YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Volume 42

2007

The Society for

German-American Studies

YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Volume 42

2007

Published at the University of Kansas by

THE SOCIETY FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

with the support of
THE MAX KADE CENTER
FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES
and THE HALL CENTER FOR THE HUMANITIES

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 Lorie Vanchena at the same address. 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 J. Gregory Redding, Wabash College, Crawfordsville, IN 47933. The Society for German-American Studies is open to membership from individuals, societies, libraries, and organizations.

Printed at Jostens, Topeka, KS 66609

YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

TABLE OF CONTENTS

From the Editor ix

Remarks by German Ambassador Klaus Scharioth at the Unveiling of the Commemorative Plaque Celebrating the Arrival of German Glassblowers in Colonial Jamestown in 1608
Jamestown, Virginia, April 19, 2008 1

Address by German Ambassador Klaus Scharioth at the Festival Banquet Celebrating the 400th Anniversary of German Settlement in America
Williamsburg, Virginia, April 19, 2008 3

ARTICLES

Michael Boyden
A New Perspective on Carl Schurz's Autobiography 9

Frank Mehring
Karl/Charles Follen: Rediscovering the Multilingual Oeuvre 17

William E. Petig
The First Moravian Missions in the Midwest 39

Matthew Lange
"Vergiß es nie, daß die Juden uns vertrieben haben": Did Anti-Semitism Migrate with Germans to the United States in the Nineteenth Century? 53

Grant W. Grams
Was Karl May in Canada? The Works of Max Otto: A German Writer's "Absurd Picture of Canada" 69

Louis E. Brister
Writing Texas History in Nazi Germany 85

Alfred Wildfeuer
Von der Multilingualität zur Monolingualität: Ein Vergleich zwischen deutschböhmischen Siedlungen in Transkarpatien und in Ellis, Kansas 93

Angela H. Häusler
German Language Maintenance on the West Coast: A Glimpse of California's Past 113

Marc Pierce
East Frisian Low German Consonantal Developments Reexamined 127

BOOK REVIEWS
Edited by Timothy J. Holian

Deutsch-Pennsylvanischer Arbeitskreis e.V. (German-Pennsylvanian Association), ed.
Pennsylvaanisch-Deitsch darich's Yaahr:
A Pennsylvania German Reader for Grandparents and Grandchildren
Reviewed by Gregory J. Hanson 131

Hinderk Conrads and Brigitte Lohff
Carl Neuberg—Biochemie, Politik und Geschichte: Lebenswege und Werk eines fast verdrängten Forschers
Reviewed by Katja Hartmann 132

John Gurda
Cream City Chronicles: Stories of Milwaukee's Past
Reviewed by Timothy J. Holian 135

Sabine Freitag
Hecker: Two Lives for Liberty
Reviewed by Robert W. Frizzell 137

Hermann Kurthen, Antonio V. Menéndez-Alarcón, and Stefan Immerfall, eds.
Safeguarding German-American Relations in the New Century: Understanding and Accepting Mutual Differences
Reviewed by Jerry Schuchalter 138

Christian B. Keller
Chancellorsville and the Germans: Nativism, Ethnicity, and Civil War Memory
Reviewed by William D. Keel 140

Gergely Tóth
Linguistic Interference and First-Language Attrition: German and Hungarian in the San Francisco Bay Area
Reviewed by Michael T. Putnam 142

Karl Markus Kreis, ed.
Lakotas, Black Robes, and Holy Women: German Reports from the Indian Missions in South Dakota, 1886-1900
Reviewed by Gabiele Lunte 144

Dorothea Kaufmann and Heidi Thomann Tewarson, eds.
Willkommen und Abschied: Thirty-five years of Writers-in-Residence at Oberlin College
Reviewed by Tom R. Schultz 147

Robert L. Koenig
The Fourth Horseman: One Man's Mission to Wage the Great War in America
Reviewed by Randall P. Donaldson 148

Heike Bunger, Cora Lee Kluge, and Robert C. Ostergren, eds.
Wisconsin German Land and Life
Reviewed by Timothy J. Holian 149

Aaron Spencer Fogleman
Jesus is Female: Moravians and the Challenge of Radical Religion in Early America
Reviewed by Julia Trumpold 152

Cora Lee Kluge, ed.
Other Witnesses: An Anthology of Literature of the German Americans, 1850-1914
Reviewed by J. Gregory Redding 153

Silvia Dal Negro
The Decay of a Language: The Case of a German Dialect in the Italian Alps
Reviewed by Michael T. Putnam 154

Roger Daniels
Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants Since 1882
Reviewed by Tom R. Schultz 157

Frank Baron, David Norman Smith, and Charles Reitz, eds.
Authority, Culture and Communication: The Sociology of Ernest Manheim
Reviewed by Marguerite DeHuszar Allen 159

Katja Wüstenbecker
Deutsch-Amerikaner im ersten Weltkrieg: US-Politik und nationale Identitäten im Mittleren Westen
Reviewed by Katja Hartmann 161

Don Heinrich Tolzmann
John Roebling and his Suspension Bridge on the Ohio River
Reviewed by Elena Chandler 164

Stuart Gorman and Joachim Reppmann
Low German: Platt in America
Erhard Böttcher, Virginia Degen, and Joachim Reppmenn
Building a Bridge
Reviewed by Giles R. Hoyt 166

Robert W. Frizzell
Independent Immigrants: A Settlement of Hanoverian Germans in Western Missouri
Reviewed by Randall P. Donaldson 167

Trudy Paradis and E. J. Brumder
German Milwaukee: Its History—Its Recipes
Reviewed by Timothy J. Holian 168

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

Werner E. Kitzler
German-American Literature: A Selected Bibliography 171

Donald F. Durnbaugh
Bibliography of the Sauer Family 183

SGAS Bylaws 215

SGAS Publication Fund Policy 223

SGAS Research Fund Policy 225

From the Editor

The nine regular essays in this volume are complemented by the texts of the remarks of German Ambassador Klaus Scharioth during the ceremonies at Jamestown marking the 400th anniversary of the arrival of the first Germans in the Jamestown Colony in 1607 and 1608 and at the Festival Banquet in Williamsburg. These two events provided the focus for our 2008 Symposium held at Colonial Williamsburg in April. The Ambassador's remarks on those occasions highlight both the significance of the first Germans artisans in the New World as well as the contributions of the millions of later German immigrants to the culture and society of the United States. We are publishing the Ambassador's remarks with his kind permission and express our special appreciation to Katrin Florek-Avril of the Ambassador's office for her gracious assistance.

Among our regular contributions we feature three essays by linguists. Marc Pierce responds to a theoretical issue in phonology relating the East Frisian Low German in Grundy County, Iowa. Alfred Wildfeuer examines and compares German-Bohemian (Bavarian) dialects in Kansas and in speech islands in Eastern Europe. Andrea Häusler offers an overview of the history of the German language in the state of California.

Language choice is significant in Michael Boyden's approach to understanding the autobiography of Carl Schurz. Boyden argues that Schurz's use of both German and English in his original draft reflects Schurz's transnational identity and his role as an ethnic mediator. This dual identity and use of two languages is also featured in Frank Mehring's assessment of the writings of Karl (Charles) Follen. Mehring sees Follen's writings as part of a German-American cultural transfer.

Other essays discuss the writing of a history of Texas in Nazi Germany (Louis Brister), describe the efforts of the Moravian Brethren to establish missions in the Midwest (William Petig), explore the controversies associated with German-Canadian author Max Otto (Grant Grams) and investigate whether anti-Semitism was brought to the United States by nineteenth-century German immigrants (Matthew Lange).

Our book review section contains evaluations of twenty-two recent monographs in the field of German-American Studies. Timothy Holian, who has edited our book reviews for the past ten years, has decided to step down as book review editor. We hope to announce his successor shortly. Tim deserves our sincere appreciation for his efforts in maintaining the high caliber of this section of the *Yearbook*.

Readers will miss the "Annual Bibliography of German-Americana" which normally concludes each volume. For technical reasons, we were not able to publish the bibliography this year. We hope to resume publication of the annual bibliography in the next issue. We are, however, publishing two specialized bibliographies in this issue: Werner Kitzler's "German-American Literature: A Selected Bibliography" and (posthumously) Donald Durnbaugh's "Bibliography of the Sauer Family."

Our Editorial Board members 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 New Ulm, Minnesota, in April 2008, and the results of our ongoing research in German-American Studies.

William Keel, Editor
Max Kade Center for German-American Studies
at the University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas
September 2008

Remarks by German Ambassador Klaus Scharioth at the Unveiling of the Commemorative Plaque Celebrating the Arrival of German Glassblowers in Colonial Jamestown in 1608
Jamestown, Virginia, April 19, 2008

Madam Mayor Zeidler, Secretary Smith, Superintendent Smith, Members of German-American Societies, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Today we have the special honor to pay tribute to the first Germans who 400 years ago found a new home in America and laid the foundation for the German-American friendship which has flourished to this day.

In 1607, the first German, Johannes Fleischer, arrived in this land with the first group of English settlers after a long and arduous journey by sea. The botanist and physician Johannes Fleischer was a native of Breslau, and an unusually educated man who held doctor degrees in both medicine and philosophy which in those days included the natural sciences. His aim was to study what for him were exotic flora and fauna and to search for new medicines.

In early October 1608, shortly after Fleischer's untimely death due to the extremely difficult living conditions, two German glassmakers, whose names still today are unknown, arrived at Jamestown. Immediately after their arrival, the two Germans began to test the properties of the sand along the James River. And they were very successful in their efforts! Only two months after their arrival, they were sending their first glass samples, which were initially produced using melting pots, to England.

Then, in 1609, together with other pioneers from Britain the two German glassmakers built a glasshouse with four furnaces and thus erected the first "industrial operation" in the British part of America, at this site where we stand today. What was notable about this was that the German glassmakers had to construct the furnaces themselves and thus introduced far more knowledge into the settlement development than pure glass-making.

Along with the glassmakers, three wainscot sawyers came to Jamestown. Historians today assume that the three men, Samuel, Adam, and Franz, originally came from the Black Forest region. By building wood houses, these three men contributed significantly to improving the quality of life at Jamestown and thus to its preservation and expansion.

Here, on the banks of the James River, we find ourselves at an important historical site – for the German settlers, together with the British colonists, laid the groundwork for the people who followed them – people who, with hope and optimism, sought and were able to build a new life in America. They found opportunity; they brought highly skilled craftsmanship, boundless energy and a strong work ethic.

The remains of the glasshouse before which we stand today are ultimately a symbol

of strength, courage, and confidence, because, like the entire colony, it was built under the most difficult of circumstances. Based on what we know today, only 38 of the 104 original settlers survived the first nine months. The long journey by sea, insufficient food supplies, mosquitoes, disease, the lack of clean drinking water, disputes with the indigenous Indians, and starvation caused by the long hot summer and lack of supply ships took a heavy toll on the settlers. But they persevered.

In remembrance of the important contribution that the first, brave German settlers made to the development of America, we would now like to unveil this commemorative plaque.

Address by German Ambassador Klaus Scharioth at the Festival Banquet Celebrating the 400th Anniversary of German Settlement in America Williamsburg, Virginia, April 19, 2008

Madam Mayor Zeidler, Secretary Smith, General Schachthöfer, Members of German-American Societies, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Thank you very much for inviting me to participate in this wonderful celebration. I am happy to be here with you.

First of all, I would like to express my warm thanks to the regional German-American societies and, in particular, to the organizing committee for its excellent preparation of this celebration. This event would not have been possible without your enormous commitment.

As today's event shows once again in exemplary fashion, the German-American societies have a very important task – the task of preserving and fostering the traditions of our country and the German language in the United States. The societies deserve special credit for their long and extraordinary commitment, in some case, for well over one hundred years. You can look back with pride and satisfaction on all you have achieved. And for that, I wish to express my sincere thanks

The 400th anniversary of Jamestown: That means 400 years of America, 400 years of German-American friendship, and 400 years of shared history.

For a minute, let's go back in history even one hundred years further, so we can witness the birth of the name "America."

It was the German cartographer Martin Waldseemüller, who in 1507 drew the Universalis cosmographia in St. Dié, Lorraine, which is now a part of France. Fascinated by the reports of the Italian discoverer Amerigo Vespucci – who was the first to assume that the then-newly discovered territories must be a continent – Waldseemüller drew it as a continent of its own and named it "America" on his map – the first time ever the name "America" appeared on a map. We can thus rightfully consider the two Europeans, Martin Waldseemüller and Amerigo Vespucci, the godparents of America.

It is now almost exactly one year ago today (April 30, 2007) that I had the pleasure to participate in the event, at which German Chancellor Angela Merkel ceremoniously turned over this extraordinary Waldseemüller map, which is viewed as the birth certificate of America, to the Library of Congress, where it occupies a special place of honor.

1507 and 1607-08: These are just two key dates in German-American relations. Since then, we have witnessed the history of Germans in America, which is indeed impressive. Very few know that people of German ancestry are the largest ethnic group in the U.S.: At the last census in 2000, 43 million Americans stated that they had German

roots – by far the largest single group of origin. But before all it is impressive, because of the numerous outstanding and diverse contributions that Germans and German Americans have made to this unique success story called "United States of America."

As President Ronald Reagan said in 1981 about the German immigrants and German Americans ". . . with strong hands and good hearts, these industrious people helped build a strong and good America."

This quote impressively captures the sentiment expressed at today's earlier event, where, at the remains of the Glasshouse in Jamestown, we commemorated the first German pioneers, who, together with British settlers, established the first "industrial operation" in the British part of America, when they built four melting furnaces along the banks of the James River. Like so many others later on, they brought highly skilled craftmanship, boundless energy and a strong work ethic.

But the contributions that Germans have made to the development of this nation are, of course, by no means limited to the beginnings of the glass-making industry in Jamestown. Allow me to recall a few other examples from American political, economic, and cultural life:

More than 120 years after the founding of Jamestown, Johann Peter Zenger of the Palatinate (1697-1746) became perhaps the first champion of American freedom of the press. In the New York Weekly Journal, he accused the colonial government of corruption in 1733 and was consequently thrown in prison in 1734. But, he was later vindicated by the jury court – a precedent-setting case which laid the foundation for freedom of the press in the U.S.

One of the most renowned and highly respected immigrants to the United States of America was and is Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben (1730-94), who played a crucial role in the American War of Independence.

Born in Magdeburg in 1730, he served 17 years in the Prussian army. In 1777, Steuben became acquainted with the American ambassador in Paris, Benjamin Franklin. On Franklin's recommendation, he came to North America, where the American War of Independence had broken out two years before, and joined the Continental Army.

At Valley Forge, he took over leadership of the Continental Army, in which consistent, disciplined, and efficient structures were practically non-existent. In 1778, Steuben began rebuilding the army tactically and operatively and created a system of discipline, organization, and training for the troops.

Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben, who for a time served as George Washington's Chief of Staff, is considered the architect of American independence from a military perspective, because he succeeded in transforming the quarreling and militarily inexperienced groups of volunteers into a powerful, professional army. Not far from here, he accepted the first British offers of capitulation. Today, the famous Steuben parade is still held in his honor every September along Fifth Avenue in New York.

A few years later, in 1848, the revolution in Prussia and other parts of Germany lead to the convening of a German National Assembly in Frankfurt's Paulskirche. Revolutionary hopes of transforming the loose "German Confederation" into a unified and democratically constituted Germany were soon dashed by the conservative-minded establishment. Many of the liberal patriots became political refugees, and thousands

went into exile to America, the country whose revolutionary ideals had served them as an example. Among those many 1848ers was Carl Schurz, a strong leader and very influential among the German Americans of his time, an advocate of freedom and bipartisanship, and a fierce opponent of slavery. He later became Secretary of the Interior and is often described as an "American patriot of the German kind."

When we now hear names such as Astor, or Heinz, just about every one of us associates them with America, American wealth, and American economic power. Their ancestors, however, were among those German emigrants who left for America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to start a new life in this country.

For example, Johann Jakob Astor (1763-1848) was a German emigrant who became the wealthiest man in the United States during his lifetime through fur trade and real estate. According to Forbes Magazine, his wealth would be worth $115 billion in today's money, making him the fourth wealthiest person in American history. Today, the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, as well as some American city names such as Astor, in Florida, or Astoria, in Oregon, can be traced back to the Astor family.

Henry J. Heinz was born in 1844 to German parents, who emigrated from Kallstadt, Germany. As you all know, one of his company's first products was ketchup. The company continued to grow and is now one of the biggest food companies in the world.

In the field of politics, I would like to mention former Secretary of State Dr. Henry Kissinger as an outstanding example. Henry Kissinger, who was born in Fürth in 1923, emigrated to the United States with his family in 1938. After a brilliant academic career at Harvard University, Kissinger became Richard Nixon's National Security Advisor after his election in 1968. He ultimately served also as Secretary of State in 1973, a position, which he held until 1977, also in Gerald Ford's Cabinet. In 1973, the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to Henry Kissinger for his efforts to end the Vietnam War.

In the cultural science sphere, we encounter names such as Ludwig Mies Van der Rohe or Walter Gropius, who are widely regarded as the pioneering masters of modern architecture, first at the "Bauhaus" in Germany and later of what is known as the International Style. Linked to them in spirit is Helmut Jahn, a German-American architect who has designed dozens of important buildings throughout the world. Some of his projects were One Liberty Place, formerly the tallest building in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and the Sony Center at Potsdamer Platz in Berlin.

Most of you might have seen some works by Helmut Newton, born Helmut Neustädter in Berlin in 1920. He was one of the most famous fashion photographers of the twentieth century, known in America and around the world for his erotic and artistic style.

Among the many German immigrants with a Jewish background, who were forced out of Germany and came to the United States mostly in the 1930s, were names such as Albert Einstein, who in 1933 renounced his German citizenship and moved to the United States to take the position of Professor of Theoretical Physics at Princeton. Thereafter, he became an American citizen.

At least as important as these outstanding examples are the rich and close people to people relations which we share today and which run through all aspects of society.

Annually, about 8 million people travel between our two countries in business or as tourists, artists, scientists, and students. Every day, millions of phone calls and more than 10 million e-mails cross the Atlantic, and, because of this tight communication network, our two countries are growing ever closer together.

I am especially pleased that the university exchange between the United States and Germany is a particularly vibrant sign of these close relations. Alone in the last five years, the number of U.S. students in Germany has risen by a third, to 6,900. On this side of the Atlantic, approximately 8,700 Germans were studying in the United States last year.

Moreover, a host of government and private organizations support our bilateral student exchange in such a sheer abundance that millions of friendly encounters can take place in classrooms and with host families on both sides of the Atlantic every year.

German continues to be the third most popular foreign language in the United States and the number of students learning German at universities is on the rise again. Particularly with respect to fostering the German language, this shows how the German-American societies are working hard at the grass-roots level to ensure that German cultural contributions do not disappear in this country. When German-American societies successfully operate German language schools, the so-called Saturday schools, when they award scholarships and promote the German language in a variety of ways, then this is a trend which makes me very happy and which we would like to support as much as possible.

Allow me at this juncture to point out that in 2008 we are celebrating not only the 400th anniversary of German settlement at Jamestown but also other important dates in our shared German-American history: the 60th anniversary of the Berlin Airlift and of the implementation of the Marshall Plan.

The German people will always remember the American heroes who saved 2 million Berliners from the cold and hunger in 1948 and 1949. They brought everything to allow people to survive: from potatoes to a whole power plant. One thing in particular, however, caught the imagination of the German people and explains why the planes were affectionately referred to as "candy bombers." American pilots like Lt. Gail Halvorsen tossed candy tied to small hand-made parachutes to the children curiously waiting at the edge of the airport while the planes landed at Berlin-Tempelhof.

These actions triggered a wave of support – Halvorsen and his crew soon had 850 lbs. of candy daily to drop from their planes. By the end of the Airlift, some 25 aircraft crews had dropped a total of 23 tons of candy over Berlin.

These Airmen, and the roughly 17 million American soldiers and family members who since 1945 have lived in and grown fond of my country, but who have also brought the American way of life to Germany – these Americans are the basis for the very positive image of Americans in Germany and Europe. At the same time they brought back with them their positive experiences in Germany to the United States.

The Marshall Plan raised a war-wracked West Germany up out of the ashes and reintegrated it into the community of nations following years of Fascist brutality. The chapter on the Marshall Plan reads like a fairy tale in the history of Germany.

The moral effect of support from the European Recovery Program was as important

as its material value. Other countries might have received even more. But what was unique and what impressed Germans was that the victor helped the defeated who had been the aggressor, back up to his feet.

The Marshall Plan enabled West Germany to return to the international community. The loans were given on the condition that the Europeans pull together and meet regularly within the Organization for European Economic Cooperation. Thus, former enemies were persuaded to sit down at the same table – an important step on the path to European integration.

Looking back in history, one can view the Airlift and the concerted efforts of the Marshall Plan as the start of the close and trustful German-American partnership and friendship that we enjoy today.

Today, Germany and the United States, two of the world's strongest democracies and leading economies, stand shoulder-to-shoulder as they confront new challenges, just as they stood together on freedom's frontline throughout the Cold War. From fighting international terrorism, to bringing peace to Afghanistan, the Balkans, the Middle East, and other regions of the world, to combating nuclear proliferation, controlling global warming, and securing the energy supply, Germany and the United States are united in their commitment to solve these global challenges together for future generations. And let me add: we can only solve them if America and Europe work together – there is no alternative. The strong German-American partnership and friendship, based on shared fundamental interests and values, benefits not just our two countries but also transatlantic ties and the international community as a whole.

Germans will never forget America's indispensable role in postwar reconstruction, in protecting Western Europe during the Cold War and helping to overcome the division of Germany and Europe. We know that without the United States it would have been impossible to achieve German Unity in 1990 and a reunited Europe thereafter.

This close tie and community of values shared between our two nations and peoples is the result of a centuries-long shared German-American history and should be a commitment to continue actively shaping the German-American partnership and friendship for the future, to continue carrying the spirit of the first pioneers of Jamestown. Thank you!

Michael Boyden

A New Perspective on Carl Schurz's Autobiography

Introduction

Although much has been said about Carl Schurz's remarkable life story and its impact on German-American history and culture, little or no attention has been devoted to the language, or rather languages, in which this life story was written down. When Schurz started working on his memoirs, he used his mother tongue to cover his youth in Germany, his involvement in the revolution of 1848, and his eventual exile in London. However, when it came to rendering his later political career in the United States (roughly from 1852 until 1870 – Schurz failed to finish the work before he died), he switched to English, the language of his country of adoption. Obviously, the work was never published in such a bilingual format. Around the same time, publishers in the United States and Germany brought out monolingual versions of Schurz's life story for their own national readerships. This article draws renewed attention to the bilingual dimension of the autobiography, which as I hope will result in a more profound understanding of Schurz's transnational identity and his role as ethnic mediator. [1]

Literary historians have normally classified Carl Schurz's memoirs as a work written in either German or English. The former option seems to have been more dominant in the early history of the discipline. Thus, in the third volume of the *Cambridge History of American Literature*, published in 1921, Albert B. Faust enlisted the work in a chapter on "Non-English Writings," because, although they continued to be widely read in the English translation, they "were first written in German" (586). What compelled Faust, a notable specialist on German-American culture, to classify Schurz's autobiography as a monolingual German-language text? A possible answer may be found in the context in which the *Cambridge History of American Literature* emerged. The work was the first large-scale effort to chart the development of American literature and played a key role in the credentialization of this young discipline. The encyclopedic outlook of the history, which now makes it seem rather dated, has to be related to the editors' desire to make American literature a worthy discipline for modern language philologists. What is remarkable, from our present-day perspective, is the work's receptivity towards non-English writings. Quite some attention is devoted to non-English authors whose work is now seldom discussed in literary reference works of this kind. This openness towards the multilingual traditions in the United States, however, did not lead the editors to integrate these traditions into the main narrative of the history. On the contrary, the English and the non-English strands were kept rigorously apart. All the non-English writers are discussed in separate chapters at the end of the history.[2] The American literary canon thus emerged in response to a looming identity crisis in American society after the Civil War. This crisis had everything to do with the changing ethnic make-up of the nation during a period of intense immigration.

All this may explain why the *Cambridge History* paradoxically combines an outspoken tolerance for ethnolinguistic diversity with what we would now see as an ethnocentric or even racialized view on American literature. In a sense, its focus on non-English writings was inversely proportional to their observed relevance to the core of

American literature: the lesser interference between the two, the easier it became to isolate the racial and linguistic characteristics that set the traditions apart. It is interesting that the current academic climate appears to display precisely the opposite dynamic. Scarcely anyone would now define American literature as the exclusive province of an English or British descent community. This heightened awareness of ethnic diversity as a constitutive marker of American culture, however, for the most part goes along with (one could even venture: is based on) growing ignorance of the multilingual heritage of the United States. Consider, for instance, James Craig Holte's *The Ethnic I* (1988), which highlights the contributions made by various ethnic authors (from Mary Anderson to Jade Snow Wong) to the autobiography as a quintessentially "American" genre. Holte also enlists Schurz, whom he describes as "an ideal mediator between the English-speaking mainstream and the growing German-American community" of the 1850s (154); In spite of this, there is no hint of the non-English component of Schurz's memoirs.[3]

If Faust's philological viewpoint misrepresented Schurz's autobiography by suggesting that it was originally composed entirely in German, Holte's identitarian viewpoint is equally misleading in that it erases the non-English background of the work. These shifting contexts of justification may help to account for why the non-English dimension of Schurz's autobiography has gradually been lost from sight. Without therefore denying the importance of intractable contradictions inherent in the politics of memory, we can perceive a marked shift in the overall origins narrative of American culture from a language-conscious ethnocentrism to what can be described as a nonlinguistic pluralism, i.e. a diversity model based on the unacknowledged hegemony of the English language as the common medium for expressing claims to diversity. This shift seems to have played itself out most dramatically in the German-American community, haunted as it was by the legacy of two World Wars. As Kathleen Conzen and other historians have convincingly pointed out, these political developments among other things resulted in the submergence of the German-American identity in the course of the twentieth century.

Schurz's Language Politics

Schurz has been mainly remembered as a fervent assimilationist who insisted on a good command of the English language as a necessary step in the Americanization of immigrants. During his lifetime, this assimilationist philosophy put him not only at odds with the nativists associated with the American Party who refused to take lessons from an "accented foreigner" on the value of "true Americanism," but sometimes also with the German-Americans themselves. For instance, Julius Goebel, a professor of German literature at the University of Pennsylvania, sharply criticized Schurz for ignoring the political demands of the German-speaking population in America. In a 1904 book entitled *Das Deutschtum in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika* Goebel applauded the efforts of the German-American Alliance to unify the German population in America, a development against which Schurz was strongly opposed. Only later, when the German-Americans were forced to tone down their claims to difference, did Schurz come to be seen unequivocally as the patron-saint of this ethnic community. Goebel himself made a remarkable U-turn in a 1928 lecture delivered at Yale University (and published the following year in the yearbook of the German-American Historical

Society of Illinois), in which he claimed a strong personal connection with Schurz and emphatically defended him against those who had claimed he had betrayed his people by downplaying his German roots.[4]

However, the concerted efforts on the part of German-Americans to project an image of Schurz as the model immigrant have obscured the complexity of his language politics. The strong reaction against the negative implications of assimilationism since the 1960s may have further exacerbated this misreading. For Schurz, American nationalism was by no means incompatible with a strong emphasis on the linguistic identity of the German descent community in the United States. Although he rejected the idea of a German political party as ludicrous, Schurz explicitly promoted the use of the German language in the private sphere. Thus, at a banquet in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Deutscher Liederkranz, Schurz gave a much quoted speech on the importance of retaining the German language in the United States. In a turn that calls to mind the recent debate about the Spanish version of *The Star-Spangled Banner* (which, as the reader may recall, was nicknamed the "Illegal Alien Anthem"), Schurz stated (I use the English translation in Bancroft's edition of Schurz's speeches):

> The idea that the preservation of the German language together with the English may hinder the development of our American patriotism is as silly as it would be to say that it makes us less patriotic to be able to sing *Hail, Columbia* in two languages. (Schurz 1913, 336)

Schurz further stressed that the German-Americans had "a sacred obligation" to cultivate their mother tongue, and that doing so would make them better instead of lesser Americans (338). For Schurz, therefore, national pride and bilingualism were not mutually exclusive terms but rather presupposed each other. The Americanization of the immigrant was by no means a zero-sum game.

All this may have played a role in Schurz's decision to write his life story in both his mother tongue and the language of his adopted country. Here is how he explains this choice in the introductory pages of the first American edition, published by McClure in three volumes:

> When I began to write these reminiscences of my youth, I attempted to do so in English; but as I proceeded I became conscious of not being myself satisfied with the work; and it occurred to me that I might describe things that happened in Germany, among Germans, and under German conditions, with greater ease, freedom, and fullness of expression if I used the German language as a medium. I did so, and thus this story of my youth was originally written in German. (RI, 4)[5]

Although he quickly became fluent in English after his arrival in America (at least according to the dominant myth about his persona), Schurz long retained a reserve towards this language.[6] During his exile in London, he considered English to be an "unmusical" language which he would never be able to master (RI, 337).[7] Although his move to the United States made him change his mind about this, he remained convinced that some things could be better expressed in German, such as philosophy, poetry, and intimate conversation (famously, a sign on his door read: "Hier wird

deutsch gesprochen"—"German spoken here"). Schurz thus retained a sense of cultural superiority vis-à-vis America, an attitude he shared with many other forty-eighters.

Schurz knew that no publisher would accept a bilingual autobiography, so he hired his friend Eleanora Kinnicutt as his "coworker" for the preparation of the McClure edition (5).[8] As the term "coworker" suggests, Kinnicutt did more than just translate the German original; She also helped Schurz to conform his autobiography to the expectations of the American readership by making occasional changes to the tone of the text, and by shortening or extending passages. Meanwhile, Schurz had asked his daughter Agathe to translate the second part into German (she received help from her sister Marianne and Mary Nolte, a family friend) for publication by Georg Reimer in Berlin (now De Gruyter). Like Kinnicutt, Agathe made considerable changes to the original manuscript (in fact, she did the same with Schurz's correspondence, from which she deleted many references to his political and personal problems). In an introductory note to the second volume of the Reimer edition, she admits having shortened or omitted specific passages "die ein spezifisches Interesse für den amerikanischen Leser haben" (LII, vi).[9] She further explains her father's choice to write in both English and German as follows:

> Es war natürlich, dass meinem Vater bei der Aufzeichnung seiner Jugenderinnerungen die Muttersprache in die Feder floss. Als er aber seine Erlebnisse in der neuen Heimat und die politischen Ereignisse in Amerika beschreiben wollte, bot sich ihm unwillkürlich die englische Sprache, die ihm in dem neuen Wirkungskreise geläufig geworden war und die es ihm gestattete, seine Gedanken über diese Verhältnisse prägnanter auszudrücken. (v)[10]

Agathe's explanation is interesting in that it provides the exact mirror image of Carl's own motivation from which I quoted earlier. Here, it is the English language that almost willy-nilly ("unwillkürlich") forces itself upon Schurz while writing his autobiography. In both cases, a quasi-automatic link is presupposed between the national significance of certain experiences and the medium through which they are expressed.

If it is indeed the case that Schurz's decision to write his autobiography in both German and English is somehow significant for his political views, then it seems rather ironical that we have at present no edition of the autobiography available which renders Schurz's life entirely "in his own words," i.e., in both German and English. Clearly, although he never saw the autobiography in print (only excerpts were published in serial form by *McClure's Magazine* during his lifetime), Schurz did consent to the translation as well as the editing of the manuscript, which he realized had grown longer than expected. This, however, does not therefore make a scholarly reconstruction of the memoirs any less interesting and necessary. Given that, in the present conjuncture, assimilationism and bilingualism are seldom thought together, a bilingual edition of Schurz's autobiography could help to re-invigorate debates about multilingualism in the United States by suggesting the possibility of a third choice between what are all too often presented as irreconcilable extremes.

Moreover, we should take into account that Schurz's "loose" authorial policy at least to some degree has to be regarded as a strategy of self-representation peculiar to the autobiographical genre. Thus, Schurz's initial assertion that his memoirs should be read

primarily as a "family memorial," designed to entertain his children about the "strange and stirring adventures" of his youth, creates a familiar tension between the public and the private, or the published and the unpublished, which indirectly serves to underwrite the integrity of the account (3). When reading this *captatio benevolentiae* it is hard not to be reminded of the famous opening words of Franklin's *Autobiography*, which read: "My dear son..."[11] However, posthumous editions of Schurz's autobiography, including numerous abridgments and popular editions, have taken Schurz's words rather literally and have used them as a warrant to justify considerable revisions to the manuscript, often with the explicit intention of inscribing Schurz's remarkable adventures into a given ideological formation. This process of rewriting is interesting in itself. A new edition of the memoirs, explicitly thematizing the divergences between the different-language versions, could bring this process to the fore and thus draw attention to the shifting transatlantic relations between the United States and Germany and the role of German-America as mediator between the two cultures.

The "Fuguism" of Autobiography

I have now indicated why the bilingual nature of Schurz's memoirs has been forgotten and why this matters. The last part of the article will illustrate some of the divergences between the different-language versions of the work. The analysis will be based on a comparison of the first volumes of the McClure and Reimer editions. Since the first part deals with German conditions, it speaks for itself that the Reimer edition comes closest to Schurz's original design (his handwritten drafts are on deposit at the Library of Congress). We can also assume that the extent to which the McClure edition departs from the Reimer edition will reveal something about the different contexts of justification in which these two "first" editions emerged. In my opinion, there are at least four ways in which the McClure version significantly modifies the German narrative. In mounting order of importance, these changes have to do with: (1) terms or phrases unfamiliar to the American reader; (2) references to the German cultural heritage and sociopolitical climate; (3) allusions to Schurz's reputation in Germany; and (4) passages that explicitly thematize the issue of language.

An example of the first category is the omission of a sentence in which Schurz talks about his days as a "Quartaner," which is the old term for a pupil in the third year of German secondary school derived from the Latin scale that numbered the years backwards, and which corresponds to the sixth grade in the United States (LI, 65). Since most American readers at the beginning of the twentieth century were not acquainted with the Prussian school system, the McClure edition drops references to it from the text.[12] If such changes do not greatly affect the overall narrative, highlighting them may point attention to some of the cultural peculiarities that informed Schurz's transition from one world to the other as well as the means through which this transition was encapsulated in a (supposedly) continuous narrative. Another way in which the McClure edition accommodates unfamiliar words is, paradoxically, by leaving them untranslated. Not coincidentally, many of these non-English terms reflect class or social divisions peculiar to German society at the time, such as "Burghalfen" (a tenant farmer working and living in a castle) or "Burschenschaft" (fraternity). These untranslated words may have provided a way of spicing up the narrative for the American reader without therefore making it so foreign that it becomes unintelligible.

The second type of modifications has to do with references to peculiarly German conditions. During his school days in Cologne, Schurz witnessed a number of knight dramas. The Reimer edition discusses some of these plays quite extensively and includes, for instance, a reference to the then famous actor Wilhelm Kunst. In the McClure edition, this passage is entirely missing. Such omissions bring out the cultural frame of reference in which Schurz was brought up and help to explain some of the more or less implicit oppositions (what linguists would call the common ground) underpinning his narrative (e.g., class-conscious Europe vs. democratic America). The third set of changes has to do with Schurz's reputation in Europe during and after the revolutionary period. At the start of chapter eight in the Reimer edition, where Schurz recounts his life as a political refugee, we read the following sentence: "Es ist später erzählt worden, ich habe damals Deutschland in einer mich unkenntlich machenden Verkleidung durchreist" (LI, 262).[13] Here, Schurz qualifies one of the many legends that circulated in Germany after his liberation of Gottfried Kinkel from Spandau prison. In the United States, these heroic deeds were perhaps less known, and consequently Schurz's references to his reputation have been reduced to a minimum.

But the most interesting divergences between the Reimer and the McClure edition are those where the narrative more or less directly reflects on its own medium. This is the case, for instance, in the passage where Frau Kinkel in her letters to her imprisoned husband informs him about his imminent rescue in a coded language that is consciously made unintelligible to the Spandau censors:

> Sie habe ihm über ihre musikalischen Studien geschrieben und in ihren Briefen spielten lange Auseinandersetzungen über die 'Fuge' eine große Rolle. Kinkel habe ihr nun in einer ihr verständlichen, aber den Gefängnisbeamten, welche die Briefe revidierten, unverständlichen Weise angedeutet, daß er die Bedeutung des Wortes 'Fuge' (lateinisch 'fuga', deutsch 'Flucht') sich gemerkt habe und begierig sei, über dieses Thema mehr zu hören. (LI, 284)

In the McClure edition, this scene is rendered as follows:

> She had written to him about her musical studies and put into her letters long explanations about the word 'fuge.' Kinkel had made her understand by words which were unintelligible to the officers who reviewed his letters, that he appreciated the significance of the word 'fuge,' Latin, 'fuga,' English, 'flight,' and that he was anxious to correspond more with her upon that subject. (RI, 274)

The secret word play centers on the etymological link between the German word "Fuge" (a polyphonic musical composition) and the Latin "fuga" (flight). In the English language edition, however, this form of doublespeak loses much, if not all of its force. The McClure edition translates "Fuge" as "fuge" (RI, 274), an archaic term that is now only used as a suffix (as in "refuge") and that has a different spelling and pronunciation than the musical term "fugue," which follows the French usage. As a consequence, the Latin root of the word is here much less apparent than in the German version.

However minor the linguistic divergence – a mere "u" –, it should be clear that if Kinkel had been imprisoned in the United States, the escape plan may never have

succeeded, either because he would not have understood the hidden signal or because the guards would have deciphered it too easily. In my opinion, all this makes the recovery of the bilingual nature of Schurz's memoirs an interesting and highly relevant project. The point, however, is not just to show that Schurz's life story has been badly translated, or that his "authentic" identity has been corrupted. Rather, I have tried to highlight the often neglected role of translations in the construction of autobiographical selves and the way they are enshrined in distinct national imaginaries. In medical dictionaries, "fuguism" denotes a form of psychological amnesia resulting in confusion about one's identity or the assumption of a new one. In the present context, the word can be operationalized to refer not just to the recursive forgetting of Schurz's bilingual identity, but also to the contrapuntal or dual nature of his memoirs. My aim in this article has been to bring the common root of this double, apparently contradictory movement – the expression of as well as the flight from a polyvocal identity – to the fore.

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Notes

[1] I am currently preparing a new edition of Schurz's memoirs (to be published by Peter Lang in the series New Directions in German-American Studies under the direction of Werner Sollors), which will reproduce the original manuscript in its bilingual format.

[2] Nothing is said, for instance, about James Fenimore Cooper's influence on Friedrich Gerstäcker, or Charles Gayarré's on Kate Chopin, or, for that matter, the connections between the Jewish *skitze* writers and the representatives of the "American" short story.

[3] Current studies about language in the United States usually lack historical depth in that they focus almost exclusively on the rise of Spanish. See, for instance, the entry "bilingualism" in the *Greenwood Encyclopedia of Multiethnic American Literature* (2005), which exclusively equates bilingualism with a relatively recent body of Spanish-language writings.

[4] As Goebel put it: "Die so urteilen, wußten offenbar nicht, wie treu er im Herzen seinem Volkstum immer blieb" (Goebel 1929, 106). "Those who think this way were apparently unaware of the fact how in his heart he always remained faithful to his people." (All translations from the German are mine except otherwise indicated.)

[5] For convenience sake, I will use "R" as a short-hand for the McClure edition and "L" for the first German edition.

[6] Schurz's account of how he learned English without the help of a grammar (purportedly by reading *The Philadelphia Ledger*) clearly impinges on the American ideology of the self-taught man. However, his unwillingness to learn English before coming to the United States may be an indication of the fact that initially, and contrary to what the autobiography suggests, he did not intend to stay there for very long, but planned to return to Europe "when's wieder losgeht" (Easum, 60).

[7] Although he enjoyed reading Shakespeare in translation, when attending a performance in London, Schurz strongly objected to "the impure vowels and the many sibilants, the hissing consonants, in fact, the whole sound and cadence of the English language" (RI, 337). While in America, Schurz learned English by translating passages from the *Letters of Junius* into German and then back to English, for comparison with the original. Schurz's views on language closely resemble those of some of the German romantics, who saw German as a world language. Johann Gottlieb Fichte claimed in his *Reden an die deutsche Nation* (1807) that the German "can always be superior to the foreigner and understand him fully, even better than the foreigner understands himself" (quoted and translated by Edwards, 26).

[8] It is difficult to ascertain whether or not Schurz envisioned a German-language audience in the United States. This certainly seems to have been the case for Henry Villard, whose memoirs were published in 1904 and appeared in a German edition (also by Reimer) two years later. Already in 1902, however, a German-language version of the first part of the autobiography, dealing with Villard's – or rather Hilgard's

– youth in Germany, had come out in the United States, apparently to serve a German-American readership (the manuscript, written in Sütterlin, is now on deposit in the Horner Library of the German Society of Pennsylvania).

[9] (...) "which are of particular interest to the American reader."

[10] "It was only logical that, when my father wrote down his reminiscences of childhood, he used his mother tongue. However, when he decided to record his experiences in the new homeland and the political events in America, the English language spontaneously forced itself upon him. This language, which he had come to use in his new working environment, allowed him to express his thoughts about those events more succinctly."

[11] In this regard, it is interesting that the first American edition of Franklin's autobiography was a retranslation from the French.

[12] I should note that the translation is not entirely consistent. On the next page, the word "Tertia" is left untranslated (RI, 66).

[13] "It has later been told that at the time I traveled through Germany in disguise."

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Frank Mehring

Karl/Charles Follen: Rediscovering the Multilingual Oeuvre

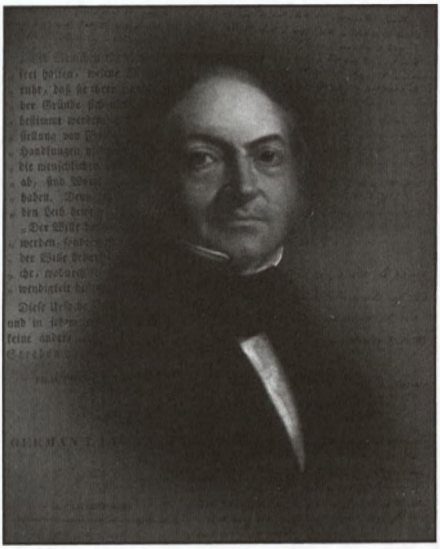


Illustration 1: Karl/Charles Follen (1796-1840)

Introduction[1]

During his presidency of PEN, Salman Rushdie made a passionate call for a closer look at foreign and dissenting voices to bring into focus the international challenges of translation.[2] In order to overcome alienation and foster a better understanding of the "other" both within and outside of the United States, Rushdie insisted that writers "have all the more reason to build bridges." Many of these textual bridges already exist in the writings of immigrants from all over the world who came to the United States with their cultural lore and willingness to embrace the promises of a free, democratic society. However, more often than not, these literary products lie buried in the archives of American universities. They are either forgotten or written in a language other than English thereby imposing often insurmountable obstacles to modern readers accustomed to writings in the international language of scholarship.

Marc Shell's and Werner Sollors's call for a "multilingual turn" in order to "prepare students better for world citizenship, and reduce cultural friction" (Sollors: 1998, 3) has spawned numerous discussions regarding immigrant literature and American identity among scholars. The field of German-American relationships has profited considerably from this new development. Among the most remarkable publications have been *The German-American Encounter* (2001) edited by Frank Trommler and Elliot Shore and *German? American? Literature?* (2002) edited by Werner Sollors and Winfried Fluck. Since the early 1990s, there has been a renewed interest in Karl/Charles Follen. In his biography *Charles Follen's Search for Nationality and Freedom: Germany and America 1796-1840* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), Edmund Spevack shed new light on the life of Follen. Scholars like Kurt Müller-Vollmer (*The Internationality of National Literatures in Either America*) and Heinrich Tolzmann (*The German-American Experience*. Amherst: Humanity Books, 2000) locate Follen at the very center of German-American history of ideas in the 19th century. The new focus on transnational identities, transcultural confrontations, as well as the American dimension of German literature and language calls for a new look at Follen's provocative personality.

The German-American tradition is, as Werner Sollors explains, particularly rich

(Sollors: 2002, 3). However, unearthing forgotten texts from the vaults of American libraries should not be a goal in itself, as it might create in the words of Winfried Fluck "just another ethnic corner" (Fluck: 2002, 176). The writings of the German-American freedom fighter Karl/Charles Follen are a case in point. Preceding the group of 48ers by a generation, his rich literary oeuvre offers revealing insights regarding the dilemma German immigrants faced during the first half of the 19th century when they argued for more political freedom and democratic reforms. A number of scholars have evaluated and reassessed Follen's contributions to the fields of literature, philosophy, religion, and abolitionism during the last one and a half centuries. Among them are renown experts of German-American cultural exchange such as Albert Faust, George Washington Spindler, Henry Pochmann, Ursula Brumm, Kathleen Neils Conzen, Frank Trommler, Gerhard Weiss, and Edmund Spevack. The more Follen emerges as a controversial figure in transnational American studies, the more it becomes necessary to trace back his multilingual oeuvre and translations, his efforts to fashion himself into a representative American democrat, and to overcome the gap between democratic principles and practices.

Despite the remarkable scholarly interest in Follen's personality, his extensive writings have not been available since Eliza Lee Cabot's (incomplete) collection from 1841.[3] Many scholars struggle with the "bicultural problem" of Charles Follen, namely the transnational dimension of his thinking and multilingual writings. In order to understand his vision of equality within a democratic society means to familiarize oneself with the cultural particularities of two continents in the nineteenth century. Follen was fluent in German, French, and English. Considering his political activities as a polyglot intellectual on both sides of the Atlantic, it comes as no surprise that his literary output has been scattered around the globe. [4]

I. From Revolutionary Demagogue to Democratic Reformer

Follen's life unfolded under the ominous banner of seeking refuge. He was born on 4 September 1796 in the house of his grandfather in the small village of Romrod, about 31 miles east of Gießen in the district of Hessen-Darmstadt, Germany. Gießen, the hometown of his parents Christoph (1759-1833) and Rosine Follenius (1766-1800), had become the military target of French soldiers. Thus, the family fled to the rural parts of the country to avoid possible confrontations with the French troops. Their second son was baptized Karl Theodor Christian. His parents were part of the social elite of Gießen with a distinguished pedigree of lawyers, state officials, and professors. The Latinized name Follenius, which the family adopted in the 17th century, roots them in a humanist tradition. Not surprisingly, Charles was trained in various old and modern languages at Gießen, among them Latin, Greek and Hebrew, but also French and Italian. He had three siblings who despite his emigration to another continent kept lifelong contact: August Adolf Ludwig (1794), Luise (1797), and Paul (1799). Their mother died one year after Paul's birthday.

From 1813 to 1818, Charles Follen attended the University of Gießen, then called Ludvociana, established more than two hundred years earlier. His attention was first directed to theology and then law. During this time, the young student was spurred by the rise of German nationalism, liberalism and the call for German national unity.

Informed by the writings of nationalist agitators like Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (1778-1852) and Ernst Moritz Arndt (1769-1860), Follen believed in the unifying ideals of a German ethnic identity which would form the basis for a new national entity. In early spring of 1814, Follen and his brother August Adolf Ludwig recruited themselves voluntarily to fight Napoleon's Grand Armée and drive them back deep into French territory. The nationalistic heroic poetry of Theodor Körner (1791-1813) mythologized the wartime experience of the naïve students. Despite their lack of actual combat experience, the uninterrupted march to Lyon gave Follen and his student companions a sense of national identity and allowed them later to reminisce about their "self-sacrificing fight for freedom."

The Wars of Liberation (1813-14) interrupted Follen's studies briefly. The violent struggle for German freedom left a lifelong mark on his thinking. Violence became a keyword to foster changes for a unified German fatherland. Follen's poetry cycle *Das Große Lied* provides ample evidence of the aggressive revolutionary spirit. "Freiheitsmesser gezückt!/ Hurrah, den Dolch in die Kehle gedrückt! Mit Kronen und Bändern, mit Purpurgewändern/ Zum Rach'-Altar das Opfer geschmückt" (quoted in Münch: 1902, 51).[5]

After his return to the University of Gießen, Follen became a central figure among the politically active students. The most radical wing of these young idealistic freedom fighters formed a fraternity called the "die Gießener Schwarzen" (the Gießen Blacks) due to the color of their dark clothes. With the newly established rules of the *Ehrenspiegel*, Follen outlined a code of honor for the fraternity members. It was designed to reform the notorious student life and to transform it into a model of a democratically organized society. Of particular importance was Follen's notion of "honor," which symbolized Christian uprightness, sexual abstinence, and self cultivation.[6]

Follen graduated in 1817 with a dissertation on ecclesiastical law and received the title *Dr. juris*. He continued to work as a lecturer at Gießen University. Although Follen was not present at the nationwide student gathering at the Wartburgfest on 18 October 1817, his ideas were represented by his close friend Christian Sartorius. The burning of books and other symbols of what was then labeled "un-German" caused strong repercussions in the press and public reception of student life as the hotbed of political radicalism. After Follen had successfully sided with Hessian farmers to argue a court case which forced the Dukes of Hessen-Darmstadt to revoke their recent increase of taxation, his future as a lawyer looked grim. He moved to Jena where he took on a lecturing position. Here, the young, enthusiastic student Karl Ludwig Sand (1775-1820) became one of his most devoted followers in a radical student group which Follen labeled "die Unbedingten" (the Unconditionals). This elite circle was bound by unconditional loyalty and destined to play a crucial part in a future revolution in Germany. Follen indoctrinated them about the need of sacrifice, if necessary even their lives, for the higher cause of freedom, equality, and national unity.

In the "Grundzüge für eine künftige teutsche Reichsverfassung, 1819" (Draft of the Constitution for a Future German Empire), Follen combined French republican ideas with German nationalistic aspirations appropriated from Jahn, Arndt, and Heinrich Luden (1778-1847). He envisioned a utopian German nation based on a common cultural, religious and ethnic background. The comprehensive outline regarding the political, religious, and educational sphere has a dogmatic ring and is marked by a sense

of intolerance against dissenters.[7] Historians like Hartwig Brandt describe the draft as the most extreme of the constitutional drafts which appeared during the early phase of the *Vormärz* (Brandt: 1979, 121). In his well-known set of poems called *Das Große Lied* (The Great Song) Follen bluntly called for a violent uprising to overthrow an evil hierarchy based on aristocratic tyranny. In accord with philosopher Jakob Friedrich Fries (1773-1843), he believed that personal conviction (*Überzeugung*) and one's conscience had to be the guiding principles in the individual's decision making process. Under certain circumstances, a person that is willing to sacrifice his or her life for a higher cause of humanity is not bound by state laws any more.

Sand believed with almost religious devotion that he was one of the chosen heroes who had to sacrifice himself on what Follen called the "altar of freedom." His assassination of the popular German stage writer, August von Kotzebue, in Mannheim on 23 March 1819 caused a political and social uproar.[8] Sand composed a statement of moral justification entitled "Todesstoß dem August von Kotzebue!" (Death to August von Kotzebue!). Its drastic language and several references to Follen's *Das Große Lied* enabled the court to charge Follen with exercising a dangerous influence on the so-called "Unconditional". In the wake of the assassination Follen became stigmatized as the mastermind behind the murder. Institutions of higher education became the butt of tight control mechanisms. The assassination of August von Kotzebue paralyzed the liberal student movement in its efforts to break aristocratic tyranny and banned political activities of academics (Mehring: 2005, 164). Although the investigating law courts did not succeed in providing conclusive evidence, Follen appeared on the radar of political authorities in Prussia and Austria. When Fürst Metternich passed the Carlsbad Decrees in the fall of 1819, Follen's academic career was over, his days in Germany numbered.

At that time, Follen began to reflect on gathering forces to ignite a German revolution from outside. What Follen called the "homeland of freedom" represented one of the possible vantage points. Within the democratic environment of the United States, he considered establishing an educational haven for German émigrés. In his memorandum *Die Gründung einer deutsch-amerikanischen Universität* (On the Foundation of a German-American University), Follen envisioned the German intelligentsia and institutions of higher education as reliable powers to create a beacon of freedom across the Atlantic. Consequently, its guiding light would reflect on the revolutionary movement in the fatherland.[9]

Follen fled to France. During his stay in January and February 1820 he was introduced to the intellectual elite who would later help him to escape to the United States. In spring, he went to Switzerland: first to Zurich and then to Chur where he was offered a school teacher position. Being dissatisfied with his limited amount of influence and conflicting religious views of fellow teachers, he left Chur about a year later. In 1821, Follen was appointed public lecturer at the University of Basel and soon after professor of law studies. He edited the literary magazine *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Basel* along with Wilhelm Martin Leberecht De Wette (1780-1849) and other colleagues. The magazine featured two comprehensive essays by Follen: "Die Bestimmung des Menschen" (The Future Destiny of Man) and "Über die Rechtslehre des Spinoza" (On the Legal Teachings of Spinoza).

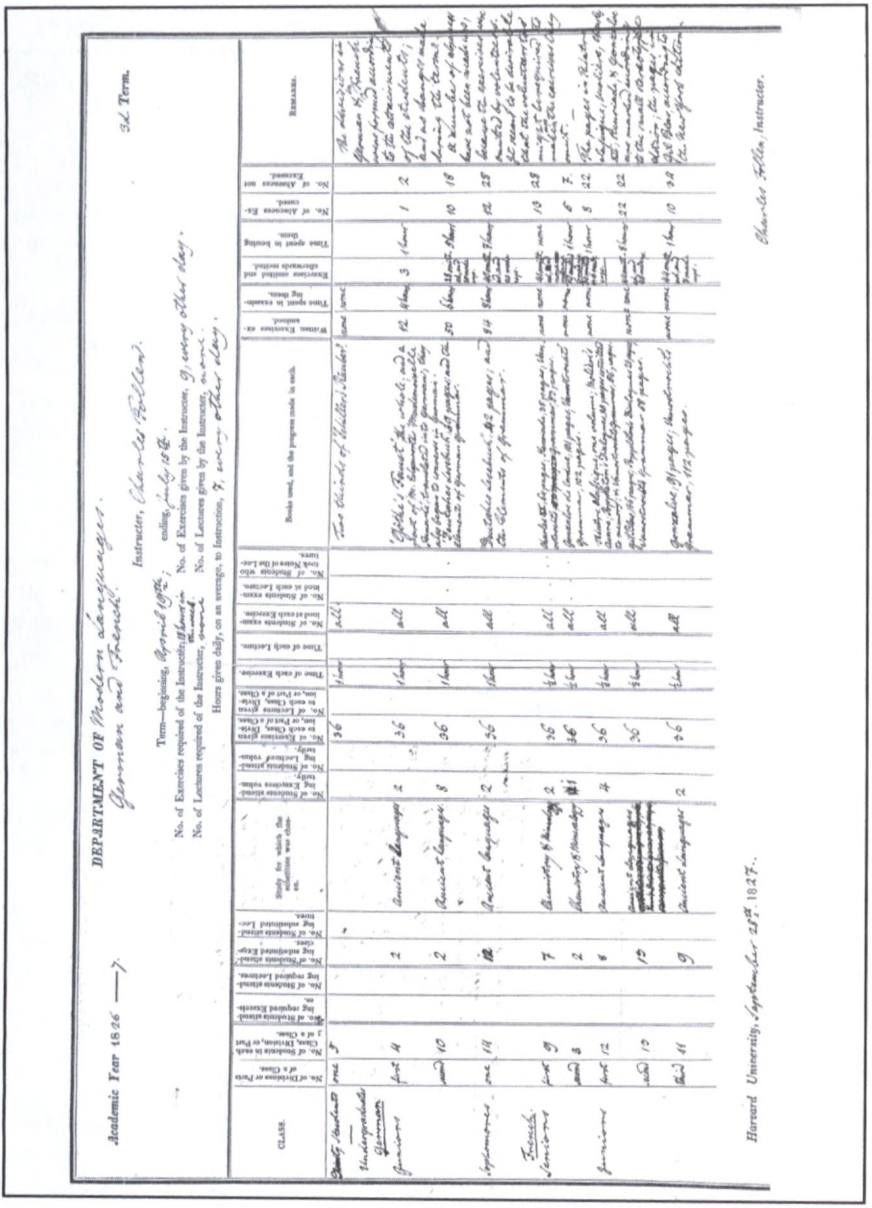
Follen had not yet given up his intention to change the political fate of Germany. From his new home base he attempted to recruit young people who were to form a

Youth League. This group of committed "freedom fighters" should prepare for a national uprising to be complemented by a League of Elders. The purpose of the League was described as following: "Der Umsturz der bestehenden Verfassungen, um einen Zustand herbeizuführen, worin das Volk durch selbstgewählte Vertreter sich eine Verfassung geben könne." (Neigebaur: 1831, 42).[10] Follen's plan never materialized. Instead, he was forced to take flight again after the pressure from Prussia and Austria on the Swiss government had reached a critical point. In early November 1824, he escaped German officials with a false passport and a letter of recommendation from the Marquis de Lafayette to provide for a smooth acculturation in the United States. In Le Havre, he embarked on the *Cadmus* bound for New York. Subsequently, he called himself by the anglicized name of Charles.

Follen arrived in New York on 19 December 1824. Like Christopher Columbus standing on American soil for the first time, Follen remembered his excitement: "I wanted to kneel upon the ground, and kiss it, and cling to it with my hands, lest it should even then escape my grasp" (Follen: 1841, I, 139). His first destination was Philadelphia. Unlike many of his fellow immigrants from Germany, Follen focused on language studies to perfect his English. On 2 January 1825, the Marquis de Lafayette (1757-1834) provided him with references and recommendations to prominent Americans like Germanophile professor Edward Everett (1784-1865), George Ticknor (1791-1871), and John Thornton Kirkland (1770-1840), who then was president at Harvard University.

Soon after his arrival in the United States, Follen recognized the outlandishness of his original dream. While he had imagined a German university in the United States as a first stage to establish a model German state, which would ultimately transplant German cultural values to the New World, Follen changed his course dramatically. He found a new calling in fostering a better understanding of German cultural achievements in the United States. During the first five years, his vision of a country beyond the Atlantic, where freedom, equality, and the rights of the individual had been fulfilled, remained largely unshattered. Follen experienced an American success story *par excellence*, both socially and professionally. In 1826, he met Eliza Lee Cabot (1787-1860). She belonged to a large and influential Boston family.[11] In the same year, Follen initiated his career at Harvard as a language instructor in German and French offering courses on literature including books such as Edgeworth's *Mademoiselle Panache*, Goethe's *Faust*, Molière's *L'Avare ou l'École du mensonge*, or Schiller's *Räuber* (see illustration 2).[12]

Follen introduced translations and editions of classical and current German texts to a highly interested American audience. Among his friends he counted prominent American Germanophiles like the Unitarian priest William Ellery Channing (1780-1842) or the former president John Quincy Adams (1767-1848). Follen quickly became a highly regarded citizen of Boston with a social network among the most esteemed New Englanders. With his "Lectures on Moral Philosophy" ranging from classical to modern philosophical concepts, he complemented his introduction to German literature by 1831. Follen put special emphasis on the writings of Friedrich von Schiller (1759-1805) and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) discussing their individual poetic merits, philosophical and aesthetic implications, as well as, providing translations and detailed biographical background information. In a letter to Thomas Carlyle, Emerson described Follen as a "respectable German" in New England whose lectures on Schiller


DEPARTMENT OF Modern Languages. German and French.

Academic Year 1826 — 7. 3d Term.

Instructer, Charles Follen.

Harvard University, September 28th, 1827.

Charles Follen, Instructer.

Illustration 2: Dept. of Modern Languages. Follen Reports and Papers: 1826-28. UA III 28.26.

and Goethe he expected to "stimulate the curiosity of scores of persons" (Emerson and Carlyle: 1965, 123). Follen became an important early mediator of German culture in the United States, long before the wave of the so-called 1848ers, the intellectual elite of Germany named after the failed Revolution in 1848, fled to the New World. In his "Inaugural Discourse," Follen emphasized the benefits of studying German literature: "I believe that those who have received a genuine English education, are, more than other foreigners, prepared to enter fully and intimately into the idiomatical strength

and beauty of the German classics; and the further they advance, the more they perceive that in studying German, they are grounding themselves in their own language and literature" (Follen: 1841, V, 151).

Follen's inauguration to a professorship in Harvard coincided with his reading of David Walker's (1785-1830) radical abolitionist pamphlet *Appeal to the Citizens of the World* (1829). After discussions with William Lloyd Garrison (1805-79), Channing, and Lydia Maria Child (1802-80), he abandoned his conformist attitude to engage as a political activist.[13] The abolitionist cause, its rhetoric and political agenda triggered a passionate dedication to political reform and a reinterpretation of American founding documents such as the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Follen may have been reminded of the radical poetry he composed in *Das Große Lied* in Germany. Nevertheless, his tone shifted within the new democratic environment to bring about socio-political reforms. Follen insisted that the abolitionists had to work within the framework of existing legal and political institutions. While he hailed American democratic traditions, he argued for a more thorough understanding of their implications regarding the persisting evil of slavery.

> Our Constitution has secured a government of law, freedom of conscience, the liberty of speaking and printing, to every citizen, nay, to every stranger sojourning amongst us. As citizens of the world, as members of the human family, as Christians, we look upon every one as a fellow-citizen, as a neighbour, who defends the rights, and respects the feelings, of all men; while he who does not see in every human being an equal and a brother, whether he be born here or elsewhere, he alone is regarded by us as a stranger and an enemy. (Follen: 1841, I, 630).

Follen eventually became vice president of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society and a member of the Executive Committee of the American Antislavery Society. Following Garrison's call to further the abolitionists' cause, he founded the Cambridge Anti-Slavery Society. Due to his leading role in New England anti-slavery societies and personal issues with Harvard president Josiah Quincy (1772-1864), Follen's professorship at Harvard was not extended.[14] Follen linked the abolitionist cause with the pressing question of female emancipation. He held that men withheld essential rights from women. Follen demanded full legal equality for women and challenged nativists for bullying politics regarding freedom of speech for naturalized foreigners.

Follen's contacts to William Ellery Channing introduced him to Unitarianism and the Unitarian Church, whose members separated themselves from orthodox Calvinism in the early nineteenth century and opted for an independent denomination.[15] Within the hotbed of discussions regarding the substance of a modern denomination, Follen introduced German theological liberalism and enriched the controversy with his ideas on self-culture derived from German philosophical idealism.[16] Becoming increasingly disillusioned with people's conservative social attitudes and lack of stamina for reform, he teamed up with Frederic Henry Hedge in 1836. The regular Meetings at his house became the basis of the Transcendental Club consisting of young free thinkers like Bronson Alcott (1799-1888), Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-82), or Margaret Fuller (1810-50).[17]

In 1838, at the request of Henry Ware, Jr., Follen gave a lecture series on the

"History of Pantheism" at the Harvard Divinity School, which caused much turmoil in the audience. Among his key philosophers were Plotinus and Spinoza. The latter he had already introduced to the New England elite in his lectures on moral philosophy in 1830. His fascination with Spinoza can be traced back even further to his exile in Switzerland. Although Follen did not embrace pantheist ideas completely, he argued that they could help to liberalize the mind to overcome fixed opinions.[18]

Follen accepted invitations to preach and lecture on various topics in New York and Boston. After his plan to found a free church in New York had failed, new opportunities sprang up in Lexington, Massachusetts to realize his dream of an independent church modeled on his own Universalist beliefs. During his sojourn in New York City, where he lectured to audiences of the Merchants' Library Union, a letter from Lexington urged him to return in order to dedicate the new church building. On the steamboat "Lexington" bound to Boston a terrible accident occurred. The ship caught fire and sank in a storm off Long Island South at about 7 p.m. The entire crew and almost all of the passengers, including Follen, drowned.

It was not before Good Friday on the 17 April 1840 that Samuel Joseph May was able to commemorate the life of Karl/Charles Follen with his eulogy at Marlborough Chapel, more than three months after his death. A large assemblage of about 2000 people gathered in and outside the church to pay homage to a pioneer in transcultural contacts. Among those who praised Follen's courage and commitment to the antislavery cause was William Lloyd Garrison (1805-79). Despite their differences of opinion regarding the rhetoric and means to achieve political equality for all people in the United States, Garrison recalled the importance of Follen's support and loyalty. "(Charles Follen) found me at the outset of my labors, in the obscure chambers of Merchants' Hall. He aided, counseled, and strengthened, and cheered me. He labored to enlighten those who dwelt amongst, and made them sensible to the cause of enslaved humanity" (Garrison: 1840, viii). Only an analysis of Follen's writings can reveal whether Garrison's efforts to refer to Follen as one of his most intimate friends and to introduce him as a martyr for the cause of freedom in the United States bears resemblance to the convictions of the German-American "freedom fighter."

II. The Follen Controversy: Rediscovering the Multilingual Oeuvre

Karl/Charles Follen represents one of the most controversial figures in the history of transatlantic cultural exchange and the search for freedom. In Germany he was both condemned as a racial revolutionary and hailed as a Teutonic visionary by the national socialists during the Third Reich. In the United States, interpretations range from emphatic descriptions as cultural ambassador to critical bashings as a nonconformist outsider. The ideological lore of two World Wars has overshadowed the evaluation of his oeuvre. However, with a new focus on the transnational dimension of American culture and the far reaching effects of the multilingual turn in literary scholarship, Follen returns from the margins to the center of American studies.

His keen sense of what it means to be an American citizen put him in the spotlight of the early socio-political reform movements which flourished with the advent of transcendentalist free thinkers such as Bronson Alcott, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Margaret Fuller, Theodore Parker or Henry David Thoreau. Long before Frederick Douglass

posed the question, "What to the slave is the 4th of July?" one day after the celebration of Independence Day in 1852. Follen demasked the event by pointing out the gross shortcomings and the widespread hypocrisy regarding the issue of slavery and women's rights. "Every Fourth of July is to us a day of exultation for what we have done, and a day of humiliation for what we have left undone" (Follen: 1841, V, 190). Follen's ideas were inspired by the French Revolution, characterized by the rise of nationalism, rooted in philosophical idealism and theological liberalism which propelled his fight for the abolition of slavery and calling for democratic reforms in the United States. Follen's biographer Edmund Spevack argued that Follen's methods to transform his beliefs into action remained fundamentally the same in Germany, Switzerland, and the United States (Spevack: 1997, 3). Such an approach is problematic in many ways. Spevack charged Follen with obscuring his identity and hiding his papers and diaries from public view. In his efforts to trace back the sources and influence of Follen's thinking he relied largely on memories of fellow students, as well as court files. A new scholarly analysis must redirect the attention to Follen's writings in order to highlight the changes in his argumentation, methods, and concrete reform programs during the shift from a feudal to a democratic society.

It is no accident that the most powerful visions of what Orm Øverland calls an "open, all-inclusive concept" (Øverland: 1998, 52) of American identity have been expressed by cultural outsiders like Jean de Crèvecoeur, Israel Zangwill, or Alexis de Tocqueville. Follen, however, was writing from within. In his socio-political criticism, problems of cultural clashes and conflicts in German-American encounters become visible. Educated in Germany with a doctorate in law, Follen took an unrelenting look at the promise and reality of the Declaration of Independence. Despite his call for reform, he never ceased to speak of his new homeland as the "asylum of freedom." From the vantage point of a naturalized German immigrant, he became one of the earliest activists who fought for female emancipation and the abolition of slavery. Follen fashioned himself into an influential mediator of German idealism, paved the way for a more favorable reception of representative German writers like Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Friedrich von Schiller. He left his mark in the institutional history of German literature at American universities. As a Unitarian priest, Follen not only transformed his idealistic notion of a free, undogmatic, and universal church to the American cultural context but also founded a new church outside of Boston. Shortly after his death, Follen was elevated to an intellectual celebrity. He became a cult figure among his fellow New England reformers, as numerous articles and poems testify. The prominent intellectual William Ellery Channing published an extensive celebratory article on the "Life and Character of Dr. Follen,"in the famous Transcendentalist magazine *The Dial* in 1843, which was preceded by two articles in the *Christian Examiner* ("Discourse" and "A Sketch of the Life of Dr. Follen," 1840). Samuel May's eulogy "A Discourse on the Life and Character of the Rev. Charles Follen" (1840), Follen's former student colleague Karl Buchner "Dr. Karl Follen" (1841), and Harriett Martineau's questionable summary of Follen's fate as a victim of both German and American despotism represent additional phases in Follen's sanctification.

Contemporaries like Channing admired Follen's "all-sacrificing devotion to the rights, dignity, and happiness of mankind" (Channing: 1848, III, 243), historians like Albert Faust recognized him as an outstanding cultural ambassador in American

academia (Faust: 1909, 216), Henry Pochmann emphasized his influence on the German mania among the New England Transcendentalists (Pochmann: 1957, 116), and literary critic Ursula Brumm praised him as a pioneer in transatlantic encounters (Brumm: 1995, 146). Some scholars, however, were less impressed by his ambitions. Conservative historians condemned him as an evil demagogue (Treitschke: 1927, 438), while others denounced him an anti-modern spirit (Hardtwig: 1985, 14). Marxist historians like Günter Steiger questioned his activities by labeling him a "revolutionary without a revolution," whose promotion of violence contributed nothing to the rise of socialism and democracy in Germany (Steiger: 1991, 186). The limited availability of Follen's writings also invited authors of fiction to fantasize about his personality in historical novels. Shortly after Karl Ludwig Sand's assassination of August von Kotzebue on March 23, 1819, several publications tried to shed light on Follen's involvement. Depending on the interpretation, Follen appeared either as a messianic mastermind or a devilish demagogue. Mathilde Gräfin von Reichenbach offered an apologetic perspective in her historical novel *Arndt und Follen – Ein Zeitgemälde aus den Befreiungskriegen* in 1862 (Mehring: 2005, 164).[20] Even today, Follen is a prominent character in historical re-enactments of the revolutionary developments in the time between the Wartburg festival and the repressive Carlsbad Decrees. Tilman Röhrig envisions Follen as a Christ-like figure among his devoted students in *Sand, oder Der Freiheit eine Gasse* (1993). In *Kotzebue. Eine deutsche Geschichte* (1998), Heinz-Joachim Simon returns to the characterizations of arch-conservative historian Treitschke to stage Follen as a devil in disguise. Considering these heterogeneous and contradictory accounts, the crucial question remains: what elements in Follen's writings, speeches and lectures rendered his search for freedom and democracy so controversial?

Beyond the debate regarding Follen's personality, a number of achievements are undisputed. He was among the founding members of the Gießen student society, sketched a code of honor to regulate student life and was among the first intellectuals to ponder on the benefits of an American university based on the German education system. Follen also claims an important position in American institutional history. He was the first professor of German literature in the United States at Harvard University. Promoting German literature and making new source material accessible to an openminded new generation of scholars, Follen became a central link between German and American intellectual exchange. Although his influence on the American Transcendentalists and their fascination with German idealism has never been addressed in a comprehensive manner, Perry Miller acknowledged Follen's position in the intellectual life of New England. He included an abridged version of Theodore Ripley's extensive review of Follen's "Inaugural Discourse Delivered before the University" at the occasion of the first German professorship at Harvard in his groundbreaking anthology *The Transcendentalists* in 1956.

In the United States, Follen has been described as the "living representative of German philosophical idealism and theological liberalism" (Spevack: 1997, 169). He exerted a major influence on William Ellery Channing's and Henry Ware, Jr.'s intellectual embrace of German theology. He was also an important mediator of German idealism for George Bancroft, Margaret Fuller, Frederic Henry Hedge, and Theodore Parker. The international network of friends and supporters that Follen coordinated on both sides of the Atlantic is particularly impressive. It reads like a "who is who" of early 19th century

intellectuals, reformers, academics, and political activists. Follen knew Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, whose concept of gymnastics Follen introduced first to the campus of Gießen University and later to Harvard.[21] Among Follen's friends were Johann Ferdinand Wit von Dörring, Friedrich Wilhelm Schulz, and Friedrich Ludwig Weidig. He worked with philosopher Jacob Friedrich Fries and the historian Heinrich Luden at Jena, the theologian Wilhelm Leberecht de Wette at Basel, as well as reformist figures like August von Gneisenau and Heinrich von Bülow. He made the acquaintance of central figures of French political life like Marquis de Lafayette, his associate Marquis Marc-René d'Argenson, the liberal constitutional theoretician Benjamin Constant, as well as the Germanophile philosopher Victor Cousin. He kept in contact with former president John Quincy Adams who had developed a special interest in Follen's promotion of German literature in the United States. He worked closely with staunch abolitionists like Samuel May and Harriet Martineau, edited renown authors like Thomas Carlyle, and met with influential American writers like Ralph Waldo Emerson and John Greenleaf Whittier. Naturally, he formed strong bonds with remarkable German Americans like Karl Beck, Francis Lieber, Friedrich Münch, and Christian Sartorius. In addition, the editor of the anti-slavery newspaper *The Liberator*, William Lloyd Garrison, counted Follen among his most trustworthy friends and earliest supporters in his relentless fight against slavery.

Although Follen promoted revolution and even assassination during the German wars of liberation (1813-15), he turned into an Emersonian reformer advocating self-reliance, the abolition of slavery and the emancipation of women after his escape to America. While Follen desperately tried to become a representative American, his uncompromising advocacy for human rights based on the Declaration of Independence ultimately estranged him from many nativists who denounced him as a dangerous "foreign meddler" (Follen: 1841, I, 342). Considering the array of contradictory labels of praise and condescendence, the crucial question remains: who was Karl/Charles Follen? The most reliable sources for such an investigation are to be found in his writings.

Follen's literary oeuvre is as diverse as his career. A new selection of writings should include Follen's key essays, pamphlets, lectures, sermons, speeches, letters, poems, and translations. The primary aim of such a reader is to display the structure of Follen's intellectual work and life in Germany, Switzerland, and the United States of America. The selection, which I propose, represents the progression of Follen's thoughts in six different cultural areas: literature, language, abolitionism, religion, history, and philosophy. From Follen's oeuvre particularly those texts must be selected which best represent the crucial stages of his provocative and influential ideas on both sides of the Atlantic.

Despite his notoriety and remarkable achievements, the writings of Follen have not been available in book form since the publication of the *Collected Works* in 1841. This immense collection is both outdated and, given its age, difficult to locate. It is also highly biased as the editor Eliza Lee Cabot was not only a New England intellectual, an accomplished writer of children's literature, and anti-slavery poetry, but also Follen's wife. In her effort to commemorate her late husband, she eliminated passages from Follen's notorious poetic cycle *Das Große Lied* (The Great Song) and letters that appeared to be too radical. This early edition is highly selective as it neglects Follen's writings from Germany and Switzerland.

Apart from his dissertation, the new selection will feature all publications by Follen in Germany including "Der Giessener Ehrenspiegel," "Beiträge zur Geschichte der teutschen Sammtschulen seit dem Freiheitskriege 1813," "Grundzüge für eine künftige teutsche Reichsverfassung," "Die Gründung einer deutsch-amerikanischen Universität" and several poems. The grand poem *Das Große Lied* has a peculiar genealogy as some parts were meant to be hidden from public and recited only by the elite circles of the "Undconditionals."[22] The reception of the nationalistic poetry of the late 18th and early 19th century has been overshadowed by the national socialist nightmares of an Aryan master-race. Follen's style is heavily influenced by Schiller's historical idealism and Theodor Körner's sentimental propaganda for the Wars of Liberation. These verses need to be contextualized to regain their energy and furor. Schiller, for example, composed his poems and odes in a time of ecstasy full of ideals and a sense of revolution. The rattling lines of freedom, fatherland, and personal sacrifice for the common good touched the heart of a whole generation in a time of social and political experiments.

Follen was very much a child of his time when he composed verses and melodies on Schiller's themes regarding unconditional friendship, courage, honor and the fight against tyranny. It is striking that he more or less stopped writing poetry in the United States. I can think of two reasons. First, Follen became completely dedicated to learning and practicing the English language. Apart from letters to Germany or German exiles, there are hardly any traces of writings in his mother tongue. He may have felt that the specific nationalist, solemn ring of his poetic style could not be transferred into another language. Second, with his shifting notion of violence (from rebellion to peaceful reform) and patriotism (from national chauvinism to universalism), he may have found the poetic style of the past inappropriate. His new form of communication became, like the preferred mode of the Transcendentalists, speeches and essays. Although he held the poetry of Körner in high esteem, he attached a sentimental quality to it, rather than considering them a source of guidance, when he translated two of his favorite ones towards the end of his life. Critics have always connected Follen's political radicalism with quotations from his extensive and popular collection of poems *Das Große Lied*. It has never been published in its entirety, though. "The Great Song" is a poetic vision of a young and angry revolutionary. The various parts are designed to bring together the heterogeneous elements of dissatisfied intellectuals, farmers, and workers to ignite a revolution. Several sections were supposed to be read or sung as a dialogue between two speakers with a Greek-like choir as a commentator. Follen insisted that certain parts where not supposed to be publicized. Among his radical group of "Unconditionals" secret verses circulated. They served to bind the members to the political cause. Alexander Pagenstecher, one of the members of this inner circle, commented that Follen considered parts of *Das Große Lied* as a kind of religious gospel. The text needs to be reconstructed from all sources available to provide a version that is as compete as possible.[23]

Follen revisited some of his philosophical essays in the United States and adapted them to the new political climate. "Über die Bestimmung des Menschen" (On the Destiny of Man) is the first of two articles Follen published during his exile in Switzerland in 1824.[24] It was part of a larger project which Follen intended to rework under the title "Das Naturrecht" (Natural Law). In his article, he focuses on the moral nature of human beings, the role of conscience, conviction (*Überzeugung*), self-control,

and self-perfection. Man's moral agenda was intended to be applied to the realm of politics and religion. Many passages foreshadow Follen's rhetoric he would put to test during his fight against slavery. After he had settled in his new homeland across the Atlantic, Follen published a comprehensive article entitled "On the Future State of Man" which drew heavily on his writings published in the scholarly magazine he edited with de Wette and other colleagues at the University of Basel. Other writings focus on familiarizing American intellectuals with German literature and philosophical ideas. Of particular interest is Follen's shifting notion regarding the use of violence to destroy the vicious circle of oppression and exploitation of farmers in Germany and slaves in the United States. By comparing the documents from both sides of the Atlantic, changes and continuities in Follen's concepts of violence, his visions of a unified Christian

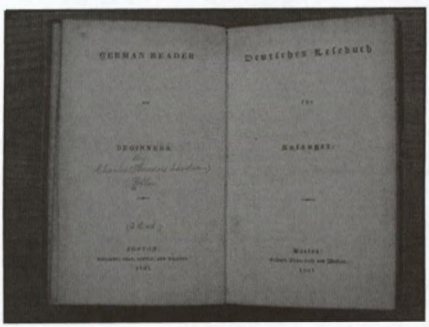


Illustration 3: *German Reader* (1826).

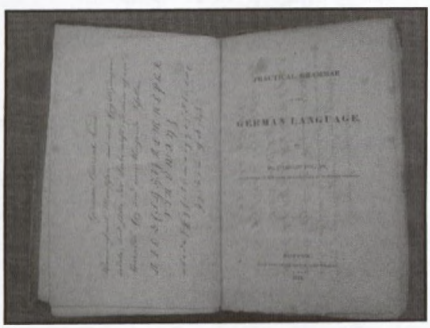
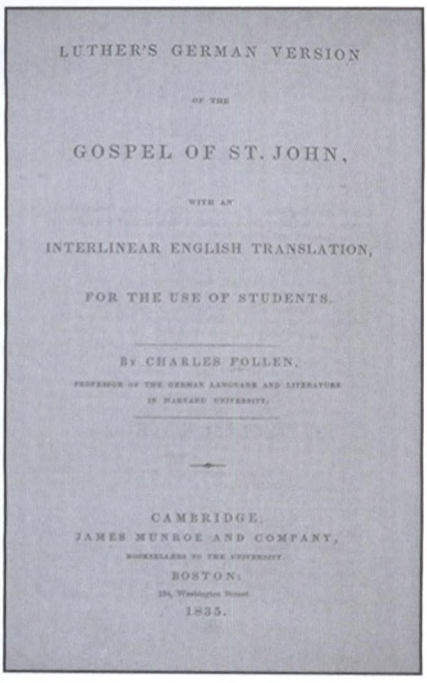


Illustration 4: *German Grammar* (1826).

church and the importance of America as a beacon of freedom for the world become apparent. [25]

A number of Follen's writings in Germany were devised to be used as guidelines within student fraternities or published in small international magazines like the short-lived *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift* in Basel. Other articles, letters, and reviews wait to be discovered. For example, research on Follen has more or less neglected his impact on multilingual America as a language instructor. This is an inspiring example that puts the "false myth of a monolingual (American) past" (Sollors: 1998, 3) into perspective. Follen conceived the idea of German text books shortly after his arrival in Cambridge. In his letter to Karl Beck dated 22 December 1825, he explained: "I want a German Reader. Professor Ticknor is of the same opinion as I that we two should make a German Chrestomathy, which might, at the same time, serve as a sketch of the history of German literature.... The second point is a German Grammar in English" (Follen: 1841, I, 160). The selection for a new edition on Follen's writings should include the elaborate prefaces Follen composed for his *German Reader* (1826)[26] and his *Practical Grammar* (1828).[27] On 3 September 1831, Follen delivered his "Inaugural Discourse" to outline his program regarding the new position which was exclusively created with an endowment limited to five years. After a brief evaluation of the contributions of distinguished German writers, philosophers and scholars, he addressed the ambivalent reception of German literature in the United States. He argued against charges of American critics regarding "obscurity", "immorality", and "metaphysical loftiness" by raising issues of second-hand translations. Follen's speech represents an elaborate program to redirect the study of

German literature by putting a new focus on Goethe, Herder, Klopstock, Lessing, Richter, and Schiller.[28] Follen's interlinear translation and teaching concept, which he outlined in his book on Luther's *Gospel of St. John* (1835) has not even been mentioned by any of the Follen scholars. Each line of Martin Luther's original German text is followed by an English translation, which corresponds to the original word by word. Apart from the value of linguistic and grammatical instruction, the text selection shows Follen's lifelong fascination with the depiction of Christ as a martyr, a role model that his student Karl Sand tried to emulate when he first assassinated August von Kotzebue and then tried to kill himself for the sake of the German revolution.[29] Schiller was among those poets which Follen most highly praised. In a lecture series he introduced the German author par excellence to the American public. His impressionistic depiction of Schiller's life is of particular interest because Follen draws many parallels between the German and American ideal of freedom. As Schiller had a strong impact on the German student movement before the Napoleonic Wars of Liberation, it is striking to observe the differences and continuities in Follen's presentation of Schiller's oeuvre.[30] Follen assumed the role of a meticulous editor of Thomas Carlyle's groundbreaking biography *Life of Schiller*. In 1833, Follen explained the kind of editorial improvements he had made regarding translations of Schiller's works and letters which Carlyle quoted in his book. Follen argues that despite Carlyle's excellent and precise understanding of Schiller, he misinterpreted some sentences whose subtleties escaped the non-native speaker. Follen's comprehensive preface gives a detailed account of his alterations and


LUTHER'S GERMAN VERSION

OF THE

GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN,

WITH AN

INTERLINEAR ENGLISH TRANSLATION,

FOR THE USE OF STUDENTS.

BY CHARLES FOLLEN,

PROFESSOR OF THE GERMAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

CAMBRIDGE:
JAMES MUNROE AND COMPANY,
BOOKSELLERS TO THE UNIVERSITY.
BOSTON:
134, Washington Street.
1835.

Illustration 5: *Luther's German Version* (Cover)


Evange'lium Johan'nis.

Das er'ste Capi'tel.
The first Chapter.

1. Im An'fang war das Wort, und das Wort war bei
In the beginning was the word, and the word was with
Gott, und Gott war das Wort.
God, and God was the word.
2. Daſſel'be war im An'fang bei Gott.
The same was in the beginning with God.
3. Al'le Ding'e ſind durch daſſel'be gemacht', und ohne das-
All things are through the same made, and without the
ſel'be iſt nichts gemacht', was gemacht' iſt.
same is nothing made, what made is.
4. In ihm war das le'ben, und das le'ben war das licht
In him was the life, and the life was the light
der Menſchen.
of the men.
5. Und das licht ſchei'net in der Fin'ſterniß, und die Fin'-
And the light shineth in the darkness, and the dark-
ſterniß bearif' es nicht.
ness comprehended it not.
6. Es war ein Menſch von Gott geſandt', der hies
It was a man from God sent, that was called
Johan'nes.
John.
7. Derſel'be kam zum Zeug'niß, daß er von dem licht
The same came to the testimony, that he of the light
zeu'gete, auf daß ſie al'le durch ihn glau'beten.
might testify, upon that they all through him might believe.
8. Er war nicht das licht, a'ber er ſoll'te zeu'gen von
He was not the light, but he should testify of
dem licht.
the light.
9. Das war das wahrhaf'tige licht, welches al'le Men'ſchen
That was the true light, which all men
erleuch'tet, die in dieſe Welt kom'men.
enlighteneth, who into this world come.
1

Illustration 6: *Luther's German Version* (p.1)

interpretations. The American edition and Follen's editorial work paved the way for a

re-evaluation of Schiller's writings.[31]

Follen's commitment to the democratic promise of the Declaration of Independence caused him to speak out publicly against the cruelty and injustice of Slavery. These documents reveal how the fight for freedom in a democratic environment differs from efforts in an aristocratic feudal society. Among his courageous publications are "Lectures on Moral Philosophy,"[32] "Address to the People of the United States on the Subject of Slavery,"[33] "The Cause of Freedom in Our Country,"[34] and "Anti-Slavery Principles and proceedings."[35] The "Speech before the Anti-Slavery Society,"[36] which Follen held at the annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Antislavery Society on 20 January 1836, represents one of the most remarkable documents of German-American encounters. It deals with problems of first generation immigrants and their claim to being fully Americanized.[37] Follen reveals his great, but nevertheless utopian visions of a democratic society when he contextualizes the problem of acculturation with the socio-political role of women and slaves in the United States.[38]

A new edition of Follen's writings needs to emphasize the multilingual dimension of Follen's oeuvre. Language has been the site of cultural as well as political battles in the United States from the first cultural contacts with Native Americans to the massive immigrant movements of the nineteenth and twentieth century. As Eva Hoffmann explains in *Lost in Translation*, emigration and language shifts often produce a sense of distance between words and their actual representations. Thus, in acquired languages, words may loose their aura and "natural" meanings they held in the native language (Hoffmann: 1989, 106). Instead of implying unity and continuity of thought, the disruption in Follen's biography caused by his emigration is mirrored in the language of his writings. The need to express himself in another language after his arrival in the United States created unforeseen difficulties for the teacher, reformer, and poet from Germany. The transfer of ideas and process of adapting to a new socio-political environment can only be grasped by comparing the texts in the corresponding language they were composed in. Therefore, Follen's essays, prefaces, lectures, poems and letters should be offered in the original language version.[39]

Conclusion

The international person Karl/Charles Follen has not only been described as a dangerous revolutionary, but has also been praised as the living representative of German philosophical idealism and theological liberalism. The new edition will introduce for the first time a broad selection of Follen's controversial writings emphasizing the multilingual dimension of his oeuvre in Germany, Switzerland, and the United States. His essays, lectures, sermons, speeches, and poems concern the challenges of democracy in the socio-political climate of the political *Vormärz* in Germany and the Jacksonian era in the United States. Follen located problems in the segregation of ethnic minorities, xenophobia, the lack of female emancipation, and language barriers. His activities to overcome the discrepancy between the promise of the Declaration of Independence and the reality of political hierarchies provide a master model for transatlantic encounters and confrontations. Thus, Follen's writings emerge as a unique storehouse of ideas on topics ranging from resistance against aristocratic government, intellectual self-culture, German-American cultural transfer, challenges of American democracy, to the

reception of German literature and philosophy during the crucial years of the American Renaissance.

When the Unitarian minister and renown educational reformer Samuel Joseph May delivered his eulogy on Charles Follen in Marlborough Chapel on 17 April 1840 before the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, he did not describe Follen as a "mere patriot," but elevated him to the transcultural ranks of a philanthropist. As such, he insisted that Follen's example will live on and transcend the struggles of the time he lived in. "He is taken from us. But he is not lost to us. His words remain. He still speaks to the understandings and hearts of the people" (May: 1840, 26). A new edition of Follen's writings must put May's oracle to the test.

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Notes

[1] Parts of the essay will appear in Frank Mehring's *Between Natives and Foreigners: Selected Writings of Karl/Charles Follen* (1796-1840) (Bern, etc.: Lang, 2007). With kind permission by Peter Lang and the series editor.

[2] See Rushdie, Salman, "The PEN and the Sword," *New York Times Book Review* (April 17, 2005): 31.

[3] Shortly after Follen's death Channing published a comprehensive biographical essay: Channing, William Ellery, *A Discourse on the Life and Character of the Rev. Charles Follen, L. L. D. who perished, Jan. 13, 1840* Boston: Henry L. Devereux, 1840. Other friends from both sides of the Atlantic provided their own narratives of Follen's life. Among them are the New England abolitionists Samuel Joseph May (*A Discourse on the Life and Character of the Rev. Dr. Follen.* [Boston: H.L. Devereux, 1840]) and the German revolutionary Karl Buchner ("Dr. Karl Follen: Mit Benutzung von noch ungedruckten Briefen desselben aus Amerika in die Heimath," *Der Freihafen* 4 (Altona, 1841): 71-76). In 1841, Eliza Lee Cabot Follen published the five volume collected writings of her husband including a 500page memoir in volume I. (*The Works of Charles Follen with a Memoir of his Life,* 5 vols., Eliza Lee Cabot Follen (ed.) [Boston: Hilliard, Gray, and Company, 1841]). Other biographical publications include: Parker, Theodore, "Life and Character of Dr. Follen," *The Dial* (January 1843): 343-62; Münch, Friedrich, "Das Leben von Dr. Karl Follen," *Gesammelte Schriften* (St. Louis, Missouri: Witter, 1902) 39-91; Spindler, George Washington, *Karl Follen. A Biographical Study* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1917); Haupt, Hermann, "Zum Gedächtnis Karl Follens," *Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois*, Julius Goebel, ed., (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924), 7-55; Wüst, Julia, "Karl Follen. Seine Ideenwelt und ihre Wirklichkeit," *Mitteilungen des Oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins* 33 (1936): 5-139; Spevack, Edmund, *Charles Follen's Search for Nationality and Freedom. Germany and America 1796-1840* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997); Mehring, Frank, *Karl/Charles Follen: Deutsch-Amerikanischer Freiheitskämpfer* (Giessen: Ferber'sche Universitätsbuchhandlung, 2004).

[4] The following archives hold letters, poems, lectures, essays, and unpublished manuscripts of Karl/Charles Follen: Archiv der Deutschen Burschenschaft in Frankfurt am Main, Archives of the Justus Liebig University of Giessen; Boston Public Library; Harvard University Archives: Department of Modern Languages; Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Wiesbaden: Records of the Mainz Central Investigation Commission on student radicalism at the University of Giessen; Hessische Landesbibliothek Kassel; Huntington Library, San Marino, CA; Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; New York Public Library (Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations), Rare Books and Manuscript Division; Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin: Darmstädter Sammlung.

[5] "Take out the knife of freedom!/ Hurray, pierce the dagger through the throat!/ With crowns and bands, with purple gowns/ Decorate the sacrificial offering on the altar of revenge." Translation by F. Mehring.

[6] "Der Ehrenspiegel soll die Grundfeste eines Zustandes von Gleichheit und Gerechtigkeit sein, der die Burschenschaft in den Stand setzt, sich als seine christliche und teutsche, als ein freies Gemeinwesen auszubilden und in dieser Ausbildung dem Geist der Ehre Leben und Herrschaft zu begründen unter den

Burschen." (Follen: 1927, 56). "The code of honor shall be the foundation for conditions of equality and justice, which will enable the fraternity to establish itself as its Christian and German, as a free community. And in this process, it shall provide the basis for giving life and power to the spirit of honor among the students." Translation by F. Mehring.

[7] "Ihre Quelle, aus der jeder Bürger unmittelbar schöpft, ist das Neue Testament, die einzelnen Glaubenssekten lösen sich in eine christlich-deutsche Kirche auf; andere Glaubenslehren, welche den Zwecken der Menschheit zuwider sind, wie die jüdische, welche nur eine Glaubensart sind, werden in dem Reiche nicht geduldet." (Follen: 1979, 123). "Its source to which every single citizen is dedicated is the New Testament; other sectarian groups are dissolved into a Christian German church; other religions, which run counter to the purposes of humankind like the Jewish religion, are not tolerated within the empire." Translation by F. Mehring.

[8] Follen's role in the assassination of August von Kotzebue has been debated ever since. See Anton, Karl, *Entwicklung der Irrtümer welche Kotzebues Ermordung veranlassten. Zur Warnung für Jünglinge, nebst drei Beilagen, enthaltend einen Abriss von Kotzebues und Sands Leben, so wie die Geschichte des Bahrdt mit der eisernen Stirne* (Görlitz: Gotthold Heinze, 1819); Hohnhorst, Staatsrath von, ed., *Vollständige Übersicht der gegen Carl Ludwig Sand wegen Meuchelmordes verübt an dem Russischen Staatsrath von Kotzebue, geführten Untersuchung. Aus den Originalakte ausgezogen, geordnet und herausgegeben* (Stuttgart und Tübingen: J. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung, 1820); Goerres, Joseph, "Kotzebue und was ihn gemordet," *Gesammelte Schriften*. Wilhelm Schleeberg, ed. (Köln: Gilde-Verlag, 1929), 13:489-95; Cramer, Friedrich, ed., *Acten-Auszüge aus dem Untersuchungsprozess über Carl Ludwig Sand, nebst andern Materialien zu Beurteilung desselben und Augusts von Kotzebue* (Altenburg und Leipzig, 1821); Wesselhoeft, Robert, *Carl Ludwig Sand. Dargestellt durch seine Tagebücher und Briefe von einigen seiner Freunde* (Altenburg: Hahn, 1821); Heer, Georg, *Geschichte der Deutschen Burschenschaft. Zweiter Band: Die Demagogenzeit* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, ^{2}1965); Heydemann, Günther, *Carl Ludwig Sand. Die Tat als Attentat* (Hof: Oberfraenkische Verlagsanstalt, 1985); Hünemörder, Christian, ed., *Darstellungen und Quellen zur Geschichte der deutschen Einheitsbewegung im neunzehnten und zwanzigsten Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1986); Williamson, George S., "What Killed August von Kotzebue? The Temptations of Virtue and the Political Theology of German Nationalism, 1789-1819." *The Journal of Modern History* 72, 4. (December 2000): 890-943; Mehring, Frank, "August von Kotzebue, Mannheim, 23. März 1819," *Politische Morde. Vom Altertum bis zur Gegenwart*, Michael Sommer, ed. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005), 157-64.

[9] "Von Deutschland aber, als dem Mittelpunkt der ganzen neueren Bildung, muß auch für Amerika der tiefe geistige Gehalt ausgehen, der allein die Grundlage seines Weltstrebens ausmachen kann. Dies ist der letzte Zweck der in Nordamerika zu gründenden teutschen Bildungsanstalt, wodurch zugleich die Bestimmung der in Teutschland wurzelnden tiefen und allseitigen Bildung erfüllt werden möchte" (Follen: 1979, 129). "Germany must remain the central focus of all modern education in America. On Germany's deep spiritual substance America must build her global aspirations. This is the final purpose of the German university in North America. Thus, at the same time, the profound and comprehensive knowledge with its roots in Germany will find its destination." Translation by F. Mehring.

[10] "The destruction of the contemporary constitutions, in order to produce a situation in which the people may give itself a constitution through elected representatives." Translation by F.M.

[11] They married two years later on 15 September 1828.

[12] Follen was appointed superintendent of the Harvard gymnasium in 1827. This position gave him the opportunity to introduce his concept of *Turnen* and to organize a gymnastic society modeled along the lines of the German *Turnvereine*. In 1830, Follen became a naturalized foreigner. In the same year, his son Charles Christopher was born.

[13] It is unlikely that Follen was not aware of Walker's activities and the political differences between the South and the North for African Americans. By the end of the 1820s, about 1000 black people lived in Boston. The clash of racial difference must have been striking as many resided in poorer quarters north of the State House where they were not represented and only allowed to enter as servants to whites. Shop windows and taverns often displayed cartoons ridiculing African American physiognomy and culture stressing deformity and vulgarity. See the account of David Walker's contemporary Hosea Easton in "A Treatise on the Intellectual Character, and the Civil and Political Condition of the Colored People of the United States; and the Prejudice Exercised towards Them," *To Heal the Scourge of Prejudice: The Life and Writings of Hosea Easton*, George R. Rice and James Brewer Stewart, eds. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 196-107. For the socio-cultural background of African Americans in Boston see Jacobs, Donald, ed., *Courage and Conscience: Black and White Abolitionists in Boston* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993).

[14] The reasons for the discontinuation of his position in Harvard have been contested in the past with reference to the fact that the professorship was originally established for only five years. However, there

were several conflicts at Harvard which might have been crucial for the denial to extend the professorship. Of particular interest are the opposing concepts of teaching methods between Harvard president Josiah Quincy and Follen. See McCaughey, Robert A., *Josiah Quincy, 1772-1864. The Last Federalist* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), 148; see also Spevack, *Follen* (1996), 161 and Mehring, *Follen* (2004), 172-73. The English writer and philosopher Harriet Martineau (1802-76) commented later on this incident by characterizing Follen as "the only European exile of that vintage who declined to prosper as an American by flattering the nation's sin" (Martineau: 1877, II, 279).

[15] Unitarianists rejected the doctrine of the Trinity and considered the person of Jesus distinctly different from God. Breaking with Calvinist notions of God as a God of wrath, Unitarianists believed that God represented one element in the complex process of human self-perfection.

[16] Channing supported Follen's endeavors to become a Unitarian minister. In 1828, he was appointed lecturer at the Harvard Divinity Church teaching topics ranging from ethics to ecclesiastical history. Two years later, he gave up the position to focus his energy on the new professorship of German literature at Harvard. Before he was ordained as a Unitarian minister at William Ellery Channing's Federal Street Church in 1836, Follen preached in several churches in and around Boston like Lexington and Newburyport, but also in New York City and Washington, D.C. Thus, during the first five years of his American career Follen blended in perfectly with the intellectual elite in Boston and Harvard who with scholars like George Bancroft, Channing, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-82), Josiah Quincy, Andrews Norton (1786-1853), or James Russell Lowell (1819-91) considered themselves liberal, tolerant Unitarianists.

[17] This "new school" of literature, philosophy, and religion wished, in the words of Hedge, to assemble "certain likeminded persons of our acquaintance for the free discussion of theological and moral subjects" (Mott: 1996, 223). They represented the liberal wing of the Unitarianists. Ultimately, Transcendentalists like Emerson and Theodore Parker (1810-60) denounced Unitarianism as outmoded and regressive. In Follen's writings and lectures on religious issues he did not limit his audience to a particular creed. Instead, he intended to equally address all denominations, be it Christian, Jew, Hindu, or Muslim. Summing up his beliefs in his book *Religion and the Church*, Follen identified "religion" as a "common tendency" which could be found in all cultures and was thus an integral part of human nature. His definition of religion as a constant progress of refinement, of self-perfection and a teleological "tendency of the human mind to the infinite" sounded those chords of self-reliance, which Emerson would pick up around the same time in *Nature* (1836) and soon afterwards in the ground-breaking essays "Self-Reliance" (1841) and "The Poet" (1844). Follen found himself in the middle of an increasingly delicate debate around religion and infidelity where German theologians became the butt of conservative critique, as for instance in Andrew Norton's *Discourse on the Latest Form of Infidelity* (1839). Norton attacked those American intellectuals who, like Follen and Emerson, advanced pantheist views based on Spinoza.

[18] "The subject of investigation is, the relation between God and the world; whether there be a God of nature, or nature itself be God. These are questions which call indeed for the utmost exertion of the spirit that is endowed with the singular power, and impelled by the unquenchable desire, to search all things, even the deep things of God" (Follen: 1841, I, 503). With his teachings on Christianity and Pantheism which he rooted in Hindoo writings such as the *Vedas* and the *Laws of Mayhnu*, Follen became an important link for American Transcendentalists to define their intellectual declaration of independence. It is striking that Follen's discussion of Plotinus concept of intuition as the immediate contemplation of God within the human being finds an echo in Emerson's quotation of Plotinus at the beginning of his first groundbreaking publication *Nature*. "Nature is but an image or imitation of wisdom, the last thing of the soul; nature being a thing which doth only do, but not know" (Emerson: 1979, 1).

[19] "Dr. Follen, the patriot hero of Germany, the student, the poet, the philosopher, the victim of the Holy Alliance, the Christian teacher, the American abolitionist, and the victim of American despotism. (...) He was one of those rare great spirits that find no alternative at the call of a great cause but obedience. He was the only European exile of that vintage who declined to prosper as an American by flattering the nation's sin, - so rare is the virtue that can pour out of its life-blood twice. While suffering proscription from the land of his birth, he identified himself with Garrison among the earliest, and suffered, with the rest, a fresh proscription from the land of his love and his adoption" (Martineau: 1877, II, 279). See also Channing, William Ellery, "Discourse" and "A Sketch of the Life of Dr. Follen," *Christian Examiner* (March, 1840): 68-87; 87-88; Parker, Theodore, "Life and Character of Dr. Follen," *The Dial* (January 1843): 343-62; Buchner, Karl, "Dr. Karl Follen," *Der Freihafen* 4 (1841): 71-76.

[20] Due to the vivid narration of Follen's dramatic biography, her literary account of Follen's role in the political *Vormärz* was reissued at the beginning of the 20th century.

[21] In a letter of Follen's brother Adolf Ludwig Follen to their friend Karl Jung in Berlin, he emphasizes the importance of Friedrich Ludwig Jahn for the student movement in Gießen. "Grüße den alten verehrten

Vater Jahn, dessen Verdienst wir alle das große Teil an unserer geistigen Auferstehehung zuschrieben. Ohne Jahn würde uns nichts gelungen sein." Published in Goebel, Julius, ed., *Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois, Jahrgang 1922-23* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924), 53. For a detailed analyis of the gymnastics movement at Gießen University see Gissel, Norbert, *Vom Burschenturnen zur Wissenschaft der Körperkultur. Struktur und Funktion der Leibesübungen an der Universität Gießen 1816-1945*, Studia Giessensia 5 (Gießen: Verlag der Ferber'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1995). It is important to note that the hidden revolutionary agenda behind the gymnastic movement during the *Vormärz* in Germany was absent in the American cultural environment. The process of depolitization can also be encountered in the gymnastics societies established by other German immigrants in the Midwest (Totten: 1964, 55).

[22] Regarding the function of Follen's *Das Große Lied* in German student life see Mehring, Frank, "'Sterben! was heißt das?' Der jugendliche Freitod im politischen Vormärz," *Jugend im Vormärz*, Detlev Kopp und Michael Vogt, eds. (Bielefeld: Aisthesis, 2007), 65-88.

[23] See Dörring, Johannes Wit, genannt von, *Fragmente aus meinem Leben und meiner Zeit*, Erster Band (Leipzig: Bräse, 1830), Appendix II, 430-48; Münch, Friedrich, "Das Leben von Dr. Karl Follen," *Gesammelte Schriften* (St. Louis, Missouri: Witter, 1902), 39-91; Follen, Charles, *The Works of Charles Follen with a Memoir of his Life*, 5 vols., Eliza Lee Cabot Follen, ed. (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, and Company, 1841), 1: (Appendix) 585-93. Handwritten versions of *Das Große Lied* by Follen's contemporaries are located at the Hessische Landesbibliothek Kassel and at the Archiv der Deutschen Burschenschaft in Frankfurt am Main. Eliza Lee Cabot Follen also quoted some of the poems in her biography. She was highly selective, though, and seems to have omitted those lines and verses, which would have put her husband in a radical and hence unfavorable light.

[24] The second article Follen published in the *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift* translates into "On the Legal Teachings of Spinoza." Baruch Spinoza represents one of the first modern philosophers who questioned the authority and literacy of the Bible. Follen introduces him as a model thinker on the search for truth. Using Spinoza's argument that God was the substance and eternal law behind every manifestation of life, Follen expanded on the idea of the individual quest for complete freedom. Follen went on to explain that human beings could live together on the basis of an ideal social contract of popular sovereignty. Spinoza's pantheistic ideas played a crucial role in the Transcendentalists' turn from Unitarianism to a form of moral self-reliance. See Follen, Karl, "Über die Rechtslehre des Spinoza," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift* (Basel, 1824). The first part was published in vol. 2.3 (1-27), the second part appeared in the following edition vol. 2.4. (28-62).

[25] See "Über die Bestimmung des Menschen," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*, Herausgegeben von Lehrern der Baseler Hochschule (Basel, 1823). The first part was published in vol. 1.1 (72-94), the second part appeared in the following edition vol. 1.2. (37-11).

[26] Follen, Charles, "Preface" to the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd edition of *German Reader for Beginners* (1826, 1828, 1831). The first edition was published in Cambridge by Hilliard and Metcalf in 1826. The second and third edition appeared in Boston and were published by Hilliard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins in 1828 and 1831 respectively.

[27] See Follen, Charles, *Preface* to the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd edition of *A Practical Grammar of the German Language*, By Charles Follen, Professor of the German Language and Literature in Harvard University (1828, 1831, 1834).

[28] See Follen, Charles, *Inaugural Discourse: Delivered before the University in Cambridge, Massachusetts September 3, 1831, on occasion of the author's induction into the Professorship of the German Language and Literature*, First published in Cambridge (Mass.) by Hilliard and Brown in 1831, Edited in Charles Follen, *The Works of Charles Follen with a Memoir of his Life*, 5 vols., Eliza Lee Cabot Follen, ed. (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, and Company, 1841) 5:125-52.

[29] See Follen, Charles, *Luther's German version of the Gospel of St. John with an interlinear English translation for the use of students* (Cambridge: J. Munroe, 1835).

[30] The lectures on Schiller are collected in Follen, Charles, *The Works of Charles Follen with a Memoir of his Life*, 5 vols., Eliza Lee Cabot Follen, ed. (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, and Company, 1841), vol. 4.

[31] See Follen, Charles, "Preface," Thomas Carlyle, *The Life of Friedrich Schiller. Comprehending an Examination of his Works*, From the London Edition (Boston: Carter, Hendee, and Company, 1833), iii-xvi.

[32] Follen, Charles, *The Works of Charles Follen with a Memoir of his Life*, 5 vols., Eliza Lee Cabot Follen, ed. (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, and Company, 1841), 3: see particularly lecture no. 13.

[33] See Follen, Charles, *The Works of Charles Follen with a Memoir of his Life*, 5 vols. Eliza Lee Cabot Follen, ed. (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, and Company, 1841), 5:189-227.

[34] See Follen, Charles, "The Cause of Freedom in Our Country," *Quarterly Antislavery Magazine* (October, 1836): 61-73.

[35] See "Anti-Slavery Principles and Proceedings," *Christian Examiner* (1838). The headline reads: "Art: VI. Correspondence between the Hon. F. H. Elmore, one of the South Carolina Delegation in Congress, and James G. Birney, one of the Secretaries of the American Anti-Slavery Society. New York: Published by the American Anti-Slavery Society. 1838. 8vo. pp. 68."

[36] See Follen, Charles, *The Works of Charles Follen with a Memoir of his Life*, 5 vols., Eliza Lee Cabot Follen, ed. (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, and Company, 1841), 1:627-33.

[37] The abolitionist Samuel May considered the speech as one of the bravest remarks on the issue of slavery. "There was not a word, not a tone, not a look of compromise in it. He met our opponents at the very points were some of our friends thought us deserving of blame, and he manfully maintained every inch of our ground" (May: 1869, 255-56). Due to Follen's commitment to the abolitionist cause, many of his contemporaries began to stigmatize him as a "foreign meddler."

[38] See Follen, Charles, *The Works of Charles Follen with a Memoir of his Life*, 5 vols., Eliza Lee Cabot Follen, ed. (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, and Company, 1841), 1:627-33.

[39] The bilingual edition will feature the following writings: I. Writings in Germany: *Ehrenspiegel der Burschenschaft zu Gießen, Beiträge zur Geschichte der teutschen Sammtschulen, Grundzüge für eine künftige teutsche Reichsverfassung, Das Große Lied, Die Gründung einer deutsch-amerikanischen Universität, Gedichte.* II. Writings in Switzerland: *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift: Grundsatz, Über die Bestimmung des Menschen, Über die Rechtslehre des Spinoza, Kodex des Jünglingbundes, Gedichte, Briefe.* III. Writings in the United States of America: *Deutsches Lesebuch für Anfänger/German Reader for Beginners, A Practical Grammar of the German Language, Inaugural Discourse, Luther's German Version of the Gospel of St. John, Plan of the Boston Seminary,* Thomas Carlyle's *The Life of Schiller, Lecture I: The Life of Schiller, Lecture X: Dramatic Sketches, Poetry, Lectures on Moral Philosophy: No. XIII, Address to the People of the United States on the Subject of Slavery, Speech before the Anti-Slavery Society, The Cause of Freedom in Our Country, Anti-Slavery Principles and Proceedings, Consistent Democracy, History, On the Future State of Man, Benjamin Constant's Work on Religion, Sermon XI: "Be ye perfect, even as your Father, which is in heaven, is perfect," Religion and the Church, Peace and War. Letters: An Christian Sartorius, An die Familie, To President John Quincy Adams, To Ralph Waldo Emerson, To Harriet Martineau, To William Ellery Channing.*

Illustrations

1. Charles Follen. Montage of Spiridione Gambardella's Portrait of Follen and Writings. Photo and graphic montage by Frank Mehring. Original in Follen Church, Lexington, MA.
2. Dept. of Modern Languages. Follen Reports and Papers: 1826-28. UA III 28.26. Reproduction Courtesy of the Harvard University Archives.
3. Charles Follen, *German Reader* (1826, 3rd edition 1831). Photography by the author
4. Charles Follen, *German Grammar* (1828). Photography by the author
5. Charles Follen, *Luther's German Version* (Cover, 1835). Photography by the author.
6. Charles Follen, *Luther's German Version* (First Page, 1835). Photography by the author.

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William E. Petig

The First Moravian Missions in the Midwest

The Moravian Church, the oldest Protestant denomination after the Waldensians, was founded in 1457 by the followers of John Hus, the reformer and rector of the University of Prague.[1] Accused of heresy and tried at the Council of Constance, Hus was burned at the stake on July 6, 1415. The founding of the Moravian Church, or *Unitas Fratrum* (Unity of Brethren) as it is officially known, took place 60 years before Martin Luther formulated his 95 theses in Wittenberg, Germany, in 1517.[2] The adherents of Hus survived years of oppression and persecution and for many years were forced to hold their religious services in secret.[3] In 1722 the Moravians were expelled from their native Bohemia and were invited by Count Nicholaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf to settle on his estate Berthelsdorf in Saxony.[4] Here on June 17, 1722, they established the community Herrnhut, which was to become both a religious as well as an industrial center.[5] From there the Moravians embarked in 1732 for St. Thomas in the West Indies to minister to the black slaves, their first mission endeavor in the New World.[6]

Through Zinzendorf the Moravians were heavily influenced by the movement of German Pietism.[7] Pietism stressed a more inward, heartfelt religious experience that was less dependent on theological reasoning and that was the result of "being born again" or the "Wiedergeburt." Second, there was a greater emphasis on a practical Christianity that was to express itself in good works and the disciplined practice of piety (*praxis pietatis*), e.g., prayer, Bible study, attendance at worship services, establishment of charitable organizations, and worldwide missionary work. Third, Pietism renewed the emphasis of the Reformation on the Scriptures as the sole source of doctrine, as the instrument through which the Holy Spirit worked repentance and conversion, and as the moral guide for the life of the reborn Christian. Pietism was responsible, therefore, for popularizing the Bible among the laity through its emphasis on Bible study, and the publication of inexpensive editions made possible the wide distribution of the Bible.[8] Fourth, the Pietists opposed the religious establishment of their day and felt their mission was to complete the second stage of the Reformation in the realm of Christian life.[9]

After the mission effort on St. Thomas in 1732, the Moravians established settlements in Georgia, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina. In 1735 ten Moravian men, including their leader August Gottlieb Spangenberg, established the first Moravian settlement on the North American continent in Savannah, Georgia, on five hundred acres secured from the trustees of the English colony of Georgia. The following year twenty-five more Moravians, this time including women and children, arrived with David Nitschmann, who became the first bishop of the Moravians in America. The original purpose of this colony was twofold: first, to provide a refuge for the Moravians if they were ever expelled from Saxony, and second, to begin missionary work among the Creek and Cherokee Indians.[10]

Among the passengers on board the ship *Simmonds* that brought this second group of settlers to Georgia was General James Oglethorpe, the founder of the Georgia colony, and the brothers Charles and John Wesley. When a severe storm struck during

the voyage, and most passengers feared for their lives, John Wesley was impressed by the calm and lack of fear of the Moravians as they continued to sing hymns during their *Singstunde*.[11] The tranquility they derived from their deep personal faith was at that time still unfamiliar to the newly appointed minister of the Anglican Church in Savannah and the future founding father of Methodism. John Wesley followed the missionary work of the Moravians with the local Indians with great interest and was so taken with his new Moravian friends that at one point he even wanted to join their membership. In order to converse with the Moravians, he took up the study of German and also tried to teach the Moravians English. He carried on extensive theological discussions with Spangenberg and sought personal counsel from him, often in university Latin, and later carried on dialogues with Bishop Nitschmann and Tölschig, the leader of the Savannah Moravians after Spangenberg and Nitschmann left. On his arrival in Georgia, Wesley lived and worshipped with the Moravians, and it was through this contact that he developed a deep appreciation of their hymns, which he began to translate from German into English.[12]

While Zinzendorf was visiting in London in 1737, he heard of the sorrowful plight of black slaves in Carolina who had just arrived from Africa. With financial support from Thomas Bray's society to propagate the gospel in the English colonies and with the backing of General Oglethorpe, he sent the missionaries Peter Boehler and George Schulius to Georgia in 1738 to start a mission with the slaves in neighboring Carolina. The following year Boehler and Schulius started holding religious services in Purisburg and established a school for black children and one for the children of white settlers. Their mission effort, however, was short-lived when both men came down with a fever that resulted in the death of Schulius and left Boehler too weak to continue his work with the black slaves.[13] Although there were further attempts over the years to minister to the black slaves in the south, none of them proved to be successful.[14]

The second major Moravian settlement was founded in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. A few individual Moravians had arrived as early as 1734. That same year the Moravian evangelist George Böhnisch accompanied a group of Schwenkfelders, who had found refuge on Zinzendorf's estate, but who were now asked to leave Saxony, to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Originally they planned to go to Georgia, but in Holland they changed their minds and instead set sail for Pennsylvania. In 1736 Spangenberg left the Georgia colony to minister to the Germans in Pennsylvania and to assess the possibility of organizing congregations in the area. By the time Zinzendorf visited Bethlehem in 1741, he was able to live in the *Gemeinhaus* and officially named the settlement Bethlehem at the Christmas Eve service that year.[15]

The third major Moravian settlement in America was established on land in North Carolina owned by Lord Granville of London. In 1752 Spangenberg and five men from Bethlehem rode on horseback to North Carolina to survey the land, and in 1753 they purchased 100,000 acres with funds raised by Moravians in England. Named Wachovia by Spangenberg, this tract was officially recognized as a Moravian district by the governor of North Carolina and is the site today of Winston-Salem, North Carolina.[16] While the settlements in North Carolina and Pennsylvania prospered, the Moravians left Savannah, Georgia, after five years because of the unhealthy climate and their unwillingness to take up arms to defend Savannah against the Spanish in Florida.[17] The settlement in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, eventually became the administrative

headquarters for the Northern Province of the Moravian Church in America, and Salem, North Carolina, which was founded in 1766 near the center of the Wachovia tract, became the administrative center for the Southern Province.

From the time the Moravians arrived in Georgia in 1735, one of their major objectives was to carry out missionary work among the American Indians. As the Indians were pushed westward, the Moravian missionaries followed; but as a result of these many moves, many of the Indian missions never became permanent settlements or organized congregations. When the Cherokee Indians were forced to leave Georgia in 1838 and move to what is now Oklahoma, their lands as well as those of the Moravian mission were taken over by Georgia and the neighboring states. After the long journey to the Indian Territory west of the Mississippi, during which thousands died, the Cherokees established a new nation, and the Moravian missionaries were permitted to organize several congregations for them. However, missionary work became difficult during the Civil War as lawless bands roamed the Indian Territory in Oklahoma, and in 1862, Henry Ward, a native minister, was shot to death as a Southern sympathizer. Churches in Springplace and Canaan, Oklahoma, were plundered or destroyed. A church was built in the Cherokee capital Tahlequah, but was sold to the Presbyterians when the mission effort there failed. In 1886 the Cherokees themselves provided funds for a church in Woodmont. When total membership declined to less than 200 and the government reduced mission farms to no more than four acres, the Moravians in 1899 decided to end their mission endeavor with the Cherokees.[18]

The Moravian missionaries who worked with the Delaware Indians in Pennsylvania similarly traveled about extensively as the Delaware tribe was forced to relocate. The most famous Moravian missionary to minister to the Delaware Indians was David Zeisberger, who in 1765 helped found the Indian village of Friedenshütten, Pennsylvania, for his Delaware converts.[19] However, when white settlers encroached on the settlement, he moved the Delawares to Ohio. Here they established the mission stations of Schönbrunn, Gnadenhütten, and Salem.[20] While most of the Indian tribes joined the British during the American Revolution, the Moravian converts among the Delaware remained neutral. In 1781 Zeisberger and his family and the other missionaries were accused by the British of being American spies and summoned to Detroit, Michigan. At the same time about 400 Indians were forced to abandon the mission station and the crops that had not yet been harvested. When a group of 150 Moravian Indians returned in March 1782 to Gnadenhütten to salvage some of their corn, 90 Indians were brutally massacred by an American militia force that had set out to avenge the mass murder of the William Wallace family by a different tribe of Indians. Deeply saddened by this loss, the missionaries, who had been acquitted of being spies, gathered their flock of converts north of Detroit, but the Indian mission never recovered from the Gnadenhütten massacre.[21] In 1787 Zeisberger and his group founded New Salem on the Huron River in Ohio, but because of renewed threats of Indian hostilities, they moved to Canada where they established the settlement Fairfield on the Thames River. Although the Moravian Indians prospered in Fairfield, many longed to return to their mission on the Tuscarawas River in Ohio, and in 1798 Zeisberger and seven Indian families returned to a new site near Schönbrunn, which they named Goshen, on land granted to the Moravian Indians for their losses during the Revolutionary War. In the spring of 1799 Moravians from Gnadenhütten, Pennsylvania, moved to Gnadenhütten,

Ohio, and founded the first congregation in Ohio. Later congregations were organized in Sharon (1817) and in Dover (1844). In 1824, however, the Delaware Indians at the Goshen station decided to move westward in search of new hunting lands, and their property at Goshen reverted to the United States.[22]

The Fairfield, Canada, mission station was destroyed during the war of 1812, but rebuilt as New Fairfield in 1815. As white settlers encroached on the New Fairfield reservation, two-thirds of the Fairfield Delaware moved in 1837 to the area where the Kansas River flows into the Missouri and founded Westfield. In 1853 they moved to what is now Fort Leavenworth and six years later to New Westfield. By 1905 the mission in New Westfield, Kansas, had declined to sixty-nine members and was closed. In 1903 the Methodists took over the mission in New Fairfield, Canada.[23] Mission work among immigrants in Michigan was not resumed until 1870, when a congregation at Unionville was organized.

The second Moravian mission effort in the Midwest came about in 1825 when a group of Moravian settlers from North Carolina moved to what is now Bartholomew County, Indiana.[24] Martin Hauser, a farmer and brick maker from Salem, North Carolina, who had already made two trips to Indiana to check out land, felt called to minister to the Indiana Moravians who were without a pastor and a church. After receiving official approval from Church authorities in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, to proceed with his project of establishing a congregation in Indiana, Hauser sold his farm and in 1829 set out with his wife Susanna and their three children for Indiana. With $200.00 forwarded by Ludwig David von Schweinitz, the administrator of Church property in Pennsylvania, Hauser was able to purchase 160 acres of Church land in the New Purchase on which to build a town. The New Purchase was a large territory of rich farmland in central Indiana that had been ceded to the United States at St. Mary's, Ohio, on October 3, 1818, by the Delaware, Wea, Kickapoo, Miami, and Potawatomi Indians. Work commenced immediately on the construction of a church in Goshen, which was later renamed Hope, and on June 17, 1830, the log church, still without a roof, was dedicated. Hauser began to conduct regular worship services there and soon had established a number of preaching stations in the surrounding area, but as a lay pastor he was unable to baptize, confirm, and marry members. Although he had received only about 18 months of formal education in the German school in Salem and to a large extent was self-educated, Hauser was officially called as pastor to Hope in 1832 and ordained as a Moravian minister in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1833.[25]

Hauser's community in Hope, Indiana, was unique among Moravian settlements established in the Midwest since it was built on land owned by the Church and closed to non-Moravians until 1836. Non-members were welcomed to attend services, but they could not own or lease property in Hope. This exclusivity resembled the Moravian "Economy" or communal system of life that the Moravians brought with them from Herrnhut and that existed in the settlement congregations in Bethlehem and Nazareth, Pennsylvania, until 1762 and in Salem, North Carolina, for almost a decade longer. The Economies, in which the Church owned all property and businesses, had been a practical means for settlers on the frontier to combine their resources in order to feed, clothe, and shelter the members of their community and to produce sufficient funds to carry on the missionary work of the Church. According to the Hamiltons, the Economies were more a "community of labor rather than of property" and were not considered

a permanent institution.[26] Biggs states that the settlement of Hope was a Moravian Economy in all but name until 1836, when the town was platted and lots were sold. Although Hauser continued to believe until as late as 1860 that the Economy system could be used by the Church to help congregations become self-sufficient, he never used the term "Economy." Biggs speculates that Hauser may not have used the term Economy because it was no longer in use by the early nineteenth century and because there may have been some negative associations with a social concept that originated in Europe.[27] Hope developed into a Moravian stronghold and from 1866 to 1881 was also the site of a Young Women's Seminary.[28]

In 1843 Church officials in Bethlehem asked Hauser to visit Moravians from North Carolina who had settled in New Salem, Illinois. After visits there in 1844 and 1845 to preach and provide the sacraments, he was officially called to become their pastor in what was now called West Salem in 1847. In 1849 this settlement was strengthened by a contingent of Moravians from Gersdorf near Herrnhut, Germany, but controversy developed between the Germans and the original English-speaking members on how to run the church. A new pastor was called, and Hauser resigned so he could devote his energies to other preaching stations, especially to Olney, located 17 miles from West Salem. In 1854 Hauser supervised the construction of a church in Olney while still living in West Salem. In 1857 the division between the Germans and English became so great that it was decided to split the congregation, and with the approval of the provincial synod of 1858 Hauser raised funds to construct a new church in West Salem for the English members. In 1860 he became the pastor of this new church.[29]

In 1861 the Civil War broke out and not only cut off all communication between the Northern and Southern Provinces of the Moravian church, but also pitted brother against brother. Martin Hauser's diaries give us a first-hand account of how the Civil War affected one Midwestern Moravian community in particular. Whereas during the Revolutionary War, many Moravians adhered to their pacifistic principles and refused to take up arms or to take sides in the conflict, this was not the case during the Civil War. Hauser reports that the loyalties of the Moravians in West Salem were with the North and against slavery, and over fifty men from the community volunteered for the Union Army. Some of the young men even took along their musical instruments so they could celebrate Easter in the Moravian tradition. Three of Hauser's own sons-in-law fought for the North; one served under General Grant at Vicksburg and another under General Sherman. During their three-year absence, Hauser and his wife helped to care for their three daughters and twelve grandchildren. Although Hauser's three sons-in-law returned home safely, many of West Salem's sons were wounded, died on the battlefield, or were never heard from again. Towards the end of the war, he recounts that a company of Union soldiers hunted down and unceremoniously shot a band of Southern guerillas who were active in the area and who had committed murder in Kentucky.[30]

Hauser expresses his strong opposition to slavery and support of Lincoln in an essay on "Slavery and the Rebellion" that he wrote for his diary. He sees the hand of God at work in Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and considers his second inaugural address so important that he inserts a copy of it in his essay and deems it worthy of being placed among the canonical books of the Bible.[31]

As German immigration to the United States, especially to the new western states, continued to increase, reaching a high point of 215,000 in 1854,[32] Moravian officials

in Bethlehem received numerous requests for pastors from Moravian settlers on the frontier or from German-speaking settlers who had been acquainted with the Moravians in Europe, but these requests often could not be filled. Until the establishment of Moravian Theological Seminary in 1807 in Nazareth, Pennsylvania, the Moravians had to depend on ministers and missionaries trained primarily in Germany, who were unfamiliar with the problems confronting the Church in America and ways of handling them.[33] It is not surprising, therefore, that untrained men such as Martin Hauser were called to serve as lay pastors and that Church authorities appointed pastors from Europe of other denominations, especially of the Lutheran Church, who were willing to join the Moravian fold. Additional support for the growing need for pastoral care was also provided by home mission societies. The Home Mission Society of the United Brethren's Church of New York was founded in 1833, the United Brethren's Home Missionary Society of North Carolina in 1835, the Bethlehem Home Mission Society in 1849, and the Home Mission Board in the Northern Province in 1855. Many congregations also established their own home mission societies. These societies undertook the personal and financial assistance of missionaries and missions in certain places and thereby assisted church extension.[34]

The first Moravian missionaries in Wisconsin were Andrew Michael Iverson and Nils Otto Tank, who both arrived in Milwaukee from Norway in 1848 and began to work among the large number of Norwegian and Swedish immigrants there. Tank had served as a Moravian missionary in Surinam, and Iverson had become acquainted with the Moravians as a student at the Stavanger Mission Institute in Norway. Iverson now wrote to Church authorities in Bethlehem to ask permission to establish a Moravian Church in Milwaukee for his followers and to request ordination.[35]

In 1849 the Home Mission Board in Bethlehem sent the Rev. John Frederick Fett to the Midwest to interview Iverson and to explore the possibility of establishing mission places in the area around Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Quincy, Illinois. Born in 1800 to Lutheran parents near Nuremberg, Germany, Fett first studied law and then theology at the University of Erlangen. After joining the Moravians, he worked in missions in Switzerland and Southern Germany. In 1848 he traveled to America and ministered to the German immigrants in Philadelphia until he was asked to go to Wisconsin. On October 22, 1849, Fett organized Iverson's followers into the first Moravian congregation in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and served as its pastor until Iverson was ordained in Bethlehem in 1850. When Iverson returned to Milwaukee, he moved the congregation to Green Bay, where Tank had rented space in an Indian Mission School for the colony. In 1853, however, Iverson, had a falling out with Tank and led his followers to Door County, Wisconsin, where they founded the community of Eagle Harbor, which later became Ephraim. As a home missionary, Iverson continued to minister to Scandinavian immigrants in Wisconsin and Illinois, and the last congregation he organized was at Fort Howard, which became Green Bay, West, Moravian Church. Since their parishioners spoke Norwegian, they at first had to call pastors from Scandinavia.[36]

In the meantime, Fett turned his attention to missionary efforts among the growing number of German immigrants in the area, most of whom had left Germany because of poor economic conditions and political unrest. In 1851 Fett organized a German church in Green Bay with a flourishing day school, in which both he and his wife taught.[37]

While serving as a Moravian missionary in Surinam, Nils Otto Tank had discovered

gold fields and acquired considerable wealth. Later in New York City, he had become acquainted with William B. Astor, the son of the wealthy German immigrant and fur trader, John Jacob Astor. The younger Astor was interested in setting up businesses in northern Wisconsin and offered Tank land in Green Bay for a settlement church. By 1850 a plan for selling shares to investors was developed to raise funds for members who wanted to purchase lots and form a colony. Support for the venture, however, faded among Church authorities in Bethlehem, who were still dealing with complications of previous settlements in Pennsylvania and North Carolina. In addition, the lack of support of Iverson and Fett for the settlement concept and their distrust of Tank led to the demise of the plan. At one time Tank also hoped to establish a Moravian College in Wisconsin and on May 15, 1858, was granted a charter by the State of Wisconsin. However, the Provincial Elders' Conference in Bethlehem declined his generous offer of land, $10,000 dollars in bonds, and his extensive library, since the Church had recently established the Theological Seminary in Bethlehem. At his death, Tank's library of 5000 volumes was given to the Wisconsin Historical Society.[38]

On the basis of Fett's report of his travels through Wisconsin and Illinois, the Home Mission Society was persuaded to send in spring 1853 a second missionary, the Rev. Johann Gottlob Kaltenbrunn, to minister to the German immigrants in Jefferson County, Wisconsin. Born in Kammelwitz, Silesia, on March 20, 1805, Kaltenbrunn worked as a teacher and pastor in Germany before coming to America to serve as a home missionary to German-speaking immigrants in New York City. In the spring of 1853 Kaltenbrunn and some of his followers from New York traveled to Watertown, Wisconsin. On June 17, 1853, only a month and a half after his arrival he dedicated the Ebenezer Moravian Church, located four miles south of Watertown and one mile east of the Rock River on land that was still largely covered by virgin stands of elm, basswood, oak, and maple trees. Like many frontier pastors, he founded a German day school that continued to hold classes until 1925. While serving as pastor at Ebenezer, he organized the Watertown congregation and served as its pastor from 1854 to 1864. With horse and wagon he traveled the surrounding area and established numerous preaching places, some of which eventually became organized congregations, e.g., Watertown (1854), Lake Mills (1856), and DeForest (formerly Windsor, 1885). In view of Kaltenbrunn's incredible outreach and achievements, he has often been referred to as the "Father of the Moravian Church in Wisconsin." He died in Watertown, Wisconsin, on August 24, 1895.[39]

The third field of missionary activity in Wisconsin occurred in the area around Wisconsin Rapids in Wood County, then known as Centralia. A German congregation was organized in 1889 to serve members from Centralia and Grand Rapids, and the Scandinavian Moravian Church, later renamed Trinity Moravian Church, was founded in 1897.

Although four more attempts were made to organize a congregation in Milwaukee, none were successful. However, today there are two Moravian congregations in Madison, Wisconsin, Glenwood (1948) and Lakeview (1954).

The first German immigrants arrived in Jefferson County, Wisconsin, in the early 1840s. Like the Moravians, many came from Brandenburg and Pomerania, Germany, and were attracted to the area by the enthusiastic letters and reports of good land that they received from friends and relatives.[40] By 1846, two years before Wisconsin

joined the Union, Watertown with a population of 2362 was the second largest city in Wisconsin, although it was not officially incorporated as a city until 1853.[41] By that time Germans were arriving in large groups and soon outnumbered the English and Irish inhabitants of the city. In 1855, two years after Kaltenbrunn arrived in Watertown, Carl Schurz, one of the Forty-Eighters who was forced to flee Germany, brought his family to Watertown. In 1856 his wife, Margarethe Meyer Schurz, founded the first American kindergarten there. During the Civil War Schurz was appointed U.S. minister to Spain by Lincoln, but resigned to take a commission as a brigadier general in the Union Army. Later he was elected senator from Missouri and served as U.S. Secretary of the Interior under Rutherford B. Hayes.[42]

By 1856 the Moravians had established sixteen home mission places in the northern Midwest with about 850 members. In addition to preaching places in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin, missions were established in Iowa, Kansas, Oklahoma, Minnesota, and North Dakota.[43] Mission work began in Iowa in 1854, and at one time there were preaching places in Richland, Moravia, Victor, Blairstown, and North English. Congregations were organized in Gracehill (1866), Harmony (1869), and Blairstown (1878), but none of these exist today.[44] In 1877 a congregation was organized in Osborne, Kansas, but ten years later it was disbanded when the parishioners, discouraged by the severe drought, left the area. Missions were established in Mount Carmel, Kansas, among the Scandinavian settlers and in Oakland and Spring Grove, Missouri, but none of these survived as organized congregations. It was difficult to maintain these small mission churches when families consolidated their farmland or they acquired new land elsewhere and moved.[45]

Moravian missions in Minnesota and North Dakota tended to be more stable, and many became self-reliant congregations that still exist today. In 1857 Martin Adam Erdmann was sent as the first missionary to Minnesota to minister to Moravians who had moved there from Hopedale, Pennsylvania, and soon preaching places were established in Laketown (Lake Auburn), Zoar, and Henderson. In 1867 George Henry Reusswig was sent to Winona, Minnesota, to work with families who had moved there from Ebenezer, Wisconsin. Here they established the congregations of Bethany in 1867 and Hebron in 1868, and in 1874 the settlers across the valley from Bethany founded the Berea congregation. In 1878 families from the Bethany and the Berea congregations moved to Cass County in North Dakota, where they organized the Goshen and Canaan congregations. In 1891 several more families from the Berea congregation moved to North Dakota and started the Bethel and Casselton churches.[46]

While the Moravians founded numerous preaching places and mission congregations throughout the Midwest, many had to be abandoned or were turned over to other denominations when settlers moved westward in search of more or better farmland. In some instances pastors accompanied settlers to the new territory, but in most cases families, once they were settled, would write to Church officials to request a pastor who could fill the dual role of spiritual leader and schoolmaster.

In view of the large number of Moravian missions and preaching stations begun in the Midwest, one would expect a much larger number of organized congregations in the area. However, church extension was hampered for several reasons. First, there was the fact that for over a century after establishing settlements in the New World the American Moravians were not an autonomous organization, but continued to be governed by the Unity Board in Herrnhut, Germany. The General Synod of 1849 finally

passed resolutions that allowed American Moravians to develop a church polity that conformed to American needs and conditions. As a result the American congregations were organized into Northern and Southern Provinces with constitutional authority to manage their own affairs.[47] Second, the primary focus of the Moravian Church in Europe from early on was on missionary work among the unchurched, and as a result they were not accustomed to proselytizing among members of other denominations. Traditionally Moravians considered themselves an "*ecclesiolae in ecclesia*" within the established church, and many continued to maintain their membership in the Lutheran Church or State Church. Zinzendorf had urged the Moravians in the New World to form a union with other Christian churches, a move strongly resisted by Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the father of Lutheranism in Pennsylvania.[48] Third, there was still a debate about which model of church life to follow: the settlement church or the diaspora model of organizing a congregation made up of colonists who were acquainted with the Moravian Church or had been members of the Lutheran Church in Europe. Since Lutheran and Moravian pastors often sought out members from the same group of settlers, hostility between the competing pastors developed.[49]

Confronted with denominational lines reflecting those of Europe, the Moravians soon realized that their own survival depended on church extension and their own uniquely American administrative structure. The last half of the nineteenth century, therefore, saw major church expansion, especially in the Northern Province. By 1877 the Northern Province had over 14,144 members as opposed to only 1936 in the Southern. By 1927, however, the Southern Province had increased to 10,504 members.[50]

As Moravians established missions and eventually organized congregations in the Midwest, they generally set up schools for all children in the community. Until a schoolhouse could be built, the parsonage or church usually served as the classroom, and the language of instruction was most often German. Although enrollment in German declined sharply in schools in the Upper Midwest after World War I, German continued to be the language of the worship services well into the 1940s in Moravian congregations. For example, at the Ebenezer Moravian Church near Watertown, Wisconsin, church services and confirmation instruction were conducted in German even after many of the young people attended local public schools where English was the language of instruction. From 1900 to 1925 Ebenezer's German day school became a German summer school so that young people in the congregation who had learned to speak German at home could also learn to read and write in German. After a transitional phase of two services a month in German and two in English, it was decided in 1943 to conduct services entirely in English. Several Lutheran Churches in Watertown, Wisconsin, however, continued to conduct services in German until well into the 1960s.[51]

Today the Moravian Church in North America has congregations in seventeen states and two Canadian provinces. There are thirty-four congregations in Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, North Dakota, and Wisconsin with 7,406 members.[52] Total membership in the Northern Province in 2006 was 23,780 and in the Southern Province 17,294 for a total of 41,074 members in North America. Worldwide membership stands at well over 825,000 members spread over five continents.[53]

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Notes

[1] This paper was presented at the 28th Annual Symposium of the Society of German-American Studies, New Ulm, MN, 23 April 2004.

[2] The best history in English of the Moravian Church is by J. Taylor Hamilton and Kenneth G. Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church: The Renewed Unitas Fratrum 1722-1957* (Bethlehem, PA: Interprovincial Board of Christian Education, Moravian Church in America, 1967).

[3] For an overview of these years, see also Amedeo Molnár, "Die böhmische Brüder-unität: Abriss ihrer Geschichte," and Adolf Vacovsky, "History of the 'Hidden Seed' 1620-1722," in *Unitas Fratrum*, ed. Mari P. van Buijtenen, Cornelis Dekker, and Huib Leeuwenberg (Utrecht: Rijksarchief, 1975), 15-54.

[4] The standard English biography of Zinzendorf is by John R. Weinlick, *Count Zinzendorf* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956). The three-volume definitive biography in German is by Erich Beyreuther, *Der junge Zinzendorf* (Marburg: Francke-Buchhand-lung, 1957), *Zinzendorf und die sich allhier beisammen finden* (Marburg: Francke-Buch-handlung, 1959), and *Zinzendorf und die Christenheit* (Marburg: Francke-Buch-handlung, 1961). Arthur J. Freeman provides an excellent overview of the life and theology of Zinzendorf in *An Ecumenical Theology of the Heart: The Theology of Count Nicholaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf* (Bethlehem, PA: Board of Communications Moravian Church in America, 1998). The first biography of Zinzendorf was written by August Gottlieb Spangenberg, *Leben des Herrn Nicolaus Ludwig Grafen und Herrn von Zinzendorf und Pottendorf*, 3 vols. (Barby: Zu finden in den Brüdergemeinen, 1772-75). More recent publications dealing with the life and work of Count Zinzendorf, especially on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of his birth, are: Dietrich Meyer, *Zinzendorf und die Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine 1700-2000* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000) and his anthology of Zinzendorf's writings and hymns, *Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf: Er der Meister, wir die Brüder* (Gießen: Brunnen-Verlag, 2001); Dietrich Meyer et al., eds., *Graf ohne Grenzen: Leben und Werk von Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf: Ausstellung im Völkerkundemuseum Herrnhut, Außenstelle des Staatlichen Museums für Völkerkunde Dresden, und im Heimatmuseum der Stadt Herrnhut, vom 26. Mai 2000 bis zum 7. Januar 2001* (Herrnhut: Unitätsarchiv in Herrnhut im Verlag der Comeniusbuchhandlung, 2000); and Martin Brecht and Paul Peucker, *Neue Aspekte der Zinzendorf-Forschung. Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus*, Bd. 47 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006).

[5] The Moravians were soon referred to as "Herrnhuter" or residents of Herrnhut, which means "in the protection of the Lord." The official German name of the Moravians is the "Brüdergemeinde" or "Brüdergemeine."

[6] Hamilton, 34-51; Weinlick, 93-101.

[7] For a concise overview of Pietism, see "German Pietism and Theological Anti- pietism" in William E. Petig, *Literary Antipietism in Germany during the First Half of the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Peter Lang, 1984) 10-40. The most extensive treatment of Pietism in English is the two volumes by F. Ernest Stoeffler, *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965) and *German Pietism during the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973). The most comprehensive history of Pietism in German is the four volumes edited by Martin Brecht et al., *Geschichte des Pietismus*, 4 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993-2004), which replace the dated history by Albrecht Ritschel, *Geschichte des Pietismus*, 3 vols. (Bonn: Adolph Marcus, 1880-86).

[8] By the end of the eighteenth century the Canstein Bibelanstalt in Halle, founded by August Hermann Francke and Carl Hildebrand von Canstein in 1712, had distributed over two and a half million copies of the Bible or sections thereof; see Stoeffler, *German Pietism*, 36.

[9] Stoeffler, *Evangelical Pietism*, 22-23. See also Philipp Jacob Spener, *Pia desideria*, ed. Kurt Aland (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1940); here Spener describes the prevailing conditions in the church and offers specific suggestions for improvement.

[10] James Nelson, "John Wesley and the Georgia Moravians," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 23.3-4 (1984): 17-47. See also Hamilton, 82-83; Vernon Nelson, "The Moravian Church in America," in *Unitas Fratrum*, 145-46.

[11] James Nelson, 23-25. The *Singstunde*, a devotional service originally instituted by Zinzendorf, consisted of the singing of hymns that were related thematically to the Old Testament watchword (*Losung*) of the day.

[12] James Nelson, 22-43. See also Henry D. Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism* (London: Epworth Press, 1989), 114-15, 122-23.

[13] Adelaide L. Fries, *The Moravians in Georgia, 1735-1740* (Raleigh, NC: Edwards and Broughton, 1905; reprint, Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1967), 201-20.

[14] In 1822 a separate congregation for blacks was organized in Salem, North Carolina, and in 1847 a mission to black slaves in Woodstock, Florida, was begun. Some Moravian farmers in the South owned slaves

and sanctioned the system. Even after emancipation, repressive laws made association between blacks and whites difficult and resulted in segregated congregations; see Vernon Nelson, 161.

[15] Hamilton, 82-93; Weinlick, 158-63.

[16] Hamilton, 140f; Vernon Nelson, 149-51. Wachovia is the anglicized version of Wachau, the name of Zinzendorf's Austrian estate.

[17] Hamilton, 84-85. Moravians had a long tradition of being pacifists, which caused them considerable difficulties later during the Revolutionary War.

[18] Hamilton, 291-94, 512-13; Vernon Nelson, 164-65.

[19] Hamilton, 144, 288-89; Vernon Nelson, 153; and Carola Wessel, "'We Do Not Want to Introduce Anything New': Transplanting the Communal Life from Herrnhut to the Upper Ohio Valley" in *In Search of Peace and Prosperity: New German Settlements in Eighteenth-Century Europe and America,* ed. Hartmut Lehmann et al. (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 246-62. Zeisberger spoke Delaware, Mohawk, and Onondaga languages fluently and was familiar with other Indian dialects. In addition to his *Iroquois Grammar* and *Iroquois-German Dictionary*, he translated the Bible and the Moravian Hymnbook into Delaware and wrote a history of the Indian nations.

[20] Gnadenhütten, Ohio, was named after Gnadenhütten, the mission station in Pennsylvania, where during the French and Indian War a band of Indians set fire to the mission house and killed most of the inhabitants.

[21] Hamilton, 282-86; Vernon Nelson, 154-55.

[22] Hamilton, 286.

[23] Vernon Nelson, 163-65.

[24] For an introduction to church extension into the Midwest, see David A. Schattschneider, "Moravians in the Midwest—1850 to 1900: A New Appreciation," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 23.3-4 (1984): 47-69.

[25] Earl R. Shay, ed., *The Old Pioneer of the New Purchase,* unpublished manuscript, 1991, 10-94; this is an edited and harmonized version of Martin Hauser's four unpublished diaries that Shay discovered in the attic of the parsonage of the Hope Moravian church when he served as pastor there. See also Earl R. Shay, "Martin Hauser: The Old Pioneer of the New Purchase," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 23.3-4 (1984), 79-99; and Charles T. Biggs, "Martin Hauser and the Moravian Economy at Hope, Indiana, 1829-36," unpublished MA thesis, Indiana Central College, 1972, 13-40; Hamilton, 235-38; Vernon Nelson, 158.

[26] Hamilton, 137-38, 144-45. For a thorough discussion of the Economy in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and its system of choirs for all members of the community, see Gillian L. Gollin, *Moravians in Two Worlds: A Study of Changing Communities* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967). See also Beverly Prior Smaby, *The Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988) for a discussion of the choir system, 10-11, 81-83; the Economy and its dissolution, 30-33, 92-93; and the different types of Moravian congregations, 25-26.

[27] Biggs, 41-60.

[28] Vernon Nelson, 158.

[29] Shay, 70-186; Shay, "Martin Hauser," 89; Hamilton, 205, 404.

[30] Shay, 178-79.

[31] Shay, 225-28.

[32] For an overview of German immigration to the United States, see Walter D. Kamphoefner et al., eds., Susan Carter Vogel, trans., *News from the Land of Freedom: German Immigrants Write Home* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 1-26.

[33] In 1858 the seminary was moved to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where it is located today as part of Moravian College and Theological Seminary.

[34] Vernon Nelson, 158; Schattschneider, 54-56.

[35] The Historical Records Survey, Division of Women's and Professional Projects, and Works Progress Administration, *Inventory of the Church Archives of Wisconsin: Moravian Church* (Madison, WI: The Historical Records Survey, 1938), 2; Schatt- schneider, 57-58.

[36] Schattschneider, 57-59.

[37] The Historical Records Survey, 3, 5.

[38] The Historical Records Survey, 4-6; Schattschneider, 59-62, 67.

[39] The Historical Records Survey, 6, 20-21; William E. Petig, "History of Ebenezer Moravian Church: 1853-2003," in *Ebenezer Moravian Church: 1853-2003: 150th Anniversary Commemorative Booklet* (Fort Atkinson, WI: Ebenezer Moravian Church, 2003), 9-22.

[40] W.J. Wesenberg, "Brief History of the Ebenezer Congregation: 1853-1928," unpublished manuscript, 1928. See also Elmer C. Kiessling, *Watertown Remembered* (Milwaukee, WI: Watertown Historical

Association, 1976), 72-76.

[41] W.F. Jannke III, *Watertown: A History* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2002), 38-39.

[42] Kiessling, 77-78, 90-92. See also Joseph Schafer, *Carl Schurz: Militant Liberal* (Evansville, WI: Antes Press, 1930), 76-115, for his years in Wisconsin.

[43] There were many preaching places that had a very short existence; only the major preaching places are mentioned here.

[44] Hamilton, 242, 244, 403, 407, 409.

[45] Hamilton, 413, 416.

[46] Hamilton, 415-16.

[47] Hamilton, 184-85, 238ff.

[48] Hamilton, 91, 138-39; W. R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 254-55. For an extensive discussion of the Zinzendorf and Muhlenberg confrontation, see W. H. Wagner, *The Zinzendorf-Muhlenberg Encounter* (Nazareth, PA: Moravian Historical Society, 2002).

[49] Schattschneider, 62-64.

[50] Vernon Nelson, 173.

[51] Petig, "History of Ebenezer," 15.

[52] See the appendix for a list of congregations in the Midwest taken from "Statistics of the Moravian Church US & Canada," *The Moravian* 38.9 (2007): 39-40. These statistics are as of 31 December 2006, and included thirty-five congregations. The Watertown, Mamre, congregation became a fellowship on 9 September 2007 due to declining membership.

[53] Over half of the worldwide membership of the Moravian Church is in Tanzania, a former German colony. Since 1999 the Moravian Church has been in full communion with the Evangelical Lutheran church of America (ELCA), and it is in a continuing dialogue with the Episcopal Church.

Appendix

	(total membership)
Illinois	
West Salem	303
Indiana	
Hope	487
Michigan	
Daggett	48
Unionville	244
Westland, Grace	93
Minnesota	
Altura, Our Savior's	171
Chaska	128
Maple Grove, Christ's Com.	152
Northfield	109
St. Charles, Berea	152
Victoria, Lake Auburn	122
Waconia	389
North Dakota	
Davenport, Canaan	195
Durbin, Goshen	139
Fargo, Shepherd of the Prairie	62
Leonard, Bethel	95
Wisconsin	
Appleton, Freedom	216
Cambridge, London	101
DeForest, Christian Faith	155

Ephraim	148
Green Bay, East	72
Green Bay, West	269
Lake Mills	895
Madison, Glenwood	115
Madison, Lakeview	186
Pittsville, Veedum	63
Rudolph	33
Sister Bay	182
Sturgeon Bay	554
Watertown, Ebenezer	156
Watertown, Mamre	23
Watertown	396
Wisconsin Rapids, Kellner	83
Wisconsin Rapids, Saratoga	145
Wisconsin Rapids	387

Taken from "Statistics of the Moravian Church US & Canada," *The Moravian* 38.9 (2007): 39-40.

Matthew Lange

"Vergiß es nie, daß die Juden uns vertrieben haben": Did Anti-Semitism Migrate with Germans to the United States in the Nineteenth Century?[1]

The heaviest period of German emigration to the United States occurred in the 1880s, when nearly 1.5 million souls embarked on the journey across the Atlantic.[2] While an earlier wave following the failed 1848 revolution was politically motivated, the impetus for this second mass exodus consisted of declining economic conditions, which had been precipitated by both a stock market crash in 1873 and declining grain prices due to increased imports from abroad. Within just a few years of Germany's martial unification in 1871, the new country faced its first major socio-economic challenges. Although the imperial government returned to protectionist policies by raising tariffs by the end of the decade at the request of the agro-industrial "Eisen und Roggen" (iron and rye) alliance, these measures were not enough to alleviate the economic hardship of the little man. As a result, many Germans sought their fortunes elsewhere.

Another, more ominous, internal consequence of this economic situation in Germany was the genesis of political anti-semitism,[3] which debuted following the coinage of the term in 1879, the deepest point of this "Great Depression" that continued until 1896.[4] The 1880s thus became an incubation period of anti-semitism as numerous organizations arose with two goals. First, the anti-semites hoped to reverse Jewish emancipation, which had been granted throughout the Reich at the time of unification. Second, the anti-semites sought to combat the allegedly destructive influence of "Jewish" capitalism, which they claimed was the cause of the economic and cultural misery.[5] By 1887, Otto Böckel became the first candidate to campaign on an anti-semitic platform and win a seat in the Reichstag for his district in Hessen, where he was referred to as the "Bauernkönig" (peasant's king), since he drew his support primarily from the impoverished farmers.

While the protectionist policy of the 1880s stabilized the German economy, the situation deteriorated when Bismarck's successor as chancellor, Leo von Caprivi, flirted again with free-market principles in the early 1890s. As a result, a second, more developed wave of anti-semitism crashed upon the scene. By 1893 the anti-semitic parties had reached their zenith, when representatives of both the Deutschsoziale Partei (German Social Party, DSP) and the Deutsche Reform-Partei (German Reform Party, DRP) attained 16 of 397 seats in the Reichstag – up from five in the election of 1890.[6] Concurrently, anti-semitic literature began to flourish.

With the emergence in Germany of anti-semitic rhetoric in public discourse during the 1870s following both the emancipation of the Jews and the onset of economic problems as well as the genesis of anti-semitic political agitation in the 1880s, one might conclude that these sentiments also accompanied the swarm of German émigrés to the United States at this same time. Indeed, the very economic problems that compelled many to leave Germany also lead many to gravitate toward anti-semitism. In a speech to the Berlin-based Deutscher Antisemitenbund (German Antisemites League) in

1886, for example, Otto Böckel explained that he had become an anti-semite after only witnessing the foreclosure of numerous farms in Hessen.[7] Even August Bebel, the co-founder of the social democratic movement in Germany, which vied with anti-semitic groups for the anticapitalist demographic, noted that animosity against Jews as well as the complaints of farmers were not simply invented:

> Ihnen [den Bauern] tritt eben das Kapital hauptsächlich in der Gestalt des Juden entgegen. In Hessen und andern Teilen Südwestdeutschlands zum Beispiel, wo ich die Verhältnisse kenne – da sind die Hypotheken in den Händen der Juden und die Käufer agrarischer Produkte auf allen Märkten sind Juden. Dadurch erscheinen alle schlimmen Wirkungen des Kapitalismus den Leuten immer in der Gestalt des Juden, und da ist es ganz natürlich, daß diese Schichten, die nicht gewohnt sind, viel über das kapitalistische System zu grübeln, sondern sich an die Formen und Erfahrungen halten, in denen es ihnen gegenübertritt, dem Antisemitismus verfallen.[8]

> Capital confronts them [the farmers] primarily in the shape of the Jew. In Hessen and other areas of southwest Germany, for example, where I am familiar with the situation, the mortgages are in the hands of the Jews and the buyers of agricultural products at all markets are Jews. In this way all negative effects of capitalism appear to the people in the shape of the Jew, and there it is completely natural that these groups – which are not used to brooding over the capitalist system, but rather hold onto the forms and experiences in which it confronts them – fall under the spell of anti-semitism.

In other words, the agricultural milieu was a hotbed of anti-semitism, and it appears that one would easily fall victim to its rhetoric. If this was the case then, one should also expect that a farmer who had lost his property and found it necessary to emigrate would carry the same animosity with him.

In standard works on German-American history, though, there is a dearth of information on anti-semitism within the German-American community and on its relations with Jews.[9] This paper will therefore highlight how anti-semitic propaganda from the 1890s asserted that the Jews were the cause of German emigration and reveal a link to the German-American Waldemar Wernich who not only published his own anti-semitic novel in the United States, but also ultimately attempted to import an aggressive hatred of the Jews to his adopted homeland.

I

In addition to the birth of anti-semitic political activism in Germany during the latter part of the nineteenth century there was also a marked increase in anti-semitic fictional literature, whose authors sought to "enlighten" the reader on the so-called *Judenfrage* (Jewish Question). Two of the earliest literary works representing this renewed interest in anti-Jewish agitation that appeared in the early 1890s are Fritz Claus's dark "comedy" *Der Wucherer* (The Usurer, 1890) and Clemens Kreisau's short story *Bauer und Jude* (Farmer and Jew, 1891).[10] Like many other works of this persuasion,[11] both portray

swindling, vengeful Jews and their peasant victims. However, while Claus's characters take matters into their own hands to regain their property, Kreisau's work begins to sing the praises of the anti-semitic movement and ends with an election, which promises to bring changes to the socio-political climate.

While these plaintive works strove to expose problems in rural areas and blame them on Jews, thus luring the reader into the anti-semitic movement, a thirteen-page illustrated pamphlet from this time entitled *Die Bauernwürger* (The Stranglers of Farmers, 1894) further blurred the line between fiction and political reality. Like the previously mentioned works, this piece of agitprop tells a textbook story of purported Jewish machination in the countryside. However, it further directs the reader to vote for an actual anti-semitic candidate in Franconia. Although no author is credited, national bibliographic catalogs attribute the brochure to Max Liebermann von Sonnenberg, co-initiator of the "Antisemitenpetition"[12] and founder of the Deutschsoziale Partei in 1889, which he represented in the Reichstag from 1890 until his death in 1911.[13]

The pamphlet in question is unique in that it suggests – with text reinforced by image – how a German farmer might find his way to the New World. In this case, the casualties are Hans Groß and family, whom the powerful "Geldjude" (money Jew) Aron ensnares with the help of his lackey, Levy. The tone of the story is set early, as the narrator starkly juxtaposes the behavior of a collective plural, "wir Deutsche" (we Germans), with a collective singular, "anders der Jude" (in contrast the Jew).[14] The cabal begins as Levy visits the Groß farm and learns about the family's financial affairs from the servants. Since he knows that Groß is in need of 200 Thaler, Levy enters the house and asks whether he can leave that amount with Groß for safekeeping until Shabbat, because – so he explains – he fears bandits. Naturally, Levy merely baits his hook with the thought of needed money, and Groß unwittingly bites. The naïve farmer happily agrees and even offers to pay interest, if he can keep the money until after the harvest.

After the harvest Groß attempts to repay Levy the amount of the loan, but the latter refuses and instead tells Groß about other investment opportunities to tie up the money. Only when he knows that Groß is not liquid, does Levy come by to actually collect. Since he is unable to meet his obligations at that time, Groß follows Levy's suggestion to approach Aron for a loan.

In this second phase of the swindle, Aron says he doesn't have cash in hand to create the illusion of a money shortage. However, after Levy's faux pleading, Aron agrees to visit his "neighbor Hirsch" and tells the two to come back in a few hours. Following the payout Levy takes Groß to a bar to celebrate the deal, and Groß consumes massive amounts of schnapps to calm his conscience as Levy drinks only water. Once Groß is sufficiently inebriated und mentally vulnerable, Levy tricks him into signing his name on mysterious sheets of paper.

After an indeterminate amount of time Aron's son, Aron the lawyer, comes to collect on the initial loan, and Groß pays it off in full. He tells Aron that the anti-semites in town have "enlightened" him on "Jewish" practices and that he will no longer deal with Jews. However, on a later day a different Jewish lawyer surfaces to collect a mysterious 2000 Thaler on two draft bills (the papers Groß unwittingly signed in the bar with Levy), and soon a letter from the court arrives. Based on these signed documents, the court forces Groß to pay the 2000 Thaler to Aron, from whom Groß must take out a mortgage on his farm to cover.

As holder of the deed to the farm, Aron has the power to plunder it, and Groß, it seems, is destined for financial ruin: "da ist der einst ganz unabhängige Bauersmann zum Sklaven des Juden herabgesunken" (the once completely independent farmer has sunken to a slave of the Jew, 11). Ultimately Aron forecloses on the farm, and we watch the eviction of the family (figure 1). Here we see an obese Aron, flanked by his son and Levy, reveling jovially in his latest conquest, while Groß scowls with contempt.

Figure 1: [Max Liebermann von Sonnenberg], *Die Bauerwürger* (Leipzig: Hermann Beyer, 1894), p. 12. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Abteilung Historische Drucke

Like so many others the family is forced to leave Germany, presumably for the New World. The image accompanying this page illustrates the weeping, anxious family on the dock in Bremerhaven (figure 2). The narrator explains that this is not an isolated incident either: "So gehen alljährlich dem Vaterland viele tausend fleißige und tüchtige Menschen verloren. Durch Judenwucher, Judenlist und Judenbetrug, von Haus und Hof vertrieben in's Elend gejagt" (The fatherland loses many thousands of industrious and virtuous people annually in this way. Through Jewish usury, Jewish deception, and Jewish fraud, chased from house and farm and driven to misery, 13).

The final page of the pamphlet advertises other anti-semitic publications and directs the reader to – among others – a work by W. Wernich, namely *Moderne Oekonomen: Erzählung vom Lande* (Modern Economists: Tale from the Countryside), and the description is replete with vague, nationalistic praise: "Ein vornehmer vaterländischer Geist weht durch diese herrliche Erzählung und macht das Herz eines Deutschen höher schlagen. Möge die lehrreiche und geistvolle Erzählung recht viele Leser finden und zu andauernder, deutscher That bewegen" (A distinguished patriotic spirit fills this marvelous story and makes the heart of a German beat stronger. May the instructive and spiritual story find quite a few readers and inspire continual, German deeds). Beyond that, neither the name of the author nor the title of the work are conspicuous. However,

Figure 2: Liebermann von Sonnenberg, *Die Bauerwürger,* p. 13. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Abteilung Historische Drucke

further investigation of this work reveals a remarkable place of publication. Unlike nearly all German-language anti-semitic fictional works that were written at the end of the nineteenth century, Wernich's title originated in the United States, specifically in Milwaukee. Anti-semitic sentiment, it seems, had indeed migrated with the waves of Germans like the fictional Groß family of Liebermann's pamphlet.

II

Waldemar Wernich (1850–98), it turns out, entered the United States via Philadelphia in 1878 and settled outside Milwaukee, where he promptly initiated paperwork for citizenship. His activities for the next ten years are a mystery, but in 1889 he became a US citizen[15] and began publication of the agricultural journal *Der Landwirth: Praktischer Ratgeber für Feld und Haus* (The Agrarian: Practical Advice for Field and Home).[16] In 1894 Wernich merged the journal with the most widely-read German-language agricultural periodical in the United States at the time, the *Acker- und Gartenbau-Zeitung: Zeitschrift für Landwirtschaft, Viehzucht, Obstbau, Blumen- und Bienenzucht und den Familienkreis* (The Agricultural and Horticultural Newspaper: Journal for Farming, Cattle Raising, Fruit Growing, Bee Keeping, and the Family), which he edited with Anton G. Veith until 1 February 1896.[17] At this time of increased visibility Wernich also wrote two books[18] pertaining to agricultural issues, and by 1895 he had established a seed company.[19] Although a seemingly prominent voice in the German-American agricultural milieu, *The Milwaukee Blue Book of Selected Names* from 1894–96 – a veritable *Who's Who* of its day – does not list Wernich as a member of the major German-American organizations such as the Deutscher Club, Deutscher Männer Verein, or the Germanic Society.[20]

At the time Wernich also delved into fictional literature, and his novel, *Moderne*

Oekonomen (1892), was intended, the preface explains, for his fellow German-American farmer, whom he promised a "Spiegelbild seiner früheren Umgebung fast in jedem Kapitel" (a mirror image of his previous surroundings in nearly every chapter).[21] Ironically, in twenty-two chapters (175 pages) the story recounts not the fate of a typical, poor farmer, but rather of a 40-year old widow, Freifrau von Kickeritz, and her 22-year old son, Curt, as well as the loss and reclamation of their estate Adelau near Frankfurt/Oder. The story begins as Curt, who has spent unfulfilling years at university in Berlin, expresses his desire to be "nützlich" (useful) and productive (5).[22] Consequently, he resolves to assist the manorial administrator, Knorr, and begins to modernize the estate. The first harvest, however, reveals that the new methods were not as productive as expected. Faced with mounting difficulties, Curt relinquishes control to Knorr and returns to Berlin, where he resumes his aristocratically prodigal lifestyle. He had never worried about money, because his mother always provided for him, but now she becomes concerned with cash flows after Curt squandered so much with his agricultural experimentation.

The precarious financial situation that develops by chapter nine, entitled "Das Judenfaktotum" (The Jewish Jack-of-all-trades), initiates Wernich's portrayal of Jewish machinations in the countryside. Rather than consulting with the family's long-time legal advisor Wegener, the Baroness approaches the Jewish middleman Isidor Schmul. Unlike Curt and his ancestors who exhibit animosity towards all "Semiten," the Baroness is less cautious. The reason for approaching Schmul for a loan is simple, the narrator notes: "sie wußte [. . .] daß die Juden den Geldmarkt beherrschen" (she knew [. . .] that the Jews rule the money market, 52). The Shylock myth continues. Ironically, there is a placard on the estate prohibiting Jews, yet Schmul had often circled around Adelau "wie ein Habicht" (like a hawk, 53) waiting for such an invitation, implying his predatory nature.

Two years pass from the time that the Baroness acquired her first loan with Schmul, and Curt continues to waste money, because she failed to tell him of their financial troubles. Consequently, their debts accumulate, and the Baroness must assume additional loans. In chapter twelve, entitled "Lebenslauf des Juden" (Resumé of the Jew), the Baroness summons Schmul to prolong her loan once again, and during this visit she learns that, although she has borrowed merely 60,000 Thaler, the total of her debt amounts to 95,000. Schmul explains that this is the product of interest upon interest, the bread and butter of a legendary, despised "Wucherjude" (usurious Jew). The Baroness is taken aback and requests time to examine the calculations. On the way out Schmul encounters Knorr and exchanges hostile words, but afterward reassures himself: "aber schon naht die Rache in der Form kleiner Papierchen, die Euch noch zu meinen Füßen zwingen werden!" (soon revenge will come in the form of small slips of papers that with force you all to my feet, 67).

Wernich picks up on this notion of revenge in the latter half of chapter twelve, which is devoted to a lengthy description of the role of the Jews in Germany. Here the author cites freely from the traditional litany of anti-semitic stereotypes to elaborate on the career of "the Jew":

> Beginnt der Jude seine Laufbahn in einem Dorf, natürlich stets als Krämer und Inhaber der Schenke, so hat er bald durch gefälligen Rath, durch gefällige

Vermittelung und durch gefälliges Pumpen die ganze Einwohnerschaft in der Tasche; doch alle diese Gefälligkeiten sind sehr theuer, denn Sem thut nichts umsonst, aber der deutsche Michel ist und bleibt vertrauensselig, bis er von Haus und Hof gejagt wird. Dieses hat sich nun in dem letzten Jahrzehnt so häufig wiederholt, daß der Michel Sem endlich doch erkannte; da wurde es diesem heiß und er siedelte nach der Stadt über. Der Beraubte blieb zurück und hat den einen, allerdings theuer erkauften Gewinn, er kennt den Juden und warnt Freunde und Nachkommen, was endlich dem platten Land im Ganzen heute zum Vortheil gereicht, denn dort werden die Juden weniger und sie sterben am Ende hoffentlich ganz aus (68).

If the Jew begins his career in a village, naturally always as a junk dealer or the owner of a bar, he soon has all the residents in his pocket thanks to a nice piece of advice or a good deal. But all of these pleasantries are expensive, because Sem doesn't do anything for free; but the German Michel is, and remains, trusting until he is driven from home and farm. This has occurred so often in the last decade that Michel finally recognized Sem, for whom life became difficult; thus he moved to the city. The one who was robbed remained behind with one costly gain. He knows the Jew and warns friends and subsequent generations; and this is now known throughout the country, because the Jews are becoming scarce and hopefully they will all die out in the end.

While the typical German attitude toward Jews is presumably one of mere antipathy, "der Jude [ist] dem Bauer verhaßt, weil er seinem Beruf am fernsten steht, denn ein wirklich mit den Händen schaffender Jude existirt nicht" (the farmer hates the Jew, because he stands furthest from his profession in so far as a Jew that really creates with his hands does not exist, 69). The narrator continues to elaborate on the typical rise of "the Jew" in language that reminds one of the notoriously crass newspaper by arch-Nazi Julius Streicher, *Der Stürmer* (The Stormer, 1923–1945), or the Nazi pseudo-documentary *Der ewige Jude* (The Eternal Jew, 1940):

Im ersten Stadium seines Hehler- und Schacherlebens ist der Jude wenigstens in Bedürfnissen leicht befriedigt und gewissermaßen bescheiden; doch sowie der 'gute Geschäfte macht,' bricht sein unedler Charakter in seiner ganzen Häßlichkeit hervor und aus den geöffneten Geschwüren der Wollust und Völlerei fließt ein Ekel erregender Eifer. Sowie der Geldsack gefüllt ist, wirft er auch die Maske der kriechenden Demuth ab und seine Züge starren von wildem Hasse gegen die Gojims. Er glaubt die Unbilden, die er und seine Vorfahren erfahren, rächen zu müssen. Zäh und ausdauernd in der Verfolgung seiner Pläne, persönlich feige, aber tückisch und hinterlistig, calculirt er: Geld ist das herrschende Element, durch unredlichen Handel am mühelosesten zu erlangen, folglich durch Schacher – Geld, durch Geld – Alles. Jede Bequemlichkeit, jeder Luxus, Ehre, Adel, sogar die Rache ist käuflich (69).

In the first stage of his life, as a haggler and dealer of stolen goods, the Jew is at least easily satiated and so to speak modest in his needs; but as soon as he "hits it

big" his vulgar character emerges in its total vileness and from the open sores of lust and gluttony flows a zeal that arouses disgust. As soon as the sack of money is full, he removes the mask of slithering humility and his facial features exhibit wild hatred against the goyim. He believes that he must avenge the hardships that his elders spoke of. Tough and tenacious in the pursuit of his plans, personally a coward, but malicious and cunning, he calculates: money is the ruling element, gained with dishonest trade and by the least effort, also by usury – money with money – everything. Every comfort, every luxury, honor, nobility, even revenge is for sale.

After assessing the amount of her debts the Baroness informs Schmul that she must sell Adelau to cover her obligations. When she calls Curt home to inform him of the transaction, he is both stunned and chagrined. He cannot believe that his mother disregarded the wisdom of their ancestors by allowing Jews to enter the estate. Curt points out that his great-grandfather even wrote a book entitled "Adel und Judenthum" (Nobility and Jewry), in which he both predicted "daß die Semiten durch Geld die Welt regieren werden" (that the Semites will rule the world with money) and continued "daß sie die Monarchie und den Adel auf sich übertragen oder ausrotten werden" (that they will ultimately transfer the monarchy and aristocracy onto themselves or exterminate them, 88–89). Reminiscent of the first anti-semitic political speech by imperial court preacher Adolf Stöcker entitled "Unsere Forderungen an das moderne Judentum" (Our Demands on Modern Jewry, 1879), Kickeritz had listed his own demands in the book, namely "Menschenwürde, Wahrheit, Ehre und Arbeit" (human dignity, truth, honor, and work), and claimed that the Jews had delivered on none (89). The book notes that the naively trusting farmer "wird gerade deshalb zuerst die Beute des kriechenden und lauernden, Netze werfenden und Fallen stellenden Juden werden" (will become the first victim of the slithering and devious, net-throwing and trap-setting Jew, 90–91) and concludes emphatically with the only boldfaced sentence in the novel: "Hüte dich, o Landmann, vor den Juden!" (Beware, farmer, of the Jews!, 91). But the Baroness had failed to heed this admonition, and consequently she must move into an inherited villa on the Rhine. In contrast, Curt vows to venture to America where he can surely earn enough money to buy his home back.

The story thus turns to Curt, who arrives in New York, travels through the US, and settles in Wisconsin. From the beginning the narrator is critical of American avarice, egoism, and alienation from the soil. While the Yankees are different than Germans though, one group remains constant: "der Jude [lebt] hier ebenso ausnahmslos wie drüben vom Schacher, [fängt] mit dem Handeln von alten Sachen an, [hört] mit Couponschneiden auf" (the Jew lives here, without exception, from haggling as he does back home; he begins by trading old goods and ends up cutting coupons, 121). All over the world it seems, the Jew begins his career as a haggling itinerate trader and ends up in the stock market.

In contrast to the selfish and materialistic Americans and Jews, Curt conducts experiments on his farm with different techniques and prints articles about his results in the paper to be "useful" for the community. Although he has seemingly integrated into American society, in correspondence with his mother, Curt reveals his preoccupation and sole purpose. He will not rest nor return to Germany "bis unser Erbe aus jüdischen

Händen befreit ist!" (until our inheritance is liberated from Jewish hands!, 117). If he is unable to accomplish this, then at the very least he hopes to replace the Jewish owners of Adelau with someone "der einen deutschen Namen trägt und deutsche Interessen vertritt!" (who has a German name and represents German interests!, 117). Above all, the problem lies for Curt with the Jews, as he admits that "wenn unser Erbe unter germanischer Herrschaft geblieben, hätte ich mich über den Verlust leichter hinweggesetzt" (if our inheritance had remained under German rule, I could have overlooked the loss more easily, 151). The sole motivation for his actions thus seems to be directed at reclaiming Adelau from a Jew. For the protagonist – and presumably also Wernich – the thought that a Jew owns German property is simply outrageous.

Since the farmland in Wisconsin produces no great riches, and Curt is unaware that his mother had regained Adelau after Schmul's disastrous mismanagement of it, he decides to try his luck in California. Curt settles around Sacramento and buys another farm, but as picturesque as the surroundings are, thoughts of his native land still plague him. Soon Curt discovers oil while drilling on his property, and his purpose in America for the last four years has finally been fulfilled. In the end, Curt receives news that his mother had repossessed Adelau, and he heads back to the Mark Brandenburg to reclaim the Kickeritz's family land.

Although the main reason for Curt's return to Germany lies in the reclamation of his ancestral home, his decision to return is made all the easier, because he suspects that he will always be a "Fremdling" (foreigner) in the German-American community. The reason he gives for this feeling is noteworthy. Indeed, he remarks: "ich weiß nicht, ob ich Deutschland liebenden Deutschen die deutsch-amerikanischen Kreise zum Einleben empfehlen kann, die zu stark vom Judenthum durchsetzt sind" (I don't know whether I can advise Germans who love Germany to live in German-American circles, which are infiltrated too deeply by Jewry, 165). Whether this comment refers to the existence of actual Jews in the German-American community or whether Curt feels that America too has become "verjudet" (Jewified) – to use the term of Richard Wagner or Wilhelm Marr – is unclear. Perhaps this sentiment explains why Wernich cannot be found as a member of the major German-American organizations in Milwaukee during his time.

III

While Wernich – like his protagonist – might have felt uneasy in his German-American surroundings, it seems that he was not content to accept the situation. Instead, he sought to bring kindred spirits from Germany who were willing to assist him, and in the winter of 1895 the anti-semitic movement attempted its first concerted efforts to expand across the Atlantic. To that end, as *The New York Times* reported on 22 November, Hermann Ahlwardt,[23] perhaps the most vicious, outspoken, and criminal Jew-baiter of the 1890s, was making preparations in Germany for a trip the United States.

Prior to this seeming spontaneous – and for the by then Reichstag representative[24] unauthorized – trip to America, Ahlwardt had made quite a name for himself through a series of highly-publicized scandals since 1890.[25] This year marked Ahwardt's transition from school headmaster, hence his subsequent nickname "Rektor aller Deutschen" (headmaster of all Germans), to professional anti-semite after financial mismanagement

led to the loss of his administrative position. With his academic reputation in ruins, he turned to the perceived cause of his misfortune, a Jewish conspiracy, and he began to focus his full energies on Jew-baiting. Because of his agitation contemporary supporters and followers of this *cause célèbre* hailed him as a "second Luther,"[26] while another contemporary, the initially conservative and later more liberally-minded politician, Hellmut von Gerlach, characterized Ahlwardt in his memoir as "the most powerful demagogue Germany possessed before Adolf Hitler."[27]

Ahlwardt entered the fray and struck first against the Jews and his political enemies in his pamphlet entitled *Der Verzweiflungskampf der arischen Völker mit dem Judentum* (The Desperate Struggle of the Aryan People with Jewry, 1890), in which he both provided a veritable laundry list of alleged Jewish corruption and lashed out at the Berlin city councilmen and former colleagues who terminated his employ. The Berlin city prosecutor thought these unfounded allegations were serious enough to charge Ahlwardt with libel, which brought the case into the headlines in February 1892. Far from being intimidated, Ahlwardt followed up with what would become his typical defense tactic by making outlandish, but plausible counter-claims. Nevertheless, he lost his case and was sentenced to four months in Berlin's Ploetzensee prison.[28]

Yet for Ahlwardt and many in the anti-semitic movement, this defeat was interpreted merely through the lens of martyrdom. Soon after the *Verzweiflungskampf* trial he charged in the pamphlet *Der Eid eines Juden* (The Oath of a Jew) that Bismarck's personal friend and banker, Gerson Bleichröder, had perjured in a trial back in 1881. While the prosecutor's office might have temporarily humored Ahlwardt, it found insufficient evidence to file charges against Bleichröder. For his part, Bleichröder chose to avoid further attention through a libel case of his own against Ahlwardt. Undeterred by a lack of success, by April Ahlwardt set out to expose the supposed sabotage of the military by Jewish arms manufacturer Isidor Löwe. In two brochures entitled *Judenflinten* (Jewish Rifles) and *Neue Enthüllungen* (New Revelations) he claimed that the factory delivered faulty rifles to the army, which rendered the nation defenseless. In a country that was proud of its military tradition, this was tantamount to treason. This resulted in a second libel trial, which began in early December 1892 shortly before the Reichstag elections and ended with a second conviction for Ahlwardt with a sentence of five months.[29]

Despite these legal defeats, all of this publicity helped to launch Ahlwardt's political career. Already in 1891 he became a founding member of the Antisemitische Volkspartei (Antisemitic People's Party), and in the early Reichstag election of 1892 he was able to secure a mandate even though he was serving his prison sentence during the campaign period. It should also be noted here that Ahlwardt's success with an anti-semitic platform even convinced the aloof, aristocratically-minded Deutschkonservative Partei (German Conservative Party) to add an anti-Jewish element to its platform in the so-called Tivoli Program of 1892.[30]

Perhaps due his reputation as *enfant terrible,* Ahlwardt supposedly received an invitation in 1895 from "a committee of German-Americans in Milwaukee" to bring his message to the United States.[31] Just days after announcing this upon departure, however, the *New York Times* reported that no such organization in Milwaukee could be found.[32] Yet once he arrived, Ahlwardt elaborated to reporters: "I come originally on the invitation of some friends in Milwaukee. Herr Wehrnich [*sic*] is their leader and representative. I

met Wehrnich [*sic*] in Dantzig [*sic*] and he proposed me to come here."[33] Although undocumented, an actual meeting between the two is conceivable. Advertisements for Wernich's seed company note that he traveled to Germany periodically to personally select seed varieties, and his *Acker- und Gartenbau-Zeitung* republished a speech that he gave at the Danziger landwirtschaftlicher Verein (Danzig Agricultural Association) in October 1895.[34]

Regardless of the relationship between Wernich and Ahlwardt as well as their expectations for this visit, the latter's arrival in New York City was met with "a reception colder even than the storm which has just swept with its freezing atmosphere into Nova Scotia."[35] The response in Milwaukee to Ahlwardt's professed goals for his trip as well as his claim of an invitation by citizens of the city was immediate, albeit differentiated. The *Milwaukee Abendpost* recorded the arrival of Ahlwardt without editorial commentary and merely relayed the man's message and intention by quoting him:

> Ich komme hierher zum Zwecke die arbeitenden Klassen dieses Landes über die Juden aufzuklären, welche letztere einer Rasse angehören, die nicht das Geringste für die Arbeiter thut und nur den Wunsch hat, sie des Vortheils ihrer Arbeiten mit Hülfe von List zu berauben. [. . .] Ich hoffe, in diesem Lande den antisemitschen Geist aufwecken zu können.[36]

> I come here for the purpose of enlightening the working classes of this land about the Jews, who belong to a race that doesn't do the least for the workers and has only the wish to rob them of the advantages of their work with the help of trickery. [. . .] I hope to be able to awaken the anti-semitic spirit in this country.

Considering the matter-of-fact tone of the report and the headline announcing "Er ist bereit, das Land mit dem Antisemitismus zu beglücken" (He is prepared to delight the country with anti-semitism), one can only wonder whether the paper employed irony to mock Ahlwardt or whether it was equally delighted by his arrival. Other voices in Milwaukee's German-American press were openly skeptical of Ahlwardt's prospects in the United States and maintained a more critical stance vis-à-vis his message. While the daily *Rundschau* noted that one could easily assume what an anti-semite like Ahlwardt intended, he would be nevertheless bitterly disappointed, "denn für den Antisemitismus ist Amerika kein Boden" (because America is no place for anti-semitism).[37] Admittedly, the article was not philosemitic in tone, but it took issue with the typically collective judgment of anti-semites and explained that

> es giebt ja in unserem Lande auch Juden, auch unangenehme Juden, denen ein anständiger Mensch, wie jedem anderen unangehmen Kerl, gern aus den Wege geht; aber es wäre eine Unwahrheit, zu behaupten, daß die Juden bei uns irgendwie eine gefahrvolle Rolle spielten, welche es als angezeigt erscheinen ließe, gegen sie aufzutreten. Selbst in finanzieller Hinsicht über sie hier längst nicht den Einfluß aus, wie es in den Ländern der alten Welt der Fall – sein soll.

> In our country too there are Jews, even unpleasant Jews, like any other unpleasant fellows, which an upright person avoids; but it would be an untruth to claim that

the Jews play any dangerous role, of which they are accused, that would lead one to rise against them. Even in financial terms they do not exert the influence that they do in the old world – or allegedly do.

The main German-language labor union newspaper based in Milwaukee, *Wisconsin Vorwärts,* reported on the arrival as well and noted laconically that Wernich is "hier als fanatischer Judenhasser bekannt" (know as a fanatical Jew-hater here).[38] Despite this alleged connection with Ahlwardt though, Wernich experienced no immediate repercussions as editor of the *Acker- und Garten-Zeitung,* and during the next two months it was business as usual for him in Milwaukee.

In initial interviews Ahlwardt announced that he intended to deliver five speeches,[39] which he in fact held between 12 December 1895 and 6 April 1896 in and around New York City. Every time, however, he faced hostile crowds that not only shouted him down but also pelted him with eggs. The disturbances even required police presence, and – as an intentionally disdainful and ironic gesture – the Police Commissioner at the time, Theodore Roosevelt, appointed a detail of solely Jewish officers to guard him.[40]

During his final planned speech in April 1896 Ahlwardt even went afoul of the law, when he brandished a pistol following a melee with attendees. He was arrested for carrying a concealed weapon, but an Anti-Semitic Society bailed him out and the charges were eventually dropped in his hearing. However, in a foolish move in court, Ahlwardt pressed charges for perjury against his alleged attacker, Michael Aronsberg, who in turn pressed charges against Ahlwardt for assault. The *New York Times* apparently lost interest in the case on the day of Ahlwardt's Grand Jury, and he dropped out of the public eye until September 1896, when the paper reported that he had started his own newspaper, *The Gentile Times,* to support the candidacy of William Jennings Bryan for president.[41]

Although Ahlwardt's tour was ultimately a failure, he did enjoy some temporary success in securing a foothold and establishing a base of operations. Soon after his arrival, he formed an American Anti-Semitic Association in Brooklyn (the organization's letterhead stated also Amerikanische Antisemitische Association, AAA) and a journal, *Der Antisemit* (The Anti-Semite),[42] although this seems to have consisted of only one issue from 21 March 1896.[43] Due to his reception in the New York area and his own boorish behavior though, the previously established Democratic Anti-Semite Union soon felt the need to distance itself from him.[44] Eventually, even the AAA mutinied against him because of his financial parasitism.[45]

IV

Beyond this episode there are no further reports as to whether Ahlwardt contacted Wernich while in America or whether Ahlwardt even traveled to Milwaukee. His efforts in Chicago on behalf of Bryan also seemed a failure, and by February 1897 Ahlwardt was back in Germany.[46] But in an ironic twist of fate, the man who invited Ahlwardt and himself attacked the Jews for alleged innate criminality and profit at the expense of others found himself accused of the same. On 18 January 1896 the *Acker- und Gartenbau-Zeitung* reported that Wernich had just lost a court case on the charge of libel.[47] Apparently, Ahlwardt and Wernich share not only anti-semitism. It turns out

that while Wernich was editor of *Der Landwirth* in 1893, he had maligned the products of a drug manufacturer. The article reported that Wernich "nur deßhalb publicirte, um für sich selbst etwas Reclame zu machen" (only published [the article] to make advertisements for himself), and he certainly intended to profit "auf Kosten Anderer" (at the expense of others). As a consequence of this scandal, Wernich evidently lost his position in the *Acker- und Garten-Zeitung* by 8 February, because his name no longer appeared as co-editor. His serialized article, "Eine Kritik deutscher Landwirtschaft" (A Critique of German Agriculture), which began on 1 February, however, continued with a total of eight installments until 11 April. While his seed company continued on even after his death three years later, he seems to have never made a lasting impact in Milwaukee.

This collaboration to spread anti-semitism across the Atlantic is perhaps unique in German-American history. Admittedly, there is little, if any, specific scholarship on any hostility toward Jews in German-American circles. Perhaps this topic has been merely overlooked or perhaps the fresh start that immigrants experienced in the United States erased any painful memories from the land of their birth. Despite the expectations of Wernich and Ahlwardt, however, the reaction in the American press to the arrival of Ahlwardt and its ignorance or neglect of Wernich suggests that, until that time, the United States did not provide fertile ground for the importation of this specifically German variety of anti-semitism.

While there might have been receptive pockets of this ideology, anti-semitism did not gain the cachet that it did in a homogenous nation like Germany. Instead, despite any latent anti-Jewish sentiment, Jewry constituted merely one minority group among many other immigrant groups in the fabric of America. To be sure, "demonic and vile images" of Jews were present in the United States throughout the nineteenth century, but compared to other groups, "American treatment of Jews appears relatively mild."[48] Thus, anti-semitic sentiment in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century must be seen simply as an "integral part of a larger, more complex upswing of anti-foreign feeling," in which "hatred of Catholics, of Chinese, of the new immigration as a whole, and above all a diffuse nativist hostility to the whole immigrant influx overshadowed specifically anti-Jewish agitation."[49] Curiously, some anti-semites in Germany were even aware of this situation in the United States and equated European hatred of the Jews to US-American oppression of the Chinese, since both minority groups occupied a similar role in the economic life of the respective countries.[50] Perhaps, then, any lingering resentment against Jews from the Old World was rendered obsolete and simply supplanted by new relationships in the New World.

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Notes

[1] Arw Solano, *Überseer daheim: Eine Erzählung aus der Gegenwart* (Berlin: Friedrich Luckhardt, 1888), 393.

[2] For a graphical illustration see La Vern Rippley, *The German-Americans* (Boston: Twayne, 1976), 75. Don Heinrich Tolzmann gives the total of 1,452,970 individuals for the decade in *The German-American Experience* (Amherst, NY: Huminty Books, 2000), 223.

[3] In contrast to earlier forms of anti-Judaism and religious anti-Jewish arguments, which could be nullified by conversion to Christianity through baptism (the position of the clergy, e.g., Adolf Stöcker, author of "Unsere Forderungen an das moderne Judentum" from 1879), the concept of anti-semitism arose in Germany in the 1870s to combat the alleged Jewish spirit, which was held to corrupt the German economy, society, and culture. Wilhelm Marr is credited with popularizing the word anti-semitism in 1879 following both the publication of *Der Sieg des Judenthums über das Germanenthum,* which transcended the religious argument, and the establishment of a short-lived Antisemitenliga. In 1885 the economist Adolf Wagner indicated that "die antisemitische Tendenz [...] anderer, auch meiner, die wir gelegentlich vertreten, hat niemand gegen Juden als Religionspartei vertreten, sondern gegen die schlechten Praktiken im wirthschaftlichen und sozialen Leben, die leider von einer großen Masse unserer jüdischen Mitbürger ausgehen" (the anti-semitic tendency [. . .] of others, even myself, which we advocate from time to time, was not advocated against the Jews as a religious party, rather against the terrible practices in economic and social life, which unfortunately emanates from a large portion of our Jewish citizens). See the *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen vom 3. Januar 1885 einberufenen beiden Häuser des Landtages: Haus der Abgeordneten,* vol. 1 (Berlin: W. Moeser Hofbuchdruckerei, 1885), 581.

[4] See Paul Massing, *Rehearsal for Destruction: A Study of Political Anti-Semitism in Imperial Germany* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949) and Peter Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany & Austria,* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1988).

[5] See, for example, Matthew Lange, *Antisemitic Elements in the Critique of Capitalism in German Culture, 1850–1933* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007).

[6] While the number of seats, sixteen, is uncontested, the number of votes varies. Peter Pulzer credits them with a total of 116,013 up from 4,708 in 1890, while Paul Massing lists a rise from 47,000 to 263,000 and notes that the actual votes may have been higher since some candidates campaigned as anti-semites but registered in the Reichstag officially as members of larger parties such as the Conservatives. See Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany & Austria,* 116, and Massing, *Rehearsal for Destruction,* 71.

[7] Otto Böckel, *Die Juden – die Könige unserer Zeit,* 5th imprint (Berlin: Selbstverlag von A. Rusch, 1887), 6.

[8] Hermann Bahr, *Der Antisemitismus: Ein internationales Interview* (Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag, 1894), 21–23.

[9] In Rippley's *German-Americans,* there are no index references to either Jews or anti-semitism, and the chapter entitled "The Forces of Religion" focuses on the Catholic-Protestant divide. Likewise, in Tolzmann's *German-American Experience* there are no references to anti-semitism and the entry for Jews is limited to the eighteenth century.

[10] Kreisau's work is available in the Max Kade Institute at the UW–Madison and it is stamped "Compliments of Ernst Goerner." Harry H. Anderson from the Milwaukee County Historical Society presented on this "Nazi from Milwaukee" at the MKI conference entitled "Defining Tensions: A Fresh Look at Germans in Wisconsin" in 1998.

[11] An agrarian theme has been central to previous and subsequent anti-semitic literary works, both obscure and best-sellers. The novel *Der Büttnerbauer* (1895) by internationally acclaimed author Wilhelm von Polenz ended with the suicide of the protagonist who had lost his farm to a Jew. In Arthur Dinter's fanatically perverse best-seller *Die Sünde wider das Blut* (1918) the protagonist's father lost his farm and hanged himself following a "Gaunerspiel des Wucherjuden" (swindle of the usurious Jew). Interestingly, a pre-emancipation work such as the novel *Das Volk und seine Treiber* (1869) by Otto Glaubrecht was held to be so prescient by some as to merit a reprint with new introduction in 1926. Other anti-semitic works from the end of the nineteenth century include Arw Solano's novel *Überseer daheim* (1888), Karl Türk's novel *Die Ritter vom Gelde* (1891), and the drama *Itzig der Wucherer* (1900) by Jakob Hubert Schütz.

[12] Liebermann von Sonnenberg was a major figure in anti-semitic politics in Germany during the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Following the coinage of the term anti-semitism in 1879, Liebermann circulated an "anti-semites' petition" with Bernhard Förster in 1880 to restrict Jewish immigration and block Jews from high-level government positions. The two also founded the Deutscher Volksverein the following year and participated in the first of three international anti-Jewish congresses in Dresden in 1882. See Thomas Weidemann, "Politischer Antisemitismus im Deutschen Kaiserreich: Der Reichstagsabgeordnete Max Liebermann von Sonnenberg und der nordhessische Wahlkreis Fritzlar – Homburg – Ziegenhain." *Heimatvertriebene Nachbarn: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Juden im Kreis Ziegenhain,* eds. Hartwig Bambey, Adolf Biskmap and Bernd Lindenthal, vol. 1. (Schwalmstadt-Treysa: Verlag Stadtgeschichtlicher Arbeitskreis, 1993), 113–84.

[13] Liebermann also created the *Deutschsoziale Blätter* (1884–1911) as a mouthpiece for his party.

[14] [Max Liebermann von Sonnenberg], *Die Bauernwürger: Eine Geschichte mit 12 Bildern aus dem*

Leben (Leipzig: Hermann Beyer, 1894), 2. Subsequent references will be given parenthetically.

[15] I would like to thank Steve Daily, Curator of Research Collections at the Milwaukee County Historical Society, for this documentation.

[16] Karl J.R. Arndt and May E. Olson, eds., *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732–1955: History and Bibliography* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer Publishers, 1961), 687. The paper had a circulation estimated at 29,000.

[17] Ibid., 668–69. Following the merger the enlarged journal went by the title *Acker- und Gartenbau-Zeitung, nebst Landwirth, Deutscher Farmer.* Although the journal focused nearly exclusively on technical issues of farming, letters from readers pled for a sense of community and urged the need for cooperation among the German speakers in the United States. In the 1894 Prof. Dr. Johann Hagen of Texas wrote in about the possibility of forming a "Deutscher Bauernbund" (German Farmers' League) and related the story of how Jews robbed farmers in Russia by making them dependent on alcohol: "wenn Ihr gesehen, wie ich, wie der erbärmliche Jude ihm die letzte Kuh [. . .] aus dem Hause holt für schlechten Fusel, den er schon getrunken" (if you have seen, like I did, how the wretched Jew took the last cow from him [the farmer] with horrible swill, which he had already drunk) 25.33 (11 August 1894), 524. One might also remember the use of alcohol in the pamphlet *Die Bauernwürger* to take advantage of the farmer Groß.

[18] *Der Wald- und Fruchtbaum: Praktische Ratschläge für die Anpflanzung und Erhaltung der Bäume: Ein Handbuch für amerikanische Farmer, Garten- u. Hausbesitzer* (Forest and Fruit Tree: Practical Advice for the Planting and Maintenance of Trees: A Handbook for American Farmers, Gardeners and Homeowners, 2nd ed., 1894) and *Unsere Hausthiere in gesundem und krankem Zustand nebst Anleitung zum Futterbau* (Our Pets in Healthy and Ill Condition with Directions for Feeding, 9th ed., 1919). Both were published by Excelsior Publishing Co. in Milwaukee, and the first edition of each seems to have appeared before 1892. A publisher-composed advertisement for *Der Wald- und Fruchtbaum* was inserted into the review book and requested that the recipient mention Wernich, "der sich in Farmerskreisen eines ausgezeichneten Rufes erfreut" (who enjoys an excellent reputation in farmers' circles).

[19] The Wernich Seed Company was incorporated on 12 March 1895 with the address of 605 Grand Ave. The other owners were Charles Wuelffing and Charles Maas. In 1913 the company changed hands to Edward Hunkel, who dissolved it in 1918.

[20] *The Milwaukee Blue Book of Selected Names* (Milwaukee: Elite Directory Co., 1894–96).

[21] Waldemar Wernich, *Moderne Oekonomen: Erzählung vom Lande* (Milwaukee: Verlag der 'Landwirth,' 1892). Subsequent references will be given parenthetically. A copy of the novel is available at the Max Kade Institute in Madison, WI.

[22] It is no surprise that Kurt wishes to be productive. The "parasitic v. productive" dichotomy to contrast Germans and Jews played a significant role in anti-semitic propaganda, and the phrase "raffendes v. schaffendes Kapital" (rapacious v. productive capital) was employed to distinguish "Jewish" finance capital from "German" agro-industrial capital.

[23] See Massing, *Rehearsal for Destruction,* 92–96, 240 and Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany & Austria,* 106–09.

[24] Ahlwardt represented the district of Arnswalde-Friedeberg near Frankfurt/Oder in Brandenburg from 1892–1903 and won 77.2% of the votes during early elections in the eighth legislative period from 1890–1893. In the next period from 1893–1895 his support dropped to 60.8%. Curiously, the Kickeritz estate Adelau from Wernich's novel was located near Frankfurt/Oder.

[25] See Barnet Hartston, *Sensationalizing the Jewish Question: Anti-Semitic Trials and the Press in the Early German Empire* (Boston/Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2005) and Christoph Jahr, "Ahlwardt on Trial: Reactions to the Antisemitic Agitation of the 1890s in Germany," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 48 (2003): 67–85.

[26] See Hartston, *Sensationalizing the Jewish Question,* 231.

[27] Hellmuth von Gerlach, *Erinnerungen eines Junkers* (Berlin: Die Welt am Montag, 1926), 114, quoted by Jahr, "Ahlwardt on Trial," 67.

[28] See Hartston, *Sensationalizing the Jewish Question,* 231–35.

[29] Ibid., 244.

[30] Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany & Austria,* 112.

[31] "May Ignore Dr. Ahlwardt," *New York Times,* 22 November 1895, p. 9.

[32] "No Invitation Sent to Ahlwardt," *New York Times,* 27 November 1895, p. 3.

[33] "Dr. Ahlwardt Arrives," *New York Times,* 6 December 1895, p. 1.

[34] *Acker- und Gartenbau-Zeitung,* 30 November 1895, p. 758.

[35] "No Welcome for Ahlwardt," *New York Times* (7 December 1895), p. 14.

[36] *Milwaukee Abendpost,* 5 December 1895, p. 1.

[37] *Die Rundschau,* 11 December 1895, p. 1.

[38] "Ahlwardt in New York angelangt," *Wisconsin Vorwärts: Offizielles Organ American Federation of Labor,* 6 December 1895, p. 1, 4.

[39] At least one was printed as *Die Judenfrage: Ein Vortrag gehalten zu New York im Januar 1896* (Hoboben, NY: Amerikanische Antisemitische Association, 1896). This must be his speech on 23 January at Proesser's in Jersey City.

[40] Theodore Roosevelt, *An Autobiography* (New York: Macmillan, 1913), 205–06.

[41] "Ahlwardt for Mr. Bryan," *New York Times,* 15 September 1896, p. 9.

[42] Naomi W. Cohen, *Encounter with Emancipation: The German Jews in the United States, 1830–1914* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1984), 230 and Naomi W. Cohen, "American Jewish Reactions to Anti-Semitism in Western Europe, 1875-1900," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 45 (1978): 35. A facsimile of the letterhead can be found in Allan Chase, *The Legacy of Malthus: The Social Cost of the New Scientific Racism* (New York: Knopf, 1977), 141.

[43] The text of this assumedly sole edition was re-printed by Karl Knortz of North Terrytown, NY in his anti-semitic booklet *Das amerikanische Judentum* (Leipzig: Gustav Engel, 1914), 24–35.

[44] "Ahlwardt Losing Standing," *New York Times,* 23 December 1895, p. 5.

[45] "They Denounce Herr Ahlwardt" *New York Times,* 17 March 1896, p. 5.

[46] "Dr. Ahlwardt Is Obstinate," *New York Times,* 22 February 1897, p. 7.

[47] "Wernich geschlagen," *Acker- und Gartenbau-Zeitung,* 18 January 1896, p. 46.

[48] Robert A. Rockaway and Arnon Gutfeld, "Demonic Images of the Jew in the Nineteenth Century United States," *American Jewish History* 89.4 (December 2001): 381.

[49] John Higham, "Anti-Semitism in the Gilded Age: A Reinterpretation," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 43.4 (March 1957): 570, 572.

[50] "Der europäische Antisemitismus ist ungefähr dasselbe, was in Amerika die Abneigung gegen die Chinesen" (European anti-semitism is approximately the same as the aversion against the Chinese in America). Anon, *Der Antisemitismus: Sein Entstehen, Wachsen und Vergehen: Briefe eines Ariers an einen Semiten* (Leipzig: E. Thiele, 1886), 10–11.

Grant W. Grams

Was Karl May in Canada? The Works of Max Otto: A German Writer's "Absurd Picture of Canada"

Historically, Canada was a country that most Germans associated with wild animals, an abundance of nature, and Indians. Ever since Hessian mercenaries aided Great Britain during the American War of Independence, there was an awareness of Canada in Germany. Even the German writer Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) professed an interest in this new country.[1] Traditionally, Canada was admired in Germany as a country of immense size that offered new possibilities for many emigrants.[2] Prior to World War One (WW I) Dr. Hammann-Perleberg noted that "for most of those that belong to the educated elite Canada is hardly more than a geographical expression."[3] Shortly after WW I a German civilian wrote, "Canada is very little known over here. Indeed, during the war when Canadian troops were mentioned one could hear among common people that they took them for red Indians in feathers and war paint."[4] More recent writers, including Boeschenstein, wrote that some German authors commenting on Canada "felt themselves commissioned – to see and say what Germany wanted to hear."[5] Helfried W. Seliger followed a similar line of thought stating that German literature on Canada written between the World Wars fell into two basic categories. One was the traditional travel account presented by such individuals as Nazi sympathizer Colin Ross, or Lutheran emigration consultant Hermann Wagner; the other was that of a hunter or trapper in remote areas. Of the second category, a good example can be found in the works of Max Otto, whose writings perpetuated stereotypes of Canada. Seliger stated that such writers were more skilled with a gun than a pen and once their vendetta against Canadian wildlife had ended, they felt compelled to preserve their victims in literary form, "invariably, these writers concentrated on those aspects which had always intrigued the European armchair traveller who searched for things his own environment no longer could provide: the wide open spaces, the vast forests, wild waterways and pristine lakes as yet untouched by the threatening advance of civilization."[6]

Otto emigrated from the German state of Saxony in 1912, intending to spend three years in Canada. His intent was to explore the forests and experience the hunting and trapping prospects in western Canada. Little is known of Otto's education or personal background in Germany, but he quit his job as a forester to experience life abroad. In keeping with Otto's purportedly masculine character, he intended to settle in the northern wilderness and test his prowess as a fur trapper and hunter. He specifically chose the western Canadian province of Alberta. With the advent of WW I, his three-year residence abroad turned into, in Otto's own words, "a nine-year adventure."[7] This article will look at Max Otto's alleged experiences in the Canadian province of Alberta between 1912 and 1921 as portrayed in his four major books. These are *In kanadischer Wildnis* (In the Canadian Wilderness), 1923; *Trapper und Farmerleben in kanadischer Wildnis* (Trapper and Farmer Life in the Canadian Wilderness), 1925; *In Kanadas Urwäldern und Prärien* (In Canada's Primeval Forests and Prairies), 1926; and *Das*

Kreuz in der Wildnis: Erlebnisse (The Cross in the Wilderness: Adventures), 1930. Within this article special attention will be paid to contemporary secondary literature, which gives an indication of how the author's views on Canada were blindly accepted in Germany. But within Canada another image of Otto emerged. In 1925 Reverend C.A. Gutensohn wrote a newspaper article entitled "German's Absurd Picture of Canada" declaring Max Otto's writings to be lies. German language newspapers in Canada later followed suit.[8] In his first book, *In the Canadian Wilderness*, Otto described his experiences in Canada from 1912 to 1921. This publication was the most widely read of Otto's four major works and received the most comments in journals and book reviews in Germany. In this work he explained that prior to the war he was able to enjoy his life in Canada accompanied only by his German wife and their farm animals. With the start of WW I, Otto saw his world collapse. Wanting to do his duty for the "Fatherland as a German soldier of German blood,"[9] he claimed to be a member of a group of Germans and Austrians that engaged in sabotage and propaganda in Alberta. He narrated that he was betrayed by fellow Germans and put on trial, but fled from Canada to the United States.[10] From New York he was able to return to Germany. Otto's second book, *Trapper and Farmer Life in the Canadian Wilderness*, was merely a scaled down youth edition of his first major work, which was also widely read and accepted. In both books Otto claimed to portray Canada with both its positive and negative aspects unbiased by his personal opinion.

His third book, *In Canada's Primeval Forests and Prairies*, covers the period from 1919 until his supposed exit from Canada in the fall of 1921. The book began in the wake of WW I, which was a time rampant with anti-German sentiment. Prior to WW I Otto reflected that his life in Canada was almost perfect. The opening chapter saw Otto accompany a prospector and his niece into the Canadian wilderness. Due to the hostile post-WW I environment, he felt that he could not leave his wife alone on his farm. Thus Mrs. Otto joined her husband in the Alberta bush. After Otto's description of his successful vocation as a paid guide in the Canadian forests, the book indulged in an array of masculine hunting escapades, which portrayed Otto's constant success over Mother Nature. Otto also explained how he helped ethnic German army deserters and draft dodgers flee Canadian authorities.[11]

Otto's fourth book, *The Cross in the Wilderness: Adventures*, explained his life in Canada during WW I and German patriotism. This work described the effects WW I had on a closed group of German speakers and their attempt to aid Germany and Austria through sabotage and propaganda activity in Canada. The publication received some attention in Germany because of its nationalistic content, which revealed his desire to explain his actions as a true German trapped in an enemy nation. His fourth book captured many of Otto's consistent ideals regarding life in Canada, e.g., the positive portrayal of Indians, sparse population, detailed descriptions of nature, hunting scenes and his patriotic feelings for Germany.[12]

Otto's books with their constant themes of success over Mother Nature, and superiority over both natives and Canadians were warmly received in Germany. His writings conveyed a respect for nature and life, but his works were pure fiction passed off as his actual experiences. Between the two World Wars Otto was a frequently used literary source on Canada that was widely available for Germany's reading public. To some readers he provided information on Canada as a land of immigration while

to others, Otto explained in detail the immense challenges and beauty of its nature. Unfortunately, Otto also provided a distorted view of Canada for Germany's readers as the reality of his actual lifestyle in Canada did not correspond to that within his published works.[13]

In correspondence with Canadian authorities, Otto stated that he intended his first book, *In the Canadian Wilderness*, to be used as an informative guide for German emigrants.[14] In 1920 Otto explained his reasons for leaving Canada and asked the Canadian government for his confiscated Mauser rifle to be returned to him. This letter serves as an example of Otto's poor English, but also offers testimony on the influence and support Otto believed he commanded in Germany. Otto explained:

> I am a book-writer and my name as author of many "democratic" books is well known in the old Countries and in U.S. During my stay in Canada I have written many good storys for the benefit and welfare of Canada and more will be written by my later in favor of this Country. In Europe and other Countrys of the world are millions of peoples looking for immigration to Canada. Canada need these mens if it wish to "grow up." In my books and phamplets written in favor and praise of Canada- shall I be compel'd to amend my good Sentence and this Country and tell the millions of Emmigrants all over the world that Canada is no place for "foreign born peoples" because "fair play" is there not home?- Sir- I love Canada verry much and only the ill-health of myself and my wife compels me to leave Canada for a warmer Country. I hope not to leave whit a bitter feeling against them, and I hope not, that circumstances compel me, to amend my good means about it. Hoping that verry best, I would be verry thankfull to Canada, if my Right would be fulfilled.[15]

For potential German emigrants obtaining reliable information on lands of immigration was a real problem. For many Germans, their knowledge of North America came from reading Karl May (1842-1912) and his fictitious experiences as a German immigrant. Karl May was a German writer known in the German-speaking world for his Wild West books set in the United States. His influential fictional accounts have no direct basis in experience, but derive from source literature and his creative imagination. Today known as a notorious armchair writer, May was widely accepted in Germany as an authority on the United States. Most Germans believed only adventure awaited them in North America, or at least the life of a cultural pioneer.[16] A number of Germans turned to Otto to obtain information on Canada. Part of Otto's success can be ascribed to the fact that his literature was seen to offer some information for Germans contemplating emigration to Canada. Undoubtedly, his narrative style helped his popularity and contributed to its widespread distribution. As Alfred Pletsch correctly assessed, Otto's book, *In the Canadian Wilderness*, apparently found a large readership in Germany – "the popularity of the book was extreme if we consider six editions which were published within one year of its first publication [1923]."[17] In 1925 the eighth printing was available for distribution.[18] In 1929 the German-Canadian newspaper "Der Herold" reported that Otto had sold 75,000 copies of his first book.[19]

Some German emigrants, such as Baron Manfred Ropp's and Hugo O. Halluschka's commentaries support Pletsch's argument that prospective emigrants relied on Otto's literature as a source of information of what awaited newcomers in Canada.[20] Ropp's

article noted that he did not receive the same positive initial reception in Canada as Otto. Otto wrote that a children's choir sang for the European emigrants aboard his ship from shore as a greeting as they approached Montreal.[21] Ropp chose to settle in Alberta. Reports to the Deutsches Ausland Institut (German Foreign Institute) listed his place of residence as Dapp, Alberta, north of Edmonton[22] similar to the claim made by Otto.[23] Another German emigrant, Hugo O. Halluschka, emigrated from Germany in the early 1920s, perhaps solely due to Otto's works. He lived in northern Alberta, to be exact in Goodfare, Alberta. Halluschka read some of Otto's publications and stated that he was correct in warning German emigrants about the trials of an immigrant's life in Canada. Halluschka was disappointed in Canada, believing he had been misled by Canadians authorities.[24]

Another plausible example of Otto's influence on an emigrant involved Max Hinsche, who decided to live in western Canada as a trapper, similar to Otto's claim.[25] Hinsche admitted that there was literature in Germany describing a German nationals' hunting, trapping, and traveling experiences in western Canada, but Max Otto was not specifically mentioned.[26] Perhaps due to Otto, Hinsche decided to live in northern Alberta, but he also lived in northern Manitoba and the Yukon. Sigrist, in comparing Hinsche and Otto, noted that both men claimed life in the bush was a happy time period. Sigrist wrote that Hinsche emigrated from Germany in 1927 "in order to hunt in and explore the wilderness like Max Otto." But Hinsche did not encounter any problems with the Canadian government nor its administration as Otto bitterly maintained. This may have been due the fact that Hinsche arrived in Canada after bad feelings caused by WW I against Germans had largely faded.[27] The German-Canadian press stated that Otto's works had achieved a large readership in Germany and provided misleading information for German nationals on Canada.

Unfortunately, Otto's lies caused misery for some newcomers because of his false portrayal of Canadian life. Some had immigrated to Canada, planning to live exactly as Otto claimed to have done; they too wanted to experience life in western Canada as a trapper and hunter. These individuals could not make a living selling furs. There were no hunting parties that one could lead through the bush. Those that came in Otto's wake and followed his tried and true methods did not find financial reward. Unfortunately, such readers experienced only disappointment on the Canadian plains, as they could not earn a living as Otto boasted.[28]

From the major publications that Otto produced during his lifetime, it was his first book *In the Canadian Wilderness* that received the greatest attention in Germany. His success was partly due to its fast-paced narrative style, but he also fabricated events and copied ideas to mould his publications to the expectations of his potential readers. Otto's early success appeared to wane as his subsequent publications did not capture the attention of the German public to the same extent as his first book. In the light of articles published by newspapers in Canada, and Government of Alberta, and Government of Canada documents, it is highly unlikely Otto experienced the adventures he claimed. Otto's recipe for success, most notably hunting tales with a patriotic flair, had been tried in Germany previously and met with success—most notably by Karl May.[29] This formula had been used again by Otto, which gained him some degree of recognition in his homeland. The authenticity of Otto's tales for most German readers was unimportant, for his works supported their stereotype of Canada. Clearly some

Germans wanted to experience life outside the realm of normal society, e.g., a member of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) upon finding a single person in the isolated western Canadian bush and discovering that this individual was from Germany stated, "that you are a German I believe because you are running around alone in the wilderness. When a foreigner does that it is usually a German."[30]

Otto appeared to be influenced by May's romantic Wild West vision of North America. He took advantage of a marketing niche to target the uninformed and naive German reading public. He transformed his actions in Canada to a super-hero image similar to May in order to sell his books. In a German book review Herbert Schneider made a direct comparison to Karl May. Schneider wrote, "the writing style is excellent. Otto narrates [his stories] with lively dramatic vividness that is as gripping as Karl May or Zane Grey."[31] The American author Zane Grey was well known for writing colorful westerns, which gained popularity in both North America and Europe.[32] Otto's books imitated May's adventures of Old Shatterhand as portrayed in *Winnetou I*. The similarities to May's publications were much more than mere coincidence, but rather a deliberate copying of other's ideas, e.g., Old Shatterhand displayed many of the same abilities manifested in Max Otto—most notably their deep personal friendships with Indians. May invented the characters of Winnetou, the wise Indian, and Old Shatterhand, Winnetou's white partner.[33] Otto also had an Indian friend Nick Tahn. Both Otto and May shared adventures with their wise native friends. Natives in both Otto's and May's publications were portrayed with admirable and humane characteristics. Although May divided American Indians into two groups—either good or bad—Otto only met natives with positive qualities.[34] Canadians in contrast attributed to natives undesirable habits such as unhygienic lifestyles and filthy living quarters.[35]

Throughout his works, Otto gave his German readers what they expected to experience by conforming his Canadian adventures to May's American tales. His books were a deliberate attempt to capture a German reading audience, without regard for the truth. Unlike other German nationals that came to Canada to experience nature and test their limits against the elements,[36] Otto never explicitly stated that he had read May's works, but it does appear that the author was highly influenced by his publications. For example, Otto admitted having romantic ideas regarding Indians and he mentioned the Indian usage of the all-comprehensive utterance—"Ugh (Uff!)."[37] May explained that "Uff was an all-purpose word, intended to convey admiration, scorn or surprise—depending on the context."[38] May, through the actions of Old Shatterhand, received unwanted attention in the Wild West because of his apparent knowledge of nature and wildlife.[39] Otto was also the subject of awe for both whites and Indians due to his success as a trapper and his intimate knowledge of forests and the prairie.[40] Both individuals possessed two superb rifles, Old Shatterhand his Bärentöter (bear slayer) and Henrystutzen,[41] Otto a Mauser and a Drilling.[42]

Old Shatterhand, similar to Otto, avoided shooting animals needlessly—only in situations of grave danger did he draw his weapon.[43] Both men profess an intense distaste for game hunting done simply for sport. Otto's books preach his love for nature and all living things, but the works are pure fiction passed off as his autobiography. Both Otto and May explain in detail their concept of greenhorns in the west,[44] while displaying an intense pride in being German,[45] and reveal their cunning and vigour by slaying a bear with a knife.[46] Supposedly both men had an abundance of free time to

travel and were not constrained by a steady job or family life.[47] A testimony of May's influence on some readers can be found in Carl Schwerla's book (*Kanada im Faltboot*, Canada in a Collapsible Boat, 1930) which described his exciting hunting and traveling activities in the Canadian west. He also claimed to have experienced many adventures in the bush, but Schwerla readily admitted being influenced by May. Schwerla wrote that similar to May's tales:

> Such adventures I was now experiencing in the wild west. It was no dream and no fairy tale. Prairie, primeval forest, Indians, tent and campfire – all this had become reality. And I part of this [reality]. How had this come about? Why had I undertaken this? Why was I sitting in this wilderness? Perhaps "this terrible Karl May" was to blame. Often enough my teachers predicted the worst for me, when they caught me reading one of those thick green volumes under the desk.[48]

In contrast to Schwerla, Otto never mentioned May by name, but May also appeared to be a curious model for Otto to follow. After all May was an armchair writer and had never been to North America to research his works. Nevertheless, May encouraged his readers to associate the adventures of Old Shatterhand with those of himself on the American frontier. As time revealed Max Otto was as much a master of deception as May.[49] However there was one crucial difference: Otto lived in Canada, albeit not in the fashion he so avidly claimed. Otto's experiences were more authentic than May, but Otto's abuse of artistic license tainted his works as deliberate deception. Otto was in fact an opportunist who lied his way to financial gain through his publications, which ensured him success in Germany.[50] Otto's experiences in Canada can also be compared to that of Grey Owl, another European seeking what he could not find at home, namely open spaces, large forests, wild waterways and unspoiled lakes still untouched by the advancement of man and his technology. Grey Owl was in reality an Englishman, Archibald Belaney.[51] In 1906 Belaney immigrated to Canada, and invented the name Grey Owl. He claimed to be an Apache half-breed and gained worldwide attention in the 1930s posing as an Indian nature writer and lecturer. Similar to Belaney, Otto fabricated his adventures in order to gain a readership in Europe. Otto's books were part of a combination of nature and travel literature about Canada that seduced the German psyche. Many German writers described their travels and experiences in Canada, yet none were so widely quoted during the inter-war years as Otto.[52] Although Belaney lived in the bush and experienced the Canadian wilderness, he lied about his ethnic heritage and background.[53] Doubts about his Amerindian identity appeared shortly after his death for it was revealed that he was "a fake or fraud, an imposter. He is one of the numerous members of the Wannabe Tribe who claim to have special insight into the Aboriginal way of life."[54] Although Otto never claimed to be an Indian, both men found acceptance in their home countries by deceiving their readers. However, Otto was never fully exposed in Germany as a liar although some questioned his possible embellishment and exaggeration. Otto never mentioned May in his works, he does compare his lifestyle in Canada to Robinson Crusoe, a fictitious man who coped with harsh conditions and challenges presented by nature.[55]

Reviewers in Germany such as Alker cautioned that Otto's style was designed to capture the attention of a not so demanding, but still hard-to-satisfy reading public,

namely Germany's youth. Although Otto's alleged wartime espionage in Canada was described as heroic for German readers, Alker believed the propaganda and espionage activities of ethnic Germans in Canada were meaningless within Europe. Alker was also appalled by Otto's glorification of this senseless struggle, although he acknowledged that Otto had poetically described the peaceful solitude of rural life in Canada.[56] Otto often praised the heroic thoughts and deeds of Germans thwarting Canadian war efforts. He casually mentioned the help of the Irish in aiding their efforts—some Irish maintained that all that they did to help Germany was, in reality, directed against Great Britain and therefore helped Ireland.[57] This view is in sharp contrast to the research conducted by Reinhard Doerries in which the courageous and determined acts of the Irish consistently surpassed German bravery.[58]

Other contemporary sources praised Otto as offering German readers something truly special. In the *Preussische Jahrbücher* (Prussian Yearbooks), Otto's works were seen to be of great appeal to all hunters and nature lovers. Canada was portrayed as a country that offered Germans incredible beauty and solitude through its untouched nature but could be shockingly brutal. The article portrayed Otto as a loyal and staunch German who tried to do his best to support the Fatherland in its fight for victory against allied efforts – "all in all a book that deserves to be widely distributed, not only due to its specialized content, exciting and gripping hunting and nature descriptions but rather due to its true national character, especially its desired influence among our German youth."[59] Another writer, Fridolin Solleder also believed Otto was a positive example for German youth.[60] This may have been particularly true as large numbers of emigrants fled Germany's post WW I quagmire, e.g. in 1923 over 115,000 Germans emigrated abroad, over 93,000 to North America. Due to the seemingly precarious position of Germany's younger population, Otto's nationalism may have been viewed as a positive counterweight to those fearing the future. Otto's publications for Germany's younger readers were deemed appropriate because of its patriotism and dedication to the German Fatherland.[61] Some accepted Otto's tales as fact and were spellbound by his stories, often recommending them to a wider reading public. An advertisement, which appeared in the *Deutsche Zeitung*, stated:

> Otto's descriptions are tremendously riveting, vivid, and, in an incomparable manner, instructive. Finally, a work has been produced in which the soul of a real trapper acting in the noblest fashion has been excitingly captured from the first to the last sentence. Otto masterly portrays the enormous size of the Canadian winter scenery, the magnificent power [of nature], the still boundless forests, and amidst these the amazing boldness of the single individual who in this great solitude has to prevail. Here is a work that deserves to be widely distributed.[62]

Dr. Ernst Alker gave another positive review. He compared Otto's works to Friedrich Gerstäcker. Alker thought that Otto's writings could be as popular and informative for Germans interested in Canada, as Gerstäcker's works had been for those interested in the United States of America.[63] Gerstäcker had traveled widely and wrote various works, which examined many parts of the world. He was praised for his informative and descriptive accounts of life abroad, but his area of specialization was the United States. Gerstäcker's first publication appeared in 1845 with his most famous

works include *Die Flußpiraten des Mississippi* (The Mississppi River Pirates - 1848), *Die beiden Sträflinge* (The two Prisoners - 1856) and *Unter dem Äquator* (Under the Equator - 1860).[64] Interestingly, Boeschenstein posed the question if ever "a German immigrant or settler [has written] so knowingly about Canada as Friedrich Gerstäcker and others about the United States?."[65] In Alker's opinion Max Otto could be viewed as a Canadian equivalent of Gerstäcker for information and historical reliability. One example of this occurred when Oskar Hintrager, director of Germany's Reichsstelle für das Auswanderungswesen (Imperial Authority for Emigration Matters - RA), used Otto's book *In the Canadian Wilderness* as a primary source. Through this book Hintrager noted that German nationals were being unfairly treated in work and labor matters in Canada. The RA sent this information to other emigration consultation offices in Germany. Otto's appraisal confirmed to Hintrager that Canada could not be recommended as a land of immigration.[66] Throughout the Weimar Republic the RA claimed low wages, substandard living accommodations, terrible working conditions, and mistreatment awaited them.[67]

Most book reviews regarded the author's writing skills as captivating, but others had problems with his hunting tales, e.g., Otto's self-appointed title of "Kanadajäger" (Canadian hunter)[68] made him subject to some ridicule within Germany and Canada.[69] One critical review on Otto's alleged Canadian experiences came from Hans Maier. He remarked that the bulk of the first book richly described Otto's hunting escapades "in which certainly sporadically the truth is somewhat stretched." Maier was also sceptical of the author's accuracy regarding Canada and its administration.[70] Although Otto had been exposed as a liar and fraud in Canada, this was largely unknown in Germany.

The fact that Otto either committed plagiarism or duplicated ideas from others became known in Canada through German-Canadian newspapers. Ethnic Germans from Edmonton, Alberta, noted that Otto had delivered novels to the German-Canadian newspaper *Der Courier* for publication, claiming he was the author. Later, the truth was exposed that he had copied literature that had already been in print in Germany.[71] Otto's publications also included numerous photographs showing the author in a variety of masculine hunter poses and photos of Indians.[72] Louis Hamilton and Gutensohn noted that although Otto alluded that he was the photographer of all pictures appearing in his first book *In the Canadian Wilderness*, this was clearly untrue, e.g., one photo of a Sarcee Indian was originally copyrighted in Canada in 1907. In addition, other photos could be traced to previously published or copyrighted sources.[73] The editors of "Wild und Hund" (Game and Dog), in an attempt to promote Otto, wrote glowingly of Otto's style and form and praised the usage of photographs depicting Canadian natives, wildlife and scenery. These pictures had been processed and improved upon by Karl Wagner.[74] Wagner was well known in Germany as an authority on photography. Otto's collaboration with an expert of Wagner's calibre only served to reinforce Otto's status and reputation in Germany.

Although Otto wrote detailed stories of his adventures in the Canadian wilderness, it is important to note that it was never revealed in his publications exactly where he lived in Alberta. Otto explained that this was done deliberately in order to hide the identity of ethnic Germans that had conducted sabotage, spying activities on behalf of Germany, draft dodgers or those unwilling to fight on Canada's behalf.[75] No government documents support Otto's claim of carrying out espionage activity nor did a court trial

occur as Otto so adamantly claimed. Otto did have scrapes with the law. One occurred in October 1916 for not handing in his Mauser rifle to the proper authorities, another in 1921 involving a personal altercation with another German speaking resident.[76] Otto claimed to live in the town of "L" at the end of a Canadian Pacific Railway line, which had a German sounding name. Both the end station and nearby town had the same name. He indicated this was about six hours north of Edmonton, supposedly in the Lake Athabasca area. It was in this area that Otto claimed to have forged a living as a trapper, hunter, and later a wild game tour guide.[77] Otto described himself as a physically strong, disciplined outdoorsman who was able to withstand great physical pain and mental torment to limits most men could only imagine. In addition, his prowess in all aspects of life dictated that success and victory followed him wherever he went. According to Otto, his reputation in these avenues of outdoor life was legendary. The reality was that Otto was trying to hide the fact that he never lived in a rural setting. Although Otto made gallant claims about his life and accomplishments in Canada's wilderness, the truth was that Otto had never lived in the Alberta bush but in the German-Canadian community of Bruderheim, which was then known as Brüderheim. This was evident as all articles in the Canadian press on Otto and correspondence he had with Canadian authorities gave his address as Brüderheim, Alberta.[78]

Ethnic Germans in Alberta maintained that Otto never committed any heroic or patriotic deeds on behalf of the German government – Otto's books were "nothing more than pure fraud and lies." Canada's Germans had already known that Otto was not a hunter or trapper and that his tracking adventures were fabricated - no one had witnessed his hunting adventures. The photographs in his books were not taken by Otto. German-Canadian newspapers wanted their readers to know "that Otto had lied in all his books from A to Z."[79] German speakers from Brüderheim maintain that from the first day of his residence until he returned to Germany, Otto never left the area. He worked as a farmhand for Samuel Kittlitz from the time of his arrival in 1912 until the summer of 1913, thereafter he resided south of Brüderheim. It was not noted what work Otto pursued in Canada, but he probably continued to work as a farm laborer. Otto became a subject of ridicule and scorn by Canada's ethnic Germans while being widely accepted in Germany as a primary source of information on Canada.

Gutensohn stated that Otto told everyone he met that he was a German spy, "that phase of his work was the joke of the community. His experiences in Canada were very limited because he never went anywhere and his knowledge of the English language was so limited that he was very much handicapped in many ways." Otto could only fool those individuals who did not know him; his actions and behavior in Canada caused all who knew him to regard him with contempt.[80] Another long-time German resident of Brüderheim, Mrs. I. Queck, wrote that Otto lived just three miles south of their community. Queck described Otto as lazy and a liar. Otto had not travelled extensively as he claimed, yet perhaps he had inadvertently encountered some wildlife in Canada. Queck stated that possibly Otto had seen some buffalo, deer or elk from the nearby Elk Island National Park, but his hunting tales were fabricated. Elk Island National Park was twelve kilometers from Brüderheim.[81] Proof of this fact is supplied through Government of Canada documents, e.g., according to Order-in-Council No. 2283 passed by the Canadian government on September 3, 1914, all "Enemy Aliens" could not possess a firearm and in 1916 Otto's Mauser was seized by Canadian authorities.[82] The RCMP

believed they had been lenient with Otto, owing to the fact that he had been allowed to retain the use of a 22-calibre rifle and a shotgun. Interestingly, in correspondence with the federal government and Alberta's provincial administration no mention of a Drilling rifle was ever made.[83] Both provincial and federal administrations specifically refer to a 22-calbre rifle and a shotgun. The Mauser appears to have been returned to Otto in the summer of 1920.[84] Due to the fact that Otto never owned a Drilling rifle in Canada and his Mauser rifle was in possession of Canadian authorities between late 1916 and mid 1920, Otto's wild hunting escapades could never have occurred in the fashion he portrayed.

The first Lutheran Immigration Board representative in Europe, the Reverend Dr. Friedrich Caspar Gleiss, wrote one of the sharpest critiques of Otto. His article appeared in the Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland (Society for Germans Abroad - VDA) publication "Deutsche Welt" (German World) and referred to how Otto's experiences in Canada were viewed by ethnic Germans presently living in Canada. Gleiss quoted Dr. Hans Theodor Güssow[85] who was viewed both in Germany and Canada as a respectable representative of the German community in Canada, with his views having some weight.[86] Güssow stated that he, like many other ethnic Germans in Canada, was angered by the writings of Otto for his inaccurate portrayal of the country and its German speakers. Gleiss warned that readers should not take Otto's books seriously because they contained much boasting and were nothing more than "a cock and bull story."[87]

Otto's publications confirmed to his German readers that Canada was a large and very sparsely populated country.[88] Other individuals also came to the same conclusion as Otto, e.g., C. R. Henning described the geographical relationship of Germany to Canada as follows: "if Germany is a land without space then Canada can be called a land without people."[89] This appraisal coincided with passages from Otto's publications, e.g. in one representative chapter Otto explained in painstaking detail how he crossed eight hundred miles by dog sled in the dead of a Canadian winter. His tales described the majestic Canadian winter with its inherent beauty while reinforcing the stereotype that Canada was utter wilderness.[90] Hamilton calculated that the route allegedly taken by Otto was not more than five hundred miles even with generous allowances for detours and scenic routes.[91]

Ludwig Kempff, Germany's ambassador to Canada, noted that even though Canada had numerous cities and large tracts of cultivated land with a growing agricultural base, many educated Germans viewed Canada as nothing more than "a geographical description that is connected to vast areas of forest, wilderness and the absence of civilisation." Some German visitors' disappointment began shortly after they disembarked from their ship because they could not see any Indians. Kempff wrote that for many Germans, Canada was tightly connected to images of Indians and nature. One of the main reasons that Kempff cited for this false stereotype of Canada was a publication that gained great popularity in Germany. This book was entitled *In the Canadian Wilderness*, by Max Otto.[92] Kempff and others maintained that Otto's publication contributed to many Germans' misconception that Canada was, above everything else, wilderness.[93] Kempff's statements are not to be taken lightly; he was not a man prone to exaggeration. Jonathan Wagner, in describing Kempff, wrote that he was "a man with a military sense of duty, of proper conduct, and of service to the state." He

was meticulous and thorough in all the responsibilities his position demanded of him—he also held a doctorate in law.[94] Patrick Opdenhövel wrote that in modern Germany "Canada was viewed as the land of the beaver, Rocky Mountains, great distances and adventure and this is the image that strongly influences the German public."[95] Alfred Pletsch seized on a similar vein of thought when he wrote, "to many Germans Canada is above all wilderness."[96] The statements of modern writers concur with Kempff—both support German stereotypes of Canada that linger to this day.[97] German images of natives and nature in Canada were certainly compatible to Otto's hunting and trapping tales no matter how richly enhanced they may have been. His readers were entertained through such publications because Otto spiced his stories to a degree most accepted in Germany, although some found excessive.[98] Within Canada, the painful truth slowly surfaced that Otto did much more than inflate the facts of his hunting stories. Otto deliberately lied in his publications.[99] Regardless of Otto's influence in Germany, his books revealed some happy times in Canada, a country where he claimed he was able to enjoy himself away from the pressures of modern society. But Otto never lived in the Alberta bush, nor did fate intervene with the approach of WW I and turn him into a traitor to his new land of residence in favor of the land of his birth.[100] His writings confirmed what Germans had already believed about Canada to be the truth, namely that it was a land of wilderness, Indians, and wide-open spaces.

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[45] May, 114; Otto (1921), 603.

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[97] Seliger, 55; Fürst, Hermann, "Der Karl May—Bazillus geht um' Die Bundesbürger haben Kanada entdeckt," in *Die Zeit*, 26 November 1976, 49-50; "Deutsche Jäger liegen an zweiter Stelle," in *Spiegel Online*, 22 October 2001.

[98] Maier, 253; Gleiss, 70; Hamilton, 79.

[99] "Ein reichsdeutscher Gast in Edmonton," in *Der Courier und der Herold*, 14 October 1936, 4.

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Louis E. Brister

Writing Texas History in Nazi Germany

In 1941, only a few months before the U. S. would join the struggle to liberate Europe from the fascist grasp of Nazi Germany, Friedrich Hertneck published in Leipzig a history of Texas.[1] Hertneck was a university-educated historian and economist, but no evidence could be found that he had formally studied either the history of the U.S. or of Texas. It appears that for Hertneck, who had published extensively about the history and policies of the Social Democratic Party in Germany, writing *Der Kampf um Texas* (The Struggle for Texas) was a research exercise that would probably be easily approved by the Nazi authorities. For Hertneck, researching and writing Texas history during the Third Reich in Germany became a retreat, an avenue of "inner emigration" in a time when he was forbidden as a professional *Volkswirt* (political economist) to teach and write about German history, politics, and economics.[2]

Friedrich Hertneck was born on 20 March 1901 in Elberfeld, a town near the industrial city of Wuppertal in the present state of Northrhine-Westphalia. His father was Friedrich Hertneck, an architect, and his mother was Elizabeth Hertneck, née Kampermann. After finishing high school in the spring of 1919, Friedrich enrolled at the technical institute at Karlsruhe with a major in chemistry. After only one semester, however, he changed his major to history and economics, and enrolled at the university of Heidelberg. From Heidelberg he went on to study at the universities of Tübingen and Berlin, where in 1927 he received the doctorate degree in history and economics. His dissertation was entitled *Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie und die orientalische Frage im Zeitalter Bismarcks* (German Social Democracy and the Oriental Question in the Age of Bismarck).[3]

Even while earning the doctorate degree, Hertneck began editing and contributing to a series of works that elucidated the political philosophy of the Social Democratic Party, the governing political party in Germany at the time. His bibliography of publications from 1926 to 1928 lists eight works that promoted the Social Democratic philosophy.[4] From 1919 to 1933 he was also co-editor of the small newspaper, *Volksblatt für Spandau und das Havelland und den Berliner Verwaltungsbezirk Spandau* (People's News for Spandau and Havelland and the Berlin Administrative District Spandau), a small newspaper promoting Social Democracy.[5] In 1933 he was compulsorily removed from his post at the newspaper and for many years thereafter he had no regular source of income. During the ensuing years he had considerable difficulty supporting himself, his wife, and his two children, a son born in 1928, and a daughter, born in 1930. During the later war years, according to his granddaughter Britta Hertneck, the children were sent to Austria in order to escape the intense bombing of Berlin.[6]

Like many scholars in Germany at the time, Friedrich Hertneck was forced to live under the restrictive order of a *Berufsverbot* or prohibition to practice his profession. He was permitted to write and publish what he wished so long as it was not critical of the National Socialist government. Klaas Dirk Dierks records that in order to support himself and his family, Hertneck began writing popular western fiction, possibly under

a pseudonym. Diercks calls them "Cowboy-Romane" (cowboy novels). None of these novels, however, have been identified and located. Hertneck did not have any regular employment or income until 1940 when he was offered a nonpolitical position as an economist in a German-Italian textile commission.[7]

Friedrich Hertneck's death is recorded among the Notice of Residency Cards preserved in the Landesarchiv Berlin. According to Hertneck's record, he died on 16 December 1943, during a British bombing raid on that city. That report is also corroborated by an entry in the website, "British Bomber Command 60th Anniversary-Campaign Diary, December 1943." There it is recorded that in the night from December 16 to 17, 483 Lancaster bombers and ten Mosquito bombers bombed the city center of Berlin. During that bombing raid, Hertneck's house, located in the Eichkamp district of Berlin, was destroyed.[8]

One must ask why Hertneck's attention fell on Texas as a subject of his scholarship. In the introduction to *Der Kampf um Texas*, he writes: "The history of Texas received its particular stamp at every turn from the great events that were shaping the political future of North America. Texas history mirrors these events faithfully in all their phases and even foreshadows the course of these events. From Texas history one can trace the rise and fall of the Spanish empire as well as the direction and course of French colonial politics. Texas history reflects also the unchecked expansionist urge of the Anglo-American frontier and the desperate life or death struggle conducted by the tribes of the prairie against the palefaces. However, the matter that makes Texas history especially important to us Germans is the dream that was embraced around the middle of the last century, namely the dream of creating a German colony from the territories north of the Gulf of Mexico. Even though this dream was not realized, nevertheless we will not forget the tens of thousands of our compatriots who found in Texas a new home."[9]

Friedrich Hertneck's list of sources for writing *Der Kampf um Texas* is extremely brief, filling less than two pages, for his access to Texas history in German libraries was very limited. His list of sources which includes no government documents, letters, newspapers, or journal literature, suggests that either he had little access to archival sources and the numerous history journals published in the U.S., or that he feared political persecution if he was too persistent in his search for these materials. Unfortunately, Hertneck left no record of the library where he obtained his sources, but one must assume that it was the Humboldt University Library. Barring the possibility that Hertneck had books about Texas in his personal library, the political restraints on his research and writing prevented him from reaching beyond the secondary sources already available to him in German academic libraries. Of the twenty-four books listed at the end of his book, nineteen of them were published in the U. S., mostly standard works of Texas history. Citing only the secondary works that were available to him, Hertneck cites these books by the chapter for which they served as a source.[10] However, he cites none of these works by textual footnote references.

Hertneck's history begins with the Spanish conquest of Mexico and the ensuing period of colonial rule. Of the twenty-four sources listed in his bibliography, ten of them served as the basis for his detailed treatment of the almost three hundred years of Spanish rule in the border province of Texas.[11] Hertneck's description of the Spanish presence in Texas ranges from the exploits of several influential individuals such as Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, and Hernán de Soto to the

enduring efforts of the Spaniards to resist the political and military encroachment by the French on Spanish territory.

While the Spaniards jealously guarded Mexico's northern border against French settlement, a challenge to Spanish power came from within, by the Mexicans themselves, and almost immediately after the Mexicans gained their independence from Spain, the Americanization of Texas began. The irony of this outcome of Mexico's struggle for independence and freedom was, of course, not lost on the author of *Der Kampf um Texas*. During centuries of watchfully guarding against encroachment by the French in Mexico's northern territories, the Spaniards had mistakenly overlooked the real threat: colonization by the Anglo-Americans.[12] Hertneck's treatment of this course of events is derived from a thorough study of four histories, three of them standard works on post-colonial Texas history.[13]

Hertneck's narrative suggests that the logical outcome of the Americanization of Texas was the Texas Revolution. When they emigrated to Texas, most of the Anglo-Americans brought with them democratic beliefs and traditions. They had been U.S. citizens, spoke only English, and harbored no loyalty to Mexico nor to the Mexican constitution of 1824. Recent events in Mexico, moreover, notably General Antonio López de Santa Anna's seizure of dictatorial powers, convinced most of the Anglo-American settlers that the future of Texas should be as an independent ally of the U.S. instead of Mexico.

Friedrich Hertneck's account of the Texas Revolution is somewhat unorthodox. While recounting thoroughly the heroic roles of William Barret Travis and James Bowie at the siege of the Alamo, he does not mention by name David Crockett. In his account of the massacre of Texan combatants at Goliad by their Mexican captors, he focuses almost exclusively on the actions of Colonel James Walker Fannin. Fannin's Mexican counterpart, General José Urrea, is not mentioned by name. Otherwise well-known Texan leaders such as Ben Milam and Erastus "Deaf" Smith are also ignored. Throughout Hertneck's account of the Texas Revolution General Sam Houston is center stage. The narrative would have been much improved had Hertneck consulted the account of the revolution by a young German participant, Hermann Ehrenberg's *Texas und seine Revolution*.[14]

In Hertneck's view, Houston's victory over Santa Anna at San Jacinto was one of the most decisive battles in world history, for "the liberation of Texas was the beginning of the end of Mexico's dominance in North America, and the annexations in 1845 and 1848 granted the United States that territorial dominance on the continent which provided the basis for the nation's ascendency to being a world power."[15]

In the last full chapter of *Der Kampf um Texas* Hertneck takes up again the special German connection to Texas he alluded to in the introduction, namely "the dream that was embraced [in Germany] around the middle of the last century, . . . [the dream] of creating a German colony from the territories north of the Gulf of Mexico."[16] The colonization enterprise described by Hertneck was the Mainzer Adelsverein, an association of German nobles founded in 1842 for the purpose of directing an organized emigration of thousands of German farmers and tradesmen to Texas, where they would live in Verein settlements and till the land within the Verein's territory. The project entailed the acquisition of a large land grant from the Republic of Texas. Within less than a decade, however, the Verein was bankrupt, and only a few German settlements

had become thriving communities, notably New Braunfels and Fredericksburg. But this decade of German colonization in Texas, as Hertneck noted, sufficed to make the history of Texas of great interest to Germans in 1941, and to leave a distinctly German stamp on parts of Central Texas.

Hertneck's achievement in writing *Der Kampf um Texas*, using only other published histories as his sources, is even more remarkable when one considers the strict controls imposed on academic and public libraries during the Nazi era. Already in 1933, when the NSDAP took control of the government, restrictions were placed on libraries regarding the circulation of "undesirable" materials, meaning initially books and journals not supportive of the NSDAP's political agenda.[17] After September, 1939, when England declared war on Germany, these restrictions came to include also materials written in the English language, i.e. materials written in the language of an enemy country.[18] But since Great Britain and the U.S. shared a common language, the censors in the *Reichsstelle für Volksbüchereiwesen* (National Bureau for Public Libraries) often could not determine an author's nationality. Their task was made easier, however, in December, 1941, when Germany declared war on the U.S.[19] One can easily imagine the difficulties that Hertneck must have encountered in Berlin, probably at the library of the Humboldt University, when he attempted to obtain books written in English, the language of the enemy, about Texas history.

Friedrich Hertneck's history of Texas is interesting not only as a product of the period when the National Socialists by repressive measures completely controlled what was available for circulation in the academic and public libraries . But it is interesting to examine the history which Hertneck was able to produce with such extraordinarily limited resources and which attests to the remarkable degree that he was able to immerse himself in his subject. He narrates in broad strokes the history of the only state that had once been successively a Spanish possession, a French possession, a Mexican territory, and an independent republic. Hertneck's mastery of these events is excellent and no doubt intriqued his readers.

For a relative newcomer to Texas history in his scholarly career, Friedrich Hertneck exhibits a remarkable appreciation of his subject. *Der Kampf um Texas*, even though Hertneck had written previously only about the history of Social Democracy in Germany, is a scholarly and objective study. It exhibits no particularly obvious bias or cant of the author. In only one chapter does he suggest having some sympathy with the Texans. His admiration for the Texans' struggle against tyranny to achieve liberty and justice in their lives is clear, however, in the chapter about the Texas Revolution. He finds the roots of this struggle in Mexico's effort to populate the northern regions of the nation with an industrious immigrant population: "As always," he writes, "when a people have cast off the chains that formerly restrained them, there reigned in Mexico at the time an excess of pride and confidence that was not balanced by a measure of calm reflection and forethought. It became especially fateful for the Mexicans that the United States, their North American neighbor, was at the time their model nation. Every year tens of thousands of immigrants from numerous countries settled in the U.S. and the great "melting pot" of the frontier reshaped them all to Americans. And why should that which had succeeded in the U.S. not succeed also in Mexico?"[20]

The other event in Texas history that appears to have deeply interested Hertneck, and that made his book attractive to the Nazi authorities and therefore worthy of

publication, was the immigration of Germans in the mid-nineteenth century to Texas to form a German colony there. As he writes in the introduction, "the matter that makes Texas history especially important to us Germans is the dream that was embraced around the middle of the last century, [namely the dream] of creating a German colony from the terrritories north of the Gulf of Mexico." Hertneck's words leave little doubt that he was mindful of the Nazis' determination to build a connection to America that would help sustain the political aims of Nazism. Richards reiterates the point also that when the National Socialists came to power in 1933, "their most urgent mission was the unification of the German people in the common conviction of their unique characteristics as the master race." Hertneck's words, which connected German history and culture to the history and culture of the United States, emphasized the common history and traditions of both countries as a result of the massive German emigration to the U.S. in the nineteenth century.[21]

It is clear that Hertneck did not write *Der Kampf um Texas* as a major revision of traditional Texas history. In the absence of a statement by either Hertneck himself or his publisher in a foreword, one must assume that he was writing for other German historians and for the general public in Germany, an audience of readers who would be content to have a history written chiefly from English-language sources published in the U. S. and Great Britain. His concluding summary of the course of Texas history underscores the appeal of the struggle for Texas: "Gold was never discovered in Texas, and the riches which the territory concealed were never revealed by the gold-seeking ravages of the Spanish conquerors. Only when the North American immigrants came to Central Texas and turned over the rich soil there with their plows, only when the sweat of their difficult labor enriched the soil, did the riches of Texas become manifest."[22] These riches were shared also by the thousands of German settlers who came to Texas in the nineteenth century on the heels of the North Americans. The lesson, therefore, which Hertneck wanted to leave in the minds of his German readers in 1941 was that Texas was colonized successfully neither by the Spanish, nor by the French, but by the Anglo-Americans and the Germans.

In Nazi Germany, Texas was not a political entity that would likely arouse suspicion or enmity. It had been a member state of the United States since 1845, and hence it was not an independent enemy of the Third Reich. Friedrich Hertneck was no doubt mindful of Texas' unique political history as he embarked on his venture to write *Der Kampf um Texas*. Once earmarked by a number of empresarios and some German states and communities to receive German emigrants, Texas became the home of thousands of German colonists. This notion of creating a "Neu- Deutschland" on the Gulf of Mexico and a market for German manufactures became the springboard in the nineteenth century for solving Germany's problems of overpopulation, unemployment, and famine. Among the many ventures to create a German colony in the frontier territories of the U. S., however, Texas was in several ways unique. In the first place, Texas was the target of the largest of the German colonization ventures in the U. S. In the second place, this venture was not the product of political or commercial interests, but was a project organized by a committee or *Verein* of nobles.[23] Hertneck devotes an entire chapter to the *Mainzer Adelsverein* and was no doubt mindful of Texas' unique position as home to the largest of German colonization ventures in the nineteenth century. In 1941 there were still a number of German communities in Texas such as New Braunfels, Fredericksburg,

Industry, Castell, Boerne, Uhland, Niederwald, Grüne, Comfort, and New Ulm, where German was still spoken by the inhabitants, the farmers, the merchants, the housewives, and schoolchildren.

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Notes

[1] Friedrich Hertneck, *Der Kampf um Texas* (Leipzig: Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag, 1941).

One would expect that in 1941 the Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag would be publishing books that were more supportive of the goals and policies of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) than a history of Texas, but at least half of the twenty-two books in publication in 1941 by the Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag that are advertised on the rear fly-leaf of Hertneck's history appear to be works about German history, and world history and geography: Robert Bauer, *Die Insel der Heiligen und Rebellen*; J. B. Brebner, *Die Erforscher von Nordamerika*; *Das Buch der deutschen Kolonien*, ed. former governors of the German colonies; R. Busch-Zantner, *Albanien. Neues Land im Imperium*; Ferdinand Fried, *Wende der Weltwirtschaft*; Otto Graf, *Imperium Britannicum. Vom Inselstaat zum Weltreich*; Ernst Hering, *Die Deutsche Hanse*; Ernst Hering, *Die Fugger*; F. A. Kirkpatrick, *Die spanischen Konquistadoren*; Richard Moeller, *Rußland, Wesen und Werden*; Wilhelm Nowack, *Australien. Kontinent der Gegensätze*; Walther Pahl, *Wetterzonen der Weltpolitik*; Edgar Prestage, *Die portugiesischen Entdecker*; Erich Reimers, *Der Kampf um den deutschen Osten. Deutsches Schicksal in drei Jahrtausenden*; Erich Reimers, *Die Welser landen in Venezuela. Das erste deutsche Kolonialunternehmen*; Heinrich Schiffers-Davringhausen, *Stumme Front. Männer und Mächte im Banne der Sahara*; Paul Schmitz-Kairo, *Politiker und Propheten am Roten Meer*; Herbert Tichy, *Afghanistan*; Herbert Tichy, *Alaska. Ein Paradies des Nordens*; E. A. Walker, *Der große Trek*; Hans F. Zeck, *Nordsee. Raum der Entscheidungen*; Anton Zischka, *Wissenschaft bricht Monopole. Der Forscherkampf um neue Rohstoffe und neuen Lebensraum*. For a list of the books published by the Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag from 1922 to 1962, see *Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag 1922-1962* (München: Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag, 1962), 161-207.

[2] The "innere Emigration" was the term used for "the state of mental reservation which those dissenting from National Socialism were obliged to impose upon themselves if they were unwilling to incur draconian penalties by expressing their disagreement." Writers chose either not to submit new works for publication, or they chose new, sometimes more obscure topics for their writing. A typical example of the latter was Ernst Jünger's allegorical novel of antitotalitarianism, *Auf den Marmorklippen*, which was published in 1939. Henry and Mary Garland (eds.), *The Oxford Companion to German Literature* ((Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 420 (quotation), 441-42.

[3] Friedrich Hertneck, "Lebenslauf," *Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie und die orientalische Frage im Zeitalter Bismarcks*, Diss. (Berlin, 1927), 39.

[4] Friedrich List, *Die politisch ökonomische Nationaleinheit der Deutschen*, mit einem Nachwort von Friedrich Hertneck (Berlin: Weltgeist-Bücher, 1926); Eduard Lasker, *Fünfzehn Jahre parlementarischer Geschichte (1886-1880)*, ed. Friedrich Hertneck (Berlin: Weltgeist-Bücher, 1926); Ferdinand Lassalle, *Ferdinand Lassalles Tagebuch*, ed. Friedrich Hertneck (Berlin: Weltgeist-Bücher, 1927); Ferdinand Lassalle, *Offenes Antwortschreiben an das Zentral-Komitee zur Berufung eines Allgemeinen Deutschen Arbeiter-Kongresses zu Leipzig*, ed. Friedrich Hertneck (Berlin: Weltgeist-Bücher, 1927); Karl Marx, *Karl Marx und die Gewerkschaften: Aufsätze und Dokumente*, ed. Friedrich Hertneck (Berlin: Weltgeist-Bücher, 1928); Johann Baptist von Schweizer, *Die Gewerkschaftsfrage: Aufsätze*, ed. Friedrich Hertneck (Berlin: Weltgeist-Bücher, 1928); Friedrich Hertneck, *Verkehrspolitik und Verkehrsrecht: Vorträge gehalten auf dem 13. Bundestage des deutschen Verkehrsbundes in Leipzig* (Berlin: Verlagsanstalt "Curier," 1928). I am indebted to Heidrun Louda, Archivist at the Archive for Social Democracy in Bonn, Germany, for sending me this list of Hertneck's early publications.

[5] Aiga Seywald, *Die Presse der sozialen Bewegungen 1918-1933: Linksparteien, Gewerkschaften, Arbeiterkulturbewegung*. . .(Essen: Klartext Verlag, 1994), 356.

[6] Letter, Britta Hertneck to L. E. B., 4 April 2006.

[7] Klaas Dirk Dierks, "Gertrud David—Regisseurin, Produzentin," *CineGraph: Lexikon zum deutschsprachigen Film*, 6 vols. ed. Hans-Michael Bock (München: Edition Text + Kritik, 1984- 2004), XXVIII, B7 (quotation); letter, Britta Hertneck to L.E.B., 4 April 2006.

I have been unable to learn the title of any of Hertneck's so-called *Cowboy-Romane*. Further, Hertneck's granddaughter, Britta Hertneck, reports that she could find no recollection among members of her family that her grandfather had written such novels. Letter, Britta Hertneck to L.E.B. (13 January 2007).

[8] I am indebted to Dr. Werner Breunig, archivist at the Landesarchiv Berlin, for providing to me verbatim the entry recording Friedrich Hertneck's death on his notice of residence, and to Tracy Achilles, assistant press and public affairs officer at the British Consulate-General in Houston, for directing my attention to the website, http://www.raf.mod.uk/bombercommand/dec43.html.

An account of the bombing raid by Otto Linnemann, a neighbor of Hertneck's, who was with him and his wife on that fateful night in the neighborhood bombshelter, recorded the experience on 7 January 1944 for Hertneck's children. A photocopy was sent to the author. Letter, Britta Hertneck to L. E. B., 4 April 2006. Typescript.

[9] Hertneck, *Der Kampf um Texas*, 8 (quotation). All quotations from Hertneck have been translated into English by L.E.B.

[10] An excellent description of the political and practical constraints imposed by the National Socialists on academic and research libraries during the Third Reich is Pamela Spence Richards' article, "'Aryan Librarianship': Academic and Research Libraries under Hitler," *Journal of Library History*, 19 (1984), 231-58.

The titles of the nine chapters in Hertneck's *Der Kampf um Texas* are: 1) "Konquistadorenzüge" (Travels of the Conquistadors); 2) "Grenzschutz" (Border Defence); 3) "Zwischenspiel" (Intermezzo); 4) "Amerikanische Nachbarschaft" (American Neighbors); 5) "'Die Amerikanisierung'" (The Americanization); 6) "Der Freiheitskampf" (The Struggle for Liberty); 7) "Die Republik" (The Republic); 8) "Ein deutscher Kolonisationsversuch" (An Attempt at German Colonization); 9) "Rangers und Ranches" (Texas Rangers and Ranches).

[11] All authors' names, titles, publishers, dates and places of publication of the works cited by Hertneck for all chapters have, where needed, been supplied: Ernst Daenell, *Die Spanier in Nordamerika 1513-1824* (München/Berlin, 1911); George P. Garrison, *Texas: A Contest of Civilizations* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin & Co., 1903); Henderson K. Yoakum, *History of Texas from Its First Settlement in 1685 to Its Annexation to the United States in 1846* (2 vols.; New York: Redfield, 1855); Cabeza de Vaca, *Relación*, transl. Franz Termer (Stuttgart, 1925); Morris Bishop, *The Odyssey of Cabeza de Vaca* (New York/London: The Century Co., 1933); George P. Winship, *Fourteenth Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, D. C., 1896); A. F. Bandelier, *The Gilded Man (El Dorado) and Other Pictures of the Spanish Occupancy of America* (New York: D. Appleton, 1893); Herbert E. Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921); Herbert E. Bolton, *Athanase de Mèzières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier 1768-1780* . . .(Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1914); Lyle Saxon, *Lafitte, the Pirate* (New York: Century Co., 1930).

[12] Hertneck, *Kampf*, 153-58, 178.

[13] Erich Kempten, *Die Ausbreitungspolitik der Vereinigten Staaten von America* (Stuttgart/Berlin, 1923); Lewis W. Newton and Herbert P. Gambrell, *A Social and Political History of Texas* (Dallas: Southwest Press, 1932); Eugene C. Barker, *The Life of Stephen F. Austin, Founder of Texas 1793-1836. A Chapter in the Westward Movement of the Anglo-American People* (Dallas: Cokesbury Press, 1926); Eugene C. Barker, *Mexico and Texas 1821-1835. University of Texas Research Lectures on the Causes of the Texas Revolution* (Dallas: P. L. Turner, 1928).

[14] Ehrenberg's narrative of the Texas Revolution was published three times, each time with a different title: *Texas und seine Revolution* (Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1843); *Der Freiheitskampf in Texas im Jahre 1836* (Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1844); *Fahrten und Schicksale eines Deutschen in Texas* (Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1845). Sources utilized by Hertneck for the revolutionary period in Texas are as follows: Clarence Wharton, *San Jacinto, The Sixteenth Decisive Battle* (Houston: Lamar Book Store, 1930); Ephraim D. Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas 1836/46* (Gloucester, Mass.: P. Smith, 1910); James Marquis, *The Raven: A Biography of Sam Houston* (Indianopolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1929); and Frank C. Hanighen, *Santa Anna: The Napoleon of the West* (New York: Coward McCann, 1934).

[15] Hertneck, *Kampf*, 217-18 (quotation).

[16] Ibid., 8 (quotation). Hertneck's sources for his account of German colonization in Texas were Rudolph L. Biesele, *The History of the German Settlements in Texas 1831-1861* (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones Co., 1930), and Hermann von Freeden and Georg Smolka (eds.), *Auswanderer: Bilder und Skizzen aus der Geschichte der deutschen Auswanderung* (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1937). One wonders why Hertneck did not consult any of the numerous publications that appeared in Germany between 1845 and 1855 describing the German colonization efforts in Texas. In his bibliography Biesele cites no less than twelve of them.

[17] Richards, "'Aryan Librarianship,'" 247 (quotation).

[18] *Lexikon der deutschen Geschichte: Personen, Ereignisse, Institutionen . . .*, ed. Gerhard Taddey (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1979), 1275; Margaret Stieg, "The Second World War and the Public Libraries of Nazi Germany," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 27 (1992), 28; Richards, "'Aryan Librarianship,'" 248.

[19] George Brown Tindall and David E. Shi, *America: A Narrative History*, Brief 3d ed. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1993), 778, 780; Taddey (ed.), *Lexikon*, 1276; Stieg, "The Second World War . . .," 28.

[20] Hertneck, *Kampf um Texas*, 161 (quotation).

[21] Ibid., 8 (quotation). An outstanding account of the efforts by the Nazi authorities to construct a cultural bridge to the U. S. can be found in Cornelia Wilhelm, "Nazi Propaganda and the Uses of the Past: Heinz Kloss and the Making of a *German America*," *Amerikastudien*, 47 (2002), 57-61; Richards, "'Aryan Librarianship,'" 232 (quotation). An excellent history of the German emigration in the nineteenth century, its causes, effects, and the politics of the phenomenon, can be found in Mack Walker, *Germany and the Emigration 1816-1885* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964).

[22] Hertneck, *Kampf um Texas*, 295 (quotation).

[23] Stefan von Senger und Etterlin, *Neu-Deutschland in Nordamerika: Massenauswanderung, nationale Gruppenansiedlungen und liberale Kolonialbewegung 1815-1860* (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1991), 214.

Alfred Wildfeuer

Von der Multilingualität zur Monolingualität: Ein Vergleich zwischen deutschböhmischen Siedlungen in Transkarpatien und in Ellis, Kansas

"Ich bin als Tscheche geboren,
als Ungar aufgewachsen und bin
[schließlich] Ukrainer geworden."

Zoltan Kissmann, Transkarpatien

"Haben [die anderen Deutschen in der
Gegend von Ellis] immer gesagt,
wir sind Österreicher. Wir haben
das Englisch nicht geredet."

Joe Erbert, Kansas

1. Überblick/Ausgangspunkt

Die für Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft relativ einfache Feststellung, was die bis heute existenten deutschböhmischen Siedlungen in Osteuropa, Nord- und Südamerika und Ozeanien auszeichnet, nämlich eine gut lokalisierbare Herkunft aus verschiedene Teilen Süd- und Westböhmens, eine distinktive Sprache und eine durch das Katholische geprägte Glaubensvorstellung, scheint beim Blick auf die beiden obigen Zitate im Tatsächlichen Leben komplex zu sein. Ziel dieses Beitrags ist es daher, Ergebnisse der linguistischen Forschung zu präsentieren und somit einen Einblick in das reale Sprachleben der Deutschböhmen in der Ukraine und in den USA zu geben.

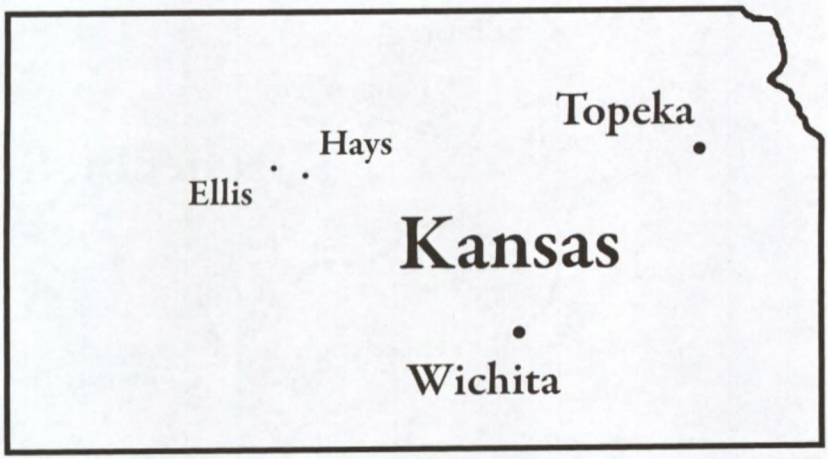
Die im Folgenden beschriebenen Varietäten in der Ukraine und in den USA wurden im Rahmen von Forschungsaufenthalten in Transkarpatien und in Kansas erhoben.[1] Für die Erhebungen in der Ukraine kamen die Fragebücher des ADT (Sprachatlas der historischen deutschen Mundarten in der Tschechischen Republik), die sich als hervorragend geeignet für Befragungen in ostmittel- und osteuropäischen deutschen Sprachinseln erwiesen, zum Einsatz.[2] Im Jahr 2005 wurden Dialektaufnahmen mit Sprecherinnen und Sprechern aus den fünf ukrainischen Orten Blaubad/Synjak, Pusniak/Puzn'akuvci, Unterhrabownitz/N. Hrabovnyca, Dorndorf/Dratschyno und Munkatsch/Mukatschevo durchgeführt (siehe Karte 1). Bereits während der Erhebungen gelang ein sehr umfangreicher Einblick in die sprachliche Situation der Deutschböhmen. Die Gespräche wurden mit Sprachrekordern aufgezeichnet, sodass freie Erzählungen und Spontanbelege das Fragebuchmaterial umfangreich ergänzten. Um Lücken in den Aufnahmen zu schließen und weiteres Vergleichsmaterial zu erhalten, folgten im April und September 2006 und im März 2007 noch drei weitere Forschungsaufenthalte in der Ukraine. Es wurden in dieser Zeit ergänzende Befragungen in den deutschböhmischen

Orten Dubi/Duby und Kobalewitz/Kobalevyca durchgeführt (siehe Karte 1). Das sprachliche Datenmaterial konnte dadurch deutlich erweitert werden. Zu diesen deutschböhmischen Siedlungen liegen aktuell über 800 erhobene Fragebuchseiten vor, was etwa 6500 von den Informanten beantworteten Fragen zu allen linguistischen Kategorien entspricht. Die Dauer der aufgezeichneten freien Gespräche umfasst mehrere Stunden. Gerade für zukünftige Forschungen in den Bereichen Morphologie, Pragmatik, Semantik und Syntax ist dieses Material von hohem Wert.

Das hiermit vorliegende umfangreiche Korpus stellt eine wichtige Vergleichsbasis für die deutschböhmischen Mundarten in Europa und Nord- und Südamerika dar, denn die Aufnahmen sind Abbild eines konservativen, durch die über 150-jährige Isolation vom bairischen Binnenraum wenig beeinflussten Dialekts.

Die als Startschuss für ein längerfristig angelegtes Projekt zu den deutschböhmischen Varietäten in Nord- und Südamerika begonnenen Aufnahmen in Ellis County, Kansas, beschränken sich bisher auf freie Gespräche und Erzählungen und auf die Übersetzung vorgegebener Sätze in die entsprechende deutschböhmische Varietät der befragten Gewährspersonen. Die Übersetzungsfragen umfassen 40 Sätze einer 1980 von Ilse Vogel-Shire erstellten englischen Version der in der deutschen Dialektologie häufig verwendeten, nach Georg Wenker, dem Pionier der Dialektgeographie, benannten Wenker-Sätze.[3] Alle Erhebungen wurden auf Tonträgern gespeichert. Trotz der im Vergleich zu dem aus Transkarpatien zur Verfügung stehenden Materials noch recht kleinen Datenbasis aus Kansas lassen sich erste aufschlussreiche und zum Teil auch überraschende Erkenntnisse über den Stand und die Tendenzen der Siedlermundarten ziehen. Bevor im Folgenden eine genauere Analyse der linguistischen Erscheinungen

erfolgt, sollen die geschichtlichen Hintergründe dargestellt werden, die dazu führten, dass deutsch sprechende Nachfahren von Auswanderern aus dem Böhmerwald unter anderem bis heute in der Ukraine und in den USA siedeln (siehe Karten 1 und 2).



2. Geschichtliche Hintergründe

2.1 Transkarpatien

Die heutigen deutschen Dialekte Transkarpatiens gehen auf mehrere Einwanderungswellen zwischen dem zwölften und dem neunzehnten Jahrhundert zurück. Da die deutschen Siedler der letzten Jahrhunderte, speziell die seit Beginn des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts eingewanderten Siedler aus Franken, dem Böhmerwald, dem Salzkammergut und Niederösterreich sich über lange Zeit von ihrer Umwelt abgrenzten und häufig nur untereinander heirateten, blieben neben den kulturellen Eigenheiten auch die deutschen Mundarten, heute vor Ort als *Schwobisch* ‚Schwäbisch' bezeichnet, erhalten. Die rezenten Dialekte bewahrten durch die Isolation autochthone Merkmale häufig länger als dies im geschlossenen deutschen Sprachraum der Fall war oder nahmen durch die fremdsprachige Umgebung eine andere Entwicklung als in der ursprünglichen Heimatregion.

In Transkarpatien bietet sich daher die für die Linguistik sehr ergiebige Gelegenheit, Sprecher deutscher Dialekte anzutreffen, deren Sprache Rückschlüsse auf die sprachliche Situation zur Zeit der Einwanderung ihrer Vorfahren vor 150 und mehr Jahren zulässt. Interessant ist in diesem Zusammenhang die Beobachtung, dass nach der etwa eineinhalb Jahrhunderte zurückliegenden Auswanderung bei den Sprechern kaum mehr ein Bewusstsein darüber besteht, dass sie eine deutschböhmische Varietät sprechen. Nur eine über 80-jährige Siedlerin aus Kobalewitz erinnerte sich noch an das Volkslied *Im Böhmerwald, wo meine Wiege stand* und benannte damit das Herkunftsland. Eine Verbindung zu den Bezeichnungen *bairisch/bayerisch* oder *österreichisch* konnte aber von keinem Befragten hergestellt werden. Die Mundart wird von den Sprecherinnen

und Sprechern als *schwobisch* tituliert, *daitsch* gilt für die Standardsprache, die von den älteren Informanten noch in der Schulzeit vor Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges erlernt wurde. In der Zwischenkriegszeit, als das Gebiet zur Tschechoslowakei gehörte, wurde in den Schulen der deutschen Minderheit Deutsch gelehrt.[4] Dieser muttersprachliche Unterricht fand nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg und unter der neuen Zugehörigkeit zur Sowjetunion ein völliges Ende.

Alle transkarpatischen Siedlungen, in denen heute noch deutsche Varietäten gesprochen werden, stehen in engem Zusammenhang mit den Grafen von Schönborn, einem fränkischen Adelsgeschlecht, das vom habsburgischen Kaiser Anfang des achtzehten Jahrhunderts umfangreiche Ländereien in den Transkarpaten erhielt und zu deren Urbarmachung und weiteren wirtschaftlichen Ausbau Siedler aus den eigenen Besitzungen in Süddeutschland anwarb. Wirtschaftliche Not und eine wachsende Bevölkerung für zu wenig kultivierbares Land veranlassten auch Menschen aus Südwestböhmen um Prachatitz/Prachatice, ihre Heimat aufzugeben und sich im Osten niederzulassen, wo es nach den Versprechungen der Anwerber Arbeit und reichlich Grund und Boden gab (siehe Karten 3 und 4).

Ein besonderer Fokus soll in diesem Beitrag auf diese deutschböhmischen Aussiedler aus Südwestböhmen gerichtet werden, die ab 1827 ankamen und die

Ortschaft Dorndorf/Dratschyno gründeten. In den folgenden Jahrzehnten kamen weitere Ansiedler aus dem südlichen böhmischen Mittelgebirge und zogen in die transkarpatischen Dörfer und Siedlungen Blaubad/Synjak, Pusniak/Puzn'akuvci, Poliste/Pidpoloz'a, Hrabow/Hrabovo, Unterhrabownitz/N. Hrabovnyca, Kobalewitz/Kobalevyca und Dubi/Duby.[5]

2.2 Ellis County, Kansas

Die heutigen Reste deutschböhmischer Besiedlung in Kansas gehen vor allem auf Auswanderer zurück, die nicht direkt aus dem Böhmerwald in die Neue Welt fanden, sondern bereits mehrere Jahrzehnte in der ehemals österreichischen Bukowina siedelten. Österreich besetzte die Bukowina 1774 und behielt sie bis 1918.[6] Damit wird die im einleitenden Zitat genannte Bezeichnung „Österreicher" für die deutschböhmische Bevölkerung in Kansas verständlich. In den amerikanischen Einwanderungsdokumenten wurden die Siedler daher häufig als Österreicher geführt, dies bestätigen Erzählungen von deutschböhmischen Siedlern in Ellis. Interessant ist für die weiter unten dargelegten

Analysen zu den deutschen Dialekten die Feststellung, dass unter der österreichischen Verwaltung die Amts- und Militärsprache deutsch war. Auch die Universität in Czernowitz war deutschsprachig.[7]

Vor allem aus den Orten Bori, Fürstenthal, Karlsberg und Pojana Mikuli/Buchenhain fanden Deutschböhmen, viele in der Zeit zwischen 1880 und 1915,[8] ihren Weg aus der Bukowina nach Nordamerika, nachdem deren Vorfahren Ende des achtzehnten und zu Beginn des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts ihre angestammte Heimat im Böhmerwald gen Osten verließen (siehe Karte 5). Als Beginn der deutschböhmischen Besiedlung der Bukowina gilt die Gründung einer Glasfabrik in Karlsberg im Jahr 1786. Die letzten böhmischen Siedlungen wurden in den Jahren 1835-38 gegründet.[9] Die nur wenige Jahrzehnte später einsetzende Auswanderung nach Nordamerika hatte vor allem

wirtschaftliche Gründe.[10] Ähnlich äußert sich hierzu Sophie A. Welisch:

> Economic strains caused by large families and limited space made themselves felt in Pojana Mikuli in a little over one generation. In 1887-88 numerous families emigrated to Brazil, settling in Curitiba, Rio Negro, St. Catarina, Passa Tres and Mafra. Between 1890-1900 emigrants left for Kansas where much of the best agricultural land had already been claimed by others. If the distance had not been so far and the voyage so expensive, some would eagerly have returned to their homeland. Most of the descendants of this group now live in Ellis and are well situated.[11]

Die Mehrheit der amerikanischen Bukowiner findet sich heute in Ellis und Ellis County, Kansas (siehe Karte 2).[12]

Ein Vergleich der deutschböhmischen Varietät in Ellis mit den Mundarten des Mittleren Böhmerwaldes zeigt eine große Übereinstimmung mit in den letzten Jahren durchgeführten Sprachaufnahmen des ADT (Atlas der deutschen Mundarten in der Tschechischen Republik) aus der Gegend zwischen Markt Eisenstein im Nordwesten und Winterberg im Südosten des Gebiets. Dies deutet aus linguistischer Sicht darauf hin, dass die Vorfahren der Auswanderer aus diesem Teil des böhmischen Mittelgebirges, nahe der Grenze zu Bayern, stammten. Im Archiv des ADT wurden Dialektaufnahmen aus den Ortschaften Neumark/Všeruby, Vollmau/Folmava, Deschenitz/Dešenice, Grün/Zelena L., Eisenstraß/Hojsova Stráž, Markt Eisenstein/Železná Ruda, Kundratitz/Kundratice, Langendorf, Innergefild/Horska Kvilda, Winterberg/Vimperk, Neuhüblern/Nová Houžná, Oberschlag/Milešice, Eleonorenhain/Lenora und Langenbruck/Olšna mit den Aufnahmen des Informanten Joe Erbert aus Ellis, Kansas abgeglichen. Die größte Passung ergab sich dabei mit den Aufnahmen aus Kundratitz und Langendorf (siehe Karte 3). Diese sprachwissenschaftliche Feststellung wird bestätigt durch Ergebnisse der Siedlungsforschung. Alfred Karasek und Josef Lanz merken hierzu an:

> Im nordwestlichen Böhmerwald erstreckt sich von Winterberg bis zum Tal der über Markt-Eisenstein gegen Klattau fließenden Angel das südböhmische Glasmacherland. Weil die Glasmacherei früher ein vom Holzreichtum der Gegend abhängiger Beruf war, ihre Hütten, Arbeits- und Wohnplätze deshalb den schwindenden Forsten nachrücken mußten, waren die Glasmacher von Haus aus ein bewegliches Völkchen. ... Als 1893 [*sic*] die erste Glashütte in der Bukowina, die Althütte bei Krasna, eingerichtet wurde, geschah dies mit Glasmachern und Holzknechten aus ebendiesem Gebiet ....[13]

Bemerkenswert ist bezüglich metasprachlichen Wissens die Beobachtung, dass im Gegensatz zu den Sprechern in Transkarpatien die Bukowiner in Kansas ihre Sprache zutreffend als *daitschbehmisch* bezeichnen. Diese Benennungskompetenz steht wohl im Zusammenhang mit den kulturellen und sprachlichen Aktivitäten der *Bukovina Society of the Americas* in Ellis, die in den Jahren seit ihrem Bestehen Wissen über Herkunft, Kultur und Sprache unter den Mitgliedern der Gesellschaft verbreitete und weiterhin verbreitet.

3. Gegenwärtige Situation in den Sprachinseln

3.1 Transkarpatien

Die Gesamtsprecherzahl aller deutscher Varietäten in Transkarpatien hat in den letzten Jahrzehnten, beschleunigt durch den Zerfall der Sowjetunion und der damit verbundenen Öffnung der Grenzen, immer mehr abgenommen. Lebten 1935 noch etwa 15.000 Deutsche im Gebiet,[14] liegt die aktuelle Zahl bei geschätzten 3.000 bis 4.000. Gerade die Mundart der deutschböhmischen Siedler ist unmittelbar bedroht. Die Sprecherzahl der deutschböhmischen Varietät in Transkarpatien liegt nach eigenen Schätzungen heute wohl bereits unter 100, möglicherweise sogar unter 50 Sprechenden.

Im Jahr 2006 lebten in Pusniak und Sinjak jeweils nur noch zwei Mundartsprecherinnen, in Unterhrabovnitz noch zwei Mundartsprecher. In Kobalewitz konnten noch sechs deutschböhmische Sprecherinnen und Sprecher ausfindig gemacht werden, darunter auch das wohl letzte deutschböhmische Ehepaar, das die Varietät noch immer in der alltäglichen Kommunikation verwendet. Während die etwa dreijährige Enkelin nach Aussagen dieses Ehepaars noch bewusst im deutschen Dialekt erzogen wird, sprechen ihre eigenen Kinder jedoch kein Deutsch mehr. In Dubi, dem etwas abgelegeneren Nachbarort, wurden noch vier Deutschsprechende angetroffen. In den beiden Ortschaften Hrabow und Dorndorf lebten keine Dialektsprecher mehr, es gelang jedoch, im benachbarten Schwalbach noch zwei ehemalige deutschstämmige Dorndorfer, beide hervorragende Dialektsprecher, für Sprachaufnahmen zu gewinnen.

Gelegentlich trifft man auch in der Gegend um Munkatsch, somit in deutlicher Entfernung zu den böhmischen Ansiedlungen, noch auf Menschen mit rudimentären bis guten Kenntnissen des deutschböhmischen Dialekts. Die jüngste Sprecherin dieser Varietät, geboren 1961, wurde in dem von Deutschböhmen besiedelten Kobalewitz angetroffen. Diese sehr kompetente Dialektsprecherin ist mit einem Ukrainer verheiratet, der kein Deutsch spricht. Auch von ihren sechs Kindern spricht keines mehr ihre Primärsprache. Sie benutzt ihren Dialekt jedoch noch häufig im Gespräch mit anderen Deutschböhmen im Dorf und auch mit ihrer älteren Schwester. Mit weiteren Geschwistern, die nicht in Kobalewitz leben, spricht sie nach eigenen Aussagen ebenfalls gelegentlich die deutsche Varietät. Da sie in der Schule keinen Deutschunterricht hatte, besitzt die Frau keine aktive und nur minimale passive Kompetenz in der deutschen Standardsprache. Die Befragungen mit ihr erfolgten daher in einer ihrem Dialekt nahe stehenden Variante des Bairischen, wie sie heute im an den Böhmerwald angrenzenden Bayerischen Wald gesprochen wird. Standardnahe Fragen wurden von ihr häufig nicht richtig verstanden. Im Vergleich dazu verfügen gerade ältere Sprecher, die in der Zwischenkriegszeit die Schule besuchten und Deutschunterricht erhielten, meist über hervorragende standardsprachliche Kenntnisse, wobei auffällig ist, dass diese Standardvarietät, bedingt durch den engen Kontakt mit anderen Sprachen in dieser multilingualen Region, transkarpatische Eigenheiten ausgebildet hat.

Zusammenfassend kann jedoch davon ausgegangen werden, dass die Tradition der deutschböhmischen Varietät in wenigen Jahrzehnten abreißen wird.

3.2 Ellis, Kansas

In Ellis, Kansas, ist ebenfalls von einem völligen Verlust der deutschböhmischen Varietät als Primärsprache auszugehen. Nur noch wenige Sprecherinnen und Sprecher der älteren Generation beherrschen diese deutsche Mundart, wobei sich bei den einzelnen Gewährspersonen meist bemerkbar macht, dass ihre Muttersprache, mit der sie sozialisiert wurden und die häufig in ihren ersten Lebensjahren die einzige Sprache darstellte, deutliche Ab- und Umbautendenzen zeigt. Zahlreiche Entlehnungen aus dem Englischen, Lücken im Wortschatz und vor allem während der Gespräche mit den Bewohnern beobachtbare Unsicherheiten im Satzbau belegen dies deutlich. Hier lässt sich ein signifikanter Unterschied zu den deutschböhmischen Siedlern Transkarpatiens erkennen. Alle noch in der Ukraine verbliebenen Sprecher verfügen über eine hohe bis sehr hohe muttersprachliche Kompetenz, sodass diese Aufnahmen einen deutlichen Aufschluss über das Sprachsystem in ihrer ursprünglichen Ausprägung geben. Die Äußerungen der Deutschböhmen von Ellis lassen dagegen zwar noch Rückschlüsse auf die Varietät der Auswanderer zu, daneben sind sie aber ein Beleg für den Abbau der regionalen Ausprägung des Deutschen, der in ein oder zwei Generationen zum Sprachtod führen wird, bedingt durch das inzwischen alle Bereiche dominierende Englische. Der ursprünglich bei den Sprecherinnen und Sprechern, zumindest nach Eintritt in die Schule, vorhandene deutsch-englische Bilingualismus wird zugunsten eines Monolingualismus aufgegeben. Dagegen sind alle transkarpatischen Deutschböhmen multilingual, neben der Beherrschung der deutschen Varietät sprechen die Informanten fließend Ruthenisch (eine Varietät des Ukrainischen) und Russisch, darüber hinaus meist auch noch Ungarisch (was auf die Anwesenheit einer großen ungarischen Minderheit in der Region zurückzuführen ist).

3.3 Ein Vergleich der Sprachinselverbände

Beim Vergleich der beiden Räume liegt somit, wie bereits oben erwähnt, auf den ersten Blick das Paradoxon vor, dass trotz der über Jahrzehnte äußerst schwierigen Verhältnisse für die Deutschsprechenden Transkarpatiens, geprägt durch Verschleppung, Umsiedlung und Vertreibung gegen Ende und nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg, durch gezielte und von der Bundesrepublik Deutschland geförderte Auswanderung der deutschen Bevölkerungsanteile in der zweiten Hälfte des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts und durch die fehlende kulturelle und sprachliche Unterstützung für die Verbliebenen, das Deutschböhmische bei einzelnen Sprechern in der Ukraine bedeutend besser erhalten blieb als in Ellis, Kansas – und dies trotz der prosperierenden amerikanischen Wirtschaft und der kulturellen Unterstützung durch die *Bukovina Society of the Americas* mit Sitz und Gemeinschaftshaus eben in Ellis. Einer der Gründe für den starken Sprachumbau und Sprachverlust, der mit ziemlicher Sicherheit in wenigen Jahrzehnten zum Aussterben des Deutschböhmischen in den USA führen wird, dürfte in der Anziehungs- und Integrationskraft der amerikanischen Gesellschaft und in der aufgrund des hohen Wohlstandes deutlich gesteigerten Mobilität liegen. Zum Teil ähnliche Gründe kann auch Sophie A. Welisch für das Verschwinden der deutschen Sprache bei den Bukowinern Nordamerikas erkennen:

> Economic success and assimilation have come with a price: The Bukovina-Germans have been cut off (or have cut themselves off) from their roots, and lost their German language, culture and traditions. Moreover, the pattern of extended families and group cohesiveness, typical of rural agrarian societies, has yielded to the nuclear family and individualism which characterize modern industrialized societies. . . . Thrift and hard work, so valued in a pioneer generation with limited resources, has yielded to consumerism and easy credit, the pursuit of increased leisure time, and a cosmopolitanism that comes with instantaneous electronic communication and mobility.[15]

Auch die linguistische Nähe zwischen dem Englischen und der deutschen Varietät wird einen gewichtigen Grund für den Sprachwechsel darstellen. Wegen dieser nahen Verwandtschaft konnte die Beeinflussung des Deutschböhmischen durch Strukturen des Englischen stärker erfolgen als bei dem sich sprachlich ferner stehenden Deutschen und Ukrainischen. Dies sind erste Hypothesen, die bei Vorliegen einer umfangreicheren, im Zuge weiterer Erhebungen vergrößerten Datenbasis in varietätenlinguistischer und pragmatischer Hinsicht näher verifiziert oder falsifiziert werden müssen.

4. Sprachlicher Vergleich der ukrainischen und amerikanischen Siedlermundarten

4.1 Transkarpatien

Die verbliebenen Deutschsprechenden in den deutschböhmischen Siedlungen Transkarpatiens sprechen einen bairischen Dialekt, der Ähnlichkeit zu den heutigen Dialekten des südöstlichen Bayerischen Waldes und noch deutlicher zu denen des südlichen Böhmerwaldes aufweist (siehe Karte 4).[16] Erste Auswertungen des Sprachmaterials lassen zunächst das Bild eines zum größten Teil von fremden Einflüssen freien mittelbairischen Dialekts entstehen.[17] Allerdings ist, genau wie im bairischen Kernraum, bei der Siedlervarietät ein langsamer Rückgang bairischer Kennwörter festzustellen.[18] So ist das bairische Kennwort *tengg* ‚links' nur noch als Erinnerungsform bekannt. Es findet in der Alltagssprache kaum bis keine Verwendung mehr und gehört mehr und mehr lediglich zum Passivwortschatz des Deutschböhmischen Transkarpatiens.

Der deutschböhmische Dialekt in der Westukraine weist also leichte Ab- und Umbautendenzen auf, was darauf schließen lässt, dass die ursprünglich aus dem tschechischen Mittelgebirge mitgebrachte Sprache zu keiner Zeit vollkommen isoliert von anderen deutschen Dialekten war. Wie von mehreren Gewährspersonen berichtet wird, gab es Kontakt mit anderen Siedlungen und somit auch mit anderen deutschen Varietäten in der Umgebung von Munkatsch. Da jedoch, wie bereits oben dargelegt, die Sprecherzahl der Varietät nur mehr sehr klein ist und kaum mehr eine alltägliche Kommunikation darin stattfindet, wird die damit zunehmend fossilierte Sprache in der heute vorliegenden Form in wenigen Jahrzehnten verklingen.[19]

4.2 Ellis, Kansas

Der deutschböhmische Dialekt von Ellis lässt sich, wie die Varietät Transkarpatiens,

eindeutig der bairischen Dialektgruppe zuordnen. Er weist, je nach Gewährsperson, eine leichte bis deutliche Mischung der beiden Subsysteme Nordbairisch und Mittelbairisch auf. Gerade dieses Schwanken zwischen nord- und mittelbairischen Besonderheiten in Abhängigkeit zu den befragten Sprecherinnen und Sprechern ist für die Linguistik und Siedlungsforschung von besonderem Interesse. Es entsteht der Eindruck, dass in den einzelnen Familien unterschiedliche, bereits aus der Bukowina und wiederum vorher aus dem Böhmerwald mitgebrachte Dialektunterschiede sich zum Teil bis heute erhalten haben. So zeigt die Mundart der Gewährsperson Norma Lang, deren Vorfahren aus Fürstenthal kamen, einen eher nordbairischen Vokalismus, die von Joe Erbert, dessen Großmutter ebenfalls aus Fürstenthal, sein Großvater jedoch aus Pojana Mikuli/Buchenhain stammte, mittelbairische Dialektmerkmale. Typisch Nordbairisch in Norma Langs Mundart ist z. B. die Lautung *ou* für den alten, im Alt- und Mittelhochdeutschen vorkommenden Laut *uo* in Wörtern wie *kou* ‚Kuh' (aus mittelhochdeutsch *kuo*) und *fous* ‚Fuß' (mittelhochdeutsch *vuoz*). Das Mittelbairische Joe Erberts hat hier die sich deutlich abhebende Lautung *ua,* z. B. in *kua* ‚Kuh' und *vuas* ‚Fuß'. Allerdings soll nicht unerwähnt bleiben, dass in Joe Erberts Sprache neben der Mehrheit von Wörtern mit mittelbairischer Lautung auch gelegentlich nordbairisches *ou* greifbar ist – eine Erscheinung, die typisch ist für die Mischmundarten des mittleren Böhmerwaldes südöstlich von Markt Eisenstein. Dies belegen Vergleiche mit Aufnahmen aus den Orten Kundratitz und Langendorf im tschechischen Böhmerwald.

Da die Interviews zum allergrößten Teil mit Joe Erbert geführt wurden, wird zur Darstellung der sprachlichen Besonderheiten in erster Linie sein Idiolekt herangezogen. Zur Ergänzung von anderen Informanten herangezogene Beispiele werden im Gegensatz dazu explizit gekennzeichnet.

Die deutschböhmischen Varietäten in Ellis County sind insofern als konservatives Bairisch zu klassifizieren, als bairische Kennwörter vorkommen, wie z. B. die Wochentagsnamen *ertag* ‚Dienstag' und *pfinztag* ‚Donnerstag'. Die in keiner Position zu beobachtende, als mittelbairische Neuerung zu bezeichnende Vokalisierung von postvokalem *L*, ist ein weiteres Indiz für die hohe Konservativität der Siedlermundart.[20] Allerdings zeigt sich auch in dieser Auswanderervarietät ein teilweiser Verlust bairischer Kennwörter. So konnte die Bezeichnung *pfeit* (mit den zu erwartenden Lautungen *pfoad* oder *pfoidl*) ‚Hemd' nicht mehr belegt werden. Dieses Lexem ist den Gewährspersonen unbekannt.

Deutliche Interferenzen zeigen sich mit der englisch-amerikanischen Mehrheitssprache (z. B. *candy, flashlight, blizzard, alright*). Einflüsse von anderen in der Umgebung gesprochenen deutschen Varietäten in Kansas (Wolga- oder Plattdeutsch) auf das Deutschböhmische konnten im Zuge dieser Aufnahmen nicht festgestellt werden.

4.3 Vergleich der deutschböhmischen Varietäten in Transkarpatien und in Ellis, Kansas

Die folgenden Dialektbelege, ursprünglich in phonetischer Umschrift notiert, werden hier zur besseren Lesbarkeit auch für den interessierten Laien mit Hilfe der Buchstaben des lateinischen Alphabets verschriftet.

a) Lautliche Besonderheiten

Die deutschböhmische Mundart Transkarpatiens kann aus mehreren Gründen als mittelbairische Varietät bezeichnet werden. Die alten mittelhochdeutschen Diphthonge (Vokalverbindungen) *uo*, *ie* und *üe*, die ein Kennzeichen vieler bairischer Varietäten darstellen, blieben als Diphthonge erhalten:

kua ‚Kuh'
hiadn ‚hüten'

Des Weiteren zeigt das transkarpatische Untersuchungsgebiet die für weite Teile des Bairischen symptomatische Umwandlung des Konsonanten *l* in einen Vokal (die so genannte mittelbairische *l*-Vokalisierung) in postvokaler Position:

boin ‚bellen'
schmui ‚schmal'
suids ‚Salz'

Das Deutschböhmische in Ellis weist dagegen sowohl charakteristisch nordbairisch steigende (*ou* und *ei*) als auch typisch mittelbairisch fallende Diphthonge (*ua* und *ia*) für mittelhochdeutsch *uo*, *ie* und *üe* auf. Nordbairisch sind u. a. folgende Belege:

houd ‚Hut'
gnei ‚Knie'
roum ‚Rüben'
kou — kei ‚Kuh — Kühe'*
feiß ‚Füße'*
(*nur bei einer Gewährsperson)

Eindeutig mittelbairisch sind dagegen z. B. folgende Wörter:

dniad ‚gekniet'
muada ‚Mutter'
kua — kia ‚Kuh — Kühe'
muasst ‚(du) musst'
fiaß ‚Füße'
miad ‚müde'
buam ‚Buben'

Die heute im fast ganzen Verbreitungsgebiet des Mittelbairischen geltende Umwandlung von postvokalem *l* in einen Vokal hat die deutschböhmische Varietät in Kansas im Gegensatz zu der in Transkarpatien nicht erreicht. Hier zeigt sich erneut eine Parallele zu den heutigen deutschen Mundarten des mittleren Böhmerwaldes, die trotz eindeutig mittelbairischer Merkmale von dieser Form der Konsonantenschwächung, die ihren Ausgangspunkt in den neuerungsfreudigen, an der Donau liegenden bairischen Varietäten genommen hat, nicht mehr erfasst wurde.

Belege aus Ellis, Kansas:

vel ‚viel'
gelbi ‚gelbe (Rüben)'
kol ‚Kohle'

Belege aus Kundratitz und Langendorf:

vel ‚viel' (Kundratitz)
vul ‚viel' (Langendorf)

Eine im Vergleich zu weiten Teilen des Binnenbairischen in Bayern und Österreich und zu der deutschböhmischen Varietät in Ellis bestehende Besonderheit Transkarpatiens ist die leicht bis signifikant diphthongische Aussprache von ehemals geschlossenen *o*-Lauten:

groub ‚grob'
rous ‚Ross'
koupf ‚Kopf'

In Ellis erscheint der Laut wie im allergrößten Teil des Bairischen monophthongisch:

ros ‚Ross'
vogl ‚Vogel'

Dieser deutliche Unterschied zwischen der ukrainischen und der nordamerikanischen Varietät lässt sich wiederum eindeutig durch die unterschiedliche Herkunft aus dem Böhmerwald erklären. Der südliche Böhmerwald (ab etwa der Ortschaft Winterberg nach Süden hin) hat die diphthongischen Lautungen, der mittlere Böhmerwald nördlich von Winterberg die monophthongischen Vokale. So gilt z. B. in den zum Vergleich herangezogenen Orten Kundratitz und Langendorf die monophthongische Form *o*. Dieser linguistische Befund deckt sich zweifelsfrei mit den geschichtlichen Quellen zur Auswanderung.[21] Ein Beleg dafür, dass Geschichts- und Sprachwissenschaft gegenseitig von den jeweiligen Erkenntnissen profitieren können, in vielen Fällen eine interdisziplinäre Vorgehensweise eine zuverlässige wissenschaftliche Beschreibung sogar erst ermöglicht.

Sowohl in Transkarpatien als auch in Kansas wird der mittelhochdeutsche Langvokal *ô* diphthongiert, eine Erscheinung, die auch in weiten Teilen des bairischen Kernraums in Bayern zu beobachten ist:

broud ‚Brot' (Transkarpatien und Kansas)
roude ruam (Transkarpatien)
—*roude roum* (Kansas) ‚rote Rüben'

Ebenfalls konservativ zeigen sich beide Untersuchungsgebiete im Hinblick auf

die Verben der zweiten Ablautreihe. Älteres *ui* aus althochdeutsch *iu* (setzt germanisch *eu* fort) bleibt erhalten. Neuerungstendenzen hin zu *oi* oder *ia*, wie sie in moderneren bairischen Varietäten Bayerns und Österreichs bei diesen Verben zu beobachten sind, konnten nicht erhoben werden.

Belege aus Transkarpatien:

zuing ‚ziehen'
schuim ‚schieben'
kluim ‚klieben, spalten'

Ellis, Kansas:

fluingand ‚(sie) fliegen'

Modernes *ai* für althochdeutsch *iu*/germanisch *eu* in Substantiven zeigt dagegen die Mundart in Ellis in folgenden Belegen:

daifl ‚Teufel'
fair ‚Feuer'

Analog zum größten Teil des Mittelbairischen und Nordbairischen ist in den Untersuchungsgebieten im Bereich der Konsonanten der Wandel von anlautendem *s-* zu *h-* in den Pluralformen des Hilfsverbs *sein* festzustellen.[22]

Belege aus Transkarpatien:

hads gwein ‚seid (ihr) gewesen'
dos hand ‚das sind'

Belege aus Ellis, Kansas:

hand ned guad ‚sind nicht gut'
hand ned houch ‚sind nicht hoch'

Des Weiteren ist auch der für das Bairische beobachtbare Schwund von auslautenden Konsonanten in den deutschböhmischen Siedlermundarten beobachtbar.

Belege aus Transkarpatien:

gru ‚Geruch, Gestank'
bo ‚Bach'
lou ‚Loch'

Belege aus Kansas:

glitschi ‚glitschig, rutschig'
gschboasi ‚gespaßig, lustig'
mil ‚Milch'
radi ‚Rettich'

Auslautende, nach Vokal stehende Nasallaute (*m*, *n*) wurden ebenfalls abgebaut.

Belege aus Transkarpatien:

schrei ‚schreien'
ma ‚mähen'

Belege aus Ellis, Kansas:

gre ‚Kren, Meerrettich'
hoamge ‚heimgehen'

b) Auffälligkeiten bei der Wortbildung

Im Bereich der Wortbildung ist festzustellen, dass das Flexionssystem des Verbs in beiden Siedlermundarten eindeutig bairisch ist. Dies zeigt die Flexionsendung *-s* in der 2. Person Plural, die als markantes Kennzeichen des Bairischen gilt. Die binnenbairische Entwicklung zur Ausbildung einer Flexionsendung *-ma* (entstanden aus dem angehängten Personalpronomen *wir*) in der 1. Person Plural (heute vor allem in Niederbayern verbreitet) hatte das böhmische Herkunftsgebiet der transkarpatischen Siedler zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts noch nicht erfasst. Die Flexionsendung der 1. Person Plural entspricht im Untersuchungsgebiet der Form der 3. Person Plural:

keima ‚kommen, gekommen' (Inf., Part. II)
kim ‚(ich) komme'
kimst ‚(du) kommst'
kimd ‚(er) kommt'
keimand ‚(wir) kommen'
keimts ‚(ihr) kommt'
keimand ‚(sie) kommen'

Da in Ellis noch keine vollständigen Flexionsparadigmen zu einzelnen Verben abgefragt werden konnten, ist folgende unvollständige Darstellung aus verschiedenen Verben, die in den freien Erzählungen vorkamen, zusammengestellt:

du muasst ‚du musst'
mia songand ‚wir sagen'
mia hama ‚wir haben'
kinnts es ‚könnt ihr'
songand de ‚sagen die'

In der 1. Person Plural fällt in Ellis das wortweise Schwanken zwischen den Flexiven *-and* und *-ma* auf. Da die Auswanderer in die Bukowina die Flexionsendung *-ma* wohl bereits aus ihrer Heimat mitbrachten, kann daraus die Folgerung gezogen werden, dass der mittlere Böhmerwald bereits früher diese Endung einführte als der südliche Böhmerwald. Die Erhebungen aus dem mittleren Böhmerwald zeigen ein teilweises Vorkommen der Flexionsendung *-ma*.

c) Satzgliedstellung

Auch im Hinblick auf die Stellung der Wörter im Satz können aus standarddeutscher Betrachtungsweise Auffälligkeiten festgestellt werden.[23] Die unten dargestellten, zur besseren Lesbarkeit in die Standardsprache übertragenen Beispiele zeigen ein Fehlen oder eine Verkürzung der Satzklammer.

Belege aus Transkarpatien:

Der Schnee hat verblasen den Weg.
Ich habe nicht gehabt Zeit.

Beleg aus Kansas:

Der hat gebracht fünf Ochsen.

Dieses Phänomen dürfte auf die nahezu ausschließliche Mündlichkeit dieses Dialekts und auf eine fehlende Überdachung durch das Standarddeutsche zurückzuführen sein. Die Ausbildung der Satzklammer, die im Deutschen bereits zu althochdeutscher Zeit erkennbar ist und sich in frühneuhochdeutscher Zeit deutlich durchsetzt, hängt wohl mit der im Laufe der Jahrhunderte stetig zunehmenden Schriftlichkeit zusammen.[24] Sätze mit Satzklammer erfordern vom Kommunikationspartner eine höhere Aufmerksamkeit als Sätze, in denen die Teile des Prädikats unmittelbar hintereinander stehen. Man vergleiche die Sätze: *Habe müssen gestern in die Stadt gehen* und *Habe gestern in die Stadt gehen müssen*.

Das Fehlen der Satzklammer ist mit ziemlicher Sicherheit eine autochthone Erscheinung, die früher für das gesamte Bairische gegolten hat und von den Auswanderern in die neue Heimat mitgebracht wurde. Denkbar, aber meiner Meinung nach eher unwahrscheinlich, ist eine Interferenz mit den umgebenden Mehrheitssprachen in den Siedlungsgebieten. Sowohl das Ukrainische wie auch das Englische weisen keine Satzklammer auf. Zumindest führte das Fehlen dieser Erscheinung in den Superstraten aber zu einer Stützung dieser Form der Wortstellung im Deutschböhmischen.

d) Wortschatz

Der Wortschatz der deutschböhmischen Bewohner ist gekennzeichnet sowohl durch eine Entlehnungspraxis in der neuen Heimat als auch durch teilweisen Erhalt ererbter, konservativer Wörter, ältere Entlehnungen im ursprünglichen Heimatgebiet und sprachinterne Neubildungen.

Aus der neuen sprachlichen Umgebung in Transkarpatien, die bis in die heutige Zeit mehrsprachig blieb, wurden unter anderem folgende Wörter entlehnt: *daschka* ‚Tasche' (slowakisch *taška*), *karab* ‚Karpfen' (ukr. короп), *has* ‚Gas' (ukr. газ), *kusma* ‚Schmiede' (ukr. кузня), *legvar* ‚Marmelade' (ung. *lekvár*), *maschin* ‚Auto' (ukr. машина), *motel* ‚Schmetterling' (ukr. метелик), *remontieren* ‚richten' (ukr. ремонтувати), *rutschgan* ‚Türgriff' (ukr. ручка).

Bei den deutschböhmischen Siedlern in Ellis, Kansas, konnten folgende Entlehnungen aus dem Englischen notiert werden: *candy* ‚Süßigkeiten', *blizzard* ‚Blizzard, Schneesturm', *flashlight* ‚Taschenlampe', *strawberries* ‚Erdbeeren', *secret* ‚Geheimnis', *village* ‚Dorf', *cookies* ‚Plätzchen', *toy* ‚Spielzeug'. Darüber hinaus finden sich in dieser Varietät folgende Satzäquivalente, die in ansonsten deutschen Äußerungen eingeschoben werden: *alright, you know.* Als Lehnübersetzung ist die Präposition *mitaus* (‚ohne' aus engl. *without*), die mehrmals in Ellis gehört wurde, zu bewerten.

Die Bezeichnung *gre* ‚Kren, Meerrettich', die sowohl in Transkarpatien wie auch in Ellis vorkommt, wurde bereits vor der Auswanderung aus einer österreichischen Verkehrssprache entlehnt. Das Wort ist im Mittelhochdeutschen belegt und stellt eine frühe Entlehung aus dem Slavischen dar.[25]

Im Folgenden werden noch einige aus deutscher Sicht auffällige Wörter der Siedlervarietät näher beschrieben:

Als Kollektivbezeichnung für Gebäck zu wichtigen Anlässen wird von den deutschböhmischen Bewohnern Transkarpatiens der Begriff *bacherei*, (Weihnachts-, Oster-, Kirchweih-) Gebäck' verwendet. Weitere gebräuchliche, auch in Bayern bekannte Audrücke für spezielles festliches Backwerk sind *kroupfa* ‚Krapfen' und *spotzen* ‚Spatzen'.

Die transkarpatische Bezeichnung *bai* ‚Biene' geht auf mittelhochdeutsch *bîn* zurück. Es stellt die ursprüngliche Bezeichnung dar, wurde dann aber in weiten Teilen des Bairischen in Bayern und Österreich von der Neuerung *Impm* verdrängt.

Die Bezeichnung *dobernickel* ‚Steinpilz' wurde von den Siedlern in den Karpaten bereits aus dem Böhmischen mitgebracht. Das Wort ist dort und im angrenzenden Unteren Bayerischen Wald noch heute gebräuchlich und geht wahrscheinlich auf eine Entlehnung aus dem Slawischen zurück oder stellt gar ein Substratwort aus einer frühen slawischen Sprachschicht dar.[26]

Eine serbische Entlehnung ist *Kukuruz* ‚Mais'.[27] Das Wort, das heute vor allem in Österreich und Teilen Bayerns vorkommt, stellt nach bisherigen Erkenntnissen bei den Deutschsprachigen in Transkarpatien die einzige gültige Bezeichnung für Mais dar.

Das Wort *atmen* wird im transkarpatischen Untersuchungsgebiet nicht verwendet, die einzige gültige Form ist *lehitzen* ‚atmen, schnaufen' (zu mittelhochdeutsch *lëchezen*). Im Vergleich zu binnenbairischen Varietäten hat dieses Wort im Untersuchungsgebiet nicht in allen Kontexten zwangsläufig eine Konnotation in Richtung ‚heftig/schwer atmen/hecheln'.

Analog zu den mittelbairischen Mundarten im südlichen Böhmerwald und im angrenzenden Unteren Bayerischen Wald ist bei den transkarpatischen Deutschböhmen die Bezeichnung *(das) Mensch* für ‚Mädchen' und ‚junge Frau' erhalten geblieben. Das im Binnenbairischen expansive *Deandl/Dirndl* ist bei den Sprechern in Transkarpatien und in Ellis unbekannt. Bei den Deutschböhmen in Ellis ist dagegen *moidl* die gültige Bezeichnung für ‚Mädchen'. Ein weiterer Unterschied in der Lexik der hier

besprochenen Mundarten stellt das Adverb *viel* dar. Die Variante von Ellis steht mit *vel* der standardsprachlichen nahe, in Transkarpatien wird in der selben Bedeutung das Lexem *ela*, das auf mittelhochdeutsch *ëtelich* zurückgeht, verwendet. Dieser Unterschied entspricht wiederum den ursprünglichen Herkunftsgebieten, im mittleren Böhmerwald gilt *viel* (in unterschiedlichen lautlichen Repräsentationen), im südlichen *ela*.

5. Ausblick

Der Dialektologie und Linguistik bleiben nur noch wenige Jahre, vielleicht zwei oder drei Jahrzehnte, die Reste deutschböhmischer Varietäten sowohl im Kernland wie auch in Osteuropa und in Amerika zu erforschen. Zu stark sind die Sprecherzahlen zurückgegangen, zu rigoros wurde die Weitergabe der Sprache an die folgenden Generationen schon vor Jahrzehnten, bald nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg, aufgegeben. Die große Integrationsbereitschaft der Deutschböhmen, aber auch die in den europäischen Siedlungsgebieten unmittelbar nach dem Krieg einsetzende, meist mit großem Nachdruck, manchmal auch mit großer Brutalität durchgeführte Vertreibung der deutschsprechenden Bevölkerung führten das Deutschböhmische zu Beginn des dritten Jahrtausends an den Rand des Aussterbens. Umso intensiver sollte die wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit in diesem Bereich fortgeführt werden, um diese Sprache zumindest in gedruckter Form und als Tonaufnahmen der Nachwelt und den in der ganzen Welt verstreuten Nachkommen deutschböhmischer Siedler zugänglich zu machen.

Unbedingt ist jedoch Joe Erbert aus Ellis, Kansas, zuzustimmen, als er gegen Ende der Sprachaufnahmen seinen Freund Ralph Honas mit *Jetz muasst Deitschböhmisch ren* zur weiteren Verwendung, ja zum Erhalt der angestammten Sprache auffordert.

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Anmerkungen

[1] Ein besonderer Dank gilt Frau Dr. Astrid Christl (Universität Wien) und Frau Dr. Nicole Eller (Universität Passau), die mich an der von ihnen organisierten Forschungsreise nach Nordamerika teilnehmen ließen. Herzlich danken möchte ich zudem Herrn Prof. Dr. William Keel (University of Kansas, Lawrence), der uns bei der Durchführung der Erhebungen äußerst tatkräftig und mit einer Fülle an Informationen unterstützte.

[2] Die Fragebücher hat uns Dr. Armin Bachmann (Universität Regensburg), Koordinator des Projekts ADT, zur Verfügung gestellt. Die Fragebücher des ADT liegen in zwei Versionen vor. Die Langversion umfasst über 2000 Fragen, die Kurzversion etwa 800. Beide Versionen erfassen alle Bereiche des menschlichen Lebens und alle sprachlichen Kategorien.

[3] Diese Version der Wenker-Sätze kann unter http://ww2.ku.edu/~germanic/LAKGD/wenkersaetze.shtm (Zugriff am 16.07.2007) aufgerufen werden.

[4] Vgl. hierzu Georg Melika, „Besonderheiten der Kulturrealien im Lehngut der deutschen Mundarten der Transkarpatien-Ukraine," in *Auslandsgermanistische Beiträge im Europäischen Jahr der Sprachen*, herausgegeben von Csaba Földes (Wien: Edition Praesens, 2002), S. 56.

[5] Eine genaue Darstellung zur deutschen Besiedlung Transkarpatiens findet sich in Ulrich Kanz, Alfred Wildfeuer und Julie Zehetner, „Bairische und fränkische Sprachinseln in der Transkarpaten-Ukraine," in *KARPATENbeeren. Bairisch-österreichische Siedlung, Kultur und Sprache in den ukrainisch-rumänischen Waldkarpaten*, herausgegeben von Stephan Gaisbauer und Hermann Scheuringer (Linz: Adalbert-Stifter-In-

stitut, 2006), S. 83-95, und in Georg Melika, *Die Deutschen der Transkarpatien-Ukraine* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 2002).

[6] Kurt Rein, „The Land of Emigration: Bukovina or Buchenland (Land of Beech Trees)," in *German Emigration from Bukovina to the Americas,* herausgegeben von William Keel und Kurt Rein (Lawrence, Kansas: Max Kade Center for German-American Studies, 1996), S. 27-33.

[7] Kurt Rein, „The Land of Emigration: Bukovina or Buchenland (Land of Beech Trees)," S. 33.

[8] William Keel und Kurt Rein, „Foreword," in *German Emigration from Bukovina to the Americas,* herausgegeben von William Keel und Kurt Rein (Lawrence, Kansas: Max Kade Center for German-American Studies, 1996), S. 9.

[9] Kurt Rein, „The Land of Emigration: Bukovina or Buchenland (Land of Beech Trees)," S. 31.

[10] Kurt Rein, „Bukovina on the Eve of Emigration," in *German Emigration from Bukovina to the Americas,* herausgegeben von William Keel und Kurt Rein (Lawrence, Kansas: Max Kade Center for German-American Studies, 1996), S. 43.

[11] Sophie A. Welisch, *Bukovina Villages/Towns/Cities and their Germans* (Ellis, Kansas: Bukovina Society of the Americas, 1990), S. 37.

[12] Kurt Rein und Otto Hallabrin, „Investigating Migration: A New and Complicated Task," in *German Emigration from Bukovina to the Americas,* herausgegeben von William Keel und Kurt Rein (Lawrence, Kansas: Max Kade Center for German-American Studies, 1996), S. 20.

[13] Alfred Karasek und Josef Lanz, *Das deutsche Volksschauspiel in der Bukowina* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1971), S. 24-27.

[14] Georg Melika, *Die Deutschen der Transkarpatien-Ukraine* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 2002), S. 257.

[15] Sophie A. Welisch, „Bukovinian Immigration and Settlement in the New World," in *German Emigration from Bukovina to the Americas,* herausgegeben von William Keel und Kurt Rein (Lawrence, Kansas: Max Kade Center for German-American Studies, 1996), S. 70.

[16] Eine umfangreiche, 2009 erscheinende Darstellung des Deutschböhmischen Transkarpatien findet sich bei Marjana Štylicha, *Stilistische Eigentümlichkeiten der mittelbairisch-südböhmerwäldischen Sprachinselmundart Transkarpatiens* (Regensburg: edition vulpes, 2009).

[17] Das Bairische stellt die größte Dialektlandschaft Europas dar. Es nimmt die meiste Fläche des südostdeutschen Sprachraums ein und ist heute vor allem in Altbayern, in Österreich (mit Ausnahme Vorarlbergs) und in Südtirol verbreitet. Darüber hinaus finden oder fanden sich zahlreiche bairische Sprachinseln in Mittel- und Ostmitteleuropa. Der geschlossene bairische Dialektraum gliedert sich in die drei Subsysteme Nordbairisch, Mittelbairisch und Südbairisch, wobei zahlreiche Mischformen in den Übergangsgebieten zwischen den Räumen auftreten. Die deutschböhmischen Varietäten haben Anteil am nord- und mittelbairischen Raum.

[18] Als Kennwörter werden in der Dialektologie Wörter bezeichnet, die nur oder nur mehr in der entsprechenden Varietät vorkommen und damit eine Abgrenzung von anderen Mundarten erlauben.

[19] Eine genauere lexikalische, morphologische, phonetisch-phonologische und syntaktische Analyse des Deutschböhmischen Transkarpatiens findet sich in Alfred Wildfeuer, *„Wo Schwabisch Bairisch ist.* Deutschböhmische Sprachinseln in der Karpaten-Ukraine," in *Deutsche Dialekte in Tschechien, ihre Gemeinsamkeiten und Besonderheiten im Vergleich zum Mutterboden,* herausgegeben von Mojmir Muzikant (Brno: Masaryk-Universität, 2007), S. 159-75.

[20] Die in bestimmten Positionen im Wort vorkommende Umwandlung des Konsonanten *L* in einen Vokal ist eine Eigentümlichkeit moderner mittelbairischer Varietäten. Beispiele hierfür sind *vui zvui gfui* oder *vei zvei gfei* für ‚viel zuviel Gefühl'. Diese Umwandlung von *L* in einen Vokal hat ihren Ursprung in den neuerungsfreudigen Mundarten entlang der Donau und drang von dort aus in nahezu alle mittelbairischen Gebiete vor. Nur wenige altertümliche Dialektlandschaften des Mittelbairischen sind davon nicht erfasst worden, so z. B. einige Mundarten des mittleren Böhmerwaldes. Ausführliche Informationen zur Gliederung des Bairischen in Subdialekte und zur *L*-Vokalisierung finden sich in Eberhard Kranzmayer, *Historische Lautgeographie des gesamtbairischen Dialektraumes* (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1956) und Ludwig Zehetner, *Das bayerische Dialektbuch* (München: C. F. Beck, 1985). Eine kurze Einführung in die Besonderheiten und räumliche Gliederung des Bairischen gibt Alfred Wildfeuer, „Bairisch," in *Dialekte in Bayern. Handreichung für den Unterricht,* herausgegeben vom Bayerischen Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus (München: 2006), S. 92-96.

[21] Zur deutschböhmischen Besiedlungsgeschichte der Bukowina siehe Alfred Karasek und Josef Lanz, S. 28, zu Transkarpatien siehe Melika, S. 101.

[22] Zur Erklärung dieses eigentümlichen Lautwandels siehe Alfred Wildfeuer, *Der Dialekt im Kirchdorfer Land. Stand und Tendenzen eines zentralmittelbairischen Subdialekts* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang

Verlag, 2001), S. 113-14.

[23] Eine ausführliche Beschreibung des Satzbaus des Deutschen im Böhmerwald findet sich bei Nicole Eller, *Syntax des bairischen Basisdialekts im Böhmerwald* (Regensburg: edition vulpes, 2006).

[24] Persönliche Mitteilung von Prof. Dr. Hans Ulrich Schmid (Universität Leipzig).

[25] Siehe hierzu Friedrich Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, 24. Auflage bearbeitet von Elmar Seebold (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002), S. 537.

[26] Anthony Rowley, „Tschechisches in den bairischen Dialekten Bayerns," in *Deutsche Dialekte in Tschechien, ihre Gemeinsamkeiten und Besonderheiten im Vergleich zum Mutterboden,* herausgegeben von Mojmír Muzikant (Brno: Masaryk-Universität, 2007), S. 79-80.

[27] Siehe hierzu Kluge, S. 545.

Angela H. Häusler

German Language Maintenance on the West Coast: A Glimpse of California's Past[1]

0. Introduction – Why look at California?

From a linguistic perspective California has some very dull spots on its golden past. Although Germans rushed to the Pacific shores in great numbers, historical documentation about the German language, unlike in the German Belt, the Middle Atlantic States and Texas, on the West Coast, is still missing.[2] Kloss counted California among those states where, due to nineteenth and twentieth century immigration, the German language had a chance to be preserved.[3] The numbers of major immigrant groups from 1850 to 1920 support this view. Although outnumbered by the Irish and the Chinese in the nineteenth century, the Germans became the largest immigrant group to the Golden State after 1900 (Table 1).

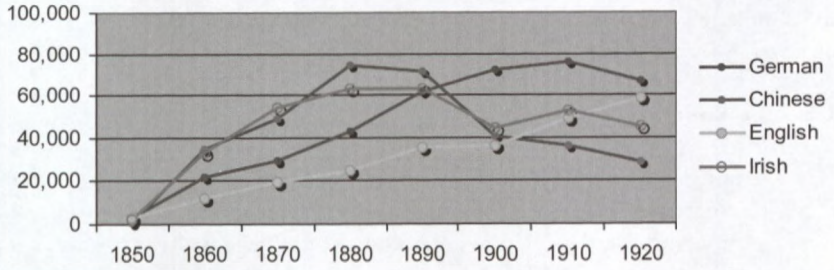

Table 1: Proportion of major foreign-born groups in California, 1850-1920 according to U.S. Census data.

Unlike in the Midwest and on the East Coast, little reminds us today of California's heritage in the German language. In order to understand today's picture, we have to go back to beginnings of German immigration to the Pacific Coast.

1. German settlers and the German language in early California

1.1. *Neu Helvetien* – how it had (not) begun

In 1839, Johann August Sutter, a native of Baden with Swiss-German parentage, purchased Mexican land grants on the Sacramento River to found Fort New Helvetia,[3] a transit station for many overland immigrants and an economic empire. New Helvetia can hardly be considered a starting point for the German language in California – and it was not intended to be one by Sutter himself. While Sutter was able to communicate in four different languages, he was only after quick wealth; there was no room for

language sentimentalities and no ambitions like building a new German world in different surroundings as settlers in the Midwest, Pennsylvania or Texas had in mind. Although the Fort attracted immigrants from various points of the compass – especially Americans, Mexicans, French and Germans[5] – the latter were never as dominant as to establish a German koiné at the Fort.

New Helvetia represented a microcosm of what the linguistic future of California would look like. Several different languages coexisted, with English in the leadership role. At that time, immigration on the sea route from Germany to California had not yet gotten underway. A sizeable group of Germans arrived with Fremont's Corps from New York during the Mexican War. Others were adventurers or dropouts from American society. Most of them established isolated ranches for individual success rather than showing interest in the foundation of communities based on their ethnic, linguistic or even denominational background. As a result, the most vital infrastructure for language maintenance simply did not exist in this early period. However, many place names, not all of them still in use, testify to the German presence. Theodor Cordua, for instance, established the ranch *Neu Mecklenburg* in 1842, which became the town of Marysville with the dissolution of the original ranch. We find many more of these toponyms that have their roots in the German language – most of them are of a later date, such as Thalheim, Olivenhain, Sauerkraut Gulch and Gualala River, the Spanish version of Walhalla River.[6] Altogether, the more than one hundred place names with German roots indicate a remarkable German presence in a state that, at first glance, strikes the observer by its strong heritage in the Spanish and English languages.

1.2. "The days of old, the days of gold"

The initial conditions for the German language in California were less favorable than in more settled societies in other parts of the United States. Prior to the Gold Rush, most German settlers were single and male. Marriage within the ethnic group was prevented by the lack of females and German men took native women for their wives.[7] Many of these pioneers settled in more or less remote areas of the California wilderness. They were exposed to an environment where the most common interactions were with indigenous people, American drop-outs and Mexican colonialists. In this contact situation, where the German language had no support either through family ties or in public discourse, some settlers began to develop a pidgin-type language which enabled them to make themselves – at least to a certain degree – intelligible. Several contemporary accounts describe this phenomenon, like the memoirs of Heinrich Lienhard, a Swiss pioneer at Sutter's Fort. He illustrates his first encounter with a settler, "Mr. Schwarz," as follows:

> Da Schwarz gar keine Sprache mehr recht sprechen konnte, sondern ein Gemisch von Holländisch, Deutsch, Englisch, Spanisch und Indianerisch, alles untereinandergemischt herproduzierte, war es oft überaus schwierig ihn zu verstehen, so daß ich oft fragen mußte: "Wie, was sagen Sie?"[8]

Schwarz, like many other white settlers in Mexican California, was engaged in the trading business and exposed to a number of European as well as indigenous languages.

Based on the social and linguistic contact situation the trader faced, we may presume that to a certain degree pidginisation could have occurred in this context.[9] Another contemporary witness, the traveling author Friedrich Gerstäcker, mentions Schwarz' incapability to communicate effectively in any single idiom other than his contact-induced language-mix:

> [Es] war dies ein eigener und seinen Verhältnissen vollkommen entsprechender Patois, den sich Mr. Schwarz hier mit der Zeit selber gebildet hatte. Zwischen den Amerikanern und Deutschen lebend und meist auch mit ein oder zwei Hollandern in seinem Hause, hätte er mit jeden von allen diesen eine besondere Sprache reden mussen, was das wenigste zu sagan, unbequem war, so aber da er die drei in eine zusammengegossen brauchte und von jeder etwa gleich viel Worte und diese Worte eben wieder selber ineinander gemischt verwandte, kam er mit allen gleich gut durch. Jeder der drei Nationen fand so viel Wörter in seiner eigenen Mutterspache darin, daß er, wenn er auch noch ein wenig von des Alten Eigenheiten dabei lernte, wohl etwa errathen konnte, wovon die Rede war.[10]

The intense mixing of languages would continue in the near future. With the discovery of gold at Sutter's mill, the world rushed to the Pacific Coast, not only with cradles and pans, but with a highly diverse linguistic background. For many miners, the multi-ethnic surroundings of the Gold Rush meant a new challenge, if they wanted to communicate in this miniature community of the world population. The English author John D. Borthwick, who visited the mining belt in the early 1850s, gives us a glimpse of how interaction worked those days. He met a German doctor, called the "Flying Dutchman," who cooperated with miners of different nationalities.

> I passed by his claim one day, and such a scene it was! The Tower of Babel was not a circumstance to it. [. . .] The Americans, the Frenchmen, the Italians, and the Mexicans, were all pulling in different directions at an immense unwieldy log, and bestowing on each other most frightful oaths, though happily in unknown tongues; while the directing genius, the Flying Dutchman, was rushing about among them, and gesticulating wildly [. . .]. He spoke all the modern languages at once, occasionally talking Spanish to a Frenchman, and English to the Italians, then cursing his own stupidity in German, blowing them all up collectively in a promiscuous jumble of national oaths [. . .]. But after addressing a few explanatory remarks to each nation separately, in their respective languages, he persuaded them to try once more, when they got along well enough for a few minutes, until something went wrong, and then the Tower-of-Babel scene was enacted over again.[11]

This sketch reveals not only the typical linguistic situation that miners had to face, it also leads us to the question: How willing were Germans to interact in languages other than their own in this multi-lingual environment? The sources display a very clear tendency. The German miner Frank Lecouvreur writes in one of his letters:

> [T]hough I live here in a "German corner" you would not hear any more German

spoken around us than anywhere else on the bar, because strange as it may seem it is [. . .] true that the Germans here, even when among themselves, give preference to the "American" language. There are men here with whom I have been in daily intercourse for months before I found out that they are Germans.[12]

Borthwick points to the same trait when he writes: "[The Germans] more frequently associated with Americans than with their own countrymen. For the most part they spoke English very well, and there were none who could not make themselves perfectly intelligible."[13] Like miners of other language backgrounds, Germans formed ethnic groups as well. But they often worked on their own, which increased the pressure of linguistic assimilation, borrowing and particularly lexical interference. Gerstäcker took notes of the language of a German miner whose intense exposure to an American environment was characterized by lexical borrowing routines as the following sample, taken from Gerstäcker's account, shows:

Gerade aber, ehe man auf den *Hill* hinaufkommt, und wie ich [. . .] denke, daß Alles sicher ist, *schtumble* ich und falle, weil ich die Hände zufällig in den *Pockets* hatte, in so ein verwünschtes *Hole* hinein, das dicht am Wege war. Glücklicher Weise fiel ich blos auf den Kopf und wurde nicht weiter *gehürtet*.[14]

Furthermore, by assembling vocabulary from various German first-hand accounts, it becomes obvious that Germans had their own technical language in the Mother Lode, which, as well, was influenced by lexical borrowing from English. A selection of this adopted lexicon is shown in below:

Technical Term	German Semantics
Camp, das	Quartier, Zeltstadt
Claim, der	Minenfeld
Cayota, die[14]	Seitenhöhle, in der goldhaltige Erde vermutet wird
cayoten[12]	nach Gold suchen, indem man sich in eine ausgehobene Höhle hineinzwängt
Cradle, die	Wiege mit eingebautem Sieb und Handkurbel zum Schürfen von Gold
Fork, der	Flussgabel
Miner, der	Minenarbeiter
Minerei, die	Bergbau, Minen-/Grubenarbeit
Peck, der	Picke
prospecten	Gold schürfen
Prospector, der	Goldsucher
Rocker, der	einer Wippe ähnelndes Handwerkzeug des Goldsuchers
Sluices / Sluicen	Wasserschleusen
Spezimen	Probe
Sulphertes[Sulphurets]	Sulfide

Table 2: Borrowing of mining terms in German[16]

If we consider that one of the major goals of technical languages is the accuracy and economy of information transmission, then the fact that English mining terminology was used by German prospectors is not surprising. Borrowing key words from the overall dominant idiom in the mines could not only aid those German miners who were already proficient in the English language, but helped those whose command of English was fairly poor even more. Adopting these key words extended their otherwise limited radius of communication – an essential strategy in order to work effectively in this foreign-language environment.

2. German settlements

2.1. The example of Anaheim

As contemporary sources display, most of the German settlers arriving during the Gold Rush, had a very decent knowledge of the English language; they had already lived in other parts of the United States. In a case study I did on Calaveras County, I found that roughly 65 percent of the Germans in 1852 had a permanent home in a different part of the Union prior to moving to California.[17] Ethnic communities in the Far West did not serve as a cultural and linguistic retention pond in a strange environment. Language communities were not as essential for survival as in places where immigrants settled right after their arrival from Germany. This explains the relatively limited number of ethnically restricted settlements. But German colonies did exist, even if many of them were short-lived, such as Olivenhain near San Diego and an Amish colony in Salinas.[18] The first German settlement was Anaheim near Los Angeles. Founded in 1857 as a joint stock vineyard, it became home for some 50 German shareholders and their families. The Anaheim Water Company, a key enterprise for local vinters, maintained minutes in German until 1871, when the language was shifted to English. "Ten years later," as Raup remarks, "German was heard little in Anaheim."[19] What sped up this linguistic assimilation in the first German colony on the Pacific Rim? Again, internal migration provides part of the answer. The journalist John S. Hittell commented on the settlement in 1863 – only four years after the majority of settlers had moved to the Santa Ana River:

> [Anaheim] will never have the foreign character which marks many German villages in the valley states of the Mississippi, where the English language is not known to any of the people. None of the Anaheimers have come direct from Germany; all of them have lived for some time among the Americans, and most of them speak English fluently. The English language will be the predominant tongue, although German will long be cherished.[20]

The bilingual state of the Anaheim colony was noted early on by visitors to the settlement. One factor that could have fostered the rapid switch from German to English was the settlers' heterogeneous nativities and their dialects.[21] Scholars have pointed to the long-lasting lack of a standard variety in German that encouraged the use of English as a lingua franca among immigrants to the United States. Additionally, Anaheim differs fundamentally from most German settlements in its religious indifferentism. Although the Mother Colony could claim geographical remoteness in the sparsely populated

lands of Southern California, religio-societal insulation, a very powerful factor for language maintenance,[22] does not fit the Anaheim construct. As a matter of fact, the first church in town was established ten years after the colony was founded. Tellingly, this congregation was organized by a denomination that drew its followers mainly from Anglo-American stock: the Presbyterian Church[23] – another indicator that the English-speaking population had begun to mushroom by that time. Indeed, Paule describes the religious state of the settlement as follows: "Anaheim was an unusual nationalistic, homogenous settlement in that those who founded it were not as a group attached to any one religious denomination. Some were even atheists [. . .]."[24] The first German-speaking congregation was established by the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1880 and ministered to ten members. Considering the meager support for religious work in the settlement, language preservation could thus not be sustained by parochial schools. The only school in Anaheim was a public school whose teacher, although German-American, was required by State law to teach in English.[25] Certainly, this law was often overlooked in areas heavily populated by Germans in the Midwest.[26] This was possible due to their numerical strength and an ethnically homogeneous classroom. In Anaheim, the classroom was bi-cultural from the first day. In addition to the children of German-speaking settlers, Mexican pupils attended the town-school. English as the means of instruction was indispensable in this situation and opened the gateway to linguistically and culturally Americanize the second generation.

2.2. Germans from Russia

Germans from Russia began to arrive in California's Central Valley in the late 1880s and represent one of the most important subgroups of German immigration to the Pacific Coast. By 1920, first and second generation Russian-Germans totaled 11,500.[27] In Fresno alone, ten Russian-German churches were in operation in 1917.[28] Germans from Russia differed from other German immigrants in several respects. In most instances, they had emigrated at a later point in time, with the vast majority arriving in California between 1909 and 1920. Therefore, the language continuity long after World War I must be ascribed to the fact that the generational language shift was just about to begin, whereas earlier immigrants arriving from the German states already were undergoing or finishing the process of assimilation to American culture.[29] Indeed, the retardation is illustrated by the fact that "[a]s late as the eve of World War II, some California-born children entered Lodi Unified schools speaking only German."[30] For a certain period, the ghettoization of Russian-Germans also stabilized the position of the German language in the community. In Fresno, children of Russian-German families were bound together in certain schools where they represented more than 50, in one school even over 90 percent of the students, whereas children of parents born in the German states attended schools with a predominantly American population.[31] But the continuing emancipation of immigrant children did not spare Germans from Russia. The new generation not only resented "the dress, habits and method of living of the older generation," but also their language[32] which communicated a life-style stigmatized by the majority society. German was the language that linked them to a world that a report by the state government judged "not advanced in [. . .] habits of living and thinking."[33] In this respect, the young generation of Germans from Russia followed a

pattern common among immigrant families: Distancing themselves from their parents and aiming to become as American as possible, the second generation discarded the linguistic roots of their families very quickly.

3. The role of German in public and private education

The assimilation of immigrants was also the goal of public education in California. In a report that John Swett, Superintendent of Public Instruction, presented in 1863, he pictured the high expectations directed towards public education. "Nothing can Americanize these chaotic elements and breathe into them the spirit of our institutions but the public schools," he summarized.[34] It is clear that in this understanding, "breathing in American institutions" had the unmentioned side effect of swallowing an even larger piece of American culture, the English language. Although in 1860 most of the children attending public schools in California, were already born in the United States, the diversity of immigrants still pouring into the state, is reflected on the school bench, as the following listing in the *San Francisco City Directory* for that year demonstrates:[35]

England	150	**New Zealand**	16
Scotland	35	**Austria**	44
Ireland	73	**Chile**	59
France	81	**Holland**	1
Germany	169	**Madeira Island**	1
Prussia	15	**Denmark**	2
Australia	190	**Prince Edward's Island**	2
Van Dieman's Land	150	**New Grenada**	5
Peru	3	**Belgium**	4
Mexico	47	**China**	29
Canada	53	**Sweden**	1
Russia	8	**Africa**	1
Sandwich Islands	13	**West Indies**	2
Off Cape Horn	9	**Atlantic Ocean**	1
South America	17	**Pacific Ocean**	1
Italy	7		

Table 3: Nativity of foreign-born children in San Francisco public schools in 1860.[36]

The strong influx from English-speaking areas (especially Australia and England) clearly stabilized the position of English as the means of instruction. At the same time, speakers of German represented the strongest linguistic group next to the English, followed by Spanish speakers as a close third.[37] However, the pressure of linguistic assimilation was high. When foreign language instruction in German or French was introduced into San Francisco's public schools around 1867, it was rather short-lived. "[L]anguage instruction – which was given universally – was considered by many teachers, and a considerable segment of the public, to be interfering with the English courses." Nativists argued "there was little practical benefit, beyond the acquisition of mere smattering of the language studied for the majority of students."[38] In 1874, all foreign language

instruction was eliminated temporarily from the curriculum of public schools at the Golden Gate (except for high school education). A stronghold of the German language was the private school system. However, all day ethnic schools most often were bilingual from the beginning. Goethe's German School in Sacramento taught bilingual classes as early as 1870.[39] In Oakland, when a school affiliated with a German Catholic parish was opened in 1892, it started as a mixed school. As we read in the church annals, "the language of instruction was English, since most of the pupils did not understand German [. . .] and the children of German families were already used to English."[40] With the growing numbers of Germans arriving in the late nineteenth century and Germany's leading position in the sciences at that time, German was offered in many high schools as an elective course. This changed with the outbreak of World War I, when the State Board of Education dropped the so-called "alien enemy language" from the curriculum, arguing that "it does not seem either logical or patriotic at the present time to continue instruction in a language that disseminates the ideals of autocracy, brutality and hatred."[41]

4. "Language Saves The Faith" – true for California?

The anti-German hysteria that washed over the country during World War I, was reflected in the discontinuance of German church services in some places. This situation was hardly unique to the Far West, but the initial conditions for German-speaking congregations were. In Gold Rush California, spiritual desires were satisfied by preachers randomly evangelizing in the open air or in saloons, without the bolstering and obliging structure of a parish they could rely on. Since Germans were rarely ministered to in their mother tongue, religious desires even promoted bilingualism in parts of the Gold Rush community. For many others, the westward movement loosened their religious ties after they had left their close-knit ethnic communities further east. As an observer describes the wandering souls, "they became lost, completely swallowed up [. . .] in this maelstrom of materialism and [. . .] spiritual indifferentism, so prevalent and dominant in these regions of the Western Coast."[42] A good example of the state of the German language in California churches are the Lutheran congregations of the Missouri Synod, a traditionally German and fairly conservative branch of Protestantism.

The German Evangelical Lutheran Congregation in San Francisco was the first Lutheran church on the Pacific Coast. In 1859, it had 45 members and 26 pupils in its parochial school. Compared to the roughly 6,000 German-born in San Francisco in 1860, it becomes obvious how little appeal church membership must have had at the Golden Gate, a place where panned nuggets could satisfy souls so easily. The historical circumstances on the "Barbary Coast" downgraded the ethnic church as a principal domain to an almost meaningless environment for German language maintenance. The extensive indifference towards church life was mirrored by a lack of institutional support. At first, the Missouri Synod did not show any concern for the ministry of German Lutherans in the Far West. An "Office of Evangelism" for the West Coast was not established until 1857 – eight years after the mass immigration to the Pacific had begun. Eight years that certainly had made a number of German Lutherans join other denominations offering services in their native language. Eight years in which others had gotten used to English services. Once the Missouri Synod sent its first pastor to the West

Coast, however, congregations began to flourish, although Southern California did not see the founding of its first Lutheran churches until 1881.[43] By 1910, California counted 81 Lutheran congregations affiliated with the Missouri Synod. But the German language in the churches on the Pacific Coast was already in decline, similar to other parts of the country. Salmons, who suggests that language shift in German immigrant communities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century is part of key transformations in American social and institutional structures, recognized that "the [Lutheran] church hierarchy did not, by and large, actively support language maintenance efforts by the late nineteenth century and beyond."[44]

Clearly, the number of English-speaking Lutherans and second generation German-Americans was growing. Allured by this new target group, Lutheran pastors in California generally were quite open to the question of language. In 1891, Rev. Oehler of the German Lutheran Church in Sacramento stated:

> There is no earthly reason why our American-born Lutherans should abandon the Church and faith in which their fathers and mothers were born, baptized, confirmed and saved. [. . .] God has no preference to [*sic*] any language. He hears our prayers, whether spoken in German, Scandinavian, Finnish or English [. . .].[45]

To very conservative Lutheran circles, this might have been quite a provocative attitude. In the 1920s, the Erste Deutsche Texas Synode, for instance, still propagated the German language as the only way for a thorough understanding of Luther's teachings and the Reformation.[46] In California the first German Lutheran congregations began to offer occasional services in English in the late 1890s.[47] What is even more striking, is that by the end of the nineteenth century, the minutes of the German Conference of the Missouri Synod in California reflect discontent whenever the St. Louis headquarters appointed pastors to the Pacific Coast who were barely or not familiar at all with the English language.[48]

5. German newspapers and the English language press(ure)

Language maintenance can be considered a core value of every ethnic newspaper in its struggle to survive against the English press. Until the early twentieth century, 56 out of 109 German newspapers in California were published in San Francisco alone.[49] While this certainly shows the German community's lively interest in ethnic affairs, their existence does not necessarily indicate an essential need. Broadbent's statement, the German language press was a service to the ethnic group, because "most of the immigrants could not speak English"[50] does not apply to the situation in two respects. First, we have seen that many Germans were able to communicate outside of their ethnic circle, and this is why English was able to make its inroads into the ethnic print medium. In 1881, the editor of the *Stockton Banner* grumbled:

> Auch hier in Stockton giebt's solcher verächtlichen Subjekte, die jeder wackere Deutsche hassen und ihnen ausweichen sollte, wie er einem giftigen Reptil oder einer Spinne ausweichen würde. Leute, die obgleich in Deutschland geboren und erzogen, keine deutsche Zeitung halten, zu keinem deutschen Verein gehören, in

deren Häusern nur englisch "radebrecht" wird, und deren Kinder kein Deutsch lernen dürfen.[51]

Second, turning away from the ethnic press was seen even among monolinguals. As one contemporary witnessed in the streets of San Francisco, this willingness to assimilate could become downright preposterous: "[A] number of Germans [. . .] have English newspapers in their hands, although, to my own knowledge, they cannot speak English and much less read it. This is again the contemptible aping of the stranger, the rejection by one's self of one's own nationality, this fawning after American favor that will not, and cannot be won – since their stupid national pride will not give up its "God damn Dutch!"[52]

6. Conclusion

California has a significant, but an almost forgotten heritage in the German language. The (socio-) linguistic features of this legacy turned out to be especially unique right before and after the discovery of gold. German immigrants turned away from the traditional ethnic settlement patterns we find in the East, Texas or the Midwest. There, the conventional domains of language maintenance, family, school, church, club life and press worked more effectively than in the scattered multi-ethnic society between Eureka and San Diego. Since many California-Germans had already settled in different parts of the country, the degree of bilingualism in the German community must have been higher than in other states, except for those settlers of Russian-German descent. Germans in California overall could blend in to American society easier and smoother than their fellow-countrymen further East, who had just arrived from Europe and relied heavily on familiar structures in utterly strange surroundings. The desire to become a part of and be accepted by the Anglo-American society on the Pacific Rim mirrors the struggle of German-Americans with a bipolar ethnic identity expressed in affection and weariness towards the German language.

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Notes

[1] My sincere thanks go to Professor W.A. Benware (University of California, Davis) for his valuable remarks on the manuscript and his advice and assistance in my research.

[2] In this paper *German* refers to immigrants and their offspring from all of German-speaking Europe, whenever a differentiation between the various nationalities is not explicitly made.

[3] Kloss, *German-American Language Maintenance Efforts*, p. 214.

[4] On official records the name of the fort appears in Spanish as *Nueva Helvecia*, but Bancroft points out that Sutter most likely called it *Nouvelle Helvétie* "since he always affected the French, and not the German – rather than *Neu-Helvetien*." (Bancroft, *History of California*, 4:133).

[5] Frémont, *Expedition to North California in the years 1843-44*, p. 246.

[6] Examples based on Gudde, *California Place Names*.

[7] Lienhard, *Californien unmittelbar vor und nach der Entdeckung des Goldes*, pp.182-83.

[8] Ibid., p. 154.

[9] By Trudgill's definition *pidginisation* consists of several subprocesses, including reduction, admixture and simplification, which eventually may lead to the development of a *pidgin language* (p. 66f.). Whether Schwarz' language underwent all the subcomponents necessary to qualify for a pidgin language cannot be said for sure. However, the Gerstäcker quote displays a mechanism typical for multilingual contact situations: negotiation. Schwarz "negotiates" with his communication partners by making guesses which words they might be able to understand (see Thomason, *Language Contact*, p. 142).

[10] Gerstäcker, *Reisen*, pp. 145-46.

[11] Borthwick, *Three Years in California*, pp. 240-41.

[12] Lecouvreur, *From East Prussia to the Golden Gate*, p. 217 (the original German was not accessible).

[13] Borthwick. *Three Years in California*, p. 242.

[14] Gerstäcker. *Skizzen aus Californien und Südamerika*, pp. 84-85 (emphasis in quote supplied).

Although Gerstäcker is a novelist, his notes can be considered accurate as he assures: "Der Leser darf nicht etwa glauben, daß auch nur ein Buchstabe dieser Redensarten übertrieben ist – ich habe a l l e, wie sie aus Erbe's Mund kamen, auf der Stelle niedergeschrieben [. . .]."(ibid.) Note: "Erbe" is Gerstäcker's reference for the citation above.

[15] *cayoten* and *Cayota* are of Spanish origin, but were found in English terminology as well (*to cayote*, *the cayota*). Most likely these words in German were not borrowed from Spanish directly, but found their way by the circuitous route of English into German.

[16] Sources: Gerstäcker, *Skizzen aus Californien und Südamerika*; *Philo Jacoby's Californischer Staats-Kalender 1866*; *1916*; *Scharmann's Landreise nach Californien.*

[17] Based on *California census of 1852* .

[18] Luthy, *The Amish in America*, pp. 41-42.

[19] Raup, *Anaheim: A German Community in Frontier California*, p. 10.

[20] Hittell, *The resources of California*, pp. 417-18.

[21] Friis. *Campo Aleman*, pp. 66-67.

[22] Kloss, *German-American Language Maintenance Efforts*, p. 206.

[23] Thomposon and West's *History of Los Angeles County*, p. 152.

[24] Paule, *The German settlement at Anaheim*, p. 49.

[25] Friis, *Campo Aleman*, p. 59.

[26] Kloss, *German-American Language Maintenance Efforts*, p. 234.

[27] Sallet, *Russian-German Settlements*, p. 111, based on U.S. Census data.

[28] California. Immigration and Housing, *Report on Fresno's Immigration Problem*, p. 10.

[29] The U.S. Censuses of 1920 and 1930 underline this tendency since California–against the overall trend in the United States–records a gain in its foreign-born population having German specified as mother tongue.

[30] Miller, *Changing Faces of the Central Valley*, p. 188.

[31] Figures based on the statistics of California. Immigration and Housing, *Fresno*, p. 20.

[32] Ibid., p. 11.

[33] Ibid., p. 10.

[34] Swett, *Public Education in California*, p. 165.

[35] *San Francisco City Directory* 1860, pp. 31-32.

[36] The figures for Austria are no absolutes, since the Austrian empire had various ethnic and linguistic groups. Also, this list might have omitted children of Swiss origin.

[37] Spanish, the colonial language, remained dominant in some rural areas even after the Americans had taken over the land. I found reports on children of German immigrants in the 1850s not growing up bilingual in German and English, but in the German and Spanish languages (cf. Noack Pratt, *Finally California*, p. 26). Except for places like Texas and Louisiana with significant numbers of German immigrants, the German language did not have to compete with tongues other than English as early as in California.

[38] Dolson, *The administration of San Francisco public schools*, pp. 192-93.

[39] *Thompson and West's Sacramento County*, p. 118.

[40] Schutz et al. (eds.), *St. Elizabeth Parish*, p. 8.

[41] State Board of Education, *Third Biennial Report*, 1916-18, p. 11.

[42] Stensrud, *The Lutheran Church and California*, p. 6.

[43] *St. John's* in Orange, *Trinity* in Los Angeles (DuBrau, *Romance of Lutheranism*, p. 73).

[44] Salmons, *Community, Region, and Language Shift*, p. 140.

[45] *The Golden Gate Lutheran*, October 1891, p. 7/1.

[46] Nicolini, *Deutsch in Texas*, p. 80.

[47] Salmons reports that similar patterns existed in the Lutheran congregations of the Wisconsin and Missouri Synod in the Midwest where the transition from German to English "was clearly underway well before the war, even by 1890." (p. 140).

[48] DuBrau, *Romance of Lutheranism*, p. 59.

[49] Broadbent, *The German-Language Press in California*, p. 638.

[50] Ibid., p. 642.

[51] *Stockton Banner*, November 12, 1881.

[52] Benjamin, *Three Years in America*, p. 248.

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East Frisian Low German Consonantal Developments Reexamined[1]

In a recent issue of this journal, Putnam and Weiss (2004) analyze certain consonantal developments found in East Frisian Low German (EFLG) as spoken in the midwestern United States (specifically in Iowa and Nebraska) within the framework of Optimality Theory (OT). This note offers an alternative analysis of the EFLG data.[2]

Putnam and Weiss discuss the pronunciation of three words in two dialects of EFLG, those spoken in Grundy Center (Iowa) and Nebraska, beginning with the words for 'air' (Standard German *Luft*) and 'saw' (Standard German *Säge*). In Grundy Center EFLG, the relevant forms are pronounced [lʊx] and [sɔ:oɣ], while in Nebraska EFLG, the pronunciations are [lʊ] and [sɔ:o]. Of particular interest here is the presence of velar fricatives in word final position in Grundy Center EFLG versus their absence in Nebraska EFLG. Putnam and Weiss argue that the underlying representations of these words in both dialects contain velar fricatives, i.e. that they are /lʊx/ and /sɔ:oɣ/, respectively, and attribute the variant surface forms in the different dialects to the interaction of various OT constraints, as follows:[3]

(1) *x
No velar fricative (either voiced or voiceless) in word final position.

(2) DEP (V)
Vowel epenthesis is not allowed.

(3) MAX (C)
Consonants may not be deleted.

In Nebraska EFLG, the constraints are ranked as follows:

(4) *x, DEP (V) >> MAX (C)

In Grundy Center EFLG, the constraints are ranked as follows:

(5) MAX (C), DEP (V) >> *x

Given the underlying representations assumed by Putnam and Weiss, these rankings yield the correct results. In Nebraska EFLG, the need to eliminate velar fricatives in word final position while not inserting a vowel compels the deletion of the underlying velar fricative. In Grundy Center EFLG, the need to avoid inserting a vowel and deleting a consonant allows the retention of the underlying velar fricative.

Putnam and Weiss also consider the EFLG forms of the English loanword 'kitchen', in order to assess the status of the alveo-palatal affricate [tʃ] in the relevant EFLG dialects. In both Nebraska EFLG and Grundy Center EFLG, the alveo-palatal affricate is eliminated; in Nebraska EFLG it is replaced by [ts], while in Grundy Center EFLG it is replaced by [ts^{j}]. Putnam and Weiss make the straightforward assumption that the underlying representation of the relevant segment is /tʃ/, and account for its replacement in the surface forms with the following constraints:

(6) *[tʃ]
[tʃ] is not allowed.

(7) *[+coronal, + dorsal]
[ts^{j}] is not allowed.

(8) IDENT (PLACE) -1
Do not change underlying values for place of articulation -1.

(9) IDENT (PLACE) -2
Do not change underlying values for place of articulation -2.

While the constraints given in (6) and (7) are clear, the two constraints on changing underlying values for place of articulation require additional discussion. Putnam and Weiss propose these constraints to capture the insight that [ts] is phonetically further away from [tʃ] than [ts^{j}] is (since in [ts^{j}] the palatal articulation is retained, while it is lost in [ts]). The shift from /tʃ/ to [ts^{j}] incurs a violation of IDENT (PLACE) -1, while the shift from /tʃ/ to [ts] violates IDENT (PLACE) -2.

In Nebraska EFLG, the following constraint ranking prevails:

(10) *[tʃ] >> *[+coronal, + dorsal] >> IDENT (PLACE) -1 >> IDENT (PLACE) -2

This constraint ranking rules out [tʃ] and [ts^{j}], leaving [ts] as the only viable option.

In Grundy Center EFLG, we find the following ranking:

(11) *[tʃ] >> IDENT (PLACE) -2 >> *[+coronal, + dorsal] >> IDENT (PLACE) -1

In this case, [tʃ] is banned, IDENT (PLACE) -2 eliminates [ts], and [ts^{j}] is therefore the surface form.

I now critically evaluate their proposals, beginning with their choice of an underlying representation in the EFLG words for 'air' and 'saw'. As noted above, Putnam and Weiss argue that in both Nebraska EFLG and Grundy Center EFLG these forms contain an underlying velar fricative in word-final position, and it was suggested that the correct results are obtained, "given the underlying representations assumed by Putnam and Weiss." Unfortunately, there is no concrete evidence that their proposed underlying representations are correct, at least for Nebraska EFLG (although the proposed underlying representation for Grundy Center EFLG does seem correct). There is no surface manifestation of the putatively underlying velar fricative in Nebraska EFLG, and it is accordingly difficult to believe that speakers of Nebraska EFLG would (or even could) posit an underlying velar fricative in this context.[4]

It may be possible to rescue their proposed underlying representations for Nebraska EFLG. Perhaps other data not cited in their article indicates the presence of an underlying velar fricative (for instance, its retention in forms where it is not in word final position). One could also argue that their underlying representations reflect diachronic reality, in that Nebraska EFLG presumably had underlying velar fricatives at some point (since the dialect it developed from had these fricatives), or that their underlying representations allow for a better model of the relationship between

Nebraska EFLG and Grundy Center EFLG.

The first of these possibilities would certainly be the best, but such data is unfortunately not provided. If such data is available, the reader needs to see it. The remaining two possibilities are not convincing. Setting up a surface form from an earlier stage of a language as the underlying representation of a later stage of the language is problematic, since language learners are not historical linguists.[5] As for the last suggestion, while setting up a common underlying representation does indeed yield a better model of the historical relationships between the dialects, it seems preferable to consider individual dialects on their own synchronic terms.

Their analysis of the forms of 'kitchen' in the two EFLG dialects is also problematic. Although their proposal yields the correct results, the presence of two separate IDENT (place) constraints is highly suspicious, as both constraints have the same effect (penalizing changes from the underlying place of articulation). This duplication of effort can be avoided by relying solely on markedness constraints, specifically the two proposed by Putnam and Weiss and a third, *[ts], which bans [ts].[6]

In this new analysis, we find the following ranking in Nebraska EFLG:

(12) *[tʃ] >> *[+coronal, + dorsal] >> *[ts]

Since the constraints banning [tʃ] and [ts^{j}] both outrank the constraint banning [ts], [ts] is the only viable option.

In Grundy Center EFLG, we find the following ranking:

(13) *[tʃ] >> *[ts] >> *[+coronal, + dorsal]

Here, since the constraints banning [tʃ] and [ts] outrank the constraint against [ts^{j}], [ts^{j}] is the surface form. This proposal obtains the desired results without the duplication of effort found in Putnam and Weiss' analysis.

In sum, the analysis presented by Putnam and Weiss (2004) is problematic in several respects. There is no convincing evidence for the putative underlying velar fricatives in Nebraska EFLG. Given this, their data can not be considered interesting evidence for the interplay of markedness constraints and faithfulness constraints. It is instead the straightforward result of high-ranking faithfulness constraints: there is no velar fricative in the surface forms of Nebraska EFLG because there is no velar fricative in the relevant underlying representations, and there is a velar fricative in the surface forms of Grundy Center EFLG because there is a velar fricative in the relevant underlying representations. Moreover, a simpler analysis of the alveo-palatal fricative in loan words like *kitchen* is possible. Finally, it should also be noted that their faithfulness constraints could be phrased more generally, i.e., DEP (V) could be restated as DEP, which would rule out inserting either a consonant or a vowel, and MAX (C) could be restated as MAX, which would block deleting either a consonant or a vowel. Some analyses require more nuanced statements of these constraints, but the one considered here does not. While their intentions in synthesizing old and new approaches should be applauded, the execution leaves something to be desired.

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Notes

[1] I thank Hans Boas, William Keel, Robert L. Kyes, Michael Putnam, Bruce Spencer, and the YGAS referees for their assistance in the preparation of this paper.

[2] No introduction to OT is given here. Readers unfamiliar with the theory are referred to Kager (1999) or to the brief outline given in Putnam and Weiss (2004). The discussion of the history of EFLG, the settlement history of its speakers, and the methodology and demographics of the study found in the original article is also not repeated here.

[3] The faithfulness constraints MAX (C) and DEP (V) are familiar from the OT literature, while the markedness constraint regulating the distribution of velar fricatives appears to be their own original proposal (see p. 142 of their article).

[4] There is a substantial body of literature on this idea (the "Revised Alternation Condition"). Kenstowicz (1994: 103-14) provides an accessible discussion.

[5] Labov (1989) argues that children can reconstruct patterns of stable variation, but the EFLG situation does not involve such variation.

[6] Since standard OT practice holds that all constraints are universal, I assume the presence of a relatively low-ranking IDENT (PLACE) constraint, which bans changing the underlying place of articulation. This constraint is outranked by all three of the markedness constraints used here.

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***Pennsylvaanisch-Deitsch darich's Yaahr*: A Pennsylvania German Reader for Grandparents and Grandchildren.**
Edited by Deutsch-Pennsylvanischer Arbeitskreis e.V. (German-Pennsylvanian Association). Neckarsteinach: Edition Tintenfass, 2006. 159 pp. $18.99.

The title and subtitle of this handsome volume of short, literary works in the Pennsylvania German dialect might lead one to believe that it is meant only for bedtime stories and for that it would certainly fit the bill. It is quite assuredly more than just that. The author of the preface to this work and one of its editors, Michael Werner, states *"Halt fescht, was du hoscht!"* ("Hold fast what you have!"), reiterating a common expression among the Pennsylvania Germans, and an idea common to many ethnic groups that find their language in danger of extinction. Werner makes reference, in fact, to the "lost generation" of children who were born after 1945 for whom the *"Mudderschprooch"* was no longer Pennsylvania German, rather English.

It is for this generation and those to follow that this collection of stories, sayings, songs and even tongue twisters is primarily intended. It invites grandparents to sit down with their grandchildren and share the rich traditions of the Pennsylvania German people in the language that helped maintain those traditions even into the twenty-first century. Responsible for the selection of this set of seasonally related works in Pennsylvania German is an international editorial committee consisting of Michael Werner, Butch Reigart, Joshua R. Brown, Alice B. Spayd, Helmut Schmahl, Frank Kessler, and Walter Sauer. It is their stated intention to include as many contemporary writers of the dialect as possible in addition to the better known writers of years gone by. The texts have also been regularized in orthography reflecting the Buffington-Barba-Beam system. This spelling regularization serves the reader well, eliminating the need to decipher the potential orthographic idiosyncrasies of individual authors. The title of the anthology, *Mit Pennsyvaanisch-Deitsch darich's Yaahr*, (*Pennsylvania German Through the Year*), sets the tone for the organization of the book.

Although not numbered as such, the bulk of the volume is divided into twelve chapters, one for each month of the year. Each chapter begins with a black and white illustration taken from early twentieth century Palatine almanacs that depict typical scenes relating to the activities of the month—in January a sullen winter scene of crows on the snow, in May the hanging of freshly washed clothes on the line, in September the bustle of activities surrounding the harvest, and in December the peaceful cutting of a small Christmas tree. Following each illustration is a poem of varying lengths titled after each month. For January we read *Nu hen mer die neie Kalenner / Un sin aa schun widder im Yenner* (Now we have the new calendar / And are already in January), for April, *Abril—un die Amschle sin do!/ Was singe sie mariyets so froh!* (April—the robins are back! / How beautifully they do sing in the morning!) and for July *Im Tschulei geht mer*

in die Ern, / Un schafft, un schwetzt un—dutt's doch gern! (In July we go harvesting / And work and talk and—we do it gladly!). Each chapter features a combination of between eight and fifteen short works of no longer than three pages in length and concludes with one text from the "Old Country" in the dialect of the Palatinate. The inclusion of these texts is meant to show the linguistic and traditional connection between the Palatinate and areas of the "New World" where Pennsylvania German was and is still spoken. Neither translations into English nor a glossary is provided. While on the one hand such a provision might have been desirable, given the number of people who are no longer fluent in the dialect, the omission of translations is certainly understandable within the scope and target audience of the anthology.

Individual highlights from the anthology include *"Em Herr sei Gebet"* ("The Lord's Prayer"), *"Pennsylvaanisch-Deitsche Schprichwadde"* ("Pennsylvania German Sayings"); *"Was mer duh kenne fer die Mudderschprooch uffhalde"* ("What We Can Do to Maintain Our Mother Tongue") by Alice Spayd; "Counting-Out Rhyme, Sonnet 18" by Walter Sauer (after William Shakespeare); *"Der Haas un der Igel"* ("The Hare and Hedgehog"), a Grimms' fairy tale adapted by C. Richard Beam; *"Schtille Nacht! Heilichi Nacht!"* ("Silent Night") by Arthur D. Graeff (after Franz X. Gruber); and *"Die Nacht var Grischtdaag"* ("Twas the Night Before Christmas") by Solomon Delong (after Clement C. Moore). Collectively, however, the real highlights of this much-needed anthology are the many texts that give the reader of any age insight into the life of especially rural Pennsylvania German speakers, their agricultural practices, humor, superstitions, beliefs, hardships, reliance and dependence on the weather, and most notably, their language as keeper and promoter of their cultural identity. The book closes with a very useful and comprehensive list of sources, newspapers, other resources (of interest more to scholars than grandparents) and an appendix. Contributing to the appendix are Helmut Schmahl with an article entitled "A Short History of the Pennsylvania Germans" and Frank Kessler, with "Pennsylvania Dutch in the 21st Century: Taking Stock."

This anthology is a welcome addition to the works of original Pennsylvania German dialect literature. It not only provides grandparents, grandchildren and everyone in-between a rich selection of entertaining and informative literature, but also complements Earl C. Haag's more scholarly work, *A Pennsylvania German Anthology*, as a text well worthy of the university classroom.

Kutztown University *Gregory J. Hanson*

Carl Neuberg – Biochemie, Politik und Geschichte: Lebenswege und Werk eines fast verdrängten Forschers.
By Hinderk Conrads and Brigitte Lohff. History and Philosophy of Medicine, vol. 4. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006. 221 pp. €45.00.

On May 30, 1956 Carl Neuberg died in New York City. Fifty years later, Hinderk Conrads and Brigitte Lohff present his biography. The subtitle reveals their aim: "Biography and Work of a Nearly Forgotten Scientist." The authors wish to restore Neuberg in the collective memory of – whom? The German public? The international scientific community? The epilogue reveals that the topic is connected to a situation

at the Medical University of Hannover in the 1990s. At that time the official address of the University needed to be changed. Historical research unearthed that the former namesake, the architect Konstantly Gutschow, played a prominent role in Nazi Germany. Therefore, the university decided to change its official address to Carl Neuberg Street. But who was Carl Neuberg? As the "Father of Biochemistry" he was among the most significant German scientists of the early twentieth century. This biography not only offers detailed insights into his life, but also adds fascinating chapters to the history of science, Germany's scientific community before World War II, and German-Jewish exile-life in the United States.

Conrads and Lohff have chosen the classical arrangement of the material in chronological order. Born on July 29, 1877 into a wealthy German-Jewish family Carl Neuberg attended school in Hannover. In 1892 the family moved to Berlin where Carl finished his „Abitur" in 1896. He studied chemistry in Berlin and Würzburg, completed his Ph.D in 1900, and his residency in 1903. Already in 1898 Neuberg had taken an assistant position at the world-renowned chemical department of the Pathological Institute at the famous Charité in Berlin. founded by Rudolf Virchow himself. His work led him into the border area between medicine and chemistry. As an assistant Neuberg was responsible for medical students and their introduction to the basics of physiological chemistry. Neuberg also impressed his colleagues with his enormous publication activities. His main interest focused on the artifical fabrication of carbohydrates, the investigation and classification of different types of fermentation, and the study of fat properties. His pioneering studies also included analysis of the chemistry of amino acids and enzymes. His work became very relevant for the detection of malignant tumors. In 1909 Neuberg was offered a position at the Royal Agricultural University (Königliche Landwirtschaftliche Hochschule) where his work concentrated on the metabolism of animals. In 1913 Neuberg was offered a position at the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft (KGW), the predecessor of today's Max-Planck-Gesellschaft.

One of the most significant accomplishments of Neuberg's scientific oevre is his work as editor of the *Biochemische Zeitschrift*, which he built up to become the most recognized journal in his discipline. The first volume of the *Biochemische Zeitschrift* appeared in October 1906. Neuberg edited this journal for twenty-nine years, until 1935. By 1930 he had reviewed more than 8,500 scientific articles in 230 volumes (32). This editorial work required four hours per day and made him a primary international figure in the field of biochemistry. Scientists from the United States, Japan, Russia, and all leading institutes in Europe contributed to the journal, among them eighteen Nobel laureates in medicine and eleven in chemistry. Conrads and Lohff also manage to draw a vivid picture of the scientific community of Dahlem in Berlin in the early twentieth century. Pioneers in science such as Albert Einstein, Otto Hahn, Fritz Haber, Lise Meitner, Max Planck and Otto Warburg lived and worked side by side, thus creating a working atmosphere that fostered groundbreaking scientific advances und unmatched creativity. The reader can easily follow Neuberg's biographical milestones.

During World War I Neuberg was spared military service because he suffered from a disturbance of his equilibrium. Nevertheless he supported the Kaiser's war efforts by conducting important scientific experiments. Beginning in 1915 he was responsible for the development of gas masks for horses. Even more significant was his development of an industrial process to manufacture glycerol for the production of explosives. The

Kaiser honored him for his discoveries with two Iron Crosses.

In 1913 Neuberg became director of the newly founded Institute for Experimental Therapy of the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft. A few years later (1922) he accepted the first chair for the newly established discipline of biochemistry in Germany. Finally, in 1924, the KWF established a separate KWF for Biochemistry and appointed Neuberg as its director. In addition to Neuberg's scientific struggles, Conrads and Lohff outline the nature of the establishment of Neuberg's KWF for Biochemistry; under his direction the institute became a top scientific address. International guests from around the world came for working visits, the publication record of the institute grew impressively, and Neuberg himself was recognized around the world as a leading expert in biochemistry. During his life he received eight honorary doctorates from universities in Poland, Russia, Spain, Scotland, and Italy, as well as innumerable recognitions, medals, and awards. Although he was nominated for the Nobel Prize several times, it was not awarded to him.

Unfortunately the political situation in Germany during the 1930s finished his brilliant career. The Nazi regime made life for German-Jewish scientists increasingly difficult. In 1934 Neuberg lost his teaching position at the Berlin University. One year later, the Ferdinand Springer Publishing Company pressed him to discontinue his work on the journal. Years later, after the war, Neuberg would fight with Springer for compensation. Also during the 1930s Neuberg was forced to sell his Dahlem mansion. He left Germany in 1939, first turning to Holland, then to Israel (March-November 1940) until he arrived in the United States on January 25, 1941, sixty-four years old and searching for a new life. The last 15 years of his life, Neuberg resided in New York City and Brooklyn. Although existing connections within the scientific community helped him to gain several short-term research positions and guest professorships, he never again found a suitable "scientific home." He felt displaced and dissatisfied, a condition which prevailed until his death on May 30, 1956 in New York City.

Conrads and Lohff manage to draw a vivid picture of a world-leading scientist whose life and work is torn to pieces by the political situation in Nazi Germany. The book is based upon Hinderk Conrads' dissertation at the Medical University of Hannover in 2002. It is not quite clear why his dissertation advisor, Brigitte Lohff, shows up as second author. The text is based on thorough research conducted in German, Danish, Polish, Czech, and American archives. Especially the Carl Neuberg papers, held by the American Philosophical Society, offered the authors a close look at Neuberg's active correspondence with colleagues from around the world. Besides the text, the book contains two appendices: a list of publications from 1925 to 1935 and a directory of classes taught by Neuberg. Furthermore, the reader finds twenty-eight photos and illustrations, and a name index. 1,080 footnotes provide ample additional information. The book appears as volume four in the series *History and Philosophy of Medicine* published by the Franz Steiner Publishing Company. Unfortunately the publisher apparently has decided to streamline its series covers: *History and Philosophy of Medicine* now comes with the same cover as the *Transatlantische Historische Studien* series. This might save on costs, but it is not very attractive. The fact that the text is in the German language also likely will limit its accessibility by a larger audience. Although the book is generally well-written, it occasionally suffers from redundancies, leaving one to wonder if the authors do not trust the reader to digest the work from cover to cover.

On balance, however, Conrads and Lohff have provided a well-researched book about the beginning of biochemistry and one of the main protagonists in the field. It could certainly find a place on the reading list of any "History of Science" class, but also is well suited for courses on immigration studies or German intellectual life of the early twentieth century. The story of Carl Neuberg is certainly not new. But this study gives us another example of how the anti-semitic ideology of Germany in the 1930s destroyed a brilliant career and forced many of its most successful and recognized scientists out of their homes.

Berlin, Germany — *Katja Hartmann*

Cream City Chronicles: Stories of Milwaukee's Past.
By John Gurda. Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2007. xvi + 303 pp. $24.95.

A casual perusal of any substantive library, public or academic, reveals the vast wealth of titles which have appeared in recent years under the wide umbrella of local interest works. In many cases these books contribute substantially to a community's understanding of its own vibrant history, reminding those long familiar with a given place what made it so special over time and instructing more recent residents in the ways in which the past has influenced the evolution of the hometown into its present state. This is particularly true of the latest book by Milwaukee historian and *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* columnist John Gurda, which through a series of intriguing and well-written vignettes admirably demonstrates a number of threads past and present which combine to weave a portrait of this diverse Midwestern metropolis.

The genesis of the current work may be found in Gurda's numerous newspaper columns on Milwaukee history, beginning in 1994 at the afternoon *Milwaukee Journal* and continuing until the present following its merger with another local paper, the morning *Sentinel*, in 1995. In total sixty-three different stories are culled from Gurda's past writings in the composition of *Cream City Chronicles*, although each has been revised and updated—sometimes modestly, other times substantially—for the current publication. These represent a wide range of interests, touching upon a multitude of topics concerning politics, social life, business and industry, and sports in Milwaukee, and with regard to various of the city's well-represented ethnic groups both past and present. The stories are categorized and presented according to several overarching themes, specifically "The Early Years;" "A Heritage of Diversity;" "Water: The City's Lifeblood;" "Making a Living;" "A Sense of Place;" "The Common Good;" and "Celebrations!" Four further sections are delineated according to the seasons ("Spring;" "Summer;" "Fall;" "Winter") and feature thematic narratives with a specific connection to those times of the year.

While none of the primary sections are geared exclusively toward German-American history and culture, inevitably aspects pertaining to them are woven into many of the narratives. "A Heritage of Diversity" gives focus to several of the most prominent Milwaukee ethnic groups both past and present, with the German element featured prominently in "Outrage Revisited" (spotlighting the Bennett Law and its impact upon

the use of German in schools) and "Terrorism, Past Tense," effectively framing the events of September 11, 2001 and their immediate aftermath with a recollection of the anti-German hysteria of the World War I era. The chapter "Making a Living" is one of the strongest in the entire book, and also perhaps the one most directly associated with the German element and its many contributions in the area of business and manufacture, including "Milwaukee Leather" (Pfister & Vogel as the world's largest tanner) and "Frozen Assets" (the ice harvesting trade). Perhaps inevitably the brewing trade assumes the primary role in this regard, with three individual narratives: on the pre-Prohibition Falk Brewery and its later, still operational incarnation as a manufacturer of precision industrial gears; a general but well-presented overview of the brewing trade in the city from its inception to the current microbrewing trend as conducted by the Lakefront and Sprecher firms; and a more specific discussion of Miller Brewing founder Frederick C. Miller and the family business. In the latter case the focus is understandable, given that the brewery is still operational and Gurda gained significant access to corporate archives, having written a commissioned book on the company; nevertheless in light of this redundancy, one wishes that the space in a previous column and this book might have been allotted to Frederick Pabst, Valentin Blatz, or the Schlitz and Uihlein families whose accomplishments in running their own influential brewing operations were no less noteworthy. In subsequent chapters, personal narratives are similarly emphasized, the highlights including "A Cemetery for the City," which effectively treats the final resting place of some of Milwaukee's most prominent German-American citizens; "Close Call for Mr. Roosevelt," detailing the failed assassination attempt upon 1912 "Bull Moose" Progressive Party candidate and former President Theodore Roosevelt by German immigrant John Schrank; as well as "Beer, Bands, and Balloon Rides" and "O Tannenbaum, Milwaukee-Style," highlighting the festive side of the local German community.

There are many points which recommend this publication to the potential reader. The organizational structure of the book, by topic and seasons, is well thought out and presented, lending itself well to the formatting of the individual stories. By his own admission Gurda takes a "presentist" approach (i.e. how Milwaukee and its citizenry arrived at the time and place where it is at) to telling the story of the city; the attempt successfully welds past to present and well invokes a sense of what once was within the rich cultural threads of today. Illustrations are ample and judiciously introduced within the work, drawn from a nice variety of sources and most prominently from the Wisconsin and Milwaukee County Historical Societies and the *Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel*, although the use of standard paper stock for reproduction renders them somewhat less effective than optimally could be the case. In a nice touch, Gurda dedicates the book to the memory of prominent German-American former mayor Frank Zeidler, who passed away a year before publication. On a less satisfactory note, even though the book is not by definition a chronicle of German-American contributions to Milwaukee, there are a number of stories which would gain from more prominent discussion of the German element, most notably "All the News That's Fit" with only brief mention made of the German-American press in the city, a shortcoming in that one could easily devote an entire narrative to its significance and prominent fall with the onset of World War I. While acknowledging that previous newspaper columns were the source of these edited and updated texts, Gurda does not present original publication dates for any save his

first—on the Falk Brewery—making it difficult for readers or scholars who might wish to compare these revised versions with the original works. Also, given that Gurda is well-published in the field of Milwaukee history, a certain amount of overlap in both topics and information between the current work and his other books, most notably *The Making of Milwaukee*, is inevitable.

That said, *Cream City Chronicles* is not a simple rehash of existing publications on the subject matter. Quite in contrast, Gurda takes a fresh approach to retelling material both familiar and unfamiliar to anyone interested in Milwaukee history and culture. The people, places, and events under examination resonate under Gurda's well-conceived storytelling approach and admirable capabilities as a writer. Readers with a deep interest in the topic will find plenty to engage their attention anew, while more casual observers likely will be drawn into the narrative and thus find it a hard work to put down, much less leave unfinished, once having begun.

University of Wisconsin—Waukesha *Timothy J. Holian*

Friedrich Hecker: Two Lives for Liberty.
By Sabine Freitag. St. Louis, MO: St. Louis Mercantile Library University of Missouri-St. Louis, 2006. 492 pp. $29.95.

After being educated in Baden as a lawyer, Friedrich Hecker began his public life as an important leader of the opposition in the lower house of the Baden state assembly in the 1840s. In the Revolution of 1848 he both led an uprising to overthrow the government of the Grand Duchy and tried to spark a wider southwest German revolt. Defeated in April of the revolutionary year, he fled to America in the fall. In the spring of 1849, upon hearing of a new Badenese revolutionary outbreak, he rushed to Europe, only to learn in Strasbourg that this revolt, too, had been defeated.

He settled on a farm at Summerfield, near Lebanon, Illinois, east of St. Louis. There, with a great deal of hard, physical work, he became one of the few Forty-Eighter leaders to achieve success as a farmer. This was in keeping with his ideal, gained from the study of ancient history, of a republic composed of frugal and virtuous men who tilled their own soil. Yet in America Hecker was much more than a farmer. Although he never held public office, he helped found the Republican Party in Illinois, and he was an inveterate campaigner for the party, especially among German-Americans, from 1856 through 1880. He earned money for years on the lecture circuit. In addition to being, in both America and Germany, the very symbol of the Revolution of 1848, he was known as a political journalist from New York to California. His speeches and columns were often printed and commented upon in newspapers in Germany as well.

So eager was he to defend the Union during the American Civil War that he served as colonel of two different Federal regiments of volunteers. He worked closely with Carl Schurz both in St. Louis German-language journalism and in formulating an American civil service when Schurz served as Secretary of the Interior under Rutherford B. Hayes.

Born Catholic, Hecker as a free-thinker fought a life-long battle against clericalism, the Jesuits, and the papacy. Although he respected Bismarck's acumen, he thought

German unification under the Hohenzollerns was valuable only as a step toward a German republic. In his nineteenth-century economic liberalism, he battled against the socialists of the 1870s.

Much that needs to be said about this biography was noted by Hans Trefousse in a 2002 review of *Friedrich Hecker: Biographie eines Republikaners*, the original German edition of this work (the Trefousse review may be found online at http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.cgi?path=163931018624944). Although the book is to be admired for treating Hecker's German and American careers with equal seriousness, it is not as complete as one might prefer. Freitag concentrates on Hecker as an intellectual, a political thinker, a politician, a correspondent with other exiled Forty-Eighters and a cultural symbol. Hecker the army officer, the family head, and the farmer are given little attention, although source material on these topics is probably available.

In the opinion of this reviewer, Trefousse erred when he doubted this work's potential viability in English translation. Steven Rowan, as translator and editor, has provided an able translation. Since it was originally a dissertation, Rowan has probably made the book more readable by shortening the endnotes and deleting some methodological material. In this study, Freitag makes a substantial contribution to the intellectual origins of the Revolution of 1848 in Baden and to the political thought and actions of Forty-Eighters in America. Her errors of fact and questionable interpretations are relatively few and small for such a lengthy and detailed work of both European and American history: some Whigs did attempt to win German votes. It is not clear to this reviewer that the Know-Nothings represented the interests of the Free Soil movement. Certainly in Missouri they did not. Gratz Brown was not a hyphenated surname. "Lovejoy Browning" is the conflation of the surnames of an Illinois Congressman and an Illinois Senator. The modern scholar is Reinhard (not Rainer) Doerries and President Garfield's middle name was Abram, not Abraham.

With the publication of this work in both languages, there is now a book-length and quite informative study of Hecker for scholars in Germany and America. For this we owe much to both the author and the translator.

Northwest Missouri State University *Robert W. Frizzell*

Safeguarding German-American Relations in the New Century: Understanding and Accepting Mutual Differences.
Edited by Hermann Kurthen, Antonio V. Menéndez-Alarcón, and Stefan Immerfall. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2006. 277 pp. $68.00.

Safeguarding German-American Relations in the New Century is a conference book, comprising essays on an array of themes from political history and popular culture to international relations. Like many conference books, the contributions vary in interest and quality. The principal approach underlying the volume is explained by the editors in the preface: "Therefore we pay particular interest in this volume to perceptions, norms, and values that constitute political cultures in the broadest sense and attempt to understand their role in affecting transatlantic relations and the direction in which societies are heading" (4). Indeed, mentalities and ideologies can take precedence over

geopolitical and economic interests in shaping foreign policy. This is nowhere more obvious than in the case of German-American relations.

The history of German-American relations has been characterized by an abundance of narratives, images and discourses, especially from the German side. As a result, the reader wonders why the synchronic dimension in this volume dominates the entire work at the expense of the diachronic. We have to wait until Thomas Clark's fine essay on the reception of Michael Moorer in Germany to discover that Germany's preoccupation with America prefigured its responses to the presidency of George W. Bush. Clark argues that German perceptions of America were rooted in "ambivalence," citing an essay by Mary Nolan. "Ambivalence" is, of course, a given in all relationships between cultures and states. Peter J. Brenner adds to this notion of ambivalence by positing in his study of travel books on the New World that America represented a "Flucht in die Vergangenheit," as well as a "Flucht in die Zukunft," suggesting that the escape component of ambivalence was preeminent in the German approach to the New World. Jeffrey L. Sammons in his study of nineteenth-century German literature on America aptly illustrates this thesis by entitling his book: "Ideology, Mimesis, and Fantasy," noting that German writers on America were not solely moved by verisimilitude, but by visions of establishing an ideal community (Charles Sealsfield) as well as by visions of an ideal Germany (Karl May).

Thus, German narratives of America, as Clark tells us, were ultimately more concerned with German national and cultural identity than with America. Throughout the nineteenth century there was a profound struggle over discourses in Germany to determine whether America was a force for good or ill. This of course was related to Germany's own confusion about modernity and tradition as well as her struggle over democratization and the preservation of elites.

This debate over America continued in Germany until the advent of the Third Reich. By their own admission, the Nazis could not tolerate many things, least of all ambivalence. Hence the creative tension underlying America and its imagery devolved into something simplistic and stereotyped. America was a country dominated by Jews and plutocrats, fostering a regime of mobocracy, mongrelization, and Mammonry. This belief contributed to Nazi Germany declaring war on America in 1941, although this ultimately meant a restoration of the alliance that led to her defeat in the First World War.

After the war there was a predictable bifurcation in the official discourses on America. In the German Democratic Republic, America was metamorphosed into the embodiment of monopoly capitalism, brimming with imperial ambitions to consolidate and expand its markets and find sources of cheap labor. In West Germany, America became the symbol of Western liberalism and the rule of law—a society that guaranteed both a maximum of abundance as well as a panoply of freedoms and civil rights to its citizenry. Interestingly enough, it took a generation for the traditional ambivalence towards America to reemerge—at least in the Federal Republic. In other words, the pre-war discourses, those anchored in the nineteenth century debate underlying modernity, began to crystallize again. Once more, America was the Mammon-infested hotbed of world capitalism on the one hand and the promising realm of individual and communitarian regeneration on the other.

According to the authors' argumentation, these active discourses continue to thrive

in Germany, still shaping relations between the two countries. The accession of George W. Bush to the presidency is the prime mover of this work, invoked by many of the authors as the cause of the profound rift between the two countries, although the authors argue that it is too simplistic to posit a Golden Age of harmony between Germany and the United States before the Bush administration. There may have been a high degree of amity between the two states owing to the defeat of Germany and the advent of the Cold War, but there was never a genuine consanguinity of spirit between the two cultures. Ambivalent images and discourses about America have persisted unabated, and it would probably be fair to say that if George W. Bush had not existed, he would have been periodically reinvented simply because the narrative matrices in German culture are predisposed to such creations. In fact, the prototype of George W. Bush had already been rendered by Charles Sealsfield in his famous novel, *Das Kajütenbuch* (1841), in the figure of the Alcalde, where the Alcalde provides the ideological grist for manifest destiny and the supremacy of American culture.

Since the purpose of this book, judging by its announced intention, is to prevent German-American relations from succumbing to misapprehension and overt conflict, one would expect some insights into how to avert such a debacle. Unfortunately, the authors find solutions in rhetoric and not in viable strategies or insights. For example, they write, "A new approach will also require Germans and Americans and their leaders to take a deeper look at their shared humanistic-universalistic normative orientations and goals embedded in their political culture and go beyond the promotion of nationalistic power, patriotism, and profit" (259). Still, the authors show very clearly many of the economic, societal, and political differences between the two countries that lead to conflicts. For example, Barbara Schmitter Heisler's trenchant essay on immigration policies and ideologies points to significant differences in the structures of both societies. So does Stephen Kalberg's Weberian-inspired essay on the role of the state and civil society in the United States and Germany depict deep fault lines between the two societies. Significant differences exist between all societies at all levels, but these differences are compounded by the unceasing proliferation of imagery and discourse. Much of this imagery and discourse follow templates carefully disseminated by interest groups and the media. However, a more serious problem relates to the propagation of imagery and discourse as a result of an individual nation's response to conflicts, both domestic and international. Thus, the Yankee has been a sorely needed foil for the rampant materialism prevalent in German society. "Old Europe" is necessary to reinforce American virtue. Here the authors do not propose any solutions. In the end, we are left to wander aimlessly through Plato's cave alone.

University of Turku *Jerry Schuchalter*

Chancellorsville and the Germans: Nativism, Ethnicity, and Civil War Memory. *By Christian B. Keller. New York: Fordham University Press, 2007. xiv + 222 pp. $65.00.*

As the soldiers of the 153d Pennsylvania Regiment prepared for their evening meal west of the Virginia hamlet of Chancellorsville on May 2, 1863, no one apparently

suspected that they would soon bear the brunt of a surprise flanking attack by Stonewall Jackson's Confederates. Within two hours of that furious attack, many of the 153d would lie dead and wounded on the battlefield or would be captured; those not shot or captured formed part of the chaotic rout of the Union XI Corps—whose regiments were largely made up of German immigrants and others of German descent, such as the Pennsylvania Germans of the 153d. Notable among the officers of the XI Corps were Major General Carl Schurz (commanding the 3d Division) and Colonel Friedrich Hecker (commanding the 82d Illinois), both exiled heroes of the 1848-49 Revolution in Germany. Among the regiments of the "German or Dutch" XI Corps was also the 26th Wisconsin, known popularly as the "Sigel Regiment" after the beloved hero of the German-American soldiers, Major General Franz Sigel, who had served as war minister in the ill-fated Baden Republic of 1849 and had commanded the XI Corps until his resignation in early 1863.

Following the Battle of Chancellorsville, the "Damned Dutch" of the XI Corps became the scapegoats for this Union defeat at the hands of Robert E. Lee. In his sweeping account of the events of that battle from the perspective of the German soldier, Christian Keller offers a number of new insights into both the context of that catastrophic incident and the impact it would have for years after the end of the Civil War. Citing German-language newspapers of the period, soldiers' letters, memoirs, and regimental records, Keller reconstructs both the events of the Civil War leading up to Chancellorsville from the German-American perspective as well as the attitudes of the German soldiers toward the struggle to save the Union. Keller offers a detailed account of the regiments of the XI Corps during the battle and elucidates its aftermath from both military and civilian German-American perspectives. This more sympathetic German-American point of view is juxtaposed against the dominant Anglo-American view that the Germans were the culprits who "skedaddled" in a cowardly fashion in the face of the Confederate assault. By calmly assessing the evidence, Keller shows that the German retreat was also marked by feats of bravery and valor in the face of overwhelming odds, although at times this reviewer does wonder if Keller is not trying too hard to make every shot a German might have fired count. It becomes a bit repetitive to state as often as Keller does that a certain regiment was able to fire a couple of rounds before retreating. But the point remains that not all Germans just dropped their weapons and ran like rabbits.

The scathing attack on the Germans of the XI Corps following the battle in the Northern press was nothing less than devastating and had a significant impact on both the soldiers in the field and the German-American communities from which those soldiers came. By attacking the very regiments that symbolized the participation of the German-American elite—the revolutionaries of 1848 who had thrown their support behind the Republican Party and Abraham Lincoln—the damage done to the German-Americans was severe. Keller argues that this prevented a rapid assimilation of these Americans of German ancestry into the larger American cultural and social fabric in the decades following the war.

While the effects of the disaster at Chancellorsville may have been long lasting on those directly involved in the Eastern Theatre of the war and their families—Keller makes a strong case for its life-long impact on the career of Carl Schurz—it may not have been so traumatic for those serving in the Western Theatre. Keller rightly focuses

his attention on the news accounts in the eastern press, primarily Pennsylvania and New York, and the reactions in later years of the participants in the battle.

It would be interesting to examine the attitudes of individual soldiers and also the depiction of the exploits of those German-Americans who served in units in the West. This reviewer suspects that one might find a less negative point of view on the part of the survivors of that great conflict. For instance, the Germans knew that they were largely responsible for "saving" Missouri for the Union cause in 1861 despite the painful memory of the rout of Sigel's brigade at the Battle of Wilson's Creek. Their elevation of Sigel to some kind of "war god" occurred despite his penchant for conducting retreats rather than advances. That pride in the German-American role during the Civil War was undiminished some four decades later when a battery of German Civil War veterans had the honor of firing the ceremonial cannon on the grounds of the state capitol in Jefferson City on patriotic occasions such as Lincoln's Birthday and the Fourth of July. But as Keller rightly notes, whether in the east or in the west whatever place these German-Americans had found in American society was dealt a far more serious blow by the advent of the First World War. Keller's study of the German-Americans and Chancellorsville is a significant addition to our understanding of the German ethnic soldier in that heartbreaking conflict and its long term impact on them in American society.

University of Kansas *William D. Keel*

Linguistic Interference and First-Language Attrition: German and Hungarian in the San Francisco Bay Area.
By Gergely Tóth. Berkeley Insights in Linguistics and Semiotics 59. New York: Peter Lang, 2007. ix + 364 pp. $82.95.

As stated in the introduction of this book by the author, "the goal of this volume is to provide the reader with a comparatively- and sociolinguistically-oriented description of language contact phenomena, based on data gained from twenty German and twenty Hungarian speakers in the greater San Francisco Bay area in the course of a contrastive fieldwork project" (1). In the larger context of examining the first language (L1) attrition of native speakers of a given language, this project investigates how German and Hungarian, two non-related languages, react to the pressures of the embedding English, and how these findings contribute to our growing knowledge about languages in contact. To ensure reciprocity in his results, Tóth interviews twenty German and Hungarian speakers respectively and further parses these groups into three generations of speakers. The primary linguistic data of this study comes from the spontaneous translation of the twenty-five English sentences of the original Bay Area German Fieldwork Project (BAG), which were devised by Professor Irmengard Rauch at the University of California, Berkeley in the mid-1980s "on the basis of their potential yield of specific syntactic, morphological, pragmatic, and lexical-semantic features" (Rauch et al. 1988:96). The informants in this survey were requested to provide translations of these sentences into the target languages German and Hungarian. In chapters 3 and 4, the recorded infelicities are judged on the basis of current Standard German and

Standard Hungarian. These violations are taxonomically organized and examined from four sub-fields: discourse-pragmatics-idiomatics, lexicon, morphology and syntax.

In the second chapter, Tóth lays out the theoretical background and description of the speech communities found in this study. Contra Chomskyan (1965) generative approaches to linguistic inquiry, Tóth's results and conclusions elicited in this study are solely from performance data. With that being said, in section 2.4 Tóth draws a contrast between the first generational speakers of German and Hungarian—whom he classifies as "bi-lingual"—and the second and third generational speakers, who produce "interlingual data" (37). The concept of interlanguage (coined by Selinker [1972]) is oft used in the field of second language acquisition as a separate linguistic system "based on the observable output which results from a learner's attempted production of a T(arget) L(anguage) norm" (Selinker 1979:60). (For discussion of how the concept of interlanguage in second language (L2) acquisition is constrained by principles of Universal Grammar (UG), the reader is referred to White [2003]). Although never explicitly discussed in the course of the book, the bifurcation of the production errors of the first vs. second and third generation German and Hungarian informants also alludes to a shifting (or shifted) mental representation of linguistic knowledge (i.e., a formalized grammar). Tóth only makes tacit reference to this aspect of his research and findings, nonetheless by employing the notion of interlanguage to describe the change(s) in the internal grammatical system of each of this speakers interviewed in this longitudinal study, this work has the potential of also bearing relevance to studies in contact linguistics from a generative perspective.

In chapter 5 Tóth discusses the sociolinguistic situation of both the German and Hungarian informants and establish whether the elicited linguistic data correlates with the overall linguistic performance of the informants. Chapter 6 functions as the conclusion of the work where statistical comparisons of the grammatical violations identified in the German and Hungarian linguistic questionnaires. As could be expected, although most speakers of the successive generations prevail in retaining reception skills, their abilities to produce L1 structures reduce sharply. For example, the "heritage speakers" (i.e., the second and third generation German and Hungarian informants) display "an overall reduction of morphological complexity [. . .] resulting in a more analytical structure" (226-27). Languages with multiple-case systems are particularly vulnerable to paradigmatic leveling in language attrition/contact environments. The presentation of the comparative data elicited in this study merely highlights some of the more salient (in terms of frequency) clusters of errors found within the four linguistic sub-fields under investigation. It is undetermined which of these contrasts are statistically significant from one another, making it very difficult to ascertain more than a frequency count between the two groups of informants along generational lines.

By selecting two unrelated languages (i.e., German and Hungarian), Tóth's study of first language attrition in the San Francisco Bay Area provides valuable insights into the processes of language adjustment/decay from a cross-linguistic perspective. However, a primary criticism of this work is that the writing and structure of the book strongly resembles a dissertation format. At times the concluding remarks of chapters – as well as the book as a whole – suffer from a lack of depth and clarity. As mentioned above, statistics would have helped to point to the most significant linguistic changes between the respective groups and generations. As it now stands, we are reduced to make

inferences based solely on frequency of error production. In his discussion of other long-term projects engaged in the study of German-American dialects, Tóth only mentions the projects at the University of Texas at Austin. For example, mention of other scholars and programs at the University of Kansas-Lawrence and the University of Wisconsin-Madison would have acknowledged the full body of research being conducted in this field (for a more detailed list of individuals and programs actively pursuing this line of research, the reader is referred to Putnam & Johnson [2006]). As a point of praise, Tóth does an excellent job of steering clear of the traditional argument of internal vs. external linguistic interference (although he does rightly acknowledge this dichotomy in Section 2.4). Tóth rather focuses solely on the data and leaves such related arguments for future research. Notwithstanding the aforementioned shortcomings of the prose and style of this book, Tóth's current work provides us with opportunity to systematically view language attrition at work in two distinct unrelated languages confined to the same geographic region, namely, the San Francisco Bay Area. Tóth's findings and analyses serve as a strong contribution to our understanding of L1 attrition in language-contact situations.

Carson-Newman College *Michael T. Putnam*

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Lakotas, Black Robes, and Holy Women: German Reports from the Indian Missions in South Dakota, 1886-1900.
Edited by Karl Markus Kreis. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007. 303 pp. $55.00.

"The turbulent years surrounding the founding of St. Francis and Holy Rosary were followed in the 1890s by a first phase of consolidation and expansion of the missions into the social and political life of the Sioux. By 1900, [. . .], the Catholic Church had gained a strong footing among the Sioux" (62). *Lakotas, Black Robes, and Holy Women*, a translation by Corinna Dally-Starna of Karl Markus Kreis's book *Rothäute, Schwarzröcke und heilige Frauen*, highlights the significant role of German Catholic missionaries among the Lakotas in South Dakota in the late nineteenth century. Kreis describes the situation of the St. Francis Mission on the Rosebud Reservation and the Holy Rosary Mission on the Pine Ridge Reservation on basis of a selection of historical accounts by members of Orders who served at these missions.

Kreis introduces his collection of reports from the two indian missions in South Dakota between the mid-1880s and 1900 with an informative and detailed preface.

He begins by depicting the day of the arrival of the first seven Jesuits and Franciscan sisters to the Sioux village Owl Feather War Bonnet on March 25, 1886. He asserts "this was the beginning of the St. Francis Mission school on the Rosebud Reservation of the Sioux (Lakota) Indians in South Dakota. Two years later the same religious orders, the Jesuits and the Franciscan sisters, established Holy Rosary Mission on the neighboring Pine Ridge Reservation of the Sioux" (ix). He points out that the German-speaking missionaries, who founded both missions, regularly reported on their mission life among the Sioux Indians. Kreis then summarizes the collection of documents presented in his work and categorizes them into two parts. The first group of texts consists of chronicles and annual reports from the two missions drawn up by the Franciscan sisters and the Jesuits "for internal use by the orders" (xi). The texts in the second part of his compilation are foremost articles written for the journal *Die katholischen Missionen*, and were meant for a broader readership. A detailed map of the Sioux Reservations from 1890 follows the author's informative preface, and conveniently illustrates the geographical area of the Sioux territory and the missions of St. Francis and Holy Rosary.

Immediately following the map, an introduction by Raymond A. Bucko offers the reader an overview of the history of Jesuits in their early missions in New France and later in the Dakota Territories, and highlights the differences in their documentation. For example, he familiarizes the reader with names of Jesuits who left a legacy during their mission time on basis of their different viewpoints and relationships with the natives. Bucko also informs the readership of various structural and focal changes within the Lakota missions, as they exist today, and includes the web links of both the St. Francis and the Holy Rosary Missions as helpful references.

Kreis draws the reader's attention to firsthand accounts on St. Francis and Holy Rosary, by illustrating dramatic events such as the Ghost Dance and the Wounded Knee massacre and by reflecting on the history of the mission schools, the importance of Catholicism, and the impact of government regulations in these communities. Lastly, he discusses future prospects of these two missions concerning their development and focus into the twentieth century.

The first section of Kreis's compilation of German accounts from the two missions consists of four documents from the chronicles of the missions and six annual reports of the Sisters of St. Francis of Penance and Christian Charity, dating from 1897-1901. The first four documents from the chronicles of the missions catch the reader's curiosity about the Lakota missions. They seem to the reader to be like diary entries because "what is written here gives some insight into our mission life" (84). In the first document between the years 1886 and 1891, the writer, among other things, depicts the origins of the Sisters of St. Francis of Penance and Christian Charity, mentions undertakings such as the digging of a well to secure drinking water or the construction of a church and informs the reader on the number of native children enrolled in school and baptized. The second document talks about the work of the sisters at St. Francis mission whose role in the mission is described as the instruction of Indian children in school-, needle-, and housework (78). In addition, failure and success stories on christianizing and educating Lakotas are relayed to the reader. The writer of the third document chronicles the founding of the Holy Rosary Mission, goes into detail about the baptism and deaths of its native pupils and relates her eyewitness account on the Ghost Dance. The fourth document of the chronicles covers the period from 1895 to 1900, recounting

events such as the school year in 1895 in the St. Francis Mission, a visit by the bishop in 1897, and the affliction of measles among the mission children in 1899.

The six annual reports offer some insight into the situation of both missions. Three of the annual reports are letters addressed to the mother superior of the order. They inform her about the state of St. Francis Mission, talk about holiday celebrations, or depict single events like a wedding of two converted Lakota people in the mission church. The bishop's visit or the key event of cessation of federal assistance for the mission schools in 1900 are also central topics as well.

The next twenty-four documents, which the author selected for the second section of his "German Reports from the Missions," focus on the Indian missions in South Dakota. They are presented largely as newsletters and at times highlight primary accounts of important incidents, such as the execution of the Sioux chief Two Sticks, who dies a Christian (see Document 2.15, 209 f.). Furthermore, these documents deliver some insight into Lakota people and their culture, which certainly arouses interest in the reader to learn more about these people. But on the same token, the reader gets informed about the missionaries' education of Indian children in detail, which leads one missionary to quote the following: "Our children never quarrel [and] do not fight, yet they are lively; they do not insult, do not disobey, ..." (139). Incisive incidents such as the Ghost Dance, or the Wounded Knee Creek bloodbath are recounted, and subsequently the missionaries' endeavors to regain footing in their conversion efforts. And lastly, the reader is made aware of the fact that government measures against the Indians are to a large extent met with criticism among the Jesuits. They see the troubles Indians face, such as the cutting of food rations inside and outside the mission schools, as a consequence to government policies they find detrimental to these people. This becomes very apparent in the last of these twenty-four documents, entitled "Mac Kinley's Indian policy. Plight of the Indians in South Dakota" (see document 2.24, 271 f.).

A list of the names of members of the Orders, who served at the St. Francis and Holy Rosary Missions from 1886 to about 1900, as well as their date and place of birth, is given at the end of the book. Comprehensive and explanatory notes, a detailed bibliography, and an index of persons, round off Kreis's work.

The inclusion of twenty-four photographs following page 158, are taken from the "Provincial Archives of the Franciscan Sisters of Penance and Christian Charity" in Nonnenwerth/Rhine (Germany). They show the buildings of both missions, depict mission staff and pupils, illustrate life in the children's dormitory as well as in Indian families and provide picture portraits of famous Indians who were baptized. These illustrations add immensely to the reader's understanding of the documents listed in Kreis's work.

Lakotas, Black Robes, and Holy Women. German Reports from the Indian Missions in South Dakota, 1886-1900 is a valuable collection of documents, and should be considered essential reading, for anyone who is interested in Native Americans, especially in Lakota people. Moreover, it is a must-read for anyone who has an interest in Indian Missions and the roles German Catholic missionaries played in educating and converting Native Americans. In addition, it will surely draw the attention of those involved in German Studies and American Studies.

Washburn University *Gabriele Lunte*

Willkommen und Abschied: Thirty-five years of Writers-in-Residence at Oberlin College.

Edited by Dorothea Kaufmann and Heidi Thomann Tewarson. Studies in German Literature, Linguistics and Culture. Rochester, New York: Camden House, 2005. 385 pp. $75.00.

Willkommen und Abschied traces the first thirty-five years of the Max Kade Writers-in-Residence program at Oberlin College, Ohio. In the late nineteen sixties John W. Kurtz, head of the German department at Oberlin, visited the philanthropist Max Kade in New York. Kurtz outlined for Kade a program for inviting German authors to spend ten weeks at his college. The authors would have plenty of time to pursue their own writing. They would also take part in a weekly colloquium at which their own work was being discussed, and give a presentation toward the end of their tenure. The proposal neatly suited Max Kade's goal of sponsoring cultural exchange and understanding between Germany and the United States, and he agreed to support the project. In 1968, Swiss author Kuno Raeber became the first visiting writer. He and the authors that followed are some of the best of the postwar generation.

The genesis of the collection project came from visiting professor Undine Griebel, whose idea it was to contact all the former writers-in-residence to solicit them for remembrances of their time in Oberlin. A variety of original works were submitted: some poetry, journal entries, short essays, etc. Susanne Hochwälder, the widow of author Fritz Hochwälder, provided some letters which her husband wrote to her from Oberlin. Once the material was assembled, the notion of a book suggested itself.

One of the interesting facets of the program is the number of prominent writers from the German Democratic Republic. The journalist Eva Windmöller, in reporting on her 1978 Oberlin interview with Jurek Becker, noted that the German department had "...developed an exceptional partiality to G.D.R. literature." (*...eine besondere Vorliebe für DDR Literatur entwickelt.)* Although the majority of authors are from the primary German-speaking countries, there are also German-speaking authors from as far afield as Israel and the United States.

As one might expect, many of the authors experienced a certain shared culture shock. At the least, they were mildly astonished at the concept of a "dry" town, as well as the tornadoes, and the seeming inability to go for a long walk without some well-meaning person asking whether their car had broken down. Some authors found the locality and its winter barrenness depressing, and were simply unable to write. Some began major works at Oberlin, or at least have said that the seeds were sown there. Many of the authors include in their reminiscences descriptions of how they saw Oberlin. Taken in the aggregate, a fairly complete picture emerges of the campus, the buildings, and the town, down to what the grocery store did and did not have. Several of the writers took special note of the cardinals and the squirrels, vividly describing their color and their habits.

The editors struck upon a most workable format for the book. The section for each author contains a brief biography, with a portrait, taken from the printed programs of their Oberlin presentations; an update to the biography, *Nach Oberlin* (After Oberlin); a short work or reminiscences submitted by the author, or something written about them, and a bibliography of their work. Many of the submissions were only a page or

two, some as long as six or eight. Most of the later biographical updates and literary submissions are in German. There is a fairly complete of author and subject index at the end of the book.

Tying the work together is an essay entitled *Oberlin: so weit, so nah – a kind of afterword* by the thirty-sixth Max Kade writer-in-residence, Katja Lange-Müller. After having read the manuscript, she was acutely aware of the distinguished line of authors preceding her. She says, " I raise my glance from my reading, and with one eye, I see what *I see* [my italics], and with the other, exactly what Hochwälder, Becker, Geiser, Malkowski, Wolfgruber, Amann, Rabinovici, Jungk . . . have seen, and have already cast into word pictures" (*Sprachbildern*). As one reads this remarkable collection, one also gets the feeling of seeing what these remarkable authors have seen. The editors, Thomann and Tewarson, are to be commended for bringing this project to fruition. This collection is ample evidence that the support offered to Oberlin College by Max Kade has been amply repaid.

William Woods University *Tom R. Schultz*

The Fourth Horseman: One Man's Mission to Wage the Great War in America.
By Robert L. Koenig. New York: PublicAffairs, 2006. 349 pp. $26.00.

The Fourth Horseman, as the subtitle indicates, is the story of one man's attempt to bring the First World War to North America on behalf of the German cause. That man was Anton Dilger, Virginia native, highly trained physician and medical researcher. He was also an effective German spy and saboteur. The grainy tintype picture on the front cover depicts Dilger with the distinctive armband of the International Red Cross. The title is an allusion to the Book of Revelations, yet the significance of the unusual coincidence of humane concerns and the apocalyptic vision of the Bible emerges only slowly as the story of Anton unfolds.

Dilger's life as a German spy is shrouded in secrecy. As he begins his explanation of sources, Koenig notes that "espionage, by its very nature, tends to be poorly documented" (307). Dilger himself was cautious and, at times, cryptic even in his personal correspondence, much of which was lost during the Second World War. Koenig likens the job of piecing together the story of Anton Dilger to that of reassembling the "shards of a mosaic" (307) into a meaningful picture. The task may have been daunting, but the finished product is truly remarkable. The story which emerges is at once haunting and horrifying, and Koenig tells it masterfully. His narrative is by turns gripping and suspenseful.

Anton Casmir Dilger was born in rural Virginia in 1884, the tenth son of a decorated Civil War hero. It is generally believed that he died in 1818 in Spain, yet another victim of the influenza pandemic of the time. But the circumstances, even the fact, of his death are still a subject for debate among those who have studied the man closely. Dilger was born into a family which represented the best of the German cultural and intellectual tradition. His great grandfather on his mother's side was Friedrich Tiedemann, a renowned Heidelberg professor. His military and democratic credentials were also impeccable. His father had fought with Carl Schurz at Chancellorsville,

and his maternal grandfather, Heinrich Tiedemann, had fought with Hecker in the revolution of 1848 and had been exiled to America as a result.

Anton trained in Germany as a physician and put his surgical skills to use in succoring the wounded during the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913. Then, in a none-too-clear series of events, he signed on as a spy in a German plan to sabotage the supply of horses so vital to the ground effort during the Great War. His primary assignment was germ warfare. To that end, he used his medical training, his research skills, and his American citizenship to establish a secret laboratory in a suburban house in Chevy Chase outside of Washington, DC. In that laboratory he cultured bacillus anthracis (the anthrax microbe) and bacillus mallei (the glanders germ). Although Dilger and his colleagues had only limited success in infecting the supply of horses headed to the war in Europe, the lab itself went largely undetected. American authorities became aware of the details of the conspiracy only years later, after the war had ended and after Dilger's presumptive death.

It is difficult to find fault with Koenig's work, yet some likely will. Koenig is a journalist, and his journalistic efforts have garnered him accolades to rival the military decorations of the Dilger family. The story he tells has the qualities of a spy novel. Koenig prefers "biographical narrative" (308), and this reviewer agrees. Anton Dilger's story is the stuff from which a le Carré novel is crafted; but it is fact, not fiction. The essay on sources which Koenig provides (307–322) grounds the narrative solidly in verifiable evidence. There are moments (Chapter 9 is a case in point), when Koenig waxes eloquent and allows himself too much latitude in divining Dilger's thoughts. On balance, however, Koenig relates his story well while maintaining the historical accuracy of the tale. Koenig spins an engaging and compelling yarn. Finally, the book is a good read, informed by an impressive amount of research.

Loyola College in Maryland *Randall P. Donaldson*

Wisconsin German Land and Life.
Edited by Heike Bungert, Cora Lee Kluge, and Robert C. Ostergren. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006. xxv + 260 pp. $24.95.

As a matter of historical record, few if any places have been more influenced by the influx of German immigrants and their multifold contributions to the growing and evolving United States than Wisconsin. At the dawn of the twentieth century over one in eight residents was born in Germany, with substantial parts of the state adopting the immigrant culture. This trend was particularly pronounced in the agricultural sphere, where in many cases the German-born forged a new and dynamic relationship with the land, which in turn enabled the newcomers to exercise significant influence upon the economic development of Wisconsin and accelerate the integration process.

With this in mind, the editors have compiled a collection of ten essays which, taken together, paint a vivid portrait of German migrants as they lived in the Old World, the nature of the migration process in action, and the experiences of these immigrants after their arrival in the state. More specifically, they have elected to focus the attention of this survey upon immigrants from a single region, the Rhineland, who settled in the southern and eastern portions of Wisconsin during the 1840s and 1850s. The editors

take the position that in doing so they are able to provide "a certain richness to the picture that might be lost in a broader portrayal" (xvi). That may be true, yet the reader might reasonably question the decision to limit the scope of the study to such an extent: one can only speculate as to whether the results generated are representative of overall trends throughout the state, among immigrants from other regions of Germany, and in comparison with developments in subsequent decades, to mention just a few legitimate areas of scholarly consideration.

Structurally this essay collection is well-organized, albeit familiar: a previous work co-edited by Ostergren in 1997, *Wisconsin Land and Life*, utilizes the same exact approach and formatting, with three primary sections of global interest supported by multiple specific essays within each given area of focus. Part I of the present text, "The Premigration Situation," features chapters by Anke Ortlepp, Ulrich Sänger, and Ute Langer which highlight the traditional nature of agricultural practices in the Old World, including impediments such as land tenure, local legislation and taxation burdens, and a highly regimented harvest system which compelled many Rhineland landholders to seek greater opportunities abroad. Collectively the writers effectively demonstrate that these farmers and their offspring held little realistic hope of forging a prosperous existence in Germany under prevailing circumstances, using substantive archival materials such as population registers, tax rolls, and land records as the informational basis for the conclusions they draw. The second part of the study, "The Migration Process," offers essays by Timothy Bawden, Johannes Strohschänk and William G. Thiel, Scott A. Moranda, and Helmut Schmahl that take a fresh look at familiar topics on a regional level, such as chain migration; the rationale for resettlement in the United States (e.g. socioeconomic and geographic versus political or religious reasons); and personal letters, travel guides and other documentation which influenced emigration decisions: in short the adventurous nature of relocation to a new homeland. Moranda in particular makes a compelling case that the choice to emigrate did not in fact represent a definitive break with the Old World, confirming the two-way nature of the resettlement experience; he upholds the notion that the decision of where to settle in Wisconsin often was based upon familiar aspects of Germany (in this case the nature of land held in the Old World) while contradicting the idea that the settlement of forested areas necessarily was based upon a natural cultural affinity for same based on the importance of forests within the German economy, as a source of identity for the German middle class, and as a component of German national memory. Part III, "The Experience with the Land in Wisconsin," demonstrates through case study essays by Kevin Neuberger, M. Beth Schlemper, and Suzanne Townley the nature of settlement patterns in Wisconsin among the Rhineland immigrants. Each author succeeds at least in part in dispelling some long held stereotypes, not least that the German newcomers were essentially a conservative lot who were careful to cultivate their land for the benefit of subsequent generations of the family. In truth and as demonstrated by the authors, a substantial number of Germans in the locations studied engaged in land dealing and speculation, with some leaving Wisconsin behind in order to move further westward, although a number of them took a more conservative approach to natural resources, maintaining a portion of their woodlands in order to engage in commercial ventures.

As such, these concluding essays represent one of the biggest strengths of the book as a whole: the collected works confirm and expound upon many older theories but

specifically disprove others, in the process proposing and supporting new ideas which are borne out by the Wisconsin Rhinelander experience. The findings espoused by the writers are supported with an appropriate depth of evidence and a broad range of source material, although in fairness—and as acknowledged in the book—research and other assistance for the project in many cases was provided by graduate students, a luxury many independent scholars do not enjoy. A generous selection of maps, charts, graphs, and other illustrations are reproduced and add a useful visual element to the publication, not to mention important documentary evidence, but unfortunately their application lacks consistency: some essayists (most notably Townley) make extensive use of such resources, while others feature none at all. The editors have done a solid job of giving the body of essays a unified feel despite the number of different writers and approaches, making the collection easy to read and appreciate from a stylistic point of view, although to this reviewer the use of footnotes, rather than endnotes, in this instance appears somewhat cumbersome and distracting to the reader desirous of a fluid reading of the text. Thoughtfully, in a brief *Nachwort* Cora Lee Kluge and Joseph C. Salmons offer a summary of findings across the essays and provide useful context for the information generated, and how it might be beneficial on multiple levels of study. Also worth noting is the international and interdisciplinary scope of the project: conducted originally as a collaborative venture between the Max Kade Institute in Madison and the Institute of Anglo-American History at the University of Cologne, it later came to include other interested individuals from universities in Mainz, Bonn, and Eau Claire, building a bridge between countries and cultures that was augmented with close cooperation with historians, community scholars, and genealogists outside of the academic realm.

The editors state that the collected essays "provide an in-depth picture of the migration and settlement experience, ranging from the circumstances and considerations that initially drove people to emigrate from the Rhineland to the profound sense of community, culture, and accomplishment that eventually came to characterize the Wisconsin settlements they founded" (xvi). To a considerable extent they have succeeded in realizing their lofty goal: viewed as a portrait of the Rhineland immigrant group during a two-decade settlement period and the areas in eastern and southern Wisconsin where they exercised significant influence, this study provides a wealth of valuable insights into regional identity and the migration experience and thus represents a welcome addition to the canon of Wisconsin and German-American historical literature. Yet given the expansive title of the book, one might wish that the image were a panorama photo rather than a relative snapshot, that the gaze might have extended further outward over time and space to encompass more of the Wisconsin German immigrant experience. It is hoped that a subsequent text will pick up where this one leaves off, or that another scholar might find inspiration in the quality of the present work and provide us with what Paul Harvey would call "the rest of the story."

University of Wisconsin-Waukesha *Timothy J. Holian*

Jesus is Female: Moravians and the Challenge of Radical Religion in Early America.

By Aaron Spencer Fogleman. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007. 330 pp. $49.95.

The Moravians were a radical religious group originally founded in the late fourteenth century in Bohemia and Moravia (therefore the English name), but its revival in the eighteenth century is what interests Aaron Spencer Fogleman in his study on radical religion in early America. The book deals with "the expansion of radical religion in colonial America during the years of the Great Awakening and the steps taken by European religious authorities and ordinary colonists to limit it" (3). The study focuses on four European groups: the Moravians and three of their European enemies, who fought against them: the Lutheran pietists from Halle, the state church of the Netherlands, and the state church of Sweden. Fogleman's study is not just for people interested in these groups, however, but also for people interested in the Great Awakening and the development of the American colonies during the eighteenth century.

The time period of Moravian history that interests Fogleman is from the revival of the religious group around 1722 to their defeat in the American colonies around the time of the beginning of the French an Indian War in 1754. The author focuses on the radical challenge of the Moravians and the orthodox response of their major opponents. By doing so he explores possible connections of three important themes that were a major part of the conflict between the mentioned groups. The first theme deals with the confessional order, the second one with gender order, and the third theme with religious violence. In his book the author draws the connection between these prominent themes.

Fogleman divides his book into three parts. The first part deals with concepts of gender order and confessionalism in Protestant communities of the Atlantic world as they developed in the early modern and colonial era. This section gives a general overview of different (radical) religious groups, including the Moravians, but not limited to them. The second part concentrates mainly on the Moravians and how they challenged the gender and confessional order that had developed in the mid-eighteenth century, and, finally, the last part deals with the violent response to the Moravians's point of view and practices towards gender and confessional order and the defense of these in North America.

The views of the Moravians (whose German name is *Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine*, named after the town they originated from) were very radical; especially their view on gender and on the confessional order. They believed in a female trinity; they disempowered "God the Father" and feminized the Holy Spirit. On top of that they believed that Jesus was a woman, or had at least female features. They also introduced the image of Jesus as a mother; this image originated by referring to Jesus' side wound as a womb. The Moravians did not just feminize the Trinity, however, but they also violated other gender orders by letting women preach. The latter, in particular, was against orthodox Protestant beliefs. Furthermore, patriarchal authority was challenged because Moravians allowed women to live independently, away from their husbands and children. All this was a direct threat to the family and patriarchal order and it was a

threat to the orthodox Protestants. Fogleman looks at all this in different places of the American colonies, and he gives an account of how the enemies of the Moravians tried to get that radical religious group out of the American territories. The author also shows how Moravians were perceived back in Europe, and the aforementioned groups that tried to get rid of the Moravians.

Fogleman comes to the conclusion that mainly "gender and confessional issues may have been the central problems in the struggle with radical religion in the German and Swedish communities of British North America" (219). This becomes very clear in this study and Fogleman gives an interesting overview of the Moravians between 1722 and circa 1754. It also is an interesting study about colonial America, and how radical religion had a greater chance to develop in the colonies than it had back in Europe. Overall the author gives a detailed overview and this interesting study will provide scholars of the Great Awakening and those of radical religions a new perspective as well as it is a good book for people who want to learn about the Moravians.

The University of Kansas *Julia Trumpold*

Other Witnesses: An Anthology of Literature of the German Americans, 1850-1914.
Edited by Cora Lee Kluge. Madison: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, 2007. 423 pp. $39.95.

With the possible exception of Reinhold Solger, the writers anthologized here are likely unknown to all but the best-informed scholars of German-American literature. Although most of these authors enjoyed some level of popular (if not critical or commercial) success in their lifetime, they and their texts have for the most part since faded into obscurity. In her introduction to the anthology, Kluge points out the odd disconnect between the sheer volume of literary texts produced by German-American writers and the paucity of scholarship on those writers. This collection of representative texts from the *Blütezeit* of German culture in the United States should serve to awaken interest in a more careful accounting of the texts, topics, writers, and readers of that era.

Some twenty writers are represented, nine of whom are given individual chapters with carefully referenced introductions by Kluge that seem to account for all of the meager prior research on these authors. The anthology is interesting as much for the compelling details it provides about the authors as for the texts collected here. Take for example the life story of Mathilde Franziska Anneke, a Forty-Eighter who counted Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton among her friends. Her essay "Das Weib im Conflict mit den socialen Verhältnissen" is considered an early landmark in the history of the women's rights movement, but has become practically impossible to locate in print. The version published here is drawn from a handwritten copy in the archives of the Wisconsin State Historical Society. Also included is Anneke's "Die Sclaven-Auction. Ein Bild aus dem amerikanischen Leben," a short text inspired by Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Kluge admits that the works of Anneke may not have "high literary value," but argues that "her influence was immense and her importance cannot

be denied" (86). The profile presented here supports that claim.

The other writers in the collection have diverse backgrounds and intellectual interests. Counting the excerpt from Solger's novel *Anton in Amerika*, all literary genres are represented. There are *Reisebilder* that describe wonders such as Niagara and Yosemite as well as customs and manners of Americans. There are fictional narratives and autobiographical accounts that address both the idyllic and the darker side of the immigrant experience. And there are texts that deal with timely topics—such as abolition, prohibition, and labor conflicts—that were important to German immigrants in particular and American history in general. Examples of literary responses to pressing issues of the day include Christian Essellen's 1853 dramatic farce *Bekehrung vom Temperenzwahn*, which attempted to unmask the hypocrisy or self-serving motives of temperance law advocates among the German-American community of Milwaukee, and Robert Reitzel's essayistic responses to the 1886 Haymarket Riot in Chicago, which called attention to the challenges facing the working class. The final chapter is devoted to poetry of *Heimat*. These poems remind us that many German-speaking immigrants to America lived with one foot in each culture: although they embraced their new homeland, they often retained affection for their country of origin.

Many of these texts were apparently written for the feuilleton pages of German-American newspapers and magazines and have since been dismissed as *Gebrauchspoesie*. But if we believe that the outsider—the Other—offers a different (if not objective) view of the familiar, then the voices represented in this anthology have much to teach us. This is the point Kluge argues for in the introduction and concluding remarks that frame the German texts. For any number of reasons this is an engaging collection. It extends the discussion of German-American literature beyond standard figures such as Sealsfield, Solger, Gerstäcker, and Kürnberger. It provides a good introduction for those who are unfamiliar with the vast body of literary text that was produced during the Golden Age of the German element in the United States. Finally, it offers new names and new texts to those who already have some knowledge of and appreciation for the literary efforts of German-Americans.

Wabash College *J. Gregory Redding*

The Decay of a Language: The Case of a German Dialect in the Italian Alps.
By Silvia Dal Negro. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2004. 261 pp. $52.95.

The last half-century has witnessed a marked increase in the many individual case studies of moribund German-American dialects and the linguistic attrition of *Sprachinseln* world-wide. Silvia Dal Negro's *The Decay of a Language: The Case of a German Dialect in the Italian Alps* is another such instantiation of the detailed study of the language decay of a German dialect-based linguistic enclave. Dal Negro's study provides a detailed analysis of aspects of the morphosyntax of *Pomattertitsch*, an Allemanic (Walser) dialect spoken in Formazza, a remote Alpine community in Italy. Within the framework of language decay and language death Dal Negro's assessment and analysis of the *Pomattertitsch* dialect provides natural language data from informants of different age groups and with different levels of language fluency, thus providing

a unique perspective of an endangered *Sprachinsel* with regards to morphosyntactic maintenance, regression and innovation. As a point of departure Dal Negro operates under the standard assumption in language decay studies that "a diminished use of language and its minority status do not necessarily or exclusively lead to a simplification of the grammatical system" (117). Throughout this book Dal Negro shows, in contrast, that the opposite is often true that "a minority isolated dialect can develop idiosyncratic and non genetic linguistic features as it weakens its role within the community's repertoire and its link to the linguistic area of which it is a part" (117).

Chapters 1 and 2 provide a solid background of the terminology associated with language attrition studies and the sociolinguistic background of the Formazza community respectively. Dal Negro does an excellent job of clarifying oft misunderstood and misinterpreted terms such as *language attrition, language decay* and *language death*. These clarifications establish how each of these distinctions are critical in understanding language island studies and the specific sociolinguistic situation in which individual communities find themselves entrenched.

In Chapter 3 Dal Negro begins her present analysis of the nominal system of the Formazzian *Pomattertitsch* dialect. She restricts her treatment of the morphosyntactic properties of the dialect's nominal system to three topics; namely, the maintenance and decay of the genitive and dative cases, adjectival inflections and the neutralization of gender marking on animate objects. As demonstrated in previous studies on the Walser dialect (cf. Bohnenberger [1913:186-87], Zinsli [1968:151]), Alemanic dialects south of the Alps have maintained a robust genitive case, in contrast to the elimination of this case marking in other German dialects (cf. Schirmunski 1962:433). The genitive case in the Walser dialects is quite archaic, having preserved the nominal inflections that can be traced back to Old High German. Aside from the paradigmatic leveling of the inflectional distinction between the genitive plural ending (e.g., *-o*) and the dative plural ending (e.g., *-u*) to the analogous *–u* ending in the last century, the genitive case inflections have remained intact in the grammar of even 'semi-speakers' of the dialect. Although the genitive markings have been by in large maintained thus far, there is a growing trend to mark possession with analytical constructions that begin with a preposition (most often with the preposition *fon*). Although the corpus of data in this study shows a reduction in the active usages of the genitive in responses elicited from dialect speakers, the few occurrences of the genitive case in the corpus show "a vitality of forms on pronouns, modifiers and on nouns" (127). Dal Negro does not classify this shift away from synthetic nominal case marking to analytical forms to express the possession in the Walser dialect as a form a language decay, but rather as an instance of convergence "...to a well-attested trend of German dialects with a few centeries' delay because of the conservative and secluded status of Pommattertitsch" (127). In a similar vein, the loss of dative case markings also follows an ordered and foreseeable course; whilst dative markers are often maintained on pronouns, a significant loss of dative markings on modifiers and nouns is prevalent among current dialect speakers. This is convincingly demonstrated in the data from Section 3.2.2.1 that illustrates the different case markings assigned to nouns and pronouns in prepositional phrases. Regarding the status of adjectival inflections, Dal Negro demonstrates that strong adjectival endings are better preserved than weak ones. Much like the situation with its preservation of the genitive case in its grammar, the Walser *Pommattertitsch* dialect maintained an

extended declension system in both attributive and predicative adjectives, which—as Dal Negro mentions (142)—may to some degree continue to exist due to contact with neighboring Romance languages. On the whole, the rich adjectival declension patterns are well-maintained, especially when compared with other Walser Sprachinseln communities in Valais (Grisons) (Fuchs 1993) and Triesenberg, Liechtenstein (Banzer 1993), which have both witnessed significant loss in their inflectional paradigms. As noted by Dal Negro, the most threatened morphological opposition with regard to adjectival declensions is that between weak and strong adjectives, with an "expensive" opposition that is not supported by any semantic or functional motivation. Lastly, Dal Negro documents a trend to mark human entities with neuter gender.

The morphosyntactic properties of verbs in the Fromazzian *Pommattertitsch* dialect are the focus of Chapter 4. Here Dal Negro discusses the subject-verb agreement paradigms (including stressed vs. unstressed pronouns), the development of the periphrastic *tun* + infinitive construction, and the subjunctive mood in the dialect. Regarding subject-verb agreement in Walser *Pommattertitsch,* Dal Negro points out the phonological reduction of pronouns—especially those occurring adjacent to *Kurzverben*—which are, in turn, realized as complex verb endings. This grammaticalization process is also realized in other continental German dialects such as Bavarian (cf. Merkle 1975). Dal Negro labels this phenomenon as "pro-drop" (159), which may indeed be a misnomer. In generative literature, languages classified as "pro-drop" languages also license constructions that allow for not only matrix subjects but also embedded subjects to not be phonologically realized. In the data that Dal Negro cites, no such evidence is present suggesting that Walser *Pommattertitsch* licenses true "pro-drop" constructions. In her treatment of stressed vs. unstressed pronouns and the development of the periphrastic *tun* + infinitive construction, Dal Negro illustrates how the Walser *Pommattertitsch* dialect has predominantly maintained distinctions that are characteristic of other Alemannic dialects, while at the same time highlighting shifts that have taken place in the dialect that have altered these traditional forms. For example, in a dramatic shift away from Alemannic dialects (and even from standard German) is the emergence of apparently pleonastic subjects, a consequence of "the increasingly specialized functions of either series (i.e., stressed vs. unstressed) of subject pronouns" (165). Clitics mainly fulfill agreement functions whereas stressed pronouns are overtly referential. Referential stressed pronouns, which are always focused, can also occur in post-verbal position (as in Italian) detached from the main verb. As for the *tun* + infinitive construction in this dialect, Dal Negro argues that this construction receives more extended usage when compared with other Alemannic dialects in the Northern Alps (192). In addition to a detailed discussion of the various functions that this construction represents in the dialect (cf. Section 4.2.4), Dal Negro also conjectures that the periphrastic construction functions as a discourse strategy that provides the speaker additional time to process lexical gaps (203).

Chapter 5, which is appropriately entitled *Language decay, maintenance and renewal,* returns the reader to the standard assumption found in language decay studies, namely, that language decay leads exclusively to a simplification of morphosyntactic paradigms and the growth of periphrastic forms over synthetic ones. In her summary of the elicited data and previous work on Walser *Pommattertitsch*, Dal Negro concludes that not only do we find the maintenance and simplification of certain constructions in this dialect,

but we are also witness the creation of innovative forms such as the expansion of verbal inflections (from phonologically reduced unstressed pronouns) on *Kurzverben*. Similar to Denison's (1977, 1981) claims of "rule expansion" in Bavarian dialects in the Alps, Dal Negro present concrete cases where it appears that synthetic forms rather than merely the universal flattening of the dialect to show a large increase in periphrastic forms. Lastly, Dal Negro present rationale in support of the unique value that grammaticality judgments from semi-speakers can have on studies involving language decay. Comparing and contrasting the internal grammars of non-native German L2 speakers and dialect semi-speakers, Dal Negro conclusively makes the argument that the grammatical system of the former – even one that has undergone attrition and decay – is superior to non-native speakers' on the whole. This book contains a thorough study of many aspects of the morphosyntactic system of a dialect in the process of language decay. The work is highly recommended, especially to those investigating German-American *Sprachinseln*. The design of the study and its scope of coverage are quite good, and would serve as an idea springboard for future studies. Lastly, the presentation and discussion of these data are packaged in such a way that this book will also be useful to those who work in generative linguistic frameworks.

Carson-Newman College *Michael T. Putnam*

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Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants Since 1882.

By Roger Daniels. New York: Hill and Wang, 2005. xii + 328 pp. $15.00.

In writing *Guarding the Golden Door* immigration historian Roger Daniels takes us on a clearly written, well-documented tour through the immigration policies of the United States. He begins with a historical overview of the paradoxical attitudes of Americans toward immigrants, i.e. a nation descended, as Franklin Roosevelt said, in addressing the Daughters of the American Revolution, "descended from immigrants and revolutionaries." The paradox which Daniels presents us is that the descendants of

older immigrant groups seem to develop nativist tendencies and to favor restrictions on immigration, citing reasons which have been used for centuries: They don't speak our language, they stick together with their own, they don't assimilate, they erode our culture – in short, they're not us.

Daniels chooses as his starting point the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which Daniels describes as "...the hinge on which Emma Lazarus's "Golden Door" began to swing toward a closed position." Restrictions on immigration were increasingly easier to implement, as they were usually emended to earlier restrictions. So-called *inferior* persons [read: Asian], radicals, and those "likely to become a public charge" were restricted from immigrating. The culmination of thirty years of these increasingly restrictive regulations was the Immigration Act of 1924.

Along with the development of the regulations, Daniels also details the development and growth of the regulatory agencies. Immigration was variously under the control of the Treasury Department, the Department of Commerce, and the Immigration and Naturalization Service, which was subsumed after the September 11 terrorist attacks into the Department of Homeland Security. In the early days of immigration control, commissioners of immigration were largely drawn from the world of business or organized labor, rather than professional civil servants.

In the eyes of this reviewer, Daniels makes the point that the tightening or loosening of immigration restrictions can be, and has been, used as political capital. In 1943, the Chinese Exclusion Act was removed, not least because the Chinese were allies against the Japanese and a prevailing wish was to bolster their morale. After World War II, immigration restrictions were greatly relaxed, notably in 1952, and especially in 1965, under Lyndon Johnson. Still, as a result of previous restrictions, the documentation shows that immigration to the United States had been vastly reduced, and only began to show an upturn beginning with the 1970 census.

From the strict standpoint of German-American studies, the book has its limitations. While it does document from government sources the numbers of foreign-born in the United States, and immigration statistics by decade, Daniels only speaks at any depth about the problem of Jewish refugee immigration during the Nazi period. He points out that, during the period from *Kristallnacht* up to our entry into World War II, less than half of Germany's quota slots were filled, only about 100,000 of an eligible 212,000. He states plainly that United States consular officials could have done much more to facilitate the visa applications from within Germany, and from other countries to which refugees had already fled, but did not. Many were saved, but there could have been more.

Guarding the Golden Door is the product of two decades of research and contains an extensive bibliography and notes, with a comprehensive index. It is skillfully and clearly written and easy to read, with more than a little biting wit. For example, Daniels notes Benjamin Franklin's objections in 1751 to German immigrants in Pennsylvania, referring to them as "...palatine boors...who will shortly be so numerous as to Germanize us, rather than us Anglifying them, and [who] will never adopt our Language or Customs, any more than they can acquire our Complexion." One particular passage strikes this reviewer as the essence of Roger Daniels' impression of the immigration bureaucracy: "While the Department of Agriculture spoke for farmers, the Department of Labor spoke for working people, and the Forest Service looked out for the trees, the

immigration service...lobbied against the interests of legal immigrants, especially those of color and those who seemed to them un-American."

William Woods University — *Tom R. Schultz*

Authority, Culture, and Communication: The Sociology of Ernest Manheim. *Edited by Frank Baron, David Norman Smith, and Charles Reitz. Heidelberg: Synchron, 2005. xxii + 308 pp. €34.80.*

Ernő, Ernst, Ernest: The progression of sociologist Ernest Manheim's given name suggests the general path of his odyssey from the Old World to the New: from Hungary in 1920 to Austria, then Germany, Great Britain, and finally, in 1937, the United States. For a member of the generation born in Budapest at the turn of the century—especially one from an upper-middle class assimilated Jewish Hungarian family—the phenomenon of multiple names and homelands, if not identities, was far from unusual. Yet despite the many obstacles historical events presented him, Manheim managed to lead a productive life in each of his various homelands. By the time he settled permanently in the United States, whether he was Ernő, Ernst, or Ernest, depended on whom he was addressing.

Authority, Culture, and Communication: The Sociology of Ernest Manheim is a collection of essays by and about Ernest Manheim that brings together tantalizing highlights from his long life and multifaceted career. The essays about Manheim initially were delivered at the Ernest Manheim Symposium, held at the Max Kade Center of the University of Kansas, Lawrence, on January 28, 2000—100 years and one day after Manheim's birth in Budapest. Manheim's own essays complete the book. They deal with a variety of topics, such as communication, public opinion, propaganda, minorities, the authoritarian family, music, the sociology of Hans Freyer and Karl Mannheim. Anthropologist, philosopher, social activist, urban planner and administrator, as well as sociologist, Manheim also found time to compose music for piano, voice, and orchestra. (A compact disk of selections from Manheim's musical compositions, performed at the Ernest Manheim Symposium, accompanies a copy of *Authority, Culture, and Communication* purchased through Oread Books at the University of Kansas bookstore.)

Following David Norman Smith's comprehensive introduction are articles about two of Manheim's most important works: Charles Reitz's "Call to Concrete Thinking" about *Zur Logik des konkreten Begriffs* (1928) and Stephanie Averbeck's article about *Träger der öffentliche Meinung: Studien zur Sociologie der Öffentlichkeit (1933),* which she subtitles "a theory of public opinion thirty years before Jürgen Habermas" (translation by the reviewer). These articles are each informed by the writers' separate interviews of Manheim. Jean van Delinder portrays Manheim, the social activist, in her discussion of his participation as expert witness in the famous Brown v. Board of Education (1954) case.

The next group of essays presents Manheim's life and times. The short biographical essay by Elisabeth Welzig, based on her meetings with Manheim in his later years, enticed this reader to seek out her book-length biography. Tibor Frank's illuminating article about *fin de siècle* Budapest, drawingt on archival materials from several collections,

illuminates the world into which Manheim was born, a world that produced a stream of internationally recognized genial Hungarian intellectuals, scientists, mathematicians, musicians, filmmakers, and artists. Elfriede Üner describes the intellectual history of the Leipzig School, including Hans Freyer's important influence on Manheim's work. Manheim's astute essay in this volume, "The Role of Small Groups in the Formation of Public Opinion (1939)," reflects insights he drew from his relationship with Freyer and his experiences in 1930s Germany.

Why was it important to be born in turn-of-the-century Budapest, Europe's fastest growing city? Historian Tibor Frank's essay provides some answers. First, the half century between 1867 and 1918 was a golden age, unique in Europe, for Hungary's Jewish citizens. Assimilation was their top priority. They considered themselves Hungarians first, Jews second. Mixed marriages were common, as were conversions. Manheim's family, for example, did not practice the Jewish faith at home, and Manheim married a German Protestant, Anna Vitters.

The first generation to benefit from the 1867 Compromise, establishing Austria-Hungary and the law giving equal citizenship with political rights to Jews, concentrated on material success. They created a professional middle- and upper-middle class in Budapest. The second generation, Manheim's, had the luxury of pursuing intellectual success at the best universities of the monarchy. Theodore von Kármán, John von Neumann, Leo Szilard, Eugene Wigner, and Edward Teller all came from assimilated Jewish Hungarian families of the upper-middle class, the majority being of German descent. They formed a new and unique intellectual elite in Budapest. Ernő's seven-year older cousin Karl introduced him to other left-leaning intellectuals and took him to a meeting of the "Sunday Circle," where he met Georg Lukács.

Unlike the more theoretically inclined intellectuals, Ernő, at the age of eighteen, volunteered to fight on the Italian front in the Austro-Hungarian army. A year later, he voluntarily joined Béla Kun's Red Army. When he fled Hungary in 1920 during the "White Terror," he had Romanian soldiers on his heels. His generation led the first wave in the emigration of Hungarian intellectuals.

It was on his way home from the Italian front that Manheim came to the "shocking" realization that not everyone living in Hungary was Hungarian. He met Croat, Serb, and Slovak soldiers who made claims for pieces of Hungarian territory. This revelation of Hungary's ethnic minority issues no doubt heightened his awareness of issues he encountered later in other countries: the class system in England, fascism in Germany, and racism in the United States. Issues involving discrimination became topics for sociological analysis and even causes for action, as in the Brown vs. Board of Education case regarding racism in United States public schools.

Second, the secret to Hungarian "genius" before World War II was, first and foremost, a fabulous school system, developed according to the German model. Similarly, the Budapest Music Academy, founded by Franz Liszt, produced remarkable Hungarian emigre composers and conductors, such as Béla Bartók, Zoltán Kodály, Fritz Reiner, Eugene Ormandy, Antal Doráti, István Kertész, Georg Solti, and George Szell. As a youth Ernő, the future composer with perfect pitch, studied piano for three years with Fritz Reiner in Budapest.

The German authoritarian tradition that prevailed in the schools extended to family life. The father dominated the household, while the proverbial "Kinder, Küche,

Kirche" defined the wife's role. The father–son relationship became a central problem of the period, especially in Jewish families. This was, after all, the atmosphere in which Freud's "father complex" and Kafka's letter to his father came to life. Manheim's groundbreaking "Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der autoritären Familie" (1936) is included in *Authority, Culture, and Communication.*

Finally, most distinctive of Hungary's intellectual elite was what Frank calls "*der Kult des Allwissens*" ("the cult of knowing everything"), which he characterizes as "the wish to preserve the feeling of wholeness, the yearning to comprehend the world as an integrated system." For Jewish Hungarians, mastering the world of knowledge was a form of assimilation. In practical terms it meant crossing traditional departmental divisions and led the way to multi- and interdisciplinary studies. It meant that Manheim found no conflict among his various roles as sociologist, ethnologist, composer, and social activist.

This volume should awaken new interest in an important sociologist, some of whose best work was obscured by political upheavals or overshadowed by his better known older cousin Karl Mannheim's work. *Authority, Culture, and Communication* is an invitation to scholars to participate in a resurgence of interest in Ernest Manheim. It reminds readers that Ernst Manheim's classic *Träger der öffentliche Meinung* still awaits an English translation (the original work was republished in 1979 under the title *Aufklärung und öffentliche Meinung*). The volume contains a complete bibliography of his writings and musical compositions, as well as a list of taped interviews.

Northwestern University *Marguerite DeHuszar Allen*

Deutsch-Amerikaner im ersten Weltkrieg: US-Politik und nationale Identitäten im Mittleren Westen.
By Katja Wüstenbecker. Transatlantische Historische Studien, vol. 29. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2007. 428 pp. € 56.00.

World War I marked a turning point in German-American relations. It likewise represented a seminal moment for millions of Germans and German-Americans in the United States. Never before had this ethnic group found itself under such dramatic pressures by the government and the general public. Katja Wüstenbecker tackles an important and extended question when she explores what impact World War I had on Germans living in the United States during this time. The question is not new. A number of important and excellent studies already have been written on this topic. Equal to those in number are the mythical accounts of that time that continue to surface. Consequently scholarly works such as this one add to our understanding of the time in important ways.

Wüstenbecker presents a comparative regional study in which she looks systematically at four predominately "German cities" in the Midwest: Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Louis, and Cincinnati. Her comparison has three different angles: the first explores the legal frameworks and regulations set up by the local, regional, and national governments before and during the war years; the second displays the public reaction to these regulations, while the third tries to answer the question of how war-

related legislation influenced German-American communities specifically, and what the reaction was to it.

The book starts off with a brief definition of the region and its specific German-American population, and a summary of United States immigration policy history before 1914. The author soon moves on to cover relevant legal circumstances during the time between 1914 and 1917. Although the nation had declared neutrality, lots of war-related actions in fact were underway there. Individual Germans and organized groups displayed their enthusiasm for the war quite publicly. The German government itself reached out to the German-American population to win its support: extensive propaganda efforts were undertaken, such as the establishment of the German Information Center in New York City. Its main task was to disseminate information and to recruit volunteers.

Rightly, Wüstenbecker points out that the heterogeneous group of Germans and German-Americans represented a similar wide range of ideas and reactions to the war. Whereas a number of German-American organizations were absolutely positive about the war, others were much more skeptical. The formation in 1915 of the Neutrality League, or the American Independence Union, demonstrated the general discomfort with the situation many German-Americans felt. However, increasing activities in the United States initiated by Germany, especially acts of sabotage, increased the rise of anti-German feelings and mistrust. The situation worsened when a German submarine sank the *Lusitania* in May 1915. This and other acts of warfare put the German-American population under increasing pressure to demonstrate their loyalty to their new home country.

By the time the United States officially entered World War I in April 1917, many already anticipated the troubling times ahead. Within German-American communities the pressure grew: church congregations and social societies were called on to act in accordance with the general situation. As part of the war mobility plan the federal government created the State Council of Defense. This was a multi-task organization split into local units to coordinate war mobility activities on the home front. Wüstenbecker introduces the reader to a series of mobility actions ranging from the selling of liberty bonds to public information campaigns, and food rationing. Soon the United States passed a number of new laws, such as the Selective Service Act, thus introducing compulsory military service. The law caused severe problems for specific religious groups such as the Mennonites or Amish, who live as strict pacifists. In June 1917 the Espionage Act followed. A few months later, on October 6, 1917, the Trading With the Enemy Act was passed, a measure which had a direct impact on the German-American press. All foreign-language papers were required to submit one-to-one translations of their daily work. It is not surprising that many papers switched to English or ceased publication altogether. Furthermore, a number of citizens formed "patriotic" organizations. Their goal to detect "anti-American activities" often resulted in illegal acts, thus spreading fear within the entire population, especially among German-Americans as their preferred targets.

The outbreak of the anti-German hysteria came unexpectedly to most German-Americans. Wüstenbecker nicely summarizes the pressure that was exerted upon the group when she states: "To prove your patriotism, it was not only requested to participate in patriotic activities such as parades, but also the membership in a patriotic

organization, the purchase of Liberty Loans, and the utterance of patriotic slogans—that is anti-German-sentiments. Those who spoke German, subscribed to a German-language newspaper, held a membership in a German club, and possibly had shown pro-German feelings during the phase of neutrality, had to face severe consequences during the war" (191). One of the worst cases of anti-German violence was the lynching of Robert Prager in Missouri in April 1918. But his case is not the only one. In an appendix the author lists a great number of court cases and mob activities directed at the German-born population. As can be imagined the enormous pressure lead to a steady decline of German spoken in schools or at home, of cultural affairs, and the German-language press. Wüstenbecker also demonstrates this deterioration in a study of German-language departments at universities and schools, the press, and religious practices. She further points to name changes made to many streets and places, and the disappearance of German symbols on house fronts.

Although the book gives a nice, compact overview of the legal and cultural situation of German-Americans before, during, and after World War I, most facts will already be known to historians. What is nice about the volume is that she has accumulated many details and brought them together here. Wüstenbecker herself argues that the pro-German activities of many German-Americans between 1914 and 1917 had encouraged and fueled the anti-German hostilities after 1917.

One of the most valuable parts begins on page 315 when Wüstenbecker finally realizes the systematic analysis of the four cities. Here she is able to show that reactions and activities directed against Germans in the United States differed from city to city. A key figure was the individual state attorney who decided which cases under the Espionage Act and Selective Service Act were prosecuted, thus making a huge difference for the German-American population to feel safe or unsafe. Wüstenbecker herself follows the argument that World War I forced the decline of German-American culture which, however, was already in deterioration by 1917. In her closing remarks the author gives a brief outlook of the postwar years in which German-American cultural life slowly recovered glimpses of its past glory. The re-establishment of cultural institutions and traditional celebrations went slowly. Therefore the extent of German-American activities was much more limited, and thus often more private, after 1918.

The book is excellently researched, but unfortunately it suffers from a number of unnecessary redundancies. The work is built upon archival material from the National Archives in Washington, DC, the Justice Department, the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, the Bureau of Investigation, the Secret Service, and the War Department. In addition, the author has consulted regional archives in Illinois, Ohio, Missouri, and Wisconsin to examine the records of state governors, senators, and members of Congress. A wide range of newspaper articles add a valuable public perspective. The personal German-American view was captured by going through private manuscript collections, diaries, letters, as well as society and church records. Appendices at the end include a list of German street names changed between 1914 and 1918 and a list of documented mob attacks in all four states by dates.

Although the book has a historic perspective on German-Americans, it could easily be used to speak about present-day pressures on certain ethnic or religious groups in western societies.

Berlin, Germany *Katja Hartman*

John Roebling and his Suspension Bridge on the Ohio River.
By Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Milford, OH: Little Miami Publishing Company, 2007. 88 pp. $12.95.

The John A. Roebling Suspension Bridge that spans the Ohio River between Cincinnati, Ohio, and Covington, Kentucky, locally known simply as "the Suspension Bridge," is a landmark to anyone who has lived in the region. Many are aware that the bridge, which opened in 1866, served as a prototype for the Brooklyn Bridge designed by Roebling and built after his death. Far fewer are aware of Roebling's intellectual pedigree and the role he played in German immigration societies. While most scholarly interest has focused on the technical innovations and intricacies of Roebling's suspension bridges, Tolzmann's book, *John Roebling and his Suspension Bridge on the Ohio River*, explores not only the bridge, but also the man who designed and built it. In so doing, Tolzmann's book appeals to a broader audience than those with an interest in the bridge's engineering or in local history, appealing as well to those with an interest in the German-American community at large.

John A. Roebling was born Johann August Roebling on June 12, 1806, in Mühlhausen. With the support of his family, Roebling studied at the Royal Polytechnical Institute in Berlin, graduating in 1826 with a degree in Civil Engineering. While enrolled at the Royal Polytechnical Institute, Roebling attended lectures by the philosopher Georg Wilhelm Hegel, whom Tolzmann identifies Hegel as an early influence in Roebling's thought and philosophical inclinations and credits him with first sparking Roebling's interest in America as "the land of freedom and opportunity." This interest in America blossomed into an attendant interest outside of technical engineering matters and let Roebling to become an avid proponent of German immigration to the New World.

The first part of Tolzmann's book, arguably of greater interest to those with a generalized interest in German-American studies rather than localized interest in the history of the bridge and of the Cincinnati area, deals specifically with Roebling's involvement with the immigration movement led by Johann A. Etzler. Initially enthusiastic about Etzler's promotion of the United States as a potential home for German immigrants, Roebling's own early experiences in the US led him to feel disappointment with Etzler and what he felt were misrepresentations of the potential hardships that immigrants might face. Roebling objected specifically to Etzler's choice of location in the South for a potential German Colony, largely due to the inadequacy of the hot southern climate for immigrants from Germany and the institution of slavery, which Roebling found repugnant.

Breaking away from Etzler, Roebling chose Butler County, Pennsylvania, as a more appropriate site. Roebling and his colleagues purchased 1600 acres in Butler County, 20 miles north of Pittsburgh. Tolzmann describes the lengthy and meticulously detailed letters that Roebling wrote to friends in Germany concerning the gritty realities of immigration and containing precise instructions as to what to bring, how to travel, what professions the community needed etc. At the same time, Roebling preserved his enthusiasm and his eager vision of a potential utopian community. Farming by day and furthering his work in engineering at night, Roebling eventually transitioned from his role as community founder back to a role in civil engineering although his role in the community continued via his involvement as a delegate to the German-American

Conventions in Pittsburgh which led to the founding of a German-language school in Phillipsburg Pennsylvania.

From Roebling's beginnings as a leader in the immigration community, Tolzmann then turns his attention to the technological matters that led to Roebling's involvement in bridge building, noting Roebling's innovation not only in bridge design itself but perhaps just as importantly, in the materials used in his designs. The impetus for Roebling's aspirations in bridge building was concern regarding the cables used to move canal boats up and down the steep incline of the railway on the Allegheny Railroad. The cables being used for that purpose were of Kentucky hemp, three inches in diameter. Upon witnessing an accident with such a hemp cable, and concerned with weaknesses that he had noted in suspension bridges of the day, which used rope or chain, Roebling recalled an inventor in Saxony who had made rope using twisted strands of wire rather than hemp. Roebling subsequently began manufacturing these wire cables at a wire factory in Saxonburg, then later in Trenton, New Jersey. He promoted the use of these cables in suspension bridges for the railroads and indeed, built four such suspension bridges by 1850.

At this point in the book, Tolzmann turns his full attention to the history of what was initially called the Covington and Cincinnati Bridge, later called the John A. Roebling Suspension Bridge that connected the city of Cincinnati with the town of Covington. Tolzmann's account gives concise detail regarding the 27 year process by which the bridge was negotiated, designed and built. Establishing an important trade point between the citizens in Ohio and Kentucky when it opened on December 1, 1866, the bridge was not without controversy. After years of fruitless efforts to initiate the bridge project, the citizens of Kentucky finally requested a charter from the Kentucky General Assembly to incorporate the Covington and Cincinnati Bridge Company in 1846, upon which Roebling was commissioned to do the requisite surveying. At the same time there was a great deal of opposition to the bridge, largely from the citizens of Ohio who feared that the bridge would cause the steamboat companies to lose business, that the bridge would be used extensively as a flight route in the Underground Railroad, etc. As a result, the Ohio charter was delayed, being obtained in 1847.

Throughout his book, Tolzmann outlines the life and work of an important German-American from John A. Roebling's earliest intellectual influence through the completion of the Ohio River suspension bridge. He concludes his work with an examination of Roebling's legacy and his influence on subsequent German-American engineers, most notably the architect of the Golden Gate Bridge, Joseph Baermann Strauss. Included in the book's appendices are basic statistics concerning the Ohio River suspension bridge, a tabular summary of all of Roebling's suspension bridges, information concerning the Covington-Cincinnati Suspension Bridge Committee and several selected articles by other authors concerning the Ohio River suspension bridge. Overall, the book provides a fascinating look at many facets of Roebling and his work that extend beyond the common technological interest to include the biography of Roebling himself, his influence on subsequent engineers, his involvement in the immigration movement and his role in the nascent German-American community of the nineteenth century.

Wright State University *Elena Chandler*

Low German: Platt in America.
By Stuart Gorman and Joachim Reppmann. Davenport, IA: Hesperian Press, 2004. 97 pp. $13.00.

Building a Bridge.
By Erhard Böttcher, Virginia Degen, and Joachim Reppmann. Davenport, IA: Hesperian Press, 2006. 115 pp. $18.00.

These two stylistically breezy books are in essence an encomium to the Low German culture that once existed particularly in Iowa and to those residual aspects of that culture that still are to be found. First of all, it should be noted that these are not intended to be scholarly books that endeavor to provide an in-depth overview of the subjects, replete with footnotes and the usual documentation. Rather they constitute collections of disparate information about the North German immigration to the Midwest and about the Low German language that was spoken by the immigrants and to a very limited extent still is spoken by their descendents. The audience is intended to be the general public who might be interested in German immigration and the on-going relationship between Germany and the US. Indeed the stated aim of the book on *Platt* is "to give you, the reader, a feeling for Low German, especially how it stands in America today" (23). The *Bridge* book "approaches things on more of a micro level by focusing on the trials and tribulations in the creation of one small rural town [Holstein, IA] in America's Midwest founded by brave emigrants from Schleswig-Holstein at the end of the nineteenth century" (10). The latter is in fact more the story of the authors' student days in the United States and their contacts with the town.

That in itself is an interesting story, complete with illustrations of the appropriately for the times hirsute German students in various settings during the 1970s and then thereafter as contact was maintained. The stress is on the personal stories of a number of people who worked and are still working on understanding and maintaining the Low German heritage. An overview of the founding of Holstein, IA, its various fortunes and misfortunes, is provided along with a review of who the early settlers were. Although not well documented, the overview is useful.

The same can be said for *Low German*. A brief overview of where Low German came from in historical linguistic terms and how it compares to other Germanic languages is given. The book then launches into a likewise brief and somewhat disjointed overview of some North German immigrants and a discussion of their not inconsiderable effect on primarily Midwestern American life and culture. The book concludes with a list of organizations and contacts for those interested in Low German cultural heritage. The book does describe the "ethnic revival" of the seventies, although it is perhaps too optimistic about the resurgence of Low German in the Midwest. However to aid in that cause, the text, short though it is, is provided tri-lingually, in English, Standard German, and *Platt*. Similarly, *Bridge* is bi-lingually offered, in English and Standard German. In both cases, however, the texts are not exactly parallel, neither in the printing nor in the semantic relationship. This is a distinct problem if you want to compare the texts. The Standard German seems the most durable of the texts, while the *Platt* seems a bit conversational in tone (even from the perspective that it is primarily a spoken, not a written, language), and the English is stylistically uneven, ranging from very informal,

even slang, to hyperbole.

Within their frame of reference, however, the two volumes can serve to spark interest in the *Platt* heritage, and, indeed, one hopes that they do.

Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis *Giles R. Hoyt*

Independent Immigrants: A Settlement of Hanoverian Germans in Western Missouri.
By Robert W. Frizzell. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri, 2007. 202 pp. $34.95.

As the subtitle indicates, Frizzell's study has a very specific focus. The volume details the migration of a disproportionately large number of inhabitants from the tiny village of Esperke in northern Calenberg in the Kingdom of Hannover to the area in and around the community of Concordia in northwestern Missouri. Chronologically the narrative extends over an approximately fifty-year span from the late 1830s to the early 1890s. In fact, the historical situation can be defined even more narrowly. In Europe those emigrating were very much affected—and at times motivated to relocate—by the economic and political unrest of the years from the July Revolution of 1830 to the Franco-Prussian war and the establishment of the German Empire. Across the Atlantic, the American Civil War, the issues which brought the country to the war, and the aftermath of that war dominated the political, social, and economic landscape. Yet the narrowness of focus, both geographically and chronologically, by no means limits Frizzell's field of vision. He relates a very moving human story, firmly grounded in meticulous scholarship, with a solid grasp of the national and international forces which shaped and occasionally overwhelmed a small German immigrant community in the southeastern corner of Lafayette County in northwestern Missouri.

Although it is almost a commonplace in the history of nineteenth-century German immigration that an individual immigrant or group of individuals would encourage relatives or friends back home to join them in America after they had settled in, the number of links in the chain of migrants from Esperke to Concordia specifically, and from Hannover to Missouri generally, is truly remarkable. That lucky circumstance affords Frizzell the opportunity to isolate and to study a relatively uniform set of influences which shaped the entire process of immigration for a relatively homogeneous set of individuals, from the decision to leave home to the process of assimilation and accommodation in the adoptive homeland. The historical record is spare, but Frizzell mines the available data effectively. The volume is rich with charts, facsimiles, and pictures which illustrate the story being told. There are maps of the Kingdom of Hannover and the area around Esperke which make the complicated political and governmental arrangements of the post-Napoleonic era clear. There are charts on farm property and the nature of farming in northern Missouri as well as the production of hemp in that area which make the economic complexities of the period more readily understandable.

Frizzell does an admirable job as well of rendering the bewildering array of terms for governmental structures and social arrangements in Hannover into English and into a context which is comprehensible to a reader unfamiliar with the German or the

historical circumstances. Although this reviewer is perplexed by the occasional use of irregular spelling (e.g., the plural of *Herzogtum* or *Fürstentum* without an umlaut) the fact that the German terms for institutions, government entities, and class distinctions normally appear in parentheses after an often-inspired English equivalent of the word makes the discussion immediately accessible to both scholar and lay person alike.

In the preface Frizzell worries that the task of marrying thoughtful scholarly research and justifiable pride in one's ancestors might prove "a tall order" (xi). He needn't have. He does an admirable job of providing substantiation for every claim he makes. Indeed, he is meticulous to a fault. The notes document the argument impeccably. Yet there are times when one wishes the discussion were less fragmented. Despite their usefulness both the footnotes and the parenthetical explanations in the text proper interrupt the flow of the narrative. The story of the unique yet awkward position of anti-slavery German farmers in an area of Missouri known as "Little Dixie" because of its sympathy for Southern slaveholders is fascinating. The tale of lawlessness and mindless slaughter in Missouri and neighboring states in the wake of the Civil War is horrifying. Both stories are likely unknown to many and deserve an extended discussion which conveys the full impact of the situation.

Indeed, Frizzell does present and document the two stories. He thoroughly situates the story in the historical moment, weaving the historical data and artifacts deftly into the narrative. Where necessary, he augments the discussion with information about the global or national political and economic conditions; but he provides little analysis or commentary along the way. The conclusion, when it comes, illuminates the economic dynamics of an era where slave labor could no longer be assumed, but the body of the argument gives little advance notice of either the thrust or the implications of the historical events it chronicles. Frizzell's contribution is a welcome addition to the collective knowledge of the period which offers some significant new insights. It is, however, regrettable that the scholarly apparatus dulls the impact of the narrative.

Loyola College in Maryland *Randall P. Donaldson*

German Milwaukee: Its History—Its Recipes.
By Trudy Paradis and E. J. Brumder. St. Louis: G. Bradley Publishing, 2006 (reprinted 2007). 216 pp. $35.00.

As the title indicates, *German Milwaukee* takes a look at this vibrant city from two distinct yet interrelated perspectives: on a general level the multitude of areas in which the German element has had a significant impact upon the evolution of the community from the 1830s to the modern era, and more specifically the culinary traditions which are represented within it. Clearly the idea behind it has been a successful one: the present work is now in its second printing, and the concept has been extended by its Midwest-oriented publisher with several other recent history-and-recipe titles, such as *Polish Chicago*, *Greektown Chicago*, and *The Hill*, referring to a staunchly Italian-American community in St. Louis.

German Milwaukee is divided into four sections following a foreword by Frank P. Zeidler, the former mayor of Milwaukee who passed away during the same year as the

publication of the book. The first portion, a historical overview, offers a nearly seventy-page primer on the reasons why German immigrants came to and settled in Milwaukee and many of the areas where their influence was most profoundly felt, including German churches and religion, printing and publishing, business and industry generally, and the brewing industry specifically. The text ably summarizes the key contributions of the German element, and a generous selection of photographs, reproduced with excellent clarity in both black-and-white and color and on heavy paper stock, draws the reader further into the topic. The second section pays tribute to German cuisine on a personal level, featuring appealing family recipes from twenty-two German residents of Milwaukee ranging from appetizers and main dishes to desserts, from the familiar (Schnecken, Sauerbraten, Pork Schnitzel, Spätzle) to the less obvious (Koenigsberger Klopse, Rote Grueze, Blitz Torte). The third part of the book returns to a historical focus, continuing the theme developed in the first segment of the work—and featuring the same successful mix of text and relevant photographs—by adding sections on numerous other areas of German-American interest, such as architecture; sport and recreation; education; societies and organizations; music and the arts; and taverns and restaurants. The representation of dining out segues nicely into the final segment of the book, an overview of four prominent German restaurants in the area (Karl Ratzsch's and Mader's in downtown Milwaukee, the Bavarian Inn in the northern suburb of Glendale, and Weissgerber's Gasthaus in Waukesha), their history, and several representative recipes from each. In each instance the restaurant profile and photographs of the location add an interesting dimension for readers already familiar with its offerings while at the same time giving a welcoming impression for the uninitiated.

While the text alone would suffice to make this an interesting and desirable book for anyone interested in Milwaukee history and the German-American connection to it, the photographs stand out as a motivation to procure a copy. Plentiful in number throughout and consistently intriguing, they exhibit substantial human warmth and greatly help to tell the story of why the city is so strongly identified with the German element. There is little to find fault with in the work, although there are some minor discrepancies and factual errors (such as stating at one point that the Pabst Brewing Company bought rival Blatz in 1950 and on another occasion, this time accurately, in 1958) (24, 34), and Germanists might quibble with a few of the translations from German into English and lament an occasional misspelling of basic German words and expressions (e.g. "Auf Weiderssehen") (216). But these represent the exception rather than the rule for *German Milwaukee*: clearly a labor of love for both authors, born in Milwaukee and longtime residents of the city, the book succeeds very admirably in conveying the personal side of the ethnic experience and the importance of food as a cohesive element within German-American culture. Through their affectionate tribute Paradis and Brumder have enriched significantly our understanding and awareness of Milwaukee's German heritage and provided a keepsake work that deserves a home on many bookshelves, while doing their part to help fulfill Frank Zeidler's prognostication at the end of his foreword to the book: "A fresh study of the German roots of Wisconsin life will prove immensely enriching for those who engage in it."

University of Wisconsin-Waukesha *Timothy J. Holian*

German-American Literature: A Selected Bibliography

Compiled by Werner E. Kitzler
University of South Dakota

The following book list is a selected bibliography (*Auswahlbibliographie*) of mainly contemporary works of German-American literature. "Selected" means that this is an incomplete bibliography and should be understood as a work in progress. Since we are focusing on contemporary writings, it is rather impossible to list books that are not yet written. However, this selected bibliography does not necessarily record all publications of any given author. Why? Not all works of an author are necessarily of the same literary quality. There are major and minor works; there are books that are still in print and books that are unfortunately already out of print. Since we are dealing with a special literary phenomenon that can be produced on two continents and/or in two languages (German or English), it may have occurred that a book title escaped this bibliographer's attention. In the age of desktop publishing, books and booklets can be produced without the help of a traditional publishing house (*Selbstverlag*, self-publishing, Books on Demand, et al.). The entire mode of contact between author and audience has changed. There may be books that circulate only in a small number of copies, produced for a small readership, distributed quasi under the radar of the dominant culture—a literary and linguistic substratum, hard to track down for the un-initiated. Meanwhile we also have books on line that can be read at the computer screen or printed in any given number of copies from the private computer printer. *Das Kajütenbuch* by Charles Sealsfield and *Die Flusspiraten des Mississippi* by Friedrich Gerstäcker, two classic works of German-American literature, are now available for free on a website called Gutenberg-Projekt provided by the German news magazine *Der Spiegel*. Keeping track of German-American literature has become more and more complicated and complex. Still it is good to see authors—particularly those who are operating in a language that is not the officially accepted mainstream idiom—become less dependent on the market mechanism of the conventional book trade. Historically (particularly in the nineteenth century), there were always more books published in the United States in German than in Spanish or French. The new desktop and other self-publishing possibilities (like subsidy publishing) may very well revitalize this tradition. The following list has taken into consideration authors who are still alive or have been alive during the past fifty years. However, I could not restrain myself from listing some books of some of the nineteenth-century German-American classics (only those issues on which I was able to get my hands). This selected bibliography is intended as an orientation tool for students of German-Americana who are interested in belles lettres or creative writing. Listed are only original literary works in the main part of this bibliography. If the book title did not reveal the literary genre (poetry or prose), a brief identification was given. I would like to thank the editors and bibliographers of the Yearbook of German-American Studies and my co-editor of *Schatzkammer*, Gert Niers, for their advice in establishing this listing.

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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*, the web site manager, 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.

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

Amended April 17, 2008, by the Executive Committee in Williamsburg, Virginia.

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