:

> Linie auf einem Blatt
> Der Vogel, der dem Blick vorüberschoss
> Gedankenschnell und schattenlos,
> Als trage Botschaft er von wo? wohin?

Zog eine Linie durch den Raum genau
Und strich sie auch durch meinen Sinn.
Der Linie folgend, schrieb entzückt ich: Blau. ("Atemzüge" 50)

It is easy enough to see that this short poem tells of a happy moment of inspiration received unexpectedly and inexplicably. The enigmatic message suggested by the bird's flight, the onlooker tracing its direction, his joy about the gift thus received, his eagerness to write it down – all these are images frequently used by Bauer, as will be shown later in this essay. But what are we to make of the word "blue" written down as a consequence of this inspirational moment? We may think of the sky as both the backdrop of the bird's flight and the goal of the mental process it has set in motion. The word "blue," then, appears to serve as an intra-textual symbol. Thanks to its emphatic end-position, however, it points strongly beyond the text, thus acting as a signal, as a sign or "Chiffre" that calls for further exploration. We are back to Gottfried Benn. On 23 February 1976, Walter Bauer wrote in his diary:

> Gestern nachmittag die großartigen Gedichte von Gottfried Benn – Gedichte, Melancholie, Verse – gelesen. Bis auf den frühen Brecht (und einige der älteren): nichts kommt ihnen gleich; nicht an Ton, nicht an Fülle der Existenz. ("Tagebuch" 66)[13]

The mature Bauer's positive assessment of Benn's poetry, which in earlier years had been alien, even abhorrent to him, may come as a surprise. It has been briefly discussed by this author in the context of the apparent affinity of Bauer's "Hieroglyphe," exemplar of expressive precision, and Benn's "Chiffre."[14] In the poem here considered, Bauer uses in plain "primärer Setzung" (Benn) the ancient *Hieroglyphe* and modern *Chiffre* "Blau" to evoke the entire body of classical-romantic-expressionist thought that was outlined in the introductory paragraphs of this essay. Surely, Walter Bauer, the professor of German literature, was aware of these connections; the poet Bauer utilized them for his creative purposes: not simply adopting what he found, but blending it with his own brand of thought and imagery developed over many years of poetic practice.

As Bauer himself has pointed out, in his early "proletarian songs," published in 1929 (*Kameraden, zu euch spreche ich)* and 1930 (*Stimme aus dem Leunawerk*), there were only two colors: black and red – calling out, stammering, demanding ("[sie] riefen, . . . stammelten, . . . forderten" [*Stimme* 126]). On close inspection, we encounter the color blue three times. In two of these cases it simply forms part of a realistic description: in the poem "Verbraucht" (*Stimme* 98), a "blue pot" with some food is placed in front of a person completely worn out by work and misery; in the poem "Streik" (*Stimme* 103), a bluish coat of machine oil is seen on the waste water of the factory. Only once does the color blue serve a more important expressive function: as a sight desired by a factory worker surrounded by walls and wires: "Laß mich doch Bläue sehn, wenn Sommer naht, / ich bin doch Mensch" ("Pförtner im Werk" [stanza 2, lines 3-4], *Stimme* 53). Buried in the soot and rust of the "Leunawerk," this is a first pointer to the "delightful blue of the sky" ("das köstliche Blau des Himmels") which was to feature prominently in the poet's later works.

For some time to come, however, this "Sohn der Erde" was taken by the color green, which by the evidence of the poems contained in the two slim volumes *Gast auf Erden*

(1943) and *Dämmerung wird Tag* (1947) poured forth from his pen during the years of war. Green was a sign of life, of blossoming, of hope. The ocean, too, was green ("Ein Sommervers," *Gast* 20). Where "der Himmel" did not prompt thoughts about the loss of religious assurance, the poet described the sky as silken, gentle, wide – never blue. The sky was a source of light and yearning, but never in association with the color blue. Even in his *Blaues Oktavheft* (1953), Bauer described the sky as cool and free and delicately green ("Treffpunkt," *Oktavheft* 20).

However, it was in this "blue" volume of poetry, the first one written in Canada, that the "greater" sky of Spring was finally given back its traditional color: "Botschaften erglänzen in seinem Blau" ("Alles fängt wieder an" [line 8], *Oktavheft* 31). From now on, the poems collected in *Nachtwachen des Tellerwäschers* (1957), *Klopfzeichen* (1962) and *Fragment vom Hahnenschrei* (1966), depict the sky as "blue" in a variety of shades of color and meaning: deep, pure, clear, delightful, perfect, untouched, cool. The ocean, too – significantly the Mediterranean Sea nostalgically remembered by Italian and Greek immigrants – is now "blue" ("Franco," *Nachtwachen* 19; "Fährt Odysseus noch immer," *Nachtwachen* 39). To be more precise: the sea is "veilchenblau" ("Franco" [line 8]). May this be a first allusion to the lost "südliches Reich" of the "blue flower"?

To return to the volume *Blaues Oktavheft* and the blue sky that seems to hold out messages ("Botschaften") to the onlooker. Here a theme is struck that runs like a leitmotif through Bauer's entire Canadian poetry. In the third of his "Kanadische Verse" (*Oktavheft* 80), he gives us this image:

> Heute morgen in der Sterling Road
> ...
> fand ich eine Vogelfeder
> und hob sie auf.
> ...
> Ich sah empor.
> Über mir der blaßblaue Morgenhimmel
> war voll unermeßlicher Freiheit. (III [lines 1; 3-4; 10-12])

This is the first notable example of a motif complex whose elements Bauer was to use again and again in varying combination: the sky is a pure blue surface that brings out clearly the pattern and direction of a bird's flight, which latter yields to the sensitive mind a message or an inspiration and, with the "Feder" (both "feather" and "quill") it sends down, an invitation to write. Also in *Oktavheft* (22) we read "von der Linie unbeschreiblich zart und kühn, / die ein Vogelflug an die Tafel des Himmels schreibt" ("Singen in alten Maßen" [lines 21-2]). A similar image is found in *Fragment* (113): "Wie rein / Die Schrift / Früher Vogelflüge / Auf der kühlen Fläche / Des Himmels" ("Die Berichte über den Auschwitz-Prozeß lesend," XIII [lines 1-5]). In the unpublished poetic cycle "Morgen, Tag und Nacht: hell" (1965), the message written by the bird into the blue of the sky is "light":

> Ein Blitz
> Schoss durch das Blau:
> Ein Vogel –
> "Welche Botschaft?"

Schrei ich ihm nach.
Das Echo seines Schattens zittert:
Licht. (VI, UP)[15]

In the cycle "Im Innern der Stadt," (*Lebenslauf* [1975], 82-85), the poet, as he reflects on the messages written by the birds into the cool blue sky, is unexpectedly greeted by a passer-by; he sees a familiar "Gesicht" (both "face" and "vision") and promptly seizes on this greeting as a "Glücksfeder" sent to him for the purpose of returning the greeting:

Unerwartet
Sagt eine Stimme "Hello".
Ich schaue auf, verwirrt,
Ich sehe ein bekanntes Gesicht.
Eine goldene Glücksfeder
Schwebt vom Himmel, ich fange sie auf.
"Hello – Hello", sage ich. (XII, *Lebenslauf* 85)

What in this poetic context he "says" is what his writing is all about: it is "mein . . . Gruß für meine Freunde und für Unbekannte" ("Tritt ein, hier lebe ich" [line 32], *Nachtwachen* 58).

An important aspect of Bauer's blue-sky imagery is the sense of freedom which the sight of the blue sky evokes:[16] "unermeßliche Freiheit" ("Kanadische Verse," *Oktavheft* 80), "Freiheit des Fluges" – freedom of flight, freedom of the creative mind:

Die Karte mit einer japanischen Zeichnung,
In einer Buchhandlung zufällig gefunden,
Zeigt weiter nichts als in wolkenlos leichtem Blau
Eine Wildgans in einem großen
Leicht hingetuschtem Ringe,
Die ohne Zweifel die Sonne bedeutet.
Das ist genug: Freiheit des Fluges
Im Raum, den ich nie größer sah
Als auf diesem Blatt. ("Unendliches Blau," UP [1968])

Evidently, not only the natural sky, but also the sky mediated through art may be a source and prompter of the creative impulse:

Und an der Wand ein Druck von Georges Braque, dem Meister . . .
Wie tief das Blau ist, Bläue eines Himmels ohne Sorgen,
. . .
Und dann ein Vogel noch – Phönix? Der uns Botschaften bringt
Vom Feuer, in dem man brennen soll, um herrlich und verwandelt
aufzugliegen? ("Tritt ein" [lines 16-17; 21-2], *Nachtwachen* 57-8)

The last line confirms – albeit in the form of a question – the idea of the transforming and elevating power of creativity which the poet wishes to convey through his blue-sky imagery. The mythic bird Phoenix, repeatedly imagined by Bauer as a deliverer

of important information, points to the "masculine" component of creativity often rendered as a movement towards a goal, either along the curved line of a bow: "Gold war deines Fluges Bogen" ("Ein Morgenlied" [stanza 2, line 2] *Gast* 97), or along the straight line of an arrow: "Der Vogel schoß hinaus – ein Pfeil ins Licht" ("Frühling" [line 10], *Oktavheft* 19).

At the same time, the phoenix-image with its suggestion of death through fire and subsequent emergence of new life, reinforced by the easily imagined "Rauschen" of his wings, also brings into play the "feminine" component of creativity. Its most obvious mediator, however, remains the "blue flower": the African violet in the window of the "elderly man" asked about his favorite color:

> Auch Blau möchte ich nennen,
> Es ist die Farbe
> Der afrikanischen Veilchen
> Auf meinem Fensterbrett,
> Die Farbe eines zarten Saluts,
> Der mich oft und beglückend
> Unerwartet traf.
> ("Interview mit einem älteren Mann," V [lines 12-18], *Fragment* 90)

With this declaration, the "elderly man" Walter Bauer seems to acknowledge his romantic forefather Heinrich von Ofterdingen who over a century ago had been struck and moved by the tender face of Mathilde – the face of the blue flower, the symbol of love which in co-operation with poetry was to change, i.e., to heal the world and return it to the transcendent oneness of being. Bauer's (undated) poem "Frühjahrsgruß im Februar" confirms the poetic impulse which he, the modern poet, receives from his "blue flower" – "[s]ein altes Veilchen": " . . . wie gut sich 'Blau' auf diesem Blatte schreibt" (line 9). But times are radically different. Gone is the belief in the possibility of transforming and thereby improving the world:

> Das Blau des Himmels, winters lange mir verborgen,
> Fand ich im Blau von Blüten, die mein altes Veilchen unerwartet treibt.
> Es ändert nichts (man ist jetzt so auf 'Verändern' aus).
> Es sagt – wenn es denn etwas sagen muss – : auch ich bin Licht vom großen Quell,
> Ich bin ein Gruß von fernem Frühjars- fernerem Sommermorgen;
> Ich bin nicht dunkel (dunkel ist der Grund, aus dem ich komme): ich bin hell
> Und bin so eifrig wie verschwiegen nur auf Blühen aus. –
> Das ist's; nicht weniger, nicht mehr. Was noch?
> O ja: wie gut sich 'Blau' auf diesem Blatte schreibt.
> ("Frühjahrsgruß im Februar," UP)

Gone, too, is any idea of, or hope for, other-worldly fulfillment. All we have is life here and now, to be embraced here and now. To the poet, the flower eager simply to blossom, thus bringing light into this world, is image and example of his own mission.

Bauer's this-worldly stance is effectively brought out by the color symbolism of the

poem "April: Das Blau" (*Auf Erden und im Licht* [1962]).[17] The speaker tells us that in order "to find the light," he need not see "den Himmel," the latter being "windverwühlt": rumpled by the winds of change. Instead, he is moved by the sight of violets and their "other blue" which "die Erde," without being begged – by prayer, one might add – has prepared with the best of life-giving sap:

> Dem alten Blick gibt sich uraltes Wunder neu:
> Ich brauch den Himmel, um das Licht zu finden, nicht zu sehen,
> Ich muss nur, ein paar Stufen ab, zum Frühjahrsgarten gehen;
> Zum regenfeuchten Schwarz beug ich mich – schau:
> Wie trifft mich da der Veilchen tiefes (o du schönes Reimwort) Blau.
> Es ist ein anderes Blau, als uns April bei windverwühltem Himmel schenkt,
> Die Erde hat es winterlang mit bestem Saft getränkt;
> Als wir in Weiss und Eis und Grauem fast erstarben,
> Da bildete die Erde ungefragt den Glanz von blauen Farben. (lines 1-9)

"Das Blau" no longer beckons the human spirit to fly up and away into a transcendent "Vaterland." It is a gift of the earth, "meinem Heimatorte" (line 15), found a few steps down in the garden, a place of human culture. No longer being perceived as an elusive energy holding promise of ultimate fulfillment, "das Blau" is the color of a living being that acts, with cyclical reliability, as a harbinger of the earth's "green" life and the inner peace it would afford:

> Ein Aufschlag wie von Augen wortlos, stummer Blick
> Streift sanft das Alter von mir ab und füllt mein Herz mit Glück.
> Oder was ist es, das mich, Blau empfangend, sprachlos macht
> Und wie ein Kind in mir das Schwinden meiner Zeit verlacht?
> "April" rief ich, "April," der Mutter zu, „die Veilchen sind schon da."
> So jedes Jahr. Wie fühl ich mich der Erde, meinem Heimatorte, nah.
> Ein neuer Schritt im Jahr dem Blühen, das nie ausbleibt, zu.
> Nun wart ich auf das Gras: im Grün zu liegen und zu atmen Grün
> in erdumschlossener Ruh. (lines 10-17)

In the face of a universe disenchanted by science and technology, of a universe we know so well as to be unwilling even to imagine an erotic attraction between a flower and a cosmic being,[18] we embrace the value of purely human mutual care and love, and declare these – "durch die (blaue) Blume," as Germans might say – to form the center and the goal of our striving:

> Afrikanisches Veilchen in meinem Fenster
> Nicht gerührt vom Mond, den man erreichte –
> Und man weiß nun: unbewohnbar, unbewohnt –
> Trägt das Veilchen, unversehns in Blüte, seine leichte
> Blaue Last, die sich zu tragen lohnt.
> Lohnt für wen? Für mich, der lang besorgte
> Seines Wachsens Tag und Schlaf,
> Bis ihn, nicht als Lohn: als Gabe dieser Sterne Aufgang traf. ("Atemzüge" 70)

Where a cosmic connection is still seen to exist, the color blue does not evoke any vision of an undivided world to be regained, but nostalgic images of a time when a small part of the world was experienced as whole:

Blau
Ein Strauß Kornblumen dunkelblau,
Ins Fenster vor die Nacht gestellt,
Darüber voll der Sommermond,
Bringt mir, vom Wind bewegt, ein Kindheitsfeld,
In dem mit Hase, Rebhuhn, Lerche ich gewohnt. ("Atemzüge" 21)

A cursory reading of this unassuming text is unlikely to attribute to its title "Blue" more than personal[19] or atmospheric value. But as we have seen, by the time Bauer wrote this poem, he had made his favorite color blue a favored poetic tool, fusing personal associations with the expressive and evocative richness the word "blue" had received in the course of its long poetic service. We may safely assume that Bauer here employed it for the wealth of associations it may bring to bear on his poetic snapshot of late-night or end-of life or modern-day nostalgia.

We have returned full circle to the mature Bauer's use of the word "Blau" as a "Chiffre" in the complex evocative way which Gottfried Benn had recovered from past tradition. As did Novalis, as did Gottfried Benn, so did Walter Bauer seize on this ever-significant color and gave it center place in a symbolic complex of images that was to hold up the importance and redemptive power of poetic creativity. While the romantic imagination had created a vision of a progressive improvement and ultimate transcendence of the world through poetry, its modern counterpart was content to embrace moments of intense temporal pleasure. While the romantic poet could lay out his vision in beautifully worded detailed images and phrases, the modern poet, sobered by the changed realities of his time, preferred to seek concise expressiveness: to favor implication over description, the terse "Chiffre" over the elaborate image.

This "modern" method of using the poetic word as an evocative sign rather than a vehicle of clearly formulated meaning was alien to Walter Bauer for most of his creative life. In venturing to write such "suggestive" rather than "communicative" poems, the mature poet undertook a first significant step in the direction of modern poetry as we know it from the works of Benn, Trakl, Celan and others. In this process, the "Reizwort" (Benn) "Blau" with its rich tradition and evocative power may have helped to put Bauer on this track. Significantly, in his later works he generally displayed a growing preference for precise poetic structures that imply more than they elaborate. Witness, for example, this exquisite love poem:

Einst, jetzt:
Als ich sie traf,
War sie schön.
Nach 25 Jahren
Ist sie viel schöner:
Damals sagten es viele.
Jetzt bin ich es, der es sagt. ("Tagebuch" 66, 29 August 1976)

Bauer's creative endeavor was abruptly ended by his early death that came at a time when he was determined more than ever before to surprise his readers with "great masculine" poetry: "Die großen Gedichte kommen noch," he wrote in his diary on 18 April 1974 ("Tagebuch" 63). The "great" poetry he had in mind may well have been the concisely expressive kind we have discussed above. A remark entered into his diary just a few months prior to that fateful 23 December 1976 affirms this possibility: "Schärfe des Messers; Präzision einer chinesischen Pinselzeichnung – Präzision muß nicht zu einer Kürze führen, die den Atem erstickt und tödlich ist" ("Tagebuch" 66, 29 August 1976). We shall never know how far Walter Bauer, had he lived longer, would have "follow[ed] the line" that points the way to the pregnant precision signified by "Blue."

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## Notes

[1] Blue: 38%; red: 20%; green: 12%. – "Beliebteste und unbeliebteste Farben," http:// www.metacolor.de/farben/lieblingsfarben.htm.

[2] *Goethes Werke*. Hamburger Ausgabe in 14 Bänden, ed. Erich Trunz (München: C.H. Beck, 10. Auflage 1974-7). Vol. 13: Naturwissenschaftliche Schriften, eds. Dorothea Kuhn and Rike Wankmüller (1975): 498.

[3] *Schillers Werke*. Nationalausgabe, ed. Norbert Oellers (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger 1983). Zweiter Band, Teil 1: Gedichte 400.

[4] Angelika Overath, *Das andere Blau: Zur Poetik einer Farbe im modernen Gedicht* (Stuttgart: Metzler 1987): 27. - My summary of the thematic treatment of the color blue in literature and art from Romanticism to Modernism is drawn from Overath's excellent discussions.

[5] Quoted from Overath 22.

[6] Stefan George, *Werke*. Ausgabe in zwei Bänden (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta 1984). Band 1: 208.

[7] See Reinhold Grimm, *Gottfried Benn: Die farbliche Chiffre in der Dichtung* (Nürnberg: Hans Carl 1962).

[8] Gottfried Benn, *Sämtliche Werke*. Stuttgarter Ausgabe in Verbindung mit Ilse Benn. Band 1-6, ed. Gerhard Schuster et al. (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta 1986-2001).

[9] Overath, too, urges to look beyond the obvious eroticism of Benn's "Blaue Stunde," arguing that this poem renders the "other" hour in which words are born and the poem is created (159-78).

[10] See Angelika Manyoni, "'Das Gedicht aus Worten, die Sie faszinierend montieren': Gottfried Benn's Conception of Poetic Montage," *German Life and Letters*, New Series 36.4 (1983): 329-46.

[11] Prior to his emigration in 1952, Walter Bauer had been a well established author. Hoping to safeguard the integrity of his poetic work, he left Germany when intellectual and literary developments were moving in a direction he could no longer follow. Within Canada, his continued use of German drastically reduced the number of his potential readers: most of those among whom he lived could not read his work, and his intended readers in Germany ceased to care for his "old-fashioned" ideas and concerns. Even though he never stopped writing, the deeply committed humanist Walter Bauer remained little known in the New World and was virtually forgotten in the Old. In Canada, poet and friend Henry Beissel made some of his poetry available in English translation (*The Price of Morning*, [Vancouver/Victoria: Prism International 1968]; *A Different Sun*, [Ottawa: Oberon 1976]). In Germany, Hans-Martin Pleßke's tireless efforts led to the reissue of *Stimme aus dem Leunawerk* (originally 1930) by Reclam/Leipzig in 1980. More recently, Günter Hess and Jürgen Jankofsky issued an eminently readable selection of poetry and short prose-works by Bauer, *Sonnentanz: Ein Walter-Bauer-Lesebuch* (Halle/Saale: Projekte Verlag 188, 1996). On the academic front, Johannes Maczewski's pioneering essay "Auf der Suche nach dem NICHTS: Zu Walter Bauers Kanada-Gedichten" (*Yearbook of German-American Studies* 19 [1984]: 133-53) was followed by two articles from the pen of Bauer-specialist Walter Riedel: "Das literarische Kanadabild: Ein Vergleich zu ausgewählten Werken von Walter Bauer und Henry Beissel" (*Deutschkanadisches Jahrbuch* 9 [1986]: 183-97) and "Scribo, ergo sum: Walter Bauer, Diarist" (*Seminar* 23.3 [1987]: 236-50). In an effort to rescue this "important author" from undeserved oblivion, and marking the 90th anniversary of his birthday, Walter Riedel and Rodney Symington brought out the first book-length study on Walter Bauer, *Der Wanderer: Aufsätze zu Leben und Werk von Walter Bauer* (Bern-Frankfurt a.M.-New York: Peter Lang 1994) – a collection of both reprinted and original essays on Bauer's life and work. Five years later, Angelika Arend presented her monograph, *Documents of Protest and Compassion: The Poetry of Walter Bauer* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill Queen's University Press 1999; now also in German: *Mein Gedicht ist mein Bericht: Zum lyrischen Werk von Walter Bauer* [Halle/Saale: Projekte Verlag 188, 2003]). The 100th anniversary of Bauer's birthday saw the publication of his long awaited biography, *Walter Bauer – ein Lebensweg von Merseburg nach Toronto* (Halle/Saale: Projekte Verlag 188, 2004), written by Günter Hess. Both Riedel's *Wanderer* and Hess's *Lebensweg* contain comprehensive

lists of primary works by, and secondary works on Walter Bauer. Finally, in 1994, the cities of Merseburg and Leuna established a Walter-Bauer-Prize that has since then been awarded on a bi-annual basis either to poets writing in the humanist spirit of Walter Bauer, or to scholars who have made a significant contribution to the understanding and promotion of Bauer's life and work.

[12] To support and encourage my work on the poetry of Walter Bauer, Henry Beissel, to whom Bauer had entrusted his unpublished papers, has given me a copy of this typed manuscript. I acknowledge this gift with thanks.

[13] "Tagebuch aus Kanada." Heft 1-66 (1952-76). Unpublished Manuscript (Marbach am Neckar: Deutsches Literaturarchiv). – All quotations from these diaries are made with permission by Günter Hess, who is administering Bauer's literary estate.

[14] Arend, *Documents* 124-5; 131-3; *Mein Gedicht* 236-40.

[15] The text of this unpublished poem, along with other unpublished material relevant to my topic, was passed on to me by Günter Hess specifically for the writing of this essay. His generous help is here acknowledged with thanks.– All citations drawn from this source are identified as UP.

[16] It is interesting to note that the association of blue (haze seen in an open Italian landscape) and an elevating sense of freedom was made by Bauer as early as 1938 in a review of Henry Benrath's "italienisches Reisebuch" Welt in Bläue: "Als wir zum ersten mal auf der Höhe eines Alpenpasses standen und nach Süden in das bläulich verhangene, offene Tal hinabsahen, . . . stand nicht vor uns der Beginn grenzenloser Freiheit?" (In: *Die Literatur* 41 [1938-39]: 122.)

[17] The date of the "Monatskalender" *Auf Erden und im Licht* was established for me by Günter Hess, who had received an undated copy from Walter Bauer in 1963. In Bauer's correspondence with Hanne Peters, Hess found, and relayed to me, these comments: "... Die Verse: August: Das Brot schrieb ich gestern für meinen Monatskalender. Im Dezember wirst Du dann das Ganze bekommen." (13 August 1962) And: "... Ich hoffe, dass unterdes mein Weihnachtsgruss bei Dir eingetroffen ist. Es ist nicht viel, ein Zyklus von Versen, je ein Gedicht zu jedem Monat; und jeden Monat schrieb ich eins; jedes war, für mich selber, ein Versuch Schwärze, Melancholie, Erschöpfung abzuschütteln und von ihrem Gegenbild zu sprechen; also spricht jedes, auf seine Weise, vom Licht." (6 January 1963). – This Calendar, furnished with illustrations by Claudia Leyh, has now been brought out by Jürgen Jankofsky (Halle/Saale: kreativ büro e.V. 1998).

[18] As for example the yearning of a lotus-flower for the moon in Heinrich Heine's poem "Die Lotosblume," which thanks to Robert Schumann's musical setting enjoys widespread popularity to this day.

[19] "Kaufte gestern einen kleinen Strauß Kornblumen von dem Jungen an der subway. Ihr Blau traf mich: so rührend war es. Sie stehen jetzt im Fenster. Wenn ich sie ansehe, denke ich an Kornfelder." ("Tagebuch" 60, 2 October 1970).

B. Richard Page and Joshua R. Brown

# The Big Valley Oral History Project: Language Attitudes toward Pennsylvania German in Big Valley

## 1. Introduction

Researchers at Penn State University in collaboration with the Mifflin County Mennonite Historical Society are collecting oral histories from members of the Anabaptist community in Kishacoquillas Valley, located in Mifflin County, Pennsylvania. Remote from major urban areas and less frequented by tourists than the larger and more well-known Amish settlements in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and Holmes County, Ohio, the area commonly known as Big Valley remains home to what is arguably the most diverse Anabaptist community in the world. The relative isolation, diversity, and continuity of this Anabaptist community make it an important site to study linguistic and cultural maintenance and change.

John A. Hostetler documented twelve distinct Anabaptist sects in Big Valley, ranging from two Old School Old Order Amish groups to several assimilated Mennonite churches.[1] All Anabaptist sects in the valley trace their history back to the original Amish settlement of 1791. Though all the groups adhere to the basic Anabaptist tenets of adult baptism, nonresistance, and nonconformity, they vary greatly in their interpretation of what the doctrine of nonconformity to the world entails.

Our project encompasses a full range of Anabaptist sects within their local, geographical context in Mifflin County. Our interview questions, directed at representatives of all groups, focus primarily on language use and cultural practices in an attempt to uncover attitudes about ethnic and religious identity and language. We follow other research on bicultural, bilingual societies, which stress the importance of language attitudes in the maintenance of a minority language and culture.

In this essay, we report on the language attitudes we have encountered thus far in approximately 21 oral history interviews. The essay is organized as follows. Section 2 reviews previous sociolinguistic research on Pennsylvania German-speaking communities. Section 3 provides an overview of Big Valley's Anabaptist communities. Section 4 describes the project and the use of oral histories to uncover language attitudes in a bilingual, bicultural community. Section 5 presents our findings to date. Section 6 concludes the paper.

## 2. Previous Sociolinguistic Research on Pennsylvania German

At present there are no monolingual Pennsylvania German speakers with the exception of preschool children in Old Order families. For a bilingual community to maintain a minority language like Pennsylvania German, it is necessary for the speakers

to view both languages as fulfilling complementary roles. Crystal maintains that for a bilingual community to maintain a minority language, the community must view the minority language favorably and have a desire to use the minority language as a marker of identity. On the other hand, Crystal states, "[l]anguages decline when these positive attitudes are missing."[2]

Since the pioneering work of Huffines, it has been recognized that any discussion of Pennsylvania German speakers must distinguish between the sectarian and nonsectarian communities.[3] Sectarian communities of Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonites continue to actively use Pennsylvania German for in-group communications where it serves as an important marker of socio-religious identity. The Old Orders maintain parochial schools in which English is the language of instruction. Old Orders also write in English and use English for communication with others outside the community. Paradoxically, the English spoken by sectarians exhibits less phonological interference from PG than the English spoken by nonsectarian PG speakers.[4] Dress, transportation, *and* language all serve as markers of ethnicity and religious affiliation for Old Orders. Therefore, sectarians can speak English "without an accent" without compromising their ethno-religious identity.

The distinction between the sectarians (*Sektenleute*) and the nonsectarians (*Kirchenleute*) can be traced to the eighteenth century.[5] The sectarians constituted only a small fraction of German immigration to North America in the colonial period. Fogleman estimates a total German immigration of 85,000, of which 3.6 to 6.5 percent were radical pietists, a cover term he uses to include Mennonites, Moravians, Amish, Dunkers, Schwenkfelders and Waldensians.[6] The earliest Amish and Mennonite populations in the eighteenth century were concentrated in small areas of Pennsylvania where they established enclaves separate from other Pennsylvania Germans.[7] This pattern continued with subsequent Anabaptist settlements, one of which was established in 1791 in the Kishacoquillas Valley of Pennsylvania. As is the case with earlier Anabaptist settlements in Lancaster County and elsewhere, these sectarians have never had extensive contact with nonsectarian Pennsylvania German speakers. In terms of number of Pennsylvania German speakers, nonsectarians greatly outnumbered sectarians until fairly recently.

Unlike sectarian speakers of Pennsylvania German, nonsectarians are less frequently ambilingual in Pennsylvania German and English.[8] For nonsectarian speakers, the domains of usage for Pennsylvania German are quite limited. Nonsectarian speakers are more inclined to use PG for profanity, to express frustration and anger, or to joke.[9] Additionally, previous studies have found that use of Pennsylvania German is often limited to a "secret language."[10] In such cases, Pennsylvania German is therefore placed within a secret domain out of reach for a child, who is denied the opportunity to acquire fully the language. There are now few fluent nonsectarian speakers of Pennsylvania German under the age of 70.

Only a few studies on language attitudes and Pennsylvania German exist.[11] These studies focus on nonsectarians and draw data from language attitude questionnaires, but one relied on matched-guise tests.[12] Several of the negative attitudes toward Pennsylvania German are addressed here. The general findings are that Pennsylvania German is considered to be an inferior language (and arguably by some not a "real" language at all) that is not appropriate for "public and professional spheres."[13] However, the notion of the inferiority of Pennsylvania German to English and the concept of

the "dumb Dutchman" are prevalent only among the generation of speakers who did not pass the language on to their children. In fact matched-guise tests found that the monolingual descendants of Pennsylvania German speakers rated speakers with a marked "Pennsylvania German English" to have a higher status because they are presumed to be bilingual.[14] These positive attitudes towards Pennsylvania German from the younger generation are probably inspired by the current language death situation and a desire to speak with older persons at a more intimate level. Such feelings of nostalgia are quite common once a language is moribund. Younger generations of formerly bilingual communities often regret the demise of the heritage language.[15]

There is strong evidence that the negative attitudes toward Pennsylvania German just discussed have been present in the nonsectarian community since the nineteenth century. Louden documents that Pennsylvania German was considered to be a "dialect" rather than a "language" and that the sterotype of the "dumb Dutchman" is an old one. Pennsylvania German suffered as well in the schools and in the press in the nineteenth century since it was not considered to be worthy of instruction or serious journalism. The language was maintained in the nonsectarian community from the nineteenth century onward only by those speakers who remained in rural isolation with limited social mobility. As soon as speakers moved to a more urban area, pursued an education or married a nonspeaker, they quickly abandoned Pennsylvania German and did not pass the language on to their offspring. Therefore the nonsectarian community was susceptible to language shift when demographic and economic changes led to industrialization, increased access to education, migration from the country to cities and school consolidation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Louden uses the term "maintenance by inertia" to describe the long-term maintenance of Pennsylvania German nonsectarians despite pervasive negative attitudes toward the language both within and without the Pennsylvania German community.[16]

Studies of language attitudes among Anabaptist subgroups that are not Old Order are largely missing from the research literature.[17] In the following section, we describe the diverse Anabaptist community of Big Valley before reporting on the language attitudes we have encountered among transitional and assimilated Anabaptists. In section four, we discuss the use of oral histories to explore language attitudes in the context of language shift and maintenance in a bilingual community.

### 3. The Anabaptist Communities of Big Valley

The first Amish settlers arrived in Big Valley in 1791, following westward expansion from earlier settlements in eastern Pennsylvania. Since that time, a strong Anabaptist presence has defined the character of the community commonly called Big Valley, nestled in the Ridge and Valley region of the Appalachian Mountains in Central Pennsylvania. From this original settlement descended a spectrum of Anabaptist groups ranging from assimilated Mennonites to three Old Order Amish sects.

The groups vary greatly in their interpretation of what the doctrine of nonconformity to the world entails. For the most conservative groups, nonconformity requires plain dress, limited education, the selective use of technology reflected in horse-and-buggy transportation and traditional farming techniques (hay stacks rather than bales, husking corn by hand, non-refrigeration of milk, etc.) and the use of Pennsylvania German in the home and with fellow congregational members. For members of the

most progressive Mennonite church, these outward manifestations of nonconformity are considered unnecessary. Between these two poles, the standards of nonconformity vary. On the basis of his ethnographic work in Big Valley, Hostetler terms this range of practice "the Anabaptist continuum."[18] The following thumbnail sketches are based on the 1993 edition of his work and are listed from most traditional to most progressive as judged by Hostetler.

Old School Amish: This group is commonly referred to as the Nebraska Amish, and is one of three Old Order Amish sects in the Valley. According to Hostetler, the Nebraska Amish are the most traditional Amish sect in North America. The name "Nebraska Amish" derives from their history. In the nineteenth century, a few families left Mifflin County for an Amish settlement in Nebraska and later returned to Big Valley. The dress of the men and women is plainer than that of other Amish sects in the valley. Men wear white shirts, wide-brimmed hats, and no suspenders or belts. Women wear a distinctive flat, straw hat similar to that worn by their Alsatian and Swiss ancestors two centuries ago. The Nebraska Amish use no modern farm equipment. Their houses and barns are unpainted. Window screens, curtains, and carpets are not allowed. They drive white-top buggies.

Byler Amish: Like the Old School Amish, this is an Old Order Amish sect that rejects the ownership and operation of motor vehicles. The Byler Amish are readily identifiable through their use of yellow-top buggies. The men's shirts may be a color other than white. Their pants have one suspender. Women wear brown bonnets. The Byler Amish may use tractors in the barnyard but not in the fields. Their buildings are generally painted. Half-length curtains and window blinds are permitted. Carpets are not used.

Renno Amish: The Renno Amish is the third Old Order Amish sect in the Valley. The Renno Amish have a close relationship with the Byler Amish, with whom they exchange ministers. Their buggies have black tops. Men wear a single suspender. Women wear black bonnets. Houses are typically painted white, and barns are red. Carpets, window blinds, and half-length curtains are all used. Like the other two Old Order Amish sects in the Valley, the Renno Amish do not use meeting houses for worship, but meet at the home of a church member and practice shunning.

Valley View Amish Mennonite Church: This sect grew from a group that formed in 1911 as a progressive offshoot of the Renno Amish. Its members along with members of Pleasant View Amish Mennonite Church are often referred to as Beachy Amish. They do not use shunning to enforce church discipline. In 1948, this group adopted the use of electricity. The ownership of automobiles was permitted in 1954. Prior to adoption of the automobile, tractors were used for plowing. Pennsylvania German is still spoken by older members, but its use appears to be waning. The Valley View meeting house was built in 1962.

Pleasant View Amish Mennonite Church: This congregation's history is closely tied to the Valley View Amish Mennonite Church. The Pleasant View meeting house was built by the Valley View Amish Mennonites in 1985. Both meeting houses exchange ministers with other "Beachy" Amish churches in the United States.

Beth-El Mennonite Church: This church was organized in 1973 by several families who withdrew from the Allensville Mennonite congregation. They objected to progressive changes in the Allensville church. This sect emphasizes the wearing of plain clothing. Women wear black stockings and cape dresses, men wear collarless coats and no neckties.

Holdeman Church: The congregation formed in 1958, but the denomination, Church of God in Christ Mennonite, dates back to the nineteenth century. According to the official church history, it emphasizes "repentance, forgiveness, the new birth, self-denial, nonconformity, nonresistance, excommunication of transgressors, and the shunning of apostates." Many members were expelled from Old Order Amish sects and appear to be attracted by the born-again theology. Members may use automobiles and modern farm equipment.

Allensville Mennonite Church: This church originated in 1861 when Solomon Byler organized an Amish group that later built a meeting house in 1869. Only a few women continue to wear plain Mennonite bonnets and white prayer coverings. The congregation is affiliated with the Allegheny Conference of the Mennonite Church, the largest body of Mennonites in North America.

Locust Grove Mennonite Church: This church was organized in 1898 by members of the Allensville and Maple Grove Mennonite churches who felt that the community was changing too rapidly. The congregation is affiliated with the Conservative Mennonite Conference, but no longer maintains the traditional clothing that once distinguished its members from Mennonites belonging to the Allensville and Maple Grove churches.

Brethren in Christ Church: Similar to the Holdeman group, this church stresses repentance, conversion, and conducts revival meetings. It built a meeting house in Belleville in 1959 and drew members from the Beachy Amish. It does not require distinctive dress or shun apostate members.

Maple Grove Mennonite Church: The Maple Grove Church was organized in 1868 by meeting-house Amish and is now affiliated with the Allegheny Conference of the Mennonite Church. The church is regarded as the most progressive in Big Valley. It was the first to permit its members to attend college, to conduct choral programs, and to allow members to join civic and community organizations. According to Hostetler, other Protestant churches in the area are still considered to be more "worldly" than Maple Grove Mennonite.

Raith breaks the Anabaptist continuum down into three groups: conservative sectarians, transitional sectarians, and assimilated Mennonites.[19] Figure 1 provides an overview of the three groups and their verbal behavior.

**Fig. 1. Groups within the Anabaptist Continuum**[20]

**Conservative sectarians** (Old Order Amish)
- Stable bilingualism and diglossia
- Plain dress, horse & buggy transportation
- German in worship services

**Transitional sectarians** (Beachy Amish)
- Nonstable bilingualism, remnants of diglossia
- Plain dress, automobile transportation
- English in worship services

**Assimilated Mennonites** (Maple Grove Mennonite Church)
- Bilingualism only among older members, no diglossia
- nonplain dress, automobile transportation, English in worship

It should also be noted that Big Valley is also home to many monolingual English speakers who are not of Pennsylvania German descent. In our interviews of residents who attended one-room schools prior to school consolidation in the 1940s, all report having monolingual English classmates who were not Anabaptist. The Pennsylvania German population of Big Valley has always been primarily Anabaptist and has had little if any contact with nonsectarian Pennsylvania Germans.

## 4. The Goals of the Big Valley Oral History Project

Our project has three broad goals: 1) preserve the memories and perspectives of Anabaptists in Big Valley at a time of great change in an archive that will be locally accessible to members of the Anabaptist community, 2) provide a resource for scholars that will complement existing archives at Penn State University, and 3) explore language attitudes in a diverse Anabaptist community exhibiting a wide-range of cultural and linguistic practices.

Duane Kaufmann has documented the history of the Anabaptist groups in Mifflin County, but since Hostetler's pioneering research in Big Valley during the 1950s and 1960s, no systematic ethnographic work has been done in this area.[21] In recent years economic and social changes and demographic shifts have affected Big Valley in unprecedented ways. Among the Old Order Amish, economic necessity has forced some to rely on non-farming occupations, such as Amish-owned pallet factories that employ Amish labor. Improved highway access to Big Valley enables others to sell organic produce to restaurants in Washington, D.C., and many residents, both Amish and non-Amish, now work outside the valley in nearby Lewistown or State College. A greater emphasis on evangelism has had an apparent impact on language use in the so-called transitional groups such as the Beachy Amish. In these congregations, only the

older generations are still fully fluent in Pennsylvania German as the heritage language is being supplanted by English, the language of evangelism, in all linguistic domains. Locust Grove Mennonite Church has been influenced by the evangelical movement in worship style and emphasis on outreach, whereas Allensville Mennonite Church has embraced some doctrines of a more mainstream Christian fundamentalism. Most Mennonites now have radios and televisions in their homes.

Nearly twenty years ago, a felt sense of cultural change and loss led some representatives of the Mennonite and Amish-Mennonite churches in the valley to establish the Mifflin County Mennonite Historical Society to collect, preserve, and research artifacts and stories relevant to the Anabaptist communities. Members of this group have helped to plan the project, identify individuals from each of the various Anabaptist groups to participate, and its members have joined our researchers in interviews.[22]

In cooperation with the Mifflin County Mennonite Historical Society and Penn State University Libraries, a minimum of 50 interviews are planned from members of twelve Anabaptist congregations across the Anabaptist continuum. The questions focus on everyday life, verbal behavior, worship, and observed changes in the valley. From the summer of 2005 to the present, 21 interviews have been conducted. The narrators interviewed to date all belong to assimilated or transitional congregations.[23] Sixteen of the twenty-one narrators are native speakers of Pennsylvania German. Church affiliation and dates of birth for narrators interviewed thus far appear in the appendix. The interviews are digitally video- and audio-recorded. Transcripts and digital recordings of the interviews will be housed at the Mennonite Heritage Center in Belleville and at the main library on Penn State's University Park campus. The collection will be available to scholars and the general public. Together with the Hostetler collection, which contains John A. Hostetler's field notes from the 1950s and 1960s, Penn State's library will provide extensive research materials on the Anabaptists in Big Valley.

The oral history interviews are structured chronologically so that participants can recall and describe cultural changes and language use from their childhood to the present.[24] Topics covered include church affiliation, reading and writing practices, worship and music, dress, education, occupation, domains of language use, and initial exposure to English. The interviews therefore focus first on the narrators' childhood, then on their adulthood, and finally on their own children, as appropriate. The interviewer asks follow-up questions as the interview unfolds.

Oral histories supply anecdotal and rich, particular evidence to elucidate language maintenance and shift, phenomena previously described largely in demographic and sociological terms. Our interview questions, directed at representatives of all groups, primarily focus on language use, education, dress and worship practices in an attempt to uncover attitudes about ethnic and religious identity and language. Of course, demographic and sociological studies are highly valuable in understanding language maintenance and shift. The perceptions, memories and life experiences of individual community members also play a vital role in shaping language use and language domains. For this reason, we concentrate primarily on two particular oral histories in the following section as case studies and supplement them with material from other interviews. In the words of Fasold, "the choices made by the members of a particularly

speech community, reflecting their cultural values, add up to [language] shift or maintenance in that community.[25]

Our project regards the Anabaptists within their local, geographical context in Mifflin County, where there has been a sizable Anabaptist settlement since 1791. It provides particular insight into language attitudes toward Pennsylvania German among different Anabaptist groups in the valley in an era when many, but not all, are shifting to monolingual use of English. We follow other research on language maintenance and

**Fig. 2. Profiles of narrators in the Oral Histories of Anabaptist Communities of Mifflin County Project (as of January 2007).**

| | Birth year | First church affiliation | Current church affiliation | L1 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 1914 | Locust Grove Mennonite | Barrville Mennonite | PG |
| 2 | 1915 | Renno Amish / Valley View | Locust Grove Mennonite | PG |
| 3 | 1914 | Renno Amish / Valley View | Valley View Amish-Mennonite | PG |
| 4 | 1919 | Allensville Mennonite | Beth-El Mennonite | English |
| 5 | 1920 | Renno Amish / Valley View | Maple Grove Mennonite | PG |
| 6 | 1924 | Locust Grove Mennonite | Locust Grove Mennonite | PG |
| 7 | 1925 | Renno Amish | Locust Grove Mennonite | PG |
| 8 | 1930 | Allensville Mennonite | Barrville Mennonite | PG |
| 9 | 1913 | Locust Grove Mennonite | Allensville Mennonite | PG |
| 10 | 1920 | Locust Grove Mennonite | Maple Grove Mennonite | English |
| 11 | 1921 | Maple Grove Mennonite | Locust Grove Mennonite | PG |
| 12 | 1915 | Renno Amish / Valley View | Brethren in Christ | PG |
| 13 | 1945 | Renno Amish | Beachy Amish (in Missouri) | PG |
| 14 | 1919 | Renno Amish / Valley View | Barrville Mennonite | PG |
| 15 | 1915 | Stahl Mennonite (Johnstown) | Barrville Mennonite | PG |
| 16 | 1919 | Lutheran | Brethren in Christ | English |
| 17 | 1919 | Locust Grove Mennonite | Locust Grove Mennonite | PG |
| 18 | 1928 | Allensville Mennonite | Maple Grove Mennonite | English |
| 19 | 1923 | Renno Amish / Valley View | Locust Grove Mennonite | PG |
| 20 | 1923 | Locust Grove Mennonite | Locust Grove Mennonite | PG |
| 21 | 1925 | Renno Amish | Locust Grove Mennonite | English |

language shift that stresses the importance of attitude in the maintenance of a minority language, for example the work of Joshua Fishman on minority languages including the continuity of Yiddish in urban Jewish communities.[26] The Anabaptist communities in Big Valley provide a unique advantage because of their long shared history and their great diversity within the Anabaptist tradition. The boundary between the Old Orders, Mennonites, and the outside world can blur in communities with a rich Anabaptist legacy. Intergroup and interpersonal relationships play a crucial role in the formation of language attitudes. Cargile et al. urge "scholars to examine the motivational and

affective constituents of the language attitude process and place these in the context of the relevant interpersonal and intergroup histories."[27] Oral histories are an excellent way to elicit attitudes toward language and culture. These attitudes emerge as narrators tell their story and recount interaction within their particular community as well as with other Anabaptist groups in the valley over the decades. The oral histories document changes in language use and culture from the perspective of the participants.

**5. Language Attitudes in Big Valley**

From the initial interviews, the researchers have found varied language attitudes toward Pennsylvania German from Anabaptists in Big Valley. Our focus is on language attitudes among assimilated Mennonites since they constitute the great majority of the narrators interviewed thus far. We concentrate on the language attitudes of two representative narrators which are supplemented by statements from other narrators. Narrator 1 was born in 1914 and attended Locust Grove Mennonite Church as a child.[28] His parents were both Pennsylvania German speakers from Big Valley and Pennsylvania German was also the language of his childhood (although he is a severely attrited speaker). He learned standard German only in Sunday School. He began attending Maple Grove in the late 1930s, when he was married. He attended school until eighth grade, but completed the GED test at age 50. He has three living children, none live in the Valley and all attended college (two have degrees). Two of his children remained Mennonite. He currently attends a small congregation that was started as a "mission Sunday School" by Maple Grove Mennonite Church. Narrator 5 was born in 1920 into the Zook Church (Beachy Amish), but began attending Allensville Mennonite at age 21 and later joined Maple Grove with his wife in the 1940s. He is a native speaker of Pennsylvania German and attended school until eighth grade. He has four children; three live in Big Valley.

The language attitudes of assimilated Mennonites interviewed thus far toward Pennsylvania German are almost all overwhelmingly negative. In most of the interviews, the narrators mentioned that one of the biggest problems with Pennsylvania German came when they first encountered English at school.[29] The negative experience of first learning Pennsylvania German at home and then being put into an English school definitely affected their willingness to allow a similar fate for their children. The conflict between language and education was especially acute when teachers could not speak Pennsylvania German. Narrator 1 tells of years of watching children who entered school after him, who were unable to speak English and the frustrations involved:

> Narrator 1 [Barrville Mennonite, assimilated Mennonite]: There were some, I had heard through the years, who couldn't speak any English and the teacher had a real problem with them because she'd try to communicate and they could understand her, but she couldn't understand them for a while.[30]

The sentiments of such a narrator who could not speak English on the first day of school validates Narrator 1's anecdote:

> Narrator 6 [Locust Grove Mennonite]: I couldn't talk English going to school

. . . I was so anxious to go to school; I had my things lying on my dresser upstairs, ready to go the first day. The next day, I didn't want to go at all.

Narrator 6's enthusiasm for school was short-lived due to his inability to meet the linguistic demands of the educational setting. The desire to facilitate their children's education led several of the parents interviewed to use English at home. For example, narrator 6 first spoke Pennsylvania German to his children, but the pressure of education led to English monolingualism:

Narrator 6: The same thing with our own children—we talked Dutch to them first, too, but it seems when they started school, it fell through.

For generations, Pennsylvania German served the Anabaptist community as a marker of ethnic identity. At an earlier time, all Big Valley residents of Anabaptist heritage spoke Pennsylvania German. In the middle of the twentieth century, the more assimilated subgroups began to take a negative view of the use of Pennsylvania German. Narrator 1 was eager to avoid Pennsylvania German in his youth and his negative attitude toward language is not only because of its connotations. He saw a Pennsylvania Dutch[31] identity as something to avoid:

Narrator 1 [Barrville Mennonite]: My wife and I were so glad to get away from it [Pennsylvania German].
Interviewer: Why were you glad to get away from it?
Narrator 1: Well, I don't know, not a stigma exactly, I just didn't want to be associated with Pennsylvania Dutch. That was Dutch, I didn't want to be Dutch.

Pennsylvania German no longer serves to separate assimilated Mennonites from other mainstream Protestants. Speaking Pennsylvania German in Big Valley is now strongly associated with the Old Orders. Big Valley's assimilated Mennonites no longer view being Dutch (and speaking Pennsylvania German) as part of being Mennonite. This dissolution of ethno-religious identity is a relatively recent development:

Interviewer: But you didn't associate Dutch with being Mennonite at all, those were two different things?
Narrator 1: Well, years ago, I guess somewhat, but then not later.

Importantly, this change has not come at the cost of a distinct religious identity. The religious identity of Narrator 1 has remained very Mennonite without Pennsylvania German. He is a Mennonite minister, and in the 1950s he founded an all Mennonite men's chorus in Big Valley: "one of Mifflin County's last traditional singing schools."[32] Moreover, facing loss of local control over schools during school consolidation, assimilated Mennonites founded Belleville Mennonite School in 1945, before the establishment of parochial schools by Old Order in the valley during the 1950s.[33] At the very time that intergenerational transmission of Pennsylvania German ceased among assimilated Mennonites, church members started new Mennonite institutions. In other

words, a new Mennonite identity was emerging for assimilated Mennonites, one that was no longer bound to ethnicity.

In spite of the negative attitudes expressed toward Pennsylvania German, several positive attitudes did surface during the oral history interviews. For some speakers, feelings of nostalgia later in life have led to a reassessment of Pennsylvania German. Narrator 1 harbored definite negative attitudes toward Pennsylvania German in his youth:

> Narrator 1: And I suppose I wanted to talk English, so I would talk English to my mother. Pop and I talked Dutch until I was in my mid-teens, I suppose. But when we'd be away somewhere, my father and I, around town somewhere, and he'd talk Dutch to me, I didn't like that . . . I didn't want people to know that he was talking Dutch to me.

Not only are his earlier attitudes toward Pennsylvania German obvious in this passage, but also apparent is the erosion of language domains for the use of Pennsylvania German. For the narrator, Pennsylvania German was considered unsuitable in a public space although Pennsylvania German was commonly spoken throughout the valley, including Belleville, and continues to used regularly by the Old Order population. The language of the home changed from only Pennsylvania German to a mixture of Pennsylvania German and English. Two languages occupied a single domain making the functional boundaries of each unclear and eventually English won out. His initial attitudes toward Pennsylvania German were strong enough that he did not forget them and their impact on his adult life. Although Narrator 1 felt "ashamed" of Pennsylvania German in his youth, his attitude has changed:

> Narrator 1: I guess I was sort of ashamed of it [speaking Pennsylvania German], I don't know. I wouldn't be now, but I was then.

As shown above, the use of Pennsylvania German in a functional domain during one's childhood does not prevent the development of negative attitudes. However, the lack of a functional domain for a language can also contribute to negative attitudes. Two narrators (4 and 10) were not native speakers of Pennsylvania German and their view on the use of Pennsylvania German in their childhood home was the same:

> Narrator 4: They just talked Dutch if they didn't want us to understand it.
> Interviewer: So it's sort of their secret language in a way?
> Narrator 4: Yeah.

> Narrator 10: The only time [they spoke Pennsylvania German] was when they didn't want us to know what they were saying probably.

The limited function of Pennsylvania German as an excluding language contributes to its negative value in the broader English-dominant context.

Although Narrator 1 did not recall any instances in his life where knowledge of

Pennsylvania German was advantageous, two narrators, both nurses, mentioned the advantage of speaking Pennsylvania German in their professions:

> Interviewer: Do you think people sought you out, because they knew that you talked Dutch and they were comfortable for that reason?
> Narrator 2: I think they felt more comfortable, but I think it was really more a matter of need on their part.

> Narrator 11: It was really handy while I was a nurse working in pediatrics. When we got children who couldn't speak English; we'd get White-Topper [Amish] children in.

They saw Pennsylvania German as a particularly useful tool in a specific situation related to their occupation. Interestingly, both narrators made reference to the benefits of Pennsylvania German in dealing with Old Order Amish. It is both surprising and significant that other informants did not recall any occasions where knowledge of Pennsylvania German was an advantage. For native speakers, this may be due to Pennsylvania German's status in their childhood as an "everyday" language used primarily in the home, and its use was therefore not perceived by the narrators as advantageous.

Big Valley does not exist as a monolithic society and as such the sentiments of contrarians do appear during the oral history interviews. Unlike Narrator 1, Narrator 5 definitely sees a direct correlation between the linguistic and cultural history of the valley. He is of the opinion that those of Pennsylvania German descent should speak Pennsylvania German. For him, the two should not grow apart:

> Narrator 5 [Maple Grove Mennonite]: It's a pity here in the Valley. They don't talk Dutch a lot of them. They should, I think it's bad—maybe I shouldn't feel that way, but I feel bad that they don't, because they come from Dutch background.

Narrator 5 insists on the maintenance of traditional Mennonite tenets. His thoughts on proper dress are evidence:

> Narrator 5: But not one woman that didn't have her hair covered . . . We'd look at them now [with no head coverings], it looks like Hollywood Church.
> Interviewer: So that's been a real change you've noticed then?
> Narrator 5: Terrible change, yes a terrible change.

> Narrator 5: I don't call Maple Grove Amish-Mennonite. I don't call it Mennonite either, I just call it the Maple Grove Church. They're not Mennonite, not to my knowledge. I mean, not to my way of thinking. They're not Mennonite.

This narrator's "way of thinking" most definitely includes several of the outward signs of nonconformity which Maple Grove considers unnecessary (head coverings, plainness in dress, and linguistic isolation). For Narrator 5 both the outward non-linguistic and

linguistic (i.e., speaking Pennsylvania German) markers of ethnicity are necessary for maintenance of Mennonite identity.

It is important not to overlook the attitudes of the speakers towards the entire language situation in their speech community. Their intuitive knowledge of the situation in which they live can shed light on implicit attitudes toward Pennsylvania German. Rather than just focusing on the language itself, the speakers can voice their opinions of the shift. Narrator 5 offered his opinion on the change and obviously does not approve of it:

> Narrator 5: No, they can't [speak Pennsylvania German], it's a shame, when I think.
> Interviewer: At Valley View?
> Narrator 5: Yeah, they can't talk Dutch, because they talk English at home. Well, my wife doesn't talk Dutch either, but I taught all my children to talk Dutch.

Valley View is a Beachy Amish congregation and is classified as transitional sectarian by Raith.[34] Its members dress plainly and have been permitted to own and operate automobiles since 1954. This account of the linguistic situation at Valley View is corroborated by Narrator 8, a former minister at Valley View. He reports that the use of German and Pennsylvania German is no longer part of worship. According to Narrator 8, his Beachy Amish congregation switched to having all services in English in 1985 after a long period of using English as well as German and Pennsylvania German during services. Narrator 8 began preaching in English in 1961 or 1962 at the time that a meeting house was erected for the congregation. The Beachy Amish, who retain some Old Order worship practices such as not using musical instruments, have followed assimilated Mennonites in switching to exclusive use of English in worship. Moreover, the Beachy Amish no longer sing the *Loblied*, which according to several narrators continued to be sung in German at Locust Grove in the 1930s when the rest of the service was in English. Narrator 5 appears to be quite correct in his assessment that the Beachy Amish are well on their way to shifting to English monolingualism.[35]

## 6. Conclusion

In many ways, the attitudes that have accompanied the shift to English monolingualism in transitional and assimilated Anabaptist groups seem very familiar. The heritage language was viewed as a barrier to education and of little utility or value. Upon abandoning the use of German for worship, these groups moved or are moving quickly to English monolingualism. This same pattern can be found for many other bilingual speakers in the United States, including German immigrants in the nineteenth century.[36]

An important difference in Big Valley, however, is the presence of a number of Anabaptist subgroups with a shared history yet distinct identities. It is significant that the Old Orders, who maintain Pennsylvania German, and more assimilated Anabaptists are neighbors and interact with one another regularly. Members of the different Anabaptist groups are well aware of their shared history and often have friends and relatives who belong to different congregations. For example, Narrator 5 grew up Beachy Amish,

now belongs to an assimilated Mennonite congregation, and regularly provides Old Order Amish with transportation for pay. Interaction between members of different subgroups and changing church affiliation to a different Anabaptist congregation, often upon marriage, is not at all unusual. Pennsylvania German is still alive and well in the valley and is perceived as such. However, the language is no longer considered to be a shared trait of Anabaptist identity. Instead, Anabaptist residents of Big Valley now associate use of Pennsylvania German with the Old Order Amish and thereby mark an important boundary in the Anabaptist continuum.

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## Notes

[1] J. A. Hostetler, *Amish Society* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 253.

[2] See D. Crystal, *Language Death* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 81.

[3] M. L. Huffines, "Pennsylvania German: Maintenance and Shift" *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 25 (1980):85-94.

[4] J. Raith, "Phonologische Interferenzen im amerikanischen Englisch der anabaptistischen Gruppen deutscher Herkunft in Lancaster County (Pennsylvania)," *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 23 (1981):77–105.

[5] For an excellent discussion of the eighteenth century sectarians from German-speaking lands in Pennsylvania and other colonies, see A. S. Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717-1775* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 100–26.

[6] A. S. Fogleman "Hopeful Journeys", 103. Marianne Wokeck estimates 100,000 German immigrants came through the Rhineland to the colonies, primarily through Philadelphia, between 1683 and 1776 "German Immigration to Colonial America: Prototype of a Transatlantic Mass Migration," in *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred History*, vol. 1, ed. by F. Trommler and J. McVeigh (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 3–13. See also M. Wokeck, "The Flow and Composition of German Immigration to Philadelphia, 1727–1775," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 105 (1981):249–78.

[7] A.S. Fogleman "Hopeful Journeys," 107.

[8] M. L. Louden, "Bilingualism and Syntactic Change" (PhD dissertation, Cornell University, 1988), 105.

[9] R. C. Williamson, "The Survival of Pennsylvania German: A Survey of Berks and Lehigh Counties," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 32 (1982):67.

[10] See for example: M. L. Huffines "Pennsylvania German Maintenance and Shift," 49, 51; Williamson "The Survival of Pennsylvania German," 67 and R. C. Williamson, *Minority Languages and Bilingualism: Case Studies in Maintenance and Shift* (Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1991), 67.

[11] See i.a. A. Kopp, "The Matched-guise Technique in Practice: Measuring Language Attitudes within the Pennsylvania German Speech Community," in *The German Language in America, 1683-1991*, ed. J. C. Salmons, (Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, 1993), 264-83; A. Kopp, *The Phonology of Pennsylvania German English as Evidence of Language Maintenance and Shift* (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 1999); A. Kopp, "Language Attitudes across Society and Generations in a Pennsylvania German Speech Island," in W. Keel & K. Mattheier *German Language Varieties Worldwide*, 87 – 115; R. C. Williamson "The Survival of Pennsyvania German"; and R. C. Williamson, *Minority Languages and Bilingualism*. Huffines ("Language Maintenance Efforts," 244) mentions the common sentiment that "Pennsylvania German is not only useless but inferior," i.e., moving from a null social value to a negative social value ("Pennsylvania German Maintenance and Shift," 55). Williamson ("The Survival of Pennsylvania German," 68) notes that compared to European minority language speakers, Pennsylvania German speakers are more embarrassed linguistically. Moreover, Pennsylvania German speakers with the so-called "Dutch accent" were traditionally viewed as "handicapped" (M. L. Louden, "Minority-language 'Maintenance by Inertia': Pennsylvania German Among Nonsectarian Speakers" in *Standardfragen: Festschrift für Klaus J. Mattheier zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. J. Androutsopoulos and E. Ziegler (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2003), 5).

[12] A. Kopp "The Matched-guise Technique." The matched-guise test gauges a listener's attitudes toward spoken varieties of language. As guises, Kopp used the speech of three native speakers of Pennsylvania German speaking Pennsylvania German and Pennsylvania German English plus the speech of a native PG speaker speaking PG, PGE and regional Standard English. Subjects listened to recordings and were asked to evaluate the speech for different characteristics such as friendliness and intelligence.

[13] A. Kopp "Language Attitudes," 106.

[14] A. Kopp "The Matched-guise Technique," 277.

[15] D. Crystal, *Language Death*, 106.

[16] M. L. Louden, "Minority-Language 'Maintenance by Inertia,'" 137.

[17] An exception is J. Raith, "The Speech Island 'Big Valley' as a Speech Community," in *German Language Varieties Worldwide: Internal and External Perspectives*, edited by W. D. Keel & K. J. Mattheier. (Frankfurt, Peter Lang, 2003).

[18] Hostetler, *Amish Society*, 253.

[19] J. Raith, "The Speech Island 'Big Valley' as a Speech Community," 64-65.

[20] Figure 1 is based on Raith "The Speech Island 'Big Valley,'" 64-65.

[21] For a comprehensive history of Kischacoquillas Valley, see S. D. Kauffmann, *Mifflin County Amish and Mennonite Story, 1791-1991* (Belleville, PA: Mifflin County Historical Society, 1991).

[22] Special mention is due to Betty Hartzler of the Mifflin County Mennonite Heritage Center in Belleville, PA.

[23] We adhere to the standards of oral history interviews by referring to the interviewees as "narrators."

[24] In conducting the interviews, we follow guidelines developed by the Oral History Association. The interviewers are Julia Kasdorf, Willard Martin and Richard Page, all of whom are faculty members at Penn State. Dr. Kasdorf is a native of the valley, and Dr. Martin is a native speaker of Pennsylvania German. The interviewer informs the interviewee that the purpose of the interviews is to create a local history of the Anabaptist communities in Big Valley. Prior to the interview, interviewees sign an Oral History Interview Agreement and Oral History Release Form in order to give their consent. Penn State's Office of Research Protections approved the oral history project and the associated agreement and release forms.

[25] R. Fasold, *The Sociolinguistics of Society* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1984), 214.

[26] See for example: J. A. Fishman, *Language and Ethnicity in Minority Sociolinguistic Perspective* (Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters, 1989).

[27] A. C. Cargile, H. Giles, E. B. Ryan, and J. J. Bradac, "Language Attitudes as a Social Process: A Conceptual Model and New Directions" *Language & Communication* 14, no. 3 (1994): 227.

[28] Narrators were each assigned a number; these numbers identify each narrator in this study.

[29] This is consistent with A. Kopp "Language Attitudes," 107.

[30] To aid the reader, we have included the name of the church, which the narrator currently attends.

[31] Dutch or Pennsylvania Dutch is commonly used in Big Valley and elsewhere in Pennsylvania to describe the language, the culture, and the ethnic group. We follow local usage in using "Pennsylvania Dutch" to describe the culture and ethnicity.

[32] S. D. Kauffman. *Mifflin County Amish and Mennonite Story: 1791 – 1991* (Belleville, PA: Mifflin County Mennonite Historical Society, 1991), 255.

[33] S. D. Kauffman, *Mifflin County Amish and Mennonite Story*, 223-24, 227-29.

[34] J. Raith, "The Speech Island 'Big Valley' as a Speech Community," 64-65.

[35] J. Raith, "The Speech Island 'Big Valley' as a Speech Community," 64-65, comes to the same conclusion.

[36] H. Kloss, "German-American language maintenance efforts" in *Language Loyalty in the United States: The Maintenance and Perpetuation of non-English Mother Tongues by American Ethnic and Religious Groups*, ed. J. Fishman (The Hague: Mouton, 1966), 223-26.

Gary C. Grassl

# Who Were the First Continental Craftsmen at Jamestown, Virginia?

In 1607, Englishmen established at Jamestown, Virginia, the first permanent English colony in what is today the United States. It has been described as "the birthplace of the United States of America."[1] Continental European craftsmen arrived at Jamestown one year later. Capt. John Smith wrote that "eight Dutch-men and Poles"[2] arrived ca. Oct. 1, 1608, with the Second Supply under Capt. Christopher Newport. Smith said that these eight were sent by the parent Virginia Company of London "to make Pitch, Tar, Glasse, Milles, and Sope ashes."[3] *Nova Britannica,* published in 1609, reiterates most of this information: "And for the making of Pitch, Tarre, Turpentine, Sope-ashes, Deale, Wainscott, and such like, wee have alreadie provided and sent thither skillfull workemen from forraine parts."

Smith did not reveal who among the eight foreigners was to make which product; therefore, we have to take a closer look at each. Pitch and tar refer to "naval stores." Soap ashes are for making lye used in making soap. Glass is self evident, but what is "milles," and who was to make it? According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, milles refers to the products of a mill. Wainscot refers to wooden paneling for rooms. Deal is planks. Capt. Newport's returning ship is said to have carried clapboard and wainscot.[4] I believe that milles, the product of a mill (such as a saw mill), referred to such related wood products as wainscot, clapboard and planks. But who among the eight Continental Europeans at Jamestown made these wood products?

## Who were Samuel, Francis and Adam?

The settlers at Jamestown were perennially short of food. The Indians grew tired of feeding them when they were short themselves. When Smith demanded provisions once again, Chief Powhatan held him off by asking for things he knew Smith wouldn't want to trade, such as guns and swords. But Smith decided that he could meet one of the Indian's demands—a European-style house: "The President [Smith] . . . sent three Dutchmen and two English, having no victuals to employ them, all for want thereof being idle, knowing there needed no better castle than that house, to surprise Powhatan."[5] Smith wanted to use this building to trap Powhatan and then defend himself from the enraged tribesmen. The three "Dutchmen" are called Samuel, Francis and Adam, but were they really from Holland? We know that the English called all Germanic speakers on the Continent "Dutch." But Smith identified the "Dutchmen" as Germans when he criticized the parent London Company for having prematurely sent "into Germany or Poleland for glass-men & the rest" of the craftsmen.[6]

Some historians have identified Samuel, Francis and Adam as the glassmakers mentioned by Smith,[7] but that is unlikely. While glassblowers could have put up


Fig. 1. Detail from John Smith's map of Virginia. "James' towne" is located here on the Powhatan flu. or river; it was named in honor of the Indian chief who was in charge of most of Tidewater Virginia. The English changed the name to "James River" in honor of their king. This river flows into Chesapeake Bay at Point Comfort.

a glass hut, they would not have been very useful as builders of a regular house. On the other hand, sawyers of wainscot and planks, would have been ideal for sawing the timber needed to assemble a solid building Smith could use as his "castle." Putting the glassmakers to work as wood cutters would have been employing them below their grade level, as they say in the government. Besides, glassmakers would have been too valuable to risk losing, while wood workers would have been a lot more expendable.

There is another reason why Samuel, Francis [Franz] and Adam could not have been the glassmakers: After they had completed his house, Powhatan kept them for himself for at least six months. Lengthy negotiations with the chief followed. Powhatan said that the three did not want to go back, and they were too heavy for his men to carry on their backs (a little joke). Finally, Francis was able to get away, and Powhatan after a while relented and released the other two. But Smith kept Samuel with Powhatan as his spy. (Samuel was later killed by the Indians trying to get away from Powhatan.) We know that the Glasshouse was completed by the spring of 1609, because Capt. Smith noted that he was attacked by the Indian chief Paspahegh in the spring of 1609 as he was returning alone from the Glasshouse.[8] How could Samuel, Francis and Adam have constructed the glasshouse when they were retained by Powhatan at the time this facility was being built? Therefore, I assume that they were not glass men but wood

Fig. 2. Photo of the simulated 1609 Glasshouse at Jamestown, VA. Here glassblowers may be observed using ancient techniques. The original Glasshouse would have had window-like openings in its roof to carry off smoke; these openings would have been covered by partially closed lids to keep out the rain.
*Courtesy of U.S. National Park Service*

Fig. 3. Sketch of an earlier version of the simulated Jamestown Glasshouse before it fell victim to flames when its wooden shingles caught on fire.
*Courtesy of U.S. National Park Service*

workers—the makers of milles or wainscot (which, incidentally, was imported into England mainly from the Black Forest at that time).

**Who were the Poles and did they make glass?**

"The glassmakers have long been thought to be from Poland or individuals from both Poland and Germany," stated William M. Kelso and Beverly Straube. "Scholars now believe that the Germans were the glassmakers and the Poles were the producers of "*the rest*"—the pitch, tar and soapashes."[9] However, guides, films and displays at Jamestown still claim the Poles as glassmakers.[10]

There was a small Polish glass industry around 1600, but it was largely for local consumption. While Poland exported little glass to England at this time, it did export large quantities of pitch, tar and soap ashes.[11] For this reason, one of the men planning the English colonizing effort urged, "Men skillfull in burning of Sope ashes, and in making of Pitch, and Tarre, and Rozen [resin]" be brought to Virginia "out of Prussia and Poland, which are thence to be had for small wages, being there in the manner of slaves."[12]

The English followed this advice and sent for Polish pitch, tar and soap-ash makers, because they knew that Poland had a thriving industry in these products. The same thing could not be said for its glass industry at that time.[13] The German one, on the other hand, was thriving in comparison, because it was a continuation of the Roman glass industry:

> The Romans . . . did much to spread glassmaking technology. With its conquests, trade relations, road building, and effective political and economical administration, the Roman Empire created the conditions for the flourishing of glassworks across western Europe and the Mediterranean . . . . In Rome's Western empire, the city of Köln in the Rhineland developed as the hub of the glassmaking industry, adopting, however, mainly eastern techniques.[14]

Around 1600, the English imported most of their glass from France and Hesse. Would the English really have been looking for glass men from the comparatively minor Polish industry in preference to the extensive and ancient industry of Germany? There is no indication that they ever tried to hire Polish glassmakers. But we do know that in 1569, a London merchant named Anthony Becku tried—unsuccessfully—to bring German glassmakers to England.[15] The Abbot of Jarrow had tried to bring German glassmakers to England as early as 758.[16]

According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "about 1350 considerable quantities of colourless flat glass were supplied by John Alemayn of Chiddingfold for glazing the windows in St George's chapel, Windsor, and in the chapel of St Stephen, Westminster. The name Alemayn (Aleman) suggests a foreign origin."[17]

"Flat" or "broad glass" was first developed by German craftsmen, according to "A Brief History of Glass":

> The 11th century . . . saw the development by German glass craftsmen of a technique—then further developed by Venetian craftsmen in the 13th century—for the production of glass sheets. By blowing a hollow glass sphere and swinging it vertically, gravity would pull the glass into a cylindrical 'pod' measuring as much as 3 metres long [118.11 inches], with a width of up to 45

> cm [17.72 inches]. While still hot, the ends of the pod were cut off and the resulting cylinder cut lengthways and laid flat.

The cylinder was then flattened out with iron instruments on an iron plate or on a stone or ceramic slab.[18]

In describing the manufacture of "broad" or "Lorraine glass," the French encyclopedist Denis Diderot wrote, "This was the method of the glass industry of Bohemia and Germany, of which Alsace and Lorraine were, in certain ways, technological outposts. For this reason broad glass was also called 'German sheet.'"[19]

Broad-glass makers speaking a German dialect were brought from Lorraine/Lothringen to England for the local market several decades before other German-speaking glassmakers were brought to England for the Virginia colony.

"In 1567 James Carré of Antwerp stated that he had erected two glass-houses at 'Fernefol' (Fernfold Wood in Sussex) for Normandy and Lorraine glass for windows, and had brought over workmen." Two families were from Normandy and made crown glass, and four were from Lorraine and made broad glass.[20]

An English chronicle describes the Lorraine glassmakers as Germans, apparently because they spoke the German dialect of Lorraine (*Lothringisch*):

> There is reason to believe . . . that Germans had settled in this part of the country [North Country] long before the Revolution of 1688. Henzells, Tyttores [Dietrich], and Tyzacks, it is certain, came over to England from Lorraine, as Protestant refugees, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth . . . . They were under the direction of one of their number, who wrote his name Henzole [Henzell], and who left descendents.[21]

Records of the Virginia Company of London show that Poles were hired to make pitch, tar and soap ashes at Jamestown. In 1619, this company ordered that "some young men shall be" apprenticed to "the Polonians resident in Virginia," so that "their skill in making pitch and tar and soapashes shall not die with them."[22]

Kelso and Straube wrote, "references to glass production at Jamestown ceases after 1610, by which time the Germans are dead, whereas pitch, tar, and soap ashes continue to be exported to England."[23] In other words, if Poles were glassmakers, why was no glass made at Jamestown when the Poles survived into the 1620s? (One of them, Matthew, was killed during the native uprising of 1622.)[24] And when they had a perfectly good glasshouse at their disposal? William Strachey, the secretary of the Jamestown Colony, described it in 1612 as "a goodlie howse . . . with all offices and furnaces thereto belonging."[25] Also, why would the Virginia Company have shipped over Italian glassmakers in 1621 if there were Polish glass men still at Jamestown? Therefore, we can assume that the Poles were not glassmakers.

However, the Poles, no doubt, assisted in the glassmaking operation by producing essential catalysts. We note that the Poles were brought to Virginia to make pot ash, among other things. Without adding either pot ash or soda ash to the glass melting pot (*Glasschmelzhafen*), the temperature needed to melt the sand would have been unobtainable with wood fire.

I do not believe that the Poles assisted in the glassmaking operation other than in making pot ash or soda ash. They were brought from Poland to Virginia to make specific

products that could be sold in England. High on that list were pitch, tar and resin, known as naval stores. These were essential for keeping the English merchant fleet and war ships afloat. Before the discovery of tobacco as a cash crop, these were among the few products from Virginia that would fetch a prize in England and help satisfy the investors. Had the Poles been diverted from this high-priority work to helping out at the Glasshouse, the management of the Jamestown colony would have been derelict in its duty.

**What did a forest glass house or a *Waldglashütte* look like?**

Fig. 4. A wooden model of Agricola's furnace.

J. Carl Harrington, the archaeologist who dug up the Glasshouse ruins, wrote, "considerable glass was melted and fabricated . . . all of it was 'common green' glass."[26] This green glass was called forest glass or *Waldglas* in German.[27] It was produced between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries in so-called *Waldglashütten* or forest glass huts located mostly in heavily wooded areas of the German Empire. Alkali in potash or sand—the raw materials—gave it a color that ranged from light to dark green, but it could also come in shades of blue, brown or yellow.[28]

The German mineralogist Georg Bauer (Georgius Agricola) reproduced "a woodcut showing the interior of a German glass factory, and glass vessels both finished and unfinished." It appeared in the edition of 1581 of the *De re metallica*.[29] The fire was in the lower chamber. The smelting pots were set on a shelf or siege above this fire. The top floor was used to anneal or slowly cool off the finished glass products. This is, however, more sophisticated than the average German *Waldglashütte*.

> The oldest glass ovens were simple structures of stone and loam with a round ground plan. The top portion was domed. They were made of good-quality, fire-proof loam that had been thoroughly pounded . . . . In the fourteenth century, the ground plan of the ovens took a horse-shoe form . . . . [This is the form of the smelting furnace in the Jamestown Glasshouse.][30]

> Next to the smelting furnace was the cooling oven. The finished glass products were slowly cooled here to prevent strain in the glass from cracking it . . . . The floor of the hut consisted of loam. The hut itself was fabricated of wood, and when there was lots of snow it could happen that the roof caved in. Typical for the glass hut was the so-called smoke roof or *Rauchdach*. Since the furnace was heated from below and had no chimney, the biting smoke escaped from the furnace openings and rose up to the smoke roof. The glassmakers' faces were covered with soot. The so-called smoke roof had small, window-like openings with partially closed lids that permitted the smoke to escape but

no rain to enter. [If rain water penetrated the heated furnaces, they would explode.][31]

Two locational factors were necessary for establishing a glass-furnace: firstly, close proximity to woodlands where there was an abundant supply of fuel and ash from the burning process; secondly, a convenient source of sand, e.g. an esker ridge. The furnaces themselves were simple rubble-stone structures consisting of a barrel-vaulted firing chamber with a central fire-trench. The fire was fed from either one or both sides of the chamber via a stoking tunnel. The crucibles were placed in pairs on top of the sieges, which were located on either side of the fire-trench. Work holes were built into the side of the vault to allow the glass-makers to remove impurities which rise to the surface of the molten glass and also to check when the glass was ready for working. An iron pole was inserted into the crucible via the work hole, if the molten glass was ready a thread of glass would hang from the rod . . . .[32]

The Jamestown furnace was constructed of river boulders and had only one stoking tunnel. Otherwise, the similarities are startling. Two German *Waldglashütten* uncovered not long ago are described in the endnote.[33]

**How was glass made in a forest glass house?**

Glass was made in five steps:

1. Pre-smelting of the raw materials; this was known as fritting.
2. Refining in the main furnace.
3. Cooling of the finished glass to make it workable.
4. Blowing the glass into appropriate shapes.
5. Slowly cooling the finished product in a cooling oven.

The German Benedictine monk Theophilus Presbyter, probable the pseudonym of Roger of Helmarshausen, described the art of glassmaking in *De diversis artibus*. He wrote between 1100 and 1120, but glassmaking had not changed substantially by 1608:[34]

If you have the intention of making glass, first cut many beechwood logs and dry them out. Then burn them all together in a clean place and carefully collect the ashes, taking care that you do not mix any earth or stones with them. After this build a furnace of stones and clay, fifteen feet long and ten feet wide . . . .

When you have arranged all this, take beechwood logs completely dried out in smoke, and light large fires in [the main] furnace. Then take two parts of the ashes of which we have spoken before, and a third part of sand, collected out of water, and carefully cleaned of earth and stones. Mix them in a clean place, and when they have been long and well mixed together lift them up with the long-handled iron ladle and put them [in the fritting] furnace so that they may be fritted. When they begin to get hot, stir at once with the

same iron ladle to prevent them from melting from the heat of the fire and agglomerating. Continue doing this for a night and a day. [Then set the pots] in the [main] furnace through the holes made for this purpose. Pick up the fritted mixture of ashes and sand with the ladle and fill all the pots [with it] in the evening. Add dry wood all through the night, so that the glass, formed by the fusion of the ashes and sand, may be fully melted.

Pot ashes or soda ashes were mixed with quartz sand, because sand required 1,713° Celsius to smelt, but wood-fired ovens could attain a temperature of only 1,200° C. The ashes reduced the temperature needed to melt the sand.[35]

The raw materials were pre-smelted at high temperature in a fritting oven but not perfectly blended. The resulting frit was placed in the smelting pots in the main furnace and then completely smelted. The reason for the pre-smelting was that large quantities of ashes, sand and other ingredients were required to produce a relatively small amount of glass; in other words, the raw materials shrank considerably. Had the smelting begun in the smelting pots, they would have had to be filled again and again with raw materials as each portion melted down. Much easier to smelt all the raw materials together, and when they have shrunk place them in the pots. One other reason for the pre-heating was the fact that a lot of gas was given off during the first smelting. If the material was all pre-heated, the glassblowers at the main furnace would not have had to endure these gases.[36]

The material was fused until no part of the sand or other individual components of the mixture were distinguishable. It was tested by sticking an iron into the melt, holding it up and examining the threads of glass that hung from the iron. If they showed no sign of sand or other raw material, a new load of mixed, raw materials was placed into the smelting pot. This went on until the pot was full. During this smelting, which lasted from 12 to 18 hours, glassgall—insoluble particles floating on the surface—was regularly skimmed off. When all the ingredients in the melted glass were completely fused, the temperature was reduced to a glass working temperature and maintained there. The melted glass was allowed to sit for 12 to 16 hours until the expectoration of the gases and the movement of the smelt had reached an equilibrium. Then the glass was ready to be blown into shapes. This work could last up to 12 hours.

**What kind of glass products were made in the Jamestown Glasshouse?**

Although, Harrington could not locate a single shard of the green *Waldglas* in the Jamestown Glasshouse big enough to provide a clue as to the nature of the final product, experts agree that it was most likely window glass. Eleanor S. Godfrey believes that the Jamestown glasshouse was established to supply flat or window glass for the London market.[37]

"There were two kinds of flat glass, known respectively as 'brode-glas' and 'Normandy' glass. The former was made, as described by Theophilus, from cylinders, which were split, reheated and flattened into square sheets. It was known as Lorraine glass, and subsequently as 'German sheet' or sheet-glass."[38]

**1. Sheet or cylinder glass (*Walzenglas*).**

"A breakthrough in windows . . . came in the 11th century, with the production of

the first sheet glass. German glassmakers discovered that by blowing a glass sphere and swinging it vertically, gravity would pull the glass outward into a long, relatively thin cylindrical pod. While the glass was still hot, they cut off the ends of the pod, sliced the resulting cylinder lengthwise."[39] "The split cylinder is passed to the flattening furnace (*Streckoven*), where it is exposed to red heat, sufficient to soften the glass; when soft the cylinder is laid upon a smooth flat slab (*Strecktisch*)."[40] The split cylinder is then bent apart with iron instruments; then smoothed with ironing or polishing wood until it is completely flat. It is then pushed into the cooling oven. However, It is unlikely that *Walzenglas* was made at the Jamestown glasshouse, because its annealing or cooling oven was too small to hold it.

**2. Normandy or crown glass**

In the "crown" or "bell" method, the glassblower blows a small glass ball with his blowpipe. He then works it into a small cylinder by rolling it on a low, flat platform. The cylinder is then blown out to resemble the body of a bee. The glass is heated again, and one side is flattened on a titled platform. A solid iron pole called a *Hefteisen* or punty is then attached to the flattened side, and the blowpipe is knocked off. The opening that has been made by the blow pipe is then widened with a hot iron. The glass ball is softened by re-heating. The opened ball is spun around at the end of the punty until centrifugal forces it open in the form of a "bell" or "crown." Further rapid spinning flattens it into a disk with a diameter of 10 to 15 centimeters or 4 to 6 inches.[41] This procedure has been known since the twelfth century.[42] The resulting disks are known in Germany as *Butzenscheiben*; the name comes from the small, navel-like protrusion (the *Butze*) in the center of the *Scheibe* or

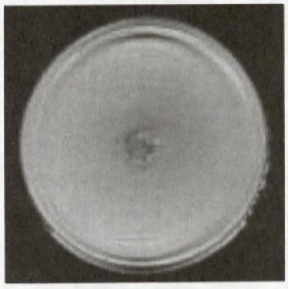

Fig. 5. A *Butzenscheibe*, or bulls-eye glass.

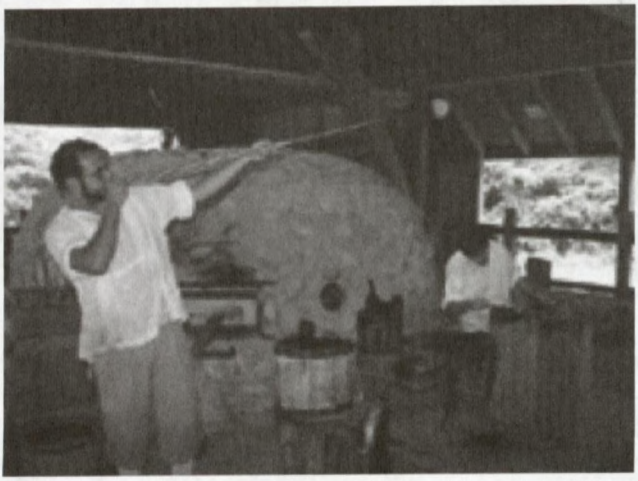

Fig. 6. Glassblower in simulated Jamestown Glasshouse blows a glass bubble with his blowpipe, demonstrating the technique used by German glassmakers. *Courtesy of U.S. National Park Service.*

Fig. 7. Glory hole in glass oven of a simulated Glasshouse at Jamestown, VA. The glassblower inserts his blowpipe into the furnace to re-heat the glass bubble at its end.
*Courtesy of U.S. National Park Service.*

Fig. 8. The glassblower gives shape to the gas bubble by rotating it on a flat surface.

disk where the punty had been attached. In English, they are known as bull's-eye glass or glass-roundels. A number of these colorful, small disks are fitted into a window frame and held in place by lead. They are known to have been used to fill windows since the fourteenth century. "These small, round Butzenscheiben were especially popular during

the Renaissance for glazing the windows of the houses of the bourgeoisie, important civic buildings as well as churches."[43]

**Who were the glassmakers and whence did they come?**

When we subtract three German wainscot makers and three Poles from the eight foreigners enumerated by Smith, we get only two, anonymous glassmakers—probably a master and a journeyman. But these would have been sufficient to make glass, provided they had helpers. Where did these glassmakers originate?

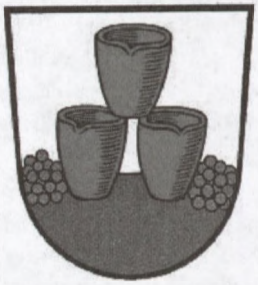

Fig. 9. Coat of arms of the town of Großalmerode.

Eleanor S. Godfrey estimates that about 400 cases of window glass were imported into England from Normandy, Lorraine and Hesse in 1567 to meet the scarcity of window glass.[44] "In the 16th century, Hesse along with its adjoining forest regions was one of the two top glass-producing regions of Germany. As early as 1406 all glassmakers around the Spessart Mountains [SE of Frankfurt] had organized themselves into a union . . . . The glass houses in Hesse appear to have conducted a significant export especially along the Rhine."[45] However, later the center of Hessian glassmaking shifted from the Spessart mountains to the Almerode or Großalmerode area east of Kassel.

"The glass industry of the Großalmerode region was so important in the beginning of the 16th century that in 1537 the seat of the Frankish-Hessian guild of glass blowers was moved from the Spessart mountains to Großalmerode."[46] (Three crucibles are in the coat of arms of this town.) "In 1557, more than 200 glassmakers gathered at the annual session of the court in the town of Almerode in Hesse."[47] The sphere of influence of this Hessian glassmakers guild included all of Germany north of the Main River (except Saxony), as well as large parts of Scandinavia.[48] Between 1500 and 1700, 65 glasshouses were active in the Kaufunger Forest near Großalmerode.[49] Of these, there were no less than 18 glasshouses in the immediate vicinity of the town.[50]

Fig. 10. Crucible from James Fort with the initials "PTV GER."

Großalmerode was the major German glassmaking center closest to a German North Sea port. The Weser River connects Großalmerode with Bremen, one of the three German ports open to English merchants. Because of its accessibility to the English, the Großalmerode area could very well have been the place of origin of the glassmakers at Jamestown.

About a dozen crucibles were found inside James Fort. "Recent research indicates that this ware was made in the Hesse area of Germany."[51] "Molten glass, remnants of glassmaking," still adhere to some of these crucibles. One of the crucibles from inside

James Fort bears the initials of a potter from this Hessian glass and pottery center.[52] The initials inside a circle read:

PTV
GER

They spell out "Peter Töpfer Großalmerode," a prominent potter of the town.[53]

But why would Großalmerode glassmakers have wished to come all the way to Virginia? Glassmakers were frequently on the move; when they had exhausted one wooded area, they had to move their glass hut to another. The glass huts were called not only *Waldglashütten* (forest glass houses) but also *Wanderglashütten* (wandering glass houses). The German glass men were no exception. In 1510, German glassmakers worked in the Italian cities of Perugia, Florence, Bologna and Arezzo.[54] The early glassmakers of Jutland, Denmark, were mainly of German origin.[55] Glassmaking was introduced into Sweden by German glassmakers.[56]

Is there a specific reason why Großalmerode glassmakers would have wanted to emigrate around 1600? It happened that "the majority of glass-houses was closed down by souvereign law for the protection of forests during the last third of the 16th century."[57]

"By 1596, a great number of the glass houses around Almerode had already been shut down, but in that year specifically the houses of the Kaufunger Forest [immediately adjacent to Großalmerode] received the stroke of death. At that time, many masters and journeymen emigrated."[58]

"The great number of glasshouses around Großalmerode resulted in the destruction of the forests and led to a reduction of the houses at the beginning of the 17th century. An extraordinarily large emigration of Hessian glassmakers followed. Wherever in Germany glass was produced at that time, one soon met masters and journeymen from Großalmerode."[59] There is documentation of a Hessian glassmaker in the Duchy of Holstein in 1574 and in Sweden in 1591; later we find Hessian names appearing again and again in Dessau, Brandenburg and even in Bohemia.[60] It may have been in search of work that two glassmakers from the Großalmerode area immigrated first to England and then to Jamestown, Virginia.

Fig. 11. A broken glass-smelting pot found at James Fort.

**How did the German glassmakers make glass in James Fort?**

The glassmakers have been described as lazy: "In 1608, with the second group of arrivals, came eight Dutch and Polish glassmen. . . . Although there was such abundance of material, the workmen were not an industrious lot."[61]

This is wrong on several counts. First, the glassmen were neither Dutch nor Polish. Nor could they by any stretch of the imagination be described as lazy.

Immediately on landing at Jamestown around October 1, 1608, the glassmakers

went to work experimenting with making glass. Capt. Smith wrote, "No sooner were we landed, but the President [Smith] dispersed many as were able, some for glasse.[62]

Glass samples were sent back to England in December on the ship that had brought the glassmakers to Jamestown. The samples were not made in the Glasshouse, which was not built until the spring of 1609, but in or near James Fort itself. "Evidence of this two-month effort is abundant within the fort's early features in the way of crucibles—some containing molten glass or sand—large melting pots with glass residues, and pounds of cullet, or waste glass."[63]

Two glass-smelting pots (*Glasschmelzhäfen*) fused together by molten glass were discovered in 1938 near the Fort; they were fused together, because one had been placed on top the other like a lid. In archaeological work began in 1994 under the supervison of Dr. William Kelso, crucibles containing glass were found in the Fort itself; slag from glassmaking was found in the Fort ditch.

"John Smith acknowledged the industriousness of these glassworkers when he declared that most of the 'labourers' in the fort 'never did know what a dayes worke was, except the Dutch-men [Germans] and Poles, and some dozen others."[64]

In the spring of 1609, the glassmakers with the help of other settlers build the Glasshouse on the mainland about 1 mile from James Fort. ". . . there is reference to a second 'tryal' being produced that spring."[65] And "Now wee so quietly followed our businesse, that in 3 monthes we made 3 or 4 lasts of pitch and tarre, and sope ashes, produced a triall of glasse."[66]

"It does not appear that they [glassblowers] produced much if any glass in this structure," declared APVA's Jamestown Rediscovery archaeologists.[67] This evaluation is, however, contradicted by J. Carl Harrington: "Archeological evidence . . . does show,

Fig. 12. Ruin of the main furnace (smelting furnace) built by the German glassmakers on the mainland opposite Jamestown Island. The circular portion in the foreground held the glass making pots and the fire. Firewood was fed through the channel in the back.
*Courtesy of U.S. National Park Service.*

however, that considerable glass was melted and fabricated," declared the archaeologist who uncovered the Glasshouse.[68]

"In a semi-circle around the front of the [main] furnace was found a thick deposit of ashes and fine charcoal."[69] "Lying on [the] stone paving [in the main furnace] were thick deposits of slag, indicating rather extensive use. Although Mr. Dimmick [the owner of the Glasshouse grounds] had removed everything found within this furnace, except part of the slag, it appears that he found a considerable accumulation of furnace

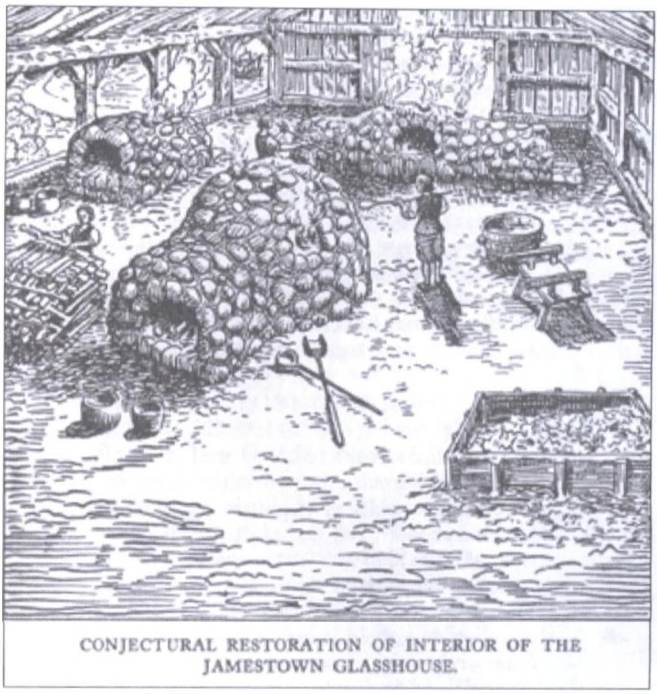


Fig. 13. Artistic reconstruction of the interior of the 1609 Glasshouse built by Germans. (The smelting furnace faces in the opposite direction as in the photo above.) *Courtesy of U.S. National Park Service.*

refuse, such as ashes, broken crucibles, stone spalls, and glass drippings."[70] Harrington found a number of broken smelting pots. "These broken pots add considerably to our knowledge of what went on at the Jamestown glass factories. Above all, they show that a serious attempt was made to turn out glass products, and that the first glassmaking effort was much more than just a public relations stunt designed to promote the financing of the Company's colonizing venture."[71]

It must also be stated that the original glassmakers at Jamestown were not simply glassmakers. The modern glassblowers at the simulated glasshouse utilize ovens built by engineers. The original glassblowers were their own engineers; they built their own ovens. How were these ovens used?

As we have learned, the raw elements of glass—sand, lime from oyster shells and pot or soda ash—are mixed and melted preliminarily in the fritting oven. This is the right one of the two long furnaces in the background. The resulting "frit" is placed in melting

pots set inside the smelting furnace (*Schmelzofen*) in the center of the Glasshouse. These pots (*Glasschmelzhafen*) have been placed on a stone ledge inside this oven. The pots are below rectangular holes in the sides of the furnace. The furnace is heated with firewood placed through the front opening into the fire trench, which runs down the middle of the furnace. This fire fuses the ingredients. Through one of the rectangular holes, also called work holes, the glass blower dips his blowpipe (*Blasrohr*) into the molten glass in a melting pot. He then blows the molten glass into a ball, according to what the final product is to be. From time to time, he dips the glass ball back into the furnace to keep it at proper temperature. Then he places the finished object into the left one of the two ovens in the rear. This is the annealing oven (*Ausheizofen*) where the objects are slowly cooled so that they will not break. To the left is a kiln for firing melting pots.

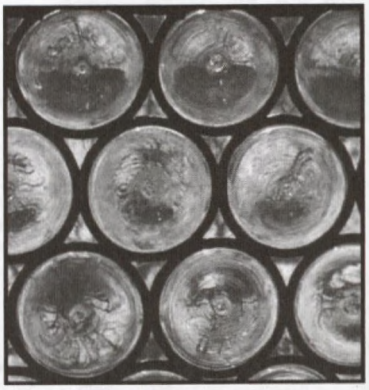

Fig. 14. *Butzenscheiben* fastened together by means of lead strips.

**What did the glassmakers make at the Jamestown Glasshouse?**

What type of window glass was made at the Jamestown Glasshouse—broad glass or crown glass? Broad or cylinder glass required a wide flattening furnace, which did not exist at the Jamestown Glasshouse. It also required a flat iron plate, stone or ceramic slab on which to flatten the glass. Although the archaeologist J. C. Harrington found some glassmaking implements and some glass melting pots, he found no plate or slab when he dug up the Glasshouse ruins.

The fact that the cullet the glassmakers brought from Europe came from crown window glass would seem to indicate that they intended to make that sort of glass in Virginia.[72]

Crown glass could be expanded to a diameter of 23.5 inches or more. But the annealing oven of the Jamestown Glasshouse is only 12 inches wide. They could have made *Butzenscheiben*; these disks 4 to 5 inches in diameter would have fitted comfortably into this cooling oven. Their small, round shape and thick edges would have offered some protection from breakage in the long ocean voyage back to England. Glaziers could have fastened these roundels into window frames by means of lead strips or rods. The glassmakers could have also made various green bottles, which would also have fitted easily into the narrow annealing oven.

"When Captain Argall arrived as governor in 1617, the glasshouse was no longer running and the building had fallen in decay," stated Lura Woodside Watkins.[73]

It is true that the glasshouse was no longer operational in 1617, but this was not the glassmakers' fault. The London Company that had brought them to Virginia could not provide them sufficient food and protection. Despite their best efforts, the glassmakers could not keep working for the simple reason that they—like most of their fellows—probably perished during the horrible winter of 1609-10; this is when the vast majority of the settlers succumbed to disease, starvation and Indian arrows.

"Even though the colony was not ready to support local industries of this type,"

declared Harrington, "we know now that glass was made in Virginia as early as 1608, and in greater quantity then we had assumed from the documentary evidence."[74] The ruins of the four furnaces discovered by Harrington and preserved by the National Park Service under glass are testimony to the diligence of the German glassmakers.

*The German-American Heritage Society of Greater Washington, D.C.*
Washington, D.C.

## Appendix

Germans played an important role in the American glass industry after Jamestown: "Wistar is one of the great names of early American glass. The second great American glassmaker was Henry William Stiegel, also known by his nickname, 'Baron' Stiegel. Stiegel made clear and colored glass, engraved and enameled glass, and the first lead glass produced in North America. A third important American glassmaker was John F. Amelung, who became best known for his elegant engraved glass."[75]

### Caspar Wistar

"Although other glasshouses were operated in the colonies, especially in New Amsterdam, the first successful and enduring large-scale glasshouse was set up by the German-born manufacturer Caspar Wistar in New Jersey in 1739."[76] ". . . It was founded by Casper Wistar in Salem County, about two and a half miles from Allowaystown, and not far from Philadelphia. Wistar was a German who had migrated to this country in 1717 at the age of twenty-one. He was the forerunner of hundreds of the same nationality who were responsible for the final success of American glassmaking. Indeed, in the eighteenth century, the greater number of glassblowers were of Germanic origin, and it is to Germany that we must look for stylistic influences in much of our good early glass."[77]

Wistar was born in 1696 near Heidelberg. When he arrived in Philadelphia, he had four German glassmakers with him; he took them in as partners. They were Johann Wilhelm Wentzel, Caspar Halter, Johann Martin Halter and Simeon Griessmeyer. Wentzel came from a famous glassmakers family from Bohemia.[78] "Casper Wistar died in 1752 and was succeeded by his son Richard in both of his manufactures. The Wistarberg works, as it was later known, ran continuously until the Revolution."[79]

The Stangers, a glass making family from Dornhagen, Germany, were brought to America as indentured servants by Casper Wistar. After the closing of the Wistar works in Wistarburg, NJ, they founded or worked at many other glass factories. In 1781, Solomon Stanger started in Gloucester County, NJ, "what was going to be 148 years of continuous glass making in what was to become the town of Glassboro." In 1810, Christian L. Stanger founded the Franklin Glass Works in Malaga, NJ. In 1834, Lewis Stanger opened a new factory known as Lewis Stanger & Son just south of Harmony. "Since the Stangers were teetotalers, the glass works became known as Temperanceville. Window glass and hollow ware were their main out put. No whiskey flasks were made there!"[80]

### Heinrich Wilhelm Stiegel

"The most famous American glass was made by Henry William Stiegel, a German who came to America in 1750 [from Cologne] . . . . From 1763 to 1770 Stiegel made window glass and various types of bottles and hollow ware at both Elizabeth Furnace and Manheim [Pennsylvania]. In 1769 Stiegel started the manufacture of flint-glass—the first of its type in America—at Manheim, and many experienced apprentices were brought from Bristol, England; Cologne, Germany; and Venice, Italy. In the few years that this factory was in operation, many beautiful pieces were made, following English and Continental prototypes. Quaint, useful, and decorative objects of every kind, in clear glass, opaque white, emerald green, amethyst, brown, and sapphire blue, were produced . . . . He also made an interesting enameled glass covered with colorful German peasant patterns of leaves, berries, and parrots. His perfume bottles, sugar bowls, and flower vases were particularly in demand."[81]

Stiegel "founded the American Flint Glass Manufactory in Manheim, Pennsylvania, and it was there in about 1771 that the first cut glass was produced in America."[82]

"Pennsylvania German glassware was best known through the artistry of 'Baron' Heinrich Wilhelm Stiegel. Stiegel was a master craftsman who became a legend in his own time as the flamboyant owner of iron and glassworks. Stiegel glass cannot be definitely identified since his workers took his methods to other factories after his own went bankrupt. However, Stiegel-type flint glass, or crystal, was widely known for its beauty, fragility, and the brilliance of its colors. A wide variety of glassware—from wineglasses, sugar bowls, and cruets to windowpanes and chemists' bottles—was made at the Stiegel furnace . . . . Stiegel was the first American glass manufacturer to enamel glass. Pieces made of white, or clear, glass have their decoration of birds, tulips, and scrolls painted on freehand with red, green, and yellow enamel. The motifs used reflect

typical Pennsylvania German traditions of decoration."[83]

"Stiegel operated his glassworks from 1763 to May, 1774, and employed over 130 foreign workmen."[84]

### Johann Friedrich Amelung

"With John Frederick Amelung, another German immigrant dominated American glass production. He established the first really extensive glass manufactury (Maryland, 1784), and he laid the foundations for industrial glass production in the United States."[85]

"Pattern-molded and engraved Stiegel-type glass was also made by [John F.] Amelung at the New Bremen Glass Manufactory in Frederick, Maryland. This factory was established in 1784 and skilled German craftsmen were brought over. They excelled in engraving.... Coat of arms, devices, ciphers, and fancy figures, including sprays of leaves, birds, daisylike flowers, festoons, and names and inscriptions, are typical of the engraving on clear glass.

"After Amelung's glassworks shut down [in 1796], some of the workmen were employed in the Baltimore area and others went to the New Geneva Glass Works in Pennsylvania. Thus glass similar to Amelung was made in these localities."[86]

### Johann Martin Greiner

"Previous to 1752, Matthew Earnest [Ernst], Samuel Bayard, Lodewyck [Ludwig] Bamper, and Christian Hertell formed a partnership for the purpose of building a glasshouse [in New York]. They made an agreement with one Johan Martin Greiner of Saxe-Weimar, Germany, to come to America to teach them the 'Art & Mystery of Erecting & Building a Glass House & allso in Blowing & Making of Glass.' He was to supervise every step in the construction of ovens and making of pots and he promised to remain in New York for a term of twenty years. The glass company agreed to pay Greiner twenty-four styvers for every one hundred quart bottles and three guilders for every fifty half-gallon flasks."[87] "This New York company continued in operation until 1767."[88]

## Notes

[1] Jamestown is called "the birthplace of the United States of America" on a tall obelisk erected in 1907 on Jamestown Island to commemorate the 300th Anniversary of the founding of the colony. It was dedicated by President Theodore Roosevelt.

[2] Smith, John, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles with the names of the Adventurers, Planters, and Governours from their first beginning An: 1584 to this present 1624* (London: Michael Sparkes, 1624), 73.

Two Continental Europeans arrived before the craftsmen. They were the German Swiss prospector, William Volday [Wilhem Waldi?], who arrived with the first English settlers in 1607, and Dr. Johannes Fleischer, the Younger, who arrived in April 1608. (See "Johannes Fleischer, Jr., M.D.: The First Scientist at Jamestown, Virginia," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 35 [2000]:133-51).

[3] Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia*, 66.

[4] "Captain Newport, being dispatched with the trials of pitch, tar, glass, frankincense and soap-ashes, with that clapboard and wainscot which could be provided." (*Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*, Arber and Bradley's Edition 2:242). "Wainscot. . . . A wooden lining for the walls of rooms, usually made of panels." *New Webster's Dictionary of the English Language.*

[5] *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*, Arber and Bradley's Edition 2:525.

Explication by Conway Whittle Sams: "That is, that during or after the building of this house for Powhatan, it would afford them a place of safety, 'a castle' for their defence; and an opportunity to kill Powhatan." *The Conquest of Virginia: The Second Attempt* (Norfolk, VA: Keyser-Doherty Printing Co., 1929), 525.

[6] Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia*, 72: "Letter sent to the Treasurer and Councell of Virginia from Captaine Smith, then President in Virginia."

A gloss to this *Historie* by Smith reads, "Two Gentlemen sent to the Germans." The gentlemen in question were sent to the "Dutchmen" Samuel, Francis and Adam, who were helping to build a house for Chief Powhatan (p. 88).

[7] *Virtual Jamestown: Jamestown Artifacts*. Jamestown Rediscovery, 1994.

[8] Philip L. Barbour, *The Three Worlds of Captain John Smith* (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1964) 1:259-60.

[9] William M. Kelso and Beverly Straube, *Jamestown Rediscovery, 1994-2004* (Richmond: Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, 2004), 188. (Kelso is the historical archaeologist who discovered the footprints of James Fort when it was thought to be under the waters of the James River. Straube is the curator of this archaeological project.)

[10] The National Park Service has instructed a "Living History Character" at the Jamestown Glasshouse to say to children: "My name is Lech and I am a glassmaker from Poland. I was recruited by the Virginia Company of London to come to the new colony and make glass to be sold back in England." "Transcript for Living History Characters: Glassblower," Lessonplans/historicjamestowne/elementary.

The National Association of Manufactures repeated this mistake: "Under the auspices of The London Company of Virginia, a group of colonists recruited a handful of Dutch and Polish glassmakers, set sail for

the New World and established a primitive glass factory at Jamestown in 1608—one year after they arrived." Marissa Gandelman, "NAM Celebrates Jamestown: America's largest manufacturing association pays homage to America's oldest industry" in Expansion Management Online, 6-1-2004.

Here, the National Association of Manufactures mistakenly identifies the glassmakers at Jamestown as Dutch and Poles; they were really German. The glassmakers actually arrived in 1608 and established the glasshouse in 1609.

[11] Henryk Zins, *England and the Baltic in the Elizabethan Era* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972), 246.

[12] Richard Hakluyt (the lawyer), "Inducements to the liking of the voyage intended towards Virginia" written in 1585 and first published as an appendix to John Brereton's *A Brief and true Relation* (London, 1602).

[13] The literature of sixteenth and seventeenth century glassmaking makes virtually no reference to Polish production, while the German glass industry of that period is described at length. Philip L. Barbour, "The Identity of the First Poles in America," *William & Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 21 (January 1964): 90.

The author asked Dr. Gerhard E. Sollbach, head of the faculty of the Historical Institute of the University of Dortmund, Germany, to help with identification of the glassmakers at Jamestown. He, in turn, asked a Polish colleague, who "when he went to Poland for a research visit (University of Oppeln) this summer checked the literature (so far as his time allowed him to do it) for any information of glassmaking in Poland around 1600—but without any success. As he told me, this seems to have been no subject for Polish historians" (personal communication from Prof. Sollbach on November 15, 1995).

[14] Web page: Glass Online. "A Brief History of Glass: The Roman Connection." Artech Publishing, 1996-2006.

[15] Eleanor S. Godfrey, *The Development of English Glassmaking, 1560-1640* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 25.

[16] "There are not many sites of ancient glass blowing houses, but there have been partial remains found in Eigelstein, near Cologne, and in Phiadius in Greece dating from the 5th century B.C. Pieces of glass from half of a mold, partial remains of a glass furnace and a crucible in which the glass was heated to a molten state, are all artifacts found at these sites" (Web page: Susan Hampton, "Glassmaking in Antiquity: Roman Glass").

According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "Glass-making in Germany during the Roman period seems to have been carried on extensively in the neighborhood of Cologne. The Cologne museum contains many specimens of Roman glass, some of which are remarkable for their cut decoration. The craft survived the downfall of the Roman power, and a native industry was developed. This industry must have won some reputation, for in 758 the abbot of Jarrow [England] appealed to the bishop of Mainz to send him a worker in glass." *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., 102.

H. W. Woodward wrote, "Not a single mention of glassmaking activity appears in English archives until 758, when Cuthbert, the Abbot of Jarrow, sent an urgent request to the Archbishop Lullus of Mainz to assist him in obtaining glassworkers. His plea defines the status of the art throughout northern Europe as clearly as it does of England:

> If there be any man in your diocese who can make vessels of glass, pray send him to me; or if by chance he is beyond your bounds, in the power of some other person outside your diocese, I beg you fraternally that you will persuade him to come to us, seeing that we are ignorant and helpless in that art.

"Where the bishop found the 'foreign glassmakers' to work at Monkwearmouth is unknown, but traces of furnaces were found on the site in the late 1960's by Rosemary Cramp." Rosemary Cramp, "Glass Finds from the Anglo-Saxon monastery of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow," citing Bede, *Opera Historica* (a late 7th century work) ed. C. Plummer (1896), chap. 5; H. W. Woodward, *Art, Feat, and Mystery: The Story of Thomas Webb and Sons, Glassmakers* (1978).

"It is probable that the glass drinking-vessels, which have been found in pre-Christian Anglo-Saxon tombs, were introduced from Germany. Some are elaborate in design and bear witness to advanced technique of Roman character." Web page: Online Information, article about GLASS.

[17] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., 103.

Chiddingfold is a village in Surrey, United Kingdom, on the highway between Milford and Petworth.

[18] Web page: "GlassOline.com – A Brief History of Glass".

However, this method of making flat glass from a glass cylinder had also been utilized by the ancient Romans. Did Germans re-invent this old Roman process in the eleventh century after knowledge of it had been lost or did they simply continue this old tradition and perhaps improve it?

[19] Denis Diderot, *A Pictorial Encyclopedia of Trades & Industry* 2, plate 249.

[20] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edition, s.v. "glass."

[21] *Monthly Chronicle of North-Country Lore and Legend* 2, no. 15 (May 1888).

The names of at least three of the four Lorraine glassmaker families reveal their German origin. They were originally Hennezell, Dietrich and Tiesack, and they were German-Bohemians:

"Toward the end of the fourteenth century four other families of glassmakers—the de Hennezells, de Thietrys [Dietrich], de Thysacs [Tiesack], and de Bisvals—migrated from the Bohemian border to the forest of Darney in the Vosges mountains of Lorraine. Like their Norman counterparts, they improved the quality and ductility of their glass metal through careful founding, and in addition altered the technique of manipulation in order to increase the size of the cylinders. The resulting sheets were larger, thinner, and flatter

than those made before, so that glass 'in the Lorraine mode,' like Normandy glass, achieved a high reputation. The four families, three of whom later became leaders in the English industry, received from the Duke of Lorraine confirmation of their noble rank of *chevalier* and privileges similar to those enjoyed by the Norman families" Godfrey, *The Development of English Glassmaking,* 6-7.

The first Lorrainer to establish himself in Stourbridge, England, notes D. R. Guttery, the English glass historian, was Paul Tyzack, "Master of the art, feat, and mystery of broad-glass making." "Noble as the Tyzacks were," wryly comments Guttery, "[The] du Thisacks, *gentilhommes verrieres* . . . had been tramps from the early fifteenth century when they left the woods of Bohemia and began their long trek to Darney Forest in the Vosges." They were drawn to the Vosges by the privileges granted them in the famous glassmaking charter, which granted glassmakers quasi-noble (*gentilhommes*) status, but their decision to move into the area was also dictated by the availability of wood. "When their hungry firest had burned through one woods they moved to another. The Vosges forests promised an inexhaustible supply of cleft billets they tossed into their furnaces, not only for themselves, but also for the Henzeys (de Hennezel) and the Titterys (de Thietry), their closest kinsmen and, like them tramps." D. R. Guttery, *From Broadglass to Cut Crystal* (London, 1956), 1.

One of the Thietrys or Dietrichs, Joshua Tittery, a "broad glass man," from Newcastle-on-Tyne, came to America and worked in a Philadelphia glass factory in 1683. Lura Woodside Watkins, *American Glass and Glassmaking* (London: Max Parrish & Co., 1950), 23.

[22] Susan Myra Kingsbury, *Records of the Virginia Company of London* 1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1935): 251 (pertaining to 21 July 1619).

Poles are referred to as makers of pitch and tar as well as soap ashes and potashes also under entries of May 17 and June 22, 1620.

[23] Kelso and Straube, *Jamestown Rediscovery, 1994-2004,* n. 157.

[24] The Virginia Company of London lists among the settlers killed in the Indian uprising of March 22, 1622, "Matthew, a Polander who died at Martin Brandon's."

[25] William Strachey's *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania* (1612), 78.

Strachey' complete statement about the Glasshouse reads as follows:

> a little without the Island where Jamestown stands, . . . where . . . though the Country wants not for Salsodiack [soda ash] enough to make glasse off, and of which we have made some store in a goodlie howse, sett up for the same purpose, with all offices and furnaces thereto belonging, a little without the Island where James Towne standes.

Kelso declared in *Jamestown Rediscovery II:*

> Crucibles were used for many purposes, including glassmaking . . . . Most of the crucibles located at the [James Fort] site are triangular and are believed to have been made in Hesse, Germany. Two of the crucibles contain molten glass on the interior. These are of a larger beaker size and were probably used by the German glassmakers to produce trials of glass before construction of their work space on Glasshouse Point in 1609. Kelso, *Jamestown Rediscovery II: Search for 1607 James Fort* (Richmond: Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, 1996), 40.

He also wrote in the web page "Jamestown Rediscovery:"

> "Glassmen from Germany attempted to make window glass, workers from Poland made soap ash and potash...." www.apva.org/ngex/xwrkplay.html.

[26] J. Carl Harrington, *A Tryal of Glasse: The Story of Glassmaking at Jamestown* (Richmond, VA: Dietz Press, 1972).

[27] "In [Germany] there had been a continuous survival, probably from late Roman times, of a local type of green glass, a product of forest glasshouses, made with potash obtained by burning forest vegetation and called therefore *Waldglas* ('forest glass')." *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, Macropaedia* 17 (1994), s.v. "decorative arts & furnishings—the history of glass design."

[28] "The German glassworkers were . . . known for a particular type of glass, Waldglas ('forest glass'). Waldglas is green in color, implying the use of a raw material containing iron compounds. It was so named because, beginning in the thirteenth century, the Germans had migratory forest glass houses. These used the nearby wood as fuel and, when it is exhausted, move on. There were *Waldglashutten* in the imperial forest near Nuremberg, the Fichtelgebirge, the Thuringian forest, Silesia and Sollingen in the fourteenth century, and in Bohemia, Hesse and Lorraine in the fifteenth . . . . Unlike the more exalted glass workers of Venice and France, the Teutonic *waldglas* makers had a relatively low social status. They tended to intermarry, and hence there were certain families which made a name for themselves as glass craftmen: Gundelach and Kunkel in Hesse, Wenzel and Schurer in Bohemia, Preussler in Silesia [and] Greiner in Thuringia." Web page: Iver P. Cooper, "FAQ on Glassmaking in 1632," (2004).

"German glassmakers settled in the forested middle mountain ranges. In the Spessart, in the Thüringer Forest, in the Black Forest, in the Bavarian Forest, in the Fichtelgebirge, Bohemian Forest, Ore Maintains and the Riesengebirge. They found there sufficient fire wood for their smelting ovens. The glass was mostly greenish, not colored. This was caused by the raw materials, the sand and the potash. The trunks of beech and oak trees were burned, their ash was placed in pots and the lye was washed out with hot water. This resulted in the so called pot ash (calcium carbonate). When the surrounding forests had been denuded, the glassmaker moved his glass hut elsewhere. The glassmakers didn't become permanently settled until the

17th and 18th centuries... Web page: Bärbel Heidenreich, "Wanderglashütten und Pottasche, Planet Wissen – Glastradition: Wann, wie und wo wurde Glas gemacht?," trans. by the author.

[29] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., 102.

[30] Web page: "Geschichte und Entwicklung des Glases: Wurzeln des europäischen Glashüttenwesens," trans. by the author.

[31] Web page: "Aus der Glashüttengeschichte: Wie hat eine Glashütte in der Gründerzeit ausgesehen?" Hans Schopf and Will Steger, Sankt-Oswald, Riedelhütte.

[32] Web page: "Forest Glass Furnaces in County Offaly, Archaeology, Glass Furnaces."

[33] Two German glasshouses were uncovered near the end of the twentieth century:

The glasshouse in Schönbuch near Tübingen, SW Germany, operated from about 1450 to 1480. The ruins of three ovens were unearthed in 1992. The largest was a smelting oven, the others a *Streckofen* (flatening oven) and *Kühlofen* (cooling oven). It produced hollow glass and mostly green window glass (broad glass) plus some white *Butzenscheiben* in whose production soda ash was used. An unusual find was *Glasfritten*. (Frit is a calcined, partly fused material ready for complete fusion to form glass.)

In 1984/85, the late medieval glass hut Salzwiesen was uncovered in the Valley of the Nassach near Göppingen. This glasshouse was productive for almost all of the fifteenth century. Four ovens were utilized: A main furnace and two auxiliary ovens, probably a *Streckofen* (flattening oven), which was heated to a maximum of 550° C, and a cooling oven heated not above 300° C. The fourth oven was probably used for making smelting pots (*Hafen*) and for producing frit. Some frit was also found. This glasshouse produced *Waldglas* ware for everyday use. But much more flat glass (broad glass) in hues of green, yellow, blue, violet and red for Gothic church windows. Plus some clear *Butzenscheiben* in whose production soda ash was used (Web page: U. Schüssler and B. Brinker, "Die Spätmittelalterliche Glasproduktion im Schönbuch bei Tübingen und im Nassachtal bei Göppingen," Institut für Mineralogie, Am Hubland, 97074 Würzburg).

"Since the end of the 14th century there were glass huts in [Austria's] Steiermark / Styria. The traditional glass hut measured 20 meters by 11 meters. It included a *Schmelzofen* or smelting oven, a *Kühlofen* or cooling oven, two small *Aschöfen* or ash ovens for making potash and a *Termperofen* or tempering oven" (Web page: Echolot, "Die Glasmacher, Erster Teil," trans. by the author).

[34] "The oldest handwritten copies of the work are found in Vienna (Austrian National Library, Codex 2527) and in Wolfenbüttel (Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Codex Guelf 69). Gotthold Ephraim Lessing rediscovered the document when he worked as librarian in Wolfenbüttel" (Web page: "Theophilus Presbyter" in Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia, trans. by the author).

[35] Web page: "Echolot, Die Glassmacher, Erster Teil," trans. by the author.

[36] Web page: U. Schüssler and B. Brinker, "Die Spätmittelalterliche Glasproduktion im Schönbuch bei Tübingen und im Nassachtal bei Göppingen," Institut für Mineralogie, Am Hubland, 97074 Würzburg.

[37] "At a time when the scarcity of window glass in London was most acute, there was a daring attempt to supply the market from a new source. London merchants in the newly formed Virginia Company decided to establish a glasshouse in the struggling settlement at Jamestown, Virginia," Godfrey, *The Development of English Glassmaking*, 58.

[38] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., s.v. "glass."

[39] Web page: "Attache Archive."

[40] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., s.v. "glass."

[41] Otto Völckers, *Glas und Fenster; Ihr Wesen; Ihre Geschichte und Ihre Bedeutung in der Gegenwart.* (Berlin: Bauweltverlag, 1939), 80.

[42] Web page: Rainer Trumpf, "Glas im Bauwesen," PaX Classic GmbH Fachtagung Herbst 2002.

[43] Web page: "Raumausstattung Wohnen: Butzenscheiben."

[44] Godfrey, 13.

[45] Robert Schmidt, *Das Glas*. (Berlin: Verlag Georg Reimer, 1912), 131-33.

[46] Hans-Georg Stephan, *Großalmerode: Ein Zentrum der Herstellung von technischer Keramik, Steinzeug und Irdenware in Hessen*, Teil I (Großalmerode: Glas- und Keramik-Museum Großalmerode, after 1980), 15:

"Already the early documents of the region link organically the founding and flourishing of Großalmerode east of Kassel with the clay deposits of the region and the genesis of a center of glassmaking in the Forest of Kaufung .... The glass industry of the Großalmerode region was so important in the beginning of the 16th century that in 1537 the seat of the Frankish-Hessian guild of glass blowers was moved from the Spessart mountains to Großalmerode" (trans. by the author).

[47] Schmidt, 131-33.

[48] Hans-Georg Stephan, *Großalmerode: Ein europäisches Zentrum der Herstellung von technischer Keramik*. Teil II (Großalmerode: Glas- und Keramikmuseum Großalmerode, 1995), 65.

[49] Web page: Ernst Grage, "Wie war das eigentlich mit dem Waldglas im Kaufunger Wald"? *Trommelstock*.

[50] Stephan, 96.

[51] J. P. Cotter, "The Mystery of the Hessian Wares: Post-medieval triangular crucibles" in *Everyday and Exotic Pottery from Europe c. 650-1900* (Oxford, England: Oxbon, 1992).

[52] "Also from Germany are the refractory clay crucibles that were used to melt the raw materials. The clay of the crucibles has quartz sand as main ingredient* and is fired to a near-stoneware consistency that

* "Reiner quarzsand"; that is, pure quartz sand, and clay were used to make crucibles in Großalmerode. Hans-Georg Stephan, *Großalmerode: Ein europäisches Zentrum der Herstellung von technischer Keramik*. Teil II (Großalmerode: Glas- und Keramikmuseum Großalmerode, 1995), 22.

creates 'industrial strength' vessels able to withstand very high heat without breakage. One of the crucibles is marked twice in the base with a circular stamp bearing the initials PTV GER. Crucibles with this same mark have been recorded from excavations in Großalmerode near Kassel, Germany. Indeed, the GER stands for Großalmerode, a primary center of glass and crucible production for 400 years that peaked in the early seventeenth century. The PTV is believed to represent Peter Topfer, who was listed as a leaseholder in the crucible production monopoly from 1621-1625. He is listed as 'the elder' in 1621, so he was most likely making crucibles prior to the 1608 glassmaking activity at Jamestown." William Kelso and Beverly Straube, *Jamestown Rediscovery VI* (Richmond, VA: The Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, 2000), 65-66.

See also "Figure 79. Evidence of the glassmakers at work within the fort prior to 1610," p. 63, and "Figure 13. Some of the men at James Fort were clearly conducting experiments in making small trials of glass leaving behind stoneware crucibles still containing sand and melted glass and broken window glass cullet"—William M. Kelso, Nicholas M. Luckettii and Beverly A. Straube, *Jamestown Rediscovery V* (APVA), 13.

The glassmakers brought finished crucibles with them to Virginia, because it took over a year to make new ones. Before firing, the pots, formed of special clay, had to be stored for 1 year. Then they had to be carefully warmed for 14 days in a *Temperofen* (tempering oven) before they could be finally fired.

[53] "In the year 1621, Landgrave Moritz awarded the privilege of mining clay suitable for crucible production to a Großalmerode consortium consisting of Peter Töpfer the Elder, Hans Töpfer, Georg Töpfer, Christian Zimmer und Georg Ruelberg. This privilege included the sole right to export this clay as well as the sole right to make crucibles from it." Stephan, Teil I, trans. by the author, 51.

[54] Otto Stöber, *Wundersames Glas* (Linz: Landverlag, 1947), 32.

[55] Ada Polak, *Glass: Its Makers and Its Public* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975), 40.

[56] Stöber, 41.

[57] Stephan, from English summary, 250.

[58] Adolf Häger, "Foreword to the play: Die Waldgläsner. Großalmerode, 21 May 1938," trans. by the author.

Act 5 of this play. Time: Spring 1597. "Young glassmakers from Almerode bid forewell and journey into the world to continue pursuing the glassmaking craft," trans. by the author.

[59] Karl Krück, *Großalmerode: Bergstadt zwischen Meißner, Hirschberg und Kaufungerwald*, trans. by the author (Horb am Neckar: Geiger-Verlag, 1988), 52.

[60] Schmidt, 133.

[61] Lura Woodside Watkins, *American Glass and Glassmaking* (London: Max Parrish, 1950), 21.

[62] Philip L. Barbour, *The Three Worlds of Captain John Smith* 1 (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1964), 238.

[63] Kelso and Straube, *Jamestown Rediscovery VI*, 62.

"A layer of frothy slag-like material...was excavated in the north end of the bulwark earthwork trench [SE bulwark of James Fort]. Thought to be the waste from melting the raw materials to make glass, samples of the solidified froth were petrologically examined and found to contain more than 90% silica, confirming that this material is glass gall [insoluable material in the melted glass]." Nicholas Luccketti and Beverly Straube, *1997 Interim Report on the APVA Excavations at Jamestown, Virginia.*

[64] Barbour, *The Three Worlds of Captain John Smith*, 238.

[65] Harrington, *A Tryal of Glasse,* 8.

[66] Barbour, *The Three Worlds of Captain John Smith*, 263.

[67] Virtual Jamestown, "Jamestown Artifacts," 1994 Jamestown Rediscovery.

[68] Harrington, *A Tryal of Glasse,* 30.

[69] Harrington, *A Tryal of Glasse,* 15.

[70] Harrington, *A Tryal of Glasse,* 15.

[71] Harrington, *A Tryal of Glasse,* 41.

[72] William Kelso and Beverly Straube, *Jamestown Rediscovery VI* (Richmond: The Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, 2000), 64.

[73] Lura Woodside Watkins, *American Glass and Glassmaking* (London: Max Parrish, 1950), 21.

[74] Harrington, *A Tryal of Glasse,* 47.

[75] Web page: Steve W. Martin, Iowa State University, "Glass Facts: History of Glass."

[76] Columbia Encyclopedia, the free dictionary, s.v. "glassmaking in colonial America."

[77] Watkins, *American Glass and Glassmaking*, 24.

[78] Web page: Iver P. Cooper, "FAQ on Glassmaking in 1632" (2004).

[79] Watkins, *American Glass and Glassmaking*, 24.

[80] Web page: William H. Flowers, "Old South Jersey Glass and Antiques."

[81] Web page: "American glasses represented by Stiegel glasses," Easterncorner Library, Cambridge, Mass.

[82] Web page: "Early Cut Glass in America," American Cut Glass Association.

[83] Web page: "Pennsylvania German Folk Art from the Index of American Design," National Gallery of Art, The Collection.

[84] Web page: "Stiegel Glass," Old and Sold Antiques Auction and Marketplace.

[85] Web page: "Waldglas in the USA," based on *A Short History of Glass* by Chloe Zerwick, the Corning Museum of Glass, New York, 1980.

[86] Web page: "Stiegel Glass," Old and Sold Antiques Auction and Marketplace.

[87] Watkins, *American Glass and Glassmaking*, 23.

[88] Watkins, *American Glass and Glassmaking*, 23-24.

## German-American Literary Reviews

*Edited by Elfe Vallaster-Dona*
*Wright State University*

**Pictorial Conversations: On Margot Scharpenberg's Iconic Poetry.**
*By Reinhold Grimm. Cincinnati, OH: Cincinnati Occasional Papers in German-American Studies, 2006. 16 pages.*

Reinhold Grimm's essay "Pictorial Conversations: On Margot Scharpenberg's Iconic Poetry" presents an examination of Scharpenberg's poetry not only within the sub-genre of iconic poetry itself, but also within the context of modern German poetry, which Grimm sees as excelling worldwide in two specific areas; that of prose poetry and of iconic poetry. Thus Grimm begins his analysis by presenting some of the most significant German language poets within these sub-genres, specifically Holger Teschke, Ernst Jandl, Beat Brechtbühl, Günter Kunert, and most particularly Walter Helmut Fritz, in whom Grimm sees a prose poetry pendant to Margot Scharpenberg's iconic poetry.

Margot Scharpenberg, a part-time resident of both New York and Cologne, is a prolific writer, having published more than twenty volumes of poetry and three volumes of prose. Her specialty is iconic poetry and her poems themselves are considered exemplary of the genre, following the rules of that genre meticulously, as Grimm informs us, to the point that her poetry could be viewed as "classical." Scharpenberg's interest in the graphic arts preceded her interest in iconic poetry, which developed late in life. As Grimm notes, the majority of her works have contained illustrations, often reproductions of contemporary artists. With her move towards iconic poetry, however, her use of illustrations became more integral to her works, often depicting the object of her contemplation in the poem. Thus, her use of illustration in connection with that poetry has evolved so that her poetry acts as an exegesis to the images presented.

Scharpenberg has produced ten volumes of iconic poetry alone, and these volumes are the focus of Grimm's article. Many of the volumes describe works of art in specific museum collections. Grimm divides these works into two categories: those dealing with graphic and plastic arts, and those dealing with objects "of nonartistic provenance" since, as Grimm informs us, these volumes of poetry describing works of art are interspersed with descriptions of artifacts such as a *Faustkeil*, a bell, a gargoyle and a church nave (the latter three items found at the Cathedral in Cologne).

In addition to the close connection of Scharpenberg's work with museum collections, Grimm notes that one of the most unique features of her poetry is her inclusion of scholarly *Sachkommentar* (expert commentary), something that is almost unheard of in the world of iconic poetry. Only one of her works, *31 x Klee*, dispenses with these commentaries (which Grimm observes are often lengthy, very scholarly and

may irritate the reader), therefore returning to the traditional format of iconic verse. Grimm notes that each of the volumes offerings is structured much like a sixteenth and seventeenth-century emblem, with a heading or motto, illustration and exegetic poem. (This tripartite structure differs, as Grimm tells us, in that an emblem is arranged vertically, whereas the submissions in *31 x Klee* are arranged horizontally.) Grimm reproduces two poems from the volume with their attendant images, one describing Ernst Ludwig Kirchner's "Fünf Frauen auf der Straße" (1913) and Paul Klee's "Ansicht nach Kairuan" (1914).

In his conclusion, Grimm suggests that Scharpenberg's poetry is innovative in respect to the introduction of scholarly commentaries to her poems as well as the images of the objects these poems describe, and in the use of objects that do not fall under the category of pictorial art or even art itself. At the same time, unlike Walter Helmut Fritz with whom he briefly compares Scharpenberg, the poetess has made no concerted effort to expand the form of iconic poetry by including subject matter such as Fritz' African masks, nor revolutionized the domain of poetic ekphrasis as Grimm views Kunert as having done. Instead, Grimm concludes that Margot Scharpenberg's poetry can safely be categorized as classical; an "overabundance of more of less traditional iconic verse." Still, in the sheer volume of work that she has produced and in what he calls a "surfeit of high standards," Grimm ultimately sees Scharpenberg's poetry turning "imperceptibly" towards historical quality.

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**Hilters unwilliger Soldat: Memoiren eines jungen Deutschen vor und während des Zweiten Weltkriegs**

*By Konrad Kircher with Andy Kircher. Allgäu: Sequenz Medien Produktion, 2003. 119 pages.*

With his memoir, *Hitlers unwilliger Soldat*, Konrad Kircher (together with Andy Kircher) offers the reader an intimate portrait of life in Hitler's Germany. The book, while perhaps of greatest interest to someone with ties to the Lauingen area, is likely to be of interest to anyone with an interest in the history of the period. Told as a series of short, episodic snapshots of his experiences, Kircher's memoir takes us from his early childhood and the rise of Hitler to power through the end of the war, with a short epilogue. While some historical events are presented as a frame of reference for the narrative, the majority of events that Kircher describes are personal, naturally focused on the effects of the political climate on his life as a child and on his family.

Kircher was born in Lauingen in Bavaria. As the son of a local physician, Kircher's life was relatively privileged, and he received a humanistic education at several schools in the region, starting in elementary school in the same year that Hitler came to power. His observations about the effects of the political environment on his education are interesting in that they highlight the difficulties faced by educators who were to mediate (some willingly, some less so) between the state and an upcoming generation. School naturally became Kircher's primary contact point with the official policies of the Nazi

regime in everything from the presentation of current events to the demand that every student become a member of the *Hitler Jugend* (*HJ*).

Kircher began his post-elementary education at St. Stephan's, a Catholic school in Augsburg, where he observed the Gestapo's efforts to gather incriminating information against the priests who ran the school. As per a law passed in 1936, school attendance was made dependant upon membership in the *HJ*, and as a result, Kircher has no choice but to enroll. Nevertheless, he was an unwilling participant, eschewing any promotion in the organization, managing to evade such promotion by claiming that he would be unable to fulfill his duties as an *HJ* leader because he needed to help his father during air raids. This pattern of passive resistance to party involvement is repeated throughout the memoir as both Kircher and his father attempt to avoid active involvement in the Nazi regime while simultaneously avoiding persecution for that resistance.

Eventually Kircher changed schools and began attending a school in Dillingen. Being situated in a somewhat remote location, it was assumed that many of the teachers had been sent to Dillingen because they were politically questionable. Kircher recalls one particular teacher for example, who expressed his opposition to the regime by presenting the regime's goals with certain caveats of doubt such as "*Erlaubten . . .*" and "*Sollten wir den Krieg gewinnen . . .*" Another instructor made open jokes about the Nazis while asking, if Germany's Jews were being "relocated" to settlements in the east, as the Nazi regime claimed, where were they? These various expressions of political resistance, like Kircher's passive participation in the *HJ*, his father's reluctance to enroll in the Nazi party, and the failure of the school leadership to report outspoken educators to the Gestapo paint a variegated picture of everyday life in Hitler's Germany. As the title suggests, although there may have been a superficial impression that everyone was *gleichgeschaltet*, there were many subtle acts and attitudes of resistance.

Some of Kircher's descriptions of events in the book are the result of the essential role his father played in that community as a physician and the unique access he had to the community at large. As the physician in charge of the *Lauinger Schloss*, for example, an institution for women suffering from psychiatric disorders, Kircher's father witnessed first-hand the resistance of the nuns to the Nazi order that the patients be transferred to another facility because that "transfer" was intended solely to allow the "euthanasia" of the women patients. These experiences led Kircher's father to declare that "who wants to see and hear has no doubts about Hitler's plans for the Jews."

Similarly, in perhaps one of the most unique views of an aspect of the Nazi regime not ordinarily accessible to the common citizen, Kircher's father treated the prisoners from Dachau who had been assigned to slave labor at the Ködel und Böhm factory in Lauingen. There, his knowledge of foreign languages allowed him to speak to the prisoners who came to his office hours for treatment of serious illnesses and injuries. As Kircher relates, despite the fact that his father was forbidden to provide pain medication to prisoners whose injuries stemmed from "disciplinary measures," he nevertheless did so by lying about what medications he was administering. Kircher also relates how his mother hid loaves of bread for the prisoners near the outdoor latrine. Ultimately, these efforts to support the prisoners led to Kircher's father being removed as the camp physician and being investigated by the Gestapo. He only narrowly avoided arrest by having surgery. (We never find out why, upon being unable to arrest him at once, the Gestapo drops their case against Kirchner's father.)

Reaching young adulthood in an environment of constant war, Kircher was

eventually forced into the war effort, initially being assigned to work as a *Flakhelfer*, manning the anti-aircraft guns near Lauingen. Moving away from memories centered around his family's struggle to maintain ideological independence, Kircher's memoir focuses on the grim reality of daily life for a young man in a Germany in which every warm body was required for a last ditch effort first to win the war, and then to protect Germany against the advance of the Russians from the east and the Americans from the west. In order to avoid conscription into the SS, Kircher volunteered for the *Wehrmacht*. Hoping to be sent to medical school by the German military, as his cousin had done, Kircher signed up for glider lessons with the *Hitler Jugend*.

Ultimately, as Nazi Germany entered the final phases of the war, Kircher found himself a part of the *Volksturm*, Hitler's last ditch effort to save Germany from invasion. After many efforts to avoid the military police and to make his way to the west, where he hoped to be captured by the American troops rather than the Russian troops, Kircher found himself a prisoner of war. The memoir ends with Kircher's safe return home at the end of the war and a short epilogue outlining the most salient events following the war including his own emigration to Dayton Ohio in 1952, where he worked as a radiologist for many years.

*Wright State University* *Elena Chandler*

**Looking for God's Country**
*By Norbert Krapf. St. Louis: Time Being Books, 2005. 142 pages.*
**Invisible Presence**
*By Norbert Krapf. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006. 270 pages.*

Norbert Krapf, well-known poet and professor of English at Long Island University, grew up in the Jasper Indiana, an area characterized by its German heritage. Indeed, Krapf's own family immigrated to the region from Lower Franconia. His poetry, which comprises five full length collections, focuses largely on this Indiana region and on his German heritage. With his volume *Looking for God's Country*, Krapf presents the reader with a portrait in verse of daily life in rustic southern Indiana, as well as of historical existence in Lower Franconia. The volume is divided into four sections of what are largely prose poems that take the reader on a journey from the author's life and childhood in rural Indiana, to the life of his immigrant forefathers in rural Lower Franconia (reflections based on photographs of the region), through his musings on the violence and aftermath of the Second World War, and finally back to the author's home and his observations on the transience of life.

Krapf's observations are tinged with a sense of death in life and with the sense that the two are inextricably and naturally intertwined. Thus, amidst imagery of idyllic pastoral scenes that include his mother singing while picking strawberries or memories of playing basketball against the side of an old barn, Krapf depicts events such as the violent death of a neighbor in a baling machine accident, the automobile accident of a high school friend, or even the childhood experience of watching his mother behead a chicken. The tranquility evoked in a poem about measuring the distance between

telephone poles for a summer job is countered by reflections on familial traumas and hardship such as the mental breakdown of his father.

Similarly, his reflections on Germany include both rustic images of baking fresh bread but also the fiery destruction of Würzburg during the fire bombing campaign and the destruction of the library at the Humboldt University in Berlin by the Nazis. In these poems there is no pathos, nor is there a hyperbolic idealization of country life but instead, Krapf paints a picture of life in his native Indiana and ancestral Germany that is at once bittersweet and completely non-pretentious. The reader is left with the sense that Krapf's nostalgia for both his childhood and ancestral home is rooted firmly in a sense of reality and an awareness of the transience of life.

The second volume, *Invisible Presence*, encompasses a completely different kind of collection of poems than that of *Looking for God's Country*. Accompanied by photographs by Darryl D. Jones, *Invisible Presence* offers a collection of iconic poetry that describes and reflects upon scenes and images of rural Indiana. The photographs are manipulated using a technique called Polaroid emulsion manipulation to lend the images the appearance of Impressionist paintings. Accompanying each, Krapf's poems concisely and eloquently describe each image of pastoral Indiana. In contrast to *Looking for God's Country*, the themes in this collection are purely visual, elucidating images that include tree-lined country roads, hay rides, pastures and fields, wild flowers, rustic architecture, farm equipment, weathervanes and the streets of rural towns.

The poetry contained in this collection recalls precisely the experience of traveling through southern Indiana, but beyond that mere imagery, Krapf's poetry evokes the tranquility and spiritual dimensions of being in these landscapes. The poems carry the reader from the initial sensory experience through the emotional reaction, through nostalgic longing or spiritual return to a sense of home that is interior rather than exterior. In this, the poems go beyond their geographic subject matter and craft a universal expression of home that is capable of speaking to any reader, not merely those with an emotional bond to Indiana itself. Krapf's poems transport the reader into the image itself and make the extraordinary visual offering of Jones's photography experiential on a myriad of levels, both sensory and emotional.

*Wright State University* *Elena Chandler*

## Book Reviews

*Edited by Timothy J. Holian*
*University of Wisconsin-Waukesha*

**German Culture in Nineteenth-Century America: Reception, Adaptation, Transformation.**
*Edited by Lynne Tatlock and Matt Erlin. Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture, edited by James Hardin. Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2005. xxi + 336 pp. $75.00.*

The following volume contains fourteen essays from the symposium "Transfer Effects: German Culture in Nineteenth-Century Europe" which took place at Washington University in St. Louis in April 2004. The focus of all of the essays is the investigation of the creative adaptation of cultural material emanating from German-speaking countries on the local, regional, and national level in the United States during the so-called long nineteenth century, through World War I. As such, the essays are not concerned with the immigrant experience, per se; but rather the Americanizing of German ideas and the reshaping and reframing of German culture to serve political, social, or cultural purposes. Furthermore, the essays concentrate on the individual agents or texts of this cultural transfer between spaces and reveal that Germans themselves played a larger role in the process of Americanization than what may be expected.

All fourteen essays are framed and informed by the theory of cultural transfer, and especially the scholarship of Michel Espagne and Michael Werner at the Sorbonne and Bernd Kortländer, all of whom underscore the essential permeability of culture. Espagne and Werner argue that cultural transfer is a process of mutual transfer which takes place in multiple directions and spaces and at the same time. Kortländer's terms "Entgrenzung" und "Begrenzung" prove invaluable for the contributors. "Entgrenzung" refers to the "reducing effects of borders by establishing international cooperation," as Lützeler cogently writes in his essay (59); whereas "Begrenzung" refers to the reinforcement of old borders and/or the creation of new ones. These terms are applied to the "circulation of German cultural goods beyond German-identified and German-speaking communities in the United States, and in the agents, enterprises, and the causes that prompted such circulation and, ultimately, deliberate appropriation by American cultural agents" (xii), as Tatlock and Erlin write in their introduction.

The essays are organized into four categories, the first of which contains four essays which deal with cultural transfer in the first two decades of the twentieth century and address politics of culture during a period in American history when German culture was under attack. Hinrich C. Seeba investigates the fate of the German historian, Karl Lamprecht and his notion of cultural history in Germany and the United States, and submits that Lamprecht, with his internationalist orientation, was an effective agent

of German-American communication at a time when Americans were increasingly suspicious of Germans. Investigating how culture can be employed to serve political agendas, Eric Ames argues that Germany of the early twentieth century failed to recognize how it could assert political and cultural influence abroad through professorial exchanges at American universities, and concentrates specifically on Hugo Münsterberg, director of the Amerika-Institut in Berlin, and his film *Photoplay* (1916). Proceeding from an interdisciplinary perspective, Ames argues that *Photoplay* was Münsterberg's last ditch effort to preserve the prospects of German culture in the United States and discredit the anti-German propaganda films from Hollywood during World War I. Claudia Liebrand investigates how A.B. Faust counters anti-German sentiment in his two-volume tome *The German Element in the United States with Special Reference to Its Political, Moral, Social, and Educational Influence*, published in English in 1909, and demonstrates how Faust borrows from Tacitus and rewrites all of his negative German traits into positive ones in order to stress the superiority of German culture. The backdrop for Paul Michael Lützeler's contribution is the 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis which he argues is an ideal example of competing political agendas and institutional frameworks which shape cultural transfer. He demonstrates that three cultural segments from Germany, the United States, and the German-American community influenced the relations between cultures by coming into contact with each other at the World's Fair where each culture sought to propagate its achievements and values.

Section two of this volume contains three essays, each of which investigates how German cultural materials helped legitimize or reconceptualize American culture and society in the nineteenth century when many American intellectuals feared that American cultural achievements did not match its economic power. In one of the volume's most insightful essays, Matt Erlin writes about the St. Louis Hegelians and two of their most famous members, Denton Snider and William Torrey Harris, who perceived a political and cultural crisis in the wake of the Civil War. Erlin argues that Snider and Harris viewed Hegel as essentially a universalist whose historical dialectic provided a framework to criticize America's political problems without calling into questions their belief in the mission of the country. In this manner, Snider and Harris served as agents of cultural transfer, appropriating European cultural materials while maintaining their belief in American superiority and the continued moral and intellectual development of the country. Kirsten Belgum demonstrates convincingly that Alexander von Humboldt was attractive to Americans as an internationalist and embodiment of education and cultivation to which all Americans aspired. Because he was not viewed as a German, Belgum suggests, it was easier to appropriate him and his ideas without appearing to be indebted or inferior to another country. Robert C. Holub addresses the selective appropriation of Friedrich Nietzsche by groups to which Nietzsche would have diametrically opposed, such as anarchists, socialists, and feminists. Nietzsche appealed to these groups because of his contempt for middle-class values and, submits Holub, conferred intellectual legitimacy on these groups, even though he was not taken seriously as a philosopher prior to World War II in the United States.

Section three contains essays which investigate literary rewritings of European cultural materials by translators, literary historians, and others. Lynne Tatlock examines how Annis Lee Wister's translations of German women writers mediated popular German sentimental literature and appealed to middle-class American values. Wister's popularity, Tatlock demonstrates, owes much to J. B. Lippincott who aggressively

marketed her translations not as literary works which educated Americans should read, "but rather simply as Americanized or even American products that provided access to German life" (167). Jeffrey Grossman examines how translators, editors, and literary historians appropriated and even domesticated Heinrich Heine's ironic and irreverent side to make him correspond to American expectations of German literary culture. Grossmann's essay sheds light on rewriting as a cultural performance and how agents sought to reshape Heine's literary works to promote their own political or social agendas. In his essay on Louis Untermeyer, once the leading Heine translator in America, Jeffrey L. Sammons argues that like Heine, Untermeyer suffered anxiety because of his minority origins. In the last published biography of Heine in the United States before World War II, Untermeyer removes Heine from his German identity and emphasizes his Jewishness, and in doing so removes Heine from mainstream literary culture and separates him into a defining ethnicity. Linda Rugg investigates the nature of American and European racism in her essay on Mark Twain's performances in Vienna between 1897 and 1899. She argues that Twain maintained an ambivalent relationship to his European heritage and "Jewishness and Blackness are racial categories with which he identifies and is identified" (233). During his performances in Vienna, Rugg submits, Twain manipulates racial stereotypes to destabilize racial categories.

Textual revisions by German-born, German-speaking immigrants who sought to change the United States serve as the focal point for the last section. Gerhild Scholz Williams investigates how the German-American writer, Heinrich Börnstein, adapts a popular European genre, the "Gehemnisliteratur," to the United States and weaves a narrative with a specific historical, political, and regional landscape. *Die Geheimnisse von St. Louis* (1851), published simultaneously in Germany and the United States, is the story about the Böttcher family who arrives in St. Louis, Missouri only to encounter obstacles and many secrets, ranging from corruption, gangs, and secret societies, especially the Jesuits. Börnstein, argues Williams, supports the idea that Germans can live freer and more prosperously in America, yet his Old World religious, political, and social views inform how he evaluates the struggles of Germans in America. Gerhard Weiss discusses Franz Lieber, who tailored his entire intellectual enterprise to an American audience. Often considered the father of political science, Lieber arrived in the United States in 1827 and within a year conceived a vast encyclopedic project which he planned as an English translation of the influential German *Brockhaus Conversationslexicon*. Lieber soon realized that a direct translation of the encyclopedia would not be appropriate because the conditions in the United States varied too much from those in German territories. The result was his *Encyclopedia Americana* (1829-1833), the first encyclopedia in the United States. Lorie A. Vanchena investigates Reinhold Solger's drama, *The Hon. Anodyne Humdrum; or, The Union Must and Shall be Preserved* (1860), which she argues is unlike most German-American literature of the period in that it is not concerned with the German immigrant's experience; rather it is an "'Americanization' of the original German material . . . that reflects the author's evolving relationship to the new culture" (297). Vanchena demonstrates convincingly how Solger, a Forty-Eighter, adapts his own material, Der Reichstagsprofessor: Posse in einem Akt, set in the German territories and which addresses political issues of the failed revolution in 1848-49, and then transfers it to the new context of the United States between 1850-1860 and the political issue of slavery.

This volume, with its fourteen thematically and theoretically related essays, is

a welcomed contribution in the field of German and American studies. The essays should further discussion on how American culture was influenced and informed by culture from German-speaking countries, and how German culture was appropriated by agents, many of them German-speaking or German-born, to serve their political, social, educational, and cultural agendas.

*North Central College* — *Gregory H. Wolf*

**Adventures Abroad: North American Women at German-Speaking Universities, 1868-1915.**
*By Sandra L. Singer. Westport, CT and London: Praeger, 2003. 268 pp. $76.95.*

Although thoroughly researched and competently written, this book will probably not be at the top of the reading list of most subscribers to the *Yearbook of German-American Studies*. First, it does not concern people of German ethnicity in North America. Most of the women described here were economically advantaged people of Anglo heritage. Second, this work is pedestrian; sometimes it is scarcely more than a listing of North American women who studied in Germany and the very limited facts available about most of them.

Women in the United States, although comprising 32% of the American undergraduate enrollment by 1880, could not attend the better American graduate schools for another dozen years. The German-speaking universities in Switzerland, Germany and Austria enjoyed great academic prestige in these years, especially in medicine and philology. Thus, some 1,350 women from the United States and Canada went to German-speaking universities for graduate work from 1868 to 1915.

At first, most went to Zürich. The university there had allowed women to audit classes since it opened in 1833. It welcomed women as regular students in 1864. Down to 1915, more than fifty North American women matriculated there in medicine alone. Leipzig allowed women to register as auditors, sometimes with humiliating restrictions, beginning in 1870. The University of Berlin, attended by most of the women of this study, allowed female auditors in 1895. All Prussian universities began to register women in degree programs in 1908. Since few women in Germany had the opportunity to obtain undergraduate degrees before that time and thus did not qualify for graduate studies, foreign female graduate students helped open opportunities for German women. To some extent, the North Americans stood in contrast to the much more numerous Russian women graduate students who flocked to Zürich and elsewhere whenever possible. The Russians, most of whom studied medicine, were often anarchists and often Jewish. For both of these reasons, they were feared and hated in this conservative, anti-Semitic era.

The era was also male-dominated so that most of the North American women, however successfully educated in Europe, came home to live relatively obscure lives. But there were interesting exceptions: M. Carey Thomas became the second president of Bryn Mawr College and the first female trustee of Cornell University. Edith Hamilton, a classicist, wrote books on the Greeks, the Romans and mythology that were staples of book club offerings as late as the 1970s. Emily Green Balch, an academic economist

and sociologist, won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1946 for her work with the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. This was after Cornell had fired her in 1919 for her peace advocacy work. Florence Kelley, in addition to translating Marx and Engels, worked in Chicago with Jane Addams at Hull House, conducted research that helped lead to protective legislation for employed women and children in Illinois, and helped organize the NAACP.

Everyone interested in historic accomplishments of women will find this book to be a useful factual compilation.

*Northwest Missouri State University* *Robert W. Frizzell*

**The *Heimat* Abroad: The Boundaries of Germanness.**
Edited by Krista O'Donnell, Renate Bridenthal, and Nancy Reagin. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2005. 258 pp. $29.95.

This superbly edited, attractive collection of essays is a recent addition to the series "Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany." The series title and the volume title taken together give some insight into the breadth and direction of the argument. However, it is the introductory essay which truly outlines the impressive scope of the discussion. Almost nonchalantly the editors note early on that: "Beyond trying to define who is German and what makes them so, this volume seeks to reconceptualize German identity in global terms" (4).

The twelve essays in the collection are distributed relatively evenly across three sections: The Legal and Ideological Context of Diasporic Nationalism; Bonds of Trade and Culture; and Islands of Germanness. The three contributions in the first section frame the overall discussion in terms of two phenomena familiar to most students of German history: a unique definition of citizenship which ties membership to ethnic identity rather than place of residence; and the related and complementary tendency of Germans abroad to maintain cultural, economic, and even political ties to the homeland through generations. The second and third parts together examine the specific history of most identifiable enclaves of Germans abroad. Additionally, the final chapter examines the contemporary implications Germany's transition from an "emigrant nation to immigrant destination" (12).

Editing an anthology is a formidable task. The individual contributions must be independently valuable, coherent, and comprehensible, yet the separate chapters must be interdependent and the whole must be thematically unified. The editors of this collection have succeeded admirably in their task. Despite the somewhat daunting ambitiousness of their stated goals, the editors have brought together an impressive array of very readable and informative articles which illuminate a complex and multi-faceted topic. The unity of the volume is aided in no small measure by a remarkably clear yet thorough overall introduction as well as short overviews for each of the three parts. The introduction in particular moves deftly from well-known concepts, such as the German sense of *Heimat*, to thorny questions of ethnic and cultural identity, assimilation, and

the debate over what constitutes a diaspora. The collection is a welcome addition to the literature.

*Loyola College in Maryland* *Randall P. Donaldson*

**Gerstäcker's Louisiana: Fiction and Travel Sketches from Antebellum Times through Reconstruction.**
*Edited and Translated by Irene S. Di Maio. Baton Rouge: University of Louisiana Press, 2006. 344 pp. $49.95 (cloth).*

Friedrich Gerstäcker (1816-1872) is the author of travel sketches as well as fiction about the time he spent in North America, Mexico, Ecuador, the West Indies, and Venezuela, to name just a few. In her book, Irene Di Maio translated the works of Gerstäcker in which he describes his time in Louisiana. This is book is not only for people who are interested in Louisiana, however, but also for readers who are interested in American history and the history of immigrants and travels in the United States during the nineteenth century.

Gerstäcker went to Louisiana three times during his life. The first time he was a young man of twenty-one years in March of 1838, and his ambition was "to go to America", and, as Di Maio puts in her introduction, "the journey itself was his purpose". The second time he came to Louisiana was just four years later, in 1842, "and for a year he managed the Ferry Hotel in Pointe Coupée, then considered the most beautiful garden and plantation land along the Mississippi" (1). The reader will learn about this first stay in the first part of the book, which covers the Antebellum Period, the time before the American Civil War. The observations he made were published in the authors first travel book, *Adventures and Hunting Expeditions in the United States of North America* (1844). Di Maio chooses sketches from this publication as well as from a later ones, *Pictures of the Mississippi – Light and Dark Sides of Transatlantic Life* (1847-1848), *From My Diary – Collected Stories* (1863), "Louisiana Sketches," *Wild World* (1865 -1867), and *Hustle and Bustle* (1870). In the first story the reader learns how Gerstäcker came to Louisiana in his canoe, and what he observes in this young country full of people of different countries. His observations are very witty and many of his descriptions of the people he met sound like caricatures. Some of the stories seem like fiction, and this is what makes them so interesting and easy to read. They paint a great picture of Louisiana and the United States in general and the people who lived there during the time of the author's visit. Gerstäcker shows how the young country started to become the melting pot that it is today, and how hard it was for some people fresh from Europe to get used to new customs.

He not only uses his first experiences in Louisiana for his travel sketches, but he also in his immigration novel *To America! A Book for the People*. Like in his nonfiction travel sketches the stories are mostly about the people, people of all races. "Gerstäcker mixes real people he knew or may have heard of with invented characters" (85). He especially focuses on the injustices of slavery, which he opposed. This fiction section closes with the excerpt from *To America!*. "The author intends this novel to be a cautionary tale,

a prophylaxis against the immigrants' unrealistic expectations and exaggerated hopes" (85).

The second part of the book, which examines the Reconstruction Period, is far shorter than the first part. Here Di Maio introduces Gerstäcker's travel sketches that he wrote after his third and last visit to the United States and Louisiana in 1867. He had not been there in seventeen years, and he describes this visit in a book that was published in 1868, *New Travels through the United States, Mexico, Ecuador, the West Indies, and Venezuela*. Here the reader learns his disappointment about how the plantation country, that was so beautiful during his first two visits, had changed. "He finds it just that cruel slavery has been abolished and the arrogant planters punished, yet he is saddened by the disarray and devastation" (237). This is only a short part of the book (twenty pages), and here he reflects on the outlook of the United States and the people who live there, including the German immigrants and the freed slaves, "and comparing them with the prospects of Germany and its people" (237).

The final part of the book deals with Gerstäcker's fiction about the Reconstruction and it consists of an excerpt from his novel *In America – A Picture of American Life in Recent Times* (1872), the sequel to *To America!*. Like in his travel sketches, he addresses Reconstruction from the point of view of Germans, white planters, and freed slaves. "His portrayal of the newly liberated blacks' insistence on their right to public accommodations [...] is based on actual demonstrations. Indeed these protests foreshadow the continuing struggle of the Civil Rights movement in the twentieth century" (261). This excerpt is only thirteen pages long, making the entire Reconstruction section's thirty-three pages somewhat of an afterthought to the Antebellum's 215 pages.

Even though over 150 years have passed since the first publication of Gerstäcker's work, it is still an interesting read in the twenty-first century. Di Maio does not make her translation too modern and she tries to keep the text in a nineteenth century tone. She says herself that she broke up some long and complex German sentences to make the English sound simpler, but the reader can still recognize Gerstäcker's original tone. Di Maio edited a volume that readers, who are interested in Louisiana will enjoy but it is also for readers interested in the history of the Southern United States shortly before and after the Civil War. It is a great book to introduce Friedrich Gerstäcker to an English speaking audience and, perhaps, reintroduce him to scholars of German literature.

*University of Kansas* *Julia Trumpold*

**Alexander von Humboldt und die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika: Briefwechsel.**
*Herausgegeben von Ingo Schwarz. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2004. 692 pp. €89.80.*

For German-American scholars, the correspondence of Alexander von Humboldt is of enormous value. This volume contains selected letters illustrating von Humboldt's friendship and influence upon Thomas Jefferson, Washington Irving, and Albert Gallatin among many intellectuals of the nineteenth century. There are also selections from three acquaintances who represent life-long areas of interest for von Humboldt: Louis Aggasiz and the natural sciences; George Catlin and the social sciences; and John

C. Fremont and exploration of the Americas. In addition, Ingo Schwarz has written a brilliant introduction, describing the broad context for von Humboldt's influential life.

Schwarz has done a superb job of collecting, collating, selecting, organizing, editing and footnoting, in four languages, the correspondence of one of the great thinkers in Western Civilization. In particular Schwarz has done an extraordinarily service for his readers in editing. For selected examples, he has systematically displayed the pertinent information on all of von Humboldt's references to names, meetings, events and literary passages. The editorial notes display judiciousness throughout, so that the notes are largely informative, rather than interpretative, thus allowing von Humboldt to stand on his own as the cynosure of American thinking about ideas. There are 351 letters, preceded by forty-seven documents illustrating aspects of the letters, such as von Humboldt's toll declaration in 1804, the diary notations of George Ticknor and Benjamin Rush, ancillary correspondence between acquaintances concerning von Humboldt, and a massive bibliography, running to sixty pages.

Another consideration is the impact that von Humboldt had upon many American intellectuals. Probably the most important one was the continuing friendship with Washington Irving. They may have met on March 30, 1805, but Schwarz has found no convincing proof. There were other comments between 1823 and 1825, but their scholarly and literary relationship emerged in 1827, and continued for more than thirty years. Von Humboldt admired Irving's historical book, *Columbus* (1828), because it unified the imagination with facts, and it was based on the best historical documents. It also resulted in von Humboldt identifying Martin Waldseemüller's map of 1507, with the name Amerigo or America on it.

Three other Americans were influenced in various ways by von Humboldt. The clearest instance of this relationship, can be found in the work of Matthew Maury, the first American oceanographer (1806–73). Von Humboldt had discussed ocean currents as part of the marine science section of his last major work, *Cosmos* (1845) ; Maury visited von Humboldt in Berlin on September 13, 1853, and the title of Maury's major work, *The Physical Geography of the Sea* (1855) reflected their talks, since it was suggested by von Humboldt. Another American was George Ticknor (1791-1871), an influential Harvard Professor of French and Spanish language and literature; they met in Paris in 1817, and von Humboldt guided Ticknor around Berlin on two of his visits in 1836 and 1856, continuing their correspondence for more than forty years. The last example is the friendship with Thomas Jefferson, who prior to the presidency, enjoyed a considerable reputation for his *Notes on Virginia.* Von Humboldt had found the prehistoric remains of mammoth teeth near equator, and had lots to discuss with Jefferson who had examined a similar Paleolithic find in frontier Pennsylvania. They spend a considerable amount of time together from May 19 through June 13, 1804, as part of von Humboldt's journey to the Americas.

This volume is a significant contribution towards furthering the understanding of German-American thought in the nineteenth century. Von Humboldt shaped the assumptions and ideas of three generations of American scientists. This work also suggests ways in which von Humboldt's influence stretched into many other areas of

research. Schwarz's volume will be the cornerstone of future research into German-American intellectual history.

*Scott Community College* *William Roba*

**Die Familie Erlanger: Bankiers, Mäzene, Künstler.**
*By Gabriele Mendelssohn. Ingelheim: Leinpfad Verlag, 2005. 104 pp. €9.90.*

Gabriele Mendelssohn's *Die Familie Erlanger* is a companion volume to a two-part exhibition at the *Museum bei der Kaiserpfalz* in Ingelheim, Germany, held in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the death of Carlo von Erlanger (1872–1904), an ornithologist from Ingelheim. The first part of the exhibition focused on Carlo von Erlanger and his renowned work in Africa, and the second part on the Erlanger family itself. For scholars of German-American history, Mendelssohn's research provides a much-needed foundation for understanding one of the world's premier banking families, who invested heavily in railroads in the United States, financed the first France-to-the-U.S. transatlantic telegraph in 1869, married into the Slidell family of Louisiana, floated the only foreign loan to the Confederate States of America, donated the initial funds to establish the Erlanger Medical Center in Chattanooga, Tennessee, and gave their name to a city in the Northern Kentucky suburbs of Cincinnati.

To date, no complete history of the Erlanger family and its international connections has been written. Mendelssohn's book is not intended to be such a volume, but it is the most complete to date and complements other scattered works relating to the Erlanger family including: Baron E. B. d'Erlanger, *Quelques Souvenirs de France* and *My English Souvenirs* (London: Privately Printed, 1978), Wanda V. Poole and Susan S. Sawyer, *The Baroness Collection: Erlanger Medical Center, 1891–1991* (Chattanooga: Erlanger Medical Center, 1993), Judith Fenner Gentry, "A Confederate Success in Europe: The Erlanger Loan," *The Journal of Southern History* 36.2 (May 1970): 157–87; Paul A. Tenkotte, "The 'Chronic Want' of Cincinnati: A Southern Railroad," *Northern Kentucky Heritage* 6.1 (Fall/Winter 1998): 24-33; and Richard I. Lester, "An Aspect of Confederate Finance during the American Civil War: The Erlanger Loan and the Plan of 1864," *Business History* (Great Britain) 16.2 (July 1974): 130–44.

From Mendelssohn and the above sources, we know that Löb Moses (1780–1857, later called Ludwig Mortiz) Erlanger moved to Frankfurt am Main in 1816 and earned his fortune as an exchange broker (58). The Erlangers were originally Jewish, but Ludwig's son, Baron Raphael von Erlanger (1806–78), converted to Christianity (59). Raphael von Erlanger became an exchange broker and, by about 1840, founded a bank in Frankfurt am Main (70). Later, he created a cooperative, or syndicate, of smaller banks as a counterweight to the dominance of the powerful financial house of the Rothschild family (61). The Erlanger's banking operations, which became known in 1865 as "*von Erlanger & Söhne*" ("von Erlanger and Sons") (68) eventually included headquarters in Frankfurt am Main and branches in Vienna, Austria; Paris, France; and London, England. The Erlanger family became important financiers to the Swedish, Norwegian, Portuguese, Prussian, Austro-Hungarian, and Greek governments, as well as to Cecil Rhodes and the British South Africa Company. They made investments on

five continents—Africa, Asia, Europe, North America, and South America, and they were stalwart supporters of the English Channel Tunnel Company.

Raphael's son, Baron Emile Frédéric d'Erlanger (1832–1911; also called F. Emile d'Erlanger) moved to France, began referring to himself by the French name "d'Erlanger," and assumed control of the family's banking branch in Paris. There, he met his future wife, Marguérite Mathilde Slidell, a refugee of the Confederate States of America. Mathilde was the daughter of John Slidell, Confederate commissioner to France. In November 1861, she was aboard the British mail ship, the *Trent,* bound from Cuba to Europe when it was captured by Union forces. The "Trent Affair" caused an international crisis, nearly drawing Great Britain into the Civil War. Mathilde was allowed to continue her passage to Europe, but her father and his compatriot, commissioner to England James Murray Mason, were imprisoned until British pressure forced Lincoln's administration to release them. F. Emile d'Erlanger married Mathilde, a Roman Catholic, in October 1864, and they raised their four sons as Catholics. In 1870, the d'Erlanger family left Paris during the Franco-Prussian War, and established a banking branch in London, England, which subsequently became known as "Erlangers Limited" in 1928. Upon the death of his father, Raphael, in 1878, F. Emile's younger brother, Ludwig (1836–1898) became chief of the Frankfurt and Vienna operations, which were eventually sold in 1904 (71).

The Erlanger family floated the only foreign loan to the Confederate States of America, called the "Erlanger Loan" in American History textbooks. They financed the first transatlantic telegraph cable connecting France to the United States (1869), and Mathilde Slidell d'Erlanger spoke the first words over the cable. They also gained majority control over more than 1,100 miles of railroads in the American South, including the Alabama Great Southern, and the Cincinnati, New Orleans and Texas Pacific Railway. The latter acquired the lease of the municipally-owned Cincinnati Southern Railroad, connecting Cincinnati, Ohio to Chattanooga, Tennessee. A city along the line was named for the family, Erlanger, Kentucky. During an 1889 trip to the United States to examine his railroad holdings, Baron F. Emile d'Erlanger donated $5,000 to establish a hospital in Chattanooga that bore his wife's name, Baroness Erlanger Hospital, and is now called Erlanger Medical Center. At the end of the nineteenth century, the Erlanger family purchased $500,000 worth of bonds in the San Francisco North Pacific Railroad Co., which passed through the wine country of the Sonoma Valley (71).

Mendelssohn's book contains detailed genealogical charts of the Erlanger family, and never-before-published photographs. Her research into the family's German roots is impressive, The book achieves its purpose admirably, and should be read by anyone interested in learning more about international banking, as well as foreign investment in the United States in the late nineteenth century.

*Thomas More College* *Paul A. Tenkotte*

**The Making of Milwaukee.**
*By John Gurda. Milwaukee: Milwaukee County Historical Society, 2006. ix + 462 pp. $29.95.*

**Miller Time: A History of Miller Brewing Company, 1855-2005.**
*By John Gurda. Milwaukee: Miller Brewing Company, 2005. 180 pp. $39.95.*

Two recent publications by noted Milwaukee writer and historian John Gurda showcase the importance of the German element to the Cream City on both a general and specific level. Certainly the credentials of the author are beyond question with regard to the expansive nature of each work: born in Milwaukee, Gurda has published fifteen books on the city since 1972 and local history columns for the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* since 1994, and is an eight-time recipient of the Award of Merit from the Wisconsin Historical Society.

The latest release of *The Making of Milwaukee* represents the third edition of this popular work, originally issued in 1999 and which in the interim has served as the basis of a five-hour series of documentaries created by Milwaukee Public Television. As the first feature-length history of the city since 1948, the book does much to update in chronological fashion existing information on Milwaukee's origins and years of prosperity and maturity through the end of World War II. Needless to say it also continues the story for the following half-century and more, the new material encompassing approximately one quarter of the entire text. Of primary interest to German-American specialists are the middle chapters ("Here Come the Germans, 1846-1865"; "Wheat, Iron, Beer, and Bloodshed, 1865-1886"; and "Triumph of the Workingman, 1886-1910"), which chronicle extensively and articulately the many German contributions to Milwaukee's social, economic, religious, and political evolution. Dozens of duotone photographs, along with reproductions of noteworthy historical documents, add a useful visual element to the text and further contextualize the significance of German immigrant culture to the city. A subsequent chapter ("A Bigger, Brighter, and Blander Milwaukee, 1910-1930") reinforces the importance of the German element by calling attention to its relative absence, driven underground by the impact of World War I, denied full fruition of its flowering Socialist movement as pioneered by Victor Berger and shaped by mayor Emil Seidel before the war, and crippled industrially and socially through the prohibition-engendered decimation of an expansive local brewing industry and a thriving drink culture. Well-written and informative throughout, *The Making of Milwaukee* offers a thorough introduction to the city for recent arrivals or those simply with a casual interest, and at an affordable price. Longtime residents and scholars in the area likely will find much already familiar in the book, but also should encounter enough new information and previously unseen photographs to make a purchased copy a worthwhile investment.

Much more topic-specific is *Miller Time*, commissioned by the brewing giant in commemoration of its one hundred fiftieth anniversary. While the company and its production history (most notably in Jerry Apps, *Breweries of Wisconsin*, 1992; updated second edition 2005) as well as the role of Miller family members as brewery executives (Tim John, *The Miller Beer Barons*, 2005) have been chronicled adequately in recent years, Gurda manages to break new ground in his portrayal of the founding father, German immigrant Frederick J. Miller; his early background as a brewer in Sigmaringen,

a Swabian town along the Danube River; Miller's preparations for emigration and journey to America; and relocation to Milwaukee, where he blazed a difficult trail in building up the Plank Road Brewery off of the far western edge of the city. Here Gurda benefits greatly from access to the Miller corporate archives: copies of photographs, old German-language newspaper clippings, and handwritten letters provide precise information on Miller's life and work in Germany, while other photographs and reproductions of ledger and brewer's journal pages, even the deed of purchase for the brewery from 1856, provide an exact snapshot of Miller's life and labor in his earliest days as a Milwaukee German entrepreneur. Wisely Gurda also ties in Miller's work with his clientele, emphasizing social connections with groups such as the Milwaukee Männerchor and strong marketing efforts within the German-American community which, by virtue of the company's own successful beer garden and the prevailing tied house saloon system of the day, made Miller's product the best-selling beer in Milwaukee by the onset of Prohibition, although it was no better than the third- or fourth-largest brewery in the city at the time.

The narrative inevitably loses much of its German focus with the onset of Prohibition and a subsequent homogenization of the industry, but it does not lose steam, as Gurda ably chronicles the rise of the company in the post-Prohibition era from a single-location Milwaukee brewery to the second-largest brewing conglomerate in the nation by the 1980s, ultimately the last surviving major brewer in the city after its larger rivals for many years—Blatz, Schlitz and Pabst—ceased operations there in 1959, 1981, and 1996 respectively. Again, access to Miller's archival holdings proves instrumental in Gurda's ability to chronicle with precision the reasons for the company's rise to superpower status and distinguish his narrative from other historical surveys of the brewer. Dozens of photographs of Miller family members in both professional and personal settings give the story a welcome human touch, while reproductions of rarely-seen advertising materials, frequently in full-color, provide a definitive overview of the company's successful marketing focus in a time of great consolidation within the brewing industry. Impressive also is the relatively even-handed tone of the work, given that it is published by Miller: Gurda emphasizes the successes of the company without use of hyperbole, but also is refreshingly frank about occasional Miller failures and shortcomings, including an ill-advised attempt to establish a second brewery in Bismarck, Dakota Territory in the 1880s; the loss of family control of the firm after its sale in 1969 to cigarette giant Philip Morris and later still to the South African Breweries conglomerate; and an indifferent public response to some poorly-conceived products, such as Miller Clear Beer, in an increasingly cutthroat competitive marketplace.

In sum, while both of the books presented extend their glance beyond German-American interests to a considerable degree, each work has ample material within its subject matter to expand the knowledge of anyone with a specific interest in Milwaukee's German-American community. Well-written and engaging, they are convenient both for leisure reading and as handy reference guides, and thus are not likely candidates to gather dust on a bookshelf.

*University of Wisconsin-Waukesha* *Timothy J. Holian*

**Reizenstein: Die Geschichte eines deutschen Officiers.**
*By David Christoph Seybold. Herausgegeben, kommentiert und mit einem Nachwort versehen von Wynfrid Kriegleder. Vienna: Edition Praesens, 2003. 412 pp. €37.00.*

The text on the back cover of this book aptly summarizes the salient reasons for interest in Seybold's novel and the contributions that the new edition makes to scholarship: „Der 1778/79 veröffentlichte Roman „Reizenstein", der mit dieser Neuedition wieder zugänglich gemacht wird, ist der erste deutschsprachige Roman, der sich mit den zeitgenössischen Ereignissen in Nordamerika, ‚der amerikanischen Revolution' auseinandersetzt. Was den Text besonders interessant macht, ist die Tatsache, dass er geschrieben wurde, noch bevor der Krieg in Amerika zu Ende war, also noch bevor fest stand, ob die englischen Kolonien tatsächlich unabhängig werden würden, und lange bevor sich die künftigen Vereinigten Staaten eine politische Verfassung gaben. Der Roman, der eine Gegenwartshandlung utopisch in die unmittelbare Zukunft weiterspinnt, erlaubt einen faszinierenden Einblick in die zeitgenössischen europäischen Erwartungen an Amerika; er etabliert ein USA-Image, das in der fiktionalen Literatur der nächsten sechzig Jahre, bis hin zu Charles Sealsfield, fortgeführt werden sollte. Die vorliegende Edition bietet einen diplomatischen Abdruck der Erstausgabe, einen Stellenkommentar und ein ausführliches Nachwort, das den Autor vorstellt, Interpretationshinweise liefert und den Text in die Geschichte des deutschen Amerikaromans einordnet."

It must be noted, however, that the greatest part of the novel is not focused on America and that it is not simply the story of a German officer. It is rather an epistolary novel consisting of 163 letters to and from several members of the gentry and bourgeoisie who write about their lives as well as their views on contemporary European events and literature. On one occasion, they gathered for Schäferspiel that embodied the bucolic ideals to which they aspired. Originally published in two volumes, the first starts with a letter dated July 12, 1775, and covers the time before Lieutenant Reizenstein decides to go to America to support the American cause, having been drummed out of the army and banished from his native Franconia because of remarks which criticized the use of German mercenaries in America. The second volume contains letters that relate the experiences of Reizenstein and secondarily also those of his friend Müller in America, as well as those of their friends and loved ones in Germany. In America Reizenstein becomes an officer in the Revolutionary Army, where he and a fellow officer, a planter from South Carolina named Lord Babington, become close friends. While spending the winter on Lord Babington's plantation, Reizenstein falls in love with his sister Auguste. Eventually Reizenstein and Müller unite in America and decide to remain there. Since the lives of their friends and loved ones in Germany are a series of setbacks and disappointments and Reizenstein describes life in rural South Carolina in such enthusiastic terms, they decide one after another to follow Reizenstein's call to join him and Müller and start a new life in America. The novel develops an increasingly anti-European tone, as it contrasts the restriction and corruption of Germany with the liberty and idealism of America.

The preface to the second volume is dated March 24, 1779. The narrated time of the novel, however, extends into the future, i.e. to the last letter, dated April 26, 1780. In the novel, the Americans win the Revolutionary War with the capture of New York on May 30, 1779, and make peace with the British the following October. On December 1,

1779, Reizenstein writes to Auguste to report about the military putsch that he, together with Benedict Arnold and Thomas Conway, carries out against Congress with the help of German troops fighting on the American side. Congress is forced to resign because it wishes to impose slavery and an aristocratic constitution on the newly liberated colonies. With the help of the richest and most respected planters from several former colonies, a national assembly (*Nationalversammlung*) is convened to discuss the future constitution for America. On March 6, 1780, Reizenstein writes to his new wife Auguste that he is hopeful that the colonies will ratify the new constitution that her brother had convinced the national assembly to adopt. Reizenstein describes the document in a letter to a German friend by portraying life in America under this constitution in the year 1850. In this America, all cities and villages have been abandoned. Each family lives in a hut that is surrounded by as much land as it can cultivate. All land, however, belongs to the state, not individual families. Since luxuries are banned and everyone works the land in harmony with his neighbors, America has no need for doctors, judges, or laws. Religious services are simple prayer meetings that require no clergy. Slavery does not exist and the former slaves either have returned to their own countries or have settled on the land like everyone else. The Jews too have settled as farmers in certain districts. This America is also extremely isolationist and has almost no contact with decadent Europe. In short, America is a Rousseauesque utopia.

Seybold's Reizenstein is certain to interest readers interested in the eighteenth century German novel in general and its portrayal of America in particular. It is also an interesting reading experience for those, like this reviewer, who do not often read works from this era.

*Wabash College* *John Byrnes*

**A German Town: A History of New Ulm, Minnesota.**
*By Daniel J. Hoisington. New Ulm: Edinborough Press, 2004. 216 pp. $19.95.*

The city of New Ulm, Minnesota, situated about ninety miles southwest of Minneapolis/St. Paul, can look back over 150 years since its founding. Anyone who has ever been to this lovely city in the Minnesota River Valley will probably gladly attest to its "charm and tradition," two nouns the city of New Ulm boasts to describe the town on its web site.

In his historical account of New Ulm, Daniel Hoisington captures this city's history and its remarkable German-American heritage exceptionally well. Hoisington depicts the town from its founding by German immigrants who mostly came from the Württemberg area of Germany, to its modern days. Hoisington's work includes numerous people and events that shaped New Ulm's history dramatically as a German-American town. Although Hoisington's volume displays some minor misprints of words, such as "Fredrich Engels" (8) instead of Friedrich Engels, or "picked up and ax" (38) instead of picked up an ax, or "Hermannsohne" (66) instead of Hermannsöhne, and neglects to list chapter four in the table of contents entitled "The most German of German Cities" (66-95), his account of the history of New Ulm is a fascinating piece of work. He does not purely list the facts, but rather uses a narrating style in brilliantly

detailing New Ulm's past and exploring the German-American heritage that has made this Minnesotan city "a German town." A copious amount of pictures of people and city buildings, illustrations, as well as events important in the history of New Ulm complement this work and inevitably captivate the reader to read on.

In chapter one Hoisington describes the settlement and trade beginnings of New Ulm by the Chicago Land Company, consisting of a group of German immigrants from Chicago. These, the author proceeds, were joined a little later by members of the German Land Company from Cincinnati, and whose president was a man by the name of William Pfaender, who also became one of the founders of the New Ulm Turnverein.

Chapter two covers the Civil War involvement by the inhabitants of New Ulm and their military service in the First Minnesota Artillery. Hoisington then focuses on the controversy with the Dakota Indians in the midst of the Civil War in 1862, when New Ulm was attacked twice by the Dakotas, who finally retreated in defeat. Chapter three is chiefly devoted to Father Alexander Berghold, a priest who came to New Ulm from Austria in 1868. He played a significant role in the town's history during his ministry in New Ulm. His foremost achievements were the attraction of new immigrants to Minnesota through his writings and lectures (most notably the many German-Bohemian immigrants that settled in the area around New Ulm with the arrival of the railroad in 1872), and a successful fundraising campaign for the first local hospital. It was built in 1883 after a devastating cyclone had hit the city in 1881, and was named after him. The reader is also informed about the founders of the industries that started to flourish during the 1870s in New Ulm, such as the breweries. Hoisington proceeds to say that at the same time the cultural life was enthusiastically supported by New Ulm's citizens in conjunction with the building of a second Turner Hall and the opening of the Arbeiter Hall a few years later. In the fourth chapter the reader learns the story of Julius Berndt, a New Ulm architect, and his efforts and struggles to construct the Hermann Monument in the city. The monument erected in 1897 and accompanied by a big celebration, was to symbolize the German-American heritage of "the Germans in this Country" (67). Hoisington goes on to talk about the St. Paul's Lutheran Church and its proposal for a Lutheran College in New Ulm. These plans came to fruition through the efforts of the pastor Christian Johann Albrecht, and Doctor Martin Luther College was built in 1884. New Ulm is described as "a lively place" (73) in the 1890s, because not only was there tremendous industrial and commercial activity in New Ulm, but the social and cultural life was very vibrant as well. Many theatrical productions were staged and local artists, such as Anton Gag, enriched the visual arts immensely. A big school controversy "about educational philosophy and religious values" (86) though led to political tensions among residents of New Ulm.

Chapter five deals with the success and growth of a variety of businesses such as breweries, mills, or nurseries in New Ulm at the turn and in the early years of the twentieth century. The author gives ample examples of people who with their stores and businesses played a key role in the prosperity of the city at that time. The town's infrastructure improved, and houses and churches were built. Life was good in New Ulm only to be tarnished by the gruesome murder of a local dentist named Louis Gebhardt. Hoisington concludes this chapter by stating that New Ulm "remained German at its core" (114) be it that the city had its own *Stadtmusikanten* (114) for example, or that

people recognized typical German celebrations in Turner Hall along with American holidays.

In chapter six Hoisington discusses in detail the events resulting from the New Ulmites' loyalty to their German ways during the World War I era while struggling with the issue of the draft and America's participation in the war. This friction resulted in the removal of the mayor Louis Fritsche and the city attorney Albert Pfaender by the governor, as well as some economic ramifications for the city. The author demonstrates in chapter seven how the two major breweries in New Ulm, Schell and Hauenstein, coped with Prohibition in the 1920s, while the unpopular legislation took its toll on many breweries in the state of Minnesota. He elaborates on the enforcement of dry laws in New Ulm while residents frequented a "soft drink parlor" (144) downtown. Social life, though, he claims, was not dampened by this restriction and people resorted to different options such as the theater, cinema, music, and dance. Hoisington explains the heyday of the Saffert Cement Construction Company in the time between the two World Wars and the impact it had on the construction of homes and buildings in the city. Furthermore, the author points out that New Ulm took various steps to beautify the city under the auspices of the New Ulm Park Association taking into account the growing importance of the automobile in everyday life as well. People's German heritage, he goes on to say, was reclaimed after the tumultuous time surrounding the first World War and the use of German continued to play a major role in the community, in church services, theater productions, and in the press with the advent of a new German-language paper in town. The negative impact of the Great Depression on the local economy and subsequent Federal Relief Projects administered by the Works Progress Administration are discussed in chapter eight. Hoisington states that some downtown store fronts "embraced the "modern" look" (169) in the mid 1930s and a public library and a museum were added to the city's attractions, while several bands and groups of singers continued to enrich New Ulm's cultural scene. He then analyzes New Ulm's stance and public opinion at the beginning of and during World War II ending with reactions of local residents to German prisoners of war held in a nearby camp. The topic of chapter nine, Hoisington's final chapter, centers around New Ulm's progress after the second World War. He illustrates the changing economy by exemplifying the milling industry, which was changing dramatically in the United States in the early postwar years. With the cultural scene ever thriving, especially through the popularity of band music, and with the city's acquisition of a radio station in 1949, New Ulm was labeled the "Polka Capital of the World" (192). New Ulm faced many transitions, Hoisington elucidates, with the opening of national and regional retail stores being just one example. In the 1970s the future of downtown New Ulm became the focal point of discussion and renovation plans were drawn. The *Heritagefest* was introduced, a festival that gained fast in popularity and attracts visitors from all over the country. In addition the construction of a *Glockenspiel* was deliberated for downtown and was finally dedicated in 1980. New Ulm, Hoisington writes, had renewed its commitment to the past, but also "had transformed itself into a unique community" (201). Extensive notes for each chapter and an index complete Hoisington's publication.

*A German Town: A History of New Ulm, Minnesota* is a masterfully researched and written work on the history of this town. It is not just a must-read for anyone interested

in historical accounts, and particularly in the history of the unique city of New Ulm. It will also surely draw the attention of those in German Studies and related fields.

*Washburn University* *Gabriele Lunte*

**Diplomat ohne Eigenschaften?: Die Karriere des Hans Heinrich Dieckhoff (1884–1952).**
*By Sylvia Taschka. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006. 289 pp. €45.00.*

The title of Sylvia Taschka's biography of the diplomat Hans Heinrich Dieckhoff contains a question mark, and it is this question mark which underlies her own scholarly investigation as well as the reader's attempts to assess this historical figure. Together with the question mark, the title contains another salient characteristic—the presence of a familiar literary allusion—in some way suggesting that this allusion encapsulates the principal thesis of the book.

The title, of course, immediately evokes one of the established classics of modernist literature: Robert Musil's *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften* (1930). Only one difficulty, however, arises here. There is neither equivalence nor parallelism between Musil's figure and Taschka's historical protagonist. Musil's figure Ulrich, whose last name is withheld from the reader and hence is devoid of patrimony, is the proverbial Modernist outsider, not only living on the periphery of physical and cultural space, but also of time and history. As the narrator suggests, the house or rather castle Ulrich purchased is redolent of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with, significantly enough, an abortive renovation occurring in the nineteenth century. All this is linked intertextually with another famous literary house, one rendered by one of Musil's most eminent literary forbears and certainly influences, Adalbert Stifter, whose *Rosenhaus* in his canonical novel *Der Nachsommer* (1855) fulfilled a different ideological and metaphysical purpose, namely, to provide a bastion against the disintegrative influences of modernity. Ulrich's house, by contrast, has already been overrun by modernity.

Curiously enough, Ulrich's father, who is referred to in the narrative as *der Vater mit Eigenschaften*, resembles more closely the diplomat Hans Heinrich Diethoff, as presented by Taschka. Born into a prosperous family, Ulrich's father moves progressively upward in the world of the bourgeoisie, acquiring the titles of university professor and legal adviser to the well entrenched aristocracy, until he finally fulfills his deepest longing—to be ennobled and to become a member of the Austrian *Herrenhaus*. However, as the narrator ironically notes, although Ulrich's father never lost his loyalty and devotion (*Ergebenheit*) to the class he served, he was nonetheless regarded by his new friends as a parvenu, someone who represented the lower orders.

In the same way, Hans Heinrich Dieckhoff, as described by Taschka, grew up in bourgeois surroundings. In a pattern familiar to his class, he went to the university, graduated with a degree in law, and soon attained what most German burghers recognized as an indispensable cachet of advancement—the title of doctor. Enamored of *Bildung*, Dieckhoff followed the path of many Germans before him, traveling to Italy and other places said to be rich in culture, emulating Goethe's example in the *Italienische Reise* to complete his education. Choosing the Foreign Office (*Auswärtiges Amt*) as his

career path, he proceeded to rise through the diplomatic ranks, overcoming the obstacle of his non-aristocratic origins, eventually to acquire a series of ambassadorships, most notably to the United States (1937–38).

Dieckhoff was a success in conventional terms. Amid the turbulence of German history following the defeat in the Great War, Dieckhoff always was adept at finding his place, whether in the fragile Weimar Republic or in the new halls of power of the Third Reich. Wherever he was, he ingratiated himself with the powers that be. Just as he embodied a proverbial German success story for a person of his origins and background, so did he also epitomize a predictable mentality for his education and social position during the period in which he lived (1884–1952). Consonant with his peers, he harbored a strong antipathy towards Bolshevism as well as a mistrust of Social Democracy. Initially skeptical of democracy, he became what many Germans of his background liked to call a *Vernunftsrepublikaner*, which in practice did not connote a healthy ambivalence toward the fledgling state of Weimar, but, instead, a readiness to jump ship when the times became precarious.

In his writings on America, which resulted from his five-year tenure as counselor (*Botschaftsrat*) at the German embassy in Washington (1922–27), Dieckhoff followed the script of his culture. Although he tentatively learned to embrace what he believed were the virtues of American democracy, together with its infatuation with technological progress and permanent change—Dieckhoff even claimed to have become a "moderner Republikaner"—his was apparently not a deep attachment. Before his conversion, Dieckhoff, in a letter to his wife in 1922, unreservedly invoked the Lenauian imagery of America, cultivated by his class and occupational group, berating America in stock terms for being without a sense of history and devoid of culture and art. Twenty years later in another letter to his wife, when Germany and America were again at war, he reverted to the same stereotypes, adding yet a new motif: the Jewish corruption of America (*jüdische Zersetzung*).

If all of this did not establish Dieckhoff as *ein Mann mit Eigenschaften*, his anti-Semitism effaced all doubts about conforming to societal norms. The question of Dieckhoff's anti-Semitism illustrates one of Taschka's principal modes of argumentation—her tendency to relativize Dieckhoff's beliefs and actions. Of course it is essential to place Dieckhoff in a larger context in order to achieve a more balanced assessment of his historical significance. However, in this particular case, one wonders whether comparing Dieckhoff's attitudes to Jews with those of his contemporaries ultimately obfuscates his person and his role in the cataclysm of German politics. For example, when Taschka writes, "Das liegt daran, daß selbst Dieckhoffs Vorurteile gegenüber dem Judentum in eine liberal geprägte Überzeugung eingebettet und nicht zuletzt durch eine pragmatische Toleranz gemaßregelt waren" (134), one can agree that there were different gradations of anti-Semitism, from the "eliminationist anti-Semitism," discussed by Goldhagen, to the less virulent forms cultivated by various strata of German society, without losing sight of the fact that the propagation of the latter made the former possible.

Taschka's study ultimately provides an answer to the question posed in the title of her work. Hans Heinrich Dieckhoff was indeed "a diplomat with qualities." The great contribution of this study, in addition to its meticulous scholarship and its uncovering of newly discovered sources, is to illuminate by dint of a single life the so-called German *Sonderweg* and its abysmal failure. Despite his education and cultivation, his belief

in reason and moderation, Dieckhoff could not escape the allures of authority and hence ended up repudiating the promises proffered by modernity. Dieckhoff's life ultimately epitomized Erich Fromm's famous formulation: the "escape from freedom," as evidenced by his finally becoming a member of the National Socialist Party in 1941, even though he had already compromised himself by joining the *NS-Volkswohlfahrt* institution (National Socialist People's Welfare Agency) in 1935. Dieckhoff reveled in the early triumphs of the Nazis and eventually succumbed to the *Führerkult*, becoming during the period of its initial successes an impassioned advocate of the regime. Was it opportunism ignited by the restless ambition of the aspiring bourgeois? Was it a deficiency in "civil courage," as Taschka suggests? Was it Dieckhoff's passion to establish Germany's place among the great powers?

Taschka offers us all of these answers, including another tantalizing aspect of Dieckhoff's character: his propensity to silence amid the presence of atrocity and crime. When Dieckhoff was stationed at the German embassy in Constantinople during the First World War, he was confronted with the Armenian genocide. The usually voluble Dieckhoff chose silence as a position. Years later on November 9, 1938, the date of the notorious *Reichspogromnacht*, Dieckhoff also opted for silence. In general, silence was his overriding response to the unfolding genocide of European Jewry.

We are grateful to Taschka for her engagement with complexity with regard to Dieckhoff's personal tragedy. Still, despite her preoccupation with Dieckhoff's ambivalence, with his ideological twists and turns, as well as with his moments of insight and humanity, Taschka's study, contrary to its express intention, illuminates some plain truths about the moral collapse of what was generally considered to be a nation of refined sensibility and culture. Simply stated, Dieckhoff's failure was the failure of personal and collective narcissism—the despoilment of individual and national ideals. In the end, Taschka's study transforms Dieckhoff into a paradigmatic figure embodying the conflicts and tensions of German political culture in the first half of the twentieth century and hence makes significant inroads in apprehending what Friedrich Meinecke has called "die deutsche Katastrophe."

*University of Turku* *Jerry Schuchalter*

**Train Up a Child: Old Order Amish and Mennonite Schools.**
*By Karen M. Johnson-Weiner. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007. 289 pp. $49.95.*

Old Order Amish and Mennonites have been successful in running their own private schools, and their numbers have been growing steadily since the 1960s and 1970s respectively (7-8). Karen M. Johnson-Weiner's book *Train Up a Child* is a very comprehensive ethnological study of Old Order communities and their educational system. In her study Johnson-Weiner examines how private schools of the Old Order Amish and Mennonite groups prepare children for an Old Order life by integrating core community values and ethnic identity. The author emphasizes that this Old Order Amish and Mennonite education is critical to instilling among children a resistance to the lifestyle and beliefs of the dominant society. Johnson-Weiner bases her descriptive

work on participant observation "in Amish communities of upstate New York and in Old Order Mennonite communities in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania" (ix), interviews with "students, parents, teachers, and school board members" (ix), and correspondence with other members of the communities. In addition, researching Old Order textbooks in heritage libraries and talking with Old Order publishers allowed her a singular insight into Old Order educational practices. Furthermore, assessing nine different settlements in five states, in Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York, Johnson-Weiner asserts that Amish and Mennonite parochial schools differ in their interpretation of Old Order education, but show parallels in their behavioral norms. She finds that decisions on pedagogy, curriculum, textbooks, and school design made by each community are crucial for their own community's cultural, linguistic, and religious integrity. Johnson-Weiner's inclusion of various pictures of Old Order schools, school scenes, classrooms, and school-related documents such as a class schedule (80) complement her captivating volume of the Old Order Amish and Mennonite schools. The proverb at the beginning of the first chapter, and a brief utterance by a member of an Old Order community at the beginning of each of the following chapters, certainly stirs the reader's curiosity in going through the respective chapters.

In her preface Johnson-Weiner states that there are many different Old Order church-communities which distinguish themselves from each other in various ways, but all commonly resist modernity. She characterizes her study as a description of "Old Order schools in the context of Old Order culture" (ix), briefly explains how she conducted her field research, and gives a short synopsis of the chapters in the book. In the first chapter Johnson-Weiner delineates the scope of her work and talks in detail about the Old Order communities whose schools are studied. She discusses why Old Order parochial schools are important for the perpetuation of Old Order life and explains the demographic differences of the nine Old Order settlements examined. The author goes on to explore patterns of interaction by these Old Order church-communities with the main non-Old Order society, in the process illuminating the reasons why the nine communities she focused on in her study "demonstrate what it means to be "Old Order" (12). She also highlights the diversity in Old Order private education and provides a clear overview of the characteristics of Old Order schools and communities studied.

Chapter two centers around how Old Order identities are perpetuated in Old Order education, at the same time schools strive to meet educational standards required by the state. Johnson-Weiner points out Old Order communities distinguish education from schooling, asserting that while schooling is "book learning" (23), education means teaching and inculcating values. They contend that in order for a child to commit to the traditional beliefs of a church-community, he or she has to be educated through labor and chores at home, as well as joint fellowship. The author sets forth that in response to a change in school attendance regulations in the middle of the twentieth century, many more Old Order private schools were established which in turn reflected different community standards. This is exemplified by distinctive architectural designs of two newly-built schoolhouses for two different Old Order communities. She details designs and sizes of a variety of Old Order Amish and Mennonite schools, and concludes that Old Order schools "vary greatly as a result of the choices communities make about pedagogy, curriculum, textbooks, assessment, [and] parent-teacher-student interaction" (38-39).

Chapters three through seven profile the schools in the nine Old Order

communities examined, shedding light on the way each community relates to other Old Order groups and to mainstream society. Johnson-Weiner holds that each particular relationship impacts several facets of Old Order education, extending from pedagogy for instance and student-teacher interaction to the look and the site of the school in the community and the teaching of religion. Chapter three concentrates on the schools of the extremely conservative Swartzentruber Amish settlements in upstate New York. The reader is informed about the plain life and church-community standards of the Swartzentruber Amish, as well the educational goals of these distinct groups of Amish. According to Johnson-Weiner these plain people expect their schools to strengthen "the teachings of parents and church" (44), and reflect community values in their curriculum. The functional exterior and interior design of their schools also gives evidence of the determination of the Swartzentruber Amish to adhere to the customs and beliefs of their church community. Johnson-Weiner demonstrates these values by detailing a day in a Swartzentruber school and describing teachers' and students' expectations alike. This enables the reader to gain insight into Swartzentruber Amish education. The reader also learns that German plays a principal role in the lives of the Swartzentruber Amish. While the children have English lessons, in order to enable them to interact with surrounding societies, German dominates the school environment otherwise. Furthermore, limited subjects taught, including "phonics, spelling, reading, and arithmetic, and . . . Bible German" (58), reflect community boundaries of these ultra-conservative Amish communities. Johnson-Weiner underscores this by discussing archaic texts used for reading, spelling, and arithmetic in the Swartzentruber Amish schools. She ends the chapter by pointing out that school plays a minor role in the Swartzentruber life. Parental and community involvement in school activities and administration hardly exists, and teachers are not paid well, which, in turn, only attracts female teachers. Cultural coherence is achieved, integrating education and the church-community.

Focusing on modest-sized schools in the small and rather homogeneous settlements in Somerset, Ashland, and Fredericktown, Ohio, and Norfolk, New York, Johnson-Weiner turns the reader's attention to four Old Order Amish communities which are socially and religiously interrelated, that accept certain technology, and whose employment is frequently sought with non-Old Order employers. The author affirms that they apply a broader definition of educational goals than the Swartzentruber Amish and react to change, but at the same time retain their separation from the surrounding world. This perspective is revealed in the physical appearance of their schools, which do not display the same modesty as the Swartzentruber schools. Schools are regarded as central to the education of their children "for the economic and spiritual demands of life in the church-community" (78). Johnson-Weiner states the school curriculum of their schools reflects the broader definition of their educational methods as well, with more subjects, such as art, health, geography, and history included in the basic curriculum. English plays a much more important role as the language of instruction. The teacher models a parental role whereby upholding the order and authority of the church-community. The parents and the community are involved in school matters and activities, and every school invites visitors to come.

Chapter five treats the schools in the Amish settlement in Holmes County, Ohio. Describing the Amish communities in Holmes County as diverse, Johnson-Weiner explicates that "each church-community has chosen for itself where to draw the

boundary between the church and the world and how to define non-conformity" (104). The Old Order private schools host children of many Amish church-communities, often displaying a normal educational approach which is neither too progressive nor too conservative. They provide a school education that prepares children for economic engagement in the dominant society, but which at the same time ensures the values of their Old Order lives. For instance, the choice of textbooks, mostly published by Old Order presses, and other materials mirrors these teaching methods. Johnson-Weiner notes that religious instruction is not a part of the curriculum, but moral values are solidified by the examples the teacher uses during a lesson. Regular exchanges between the school board, the teachers, and the parents guarantee communal support for curricular changes and necessary expenditures. Parents and other members of the community are likely to be drawn into everyday school life, for instance, by helping pupils or cooking a hot lunch once a month. Teachers' meetings are held regularly, and their salaries, although not up to par with wages in other professions, are noticeably higher than those of their colleagues in the Swartzentruber communities. Johnson-Weiner concludes that by holding a middle ground and by considering the needs of different church-communities, while keeping up educational standards, the Old Order private schools in the Holmes County area have become vital to the continued existence of the Amish settlement.

Progressive Amish schools in the settlements of Elkhart and LaGrange Counties, Indiana, and across the state line in Centreville, Michigan, are depicted in chapter six. These schools are situated in a wealthy region where Old Order Amish and non-Old Order Amish interact on a regular basis. Many Amish hold factory jobs, and a variety of Amish businesses cater to non-Old Order people. As the lifestyle of the Old Order Amish becomes more and more similar to that of their non-Amish neighbors, Old Order schools in this area respond to these changes with a school curriculum that prepares children to succeed economically in the surrounding world. Johnson-Weiner informs the reader about the history and makeup of the community schools in these settlements and talks about the resemblance of school classrooms in the Elkhart–LaGrange and Centreville communities stemming from shared fellowship and having similar *Ordnungs*. Student art on classrooms walls is the norm, and in contrast to schools in Holmes County and other more conservative schools, inspirational posters and banners, for example, praise the value of learning and reinforce Christian beliefs. Johnson-Weiner remarks that textbooks used teach skills and values, and do not differ much from those utilized in other Old Order schools. She explores the various texts and series employed in the schools and cites teachers' opinions of some of them. Teachers train children to become future church members by expecting them to do much of their work on their own. They serve as authority figures for the pupils, but also offer them hands-on experiences accomplished through field trips, for example. Parents have to become involved in all aspects of school life and cooperate with the teacher. The pupils' basic skills are drilled through the use of the Iowa tests to meet state-imposed school standards. In the same vein teachers often take a voluntary state-administered GED (General Educational Development) examination and participate in regular teachers' training to strengthen Old Order education in that area.

Old Order Mennonite Schools in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, are the subject of chapter seven. Here Johnson-Weiner contends that Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonite children study together in schools where the teacher is often not a member

of his or her own church. The author explains the Old Order school movement in Lancaster County and ascertains that the Old Order Amish and Mennonite children also face a diverse society with suburban sprawl surrounding them. As in the Old Order Amish schools in Holmes County, Ohio, Lancaster Old Order Mennonite schools accommodate children from different churches. School architecture varies among the different Lancaster County Old Order Mennonite parochial schools, mostly because many of them were old public schoolhouses at different times. Johnson-Weiner observes that these schools vary in classroom arrangement and amenities such as electricity. With their instructions teachers stress individual responsibility of their pupils, and engage them in keeping an orderly conduct in class. The author describes in detail how teachers achieve these goals in Old Order Mennonite schools in Lancaster County. She purports that the schools' daily schedules do not look very much different from those in the Holmes County area and Elkhart-LaGrange and Centreville schools, and elaborates on the individual teacher's freedom to schedule different subjects. Beyond that, English clearly dominates the curriculum in the Lancaster Old Order Mennonite schools, one reason being that not every Lancaster Old Order group uses German, and texts used are standardized, "a combination of old public school texts and new publications by Old Order and more mainstream Christian presses" (186). Predicating that Old Order Mennonite teachers are encouraged to attend meetings on teachers' training, Johnson-Weiner informs the reader about different meetings Lancaster Old Order Mennonite teachers held and cites some experiences teachers had. Special needs education has become more important in Lancaster Old Order Mennonite schools, the author contends, and support for tutors and teachers is increasing. Parents are expected to be involved in their children's school, support the teachers and pay regular visits to the schools, where the guest books tend to be "elaborate affairs" (200).

Chapter eight centers around textbooks used in the various schools and Old Order publishers whose texts help reinforce Old Order cultural values and lifestyles. Johnson-Weiner looks into the ways these various Old Order presses react to issues of change which Old Order church-communities often face. She asserts that these responses range from the printing of archaic texts that highlight traditional practices and are utilized by rather conservative Old Order communities, to the revision of materials and the production of new texts to prepare students to interact with the dominant society and yet stay true to the church.

Johnson-Weiner concludes her work in chapter nine by examining the challenges that lie ahead for Old Order private schools. Already displaying a spectrum of differences, Old Order education, she states, is imperative to the preservation of Old Order identity by training children to become actively involved with the surrounding world. An appendix includes detailed information on how Johnson-Weiner conducted this study, a list of schools and locations she visited, a recipe for a hectograph submitted to her by a Swartzentruber Amish teacher, as well as a listing of representative school schedules. Comprehensive notes for each chapter, an extensive bibliography, and an index complete the author's work.

*Train Up a Child* is an admirably complete study of Old Order Amish and Mennonite schools. The publication should draw the attention of anthropologists,

ethnographers, linguists, sociologists, historians, and religious and school educators alike, and will definitely appeal to anyone interested in Amish cultures.

*Washburn University* *Gabriele Lunte*

**The Search for the First English Settlement in America: America's First Science Center.**
*By Gary Carl Grassl. Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2006. 251 pp. $14.99.*

Gary Grassl has been investigating the history of the early English settlements in America for more than twenty years. Thus it seems quite fitting that he should publish a compilation of his work on the eve of the year-long celebration of the founding of Jamestown, certainly the best-known of the English settlements in North America and arguably the first successful one. Although the title of the volume does not indicate as much, the individual chapters do indeed incorporate much of Grassl's previous research, most particularly his work on the role of Germans in the early development of the American colonies.

The volume itself consists of thirteen chapters divided among four sections, named respectively: Solving the Enigma of "Fort Raleigh;" The first English Settlement in America; Prospecting in Virginia; and Finale. Six chapters, almost one half of the total, make up the first part, which together with the two chapters of the second part address the topic suggested by the primary title. Four of the five remaining chapters focus on the scientific interests of the earliest expeditions, which explains in part the seeming incongruity of the subtitle, which at first glance appears unrelated to the discussion of Fort Raleigh and the first British expeditions to the New World.

The table of contents provides some insight into the overall structure of the discussion. However, even a brief summary of the contents does not convey the disconcerting imbalance between primary or secondary source material and scholarly interpretation of the evidence throughout the volume. Fully seventy pages, more than one quarter of the pages devoted to an examination of the issues indicated in the title, are appendices. Moreover, the appendices themselves have footnotes; one even has its own addendum. Individual chapters, including the introduction, all have footnotes. My own admittedly imprecise estimate is that sixty percent or more of the space devoted to the main argument consists of illustrations, extended quotations, or references to primary sources or the work of others.

Certainly one of the strengths of the volume is the richness of the evidence it presents. The maps and other illustrations allow the reader visual access to the debate. The material on metallurgy in the sixteenth century is fascinating. The whole is a repository for a remarkable variety of valuable information. Yet Grassl ultimately presents the evidence without truly making an argument. The reader must assemble the material into a meaningful pattern by him- or herself. Moreover, the dichotomy of the title is reflected in the discussion itself. Although the thrust of the argument certainly addresses the basic question of the true location of the first English settlement, Grassl's interest in and work on Joachim Gans and the scientific goals of Sir Walter Raleigh's two expeditions to North America as well as Grassl's considerable work on the earliest

German settlers in North America pervades and motivates the discussion. Indeed, one element of Grassl's argument for the true location of Fort Raleigh seems to be that it could not be the site designated by the National Park Service because that site was occupied by the metallurgical laboratory set up by Joachim Gans and his colleagues.

In his forward Ivor Noël Hume speaks of the mysteries surrounding the first settlements on Roanoke Island. The enigma surrounding the so-called "Lost Colony" in particular has fascinated and frustrated historians and archeologists for more than a century. Hume suggests that Grassl has provided the means for solving at least a part of the puzzle, yet the volume itself is somewhat of a mystery. Even the format is puzzling. The outsized (8.25 by 11 inches) softcover edition with its numerous illustrations, large typeface, and mix of font sizes and type styles seems to suggest an informal discussion aimed at a general audience of non-specialists. Yet the footnotes, the appendices, and the source materials constitute a formidable scholarly apparatus worthy of a doctoral dissertation. The volume bears witness to Grassl's extensive research and his considerable erudition, but like the enigma it seeks to unravel, it is likely to be both fascinating and frustrating for the reader, specialist and generalist alike.

*Loyola College in Maryland* *Randall P. Donaldson*

**Das Buch zum Deutschen Auswandererhaus/The Book to the German Emigration Center.**

*By the Deutsches Auswandererhaus. Bremerhaven: Edition DAH, 2006. 111 pp. €12.80.*

As the title of this work indicates, its purpose is to attract visitors to the German Emigration Center, a museum and research center that opened in Bremerhaven in August, 2005. In the interest of full disclosure, this reviewer won a contest sponsored by the Center which provided round-trip transportation from Kansas City to Bremerhaven, two nights' lodging, meals and a tour of the Center as it was being constructed. The resulting experience allows the reviewer to verify that the book accurately reflects the innovation, energy and ingenuity that went into planning and constructing its sponsoring institution. As with most products of the Emigration Center, the book is completely dual language in German and English.

Between 1830 and 1974, some 7.2 million Europeans left Europe from Bremerhaven, the port of the city of Bremen. Included were millions of Germans and 3.4 million eastern Europeans. From the 1830s down to the post-World War II period, Bremerhaven was the most significant port of departure for Germans who wanted to leave Europe. The German Emigration Center attempts to memorialize this historic exodus in imaginative ways that are appropriate to a twenty-first century post-modern culture. The building itself, which this book describes as "modern", seems more "post-modern" to this reviewer. So do the Center's methods of presenting its story. The displays consist not just of objects mounted on walls or in cases but of large rooms which attempt to convey the feeling that must have been experienced by people leaving their homeland for good. The very different experiences of departure and a long voyage by sailing ship, steam ship and modern ocean liner are recreated. Hungry peasant families of the 1840s, single and hopeful young men and women of the late nineteenth century, and Jews and

political outcasts escaping the Nazis are all represented. Considerable emphasis is put on the biographies of individuals and families. Facilities allowing visitors to research their own emigrant forebears are given substantial space.

The book contains a historical essay, short vignettes on representative emigrants, a glossary, and some textual descriptions of the displays. But in keeping with our increasingly visual culture, quite arresting pictures are the heart of this work. Some are two-page spreads in this large-format book, and all are carefully chosen. The text is aimed at the general public rather than at scholars, but the charts and graphs about migration to and from Germany in the last half-century will inform everyone.

"Old fashioned" text-based scholars will not only question some interpretations but will find a few factual inaccuracies. The Dietel Family that left Upper Franconia in the 1840s settled in Oswego, Illinois, not Oswego, Texas (15) nor Owego, Iowa (61). This is clear from the 1848 mailing envelope so carefully reproduced as an illustration. In another case, "Alzbeta K." entered America in 1921, and, after a trip home, came once again in 1927. She had indeed "return[ed] home to what is now the Czech Republic", but it was NOT "then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire." The "Donaumonarchie" dissolved in 1918. Other small errors have also crept into the text.

Much more important is that this book accurately reflects its parent institution which, in turn, is a bold attempt to make history come alive for our historically challenged age.

*Northwest Missouri State University* *Robert W. Frizzell*

**Anton in America: A Novel from German-American Life.**
*By Reinhold Solger. Translated and introduced by Lorie A. Vanchena. New Directions in German-American Studies, Volume 3. New York: Peter Lang, 2006. 317 pp. $82.95.*

Lorie Vanchena's (Creighton University) translation and meticulous commentaries appearing as Volume 3 of the Series *New Directions in German-American Studies* fill an important gap in the field of German-American literary studies. More than one hundred and forty years after its first serialized publication (from March to September 1862) in the *New-Yorker Criminal Zeitung und Belletristisches Journal*, non-German reading students and scholars can now read the original text of *Anton in America,* "probably the best known of all works of German American prose fiction of the nineteenth century."

*Anton in America* is a parody and satirical follow-up of Gustav Freytag's best-selling novel *Debit and Credit* (1855). Antonio, son of Anton Wohlfahrt, merchant in Breslau and main character of *Soll und Haben*, turns his back on the Prussian middle-class tainted by bureaucracy and a "petty shopkeeper mentality." The doomed revolution of 1848, Anton's growing estrangement from his family (his father shows excessive respect for monarchic authority), and his political emancipation toward the ideal of a liberal state are strong motivations to emigrate to the New World. From Antonio's arrival in New York in March 1857 to his country life with Mary Dawson and their daughter Susie, Solger's fast-paced novel portrays a young and naïve Prussian immigrant

discovering nineteenth-century American life and adapting to cultural, socio-political and historical realities that differ greatly from those of the Old World.

In his *Foreword*, Werner Sollors, the series editor, does a fine job setting the stage for Lorie Vanchena's vivid translation. Sollors invites the reader to reconsider the German-American tradition. He underlines the uniqueness of America, where the cultural notion of "one nation, one language" just doesn't apply. Americans "have expressed themselves in more than a hundred languages" from five continents. Sollors illustrates this sociocultural particularity with a rich and diverse German-American literary tradition that ranges from the seventeenth century to the present. A diversity of genres like autobiographies, essays, poems, plays, novels are "still waiting to be discovered by twentieth-century readers."

Sollors then raises significant questions on the *identity* of the German-American literary tradition. Was it either homogeneous or heterogeneous? How did German-American authors relate to German-speaking areas and countries in Europe? How did they communicate with their ethnic, cultural and linguistic environment in the United States? Which new research paths can be taken into the wider field of German-speaking emigration and "transatlantic history?" What is the overall *quality* of this literature and its connection with the field of cultural studies? Solger's novel provides answers to these questions, as it gives us a kaleidoscopic view of the American society in the second half of the nineteenth century. Sollors encourages graduate students and scholars to build bridges between the mid-nineteenth century German-American novel and the wider field of Cultural and American Studies. Sollors suggests that we see the concepts of German and American literature from the perspective of their unique multilingual identity.

Professor Vanchena's *Introduction* spans five sections and presents valuable contextual information on *Anton in America* and develops notions first mentioned by Sollors such as the "multilingual features of American literature." In Vanchena's preliminary remarks, she identifies an important "red thread" that spans throughout Solger's novel, i.e. the relationships between German-American immigrants and the American landscape. This multifaceted term shows the richness of Solger's narrative. Landscape stands first for distinctive geographical environments in Solger's novel (Manhattan, the White Mountains of New Hampshire). Landscape also means a society with its distinctive socioethnic groups, habits, behaviors and stereotypes in reaction to the "restless confusion" of American life, for example the Irish immigrant family O'Shea living on Lower Manhattan; the rich dry goods merchant William Dawson as the perfect embodiment of Fifth Avenue bourgeoisie with Presbyterian connections; the honest and hardworking German-American businessman Justus Wilhelmi, struggling to avoid bankruptcy due to Wall-Street "bull and bear speculation;" the Cartwright family from rural New Hampshire; the enlightened and humanistic schoolteacher Miss Parson and her social project of an asylum for fallen women; the biased prosecuting attorney at Anton's trial, as a virulent representative of the nativist anti-immigrant Know-Nothing movement.

This non-exhaustive list illustrates the depth of Solger's novel in depicting the psychological aspects of human nature in its universality. All the aforementioned individuals have their own voices and tell us their own personal stories. Solger's novel is a unique insight into the dreams, illusions, disillusions and hopes of German immigrants, but also of American citizens reacting to European immigration. As

Vanchena rightfully remarks, Solger doesn't hesitate to portray the "darker sides" of the evolution of American society: extreme poverty (Annie Cartwright as the abused beggar woman) and gang activity and violent crime, represented by the ruthless Jack O'Dogherty who attempts to murder Antonio, and the French villain Grenier who does, in fact, murder Annie Cartwright. The graphic and blood-stained description of Grenier's attack in chapter nine (*Murder*) of part two clearly contains dark elements of crime fiction. But Vanchena stresses also the humor and parody that pervades Solger's novel, as exemplified by the portrayal of the O'Shea family, the butler Pompey, Mr. Snobbs and Mr. Sewerage.

In the section *Reception and Scholarly Assessment of Anton in America*, Vanchena presents and comments on past and current scholarly contributions focusing on Solger's novel. The reader and researcher alike will appreciate this vast source of information. Carefully edited endnotes and a five-page bibliography complete Vanchena's well-rounded introduction.

This book review would be incomplete without mentioning Vanchena's achievement as a skilled translator. Her aim was by no means "to recreate nineteenth-century English but to translate more freely." The result is a lively but accurate translation of Antonio's German-American *Lehr-und Wanderjahre*. Vanchena's translation takes the reader into the immediate flow of Solger's narration, as the English text artfully captures the distinctive linguistic expressions of all characters. The reader doesn't even notice that this text is a translation, as it retains the spirit of Solger's original text.

I highly recommend Lorie A. Vanchena's translation of Reinhold Solger's *Anton in America*. This well-structured book is an excellent translation and a user-friendly research tool that takes the reader on a captivating journey through urban and rural nineteenth-century America. Lorie Vanchena persuades us to discover new fields of interdisciplinary research within the wider framework of the social, political, ethnical and historical aspects of the hybrid and dynamic identity of German-American literature.

*Colombier, Switzerland* — *Lambro Bourodimos*

**Ethnicity Matters: A History of the German Society of Pennsylvania.** *Birte Pfleger. Washington, D. C.: German Historical Institute, 2006. vi + 138 pp. Free.*

**The German Society of Pennsylvania: A Guide to Its Book and Manuscript Collections. Reference Guide 20.** *Kevin Ostoyich. Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute, 2006, 131 pp. Free.*

*Ethnicity Matters. A History of the German Society of Pennsylvania*, a joint publication of the German Historical Institute and the German Society of Pennsylvania, explores the German Society of Pennsylvania against the backdrop of social, cultural, and political change in Philadelphia in particular and in the United States in general. In this short work, Birte Pfleger traces the GSP from its founding in 1764 as an aid society for newly arriving German immigrants to its current incarnation as "the oldest German ethnic organization in the Western Hemisphere" (1). In so doing, she documents the

evolution of German ethnic identity in the United States from pre-colonial times through the World Wars to the twenty-first century when almost one third of Americans have German ancestors.

Pfleger makes it clear that German ethnicity in America has been contested from the beginning. While the majority of early German immigrants were farmers or artisans, the early members of the GSP were men of some standing in Philadelphia society, educated urbanites who could afford the membership fees. As these early GSP members determined who would receive the Society's assistance, they defined cultural ideals. In the eighteenth century, the membership committed itself to creating an educated German elite and to ensuring that there would be German speaking clergy for the churches. The Society created a library of German literature. Nevertheless, by the early nineteenth century, English had become the dominant language among German Americans, popular English-language fiction had almost come to outnumber German-language literary works, and the GSP had made English its official language. In the twentieth century, the GSP has been influenced by the competing interests of American-born members of German descent and immigrants arriving from Germany anxious to shed the burdens of World War defeats.

In this work, Pfleger demonstrates the cultural and political differences that have shaped interaction between German Americans and their Anglo-American neighbors. Pointing out that the GSP owes its survival to the actions of the Women's Auxiliary, which took over the charity work of the Society, Pfleger argues convincingly that German-American women faced different gender norms than their Anglo-American counterparts. Noting the conflicted loyalties of many German Americans during the first and second world wars, she explores the fascist leanings of several of the Society's leaders and suggests that the Society's inability to question German actions has had lasting impact on membership. Finally, Pfleger investigates the Society's involvement in urban renewal as it debates relocation.

This is not the definitive work on the history of the German Society of Pennsylvania, and it is clear that the membership of the German Society of Pennsylvania has not been inclusive or even representative of the majority of Americans of German ancestry. As Pfleger herself points out, *Ethnicity Matters* does "not claim to come even close to telling the entire story" (3). Yet this work provides an excellent starting point for further study of German American ethnicity. It makes the reader eager to learn more, and it highlights the possibilities of further research for understanding the evolution of ethnic identity in America.

The companion text to *Ethnicity Matters*, Kevin Ostoyich's *The German Society of Pennsylvania: A Guide to Its Book and Manuscript Collections*, explores the holdings of the Joseph P. Horner Memorial Library, one of the most important endeavors of the German Society of Pennsylvania. Hardly a comprehensive bibliography, this work nevertheless makes clear the importance of this collection. The library was founded in 1817 to provide a collection of "works in the German language" because Philadelphia was "unprovided with them" (3). As Pfleger points out in *Ethnicity Matters*, the balance in the number of English language texts versus German language texts reflects changing membership in the GSP, immigration patterns, and patterns of library usage as Philadelphia established public libraries.

According to Ostoyich, the Horner Library currently has six collections, including a manuscript collection, a newspaper collection, and a collection of pamphlets.

Ostoyich follows this organization in the guide, each section corresponding to a particular collection. The different sections begin with a brief description of the scope of the collection and then present a list of the different kinds of holdings in each. The over 70,000 items, approximately eighty percent of which are in German, are organized according to the library's own cataloging system. Together they constitute an important resource for researchers of German American life and ethnic identity in the United States.

Ostoyich's work provides the researcher with a good introduction to what is to be found in the Horner Library. It is unfortunate that, as Pfleger points out (119), that "the society has not employed a trained librarian since 2002" and that the library lacks consistent climate control. Moreover, as Ostoyich notes, not all of the different collections have been cataloged.

The goal of these two publications is to draw attention to the German Society of Pennsylvania and its Horner Library. They succeed admirably. Well written and accessible, they leave the reader eager to know more. Both texts are well-documented. *Ethnicity Matters* has endnotes after each chapter, while Ostoyich's *Guide* is footnoted. Both volumes are indexed. Each book is available free of charge from the German Historical Institute by e-mail request (info@ghi-dc.org) or inquiry via standard mail at: 1607 New Hampshire Avenue, NW; Washington, DC 20009-2562.

*SUNY College at Potsdam* *Karen M. Johnson-Weiner*

**German-Iowan Studies: Selected Essays**
*By William Roba. New German-American Studies / Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien, Vol. 28. New York: Peter Lang 2004, 132 pp. $54.95.*

William Roba's book reflects the author's research in eight essays, some of which had been presented in lecture form as early as from 1986 to 1998 yet at the time in substantially different forms. The author now has adapted the essays and has rearranged the work into eight chapters. They did „loosely fit together," as Roba says, and are now brought together to trace German migration experience in Iowa and even more to "understand the German dimension in the basic foundation of Iowa history" (xi).

Admittedly some essays are fairly old, but they also reflect Roba's longtime involvement in and dedication to the field of German American Studies and its institutions, be it as scholar, lecturer or advisor in cultural projects in Iowa. The focus of the book is placed upon Eastern Iowa and the Upper Mississippi Valley generally, and more specifically the metropolitan area in and around Davenport. It is not out to the farmland that Roba takes us, where from a German perspective the barn is the icon for Iowa history. We rather follow him into political and social clubs, election campaigns, editorial offices, and board rooms of German-American associations—in short to a network of mid-nineteenth century intellectual German life, including of course dance halls and beer gardens. In a nice example that Roba provides, German socialists finish a barrel of beer on Independence Day 1853 and, since the invited American band can

only play one German song, they continue to hear "Ach, du lieber Augustin" in an endless loop (3).

Nevertheless the life of the pioneers is always present in the issues discussed, as a retrospective examination of a German-American culture in its many and diverse manifestations up until the twentieth century. Consequently Roba "delineates the creation of a unique German-Iowan society in the second half of the nineteenth century" (xii) and emphasizes its cultural imprint by early migration patterns and attitudes which were generated as a result. In his first essay Roba summarizes immigration from Germany to the Midwest and illustrates the German influence in Iowa with significant figures and examples. Although he also identifies several myths in the self-perception of German immigrants (22 ff.), he nevertheless proposes to use the term "German Iowans."

From early immigration Roba traces these German Iowans in various settings of conflict and social interaction: as foreigners and as important voters (chapter one), as actors in public pageantry (chapter two), as carriers of a specific *Erinnerungskultur* and finally as opponents and victims likewise of World War I anti-German attitudes and "Super-Patriotism" (73). And it is not only interaction with other ethnicities that Roba illustrates: there is likewise analysis of the self-perception of the "German Iowans."

Roba presents case studies for Milwaukee (chapter five) and for the "Contemporary Club" in Davenport (chapter six) as well as biographical portraits (chapters seven and eight). One essay is on Buffalo Bill Cody; it is surprising to see him in the context of German Iowan Studies, given that he only spent eight childhood years in the state. Also one is leery of considering Cody's road shows in Europe as pageants in the otherwise discussed sense. So as a sort of an interesting bonus this chapter illustrates reactions in imperial Germany to Bill Cody's Western shows and their impact upon prevailing stereotypes of the American West in Germany.

All essays included within the volume are rich in detail and local flavor. Roba's examples range to the 1920s and of course include German Iowan culture under the threat of American entry into World War I. The struggle of Congressman Henry Vollmer and the Friends of Peace to organize antiwar movements against American military deliveries to the European battlefield serves as a significant example of the conflict of ethnically-motivated pacifist attitudes with war-engendered American patriotism.

The biographical portrait of journalist August Richter and his role in the German Iowan press is another significant example which summarizes a lot of the issues in Roba's book. The reader witnesses Richter's luckless attempts to publish his long-planned and researched book on Iowa history in a time of political changes to anti-German attitudes. In a likewise biographical as well as historical dramatic situation Richer presents himself as obstinate and swears to a "Siegreiche Germania" and a triumphant Germany. A stubborn Iowa German or a victim of "Iowa Deutschtum" in the early twentieth century? Ultimately the answer is both, but in particular the latter. German America, as with all ethnic cultures, needed to assert and sustain its position, and the more conflicts are generated in this course of acculturation, the more an offensive character is unveiled. Every parade, every speech, every laudation, every awards ceremony, every erection of a monument, every festival and every *Sängerfest*, even a public reading of Schiller's literary output, then becomes likewise a defense and a provocation and a struggle to remain visible and recognized, even if the result was identification with or proactive support of

imperial Germany and of a *Deutschtum* that clouded the horizons of a Europe on the brink of war.

The media of this struggle is pageantry. This is what Roba proposes (chapter two) to summarize the many expressions of "provincial ethnicity" and local banners as described in his book. Pageantry is indeed a useful concept "for understanding the emotional expressions of ethnic hopes and dreams" (21) and serves to connect the eight essays. It was fairly early that a German Iowan culture created this pageantry. This is very obvious in the social clubs, intellectual networks, and associations in the urban areas that Roba presents. It may have been different on Iowa farms. Should the author likewise undertake to research this historic and social habitat, this reviewer would be only too pleased to read another book with the same level of interest as has been the case with the present work.

*Oldenburg, Germany* *Wolfgang Grams*

**Long Road to Liberty: The Odyssey of a German Regiment in the Yankee Army: The 15th Missouri Volunteer Infantry.**
*By Donald Allendorf. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2006. xxxii + 344 pages. $39.00.*

Largely relying on *Five Years in the Sunny South* (1890), the personal account of his military service during the Civil War by Maurice Marcoot of Highland, Illinois, a soldier who served in the 15th Missouri from its formation in the summer of 1861 until it was mustered out of service in January 1866, Allendorf weaves a narrative that brings to life the experiences of the common soldier in an ethnic German regiment. The reader relives the daily life of the soldiers from setting up pup tents to being ravaged by disease; we learn how to cook raw corn kernels from the cob received as the daily food ration and remove body lice. We march without proper footwear through mud and snow. The reader also encounters the anguish and fear before going into battle, wondering whether this attack will be the soldier's last moment on this earth. We also relive the horrors of such encounters. We hear the moans of the wounded and smell the stench of the dead men and horses.

The 15th Missouri was an ethnic regiment. At its formation at the federal arsenal in St. Louis in 1861, seventy-five percent of its recruits were of German or Swiss ancestry. There was some attempt to name the regiment the "Swiss Regiment" or "Swiss Rifles" since the first two companies mustered into service hailed from Highland, Illinois, a Swiss immigrant community east of St. Louis (and later the place of origin of the Pet Milk Company—originally in 1885 the Helvetia Milk Condensing Company). In Company B, the so-called "Swiss Company" twenty-four of eighty-one soldiers were indeed from Switzerland. However, in that same company were at least thirty-nine others from various German principalities: Baden, Prussia, Hesse, Bavaria, Saxony, among others—all of these had furnished some of the recruits for the company.

Following its formation, the regiment left St. Louis in the fall of 1861 and operated in southwestern Missouri, eventually participating in the Battle of Pea Ridge in northern Arkansas in February 1862. The path of the regiment took it to Cincinnati

and engagement at the Battle of Perryville (Kentucky) in October 1862. By the last day of that year they were in Tennessee at the Battle of Stones River where the regiment suffered many casualties: "The dead and wounded were legion in every direction" (quoted from Marcoot, 89).

The year 1863 saw the regiment having to deal with anti-German sentiment following the debacle at Chancellorsville in Virginia. Some officers tried to resign in protest. Others wondered why the bravery shown by the 15th Missouri holding its ground at Stones River did not offset the retreat by Schurz's "German" division at Chancellorsville. Now moving south into Georgia, the 15th was involved in a bayonet charge at the Battle of Chicamauga (September 1863). Marcoot later wrote: "The fight now became a desperate hand to hand encounter with bayonets and clubbed muskets, and heroic blood flowed, as it were, in streams" (124). Later that fall, the 15th was again in the thick of the fight at Chattanooga in the attack on Missonary Ridge (November 1863).

In the final year of the war, the 15th Missouri saw action in Sherman's Atlanta Campaign and then went north to defend Nashville from Hood's Army, seeing action at both the Battle of Franklin (November 1864) and again at Nashville (December 1864). Following the defeat of the Confederates at Nashville, the war in the West was largely over. There were no more pitched battles, yet the 15th Missouri found itself travelling through parts of Alabama and then by steamboat down the Mississippi all the way to Texas before finally learning in November 1865 that they were to be mustered out. But the unit still had to wait until January 1866 for the return to St. Louis where "the citizens had prepared a fine feast" (Marcoot, 286).

In January 1866, those of the remaining German and Swiss boys, who had enlisted in the summer of 1861, had fought in twenty-five pitched battles, marched over 3,000 miles, travelled over 2,300 miles by rail and 4,500 miles by water. "Of the 904 who had served in the regiment, more than half had been killed, died of disease, or would bear a wound or the memory of one for the rest of their lives" (286). The 15th Missouri had been one of the "fightingest" regiments of the Civil War.

Allendorf is to be commended for providing such an engaging and emotionally wrenching account of the day-by-day experience of a common Civil War soldier in a largely ethnic German regiment. This is truly a contribution to Civil War historiography and also to German-American Studies. This reader's one criticism is Allendorf's rather odd use of German words throughout the text. Rather than use the correct spelling of German words, the author apparently chooses to use misspellings. For instance, "*Unabhangiges deutsches Regiment fur Missouri!* (11). There is no good reason why the umlaut vowels could not have been used. Another instance is the quotation of a German recruit saying: "*Nicht forstehen*" (16) rather than "*verstehen*." This also includes misspelling of German place names where an umlaut would be used: *Wurzburg, Muhlhausen*, etc. This occurs sporadically throughout the text. My assumption is that the author believed that adding a pseudo-German word or two added color to the story and that there never was any intent to use correct German. That is really too bad given the otherwise exemplary treatment of this fascinating subject.

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# Annual Bibliography of German-Americana: Articles, Books, Selected Media, and Dissertations

*Dolores J. Hoyt and Giles R. Hoyt in collaboration with the Bibliographic Committee of the Society for German-American Studies*

Co-Chairs: Dolores J.Hoyt and Giles R. Hoyt Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI); Bibliographers: James A. Baldwin, IUPUI; Emily Dill, IUPU Columbus; Robert W. Frizzell, Northwest Missouri State University; Antonius Holtmann, Universität Oldenburg; Karen L. Janke, IUPUI; Peter Linberger, University of Akron; Heiko Mühr, Indiana University Bloomington; William Roba, Scott Community College; Steven J. Schmidt, IUPUI.

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 descendents.

## I. Supplements for 2004

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## III. Topical Index

# SOCIETY FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

## BYLAWS

### Article I. Name and Purpose

1. The name of the organization 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, as well as theater, music and other creative art forms, of the German element of North America.

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

2.3. To assist researchers, teachers and students in pursuing their interests in German-American Studies, e.g., by providing opportunity for contacts, exchanges and funding.

2.4. To foster 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 a manner approved by the Executive Committee.

3. If the Executive Committee deems that any member of the Society is at any time guilty of an act which is prejudicial to the Society, or to the purposes for which it was formed, such person shall be asked to submit a written explanation of such act within thirty days. If the clarification is not acceptable to the Executive Committee, then at its discretion the membership may be terminated. However, the Society affirms the tradition of academic freedom and will not interpret the exercise of free expression to constitute an act prejudicial to the Society.

**Article III. Officers**

1. 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.

2. The term of office shall be for two years.

3. The duties of the officers are as follows:

3.1. The president serves as the official spokesperson of the Society, chairs the Executive Committee, and presides over annual meetings.

3.2. The first vice president maintains the procedures for the annual symposia and other meetings as directed by the Executive Committee and coordinates the annual meeting schedule. The first vice president presides when the president is not available.

3.3. The second vice president coordinates the annual award(s) for outstanding achievement in the field of German-American Studies.

3.4. The secretary keeps a written record of the annual meetings and Executive Committee meetings.

3.5. The treasurer keeps the financial records of the Society and presents a report to the membership at each annual meeting.

4. The resignation of any officer shall be submitted in writing to the Executive Committee.

5. If any vacancy should occur, the Executive Committee shall elect a member of the Society to fill such vacancy for the unexpired term.

6. 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 symposium and any other time as may be required to conduct business.

3. A quorum at the annual meeting of this Society shall consist of 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 and approval of minutes of the last meeting
2.3. Reports of officers
2.4. Reports of committees
2.5. Election of officers
2.6. Communications
2.7. Old business
2.8. New business
2.9. Adjournment

3. The order of business at any meeting may be changed by a vote of a majority of the members present. A motion to change the order of business is not debatable.

**Article VI. Dues and Finances**

1. The annual dues of members are on a calendar-year basis, payable in advance by 31 January. Non-payment of dues will result in a cancellation of membership. A late fee may be imposed by the Executive Committee.

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 the Executive Committee.

3. The fiscal year shall be from January through December.

4. The amount of dues and assessments shall be set by the Executive Committee.

**Article VII. Nominations and Elections**

1. Election of officers will be at the general business meeting of the membership during the annual symposium.

2. All officers shall take office on 1 June of the year in which they were elected.

**Article VIII. Affiliates**

1. Organizations that support the purposes of the Society may be recommended to the Executive Committee for affiliate status.

2. The Executive Committee shall determine regulations pertaining to affiliate membership in the Society.

3. The Executive Committee shall have sole discretion, subject to these Bylaws, in authorizing the approval of affiliates of the Society.

**Article IX. Committees**

1. Standing Committees

1.1. Executive Committee

1.1.1. The Executive Committee consists of the five elected officers of the Society, the editor of the *Newsletter*, the editor of the *Yearbook*, and the Membership Committee co-chairs.

1.1.2. 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.

1.1.3. 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. A majority of the members of the Committee shall constitute a quorum.

1.1.4. No organization shall serve as a member of the Executive Committee.

1.2. Membership Committee

1.2.1. The Membership Committee shall be co-chaired by a North American and a European representative.

1.2.2. The Membership Committee shall be responsible for maintaining the membership list, and working to maintain and increase membership in the Society.

1.3. Publications Committee

1.3.1. The Publications Committee shall be co-chaired by the two principal editors of the Society and shall consist of all associate editors and the web site manager.

1.3.2. The Publications Committee shall oversee the various publishing activities of the Society.

2. Ad Hoc Committees

2.1. Election Committee

2.1.1. The Executive Committee shall appoint an Election Committee. It is this Committee's duty to present a slate of candidates for officers at the annual meeting, and conduct the election of the officers.

2.1.2. Members of the Election Committee cannot be nominated for an office.

2.2. Publication Fund Committee

2.2.1. The Publication Fund Committee shall have oversight of the Publication Fund.

2.3. Research Fund Committee

2.3.1. Research Fund Committee shall have oversight of the Research Fund.

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 X. Publications**

1. The official publications of the Society are its quarterly *Newsletter* and its annual *Yearbook of German-American Studies*.

2. The two principal editors of the official SGAS publications shall be appointed by the Executive Committee and serve at its discretion.

3. The editor of the *Yearbook* will recommend members of the Society to serve as book review editor, literary review editor, compiler(s) of the annual bibliography, and the web site manager subject to confirmation by the Executive Committee.

4. The editor of the *Yearbook* will recommend members of the Society to serve on the Editorial Board of the *Yearbook* subject to confirmation by the Executive Committee.

5. Copyright in all publications of the Society is held by the Society for German-American Studies.

**Article XI. Indemnification**

The Society as a Corporation shall indemnify any director or officer of the Society, or any former officer of the Society, to the extent indemnification is required or permitted by law. The expenses of any officer of the Society incurred in defending any action, suit or proceeding, civil or criminal, may be paid by the Society in advance of the final disposition of such action, suit or proceeding, at the discretion of the Executive Committee but only following compliance with all procedures set forth and subject to all limitations as provided by law.

**Article XII. Conflict of Interest**

A disclosure by the Executive Committee and officers is required if there is any conflict of interest so that an analysis can be undertaken to handle any identified conflict, examples of which include, but are not limited to existing or potential financial interests; any interest that might impair a member's independent, unbiased judgment; membership in any other organization where interests conflict.

**Article XIII. Executive Contracts and Other Documents**

The Executive Committee shall establish policies and procedures with respect to the execution of instruments, deposits to and withdrawals from checking and other bank accounts, loans or borrowing by the Society. The Treasurer can sign all checks for regular and outstanding bills for amounts less than $200. For any amount of $200 or more, signatures of two officers are normally required. If approved by the Executive Committee, however, the Treasurer can singularly sign and disburse checks over $200.

**Article XIV. Amendment of Bylaws/Periodic Review**

Subject to law and the Articles of Incorporation, the power to make, alter, amend or repeal all or any part of these Bylaws is vested in the Executive Committee.

**Article XV. Repository**

The Archives and Rare Books Department, University Library, the University of Cincinnati is the official repository for all records of the Society.

**Article XVI. Dissolution**

Upon 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.

**Article XVII. Nondiscrimination**

The services and activities of this Society shall at all times be administered and operated on a nondiscriminatory basis without regard to color, national origin, gender, religious preference, creed, age or physical impairment.

Approved: Timothy Holian
Secretary of the Society for German-American Studies

Amended date: April 28, 2007

Corrected version: April 30, 2007

## 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