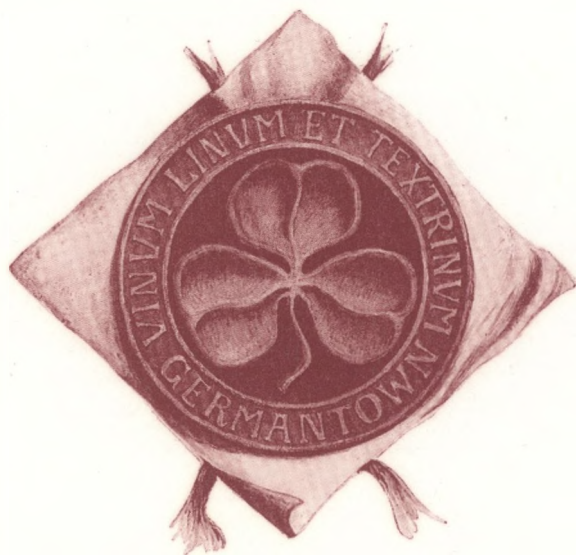


YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Volume 43

2008



The Society for

German-American Studies

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

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



YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Volume 43

2008

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

The *Yearbook* is published annually. The editor welcomes contributions in English, preferably, or German on all aspects of German-Americana from members of the Society. The manuscript should be prepared so that it can be read anonymously by the members of the Editorial Board, with the author's name appearing on a separate sheet only. For submission, four copies of the manuscript prepared in accordance with the University of Chicago Press *Manual of Style* are requested. All manuscripts and correspondence concerning the *Yearbook* should be addressed to William D. Keel, Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, 1445 Jayhawk Blvd., University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045-7594. Inquiries regarding book reviews for the *Yearbook* should be addressed to Lorie A. 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.

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From the Editor

We are pleased to resume in this issue the regular publication of our "Annual Bibliography of German-Americana" compiled by Dolores and Giles Hoyt with the assistance of the Society's bibliographic committee. There can be no question that our members missed this important research tool in volume 42 published last year. This issue of the annual bibliography includes supplements for the years 2004 and 2005 and also brings our compilation of entries into the year 2006. Our sincere thanks go to Dolores and Giles and their team of bibliographers for their contribution to our SGAS *Yearbook*. Other members who wish to be a part of this effort to maintain a record of the research publications in German-American Studies should contact the editor or the Hoyts in Indianapolis.

After nearly twenty years of collaboration with the Hall Center for the Humanities at the University of Kansas in the preparation of the print version of the *Yearbook*, the director of the Hall Center made the determination early in 2009 that the center could no longer provide publication support for scholarly journals. While we regret that decision, we fully understand the fiscal necessity for that step and are most appreciative of the support SGAS and our *Yearbook* has enjoyed for the past two decades.

However, as we soon learned, assistance was close at hand on Mount Oread, the modest hill upon which the Max Kade Center stands. Joseph Steinmetz, dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences at the University of Kansas, readily agreed to provide the logistical support required through its office of Digital Media Services. We have now worked quite smoothly with Gwendolyn Claassen of that office to produce this issue of the *Yearbook*. She has made a number of suggestions for improvement in the look of the volume and the overall format of text and notes. Our readers will quickly note an enhanced font size for the normal text as well as headers at the top of each page. A number of other small changes also were made to the physical appearance of the text.

We would also like to welcome Lorie A. Vanchena, associate professor of German at the University of Kansas, as our new book review editor. Lorie's contributions to this issue of the *Yearbook* are very much appreciated. We would also like to thank again Timothy Holian, our former book review editor, who assisted with Lorie's transition into her new role.

Our regular contributions in this volume range from German-American poets in the Colonial era to Pennsylvania German radio plays of the twentieth century. They touch on radical politics in Territorial Kansas, gymnastic societies in the Midwest, German academics in nineteenth-century Virginia, exiles from Nazi Germany and even German-Americans promoting temperance. Hungarian Germans as well as Germans in Canada are not neglected. Once again, we see the multidisciplinary focus of our Society on display in its many varieties.

Our Editorial Board members again 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 Harmony, Indiana, 22–25 April 2009, and the results of our ongoing research in German-American Studies. We encourage our members not only to participate in our symposia but also to contribute their essays for consideration in our journal as well as to review recent books in our field. As we approach the sesquicentennial of the American Civil War, we hope that we can publish a number of studies on the contributions and impact of German-Americans during that period of American history

Max Kade Center for German-American Studies
at the University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas
September 2009

Christoph E. Schweitzer

Jacob Stoll and Heinrich Danner, Early German-American Authors of Unusual Religious Poems

Except for Francis Daniel Pastorius and Conrad Beissel, early German-American poetry has not fared well in recent research. Part of the reason must be the fact that, with the exception of Pastorius, almost all the writings of early German-American authors were of a religious nature. The great number of hymns—Beissel alone wrote countless hymns, two of them with over 200 stanzas each—makes it difficult to select those of special interest. In the Protestant Church the preference of certain hymns over others has resulted in a process of natural selection. Few hymnals printed in this country contained works by German-Americans and these disappeared quickly in the course of time. Their religious poetry lived on, at best, in specialized collections. And yet, there are some poems of note, two of which I will take up below.

The best survey and selection of early German-American poetry is found in John Joseph Stoudt's *Pennsylvania German Poetry, 1685–1830*.¹ Stoudt, in addition to a lengthy introduction, prints specimens from a great variety of sources, both from books and manuscripts, and by authors of many different denominations. I hope to be able to show that the two poems I selected for analysis are of special interest and should be better known. One poem is by Jacob Stoll, the other by Heinrich Danner. Both were members of the Brethren Church, a church that evolved from pietism in Germany. Here Alexander Mack established the first congregation in 1708. Being persecuted, members of the church came to Germantown, Pennsylvania, and then spread westward. They practice baptism by immersion, are pacifists, and aim to lead a simple life.²

As my comments will make clear, Stoll and Danner were familiar, of course in addition to the Bible, with the German mystical and pietistic traditions. We know that works by authors like Johannes Scheffler (Angelus Silesius, 1624–77) and Joachim Neander (1650–80) were read widely by

early German Americans. I refer, then, to these two, but not in the sense that they should be considered the exact source for the German-American author but rather that they provide parallels.

Jacob Stoll, whose dates are from 1731 to 1822, was a weaver and was known for his severely simple life style. In 1753 he was elected to the ministry of the Conestoga congregation, located just south of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. His book of poems and meditations on Biblical passages appeared in 1806 with the title *Geistliches Gewürz=Gärtlein Heilsuchender Seelen*.³

Most of Stoll's religious poetry has the expected contents: hope that Christ will draw the speaker to him, to salvation, and away from worldly pleasures and that the speaker will find peace in this world and eternal life in the other. However the following poem goes beyond the typical:

Das stille Nichts

- O! stilles Nichts, wo man verlassen
Vnd ganz vergessen alles gar;
Wo man das Eins, im nichts thut fassen,
Wo erst der Grund wird offenbar,
5 Der Grund, der ohne Grund thut Gründen,
Und in der Ewigen weite steht,
Worin das Ewige Ein, man findet,
Und in demselben wird erhöht;
Dich such ich, Dich verlang ich eben
10 O JEsu meiner Seelen Ruh,
Mein Einzig innig wahres Leben,
Dum schließ ich meine Augen zu;
Ach, laß dich finden, von mir armen!
Ach JEsu, meiner Seelen Schatz.
15 Ach thu' dich meiner doch erbarmen!
Und nimm in meinem Herzen Plaz,
Ja nimm es ein, bewohn es eben,
Bewirke durch deine Geistes Kraft,
Und schaff in mir, ein neues Leben,
20 Gieb mir auch dazu Kraft und Saft.
O stilles Nichts, ganz ohne Sorgen;
Wo man Herz, Ohr und Aug, schließt zu,
Und Lebet in GOtt ganz verborgen,
In dir O JEsu, meiner Seelen Ruh. (Stoll, 175; Stoudt, 173)

The poem is not divided into stanzas and thus cannot be considered a hymn. The iambic meter is interrupted in line 9 to emphasize the initial "Dich," i.e., the eternal one, the object of the speaker's "ich." In line 22 "Herz," "Ohr," and "Aug" are stressed so as to put special emphasis on what we must deaden or close to let in Jesus.

The title announces the theme, the desired goal of the "ich." "Still" is a key concept for all mystics, as is "Ruh," which is found both in line 10 and in the last line. In line 10 Jesus is for the speaker the equivalent of silence, of peace. The culmination comes at the end when the "ich" lives hidden in God, in Jesus, and thus has found peace. Here we have the *unio mystica*, the goal of every mystic. But there is more. There is the "Eins" of line 3, the "Ewige Ein" of line 7 that one reaches "im nichts." For an explanation of the "Eins" we best turn to Angelus Silesius's *Cherubinischer Wandersmann*, specifically to the second alexandrine of book V:

Wie die zahlen auß dem Eins / so die Geschöpffe auß GOtt.
Die zahlen alle gar sind auß dem Eins geflossen;
Und die Geschöpff zumahl aus GOTT dem Einß entsprossen.

Stoll, then, like Angelus Silesius equates the "Eins" with God.

In another poem Stoll states:

Ach zieh' mich in den Grund hinein,
wo nichts geschaffnes mehr wird seyn. (Stoll, 170)

Here is the ground that has and does not have a bottom, a ground. Stoll uses an artful stylistic device to express the inexpressible, the essence of the eternal one, of God. Again, there is a parallel in the *Cherubinischer Wandersmann*:

Die GOttheit gründet kein Geschöpffe.
Wie tief die Gottheit sey kan kein Geschöpff ergründen:
Jn ihren Abgrund muß auch Christi Seel verschwinden. (V, 339)

A similar idea is found in a hymn in the collection of 1768 that contains works by Joachim Neander and other authors, a hymn that begins with "O Abgrund, thu dich auf: / O tiefe GOttes=liebe, Ich schrey in dich hinein."⁴

In Stoll's poem to reach this non-place one must close one's eyes (line 13), even deaden one's heart, and shut one's ears (line 22). We turn to another poem by Stoll in which four lines amplify on the idea of being dead to the world:

Im innern Grund wo man nichts siehet
Von Selbst und Welt gefälligkeit;
Im innern Grund, wo man recht Fliehet,
Sich selbst, und all' vergänglichkeit. (Stoll, 174)

A parallel offers stanza 6 of hymn number 278 in the collection with works by Neander and other authors.⁵

Ach nimm mich ein, mein wahres leben;
Mein tiefes wohlseyn, meine ruh,

Laß mich nicht mehr zerstreuet schweben;
Ich schließ die matten augen zu:
Von allem ab, in dich hinein,
Diß soll mein stetes werck nur seyn.

Finally, there is an anonymous poem with the title "Das stille Nichts." Here are the first stanza and the last two lines of the last:

O tiefes Nichts, wer dich einst hat in sich gefunden,
Der ist fürwahr mit Gott und seiner Lieb verbunden,
Und hat die Ruhe schon allhier in dieser Zeit.
Und steht in allem Gott, und dessen Wink bereit.

...

Ich werde also dann je tiefer sinken ein,

Bis ich im { Ungrund=See } werd ganz ertrunken seyn.⁶
(Gottheitsmeer)

To be in the state of "Nichts" is what the speaker desires because then he would be with God and enjoy peace. There is also the image of the "Ungrund=See" in the last line of the poem that has its parallel in Stoll's "Grund, der ohne Grund" (line 5). In the anonymous poem the "Ungrund=See" is equated with the "Gottheitsmeer," i.e., with the divine.

In Stoll's poem the "ich" hopes to find peace for the soul. The poet combines mystical and pietistic motions when describing the search for the eternal "one," for the *unio mystica*. With its daring concepts, the attention to rhetorical devices ("der Grund, der ohne Grund thut Gründen") and the intensity with which the desire for peace is expressed, Stoll's poem must be considered an outstanding example of mysticism, certainly the best I have come across in German-American poetry.

The second poem I will analyze is by Heinrich Danner, whose dates are from 1742 to 1814. He lived in York County, Pennsylvania, just west of where Stoll lived, on a tract of land with the telling name "The Grieveous Valley." He was a scrivener, i.e., a writer of legal documents, as well as a respected leader of the Brethren Church.⁷ His brother Jacob also wrote religious poetry.

I have been able to locate only two poems by Danner, one clearly superior to the other.⁸ It is, like the one by Stoll, also found in Stoudt's anthology and is entitled "Ein Reise=Lied":

Was hat uns doch bewogen,
zu gehen aus von Heim?
Die Lieb' hat uns gezogen,
zu suchen die Gemein,
5 die GOtt der HErr gebauet,
in einem fremden Land:

- wir haben uns vertrauet
der starken Allmachts=Hand
2. Obschon Anfangs was kläglich,
10 Das Wetter auf uns fiel,
erreichen wir doch täglich,
bestimmten Ort und Ziel,
und haben noch darneben,
viel Gutes mancherley,
15 empfangen zu dem Leben,
weil uns der HErr stund bey.
3. Drum auf, ihr lieben Glieder,
zu loben unsern GOtt,
der uns bey unsern Brüder [*sic*]
20 gespeißt mit Himmels=Brod,
mit Manna aus der Höhe,
nach Herzens Wunsch und Lust.
Ach GOtt, dein Will' geschehe,
in meiner Seel und Brust!
- 25 4. Ach GOtt! thu uns erhören;
erquicke unsern Geist;
laß deinen Ruhm sich mehren,
so weit wir sind gereißt.
Laß deinen Ruhm sich mehren
30 bey Menschen groß und klein.
Ach GOtt, thu uns erhören,
und bring uns wieder heim.
5. Nun denn ihr lieben Glieder,
die Zeit bricht schnell herein,
35 daß wir uns scheiden wieder,
es kann nicht anders seyn.
Hier ist ein Jammer=Leben,
doch währt's nur kurze Zeit;
sich aber GOtt ergeben,
40 bringt Trost in Ewigkeit.
6. Auf, lieben Reißgefährten,
macht euch zur Reiß bereit;
laßt euch die Reiß=Beschwerden
jetzt noch nicht seyn verleid;
45 hier haben wir kein Bleiben,
hier haben wir kein Heim,
GOtt woll' uns fest verbleiben
in sich und seyn gemein.

7. Er woll uns auch erhalten
50 in Freuden und in Leid,
daß wir uns ja nicht spalten
in Zeit und Ewigkeit;
und woll' uns auch begleiten
durch seinen Engel fein,
55 daß wir uns ja nicht scheiden,
und bring uns wieder heim.
8. Nun denn ihr lieben Glieder,
Adje zu guter Nacht;
Wir scheiden jetzund wieder,
60 die Reise ist vollbracht,
die wir uns vorgenommen
und nun so weit vollbracht.
Ihr Aeltern sammt den Jungen,
auf ewig gute Nacht.⁹

In the introduction to his collection Stoudt asserts in reference to the above poem that "Several 'Journey hymns' like the one of Heinrich Danner's in our anthology survive, composed as thanksgivings for the safe arrival in the new world. . . . The dominance of the mystical love theme and the motivation for coming to America to find a haven for the sectarian fellowship are apparent" (Stoudt, lxxii). Don Heinrich Tolzmann agrees with Stoudt when he states that the poem was "written to justify migration."¹⁰ Finally, this reading is also found in an English translation:

What is it that has led us
Away from Germany?¹¹

The first two stanzas seem indeed to confirm this interpretation, that is, that Danner's poem is about emigration, the hardships of the journey, and the arrival in the new world. After all, what better topic could there have been than these unforgettable experiences of the immigrants? But a closer look at the entire text tells us that a "worldly" reading misses the mark completely, that Danner's references have uniformly and exclusively a religious meaning.

The world of the early German-American authors like Stoll and Danner was not centered on their specific circumstances, on specific events in their lives, but on what that life meant in their journey to what they hoped would be heaven. The title "Ein Reise=Lied" is already an indication of the way we should read the poem since Neander also has a "Reise=Lied." There the "ich" of the poem starts the journey trusting in God's protection and hoping that at the end he will be reunited with his brethren (Neander, 661). In another hymn the speaker wants to be in "der rechten heimat schooß," in "der neuen welt," in the "vaterland," i.e., with God since "Hier [in this world] bin ich fremd" (Neander, 251, stanza 2).

Danner's "Ein Reise=Lied" is concerned with the arduous journey of life, at the end of which he hopes God will bring him and his travel companions home again—"und bring uns wieder heim," a plea first stated at the end of stanza four and then again at the end of stanza seven. Readers today will tend to read this line as an expression of longing to be home again, of homesickness. But for Danner and his generation home ("heim") meant being with God. A fellow brethren, Johannes Preiss (1751–1829), expresses such longing for the divine *Heimath* in this beautifully worded poem:

- Von der himmlischen Heimath.
Einst fiel vom ewigen Erbarmen,
Ein Strahl in meine Nacht herein,
Und weinent ruht in Jesu Armen,
Ich aus, von aller meiner Pein.
- 5 Tief staunent schweigt mein Herze still,
Wenn es diß Wunder fassen will.
2. Nun weiß ich wo des Heimweh's nachen
Ein stilles Friedens=Eiland blüht,
Daß da der Heimath Fluren Lachen,
- 10 Wo aller Liebe Brenn=Zunft Glüht.
O heimweh! Fern und doch so Nah,
O selig! wer dich einmal sah'.
3. Drum seyd Gegrüßt, ihr Heimweh=Schmerzen,
Thut wieder was ihr einst gethan.
- 15 O zünde in dem trüben Herzen,
Der [*sic*] Himmels Sehnsucht lange an,
Dann macht mir des Erlösers Bild,
Daß Liebend alles Heimweh stillt.¹²

Both Neander and Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf have hymns in which the *Heimweh* motif occurs in the same religious sense. And while in the German-speaking countries that motif was used in a worldly sense—beginning with the Swiss as early as the sixteenth century and culminating with the Romantics—and in a religious sense, in this country we have to wait until the forty-eighters for an expression in poetic form of homesickness for one's place of birth.

Danner's poem is written in iambs with an irregular stress on "Auf" in line 41 to emphasize the speaker's exhortation to his fellow journeymen. Key statements are repeated: "Ach Gott, thu uns erhören" (lines 25 and 31) and "und bring uns wieder heim" (lines 3 and 56), the latter being the central plea of the speaker.

Much of "Ein Reise=Lied" consists of typical religious sentiments that need no explanation. The "Gemein" of line 4 is the *Gemeinde*, the community of the faithful, the Church. The "Glieder" of line 17 refer to the other

brethren. Stanza five introduces the concept of eternity. In that connection we have in lines 52f. the wish that the "wir" of the poem not be split into time and eternity, a wish that is repeated in line 55. Could this split mean that we are in danger of being concerned only with time, with this life, and thus lose sight of eternity? Angelus Silesius, too, has statements concerning time and eternity that seem to relate the two concepts as being one:

Die Zeit ist Ewigkeit.
Zeit ist wie Ewigkeit / und Ewigkeit wie Zeit /
So du nur selber nicht machst einen unterschied. (I, 47)

and:

Die Zeit und Ewigkeit.
Du sprichst: Versetze dich auß Zeit in Ewigkeit.
Jst dann an Ewigkeit und Zeit ein unterschied? (I, 188)

As I said above, Danner's poem contains many traditional Christian topics. However, some of these present opposing ideas, such as receiving manna from heaven "nach Herzens Wunsch und Lust" (lines 21f.), but still claiming "Hier ist ein Jammer=Leben" (line 37). The references to time keep shifting since we are both at the beginning and at the end of the journey. There is "macht euch zur Reiß bereit" (line 42) and also "die Reise ist vollbracht" (line 60). These apparently contradictory statements can only be understood when one realizes that in Danner's mystic vision matters of this world have only relative, impermanent values. Even time and space are not absolutely fixed entities.

The above interpretation is confirmed by Jeffrey L. Sammons when he describes the essence of mysticism:

[The mystic] becomes obsessed with the yearning to return into God, to reach the original union. . . . In order to find it [eternity], man must divest himself of his earthly attributes and discover within himself the *nihil*, the nothingness, which is true divine reality. . . . [P]lurality is an indication of incompleteness or illusion. Only in unity can perfection be found; and perfection is a quality of that which is one. . . . Time and place are unreal things of this world.¹³

From the above it is evident that Stoll's and Danner's poems express essential aspects of mysticism. The two poems are, as we have seen, carefully crafted with key lines that are repeated and final statements that bring initial ideas to a forceful conclusion. Between Stoll and Danner, the former is the more impressive creator offering images that are used to express the indescribable, i.e., God. Stoll, as in most of the other poems of the *Geistliches Gewürz=Gärtlein*, has the "ich" make the various statements. In this he parallels Angelus Silesius

and other mystics whose visions are of a very personal nature. Danner, on the other hand, uses the “wir” and is concerned with the other faithful and their journey through life. His poem ends in wishing a peaceful good night to the other brethren. Stoll’s “Das stille Nichts” in contrast, conjures up in a final vision the “ich” living on in God, in Christ, achieving *unio mystica*.

One can but marvel at the way Stoll and Danner—and Johannes Preiss belongs here, too—controlled the German language. Even though all three were born in this country, they were able to give form in flawless German to their religious visions in original images and word combinations rivaling their German predecessors.

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Notes

¹ *The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society* 20 (1955 [Allentown, PA: Schlechter’s, 1956]). References to this anthology will be “Stoudt” followed by the page number. Some of Stoudt’s transcriptions contain errors.

² See Donald F. Durnbaugh, *Church of the Brethren: Yesterday and Today* (Elgin, IL: The Brethren Press, 1986).

³ (Ephrata, PA: Johannes Baumann), 15. References to the *Geistliches Gewürz=Gärtlein* will be “Stoll” followed by the page number. Also Stoudt, 173. Stoll must have known Angelus Silesius since both titles, the first statements, and the moral associations of the four seasons agree in the following poem by Stoll and a verse in the *Cherubinischer Wandersmann*:

Die Geistliche Jahres=Zeith

Der Winter, ist die Sünd,
Die an uns ist Geerbet;
Die bringt die Arme Seel,
Ins Ewige Verderben.

Der Frühling aber macht,
Uns das Gewissen Rege,
Daß wir recht klein und weich,
Beweinen unsere Wege.

Der Sommer, bringt uns Gnad,
Daß wir GOtt fallen zu Fuß;
Der Liebe Gnaden Hand
Führt uns im Weg der Busse.

Der Herbst bringt uns in Stand,
Der Treuen GOttes Liebe.
Vollkommen in die Ruh,
In GOtt die Reine Liebe. (Stoll, 180; Stoudt, 173–74).

Die geistliche Jahreszeiten.
Der Winter ist die Sünd / die Busse Frühlingszeit /
Der Sommer Gnadenstand / der Herbst vollkommenheit.

Cherubinischer Wandersmann, ed. Louise Gnädiger (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1984), 5:18. Further references will be to the number of the book and the verse.

⁴Hymn number 252 of *Gott=geheiliges Harfen=Spiel der Kinder Zion: Bestehend in Joachimi Neandri sämtlichen Bundes=Liedern und Danck=Psalmen* (Cleve: Hoffmann, 1768, rpt. 1997). Gerhard Tersteegen edited this collection. Since according to the title page he added hymns by other authors, it is not clear whether the ones referred to here are actually by Neander. Future references are to "Neander" and the number of the hymn.

⁵See note 4.

⁶*Die Aufgehende Lilie* (Lancaster, PA: Wilhelm Hamilton, 1815), 179–80. Stoudt, 207–8.

⁷See Anna Godfrey, "Henry Danner," *Brethren Roots and Branches* 2:5 (March 1979): 10–14.

⁸Kenneth M. Shaffer, Jr., Director of the Brethren Historical Library and Archives in Elgin, IL, pointed out the poems. I chose for analysis the one contained in *Die kleine Lieder-Sammlung*. See note 9.

⁹*Die kleine Lieder-Sammlung* (Neu-Berlin, PA: Geo. Miller, 1832), hymn number 144. There are earlier editions. Stoudt, 18–20.

¹⁰*German-American Literature* (Metuchen, NJ, and London: Scarecrow Press, 1977), 9.

¹¹Donald F. Durnbaugh, ed., *The Brethren in Colonial America* (Elgin, IL: The Brethren Press, 1967), 558. The translator is Ora W. Garber.

¹²*Die kleine Perlen=Sammlung oder Auswahl Geistreicher Lieder*. J. E. Pfautz, ed. (Ephrata, PA: J. E. Pfautz, 1858), hymn number 28.

¹³Jeffrey L. Sammons, *Angelus Silesius* (New York: Twayne, 1967), 40, 46, 80.

Charles Reitz

Horace Greeley and German Forty-Eighters in the Kansas Free State Struggle

Pre-Civil War United States history occurred on tumultuous political terrain that is still highly contested academically. One of its most controversial episodes is the struggle for a slavery-free Kansas. This essay will show how crucial aspects of this history have been marginalized in conventional scholarly accounts, and will build an interpretive framework with widened cultural and political scope. This will derive from its close examination of the unique contributions of three key social change agents: (1) Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune*; (2) German forty-eighter freedom fighters relocated to the Kansas Territory after 1855; and (3) a forty-eighter journalist working from London for Greeley, Karl Marx.

Following the perspective of Frederick Douglass, discussed in more detail below, this essay acknowledges the abiding residual effects of racism among many (perhaps most) of the otherwise politically progressive whites of the day. Nicole Etcheson has recognized this explicit Kansas Free State capitulation to white privilege in her recent history of Bleeding Kansas.¹ My studies however disclose the manner in which a variety of vanguard white radicals stood in alliance with the leading voices of radically egalitarian African Americans, anti-slavery Native Americans, and Kansas German-Americans engaged in the Free State struggle. By focusing on the emancipatory political praxis emergent during this epoch, we find that a significant white leadership had formed that was radically committed to racial equality.² This view adds important context to Etcheson's depiction of the white racial discrimination as it existed within even the Kansas Free State struggle.

Scholarship such as I am undertaking here must first of all recognize the formative African American self-liberation effort that occurred in the period leading up to the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation. A record of radical publications³ illumines the nineteenth-century anti-slavery movement as built by African American editors, writers, and intellectuals.

White abolitionists worked during this period in strategic solidarity with this movement. In 1854 the New England Emigrant Aid Society was founded to encourage the Free State settlement of the Kansas Territory. In the years immediately prior, Frederick Douglass had issued the following challenge to white radicals and liberals, moving many to action. His address referred to the 1848–49 revolutions across Europe as a vivid inspiration toward freedom, but expressed his pained regret at the lack of attention to the pressing and urgent abolition issue in America:

You invite to your shores fugitives of oppression from abroad, honor them with banquets, greet them with ovations, cheer them, toast them, salute them, protect them, and pour out your money to them like water, but the fugitive from your own land you advertise, hunt, arrest, shoot and kill. . . . You are all on fire at the mention of liberty for France or for Ireland, but are cold as an iceberg at the thought of liberty for the enslaved of America. You discourse eloquently on the dignity of labor; yet you sustain a system which, in its very essence, casts a stigma upon labor.⁴

The solidarity that Frederick Douglass called for resonated deeply with Horace Greeley, the mid-nineteenth-century publisher of the *New York Tribune*, America's first nation-wide newspaper. He responded energetically to this challenge and editorialized explicitly for the freedom of the black American slave and for racial justice.⁵ Yet Greeley's customary schoolbook image obscures his radical anti-racist ideas and activism. Everyone knows his most memorable aphorism as "Go west, young man—Go west!"

Still he never said exactly that. This over-simplified and politically sanitized slogan—which became prominent during the Jim Crow period—is the product of the historiography of the latter nineteenth century under the spell of the expansionist frontier thesis. The awareness of abolitionist endeavors is marginalized in that historical approach.⁶ We shall see below that his concrete advice needs to be situated within the actual Kansas Free State struggle, and may be paraphrased with more authentic warrant as: *Go West to Kansas* and save the soul of the nation!⁷

Recent research into the history of Free State Germans in the Kansas Territory during the nineteenth century's abolitionist movement opens up perspectives different from the customary view of Greeley.⁸ The text of a then-contemporary account by August Bondi, a German-Jewish veteran of the 1848 uprisings in Austria, reveals the particular context from which we can see that Greeley's advice was much more than a simple "Go west." Greeley's directive, in August Bondi's words, appealed "to the freedom loving men of the states to rush to Kansas and save it from the curse of slavery."⁹ Inspired by the *New York Tribune*, Bondi acknowledges Greeley's advocacy of the abolitionist cause in the Kansas Territory during the months (January and March

1855) immediately prior to Bondi's own action in support of abolition, i.e., setting out in May 1855 from St. Louis for Kansas as a Free State proponent. Greeley's editorials cried out:

Men and brethren! There is imminent danger that Kansas will be lost to freedom, but as yet it is danger only. She is not lost, but is sorely beset, and those who can should fly to the rescue. Thousands of hardy pioneers who do not cower before work and hardship ought to find homes on her broad expanse. . . .¹⁰

The Anti-slavery movement is no longer at the mercy of spasmodic and irregular forces. It has got a prodigious momentum from its own action that secures it against obstruction from opposing influences forever hereafter. It cannot be arrested or again subordinated to other political issues.¹¹

Coming from the radically democratic European uprisings of 1848–49, Bondi had previously criticized “the degradation of labor,” but had not expressed explicit anti-slavery sentiments.¹² Nonetheless, Bondi's radical social analysis prepared him intellectually to understand Greeley's abolitionist advice. “Greeley's fervent admonitions touched the revolutionary part of August Bondi's soul.”¹³

In 1909 the African American Marxist sociologist, W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, built upon August Bondi's autobiography and Bondi's political perspective when writing his own book on the life and work of John Brown.¹⁴ In June 1856 Bondi rode as a freedom-fighter with Brown's small force in the Kansas Free State victory in the first battle between bands of armed men in what was ultimately to become the U.S. Civil War.¹⁵ During this episode John Brown, Sr., and his company of eleven white abolitionist partners, two of whom were Free State Kansas Germans (Bondi and another forty-eight, Charles Kaiser), confronted a much larger group of Missouri border ruffians at Black Jack, Kansas Territory, capturing twenty-four of the invaders. Brown was intensely motivated because two of his sons had been taken hostage by this same Missouri band. Bondi's account of the fight testifies that a Mr. Phillips, writer for Greeley's *New York Tribune*, was on the scene later that day. The Kansas State Historical Society possesses a rare photograph of another radical abolitionist Greeley journalist, James Redpath, proudly posing with a Sharps rifle in one hand and his *New York Tribune* in the other.¹⁶

The *Tribune*, like John Brown and now August Bondi, was committed to fuller racial equality. Other Territorial forces were in favor of Kansas as a Free State, but against the emancipation of slaves in areas where slavery already existed, as in Missouri. Political divisions of this sort would also lead to Lincoln's tactical compromises with Union forces not committed to abolition. Frederick Douglass knew such a strategy well, and on this question he also challenged even Lincoln.¹⁷ As we shall see below, Greeley likewise called upon Lincoln in 1862 for an immediate and categorical proclamation of emancipation, while Lincoln bided his time.

Go West to Kansas: Defy the Degradation of Labor and the Slave Power!

There is a real controversy over the exact origin of Greeley's ostensible admonition to "Go west!" According to Thomas Fuller, "no researcher has yet been able to locate an instance of the phrase in any of Greeley's written works,"¹⁸ and the first attribution of this phrase to Greeley was by Joshua Bushnell Grinnell, the abolitionist founder of Grinnell, Iowa. Several other scholarly sources, however, do trace Greeley's ostensible slogan to the line "Go West, young man, and grow up with the country" from an editorial in the *New York Tribune*, 11 July 1865.¹⁹

Until recently, the generally prevailing view has been reflected in textbooks of the sort that were used back in the mid-1960s when I was an undergraduate; for example, Thomas A. Bailey's *The American Pageant*.²⁰ Bailey's most prominent reference to Greeley is the epigram "Go west, young man, and grow up with the country" at the top of his Chapter 29 on "The Great West and the Agricultural Revolution 1865–1890." In a separate section, explicitly treating "Journalistic Giants" and lauding Greeley's idealism, anti-slavery sentiments, and wide influence, Greeley's radical views are nonetheless diminished by Bailey as a type of personal journalism in a pre-professional, penny press era when "[n]ewspaper publishing had not yet become a big business and editors like Horace Greeley of the *New York Tribune* owned and published their own newspapers."²¹ When the radical Greeley ran for president in 1872 with the support of forty-eighter Carl Schurz and other anti-Grant, German-Americans, Bailey informs us that he "was denounced as an atheist, a communist, a free-lover, a vegetarian, a brown-bread eater, and idiot."²² Bailey himself dismisses Greeley with a snide ad hominem: "He did not even look like a president. With a cherubic face and innocent blue eyes peering through steel rimmed spectacles, he would amble along in a white coat and hat, clutching a green umbrella—like a character stepping from the pages of Dickens."²³ Greeley had nowhere near the public stature as did the former war hero and incumbent President, Grant, but Bailey's treatment, characteristic of conventional history writing, was clearly dismissive.²⁴

According to one uniquely important yet generally overlooked source, Greeley's slogan is said also to have appeared as a reaction to the crisis of unemployment brought about by the Panic of 1837. At that time Greeley wrote:

Do not wait to share and increase its horrors. Fly—scatter through the country—go to the Great West—anything rather than remain here. . . . Away then, hardy adventurers, to Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana and Wisconsin . . . the West is the true destination.²⁵

David Fennimore also contends that Greeley's westward perspective was derived from Fourier's model of socialism and ran counter to the racist and Christian chauvinist notion of manifest destiny:

Unlike many of his fellow nineteenth-century Americans, Greeley's agrarianism was rooted in no idea of manifest destiny, no God-given mission to blaze a trail to the Pacific. He vigorously criticized the Mexican War as wasteful and imperialistic, and spoke out against the annexation of California and later, against his old friend Seward's purchase of Alaska. When he founded his *Tribune* in 1841, Greeley's 'West' was still just west of the Appalachians, not west of the Mississippi, and certainly not the Great Basin or the arid Southwest. . . . His version of homesteading replaced the individual pioneer with a cooperative organization of farmers and light manufacturers, modeled to some degree after the theories of the French socialist Charles Fourier.²⁶

Greeley and his newspaper bitterly denounced the nakedly imperial United States war against Mexico in the 1840s believing it would lead to the expansion of slave-holding territory.²⁷ This war did complete the annexation by the United States of one-third of the Mexican nation, a portion of which would also be included in what became the state of Kansas. No less a figure in the history of U.S. socialism than Eugene Victor Debs,—writing in 1908 for the Girard, Kansas, publication *The Appeal to Reason*—emphasized Greeley's politics as committed to the emancipation of labor and economic socialism. Debs lamented that Greeley was insufficiently honored for his ethical and political radicalism.²⁸

Greeley was concerned with the plight of the laboring classes, and delivered lectures on the "Emancipation of Labor" and the "Organization of Labor."²⁹ As did Frederick Douglass,³⁰ he spoke out against the services American religion furnished to militarism and slavery: "Our Democracy has now, with a corrupt Christianity reduced the United States to a great conspirator against human liberty. Aggression, annexation, slave extension are all contained and approved in the so-called Democracy and so-called Christianity which coalesces with it."³¹ He was an explicit advocate of socialism, especially that of Owen, Fourier, and the American Fourier proponent, Albert Brisbane, who advertised his views on socialism in a regular front page column in the *Tribune*. Greeley was clear about it: "We never objected to the term Socialist when it was a term of reproach and opprobrium, and we adhere to the convictions under which we earnestly fought."³² On the question of abolition he was likewise adamant:

Slavery is palpably at war with the fundamental basis of our government,—the inalienable rights of man. It is a chief obstacle to the progress of republican institutions throughout the world. It is a standing reproach to our country abroad. . . . For these and other reasons, I am among those who labor and hope for the early and complete abolition of human, but especially of American slavery.³³

Greeley promoted land reform for the unemployed in the West in a manner analogous to the way abolitionist Garrit Smith promoted it in upstate New York. Smith was a supporter of John Brown and the anti-slavery Liberty Party, and offered from his own extensive holdings 3000 grants of land to blacks, both free and slave, and to other abolitionists like John Brown and Oberlin College administrators (then in Virginia) who were committed to the vision of a world free of slavery.³⁴ Greeley supported the Liberty Party's land reform measures, and sought to use the public domain for the benefit of the landless laboring classes, not the railroads or land speculators. According to Algie Martin Simmons, Greeley saw the Homestead Act in a humanitarian manner that was an extension of his other socially and politically radical causes: "Greeley advocated the homestead law as a means of granting all an equal share in the earth."³⁵

Despite his genuine commitment to general human equality, it must be acknowledged that Horace Greeley, like others of his time, was nonetheless insensitive to indigenous cultures and the plight of the American Indians caused by eviction, forced sale, or military confiscation of their lands; likewise he sometimes expressed biased views. Of course, Native Americans originally possessed their lands in common, free of the concepts that land could be bought or sold, or be held as an individual's private property.³⁶

One major reason the Wyandot Indians in the Kansas Territory opened their lands to purchase was that they were against slavery and wished to cooperate with abolitionists. Several of these Free State abolitionists were Germans, notably Charles Morasch and Phillip Knoblock, who in 1857 helped establish from within the holdings of the Wyandot the first and only Free State entry on the Missouri river, at Old Quindaro City and Landing, Kansas Territory.³⁷

Many of the fighting men and political leaders during the Free State struggle were the Germans in the Kansas Territory.³⁸ Loren Taylor emphasizes: "Without question the new Irish and German settlers had 'Free State' sympathies. . . . The Germans and Irish immigrants joined [the Union army] in percentages unequalled by any other group in Wyandotte County. The only exception would be the African Americans. . . . 18 Germans from Wyandotte County joined the company of Captain Zesch in Leavenworth."³⁹

Germans formed "the largest single ethnic group in this area [the eastern edge of Kansas, Wyandot, Quindaro, Lawrence] at the beginning of the Civil War."⁴⁰ Phillip Knoblock rose from the ranks to become a Union captain ultimately in charge of twenty-eight companies when attacking the forces of Confederate General Sterling Price at the Battle of Westport.⁴¹ George Washington Deitzler (born in Pennsylvania of German descent) became a Union colonel (later general) and commanded Kansas troops, overseeing also

Charles Jennison's fearsome Jayhawkers.⁴² Colonel Jennison was appointed acting brigadier general for his dramatic 1862 activities liberating slave "property" in Missouri, but was passed over for the official commission to this rank. When Jennison's ferocious military form of "practical abolitionism" was criticized by conservatives as "premature interference with slavery" and his tactics as too much committed to foraging (decried as plunder by Missourians), he resigned from the military believing he was being slandered and that he could not conduct the war with honor under a high command hostile to Jayhawker radicalism. General Deitzler became an antagonist, and Jennison was imprisoned for a short while at St. Louis. He was visited there by the sympathetic German forty-eighter General Franz Sigel. President Lincoln soon ordered Jennison's reinstatement to his former command, yet Jennison withdrew from military service. In the view of militant Unionists, General William T. Sherman's scorched earth policies in his famed March to the Sea vindicated the ruthlessness with which both Jennison and John Brown, Sr., prosecuted their campaigns against Missouri bushwhackers, slave owners, and their supporters.⁴³

At one point during the war preparatory to a possible military offensive into Texas, Jennison's company was posted to Humboldt, Kansas Territory. Humboldt had been named for the great German natural scientist and staunch abolitionist Alexander von Humboldt by the forty-eighter Kansas German physician Dr. Moritz Harttmann.⁴⁴ Similarly George Washington Deitzler planned as early as 1857 to found a town near Humboldt to be called Guttenberg [*sic*]. These German settlements were explicitly conceived by the Kansas German abolitionists Dr. Karl Friedrich Kob (another forty-eighter) and Dr. Harttmann as components of a strategic "belt of freedom" intended to restrain the expansion of slaveholding lands. The new settlements would accomplish this in a peaceful and passive manner. Prior to the Civil War, Dr. Kob explained the linkage between the Germans of the Kansas Territory and Texas, both groups having abolitionist inclinations, in the descriptions of Humboldt and Guttenberg in his *Guide for German Settlers in the Kansas Territory* (1857):⁴⁵

In western Texas there is already a strong, prosperous German anti-slavery settlement of 50,000–80,000 Germans. If we are successful in establishing German settlements in southern Kansas, we will be able to extend our hands to our brothers in Texas in a matter of a few years, and be able to build a belt of freedom around those unfortunate southern states afflicted with slavery.⁴⁶

John Speer published the first abolitionist newspaper in the Kansas Territory.⁴⁷ His descendents have identified their heritage as Scots, and I am not

arguing that his inclusion in this essay derives from his ethnicity but rather his radical efforts against racism. The first issue of his *Kansas Pioneer* actually had to be printed in Ohio because he was refused the only available printing services in the Kansas Territory and Missouri which were controlled by pro-slavery forces. Because a pro-slavery paper in Kickapoo, Kansas Territory, was also called the *Kansas Pioneer*, Speer quickly changed his paper's name to *The Kansas Tribune*.⁴⁸ This indicated his respect for the *New York Tribune* and Greeley. For his many Territorial readers who also tilled the soil Speer promoted Greeley's views on farming. These were thought to be as important as his views on politics. He also editorialized staunchly on behalf of the "The German Vote".⁴⁹

The German vote has constituted a new and important element in the South and West. This fact has until recently escaped attention, but is destined to become more and more prominent with the steady and rapid increase of this class of our population. It is a gratifying feature of this fact, that the German vote is almost invariably cast on the side of Freedom and antislavery. . . . Especially here in Kansas has this influence contributed materially to swell the preponderance on the side of the Free Institutions.⁵⁰

Speer emphasized that "the Germans of Texas . . . are already so strong as to leave little doubt that, whenever a new State shall be formed in Western Texas, it will be a Free State."⁵¹ When in 1855 a fraudulent election resulted in a pro-slavery legislature in the Kansas Territory, Speer opposed it fiercely. The election was controlled by Missouri mobs and at least one thousand non-residents came to Lawrence to vote. "It seems incredible in this age," Speer wrote, "that men should have come from other States armed with revolvers, knives, shot guns, rifles, and artillery, with tents and camp equipage, encamping the night before and striking their tents the morning after election, carrying the returns of their own fraudulent election with them. But such is the fact."⁵² This legislature then decreed that it was a crime to deny the legality of slavery in the Territory. John Speer immediately published the following direct challenge to this decree in *The Kansas Tribune's* largest and boldest type face:

**Now we DO ASSERT and declare, despite all the
bolts and bars of the iniquitous Legislature of Kansas, that
'PERSONS HAVE NOT THE
RIGHT TO HOLD SLAVES IN THIS TERRITORY.'**

This has become known in Kansas Territorial history as "John Speer's Defy."⁵³ John Speer and his family thus became prime targets of Quantrill's pro-slavery Missouri death squad during the Civil War, and he lost two sons as a result

of Quantrill's notorious 1863 raid on Lawrence in which every male found was murdered in cold blood. Counts of the dead vary between 150 and 180 men and boys.⁵⁴

Speer personally identified his own cultural heritage in print as a "Son of Pennsylvania," referring to an association of the many Free State pioneers who had emigrated from that state.⁵⁵ Of these Pennsylvanians very many were of German background. But because there was no "Germany" as such until its many regions were unified by Bismarck in 1871, descendents of earlier German-speaking immigrants to a place like Pennsylvania called Pennsylvania their home and "never really thought of themselves as Germans but as 'Pennsylvanians with a difference.'" ⁵⁶

Just as Speer stood with the German vote, Thomas Nast⁵⁷ clearly depicts Greeley and the *Tribune* in a post Civil War editorial caricature as standing with the "German Papers" and the "German Vote," fighting on for justice behind one of the Union's most prominent German-American generals, Franz Sigel. The political perspectives articulated in the anti-racist Civil War journalism of both Speer and Greeley resound with the Free State German voice and display this German forty-eighter intellectual genealogy⁵⁸ as well as the explicit anti-racism of Frederick Douglass.

It is an important yet little-known fact that the New England Immigrant Aid Society, the key force for Free State cultural transformation, sought particularly to increase German immigration to the Kansas Territory.⁵⁹ Evidence of this is their financial support for the publication of forty-eighter Dr. Karl Friedrich Kob's German language abolitionist newspaper, the *Kansas Zeitung*,⁶⁰ at Atchison, Kansas Territory, and their subvention of Kob's *Guide for German Settlers in the Kansas Territory*.⁶¹ Its readers would find advertised in it several German businessmen already in the Territory: a German newspaper publisher (Kob); two German physicians (Kob and Harttmann); two German bakers; a German stationer; a German hotelier, a German pharmacist, a German brewer and barkeep, a German real estate agent (again Kob), and a German lawyer.

The Bavarian veteran of the 1849 democratic revolution in Hungary, Charles Kaiser, is one of the Territorial Kansas Germans remembered for riding with John Brown (in addition to August Bondi).⁶² Usually called Dutch Charley, Kaiser fought along side Brown and Bondi at Black Jack. Six months after the battle, in December 1856, Kaiser, who had been murdered in cold blood by Missourians following the battle of Osawattomie three months earlier, and Brown were memorialized by Bondi and others (co-founders Benjamin, Cochran, Poindexter, and Mannes) who named streets⁶³ after them when they laid out the town of Greeley, Kansas Territory.⁶⁴ This town, named in honor of the great abolitionist journalist and defender of the rights of

labor, became a station in the Underground Railway. John Brown, who represented the same ideals, once secreted there eleven slaves he had liberated from Missouri for one month (January 1859).⁶⁵

There is in Kansas also a Greeley County, on the Kansas/Colorado border. Within it there is a town of Horace and a town of Tribune with its Horace Greeley Museum. Greeley, Colorado, was founded as a utopian religious, agricultural, and temperance community—also as a tribute to the radical social philosophy and politics of Horace Greeley.

It has been said that at that time Horace Greeley was the nation's most powerful opinion maker,⁶⁶ and that no newspaper in America wielded as much influence as did the *New York Tribune*.⁶⁷ Greeley's paper was widely read in the Kansas Territory, where he visited in 1859.⁶⁸ His purpose was to attend the Territorial Republican Convention in May of that year in Osawatimie. Although Greeley was given an exceptionally warm reception in Lawrence,⁶⁹ the Osawatimie Republicans "Sat Down on" Greeley, suppressing his radical egalitarian advocacy of the ballot for all black Americans. They wished to restrict the right to vote in Kansas to white males. In contrast a year earlier on 13 May 1858, the more radical Kansas residents of Quindaro, many of them Kansas Germans, had approved African American suffrage in their municipal elections.⁷⁰

Attempting to explain the general motivation and behavior prevalent within the Kansas Free State element, Nicole Etcheson curiously valorizes the (Northern Democratic) logic of Stephen Douglas and the stratagem of popular sovereignty as if these were the only operative forces behind the Kansas Free State movement. She sees white interest in popular sovereignty in a manner rather detached from humanitarian interest in the rights of blacks. In her account, Free State interests in white racial superiority and white economic and political advancement were the chief goods sought even by most anti-slavery Kansans. While many Free Staters certainly articulated and acted upon such feelings, radicals like John Speer denounced this mentality as characteristic of "pseudo free state" men and the "trembling cowardly conservatives."⁷¹ Etcheson's account tends to contest and diminish the historical influence of the Kansas radicals whose authentic opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Act and whose role as catalysts within the Republican party and in Kansas Territorial history was absolutely pivotal. In contrast to Etcheson, the present essay makes an intercultural and historiographical point of the Kansas Territorial vanguard commitment to racial equality and anti-racist solidarity with black Americans: for example, in the struggle for the black franchise in Quindaro and Osawatimie, in the Kansas Territorial branches of the Underground Railroad, and in the formation of black units in the Kansas militia. Note also the Free State anthem of the Territorial Germans, "Hurrah—Frei Kansas!" which

proclaims that liberty belongs to "Dem schwarzen und dem roten, Sowie dem weißen Mann! [The black and the red, as well as the white man]."⁷²

Later, Greeley pressed Lincoln in a famous open letter, "Prayer of Twenty Millions," published in the *New York Tribune* 20 August 1862, to move boldly forward toward emancipation, but Lincoln deflected the challenge. Greeley clearly found an explicit egalitarianism, anti-racism, and advocacy for international workforce solidarity more congenial, and his consistent position is reflected in his relationship to a prominent German forty-eighter in exile in England, Karl Marx. Greeley enlisted Marx to write for his paper as early as 1851.

"When Karl Marx Worked for Horace Greeley"⁷³

The *New York Tribune's* editorial of 25 October 1851 drew attention to the contribution of a new foreign correspondent—from Germany—whom Greeley extolled as "one of the clearest and most vigorous writers that country has produced—no matter what may be the judgment of the critical upon his public opinions in the sphere of political and social philosophy."⁷⁴ This first article was a long piece on the 1848–49 revolution and counter-revolution in Europe under the byline of Karl Marx. Articles by Marx would appear almost weekly in a collaboration that continued for ten years.⁷⁵ The journalistic partnership with Greeley and the *Tribune* "sustained Karl Marx over the years when he was mapping out his crowning tract of overthrow, *Das Kapital*."⁷⁶

Although he was not directly involved in the abolitionist movement, Marx was highly excited and impressed by this movement. He articulated the economic implications of the anti-slavery struggle waged in the Kansas Territory and then in the larger context of the U.S. Civil War. Much of the material from over 500 dispatches by Marx to the *Tribune* actually made its way into *Capital*, and Marx vividly connected an analysis of American slavery with lessons for the European and American labor force in the first volume of his opus magnum. Slavery, of course, was primarily a forced labor system with implications also for the labor market.⁷⁷ Marx draws the overall lesson of the anti-slavery struggle for the American workforce in a memorable section of *Capital*:

In the United States of North America every independent movement of the workers was paralyzed so long as slavery disfigured a part of the Republic. *Labour cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded.* But out of the death of slavery a new life at once arose. The first fruit of the Civil War was the eight hours' agitation.⁷⁸

These passages from *Capital* are significant even if brief.⁷⁹ Marx's conclusions and observations here undergird his general notions of dialectics,

learning, and cultural transformation, and furnish the Marxist warrant for the ongoing strategic importance of an explicitly anti-racist politics of liberation for labor. He explicitly refers to Greeley's *New York Tribune* in the pages of *Das Kapital*.⁸⁰ Marx wrote quite substantively in the *Tribune* about American slavery and the importance of the Free State struggle in Kansas. He also wrote about these topics and about the subsequent Civil War for European publications.⁸¹ Marx's Civil War articles have been (in at least three different editions) collected into a volume of their own,⁸² and are also found in the *Marx-Engels Collected Works*, Volume 19.⁸³ Nevertheless, the writings of Marx (and Engels) on the United States of America are seldom taken up as a research project.⁸⁴

Kansas and Germans in the Civil War Journalism of Karl Marx: 1861–62

During the 1850s and 1860s Marx became Greeley's collaborator and spokesman for radical German politics. On the one hand, he was an observer, but, on the other hand, he was also an authoritative voice in favor of the fundamental changes that Greeley hoped for. It is little known how extensively Marx wrote about the struggle in the Kansas Territory. One of his earliest and most lengthy articles emphasizes the "armed emissaries of the slaveholders, border rabble from Missouri" who "fell upon Kansas:"

For hardly had the Kansas-Nebraska Bill gone through, which wiped out the geographical boundary-line of slavery and made its introduction into new Territories subject to the will of the majority of the settlers, when armed emissaries of the slaveholders, border rabble from Missouri and Arkansas, with bowie-knife in one hand and revolver in the other, fell upon Kansas and sought by the most unheard-of atrocities to dislodge its settlers from the Territory colonised by them. These raids were supported by the central government in Washington.⁸⁵

As Marx saw it, the U.S. federal government clearly desired the extension of slavery into the Kansas Territory by violent means. He took special note of the countervailing fact that "a relief organisation was formed to support Kansas with men, arms and money."⁸⁶ Furthermore, "[w]hat they [the Southern party] had attempted by way of example with regard to Kansas, to force slavery on a Territory through the central government against the will of the settlers themselves, they now set up as law for all the Territories of the Union."⁸⁷

In the *New York Tribune* Marx presented the South as the aggressor⁸⁸ in the Civil War and pointed to the complicity of James Buchanan and the federal government in the run up to this conflict. He wrote: "[I]t ought to be remembered that it was not the North, but the South, that undertook this

war . . . the South, on its part, inaugurated the war by loudly proclaiming 'the peculiar institution' as the only and main end of the rebellion."⁸⁹ In addition, he specifically spoke to the "lot of the German and Irishman" in America in explicit connection to any expansion of the influence of the slave states:

What would in fact take place would be not a dissolution of the Union, but a *reorganisation* of it, a *reorganisation on the basis of slavery*, under the recognised control of the slaveholding oligarchy. The plan of such a reorganisation has been openly proclaimed by the principal speakers of the South at the Congress of Montgomery and explains the paragraph of the new Constitution which leaves it open to every state of the old Union to join the new Confederacy. The slave system would infect the whole Union. In the Northern states, where Negro slavery is in practice unworkable, the white working class would gradually be forced down to the level of helotry. This would fully accord with the loudly proclaimed principle that only certain races are capable of freedom, and *as the actual labour is the lot of the Negro in the South, so in the North it is the lot of the German and the Irishman, or their direct descendants.*

The present struggle between the South and North is, therefore, nothing but a struggle between two social systems, the system of slavery and the system of free labor. The struggle has broken out because the two systems can no longer live peacefully side by side on the North American continent. It can only be ended by the victory of one system or the other.⁹⁰

In "the Kansas war" Marx, however, emphasized the positives for the North and that the North had the vision and the will to prevail in this conflict.

The Kansas war, the formation of the Republican party, and the large vote cast for Frémont during the Presidential election of 1856, were so many palpable proofs that the North had accumulated sufficient energies to rectify the aberrations which United States history, under the slaveowners' pressure, had undergone, for over half a century, and to make it return to the true principles of its development.⁹¹

Marx's praise for "the true principles" of American democracy represented by the North contrasts sharply with his criticisms of England and the English press. In the same *Tribune* article he wrote: "Anti-Slavery England cannot sympathize with the North . . . because . . . the North . . . had its Democratic institutions tainted by the slave driver's prejudices . . . because its war is no Abolitionist war. . . ."⁹² Marx dismisses this position as ingenuous.⁹³ Furthermore, "The English press is more Southern than the South itself."⁹⁴ Marx points out that the English press vituperates not only against the North and its President, but against German-Americans fighting in its Union troops:

English journalism . . . has broken its own record this past year by its "malignant brutality" against the United States. . . . *The Times* [of London],

in bold Garamond type, called President Lincoln "a respectable buffoon," his cabinet ministers "a gang of rogues and ruffraff," and the army of the United States "an army whose officers are Yankee swindlers and whose privates are German thieves."⁹⁵

Just a few months earlier Marx reported on the source of an account of developments in the U.S. Civil War he had lately received (as it happens, not from a German private, but) from "[o]ne of my friends, a German officer, who fought under the star-spangled banner in Missouri, Arkansas, Kentucky, and Tennessee in turn"⁹⁶ namely, Colonel Joseph Weydemeyer, a member of the Communist League in Germany 1848–49 and later said to be the first person to propagate Marxism in the United States.⁹⁷ Similarly, Marx (with Engels) underscored the German name of a Union general and gives an explicit nod to his German ethnicity:

After a march of about twelve miles (English) in a twenty-four hours' down-pour and through veritable seas of mud, 8,000 Union troops under General *Heintzelman* (of German descent, but born in Pennsylvania) arrived. . . . If the Congress at Washington wanted to pass a vote of thanks, it should have been to General Heintzelman, who saved the Yankees from a second Bull Run.⁹⁸

The national military even in the North was generally controlled by the pro-slavery faction. The German-American forty-eighters infused an anti-slavery element into the upper ranks out of all proportion to their numbers in the military overall. In addition to Heintzelman, there were also the prominent German-American Generals Carl Schurz, Franz Sigel, Alexander von Schimmelpennig, August Willich, Adolf von Steinwehr, Max von Weber, Friedrich Salomon, Julius Stahel, Peter Osterhaus, Ludwig Blenker, and the immensely popular Colonel Friedrich Hecker. German-American cultural leaders like Emil Praetorius, Friedrich Kapp, Adolf Douai, Reinhold Solger, and Karl Heinzen also had significant political impact.⁹⁹

Marx also had immense respect and praise for Colonel Charles Jennison who succeeded Captain John Brown, Jr.,¹⁰⁰ as leader of the ardently abolitionist Jayhawkers, the 7th Kansas Volunteer Cavalry. Marx read of Jennison's abolitionist politics from an article titled "Camp Jennison. Kansas City, Tuesday, Nov. 12, 1861" published in Greeley's *New York Tribune*¹⁰¹ and passed the information on to Europe through the press in Vienna:

Colonel *Jennison* in Kansas has surpassed all his military predecessors by an address to his troops which contains the following passage: "No temporising with rebels and those sympathising with them. I have told General Frémont that I would not have drawn my sword had I thought that slavery

would outlast this struggle. The slaves of rebels will always find protection in this camp and we will defend them to the last man and the last bullet. I want no men who are *not Abolitionists*, I have no use for them and I hope that there are no such people among us, for everyone knows that slavery is the basis, the centre and the vertex of this infernal war. Should the government disapprove of my action it can take back my patent, but in that case I shall act on my own hook even if in the beginning I can only count on six men." The slavery question is being solved in practice in the border slave states even now, especially in *Missouri*.¹⁰²

Inspired by what he read of Jennison's Jayhawkers, Marx conveyed this important information to European readers, whom he also believed would appreciate Jennison's recognition of the direct relationship of emancipatory politics to emancipatory practice. Marx also communicated European sentiments to U.S. readers through the *Tribune*:

The peoples of Europe know that the Southern slaveocracy commenced that war with the declaration that the continuance of slaveocracy was no longer compatible with the continuance of the Union. Consequently, the people of Europe know that a fight for the continuance of the Union is a fight against the continuance of slaveocracy—that in this contest the highest form of popular self-government till now realized is giving battle to the meanest and most shameless form of man's enslaving recorded in the annals of history.¹⁰³

Marx and Europe were learning from the U.S. experience; they were not leading it, which is not to say there was not some give and take. As for example when Greeley published statements of opinion by Marx and Engels as his own editorial positions. Likewise, Karl Friedrich Kob's *Kansas Zeitung* published explicit front page discussions of communism and socialism as these were advocated by the Boston-based German-American socialist, free thinker, and abolitionist Adolf Douai.¹⁰⁴ Like other socialists, Douai was driven out of Texas by racist slaveholders around 1856. In 1883, Douai was so prominent in America that he was chosen to deliver the eulogy for Karl Marx at Cooper Union in New York City.¹⁰⁵ But it is precisely from the perspective of Europe that Marx concludes "The first grand war of contemporaneous history is the American war."¹⁰⁶

Marx was crediting the U.S. Civil War with even more democratic potential than the European uprisings of 1848–49. One of the Civil War's chief lessons is that Lincoln had to make tactical compromises along the way with conservative Unionists who did not support emancipation, yet emancipation was the key goal that (however painfully postponed) Lincoln never abandoned. Lincoln's "manifesto abolishing slavery" is, according to Marx:¹⁰⁷

The most important document in American history since the establishment of the Union, tantamount to tearing up the old American Constitution. . . . Lincoln's place in the history of the United States and mankind will . . . be next to that of Washington! . . . The New World has never achieved a greater triumph than by this demonstration that, given its political and social organization, ordinary people of good will can accomplish feats which only heroes could accomplish in the old world!¹⁰⁸

Marx's journalistic writing did pay close attention to events unfolding around the U.S. Civil War. This was also a reflection of Marx's ultimate respect for Greeley,¹⁰⁹ Bleeding Kansas, and Germans fighting for the Union. He carefully articulated and supported the abolitionist goals of this struggle in his profession as a multilingual and multicultural journalist, and he engaged explicitly in building international solidarity for the war's most radical cause: emancipation.¹¹⁰ In a similar vein, Frederick Douglass would likewise evaluate Lincoln's strategy dialectically. In his carefully considered retrospective comments¹¹¹ Douglass furnished a confirmation of the evaluation of Lincoln published earlier by Marx indicating his admiration for Lincoln as a world-historical figure and the emancipation struggle as a world-historical struggle.

Horace Greeley's journalistic work and influence, reflected in the German forty-eighters like August Bondi and Karl Marx, represented a significant transformative force in American history. It was likewise consistent with the African American liberation agenda articulated by Frederick Douglass. The movement for greater racial and political equality in Kansas set this Free State history apart from what some recent historians have depicted as a mere acceptance of white privilege by many liberals in the struggle for a slavery-free Union. Future generations of radical Americans—facing resurgent racism and cultural backlash in an era of intensifying economic and political polarization—can find a genuine precedent here. Political radicalism and the defense of racial equality were indispensable catalysts at that time for the advancement of human rights in the United States. If that international and intercultural movement also required immense strategic patience, this history clearly vindicates the vanguard political praxis¹¹² that Frederick Douglass put forward and which was modeled by Horace Greeley, the Kansas German forty-eighters, and Karl Marx. Without their radical egalitarianism, the pragmatism of Lincoln and much of the Kansas Free State struggle would not have achieved its fullest potential.

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Notes

¹ See Nicole Etcheson, *Bleeding Kansas: Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2004).

² The heterodoxy of this essay derives from its academic appreciation of intercultural issues in historical research and writing as well as the need for a reconstructed multicultural curriculum in the humanities and social sciences in higher education today. I am indebted to the scholarly excitement widely generated on these and related themes by Fred Whitehead, long-time Kansas editor of the *Freethought History* newsletter and the historical anthology *Freethought on the American Frontier* (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1992). Steve Spartan likewise first evoked my interest in Free State history with visits years ago to the Old Quindaro site of German abolitionist immigration to the area near Kansas City, Kansas. This account is especially indebted to several kind suggestions from Frank Baron and the anonymous reviewers for the *Yearbook of German-American Studies*. I am of course solely responsible for any weaknesses that might remain in this report of my ongoing research.

³ See for example: Samuel Cornish and John B. Russwurm's "The First Negro Newspaper's Opening Editorial, 1827" (16 March 1827) that emphatically argued the necessity of blacks pleading their own cause; Henry Highland Garnet's "Address to the Slaves of the United States of America" (16 August 1843) which was a radical call to black and slave resistance; Jermain Wesley Loguen's bold assertion of black manhood and black pride in "I am a Fugitive Slave," (1850); and Frederick Douglass's "What, to the Slave, is the Fourth of July?" (1852). All collected (some in abridged form) in Herbert Aptheker [ed.], *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States* with a Preface by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois (New York: Citadel Press, 1969). I thank Melanie J. Scott for turning my attention to these pivotal African American materials.

⁴ Douglass in James Daley, ed., "What, to the Slave, is the Fourth of July?" [unabridged] *Great Speeches by African Americans* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2006), 30.

⁵ Boston abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison also emphasized the attention German radicals began to give to abolition. Two years after Douglass's call, he published a piece in the *Liberator* by German abolitionists criticizing forty-eighter Louis Kossuth's refusal to take a stand on abolition. Kossuth "the man who pretends to represent in his person the European Democracy . . ." was considered by these German abolitionists derelict in his emancipatory duty toward slaves in America. See "The German Radicals, Kossuth and the Germans" in *The Liberator*, Friday, 21 July 1854 [reprinted from the *Commonwealth*].

⁶ An excellent overview of the central historiographical controversies in the past century's welter of published scholarly accounts addressing the meaning of Bleeding Kansas is offered by Gunja SenGupta, "Bleeding Kansas: Review Essay" in Virgil W. Dean, ed., *Territorial Kansas Reader* (Topeka, KS: Kansas State Historical Society, 2005), 319–54.

⁷ A recent Greeley biographer also acknowledges this contention about the centrality of Kansas and abolition in the life of Greeley, though the title of his account still persists in the conventional wisdom with regard to "Go west." In a chapter on Greeley's battle against slavery, Coy F. Cross asserts: Greeley "encouraged brave men, whom neither self-interest nor threat of violence could divert from their purpose to emigrate to Kansas." See Coy F. Cross II, *Go West Young Man!* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 82.

⁸ University of Kansas [Lawrence] Germanist, Frank Baron, has recently presented key testimony with regard to the abolitionist aspect of Horace Greeley's philosophy and politics. See Frank Baron, "German Republicans and Radicals in the Struggle for a Slave-Free Kansas: Charles F. Kob and August Bondi," *Yearbook of German-American Studies [YGAS]* 40 (2005): 3–26. Thanks also to YGAS editor, William Keel, for featuring in this volume key materials on Free State Germans in Kansas including the "German-American abolitionist song," *ibid.*, ix–x.

⁹ August Bondi, *The Autobiography of August Bondi 1833–1907* (Galesburg, IL: Wagoner Printing Company, 1910). See excerpts edited by Frank Baron in *YGAS* 40 (2005): 116. I owe this insight to Frank Baron, *ibid.*, 12–13.

¹⁰ Greeley, *New York Daily Tribune*, 27 January 1855. Quoted in Baron, *ibid.* 12–13.

¹¹ Greeley, *New York Daily Tribune*, 6 March 1855. Quoted in Baron, *ibid.*, 13.

¹² Baron, *ibid.*, 12.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, *John Brown* (New York: International Publishers, [1909] 1996), 117–28.

¹⁵ See Bondi, *Autobiography*, 131–33.

¹⁶ Craig Miner, “Historic Ground, The Ongoing Enterprise of Kansas Territorial History,” *Kansas History* 27, 1–2, (Spring-Summer 2004): 12. Redpath, however, came to advocate the emigration of black Americans to Haiti.

¹⁷ See the reflections of Frederick Douglass, “Oration In Memory Of Abraham Lincoln, Delivered At The Unveiling Of The Freedmen’s Monument In Memory Of Abraham Lincoln, In Lincoln Park, Washington, D.C., April 14, 1876.” <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?documentprint=39>.

¹⁸ Thomas Fuller, “‘Go West, young man’—An Elusive Slogan,” *Indiana Magazine of History* 100, no. 3 (November 2004).

¹⁹ Some historians also contend that this statement was derived from a published utterance fourteen years earlier by John Soule, rather than Horace Greeley, in a Terra Haute, Indiana newspaper. Fuller, *op. cit.* concludes that the phrase did not come from Soule.

²⁰ Thomas A. Bailey, *The American Pageant* (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1961).

²¹ *Ibid.*, 338.

²² *Ibid.*, 491.

²³ *Ibid.*, 490.

²⁴ Multicultural educational theorists today are well aware of the fact that U.S. history textbooks, especially those used in high school, have tended to be sanitized and slanted especially playing down resistance to entrenched class, race, and gender privilege. See especially James Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me* (New York: Touchstone, 1995); Howard Kahane and Nancy Cavender, *Logic and Contemporary Rhetoric* (Belmont, CA: Thompson/Wadsworth, 2006), 313–49; John Marciano, *Civic Illiteracy and Education* (New York: Peter Lang, 1997); Michael W. Apple, *Education and Power* (New York: Routledge, 1995); William L. Griffen and John Marciano, *Teaching the Vietnam War* (Montclair, NJ: Allenheld Osmun, 1979); Frances Fitzgerald, *America Revised: History School Books in the Twentieth Century* (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown, 1979); Richard O. Boyer and Herbert M. Morais, *Labor’s Untold Story* (New York: United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America [UE], 1976).

²⁵ Horace Greeley, *The New Yorker*, 3 June 1837. This citation from Roy Marvin Robbins, “Horace Greeley: Land Reform and Unemployment, 1837–1862,” *Agricultural History*, VII, 18 (January 1933): 18–41.

²⁶ David Fennimore (1996) on “Horace Greeley and the Shiftless State of Kansas,” <http://wolfweb.unr.edu/homepage/fennimore/greeley2.html#west>.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Eugene Victor Debs, “The American Movement” in *DEBS: His Life, Writings, and Speeches* (Girard, KS: The Appeal to Reason Press, 1908). See <http://www.marxists.org/archive/debs/works/1898/america.htm>.

²⁹ See Charles Sotheran, *Horace Greeley and other Pioneers of American Socialism* (New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1915) 29, 40.

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³⁰ "[T]he church of this country is not only indifferent to the wrongs of the slave, it actually takes sides with the oppressors . . . and this horrible blasphemy is palmed off upon the world for Christianity. . . . For my part, I would say Welcome infidelity! Welcome atheism!"—Douglass in James Daley, ed., "What, to the Slave, is the Fourth of July?" [unabridged] *Great Speeches by African Americans* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2006), 27.

³¹ Sotheran, 87.

³² *Ibid.*, 36.

³³ *Ibid.*, 55–56.

³⁴ See Chester G. Hearn, *Companions in Conspiracy: John Brown and Gerrit Smith* (Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publishers, 1996), 11, 17.

³⁵ Algie Martin Simmons, *Social Forces in American History* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1911; New York: the International Publishers, 1926; Lawrence, KS: Carrie Books, 2003), chapter 21. See http://vlib.iuc.it/carrie/texts/carrie_books/simons/21.html.

³⁶ Although Native Americans held their lands in common, they could exchange hunting rights and of course did eventually sell land to early European developers such as the Holland Land Company in New York State.

³⁷ See Loren Taylor, *Consolidated Ethnic History of Wyandotte County* (Kansas City, KS: Kansas Ethnic Council, Inc., 2000), 38–40.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 342.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 250.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Marx has some notable remarks on Jennison, see below. Also see Stephen Z. Starr, *Jennison's Jayhawkers* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1983), 141.

⁴³ Such was the explicit view of the German abolitionist, Charles Leonhardt, a general in the Kansas militia. See Todd Mildfelt, *The Secret Danites: Kansas' First Jayhawkers* (Richmond, KS: Todd Mildfelt Publishing, 2003), 103.

⁴⁴ See Frank Baron and G. Scott Seeger, "Moritz Harttmann (1817–1900) in Kansas: A Forgotten German Pioneer of Lawrence and Humboldt," *YGAS* 39, (2004): 1–22.

⁴⁵ Karl Friedrich Kob, *Wegweiser für Ansiedler im Territorium Kansas* (New York: Teubner, 1857); reprinted in *YGAS* 40 (2005): 29–74.

⁴⁶ Karl Friedrich Kob, *Excerpts from Guide for Settlers in Kansas Territory* (translated by Julia Trumpold and William Keel) *YGAS* 40 (2005): 80. Ralph Waldo Emerson also wrote on this point: "We intend to set & to keep a *cordon sanitaire* all around the infected district, & by no means suffer the pestilence to spread." See Len Gougeon and Joel Myerson, eds., *Emerson's Antislavery Writings* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), xlv.

⁴⁷ John Speer, born in the United States with a characteristically German surname, was also notably involved in the Kansas Free State struggle from the beginning. See also Sidney Clarke, "The Work of John Speer," Kansas State Historical Society Collections, V. 10, 482–83, Kansas State Historical Society locator: S. P. 906 K13, v.10, 480. Clarke very correctly stresses that "No history of Kansas would be complete that failed to record his [Speer's] long and conspicuous identification with all that is good and true in building up the progressive institutions of that great commonwealth." *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ See John Speer's 1878 letter, "Pennsylvania's Sons in Kansas History," in *The Champion*, Atchison, Kansas, 6 March 1878, Kansas State Historical Society locator: 978.1 –At2.

⁴⁹ Frank Baron provided primary source materials from *The Kansas Tribune* on the German vote and Greeley. See: "Agriculture: Horace Greeley's Address" *The Kansas Tribune*, Lawrence, Kansas, 24 October 1855.

⁵⁰ *The Kansas Tribune*, Lawrence, Kansas, 8 May 1858.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² "Address by Hon. John Speer," in *The Kansas Memorial: A Report of the Old Settlers' Meeting held at Bismarck Grove, Kansas, September 1879* (Kansas City, MO: Press of Ramsey, Millet & Hudson, 1880), 177.

⁵³ Speer's historic challenge to slave power is reproduced in Sidney Clarke, "The Work of John Speer," 483.

⁵⁴ See also John Speer's latter-day reflections on this as President of the Kansas State Historical Society, 17 January 1899, "The Burning of Osceola, Mo., by Lane, and the Quantrill Massacre Contrasted," *Kansas State Historical Society Collections*, 6: 305–12.

⁵⁵ See John Speer's 1878 letter, "Pennsylvania's Sons in Kansas History," in *The Champion*, Atchison, Kansas, 6 March 1878, Kansas State Historical Society locator: 978.1 –At2. See also "Pennsylvania and Kansas" and "The Pennsylvanians" in *The Champion*, Atchison, Kansas, 23 February 1878, Kansas State Historical Society locator: 978.1 –At2. Speer's letter was a response to his exclusion from the Atchison newspaper's account of accomplishments in Kansas by the "Sons of Pennsylvania."

⁵⁶ See David L. Valuska and Christian B. Keller, *Damn Dutch: Pennsylvania Germans at Gettysburg* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2004), 3.

⁵⁷ *Harpers Weekly*, 6 November 1869 (720). Nast was very negative, however, about Greeley's 1872 presidential campaign.

⁵⁸ One important indication of this was Greeley's appeal to the German-American audience. His massive two-volume history of the Civil War was published in German translation by a U.S. company for German-American consumption in 1865. Greeley's respect for German-Americans involved in the Kansas Free State struggle is reflected in his depiction of Quantrill's destruction of Lawrence. "They laid low every Negro and German they could get their hands on"—Horace Greeley, *Der Große Konflikt in Amerika* (Hartford: Verlag von O.D. Case und Compagnie, 1865), 2:444. Quantrill did have every Lawrence male adult killed who could be found.

⁵⁹ We owe it to Frank Baron, William Keel, and the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 40 (2005), published in 2006, that we have at hand today the names of several not-to-be-forgotten Free State Germans of Kansas. Mention has already been made of Dr. Karl Friedrich Kob, Dr. Moritz Harttmann, General George Washington Deitzler, and August Bondi. Other prominent figures also included: Charles Leonhardt, Jacob Benjamin, and Charles Kaiser. It is noteworthy that of these Bondi and Benjamin were of German-Jewish heritage, as was Theodor Wiener, a close friend of Bondi who also served with John Brown, who had emigrated from the nineteenth-century Prussian province of Posen (Poland).

⁶⁰ Eleanor L. Turk, "The Germans of Atchison 1854–59," in Virgil W. Dean, ed., *Territorial Kansas Reader* (Topeka, KS: Kansas State Historical Society, 2005), 303.

⁶¹ Baron, "German Republicans and Radicals," 7.

⁶² Ibid., 13. Further, according to "The German Immigration," a front page article in the *New York Daily Times* of 6 January 1855: "It is very interesting to know that the Emigrant Aid Association have accomplished so much in introducing sturdy New England settlers into the Kansas Territory . . . but . . . the true policy of those associations in Massachusetts and New-York is not to induce New England or New-York settlers to emigrate, but to turn to Kansas the great currents of German Immigration."

⁶³ Which persist to this day.

⁶⁴ *The Autobiography of August Bondi 1833–1907* (Galesburg, IL: Wagoner Printing Company, 1910). See excerpts edited by Frank Baron in *YGAS* 40 (2005): this reference 147.

⁶⁵ Mildfelt, 74–76.

⁶⁶ See Christopher Corbett, *Orphans Preferred: The Twisted Truth and Lasting Legend of the Pony Express* (New York: Broadway Publishers, 2003).

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⁶⁷ See Roy M. Robbins, *Our Landed Heritage: The Public Domain, 1776–1936* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1932) who cites Willard G. Bleyer, *Main Currents in the History of American Journalism* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1927), 228.

⁶⁸ Martha B. Caldwell, "When Horace Greeley Visited Kansas in 1859," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 9, 2 (May 1940): 115–40. http://www.kshs.org/publicat/khq/1940/40_2_caldwell.htm.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 116.

⁷⁰ See Taylor, 106. See Henry Ketcham's chapter "Lincoln and Greeley" in *The Life of Abraham Lincoln* (1901), <http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/etext04/lflcn10.txt>.

⁷¹ John Speer, "Address by Hon. John Speer," in *The Kansas Memorial*, 181.

⁷² See William Keel, "From the Editor," *YGAS* 40 (2005): ix–x.

⁷³ This apt and memorable phrase comes from an extraordinary article (for a Cold War year like 1957) published in the *American Heritage Magazine* by William Harlan Hale from which much of the following account is drawn. Actually Marx was engaged by Greeley's foreign editor Charles A. Dana who had met Marx in Cologne. See Karl Obermann, *Joseph Weydemeyer: Pioneer of American Socialism* (New York: International Publishers, 1947), 27.

⁷⁴ William Harlan Hale, "When Karl Marx Worked for Horace Greeley," *American Heritage Magazine* 8, 3 (April 1957). Much of what follows is drawn from Hale. http://www.americanheritage.com/articles/magazine/ah/1957/3/1957_3_20.shtml.

⁷⁵ According to Hale, many of "Marx's" contributions, including this first one were ghost-written by Frederick Engels. Hale contends that Greeley also published Marx's (and Engels's) opinions in the *Tribune* as his own editorials! Saul K. Padover contends there are 84 of these. Saul K. Padover, *Karl Marx: On America and the Civil War* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1972), xviii.

⁷⁶ Hale, "When Karl Marx." Rather than "overthrow" *Capital* deals with an economic, sociological, and historical analysis of capitalism.

⁷⁷ On this point Marx includes the following heading in *Capital* volume one, chapter ten, part 7: "Mutato nomine de te fabula narratur [Change but the name, and the story is told of yourself]." See Karl Marx, *Capital*, translated by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling (New York: The Modern Library, 1906), 293: "It is a maxim of slave management, in slave importing countries, that the most effective economy is that which takes out of the human chattel in the shortest space of time the utmost amount of exertion it is capable of putting forth. . . . 'Change but the name, and the story is told of yourself.' For slave trade read labor market, for Kentucky and Virginia, Ireland and the agricultural districts of England, Scotland and Wales, for Africa, Germany . . . the London labor market is always over-stocked with German and other candidates for death."

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 329, emphasis added.

⁷⁹ See also *Capital* vol. three, part 5, chapter 23 and other excerpts in Padover, 21–27.

⁸⁰ Karl Marx, *Das Kapital* in *Marx-Engels Werke* Bd. 23:758n. In this context Marx also mentions the name of Harriet Beecher Stowe.

⁸¹ In particular the Viennese liberal newspaper, *Die Presse*. See articles collected in *Marx-Engels Collected Works [MECW]*, vol. 19 (New York: International Publishers, 1984).

⁸² See Padover and also Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The Civil War in the United States* (New York: International Publishers, 1961). Also Henry M. Christman, *The American Journalism of Marx and Engels* (New York: The New American Library, 1966), and most recently, James Ledbetter, *Dispatches for the New York Tribune: Selected Journalism of Karl Marx* (London: Penguin, 2007).

⁸³ *MECW*, vol. 19.

⁸⁴ Malcolm Sylvers, "Marx, Engels und die USA—ein Forschungsprojekt über ein wenig beachtetes Thema," *Marx-Engels Jahrbuch* 2004, 31–53.

⁸⁵ Karl Marx, "The North American Civil War," *Die Presse* [Vienna, Austria], no. 293, 25 October 1861; in *MECW*, 19:38.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 41. Ralph Waldo Emerson had earlier expressed similar sentiments: "There is this particularity about the case of Kansas, that all the right is on one side. . . . [T]he people of Kansas ask for bread, clothes, arms and men, to save them alive, and to enable them to stand against these enemies of the human race. . . . Who doubts that Kansas would have been well settled, if the United States had let it alone? The government armed and led the ruffians against the poor farmers. I do not know any story so gloomy as the politics of this country." Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Kansas Relief Meeting, 10 September 1856" in *Emerson's Antislavery Writings*, Len Gougeon and Joel Myerson, eds. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 111, 113.

⁸⁸ Frederick Douglass saw a Southern reorganization of the U.S. economy on the basis of slavery coming (almost nine years earlier) after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law: "By an act of the American Congress, not yet two years old, slavery has been nationalized in its most horrible and revolting form. By that act, Mason and Dixon's line has been obliterated; New York has become Virginia; and the power to hold, hunt, and sell men, women, and children as slaves remains no longer a mere state institution, but is now an institution of the whole United States. The power is coextensive with the star spangled banner and American Christianity." Douglass, 25–26. Douglass's phrase "New York has become Virginia" also presages Marx's formulations in *Capital* about "changing the name, but the story is told of yourself" (cf. Note 77, above).

⁸⁹ See Marx's "The American Question in England," *New York Daily Tribune*, No. 6403, 11 October 1861; reprinted in *MECW*, 19:8.

⁹⁰ Karl Marx, "The Civil War in the United States," *Die Presse*, no. 306, 7 November 1861; reprinted in *MECW*, 19:50, emphasis added.

⁹¹ Karl Marx, "The American Question in England," *New York Daily Tribune*, no. 6403, 11 October 1861; reprinted in *MECW*, 19:10.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 11–12. Marx emphasizes the hypocrisy of the British, who formally abolished slavery in 1807, yet traded profitably for decades thereafter with the American slaveocracy.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁹⁴ Karl Marx, "Symptoms of Disintegration in the Southern Confederacy," *Die Presse*, no. 313, 14 November 1862. *MECW*, 19:260.

⁹⁵ Karl Marx, "Russell's Protest Against American Rudeness," *Die Presse*, no. 233, 24 August 1862; reprinted in *MECW*, 19:230–31.

⁹⁶ Karl Marx, "The Situation in North America" *Die Presse* no. 309, 19 November 1862; reprinted in *MECW*, 19:257.

⁹⁷ Editors, *MECW*, 19:427. See also Karl Obermann, *Joseph Weydemeyer: Pioneer of American Socialism* (New York: International Publishers, 1947).

⁹⁸ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "The Situation in the American Theater of War," *Die Presse* no. 148, 30 May 1862; reprinted in *MECW*, 19:207–8. Emphasis in original.

⁹⁹ See Ella Lonn, "The Forty-eighters in the Civil War," in A. E. Zucker [ed.], *The Forty-eighters* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1950); also Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-eighters in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952); see also Don Heinrich Tolzmann, ed., *The German-American Forty-eighters, 1848–1998* (Cincinnati: Max Kade Center, Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis, 1998); see further Fred Whitehead, "The Legacy of 1848" *Freethought History* 25 (1998) and "August Willich," *Freethought History* 23 (1997).

¹⁰⁰ John, Jr. was the eldest son of John Brown, Sr.

¹⁰¹ *New York Daily Tribune*, no. 6441, 25 November 1861. See editors' comment *MECW*, 19:116.

Horace Greeley and German Forty-Eighters in the Kansas Free State Struggle

¹⁰² Karl Marx, "The Crisis over the Slavery Issue," *Die Presse*, no. 343, 14 December 1861; reprinted in *MECW*, 19:116. Emphasis in original.

¹⁰³ Karl Marx, "The London *Times* on the Orleans Princes in America," *New York Daily Tribune*, no. 6426, 7 November 1861; reprinted in *MECW*, 19:30.

¹⁰⁴ See *Kansas Zeitung. Ein Organ für freies Wort, freien Boden und freie Männer*, Atchison, Kansas Territory, 22 July 1857.

¹⁰⁵ See Jim Lane [sic], "No Texas Is Not all about Bush," *Texas National Press*, 24 March 2007. See also Justine Davis Randers-Pehrson, *Adolf Douai, 1819–1888: The Turbulent Life of a German Forty-eighter in the Homeland and in the United States*. New German American Studies; Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien (New York: Peter Lang, 2000).

¹⁰⁶ Karl Marx, "The London *Times* on the Orleans Princes in America," *MECW*, 19:30.

¹⁰⁷ See also Kevin B. Anderson on the Marx's view of the Civil War as a "Second American Revolution" in his forthcoming monograph by on the multicultural dimension of Karl Marx addressing all the key issues including his Civil War journalism. Many thanks also to Anderson for stressing the fine "Introduction" in Saul K. Padover.

¹⁰⁸ Karl Marx, "Comments on the North American Events," *Die Presse*, no. 281, 12 October 1862; reprinted in *MECW*, 19:250.

¹⁰⁹ Marx's private view of Greeley and the *Tribune* was at times critical. He skewered both in personal letters, though not in public: "The *Tribune* blows the trumpet for Carey's book with puffed cheeks. Both, of course, have this in common: that under the form of Sismondian-philanthropic-socialistic-antiindustrialism they represent the pro-protective tariff, that is the industrial bourgeoisie, of America. This is also the secret of why the *Tribune*, for all its 'isms' and socialistic pretenses, can be the 'leading journal' in the United States." Further, Marx compares the deficiencies of General Scott to those of Greeley: "He seems to be as much a great general as the many-sided Greeley is a great philosopher." Both of these quotations from Marx's letters in Padover, 39, 41.

¹¹⁰ "When you think . . . that three and a half years ago, at the time of Lincoln's election, the problem was *making no further concessions to the slaveholders*, while now the *abolition of slavery* is the avowed and in part already realized aim, you must admit that *never* has such a gigantic transformation taken place so rapidly. It will have a beneficent effect on the whole world." See Karl Marx, "Letter to Lion Philips, London, November 29, 1864" in Padover, 272. See also Karl Marx, "Abolitionist Demonstrations in America," *Die Presse*, 30 August 1862, in *MECW*, 19:233.

¹¹¹ "I have said that President Lincoln was a white man, and shared the prejudices common to his countrymen towards the colored race. Looking back to his times and to the condition of his country, we are compelled to admit that this unfriendly feeling on his part may be safely set down as one element of his wonderful success in organizing the loyal American people for the tremendous conflict before them, and bringing them safely through that conflict. His great mission was to accomplish two things: first, to save his country from dismemberment and ruin; and, second, to free his country from the great crime of slavery. To do one or the other, or both, he must have the earnest sympathy and the powerful cooperation of his loyal fellow-countrymen. Without this primary and essential condition to success his efforts must have been vain and utterly fruitless. Had he put the abolition of slavery before the salvation of the Union, he would have inevitably driven from him a powerful class of the American people and rendered resistance to rebellion impossible. Viewed from the genuine abolition ground, Mr. Lincoln seemed tardy, cold, dull, and indifferent; but measuring him by the sentiment of his country, a sentiment he was bound as a statesman to consult, he was swift, zealous, radical, and determined." Frederick Douglass, "Oration In Memory Of Abraham Lincoln, Delivered At The Unveiling of the Freedmen's Monument in Memory of Abraham Lincoln, in Lincoln Park, Washington, DC, April 14, 1876." See <http://www.teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=39>.

¹¹²See also James Oakes, *The Radical and the Republican: Frederick Douglass, Abraham Lincoln, and the Triumph of Antislavery Politics* (New York: Norton, 2007).

Wayne L. Stith

The Difficult Tenure of George W. Blaettermann, First Professor of Modern Languages at the University of Virginia

In the spring of 1825 recently arrived German expatriate Charles Follen¹ continued his teaching career as a German instructor at Harvard, where he also taught French. Between 1830 and 1835 he held the title of Professor of the German Language and Literature,² and should be acknowledged as the first professor of German in the United States. Coincidentally, at virtually the same instant another recently arrived German expatriate, George W. Blaettermann,³ began his duties as the first Professor of Modern Languages at the newly opened University of Virginia, founded by former president Thomas Jefferson. Both men had reasons for not returning to Germany. Follen's outspoken criticism of the repressive political measures and absence of democratic reform in Germany coupled with charges that he had been involved in the assassination of German dramatist August von Kotzebue eventually led to his flight to the United States. Blaettermann's role—however minor—as a member of Napoleon's army during the Russian campaign, the loss of which “drove me as far as London,” as he wrote Jefferson on 27 April 1819,⁴ would have complicated his return to his native Thuringia.

Follen's participation in the *Freiheitskriege* against Napoleon's forces is well known. Blaettermann's involvement in the French army at approximately the same time is documented only in the memoirs of his adopted son George Walter Blatterman (*Memoirs*) and in the letter of 1819 to Jefferson. Although Follen's nationalist sentiments are clear, Blaettermann's motivations for allying himself with the opposing camp have not been recorded. Despite their apparent political differences both men became intensely interested in the new American democracy. They viewed the United States simplistically as a haven of democratic thought and practice, and both men were disappointed in what they discovered in America. Their careers in the United States differed considerably, however, and the differences lie partly in the cultures in

which they lived, Blaettermann in a repressive Southern culture holding on to slavery, and Follen in a New England becoming increasingly aware of the injustice of slavery. Follen turned his attention to improving democracy in his new country and became a fervent abolitionist; Blaettermann fell into the Virginia pattern and purchased slaves.⁵

Unlike Follen, Dr. Blaettermann⁶ is relatively unknown. Despite some indications that he was initially well-liked at the University of Virginia, his reputation to date is a poor one. When he is mentioned at all, it is usually in unflattering terms. For example, Philip Alexander Bruce referred to "his constant spleen"; Klaus Wust called him "irascible but gifted"; Virginius Dabney said he was "endowed with a Prussian personality"; and Garry Wills called him a "despotic linguist."⁷

There are several important reasons for Dr. Blaettermann's reputation. First, there is very little information about him available to the researcher. This is especially true of the period before his emigration to the United States. Even nineteenth-century writers had trouble finding anything to say,⁸ and the earliest published statement about him (1842) was brutal.⁹ The most positive assessment of his contributions was the brief mention of Dr. Blaettermann by his former student Gessner Harrison in Duyckinck's *Cyclopaedia*, published in 1856. Harrison noted that Blaettermann "gave proof of extensive acquirements, and of a mind of uncommon natural vigor and penetration." He added that in connection with German and Anglo-Saxon Blaettermann "gave to his students much that was interesting and valuable in comparative philology also, a subject in which he found peculiar pleasure."¹⁰

A second reason for the reputation of Dr. Blaettermann lies in his failure to publish in his field, except for his contribution of grammatical tables for John Lewis' *Tables of Comparative Etymology and Analogous Formations in the Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, French, English, and German Languages*.¹¹ It is possible that he contributed articles to the University's short-lived publication (1829–30), the *Virginia Literary Museum and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts &c.*,¹² but most of the articles in that journal were signed simply with cryptic abbreviations such as "Wy." and "X.Y." or with initials that may not be those of the author. There is simply no body of work on which we may judge his scholarship as a counterbalance to the scattered negative reports of the professor's behavior. Dr. Blaettermann's temperamental disposition resulted in frequent clashes with his students and is at the core of most evaluations of him. Lastly, the reason for which he was fired from the University—the public whipping of his wife—would suffice for many researchers to avoid considering any possible contributions he might have made.

Much of what has been written about Dr. Blaettermann has been drawn from material taken out of context. There are comments in student letters and

diaries and some notations in faculty minutes¹³ that are offered as characterizations of Blaettermann, but a careful examination of these sources as well as the *Journal of the Chairman of the Faculty*¹⁴ provides context for the professor's actions that one should not overlook. For example, one writer faults Blaettermann for attempting to teach his Spanish class of about forty students with only three texts,¹⁵ but he fails to consider that the lack of textbooks was endemic. Even Jefferson took note of the problem and complained to a bookseller, writing that Dr. Blaettermann told him he would write to London himself for books, adding that the Anglo-Saxon class had but one dictionary, grammar or other Anglo-Saxon book for his thirteen students;¹⁶ and as late as 1830, five years after the institution had opened, James Lawrence Cabell noted that his class in differential calculus had to share three texts.¹⁷

When George Blaettermann began teaching at the University of Virginia in 1825, his "School of Modern Languages" jumped to the forefront of modern language instruction, for not only was he the first to teach Anglo-Saxon in an American college,¹⁸ but his school was one of only two institutions of higher education that taught modern languages at the time, the other being Harvard. The College of William and Mary possessed a chair of modern languages, but it was apparently unoccupied when the University of Virginia opened.¹⁹

This time period is the beginning of modern foreign language instruction as we have come to know it. It is significant that Thomas Jefferson played a decisive role in the development of the field at a time when few recognized the importance of modern languages other than French. Jefferson granted the new field equal status with that of Classical languages. His educational reform efforts had produced the country's first Chair of Modern Languages at the College of William and Mary in 1779,²⁰ and Virginia's second chair in the field at the University of Virginia. Jefferson's own interest in languages was far-reaching. He dabbled in German, but he apparently never learned the language thoroughly (Hauer 882 and 896, note 10). Perhaps his most unusual linguistic interest was the Anglo-Saxon language. He even wrote a treatise on the subject intended for the future professor of modern languages at the University, but there is no indication that Dr. Blaettermann ever received it (886). Since the professor tutored Jefferson in Anglo-Saxon (*Memoirs*), one may speculate that the former president believed his own production to be inadequate and withheld the manuscript.²¹

Although Jefferson recognized the importance of the German language, he was not truly aware of the expanse of German literature and the academic atmosphere in Germany until after 1815, the year he met George Ticknor, who was preparing to leave for an extended stay in Europe. Ticknor wrote Jefferson long and detailed letters about the German educational system and

the state of German literature.²² In 1819 he assumed the newly created Smith Professorship of the French and Spanish Languages and Literature and of Belles Lettres at Harvard (Long 20) and was in charge of the modern language program when Follen began teaching there in 1825.

Ticknor also played a crucial role in the employment of George Blaettermann at the University of Virginia. The future professor first came to Jefferson's attention in two letters written in 1819. In an effort to express his gratitude to the former president for his friendship and to do something for his University Ticknor wrote Jefferson on 27 May 1819 during his return voyage to the United States and proposed George Blaettermann, whom he had met only three times in England, for the position of Professor of Modern Languages.²³

Ticknor's assessment of Dr. Blaettermann is particularly relevant, for not only is it the first description of George Blaettermann, aside from the few comments he made himself, but it also gives us some indication of the difficulties the professor would face in Charlottesville. He wrote: "[Blaettermann's] love of knowledge is evidently very strong—and from some anecdotes I heard, I should think he easily attaches himself to young men who show a disposition to learn. . . ." Conversely, the available evidence shows that Dr. Blaettermann resented young men who did not show a disposition to learn.

The matter of elegance is at the core of Ticknor's comments about Blaettermann. He first noted, "I was struck with the elegance and purity of his style in conversation," but a few lines later he wrote, "His appearance is respectable—& his manners good; but not elegant." Ticknor then hesitated in his recommendation:

I feel quite uncertain, whether I have described to you a person such as you want. I really think Mr. Blaettermann's talents are much more than common—indeed, that he has rather a philosophical cast of mind—his industry is certainly great, and his acquirements very remarkable. But he has laboured chiefly to make himself a good language master; and, I fear, you would expect an elegant lecturer, which a foreigner can hardly become and for which, though I believe Mr. Blaettermann who speaks good English could qualify himself to a respectable degree, I suspect he is not now qualified either by his knowledge of Rhetorick & criticism or his acquaintance with literary History.

Although George Blaettermann reportedly knew more than thirty languages and dialects,²⁴ he did not present himself as "an elegant lecturer" in the classroom and had considerable difficulty with his students, due partly to his heavy accent and slovenly appearance. Jefferson wrote James Madison on 26 December 1824 that Dr. Blaettermann was "rather a rough looking German, speaking English roughly, but of an excellent mind and high qualifications."²⁵

The professor's own son described his father as "careless in his dress and general appearance" (*Memoirs*). Ticknor's comments, however, linked elegance with rhetoric, criticism, and literary history. The weaknesses to which he pointed became a central problem in Blaettermann's teaching and are reflected in a set of charges made against him in 1830, which we will address below.

The second letter that brought George Blaettermann to Jefferson's attention was the one the future professor himself Jefferson wrote on 27 April 1819, a month before Ticknor's letter. It is likely that Ticknor brought this letter plus supporting testimonials with him on his return to the United States and forwarded the materials on to Jefferson. Having learned of the new college in Virginia, Dr. Blaettermann applied to Jefferson for the job of Professor of Modern Languages. With remarkable foresight he wrote in French.

Dr. Blaettermann claimed to have taught French, German, Italian, English and Latin, and to have a knowledge of Spanish, although he admitted having difficulty with Spanish for want of having lived in Spain. He added:

As for Anglo-Saxon, as I know the dialects of the coast of the Baltic Sea, a few months of study will easily familiarize me with it. Moreover, the necessity of knowing, and the wish to make myself useful, will make me pursue these studies at once and with greater keenness than would simply the love of knowledge.

He gave his age as thirty-six, somewhat older than the other men who would eventually be hired in England for the University, and claimed that while serving under Napoleon he had participated in the Russian campaign.

The letter was audacious, but effective. Jefferson wrote James Madison on 7 July 1819:

I have recieved [*sic*] from London the offer of a Professor of modern languages, of qualification literary and moral, so high as to merit our suffrage, if we can get over the difficulty that, French being the most important of the modern languages, Mr Blattermann [*sic*] is not a native of France. (*The Republic of Letters* III, 1813)

The following December Jefferson wrote to Ticknor:

We feel particular preference towards him [Blaettermann] from his readiness to prepare himself to teach the Anglo-Saxon, for which a qualified teacher is the more rare in proportion to the obsolescence of the study.²⁶

Blaettermann's letter and testimonials made quite an impression on Jefferson, who must have been satisfied with Blaettermann's command of the French language. What tipped the scales in Blaettermann's favor, however, was his readiness to prepare himself to teach Anglo-Saxon. Jefferson seems not to

have taken note of the hesitation expressed in Ticknor's original letter of recommendation.

It was to be five years before Dr. Blaettermann was given a contract. In 1821 American ambassador to England Richard Rush informed the future professor of Jefferson's positive views toward him. Blaettermann's letters to Rush in response indicate that he considered himself, for all practical purposes, hired.²⁷ The letter of 8 October 1821 sheds light on Dr. Blaettermann's expectations:

[M]y duty will call me to instruct the rising Citizens of a Country where government, founded on the rights of man, and the eternal principle of justice, aims only at the good of the community, and whose ministers, distinguished by simplicity and grandeur of character, hold forth a noble example to direct and animate even distant nations in their march to knowledge, to virtue, to freedom and to happiness.²⁸

Although these comments may appear overblown and insincere to the modern reader, it is likely that Dr. Blaettermann believed what he wrote. The expectations he expressed were later to become a crucial mistake.

In 1824 the Board of Visitors sent Francis Walker Gilmer to England to obtain professors for Jefferson's University. The only one he was specifically ordered to hire was George Blaettermann,²⁹ which he did on 21 June. Gilmer noted in a letter to Jefferson written the same day:

Blaetterman[n] is in the prime of life—has a wife and two small children, and they appear amiable and domestic; he speaks English well, tho' not without a foreign accent; that we are obliged to encounter every way, as there are no profound English professors of modern language[s]. (*English Culture* 57f. Brackets present in the original)

Gilmer's comment about Dr. Blaettermann's pronunciation is typical of the period, as was Jefferson's earlier concern about Dr. Blaettermann's nationality.

When Dr. Blaettermann arrived in Charlottesville to begin his tenure as professor, his view of American culture was simplistic. He had expected to meet dignified youth in a society based on democratic principles. His language training and abilities were great and he looked forward to educating Virginia's young men, as suggested in his letter to Ambassador Rush. This expectation changed after perhaps a year as he became accustomed to the realities of Virginia culture. Self-absorbed young Virginia gentlemen were far different from the students he anticipated. The nature of the earliest students is well known in the literature.³⁰ These students came from plantations, were independent, arrogant, had an enormous sense of entitlement, and expected to be served, not instructed. The inelegant Dr. Blaettermann must have been a particular source of amusement to many.

Barely six months after the University opened, a number of student disturbances occurred that came to the attention of the Board of Visitors. Several professors had attempted to deal with one disturbance only to be rewarded by a brick being thrown at one of them and a cane being used on another. The next day over half the student body gave a resolution to the faculty criticizing the two professors for laying hands on one of them (Bruce II 298f.). As a result, the entire faculty, composed mostly of men hired in England, threatened to resign. The student body was summoned to appear before the Board in the unfinished Rotunda. Jefferson was, of course, present. After a stirring admonition to the students by Board member Chapman Johnson, the guilty parties stepped forward. Among the students who were expelled was a great-nephew of Jefferson.³¹ Thus began the series of expulsions which were a hallmark of the early years of the University.

Dr. Blaettermann was the target of a student's assault in 1828 (FM 22–23 April), which we will address below. Other faculty members experienced not merely youthful pranks but violence at the hands of students. In 1830 Dr. Gessner Harrison, who had recently graduated from the University and been appointed to teach ancient languages, was struck by a student who had once been his classmate. When the student was expelled, the student body passed a resolution justifying the assault (Bruce II 293f.). In 1839 the same professor was whipped by a student while another held his arms. The assailants fled, but one was shot by his pursuers. His bloody coat was displayed by other students in the dormitories as a mark of pride (294). Finally, in 1840 Faculty Chairman John Davis was murdered by a student (309).

Dr. Blaettermann was apparently well-liked in the beginning. Jefferson's granddaughter Cornelia Jefferson Randolph wrote on 3 August 1825: "The old D's manners I think are mended and he is very popular among the students."³² The School of Modern Languages drew sixty-eight students in its first session (1825), fifty-five percent of the total of 123 students. This percentage was second only to that of Mathematics, in which seventy-three students, fifty-nine percent of the total, were enrolled. In the second session (1826) ninety students—fifty-one percent—had enrolled in Dr. Blaettermann's School.³³

Despite whatever success he may have had initially, Dr. Blaettermann's outlook must have changed relatively early. The circumstances into which he had placed himself were hardly an appropriate learning environment. On the one hand the classroom presented a group of privileged students who insisted on recognition of their status; on the other hand the professor who taught them was a foreigner—a German, no less—who spoke English with an accent, whose personality was occasionally abrasive, and whose lectures were not regarded as "elegant."

The range of subjects that Dr. Blaettermann was required to teach was probably greater than that of the other professors. Like his counterpart at Harvard, he taught German and French, but he was also required to teach Spanish, Italian, and Anglo-Saxon, and to deliver additional lectures on the literature, history and geography relevant to these languages. The University Catalogue for the 1834–35 session notes that Dr. Blaettermann also offered to teach “the Danish, Swedish, Hollandish and Portuguese Languages” to students who desired them.

Dr. Blaettermann’s teaching experience had been primarily in a tutorial setting, although he had taught in a *Gymnasium* in Germany (Ticknor to Jefferson, 27 May 1819). His lectures at the University were frequently poorly received. One student wrote in 1828 that Blaettermann’s way of teaching history was “all Fudge, for their [*sic*] is nothing to be learn’d from his lectures which are nothing more than a collection of facts jumbled together.”³⁴

There are several student notebooks that give some indication of Blaettermann’s methodology. One set of notes on geography from 1827 is instructive:

Geography includes a description of the earth and its inhabitants. It may be considered under four distinct heads:

1st The history of the origin and progress of geography;

2nd The mathematical and astronomical branches of the science:

the figure and magnitude of the earth, together its diurnal & annual revolutions . . .³⁵

This hierarchical manner of presentation is clearly better suited to a written text than to a lecture room.

A brief set of notes from an Anglo-Saxon class about 1835 gives further indication of Dr. Blaettermann’s style. The relevant portion of the document consists of a few lines from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* followed by the student’s notes on Dr. Blaettermann’s commentary. Even this short excerpt, almost certainly directly quoted from the professor, demonstrates Dr. Blaettermann’s reliance on a strictly rule-oriented approach common at that time:

In the first place observe that there is very extensive application of the rules for the interchange of vowels and of consonants; and this is constantly exhibited in the mere translation of the Anglo Saxon into English.³⁶

Blaettermann’s philological expertise becomes evident later in these notes, for he connects Anglo-Saxon words to Latin, Greek, Welsh, Gaulish, Gallic, French, and German. The student also wrote that his professor thought “the Teutonic more frequently the source of words than the Sister languages of Latin + Greek,” an observation that was still novel in the early nineteenth century. The brevity of this set of notes does not prevent the conclusion that Dr. Blaettermann prized the Anglo-Saxon language over its literature, for he

appears to have paid no attention to the *Chronicle* as a literary work. Furthermore, his reliance on correlations between Anglo-Saxon and other languages would not have been of interest to many of his students.³⁷

One may safely assume that Dr. Blaettermann's traditional teaching methods were one source of his difficulty with students. If, however, his methods were poorly received, one would expect to see students withdrawing from his classes frequently, but faculty records indicate that his losses were comparable to those of other professors. Requests for permission to withdraw from courses are abundant in the records. Gessner Harrison lost eight students from his courses on a single day (FM 3 April 1832), a record unmatched even by Dr. Blaettermann. It is also important to note that the other professors used traditional teaching methods.

Dr. Blaettermann taught over 700 students in the fifteen years that he was associated with the University of Virginia.³⁸ While many students failed to profit from his instruction, there were several during the early period who appear to have seen past his idiosyncrasies. One was future University professor James Lawrence Cabell, the nephew of Board member Joseph C. Cabell. In his letters to his uncle, James mentions Dr. Blaettermann a number of times, but never exhibits the resentment one sees elsewhere. He was one of four students who signed up for German in 1829 and later began the study of Anglo-Saxon. James wrote his uncle in October of that year:

I have commenced Anglo Saxon and like it very well; it is exactly like the English & German & is easy to learn; the German is not quite so easy: it is very difficult to translate as yet; I suppose it will become less so after a while. (October 23, 1829)

We note in passing that these comments suggest that Dr. Blaettermann taught German simply by requiring his students to translate German texts into English. What is today called the communicative approach to foreign language instruction appears to have been absent in his teaching. James also wrote that he had a room in Dr. Blaettermann's pavilion:

The Doctor wanted someone to stay in his house as he very often left all his things open & the out door open to any one that might choose to come in. I knew you wanted me to get in one of the professor's houses if possible, so I accepted his proposition without hesitation.

Cabell's words are hardly those of someone who despised the professor.

Another of Blaettermann's early students who managed to profit from his instruction was Gessner Harrison, who succeeded George Long as Professor of Ancient Languages. Although it was Professor Long who later sent Harrison a copy of Bopp's earlier philological work,³⁹ it is likely that both Blaettermann and Long kindled Harrison's consuming interest in etymology.

Both Harrison and Cabell would eventually sit on the faculty with Dr. Blaettermann. In all, more than a dozen of Dr. Blaettermann's students became professors at various colleges and universities, and many others became teachers at lower levels (*Students of the University of Virginia*).

The most famous of Dr. Blaettermann's students was Edgar Allan Poe, who attended the University for a few months in 1826. According to the professor's son Poe was "a frequent visitor" at the Blaettermann house, "especially when we had young ladies visiting us, which was frequently the case" (*Memoirs*). Poe took French and Italian and possibly Spanish from Dr. Blaettermann and did well in his classes. The degree to which the professor may have influenced the poet is subject to speculation. One writer claimed that Poe "thrived" under Dr. Blaettermann's way of teaching (Silverman 30); another claimed that Dr. Blaettermann's "influence is perceptible all through Poe's humorous, imaginative work";⁴⁰ and yet another claimed that Poe rebelled against Dr. Blaettermann's traditional approach.⁴¹ There is simply insufficient information to make a determination. One is tempted to look to Blaettermann's etymological musings for the source of Poe's use of the word "quoth" (Anglo-Saxon *cwaeth*⁴²) in "The Raven," but there is no evidence to substantiate such an inference.

Dr. Blaettermann served at the University from 1825 to 1840. He frequently reported student offenses to the faculty, but in this regard he was no different from his colleagues; however, during the period from 1825 to 1830 one begins to see that his relationship to many of his students was worse than that of other professors. In most instances he began with a corrective comment or action that was poorly received. The most serious incident involving Dr. Blaettermann and a student occurred in April 1828 (FM 22–23 April 1828), and increased Blaettermann's dissatisfaction with his colleagues to the point of alienation. Having ordered a student (Thomas G. Tucker) to leave the classroom for offensive behavior, the professor struck at the student's hat, possibly knocking it off his head. The result was the student's assault on the professor that was stopped only when the other students intervened at Dr. Blaettermann's request.

The entire class was called to testify before the faculty over a two-day period. In his succinct summary of the evidence prior to Tucker's second appearance before the faculty Dr. Robley Dunglison remarked that the student had struck the professor "under the impression he would have been disgraced had he not done so." This observation, with which Dr. Blaettermann agreed, goes to the heart of the matter. The testimony of the other students concerned matters of fact; Tucker's testimony concerned a matter of honor. He indicated that if he could be convinced that the professor had no intention of striking him, "he would do what any other gent[leman] would do,

viz. he would say that he had acted wrong"; "he would apologize to Dr. B. according to the rules of honor;" "[i]f Dr. B. were to state he had no intention of striking him—he would be compelled by the rules of honor to act as every other gentleman" (FM 22–23 April 1828). While the offense of wearing a hat in a classroom is trivial by today's standards, we should note that Blaettermann's action was taken in view of a specific enactment of the Board of Visitors that proscribed wearing a hat during class (BOV 4 October 1824). Dr. Blaettermann could not have perceived Tucker's action as anything but a violation of the enactment and an indication of disrespect.

The faculty could not come to a decision about the student and turned the whole matter over to the Board of Visitors. The Board declined to act, noting that punishment for offenses lay within the purview of the faculty. Their response also clearly suggested that Dr. Blaettermann was partly to blame for the assault against him (BOV 21 July 1828). The Board's response was presented at the faculty meeting the next day. Dr. Blaettermann told his colleagues that he had had no intention of offering personal violence to the student, but that his actions may have been misunderstood, and withdrew his complaint. These words were enough for the faculty to dispense with the whole affair (FM 22 July 1828).

Considering that he had been beaten by a student over what was likely a trivial gesture of reprimand and had not been supported by his colleagues or employers, Dr. Blaettermann was probably more disgusted with the Board and the faculty than with the student. In reporting the incident he certainly did not expect the faculty's meek response of censuring Tucker and sending a note home to his parents. Tucker's defense stressed his understanding of the event as one in which his honor had been affronted. In his offer to apologize, as recorded in the minutes, he twice mentioned "the rules of honor." Dr. Blaettermann's son noted that his father had a "violent temper" (*Memoirs*). Tucker's behavior suggests a similar temperament; yet even according to the code of honor the student had other options at his disposal to respond to Dr. Blaettermann's gesture.

The available literature makes much of Dr. Blaettermann's inability to be a congenial colleague, but his dissension from the majority of the faculty on some matters was not so excessive that one should view him as an obstructionist. The minutes are full of dissenting votes by others, and even a full-scale rebellion against the Chairman in 1830. Dr. Blaettermann's experience with the faculty and the Board over the Tucker matter in 1828 almost certainly had exasperated him to the point that he cared little about faculty matters.

The collegiality that one would expect among the early professors may not have lasted long under the pressures of the teaching load and recurring difficulties with the students. Although Dr. Blaettermann had a thorough

command of the English language, his pronunciation coupled with his manners would only have exacerbated an already tense relationship. We must also mention that Professor Key seems to have gone out of his way to vote against Dr. Blaettermann whenever possible, and on one occasion even kicked him under the table, to which Dr. Blaettermann responded that Key kicked like an ass (Bruce II 34, 198). Key's dissatisfaction with his position caused him to break his five-year contract with the University and return to England (144).

Complicating Dr. Blaettermann's relationships with faculty and students was the presence of a French school operated by a V. Ferron near the University since 1827. Since a professor's salary consisted in part of fees paid by each of his students, Dr. Blaettermann lost considerable income because of Ferron's school. Any student who wanted to learn only French or who resented Dr. Blaettermann could avoid him entirely. On 27 September 1827 the faculty acceded to the professor's request for intervention and agreed to notify the University's Rector of the problem the French school had created, labeling it "the evil" in their resolution, language on which Dr. Blaettermann himself likely insisted. The proximity of the school to the University justifies the inference that the school was opened precisely to attract its students, i.e., to gain student revenue with the least effort. Furthermore, its teacher did not confine himself to his school and was confronted by the faculty in 1828 for having taught French within University precincts. On 5 July 1828 the faculty voted to forbid students to attend the instruction of any person not licensed or authorized by the University unless they had special permission from the faculty.

Despite the faculty's support of Dr. Blaettermann in the matter of the French school, in the second half of 1828 there was a serious rift between the professor and his colleagues concerning library books. Apparently Dr. Blaettermann kept books and periodicals as long as he saw fit. On 5 November the faculty assessed fines against him for overdue periodicals according to an agreement the faculty had signed in April. Dr. Blaettermann did not vote on the matter, but told the faculty a few days later that he wanted his name removed from the agreement. The faculty complied, but printed the agreement in the minutes (FM 8 November 1828). Blaettermann's actions likely reflected his resentment over the failure of his complaint against Tucker. For Blaettermann this represented his colleagues' lack of appreciation for his tribulations, or so he would have viewed it. In taking the unusual step of causing his name to be withdrawn from an agreement he had signed, Dr. Blaettermann placed himself outside the realm of the "Virginia gentleman" as a pariah of sorts. It is likely that he thought his withdrawal in this fashion was his best rejection of his treatment by the rest of the faculty, and he offered it *on their turf*, to put it colloquially, not on his own. By doing so he declared the gentleman's code irrelevant.

The summer of 1830 was an especially difficult time for the faculty, and Dr. Blaettermann was caught in the middle of it. Faculty minutes for the first half of 1830 show no particular problems involving the professor. He missed only three faculty meetings and lost only one student during this time; however, testimony from students indicates that some were taking his classes only because they were required to study under three professors.

In June Chairman Dunglison handled a student petition privately under his interpretation of his authority as Chairman. The faculty viewed his action as peremptory and asked for details about how he had handled the petition. When Dr. Dunglison refused, the faculty passed a resolution asking the Board of Visitors to clarify the Chairman's authority to act independently (FM 10 June 1830), to which Dunglison protested a few days later. On 19 July the Board supported Dunglison's interpretation and vested in him the sole authority to decide which offenses were to be referred to the entire faculty and the right to withhold information if he chose. The Board also forbid the faculty to punish or even try a student for an offense that the Chairman had not specifically referred to them. We should note here that the position of Chairman of the Faculty made Dr. Dunglison the most powerful individual at the University apart from the Rector of the Board of Visitors. The office of President of the University did not then exist; the Chairman of the Faculty was, in effect, the president.

It was also during July 1830 that matters came to a head with regard to Dr. Blaettermann. Faculty reports show that there were no graduates in Modern Languages in July. In addition, there were problems with the Junior French class examinations from the previous February. On 20 July the Board issued a broad resolution that denied Dr. Blaettermann the use of the pavilion promised him in his contract; however, this provision was not implemented. In addition, the resolution freed him from attending faculty meetings, but required him to fulfill all other duties, especially concerning weekly reports, and ordered him to instruct his students in literature and resume his lectures on history and geography. The most serious part of the resolution was that his salary would be reduced from \$1500 to \$1000, with the remainder to be given to a tutor the Board would hire.

If Dr. Blaettermann's behavior was so reprehensible that it was brought before the Board, one wonders why the Board did not simply dismiss him. On the other hand, we must acknowledge that firing a professor whose employment Jefferson himself had specifically ordered would not have been their preference; the manner in which the Board acted allowed them a clear conscience if the professor chose to resign.

The charges that provoked the resolution, and Dr. Blaettermann's responses to them, are found in an unsigned and hastily written document in the Special

Collections Library of the University of Virginia. The single sheet carries only the date of "Saturday," and may have been written on 17 July 1830, the last Saturday before the Board meeting on the 20th.⁴³ The charges against Dr. Blaettermann were probably given to him directly by the Chairman of the Faculty, as suggested by the Library's bibliographic entry for the document.

Six charges were made against the professor. To the first charge, that he did not reside in his pavilion, Dr. Blaettermann answered that although his wife did not reside there, he maintained his residence in the pavilion, that there was where he slept, "[had] his breakfast and tea," and "where his books and study [were]." He added that he slept elsewhere for eight or nine days at a time when ill.

The second charge accused him of neglecting his duties because of teaching at the "French school." The identity of this school cannot be easily determined, as the writing at this point is illegible to anyone but its author. Dr. Blaettermann's wife maintained a school for young ladies near the University (*Memoirs*). The professor's answer to the second charge suggests that the accuser had her school in mind. Dr. Blaettermann claimed to have "nothing to do with the conduct of that school, or with instruction given in it—except that he instructs his little boy in Latin and occasionally examines his exercises . . . ;" any assistance he gave those in his wife's school was "bestowed in the hours of his leisure" and did not interfere with his duties at the University.

The third charge was that Dr. Blaettermann had failed to teach his history and geography lessons. He responded that the courses were taught as long as there were students to attend them and that he presently had no students who would attend those lectures. The fourth charge was similar to the third and concerned negligence in regard to teaching literature. Dr. Blaettermann rejected the charge outright and claimed not to understand what the faculty meant with regard to teaching literature. He stated that since literature was a part of his lectures in history, and his lessons in history had been discontinued, he gave his students some explanation of the literature of the countries whose languages they were learning. At this point we recall Ticknor's assessment of Dr. Blaettermann's lack of "elegance" as a lecturer and the suspicion that he lacked sufficient knowledge of rhetoric, criticism and literary history (George Ticknor to Thomas Jefferson, 27 May 1819). The fifth charge concerned his inattention to filing reports, and the inaccuracy of those he did file. The professor claimed to have filed the reports as required, but had not known until recently that he was required to file weekly reports. Any inaccuracy in his reports, he said, was accidental.

The last charge concerned his allowing students to live in his pavilion. He answered that he had allowed only two students to live there. Dr.

Blaettermann could only have been referring to James Lawrence Cabell, who moved into the pavilion in October 1829, and to a Mr. Saunders, named by Cabell as the other resident in his letter of 23 October 1829 to his uncle. Dr. Blaettermann indicated that since he lived in the pavilion, he thought he had the right to extend this hospitality in this instance. This charge appears unusual, for James had written his uncle, "I knew you wanted me to get in one of the professor's houses if possible." It strains credulity to believe that the faculty, its Chairman, and the Board were unaware that James was the nephew of a Board member.

The Board had made its decision with limited information, and that information had been provided by Chairman Dunglison. Robley Dunglison played a more important role in the actions the Board took against Dr. Blaettermann in July 1830 than anyone has previously acknowledged. While one should not cast Dr. Dunglison as a stereotypical villain, the several years during which he was Chairman were a period of increasing tension between him and Professor Blaettermann. Dr. Dunglison's own reputation is considerably more solid than that of Dr. Blaettermann. He published widely, is well known to students of the history of medicine, and was Jefferson's last attending physician. He served several times as Chairman of the Faculty and seemed to enjoy the power he had. Dr. Dunglison was also very attentive to details and insisted on strict adherence to rules. He was accused in an anonymous letter of attending to petty regulations that had not been enforced by previous chairmen (*Journal*, 24 April 1829).

An example of Dr. Dunglison's fervent attention to regulations is his admonishment of Dr. Blaettermann for having told the janitor to ring the class bell at 4:15 rather than at 4:30 for his supplemental classes. The following letter is found in the entry for 18 October 1828 in the Chairman's *Journal*:

Sir

In accordance with an order of the Faculty, made October 6th and apportioning 1/2 past 4 o'clock on Monday, Wednesday & Friday as the time for the lectures (extra) on Modern Languages I directed the Janitor to have the Bell rung at that time, on those days. I find that on Friday & Wednesday he rang the Bell at 1/4 past 4—not at half past—and on questioning him regarding this act of insubordination he expressed himself as having been sanctioned in it by yourself.

I feel satisfied that if any such authorization were given by you, it was done in ignorance of the previous direction of the Chairman, under an order made by the Faculty and which none but the Faculty can alter.

I am Sir

obediently yours,

Robley Dunglison.

Chairman pro tempore.

Prof. Blaettermann.

Dr. Blaettermann's reply appears in the same entry:

Sir,

Your official note is before me, and I have the honor to say in reply, that, as the arrangement of the hours of lectures has been made for the convenience of the Lecturers, I was, I think, perfectly in order to lecture a quarter of an hour or even an hour sooner than usual, especially when, from the absence of Mr. Tucker, no one Professor was lecturing at that time--So far I have sanctioned this act of insubordination as you please to call it.

I am, Sir,

your very humble Servant

Dr Dunglison.

G. Blaettermann

The trivial nature of Dunglison's letter is evident, as is the sarcasm in Blaettermann's response.

Dr. Blaettermann's name appears frequently in the *Journal* between 1828 and 1830, the period dominated by Dunglison as Chairman of the Faculty. Some matters were minor, but the cumulative effect of recording such incidents did little to create harmony between the German professor and the English Chairman, who certainly viewed his colleague as an annoyance.

The remainder of 1830 was a difficult time for Dr. Blaettermann due to the enormous pressure put on him by the Board, much of which was unwarranted. He apparently considered abandoning the University but had already invested heavily in property and believed he would not get a fair price if he sold it, as Joseph C. Cabell wrote James Madison on 28 October 1830.⁴⁴ Dr. Blaettermann's reaction to the resolution of the Board of Visitors in 1830 is evident most clearly in this letter. Cabell wrote:

I had several interviews with Doct: Blatterman [*sic*], the result of which was a confirmation of my favorable disposition towards him. He appears to be deeply affected by the late proceedings of the board of Visitors, & repeatedly shed tears in speaking of them. Those proceedings seem to have had a favorable effect on his conduct as a Professor, and if they should not drive him from the Institution, will make him one of its most valuable members.

Given what is known about Dr. Blaettermann's temperament, one should not be surprised at his emotional reaction in front of Cabell. Cabell noted elsewhere in the letter that "the burthen of his complaint is that we have lessened his compensation whilst we have added to his duties."

Dr. Blaettermann had resigned himself to his reduced salary and the imposition of new duties, including the duty of managing a tutor. Cabell noted that the professor was preparing "a separate course on English, French, Spanish, Italian & German Literature, besides a course of Lectures on History." and called the professor's task "Herculean." His most significant

comment, however, shows how little the Board understood the men it had hired, and how much Cabell had learned in his visits with Dr. Blaettermann:

I more than ever deprecate *the rash policy of driving such a man from the Institution*, when we know that his learning will go with him, not to return in another, & when we hold our ablest professors by a brittle tenure. (emphasis added)

Cabell's comment confirms that the Board had intended to force Dr. Blaettermann's resignation.

Neither of the tutors that the Board hired over the next two years accomplished much, and the Board abolished the position of tutor on 18 July 1832. In the same year the faculty split the School of Modern Languages into two divisions, both still taught by Dr. Blaettermann. To graduate in Modern Languages a student had to master either three "Romanic" languages or one Romanic and one "Teutonic" language (FM 6 April 1832).

In 1833 Dr. Blaettermann's relations with the faculty were apparently acceptable, but the Board of Visitors attempted to abolish the School of Modern Languages, failing by one vote on 19 July, the day after Public Day (graduation), at which only two students, both in French, had graduated in Blaettermann's School. With their resolution of 20 July 1830 effectively scuttled for the moment and the School back in the hands of its professor since the abolition of the position of tutor, the Board may have considered that the time had come to dispose of both Blaettermann and his School. They could easily have hired someone to teach only French or relied on a school outside the precincts to provide the necessary instruction. Had the Board found grounds to dismiss Dr. Blaettermann at this time, they could have done so without dismantling the School of Modern Languages. That they chose the latter route strongly suggests a bias against the School itself. Curiously, having failed to get rid of the professor, the Board added a language requirement to the master's degree.

In 1835 Dr. Blaettermann had to deal with the problem of another French school nearby operated by a Mr. Vincent. The faculty had permitted students to attend his school under a license that provided that any student attending the school also be a member of the University's School of Modern Languages. After determining that the instructor had violated their terms, the faculty withdrew its license to Vincent on 8 April.

On 29 March 1836 Dr. Blaettermann's lecture was interrupted by students throwing shot at him (Bruce II 159), but we note that this was also the year in which dozens of members of the student militia company were dismissed for keeping weapons in their dormitories in violation of University regulations (FM 12 November 1836). In 1838 a student petition to remove

the professor was tabled by the Board, by which action the Board effectively rejected it (BOV 5 July 1838).

In September 1840 Dr. Blaettermann was reported to the Board of Visitors for having "cowhided" his wife in public. We do not know what rationale Blaettermann had for his attack on his wife nor is it likely that the matter was ever referred to the civil authorities, but the public nature of the offense was serious enough for the Board to dismiss Dr. Blaettermann from his position on 14 September (Bruce II 159), the only one of the original professors brought over from England to be discharged. A few weeks later Professor Charles Bonnycastle died of natural causes, and in November Professor John A. G. Davis was fatally shot by a student. Almost a third of the faculty was gone within eight weeks.⁴⁵

Dr. Blaettermann's dismissal precipitated a crisis in the Modern Language School that lasted four years, due primarily to the difficulty of finding someone with his broad knowledge of languages that would be acceptable to the Board. During this period some University students who wished to take the master's degree would find their degrees crippled by a notation that they had not completed the Modern Language requirements (BOV 2 July 1841). The University first appointed Charles Kraitser to Blaettermann's post (BOV July 3, 1841), but he resigned in 1844 (BOV 5 July 1844). Finally, on 25 September 1844, Schele de Vere assumed the post and remained at the University for fifty years.

After 1840 Dr. Blaettermann tended to his farm and wrote articles for a farm journal. He attempted to open a school himself in 1846, but nothing came of it,⁴⁶ and he died in January 1850 of apoplexy while walking back to his farm after visiting a neighbor (*Memoirs*).

One can justly censure Dr. Blaettermann for his temperament, especially concerning the incident of domestic violence that caused his dismissal from the University. We may also find fault with his treatment of students, particularly those whom he singled out as lazy, but we should take into consideration the pronounced cultural bias against the foreign professors. H. L. Mencken noted that the American after 1814 was far different from the one of revolutionary days. He was "ignorant, pushful, impatient of restraint and precedent, an iconoclast, a Philistine, an Anglophobe in every fiber."⁴⁷ It is hardly a stretch to conclude that their attitude toward Germans was no better.

We note, too, the obvious inconsistency in Dr. Blaettermann's ownership of slaves and his professed enthusiasm for American democracy. That he was aware of this inconsistency is unlikely, but he was one of several early professors at the University who accepted their new culture by adopting its most objectionable practice. Dr. Blaettermann's widow freed his slaves about five years after his death.⁴⁸

We also regret the fact that Dr. Blaettermann did not publish his philological insights or take a more active role in promoting the field of modern language study in the United States by publishing a grammar, for example. In this regard he differs considerably from Charles Follen. On the positive side we must give Dr. Blaettermann credit for maintaining a school of modern languages at a time when such a school was a novelty. Furthermore, the population in general was not yet ready to abandon the notion that only a Frenchman should teach the modern languages, especially when one of those languages was French. Although there is only scant evidence concerning his teaching of the German language, it is likely that he frequently introduced students in all his courses to German history and politics. Of the twenty-five questions on Dr. Blaettermann's examination in "Modern Geography, History &c." in 1828 all but four deal with German-speaking countries (*Virginia Literary Museum*, 24 June 1829).

One should not underrate the fifteen-year stability of the School of Modern Languages that Dr. Blaettermann provided. Despite his temperamental personality and the attitudes of the student body he managed to provide hundreds of students instruction in four modern languages at a time when such an offering was rare, and in fact, unavailable in Virginia for the first few years of his tenure. He was for some time the only person in higher education in the United States who taught Anglo-Saxon, and this fact alone contributed to the University's growing reputation. Dr. Blaettermann's insights in philology specifically, and the broad expanse of his linguistic capabilities in general were assets that set the standard by which his successors would be measured. Had he abandoned the University in 1830, his learning, as Joseph C. Cabell had indicated, would have gone with him. It would have been relatively easy to find a teacher of French, but one who also knew a wide range of modern languages, and Anglo-Saxon, and could teach them from a philological perspective would have been impossible to find at the time. Jefferson's School of Modern Languages, if it had survived at all, would have become a shadow of what Jefferson had intended, and the modern field of foreign language instruction would have suffered as a result.

Perhaps the words a more generous and reflective Robley Dunglison wrote years later best sum up George W. Blaettermann: He was "a man of great philological knowledge, but by no means refined. He was kind hearted; and a greater enemy to himself than to any other person" (*Autobiographical Ana* 47).

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Notes

¹Frank Mehring, "Karl/Charles Follen: Rediscovering the Multilingual Oeuvre," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 42 (2007): 17–38. Unless otherwise noted, all information regarding Follen in this study comes from this source.

²*Historical Register of Harvard University, 1636–1936* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1937), 211.

³Dr. Blaettermann was born on 2 April 1782 in or near (Bad) Langensalza, Germany, and was baptized George Willhelm Blättermann (spelling confirmed in church records). *Geburtsregister St. Stephani 1770–1786*, Evangelische Kirchengemeinde, Bad Langensalza, Germany, p. 356, Nr. 34. Although his birthplace lay in Thuringia, he took pride in being a Saxon, as his son reported. (George Walter Blattermann, *Memoirs of George Walter Clements Blatterman [manuscript]*, ca. 1902. Accession #10233, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, VA; cited hereafter as *Memoirs*.) The son also noted that the professor chose to spell his surname "Blaettermann," but that he did not and "omitted two letters the better to adapt myself to American usage and custom."

⁴"J'ai voyagé quelque temps, j'ai vu le monde, j'ai même fait la campagne de Russie, en Qualité de Commissaire, sous Buonaparte dont la chute m'a poussé jusqu'à Londres" (translation mine). Letter of George Blaettermann, London, to Thomas Jefferson, Monticello, April 27, 1819. ALS. French. The Jefferson Papers of the University of Virginia, 1732–1828, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, VA.

⁵See "Getting Word__Lucy Blaetterman," Site Name: Monticello, Home of Thomas Jefferson, page created September 14, 1998, sponsor of site: Thomas Jefferson Foundation, Inc. 1 Nov. 2007 <<http://www.monticello.org/gettingword/GWlucy.html>>. See also Catherine S. Neale's discussion of the early professors who purchased slaves (Catherine S. Neale, "Slaves, Freedpeople, and the University of Virginia." B.A. Honors thesis, University of Virginia, 2006, 29–30).

⁶According to records of King's College, Aberdeen, the future professor received the honorary degree of LL.D. on 20 March 1822, and was noted as having the A.M. degree from the University of Leipzig. *Officers and Graduates of University & King's College, Aberdeen, MVD–MDCCCLX*, ed. Peter John Anderson (Aberdeen: Printed for the New Spalding Club, 1893), 115.

⁷Philip Alexander Bruce, *History of the University of Virginia, 1819–1919, The Lengthened Shadow of One Man*, 5 vols. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920–1922), II 160, cited hereafter by volume and page; Klaus Wust, *The Virginia Germans* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1969) 164; Virginius Dabney, *Mr. Jefferson's University: A History* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981) 14; Garry Wills, *Mr. Jefferson's University* (Washington, DC: National Geographic Society, 2002), 125.

⁸In 1888 William P. Trent noted his regret that he could not "obtain more facts of importance" regarding Dr. Blaettermann. William P. Trent. "The Influence of the University of Virginia upon Southern Life and Thought" in Herbert Baxter Adams. "Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia, by Herbert B. Adams . . . with authorized sketches of Hampden-Sidney, Randolph-Macon, Emory-Henry, Roanoke, and Richmond Colleges, Washington and Lee University, and Virginia Military Institute." (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1888) Google Books. 23 March 2007 <<http://books.google.com>> 160. The following year Trent made a similar comment: "Of Dr. Blaettermann's antecedents I have been unable to procure any information." William P. Trent, *English Culture in Virginia: A Study of the Gilmer Letters and an Account of the English Professors Obtained by Jefferson for the University of Virginia*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, ed. Herbert B. Adams, Seventh Series V–VI (Baltimore: N. Murray, Publication Agent, Johns Hopkins University, May and June, 1889), 58.

⁹The article "University of Virginia" appeared anonymously in the January 1842 issue of *The Southern Literary Messenger*. [Benjamin Blake Minor], "University of Virginia," *The Southern Literary Messenger* 8.1 (8 January 1842) 50–54. Making of America Journal Articles, University of Michigan: Humanities Text Initiative, 1 Nov 2007 <<http://name.umdl.umich.edu/acf2679.0008.001>>. Minor, who became the editor of the *Messenger* the following year, finally acknowledged authorship in 1897 (B. B. Minor, "The Chapel at the University," *Alumni Bulletin*. Published Quarterly by the Faculty of the University of Virginia. 3.4 [February 1897] 105). The attack on Dr. Blaettermann is given here in its entirety:

Disease and crime removed these Professors [Bonnycastle and Davis], and inflicted a serious blow upon the pride of Virginia. But disgrace has also done its part; which is mainly attributable to the neglect and inaction of the Visitors [*sic*]. Dr. Blaetterman [*sic*], who was displaced for gross misconduct, was also one of the professors brought over by Mr. Gilmer. He was always said to be a man of great attainments, but it is doubtful whether he has added any thing to his information for several years past. His habits and character rendered him totally unfit for his office, had he been the most resplendent genius. The Visitors would not have assigned him any important part in the government of the institution, and yet retained him as an instructor, in despite [*sic*] of his well known improper conduct. For several sessions the students openly complained of his unfitness; and it was a common jest that he was retained because of his acquaintance with the Anglo-Saxon language, which was said to be a great hobby of one of the Visitors. In 1838, a large number of students, thinking that their duty required it, signed and presented to the Board a memorial praying to have him removed. The Visitors would not grant the prayer, though they had themselves reduced his salary for the same offences [*sic*] with which the students charged him. It was not until he plainly degraded himself, that they had the independence to dismiss him. Thus a vague fear of giving offence, and of doing injustice to individuals, causes men to be retained in office to the public detriment, when their unfitness is manifest. These things are not said in malice against the dismissed professor, nor in angry feeling against any one; but in love and zeal for the University, whose cause should be advocated plainly and positively. ("University of Virginia" 51f.)

¹⁰Dr. Gessner Harrison, "The University of Virginia," *Cyclopaedia of American Literature* (New York, 1856). Google Books, 1 Nov. 2007 <<http://books.google.com>>. II 730.

¹¹John Lewis, *Tables of Comparative Etymology and Analogous Formations in the Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, French, English, and German Languages; or, The Student's Manual of Languages. Designed to Facilitate the Study of Them, by a Connected View of Their Declensions, Methods of Comparison, Conjugations, Interchangeable Letters, and Similar Terminations*. The Greek by G. Long, the German by Dr. G. Blaettermann, Professors of Ancient and Modern Languages in the University of Virginia (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Carey, 1828). Copy in the collection of the Virginia Historical Society.

¹²*Virginia Literary Museum and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, &c.* 1.1 (June 17, 1829)–1.52 (June 9, 1830) (Charlottesville, VA: F. Carr, 1830). Special Collections. University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, VA.

¹³University of Virginia Faculty Minutes Vols. I–XIX, 1825–1970, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, VA. All references to the minutes of the faculty are from these volumes. Cited in the text as FM with the date of the meeting, or simply the date if the context is clear.

¹⁴*Journals of the Chairman of the Faculty, 1827–1864*, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, VA. All references and quotations from these journals are from these volumes. Cited in the text as *Journal*, or when the context is clear, the date of the entry.

¹⁵ Ronald B. Head, "The Declension of George Blaettermann. First Professor of Modern Languages at the University of Virginia," *Virginia Cavalcade* 31, 4 (Spring 1982): 187.

¹⁶ Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Jefferson to William Hilliard, November 4, 1825. The Thomas Jefferson Papers, American Memory, Library of Congress. 25 October 2007 <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/jefferson_papers/>.

¹⁷ James Lawrence Cabell, Letter to Joseph Carrington Cabell, April 2, 1830, Correspondence of James Lawrence Cabell, 1829–37, Accession #1640 and #3894, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, VA. All correspondence between James Lawrence Cabell and Joseph Carrington Cabell referenced in this article is from this source and is cited hereafter only by date.

¹⁸ See William P. Trent's "The Influence of the University of Virginia upon Southern Life and Thought" in Herbert Baxter Adams' "Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia" 160. See also Stanley R. Hauer, "Thomas Jefferson and the Anglo-Saxon Language," *PMLA* 98, 5 (October 1983): 891.

¹⁹ The first professor to hold the chair at William and Mary was Italian-born Charles Bellini, whose field encompassed the French, Italian, Spanish, and German languages. Bellini died in 1803 and was succeeded by Louis H. Girardin, who moved to Richmond in 1805. The position remained vacant until 1829. See Lyon G. Tyler, *The College of William and Mary in Virginia: Its History and Work. 1693–1907*. (Richmond, VA: Whittet & Shepperson, Printers, 1907) 61, 68. The dates of Bellini's and Girardin's service as given by Tyler may not be accurate. See J. Worth Banner, "Genesis in Modern Languages," *South Atlantic Bulletin* 17.1 (May 1951) 2 October 2007; 1, 6–7 <<http://www.jstor.org/search/>> 6. Banner gives Bellini's date of death as June 1804 (6) instead of 1803, as in Tyler. Bruce cites 1806 as the year Girardin "determined to resign his chair" (I 117), whereas Tyler claims he moved to Richmond in 1805. Banner notes that the catalogue for the 1829–30 session lists C. de la Peña (Peña) as Professor of Modern Languages (6). In any event, the chair was vacant until long after the University of Virginia had opened.

²⁰ See Bruce vol. I, ch. 2, "First Period. Struggle for a University."

²¹ Jefferson referred to the "promiscuous use of the vowels" and the "unsettled orthography" of Anglo-Saxon. See Thomas Jefferson, *An Essay Towards Facilitating Instruction in the Anglo-Saxon and Modern Dialects of the English Language*, New York, 1851 11. In his letter to Herbert Croft in 1798 on the Anglo-Saxon language, included with the essay, Jefferson wrote, "[S]ome ideas occurred [to me] for facilitating the study by simplifying its grammar, by reducing the infinite diversities of its unfixed orthography to single and settled forms" (4). See also Hauer's critique of Jefferson's approach.

²² See especially Ticknor's letter of 14 October 1815, in O. W. Long, *Thomas Jefferson and George Ticknor. A Chapter in American Scholarship* (Williamstown, Massachusetts: McClellan Press, 1933. Photocopy. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Preservation Section, 1991), 13–15.

²³ Letter from George Ticknor to Thomas Jefferson, May 27, 1819, The Thomas Jefferson Papers, American Memory, Library of Congress. 4 October 2007 <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/jefferson_papers/>.

²⁴ Commentary of Kate M. Blatterman, daughter of the professor's adopted son George Walter Blatterman, in George Walter Blaettermann [sic], *Reminiscences of His Step-father, George Blaettermann, Early Professor at the University of Virginia, 1830–1904*, Accession #789, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, VA, [ca. 1904]. Ms. Blatterman's commentary is based on and extends her father's holographic notebook cited in this article as *Memoirs*. See note 3.

²⁵ Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, *The Republic of Letters: The Correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and James Madison 1776–1826*, ed. James Morton Smith, 3 vols. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1995), 3: 1912.

²⁶ Thomas Jefferson, Letter to George Ticknor, 24 December 1819, The Thomas Jefferson Papers, American Memory, Library of Congress, 22 February 2007 <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/jefferson_papers/>. Spelling modernized.

²⁷ George Blaettermann, London, to Richard Rush, 6 October 1821, The Jefferson Papers of the University of Virginia, 1732–1828. Main Series III. 1821–1824. M 124 (microfilm) Roll 9. Spelling modernized.

²⁸ George Blaettermann, London, to Richard Rush, 8 October 1821, The Jefferson Papers of the University of Virginia, 1732–1828. Main Series III. 1821–1824. M 124 (microfilm) Roll 9. Spelling modernized.

²⁹ See the minutes of the Board of Visitors for 7 April 1824 (Board of Visitors minutes. University of Virginia, Board of Visitors, University of Virginia Library Digital Collections, 2006. Accessed on various dates. <<http://lib.virginia.edu/digital/collections/text/bov.html>>, cited hereafter as BOV with the date of the meeting or with simply the date where the reference is unambiguous).

³⁰ See especially vol. II of Bruce.

³¹ This incident is given in various accounts. See Bruce II 298f. and H[enry] Tutwiler, “Early Years of the University of Virginia. Address of H. Tutwiler, A.M., LL.D., of Alabama, Before the Alumni Society of the University of Virginia, Thursday, June 29th, 1882,” ([Charlottesville, VA], 1882) 10f. Professor George Tucker also recounted the event in his *Life of Jefferson* and noted the presence of Jefferson’s [grand]nephew among the guilty parties (excerpted in Samuel X. Radbill and Robley Dunglison, *The Autobiographical Ana of Robley Dunglison, M.D.*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, 53.8 [1963], <<http://www.jstor.org/search/>> 30).

³² Cornelia Jefferson Randolph, Letter to Ellen Wayles Randolph, August 3, 1825, Correspondence of Ellen Wayles Randolph Coolidge, 1819–61, Accession #9090, 38–584, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, VA.

³³ University of Virginia, Catalogue of Students, 1825–1850. (A Catalogue of the Officers and Matriculates of the University of Virginia). LD5667. Special Collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, VA. The catalog for the first session (1825) incorrectly states that seventy-three students were enrolled in modern languages, but the list of students shows only sixty-eight names in that School. Note that students were expected to enroll in more than one School. Cited by session or year.

³⁴ Kenneth Silverman, *Edgar A. Poe. Mournful and Never-ending Remembrance* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1991), 459.

³⁵ Richard Cary Ambler, Richard Cary Ambler Notebooks, 1810–1877, Accession #10037, Special Collections Library, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, VA. Spelling and punctuation modernized.

³⁶ Thomas T. Bouldin, Student notebook, ca. 1835, concerning lectures of George Blaettermann on the Anglo Saxon language at the University of Virginia, Sec. 13, Bouldin Family, Papers, 1737–1960, Part 3, Mss1 B6638 a 28–822, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia. Owned by the Virginia Historical Society. Contrast Blaettermann’s attention to the rules governing vowels and consonants with Jefferson’s more casual, and less accurate, approach to Anglo-Saxon orthography.

³⁷ I should also point out that in stressing etymology Dr. Blaettermann was not alone. Gessner Harrison’s similar emphasis in the School of Ancient Languages was a source of consternation for at least one of his students. In his diary entry for 15 June 1835, Charles Ellis thoroughly pilloried Professor Harrison for his “twisted Etymology”, arguing that it was absurd to be required to study the subject “after having Graduated in the Language,” and noting that bears “generally ascend tail foremost, and old Gess, alias Bear, seems to be mounting among the branches of his Etymological Tree pretty much in a backward fashion.” Charles

Ellis, Charles Ellis Diary, 10 March–25 June 1835, Accession #8745, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, VA.

³⁸ University of Virginia, *Students of the University of Virginia: A Semi-Centennial Catalogue, with Brief Biographical Sketches* (Baltimore: Charles Harvey & Co., [ca. 1878]) n.p.

³⁹ John A. Broadus, "A Memorial of Gessner Harrison, M.D., Professor of Ancient Languages in the University of Virginia: Read Before the Society of Alumni, July 2, 1873 / by John A. Broadus" (Charlottesville, 1874), 20.

⁴⁰ The quotation is found in Gustav Gruener, "Poe's Knowledge of German," *Modern Philology*, 2.1 (June 1904), repr. [Chicago], Printed at the University of Chicago Press, [1904]:

His [Poe's] chief instructor was Professor Blaettermann, who, according to Professor James A. Harrison, was "an accomplished German," and whose "influence is perceptible all through Poe's humorous, imaginative work." (127)

Gruener cites his source for the quotation from Harrison as a personal letter. Harrison was a professor at the University of Virginia and an editor of Poe's works. See Edgar Allan Poe, *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. James A. Harrison, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., Publishers, [1902]). Volume 1, which contains Harrison's biography of Poe, has no claim similar to the one he made in his letter.

⁴¹ Kevin J. Hayes, *Poe and the Printed Word* [electronic resource] Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge UP, 25 October 2007 <<http://site.ebrary.com/lib/uvalib/Doc?id=2000928>> 12f.

⁴² *Cwæp*: For example, see James R. Hulbert, *Bright's Anglo-Saxon Reader* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1935), 265.

⁴³ George Blaettermann, George Blaettermann Answers to Charges [manuscript] [1830?], Special Collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, VA.

⁴⁴ Joseph C. Cabell to James Madison, 28 October 1830, *The James Madison Papers*, American Memory, Library of Congress, 24 June 2007 <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/madison_papers/index.html>.

⁴⁵ Dr. Blaettermann's dismissal is noted in the minutes of the Board of Visitors for 14 September 1840. Professor Bonnycastle's date of death is recorded on his tombstone in the University cemetery, as is that of Professor Davis, who died on 14 November. He was shot on 12 November (Bruce II 309).

⁴⁶ John W. Boitnott, "Secondary Education in Virginia. 1845–1870," dissertation University of Virginia, 1935, 206.

⁴⁷ H. L. Mencken, *The American Language*, 1963, quoted in Michael I. Miller, "A Jacksonian View of American English." *Revue française* 18 398.

⁴⁸ Letter of Elizabeth C. Blaetterman to Victoria, 30 June 1860. Francis Lee Thurman Papers, 1827–1860, Accession #799, Special Collections. University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, VA. See also Catherine S. Neale, noted above.

William Roba

Turner Societies in a Metropolitan Area: The Tri-Cities, 1852–2002

One recurring topic in German-American Studies is the influence of the widespread number of German social clubs or *Vereine*. The most influential of these were the *Turnvereine* or *Turngemeinden*, which were organized by reform leaders from the 1848 period of political upheaval in the German Confederation. From 1850 through 1865 these organizations stressed both physical activity ("sound body") and adult education with lectures and libraries ("sound mind"). Since 1987, research into these early organizations, and their "invention" of an ethnic identity in America has led to the publication of more than 70 papers, articles or books.¹ This paper extends this research by examining the growth and decline of eleven Turner organizations in a bi-state (Iowa-Illinois) metropolitan area. The seven generations of membership in an area now known as the Quad-Cities offers a unique opportunity to analyze the reasons for the success and failure of the various clubs.

When Iowa became a state in 1847, a complex community of thriving frontier towns had evolved in eastern Iowa and western Illinois. They resulted from the early transportation problems of the Upper Mississippi River, in the area known to steamboat pilots as the Upper Rapids. The first migration of German-speaking settlers started in the late 1840s, and with an estimated population of 2,850 in 1848, the sprawling population grew to 18,425 by 1860. The rebuilt railroad bridge across the Mississippi River linked Chicago, the river towns, and the beckoning frontier of western Iowa. In the bridge cities of this early period, a metropolitan area emerged with three major shoreline urban centers: Davenport, Iowa; Moline and Rock Island, Illinois.

* * *

The earliest Turner association was founded in Davenport, which was a flourishing town of 3,400 citizens in the early 1850s. The Turner leader was Christian Mueller (1823–1901), who had been the *Turnwart*, or gymnastics leader in Kiel, the largest city in the Duchy of Holstein. He joined twelve



Northwest Turner Hall, Davenport, Iowa, 1871.

others to found a local chapter on 3 August 1852, the first *Turnverein* in Iowa. They adopted the name of "Socialistic Turner Society," representing the idealism of the forty-eighters.² That summer, the first gymnastic events took place in a public square in Davenport. In the winter, gymnastics continued in the loft of Fahrenholtz's flour mill. Climbing up a narrow ladder must have been good exercise; the German-American historian August Richter commented that "je schneidender der Blizzard durch die Ritzen pfliff, desto eifriger wurde geturnt" (the sharper the blizzard winds blew through the cracks, the more zealously went the gymnastics).³ With an increase to 120 members, the officers decided to hold their first festival on 24 January 1854 in Le Claire Hall, and a woman's auxiliary created a flag of red silk with the Turner motto, "Freedom, Education and Prosperity for all!" in a green oak wreath. The *Erster Sprecher*, Theodore Gülich (1829–93), formally accepted the flag for the organization and explained that the color red symbolized "der hereinbrechende Morgenschein, roth wie das glühende Leben, das der Vollglanz der Freiheit umstrahlen soll." Amid cheering and the usual Turner outburst of "Gut Heil," Gülich closed his speech with the powerful slogan, "Hoch auf die freien Frauen" (three cheers for free women).⁴



Moline Turner Hall.

Besides physical sports, this first Turner society spent equal amounts of time supporting the intellectual life of its members, and political involvement. Gülich began a series of public lectures, the nucleus of a library, and support of local politicians.⁵ Although the membership reflected a large number from the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, other North Germans found a safe haven in Davenport and were welcomed by the Turner organization. An example of this is in the experiences of the earliest song leader, 38-year-old Frederick Karl Mahnke, a former schoolmaster from the north German Duchy of Mecklenburg. According to Richter, he had been driven from his position because of opinions the authorities thought were subversive.⁶ He and his wife Augusta had arrived in Davenport in the mid-1850s.

The Davenport Turners were not esteemed by all of their neighbors, since they ignored the Sabbatarian beliefs of conventionally inclined settlers from New England, and held their gymnastic exercises on Sunday morning, public celebrations and Turner festivals also seemed to suggest a lot of beer quaffing; on 26–27 May 1856 the Davenport society had a regional celebration in Bomberg's beer garden on the bluff above the city. One of the most famous attendees was Wilhelm Pfänder from Cincinnati, the founder of the utopian settlement in New Ulm, Minnesota.

In a burst of optimism, before the recession of 1857 hit the Midwest, the society bought a wonderful site on the slopes of the river bluff in 1857. But the recession led to reduced contributions and the property was sold; other

German settlers argued that the supposedly "atheistic" Turner members were diverting funds from the struggling German Lutheran church. A year later, a special census showed that twenty-four percent of the population of Davenport was German-speaking.⁷ A majority of members decided to call their organization the Davenport Turner Society, to make it more acceptable to the growing population.

In the politicalization of the 1850s, Davenport German Turners played a decisive role, by supporting mass meetings to push for the nomination of Abraham Lincoln as the presidential candidate of the Republican party. Their political involvement was connected with two political leaders who were also powerful members of the Turners. Theodore Gülich and Hans Reimer Claussen led the Davenport supporters of Lincoln in demanding both the abolishment of slavery and a strong party statement denouncing the American (or as it was popularly called, the "Know Nothing") party and its anti-immigrant stance. These resolutions were submitted at Chicago on 18 May 1860 and were useful in German-speaking Republicans helping to win the Presidential nomination for Lincoln.⁸

* * *

Across the river along the shoreline, the town of Moline received a steady increase in population including enough Germans to organize themselves into three competing organizations. Between 1858 and 1862 these organizations flourished: the "Turner Sextion Gegründet" was a singing society; the Germania Gesangverein published a list of officers; the Concordia Verein also began. This became a pattern for Moline Turner activities: primarily musical in nature, sports activities were added, but only individual members attained political office as residents, not as Turners. The situation in the other Illinois community of Rock Island remains vague. On 10 January 1855 a German Glee Club had been started, which sang at Littig's Brewery. A year later, Francis R. Ciolina, a medical doctor, gave a public lecture at the rooms of the German Young Men's Association. The Rock Island Turn Gemeinde was officially organized on 16 April 1857.⁹ The early membership remained reticent about their activities, perhaps because of organized religious opposition. Rev. C. A. Mennicke, later said the Turners "were bitter enemies to the Evangelical Lutheran Church."¹⁰

* * *

For Turner families, the period during and after the American Civil War was a time of institutional success; the dominant society in this bridged community accepted German-American ideas, behavior, and beliefs as physical exercise became a widely accepted positive attribute with millions of young soldiers in the area. Between the 1860s and the 1880s, this complex community of many towns was economically stimulated by expanding industrialization,

and continued migration. This created a period of influence and acceptance which was the precursor to the “golden age” of Turnerism. The population grew in the metropolitan area from 18,421 to 41,290 in 1880, making it the forty-sixth largest urban area in America.¹¹

The beginning of the “Bruderkrieg,” or the American Civil War happened after 15 April 1861 when President Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers who would serve for three months. For the forty-eighters who had lost their chance for social reform in Europe, this became a glorious opportunity. The First Iowa Regiment, Company G, had ten German officers who set a tone of high moral purpose and expectation. One of the most successful officers was an honorary German, William S. McKenzie, from Scotland. Richter comments that “der das Deutsche Vollkommen bemeisterte und sich vorzugsweise in deutschen Gesellschaften bewegte” (he had mastered German perfectly well, and got along splendidly in German circles.)¹² German Turners from eastern Iowa became embroiled in the largest military engagement in North America up to this time, the Battle of Wilson’s Creek. Fought in southwestern Missouri, it was remembered as a great and glorious battle, the name engraved on top of the Civil War monument high above Davenport’s downtown. A 36-year-old Austrian immigrant, Captain August Wentz, was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel of the 7th Regiment, and was killed in the Battle of Wilson’s Creek on 10 August 1861. He became an instant media hero, with black bordered newspaper accounts elaborating on the martyred Turner.¹³

Two other Turner “heroes” returned to Davenport. Eduard Holzborn was a successful saloon owner who had fought at the first Battle of Bull Run in 1861, and survived. Another veteran, Ernst Claussen (the son of Hans Reimer Claussen), returned after his ninety day enlistment and started a lucrative law practice, specializing in helping young men avoid being drafted. Quotas had to be filled and where the young man lived was the basis of being called up. During the war, \$300 could pay for someone else to take the place of a young man with money. In Davenport, a popular form of draft insurance existed, however, legal representation was always useful.¹⁴ Claussen became a Turner leader, was selected as *Erster Sprecher*, 1862–72, and helped plan the new two story brick building, built by the Library Association, which rented out rooms to the group.

While the rhetorical flourishes continued, now primed by the wartime success, a decade of elected German-American officials for both city and state offices, had blurred some of the early political distinctiveness. In fact, Samuel Ludvigh, famous for his satirical sketches, lampooned the Davenport Turners. “The library, I have been assured, consists of one volume of Freiligrath’s poetry. Fortunate Freiligrath! Now, is that not radicalism? Only forward,



Davenport Central Turner Hall, ca. 1890.

always forward, never backward and we German radicals will cause a revolution in American political, cultural, and social life such as the world has never seen! *En avant!* Barkeeper another glass of lager beer for the heat is becoming unbearable.”¹⁵

The Turner Hall provided an attractive gathering place for veterans, not only German-speaking members. Within a year, an unofficial group decided to hold a formal banquet, and it was then that the assembled veterans decided to create their own Grand Army of the Republic organization, much like the GAR units in Illinois. Thus the Civil War experience led to a Turner experience which helped validate the forty-eighters idealism, leading to greater acceptance within the community for German organizations. This first successful development in gaining community support led to an eventual change in their name, becoming the Davenport Turner Association in 1882. As a sign of this greater community acceptance, within two years the Scott County Democratic club began meeting at the Turner Hall.¹⁶

The second development which met with community approval, was the expansion of organized physical education. By 1872, Emil Schulz had become a full-time director of gymnastics; when he retired in 1879, August Reichard filled in for a time, and then Wilhelm Reuter, son of a regionally known gymnast in Milwaukee was recruited for the job, staying for thirty-two years (1880–1912).

The third development was the geographical expansion of the Turners, with a separate neighborhood association, Northwest Turners, organizing on 5 August 1871. Fourteen German immigrants met at Peter Jacobsen's Hall, at the confluence of five streets, hence the designation “Five Points”. This club stressed euchre games and dances more than gymnasium classes or politics. They adopted the motto from Juvenal (60–140 AD) who argued that men should seek “*mens sana in corpore sano*,” a motto adopted by many American Turner societies. The “Five Points” area was in the center of a rapidly growing middle-class neighborhood, with many young families who depended upon the horse-drawn trolley car connections with the downtown business district.

At the same time, two small town Turner societies were organized nearby in 1869. Eldridge was located within ten miles of Davenport, and surrounding farmers started a *Sozialer Turnverein*, initially renting rooms. The society flourished because of transportation connections to Davenport on the nearby railroad lines, and later using the electrified suburban rail lines for special events and occasions. An equally small Turner society appeared in Buffalo, Iowa, which was approximately ten miles down river from Davenport. The members adopted as their name, the Buffalo Turner and Freeman's Association and flourished from 1869 through 1961 as a purely social club.

* * *

On the Illinois side of the river, Moline's Turner societies expanded and reorganized following the Civil War, leading to greater community acceptance. The Concordia Society sponsored a special event to raise funds for wounded soldiers in the Battle of Murpheesboro, featuring the Moline German String Band.¹⁷ In the next year, another Turner society rented rooms to open a *Schulverein*. By 22 July 1866, thirteen men organized the Turner Society and elected as officers H. Reeser, *Turnwart*, and Mitchell Schulheus, *Erster Sprecher*. They also voted to join the American Turner Society, becoming the seventeenth in the country. In the next decade they joined together with the Concordia Verein (educational) and the Germania Verein (musical and social). The three newly combined societies were known as the C. G. Turner Society.¹⁸

The bicentennial organization of 1876, sponsored a varied of activities, getting the most publicity from their physical activities. They sponsored a large Masquerade Ball in Timm's Hotel in the winter of 1877, and elections in 1878 with William Runge elected *Erster Turnwart*. Within a few years they were receiving public recognition for a gymnastic contest in Warner's Grove, and a metropolitan district *Turnbezirksfest* featuring calisthenics and olympic exercises: the Davenport Turners came in first with the Moline C. G. Turners coming in second.¹⁹

Rock Island's reorganization meeting of 18 September 1865, seemed successful with the members choosing the principles of "Durch Übung zur Kraft, durch Kampf zum Licht" (through exercise to power, through struggle to the light).²⁰ Lothar Harms later reminisced about his first meeting of 15 November 1867: a small group of regulars enjoyed occasional public lectures such as when Charles Kothy, teacher at the German English School, gave a concert and a lecture on "Humanity."²¹ Another prominent Turner, Johann Ohlweiler, Sr., migrated at the age of twenty in 1863, was elected alderman, and became a successful businessman.²² He was a member of the Rock Island Turners, serving as vice-president in 1882 and representing the society at a Milwaukee Turner convention. He was viewed in the community as a successful Rock Island businessman, not as a German-American; his son, John Ohlweiler, Jr., (1861–1929) reflected his further acculturation into the dominant, Americanized business society of Rock Island. The Ohlweilers were Democrats, and it perhaps is not a coincidence that the Democratic City conventions were held in the Rock Island Turner Hall, starting in the 1880s.²³

* * *

The "golden age" of the Turner movement in the bridged cities, which became known as the Tri-Cities, was the period from 1880 through 1914. For the second and third generations, the Turner societies seemed at the center



Central Turner Society, 1955.

of community activities in the metropolitan area. By 1885 there was a total population of 44,000 which almost tripled to 136,395 by 1920.²⁴

In Davenport, the development of three Turner organizations reflected very different community strategies. The original downtown group became known as Central Turner's, befitting the "refinements" a new building in 1888, located next to the Grand Opera House.²⁵ The Turner Hall consisted of a large gymnasium, small ball room, and three "smoking rooms." In the basement was a club room with six nine-pin bowling alleys, with nearby cooling cellars for wine. On the second floor was another "smoking room," reception room and large dining room. The third floor had a central courtyard insuring natural lighting into all of the rooms. Nearby was the assembly room, library and reading room, two society rooms, and six guest rooms for the manager and his family.

A description of the inaugural ceremonies conveys the community perception of Central Turner's. On 18–20 May 1888, the dedication began with an opera on Friday night followed by a banquet with more than 500 guests. The locally prominent orator, Gustave Donald was the master of ceremonies, with speeches and toasts interspersed with various food courses.

The hyperbole of an anonymous reporter captured the atmosphere when he opined that "the feast of reason and the flow of soul" came together.²⁶ The three toasts were to "Davenport and the Germans," "Personal Liberty," and the "North American Turner Bund." This was followed with a series of tableaux which told the story of Germans in America. After a concert, there were calisthenic exercises by a class of fifty girls, a short concert by the Männerchor Turner Singing section followed, then wand exercises by a class of fifty boys, then sixty members performed the pyramids, followed by more music and parallel bar exercises. On Sunday night, those who could still enjoy the celebration, saw a grand opera, "A Night's Adventure in Grenada," featuring the soloists of the Hess and Metropolitan opera companies of New York City, the local Arion Society, and the singing section of the Turner society.

By 1910, the importance of the downtown Davenport Turner society was based upon three institutions: a short opera season, when traveling troupes appeared in the Grand Opera House, usually coming from Milwaukee; plays at "Turner Grand" [Opera House]; and drinking at the region's longest bar, in *der Linden* saloon, purchased from the board of the St. Louis Louisiana Purchase Exposition when it closed in August 1904. It was here that hard liquor was openly sold, although the state of Iowa required a monthly "mulct tax" for technical legalities (this referred to a fine for commerce in selling intoxicating liquors which were technically forbidden by Iowa law). At the famous Turner "refreshment room" on the first floor, games of chance and "skill" were featured. One of the most popular forms of gaming with cards, was the opportunity for customers to pay \$52 for a deck of cards in the hopes of receiving \$10 for every card on the top line of the played cards: the German-American version of the famous solitaire game, named after the Sarasota gambler, Richard Canfield (1855–1914).

In the early twentieth-century, the Central Turner emphasis used occasional fairs to raise money in late November. One of the first famous fairs occurred when the Turner Hall was proclaimed a free city named "*Krähwinkel*" (Crow Corner). The most famous one was called Old Heidelberg, held from 30 November through 4 December, where visitors could imagine themselves strolling through the streets, with the sights and sounds of the casino, and the Pretzel Alley Rathskeller.²⁷ This fair became an imprinted memory on the part of Davenport's German-Americans, with photos and references at the Scott County Fair, as late as 1972. Much of the humorous atmosphere was captured in a book of stereotyped humor written by W. L. Purcell.

Relying upon the original humor found in the fictionalized history of New Netherlands by Washington Irving, *The History of New York* (1809), with the eponymous Dietrich Knickerbocker, Purcell created a memorable but slanted view of the "good old days." His references were to the late

afternoon gathering of the *Alte Kameraden*, where the greeting was invariably *Goondacht*, and the old regulars drank their cold steins of beer; they selected liverwurst, pig's knuckles, *Schmierkäse*, or *Kieler Sprotten* from the free lunch table. In the early evenings, the groups would play pinochle, skat or sancho-pedre, "keepin' tab on the game with a piece of chalk, on a cloth-bound slate that had a sponge tied to it with a red string."²⁸ In the pinochle game, Purcell recalls that it could get noisy with players hitting "the tables [with] an awful wallop, hollern' '*schoeppe wie haus!*' meaning 'spades high, as big as a house.'"²⁹ One of the better players was Nicholas Krambeck (1822–1901), 1st Ward Alderman (1881–82) and well-known neighborhood tailor, who was called *Ruthen Bur*, or "the jack of diamonds."³⁰

In this reimagined satire of the Turners, Purcell comments on the Grand Opera events, with typical sardonic wit: Herman Warnken would walk up and down the aisles, as in a baseball game, selling hot dogs, and hollering out *Heiss sind sie noch!* He continued in a humorous vein, by commenting that "bock beer day was a sorta national holiday around old Turner Hall."³¹ In a later section he referred to Pretzel Alley, and the first recorded instance of the idea of the State of Scott, different from the rest of Iowa, and superior in its Teutonic culture. He claimed that the humor of Pretzel Alley, was based on the political satire: the two political parties in this imaginary state, are the Weiners and the Pretzels. Of course, both parties are very much alike. The penultimate event is a dance at the Hotel Davenport ballroom, which was connected to the Turner Fair as a *Wurst-Blatt*.³² The significance of this lies with the insights and apparent "inside" comments about Central Turners at its peak of influence.

Looking at the structural changes at Central Turners, the growing expansion of services for women members is noticeable. The role of Central Turners provided leadership, which built upon some of the earliest ideas of *Gülich*, but were now spread throughout the Tri-Cities, at some, if not all, of the other societies. The period of the 1890s was one of national change in expanding programs for female participation. The first documented change occurred in Concordia Turners in St. Louis (1878), Syracuse (1884), Rochester (1884) and New York City (1891).³³ In the complex community which became known as the Tri-Cities (Davenport, Moline and Rock Island), this national tendency was noticeable. Central Turners had special gymnastics classes for the woman's auxillary in 1890; soon this was followed in Moline with the creation of an official auxillary in 1891, with girls classes available by 1908; the East Turners auxillary was organized on 1 December 1919.³⁴

One of the changed aspects of the later generations, was the death of the original Turner leaders. In Davenport, Henry A. Runge, alderman, died 14 June 1887; Ernst Claussen, veteran of the Civil War and first

German-American mayor, died 3 March 1892; his father, Hans Reimer Claussen, Iowa State Senator, died on 14 March 1894. Christian Mueller, Claussen's son-in-law, died on 10 September 1910. In Moline, the same generational change occurred: William Runge, alderman, died 27 June 1890; Dr. Peter Henry Wessel, seventh mayor of the city, died in 1917. In Rock Island, Johan Ohlweiler, Sr., Alderman, died in 1914.

At the same time, the public perception was one of continuity. There were cross-over connections between Turners and other German-American organizations, as the German migration began to end in the 1880s. Gustave Donald, famous poet and educator helped organize the Davenport Cremation Society (1885), became political editor of *Der Demokrat* (1887), and eulogist at non-religious funerals. The unofficial parade route always ended at Central Turners, with the Democratic torchlight parade of 7 November 1891 as typical; this route continued as late as the traditional "Mardi Gras" Halloween parade in October 1985. The other popular locations was the west side of the city where the August Wentz GAR reenacted a Civil War battle, on the grounds of the *Schützenpark* on the west side of Davenport (4 July 1892).

For Northwest Turners, a newly built hall in 1904 included a gymnasium with a beer hall in the back. The Society sponsored district track meets, bowling and soft ball teams. They remained a community center for German-American non-members in three ways. First, until 1920 they sponsored an annual bird shooting contest for kids 8–11 years old. They used a dart board with a bird on it; whoever came closest became king or queen for a year.³⁵ Second, they began having county-wide Democrat and Republican rallies, starting in 1884 and continuing for a century. Third, the new hall ushered in a popular series of competitive dancing—any couple who could pay a nominal fee was entered; the judges would put chalk marks on the bottom of their shoes, and then unexpectedly stop the music; the couple with the chalk still left on the shoes won the prize money.

In this period, 1885–1915, a brand new organization was started in eastern Davenport. A popular volunteer hose company was disbanded by the city of Davenport when they adopted a professionally paid fire department; 16 volunteers enjoyed the club atmosphere so much that on 6 April 1891 they met and formed East Turners. The *Erster Sprecher*, was Chris Kuehl, and the first order of business was purchasing used gym apparatus: parallel bars, horses, horizontal bar, climbing poles, mats, punching bag, bell bar, Indian clubs, and dumb bells.³⁶ They also held Saturday night dances, and occasional Turner fairs, until enough money was raised to build a two story building, containing both a large gymnasium hall, and a cozy bar room in the basement.³⁷ This society, like Northwest Turner's retained a definite neighborhood identity and lasted in an organized fashion until 1998.



Men's Basketball Team, Moline Turners, 1941.

* * *

In Moline, the C. G. Turner society continued to grow, erecting a modest facility in the city's downtown (1883), and the German Free School (1884). By 1888, they bought a parcel of land for Concordia Park on top of the River bluffs, using it for the next decade as a picnic spot, before selling the land, and building a larger center next to the school in the city's downtown.³⁸ Activities were reported on in the local newspaper in a seasonal pattern; the only change was a rift in the membership over the financial costs of the newly named German-English school. A group broke off and called themselves *Vorwärts*, hiring Adolph Oppenheimer, as a salaried gymnastics leader. After coming to some understanding, the societies combined, and donated 1,000 volumes of history and travel to the Moline Public Library.³⁹

With the money realized by selling Concordia Park to a land developer, the C. G. Turner Society built a brand new Turner Hall, and received favorable media publicity, with one headline entitled, "Frisch, Frei, Stark, Treu!"⁴⁰ This was the capstone of a long, campaign to have the physical culture aspect recognized in a positive light, first recognized in a newspaper description of the standard gymnastic routine practiced by the membership.⁴¹ One of the most successful ideas, was to encourage non German-speaking members to join. This resulted immediately in some successful basketball teams. John

McKeever (1892–1933) was a prime example of an Irish American featured as the star player on a winning Turner basketball game, the favorite winter sport of the American inhabitants of Moline. He not only won a lot of games for the young Turners, he also courted Minnie Knaack (1892–1973), the sweetheart of the society: she had a sixteen-inch waist when she married him on 20 June 1912.⁴²

* * *

The metropolitan area had hidden internal problems, but superficially, the 50th anniversary of the founding of Central Turners in 1902 seemed be proof of success: There were 702 members, 100 women in the auxiliary, and 502 school children enrolled in Turner school activities.⁴³ But much of the new century's focus by younger German-Americans in the Midwest appeared new language clubs.

With the rise of a literary *Plattdüütsch*, organizers traveled to Midwestern cities, publicizing the new writers of northern Germany, such as Fritz Reuter and Theodore Storm. In Davenport, this led to the organization of a large Claus Groth society, which was actually a form of pre-paid funeral society, although named after one of the new Low German writers. The society appealed to the working class, and the building of a substantial "guild hall," a mile west of Central Turners. Its success stemmed from a substantial number of prominent German-Americans who had never belonged to or supported Turner organizations. The continuing interpretation of the failed attempt in 1848 to create an independent Republic of Schleswig-Holstein (much like Belgium in 1830), continued support for a German provincial view, and support for their own clubs since the 1850s.⁴⁴ A *Plattdeutscher Unterhaltungsverein* appeared near Northwest Turners in 1892. A decade later, the *Plattdeutscher Schwesternverein Einigkeit*, was incorporated in Scott County, Iowa. In Moline, a *Plattdeutscher Verein* was organized in 1893.⁴⁵ This group elected John D. Knaack, a first cousin to the wife of the Irish-American Turner basketball player, John McKeever, as president. They soon held a fancy ball with eighty couples, followed by a supper and program at midnight. Walter Ruhser was the guest speaker, and wore a *Plattdeutscher* suit, but speaking in English, "asked the society to encourage the members that they not forget the language as he had."⁴⁶ The society was incorporated in 1896. But eventually the *Platt* society disbanded, and many members returned to the Turners. In Rock Island, the *Plattdeutscher Schwester* continued until 1939.⁴⁷

In Rock Island, the Turners remained in existence, but needed help from other societies. Professor Reuter, who later taught at Davenport High School, taught short team gymnastics courses. The various German-language groups remained fragmented with the Männerchor a separate organization, meeting regularly at Huber's Beer Garden, on the edge of a German neighborhood,

two miles east of the downtown location of the Turners.⁴⁸ There were those long-term members who developed their own businesses frequented by German-speaking residents. Lothar Harms, who had arrived in 1866, opened the Hotel Harms in 1902, intending it to be a “landmark from the river”: a roof garden added in 1904 immediately made it a center of German celebrations, but separate from the organization.⁴⁹

* * *

From 1920 through 1960, the population of the metropolitan area grew from 136,000 to 319,000, representing the eighty-first largest urban center in America.⁵⁰ Turner membership stabilized, then actually grew and then nearly disappeared, with the organization disappearing from public attention. Of the six societies in 1920, four survived until 1958 when Central Turner's disbanded. For the fourth and fifth generations, some of the clubs survived in a diminished, and largely forgotten way. The period of American involvement in World War I (1917–18) was the disastrous turning point in the scope and influence of the Turner society in the Tri-Cities. For those Turners who lived through these tumultuous times, it must have seemed as if reality had changed over night. Instead of support and admiration from much of the community, with German-American membership on all major community boards and organizations, those same German-Americans, with Turners in the lead, had to accept derision, vandalism, and racism for the first time. For later historians, it is convenient to blame President Woodrow Wilson's handling of domestic dissent, but by opening the “veil of memory,” scrutinizing the facts, and carefully generalizing from specifics, a very different story emerges from the sunset years of Turner history.⁵¹

The real problem for Davenport was early and publicized support for Imperial Germany. Instead of a cautious and quiet response as in Moline, the membership and leadership of Central Turners in Davenport decided to use their organizational clout and reputation to criticize the federal government, and protect their individual rights and privileges as American citizens. While German war bonds sold briskly in 1914, Henry Vollmer, former mayor of Davenport, and former U.S. congressman, publicly solicited funds for the German Red Cross, leading up to a large rally which was held in 1915 to raise funds. The defining moment was the decision in 1917 to sponsor a British speaker to publicize the “war crimes” of the British army. The result was a huge rally and public speech in the Turner Grand Opera House, followed by the arrest of six prominent German-Americans, three of them with Turner ties.⁵² The trial and retrial of the “Davenport Six,” cast a long shadow on the following decades. “Several persons confirmed that one German family left Davenport because of the anti-German feelings there, and one man stated that while at college he had seriously considered never returning to

Davenport because of the bitter feelings that had developed during the war.”⁵³ About the only positive aspect during World War I period, was the temporary use of the Grand Opera House as a makeshift community hospital during the influenza pandemic of 1918–19.

After the war, the high ideals and self-satisfied atmosphere of the early part of the century were replaced with the practical need for profits from illegal sale of liquor in the Prohibition days of the 1920s, to pay for the building’s mortgage. *Der Linden* saloon kept going with help from a secret tunnel under the street, connecting to an ice cream parlor. According to local legend, during Prohibition bootleggers could sneak in “hooch” from the innocent Anken ice cream parlor, and smuggle it under the street to Central Turners. At the same time, minor media coverage of gymnastics continued with professionally trained instructors, from the retirement of Reuter in 1912, until the end of the society in 1959.⁵⁴ The typical round of seasonal activities continued, occasionally with movies, but the traditional celebrations such as the masquerade ball continued.⁵⁵ Women’s activities continued successfully with the Central Turner’s Women’s Drum and Bugle Corp, from 1924–49.⁵⁶



Tri-City Turners celebrate repeal of Prohibition, 1933.

The Grand Opera House continued to be used for programs, parties and sporadic films. Arlene Vogel Philips said that in the 1940s, “our Girls Class would get up to the stage form the gym for *Schauturnen* programs by ascending an inclosed fire escape stairway form the alley by gym. We would want our turn in the gym and go to the stage when it was time.”⁵⁷ The bar and bowling alley remained the most popular attractions at Central Turners through the 1940s, when the theater was modified to provide modern, standardized ten-pin bowling alleys. One area of continued interest was the small island east of Credit Island, called Pelican Island today. Called Turner Island in the 1920s, two summer cabins were built by the Active Men’s Group, and the remnants can still be seen from the shore in 2006.

One colorful Turner from this period was Hertha Hildebrand. She was born on the third floor of Central Turners, where her parents Ludwig and Alma Berg managed the food and beverage services for the society; her father later served as secretary in 1921. After graduating from Davenport High School, eighteen-year-old Hertha eloped with Ernest Vogel. He was a commercial flyer who had a hanger: taking off from Bettendorf’s Wallace Field on the river front, was easily accomplished. Her fiancé piloted a war surplus Curtiss Flying “Jenny,” in a two-day flight to Chicago. Her brother-in-law had painted “Honeymoon Express 1924” in bold letters on the side, so everyone knew what was happening. They arrived in Chicago and ended up staying for their honeymoon at the Edgewater Beach Hotel, and may have danced to the music of Bix Beiderbecke who was playing with the house band.⁵⁸ The Central Turner Society lasted until the 1950s; the 155 members voted to disband, and they sold the property with the Turner Hall and Grand Opera razed in 1958.

The experience of the Northwest Turner Society differed from Central Turners, because their leaders stayed away from political involvement, stressing their social and sports activities, and survived through the 1980s. The remodeled building of 1926 featured a combination stage, gym and bar which worked fine for weekly social dances; sports was the second area with gymnastics, softball, bowling, volleyball, golf and track meets continued.⁵⁹ As late as 1979, a Turnfest at Augustana College in Rock Island, attracted more than 4,000 amateur athletes from the region.⁶⁰ One child of Turner parents remembers the Sunday afternoons of the 1950s, when the adults played cards and the children ran around the stage.

In the 1920s, East Turners flourished during Prohibition with only 188 members. It remained a neighborhood society, but “in days of bootlegging, one of the biggest Quad-City raids was pulled off at the East Davenport Turner’s Hall. The law dumped about a thousand gallons of booze (from a Carbon Cliff [Illinois] ‘cooker’) down the sewers.”⁶¹ By the 1940s, the membership

reached its height with nearly 500 members, as slot machines and "Barrel of Fun" tickets created large profits which replaced the illegal liquor.⁶² By the 1950s, these sources of revenue had ended so the club brought ladies boxing to Iowa! Quite a bit more professional than mud wrestling, the typical format was a Friday night boxing match; in one instance, Margie Fry originally from Davenport, fought Donna Dillenger of Columbus, Ohio in a first round boxing match in 1956.⁶³ The group continued to exist through the 1990s, until the decision to disband came in 1998.

In Moline, the membership drives successfully brought in new members: the total had reached 2,000 in 1926; even with the Depression taking its toll, the membership in 1941 was about 1,600 making this Turner society the largest in the country; it decreased to 1,200 in 1953; by 1958 it had fallen to 700.⁶⁴ In the 1930s, "the majority of the members were not of German descent; approximately 300 Moline Turners served in World War II, and sixteen were killed in action. The society throughout this period continued to compete in gymnastics, bowling, baseball, track and field, and volley ball."⁶⁵ In the 1940s, one child of Swedish-American descent, recalled card games in the Turner hall, and sports outdoors.⁶⁶ One of the last large, Moline Turner celebrations was a 90th anniversary in 1950. This was a good example of carefully crafted ethnic media publicity, appeared in the article "Gut Heil and Bahn Frei."⁶⁷ By the 1960s, membership had dropped, but the society decided to try one last gambit which had worked in 1898: buying the former Oakwood country Club lounge, with swimming pool, with the proceeds from selling their down town corner lot. This decision of 1970 did not work out, but the society faltered along until they disbanded in 1983.⁶⁸

The best source for the history of the Moline Turners was Bernard ("Bunny") Wahe, unofficial historian. He was quoted in 1958 in viewing the Turner impact from a localized, Moline point of view. They "expressed their belief in the United States of America as a democracy in a republic established upon the principles of freedom, justice and humanity, and recognized in the harmonious education of body and mind one of the most important [groups] . . . for preserving and perfecting this democracy."⁶⁹

* * *

The concept of identity politics, first developed in the first half of the twentieth century, offers insights into the Turner organizations of one metropolitan area. Rather than organizing solely around party affiliation, identity politics works to expand the political influence of a specific constituency whose leaders feel marginalized within the larger political framework. In the Tri-City area of the late nineteenth century, the original Davenport Turner organization, eventually designated as Central Turners, began to use identity politics in the election of the city's mayor. Although German-speaking

alderman were elected in Davenport as early as the 1850s, the first German speaking mayor, Ernst Claussen (1833–92) became the 46th mayor in 1883.⁷⁰ For the next ninety years, the German-American mayors of Davenport were also members of either Central Turners or Northwest Turners with one exception.⁷¹ Even with the end of Central Turners in the late 1950s, the identification of German-American politicians with the office of mayor transcended political party with five of the fourteen Democrats, and nine Republicans during the 72 years of control during the period 1883–1974. Northwest Turners remained a popular location for pre-election suppers for both Democrats and Republicans parties until the disbanding of the organization in the early 1990s. Its leaders had always stressed the social activities of the Turners, and this strategy allowed the society to continue to exist for 40 years longer than Central Turners.

The Moline Turners experience followed that of Davenport's Northwest Turners in stressing the musical and sports opportunities of the club. The five German-American mayors of Moline combined for 40 years of service over the same period as Davenport, 1885–1977. However, the more marginal German ethnicity led to the Mayors clustering in three periods of time: 20 years in the late nineteenth century, 16 years during the 1933–49 period, and four years in the early 1970s. With only one mayor known to have belonged to the Moline Turners (P. H. Wessell), the connections with the politics of identity seem to be undeveloped in this part of the metropolitan area.

Rock Island Turners offer a completely different experience with politics. Over one 157 years of mayors, German-Americans were elected only seven times, for a total of forty-four years. The election of William Frizzell (1852–54) was followed by a fifty five year gap before H. C. Shaffer served one term (1907–9). Fourteen years later Walter Rosenfield served (1923–27) without any identifiable German-American winning for twenty-six years, until three mayors (1953–65) served. Twenty-eight years later, Mark Schwiebert served for twenty years, as the longest running mayor in the city's history. Only one mayor was known to belong to the Turner organization which ended in 1920. It would appear that in this city in the metropolitan area, the assimilated German-American was nominated and elected in four different periods of the city's history.

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Notes

¹ A checklist of the Society for German-American Studies from the annual bibliography from 1987 until 2007 contains seventy-four entries.

² August Richter, *Geschichte der Stadt Davenport* (Chicago: 1917), 512. All but two of the Turner groups studied in this paper chose to flaunt superstition and began with thirteen members.

³ Ibid., 515–16.

⁴ Ibid. The use of localized spelling and dialect vocabulary at times seems questionable, but the Iowa readers of his first volume of history understood that “The red looked like the red of dawn, like ‘glowing’ life which should burst on the full splendor of Freedom.”

⁵ Hildegard Binder Johnson, “List of Lectures and Debates Given Before the Davenport Turngemeinde [1857–1917],” *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* 44, no. 1 (January 1946): 54–60. Elmer Schultz Gerhard, “Library of the Davenport Turngemeinde,” *American-German Review* vol. 5 no.12 (June 1946): 33–35, 37.

⁶ Richter, 517.

⁷ Franc B. Wilkie, *Davenport, Past and Present* (Davenport: Luse, Lane & Co., 1856), 24; see also Theodore Schreiber, “Early German Pioneers of Scott County, Iowa,” *American-German Review* 8, no. 2 (December 1941): 22.

⁸ F. I. Herriott, *History of Davenport and Scott County*, ed. by Henry Downer (Chicago: S. J. Clarke, 1910), 839–46. The actual decisions inside of *Das Deutsches Haus* in Chicago on 18 May 1860 remain shrouded in mystery, but have been carefully summarized by Jörg Nagler in his unpublished essay presented at a conference at the Max Kade Institute in Madison, Wisconsin, October 1986.

⁹ *Rock Island Argus* (10 January 1856; 27 January 1856); *Rock Island Past and Present* (1877), 173.

¹⁰ 5-Jähriges Jubiläum, 22.

¹¹ William Roba, *The River and the Prairie* (Quad-Cities: Hesperian Press, 1986), 75.

¹² Richter, 523.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Roba, 78. For a premium of \$136, you could receive \$330 if liable for the draft. From the Civil War's first draft of 292,441 men, 52,288 or 17 percent avoided service by paying the money for a substitute.

¹⁵ *Die Fackel*, 20 (1867 / 1868). University of Missouri, St. Louis, St. Louis Mercantile Association Library, Special Collections, clipping.

¹⁶ Richter, 528.

¹⁷ *Moline Union* (21 January 1863).

¹⁸ Fred Klann, *Moline Dispatch* (25 September 1958); *Moline Review*, (11 February 1876). Katja Ramplemann succinctly summarized this tendency in another context: “Instead of joining forces they split and became each other's most despised rival. The story is a common one among German-American intellectuals. *Yearbook of German American Studies* 38 (2003): 329.

¹⁹ *Moline Review* (5 Jan 1877, 4 January 1878, 18 June 1880, and 25 June 1880).

²⁰ *Rock Island Argus* (20 September 1865). This is the same time that the German School Society organized itself on 26 June 1865, on a similar basis with Moline and Davenport.

²¹ *Rock Island Argus* (15 August 1875).

²² *Rock Island Argus* (4 May 1872); there is a group photo of successful businessmen, including Ohlweiler Sr., in *Picturesque Tri-Cities* (1902), 370.

²³ *Rock Island Argus* (8 March 1882).

²⁴ Roba, 97.

²⁵ *Infoblatt*, 8, no. 3 (Summer 2003): 22–24.

²⁶ “Gut Heil!” *Davenport Democrat* (20 May 1888).

²⁷ Richter, 535, 539; the Schützenpark Gilde has published a booklet containing the Davenport *Democrat* commentary about this Turner Fair. www.SchuetzenPark.info.

²⁸ W. L. Purcell, *Them Was the Good Old Days* (Davenport: Purcell Printing, 1922), 133. The *Kieler Sprotten* were smoked sprats, similar to herring, about three inches long. This information was furnished by Dr. Ingo Schwarz, Von Humboldt Foundation, Berlin.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 141. Here and in other places, the word usage reflects the locale where Plattdeutsch comingle with proper Hochdeutsch, in the satirical dialogue.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 141–42.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 139.

³² *Ibid.*, 212–14.

³³ Annette Hoffman, "Lady Turners in the United States: German American Identity, Gender Concerns and Turnerism," *Journal of Sport History* 27, no. 3 (Fall 2000): 386, 388–389.

³⁴ Richter, p. 531; "Ladies Athletes," *Moline Review-Dispatch* (5 September 1890); *Moline Review-Dispatch* (17 June 1892); Julie Jensen, "Century of Gemütlichkeit," *Times-Democrat* (3 August 1971).

³⁵ Jensen.

³⁶ Davenport Public Library, Sloan-Richardson Special Collections; "Reminiscences," Secretary of East Turner.

³⁷ Bill Wundrum, *Quad-City Times* (27 July 1998).

³⁸ *Moline Review-Dispatch* (1 January 1884); *Moline Dispatch* (14 August 1897).

³⁹ *Moline Dispatch* (21 April 1913, 14 November 1941); *Moline Review-Dispatch* (11 November 1898). See also Elmer Schultz Gerhard, "Library of the Davenport Turngemeinde," *American-German Review* 12, no. 4 (June 1946): 33–35, 37.

⁴⁰ *Moline Dispatch* (15 January 1901); Knaack Family History, Archives, Scott Community College Library, Bettendorf, Iowa.

⁴¹ "A Pleasant Visit," *Moline Review Dispatch* (22 February 1889).

⁴² *Moline Dispatch* (20 June 1912; 24 June 1933).

⁴³ Davenport *Democrat* (26 August 1902); the classic interpretation was written by Hildegard Binder Johnson, "German Forty-Eighters in Davenport," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* 44, no. 1 (January 1946): 3–53. She makes a very strong case for financial difficulties before 1910, but fails to consider two salient facts: Central Turners was only one of six Tri-Cities Turner societies; the inclusion of German-Americans who were not Turner members at money-making functions allowed the societies to continue for another seventy-five years.

⁴⁴ Davenport *Demokrat* (27 March 1898). This detailed the public pageantry associated with the 50th anniversary, which happened four years before the Turner celebration.

⁴⁵ *Moline Review-Dispatch* (17 March 1893).

⁴⁶ *Moline Dispatch* (25 March 1895).

⁴⁷ Rock Island *Argus* (14 December 1918) describes the typical activities of this social group. They are listed in the 1939 City Directory but not in 1940.

⁴⁸ Rock Island *Argus* (10 August 1902).

⁴⁹ "Lothar Harms Turned Vision Into Reality," Rock Island *Argus* (16 February 2003).

⁵⁰ Roba, 121.

⁵¹ William Roba, *German-Iowan Studies; Selected Essays* (New York: Lang, 2004): 45–59.

⁵² Steven Wrede, "The Americanization of Scott County," *Annals of Iowa*, 44, no. 8 (Spring 1979): 628–37.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 637.

⁵⁴ "Turner Units to Drop Gymnastics," Davenport *Times* (15 May 1959).

⁵⁵ "Turner's Mask Ball Attracts More Than 600," Davenport *Democrat* (10 February 1929).

⁵⁶ *Infoblatt* 7, no. 3 (Summer 2002): 6.

⁵⁷ Quoted by Harry Prinz, "The Inside Story of the Davenport Turner Hall," *Infoblatt* 8, no. 2 (Spring 2003): 9.

⁵⁸Obituary, 9 December 2004; "The Safest Way to Get Greatest Thrill in Life is on Airplane Journey," Davenport *Democrat* (20 July 1924); Information on Beiderbecke appears in Richard Sudhalter, *Bix, Man and Legend* (New Rochelle, New York: Arlington House, 1974), 112, 350.

⁵⁹Jensen.

⁶⁰Glenn Proctor, "Changing Times at the Turners," *Quad-City Times* (20 October 1980).

⁶¹Bill Wundram, *Quad-City Times* (27 July 1998).

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³Rock Island *Argus* (7 February 1956).

⁶⁴Fred Klann, Moline *Dispatch* (14 November 1941; 26 October 1949; 12 December 1953; 18 September 1958).

⁶⁵This is illustrated by a large number of periodicals in the Rock Island County Historical Society collection. Of particular usefulness were files of clippings, scrapbooks, photographs, and brochures. In addition, there are bound volumes of the *Moline Turner News* (1937–43, 1946–48, 1950) and *The Turner* (1974–75).

⁶⁶Jim Sandstrom (1934–95); this is also shown in the membership list of the Auxiliary. *Ladies Auxiliary Reference Book* [1930]. Rock Island County Historical Society.

⁶⁷Davenport *Times* (10 June 1950).

⁶⁸Rock Island *Argus* (26 February 1971).

⁶⁹Moline *Dispatch* (18 September 1958).

⁷⁰The biographical information for the mayors of the Tri-City metropolitan area is derived from *Biographical Historical Portrait Gallery of Scott County, Iowa* (Chicago: American Biographical Publishing Company, 1895); Henry Downer, *History of Scott County* (1911), vol. 1, 693; *Who's Who in Davenport* (Davenport: Robert Baldwin Corporation, 1929); *Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men; Davenport, Iowa* (Davenport: Citizen's Historical Association, 1939).

⁷¹The seventh-fourth mayor of Davenport, Kathryn (Goll) Kirschbaum, was not a member of any metropolitan Turner clubs.

Robert F. Lay

**“Germans for Temperance Laws”: Competing Views
of Character and Community among Hoosier
German-Americans in the Early Twentieth Century¹**

In the name of the temperance Germans, one of whom I am,
I protest against the injustice of a handful of beer drinkers
pretending to represent the German people
—Monroe Vayhinger²

In response to a publicized meeting of “six hundred beer drinking Germans” in Indianapolis, Monroe Vayhinger wrote to his hometown newspaper—the *Madison Democrat*—challenging the capital city’s *Vereinsdeutsche* (club Germans) in their attempt to assert a German-American identity synonymous with drinking and the culture that it engendered (see transcription of letter in appendix). While the fight against prohibition is familiar strategy to those who study the construction of German-American identity at the turn of the twentieth century, the role that anti-alcohol activism played in the construction of alternate views of what it meant to be German has not been explored.³ Nor has support for temperance and prohibition, generally, among German Methodists of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries been analyzed in relation to assimilation. Two generations of the Vayhinger family are described here in order to show how the prohibition stance of a first-generation German-American (Monroe) was constructed from the temperance outlook of his immigrant father (Gustavus), and to consider the role which temperance, alongside other factors, played in the family’s assimilation.⁴ Language that blurs the historical distinction between the nineteenth-century temperance movements and the early-twentieth-century drive for National Prohibition is characteristic of the relevant primary sources. For example, the letter to the editor cited above appeared under the headline, “Germans for Temperance Laws.”⁵ What follows is an explication of this letter in the context of its author’s rise in status to a position that emboldened him to become a self-appointed spokesman for “temperance Germans.”

From Württemberg to Indiana

The youngest son of an immigrant farmer, Monroe Vayhinger had, before the end of the nineteenth century, become a highly visible, middle-class professional—a pastor, a professor, a traveling speaker and college administrator. His birth and early childhood coincided with the massive influx of second-wave German immigrants to the American west,⁶ and the mid-century-arrival of the forty-eighters—“the best educated, most politically and socially motivated, and most vocal of any generation of German immigrants.”⁷ Monroe, however, was born to “first wavers” whose home permitted no alcohol and only spiritual literature.⁸ The experience of the immigrant generation, Monroe’s parents, will first be described; they were Gustavus Vayhinger (1810–1901) and Margueretha Schweiklin (1815–1902).⁹

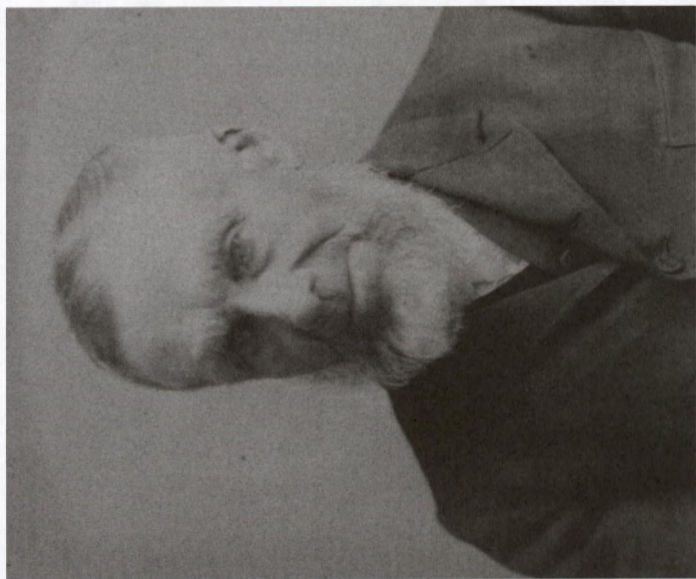
The Vayhingers and Schweiklins along with other Württemberg immigrants arrived in the United States in the early 1830s, settling in the large German enclave north of Cincinnati.¹⁰ This place was called by a name aptly describing its ambiance. As Don Heinrich Tolzmann explains,

Over-the-Rhine was a social, cultural, economic, and political center for German-Americans. There were numerous German houses, restaurants, churches, bakeries, markets, beer gardens, shops, and stores. Local histories called Over-the-Rhine the district where everything is German and even the American discards his formality and is enveloped by German *gemütlichkeit*.¹¹ It was the home of German music, theatre, newspapers, libraries, clubs, societies, and religious institutions.¹²

During their later youth, this was a home away from home for the Württemberg immigrants, Gustavus and Margueretha. In 1837, however, the two were married and moved into Cincinnati where they had their first two children.¹³ Gustavus was a shoe cobbler by trade, according to the “Family History,”¹⁴ and Cincinnati was an attractive destination for a skilled worker in leather whose craft yielded consumer goods. Here in the city, to anticipate their later conversion from Lutheranism, the Vayhingers may have been introduced to German Methodism.¹⁵ Specifically, they could have attended preaching by the so-called “father of German Methodism,” Wilhelm Nast, who declared, “Who can be more like sheep without a shepherd, than the German immigrants?”¹⁶ After two years of traveling ministry throughout the state of Ohio with only a dozen converts to show for his labors, Nast had been appointed as a missionary to the Germans in Cincinnati the same year Gustavus and Margueretha married and moved into the city. According to Wade Crawford Barclay,

This year (1837–38) signs of a whitening harvest began to appear. Burke’s Chapel on Vine Street was opened for German preaching, and Asbury Chapel on Upper Main Street was constituted a regular preaching appointment,

"Germans for Temperance Laws"



Gustavus Vayhinger (1810–1901), ca. 1870.



Margueretha Schweiklin Vayhinger (1815–1902), ca. 1870.

with a Sunday school session following the service of public worship—the first organized German Methodist Sunday school. In the summer of 1838 the first German Methodist Society was organized, with nineteen members. At the Conference session of 1838 he [Nast] urged the necessity of establishment of a German language press, insisting that the German population needed as great a work of reformation as did England in the time of John Wesley.¹⁷

Unique educational opportunities also distinguished urban Cincinnati from Over the Rhine: several German parochial schools were already in operation by the time the first two Vayhinger children were born, and from 1840 on, a public bilingual school system “designed to facilitate a transition within three years into the monolingual ‘English’ schools” began to emerge, increasing in enrollment each year.¹⁸ However, neither the distinctive environment of the city nor its proximity to family was sufficient to keep the young family from moving on.

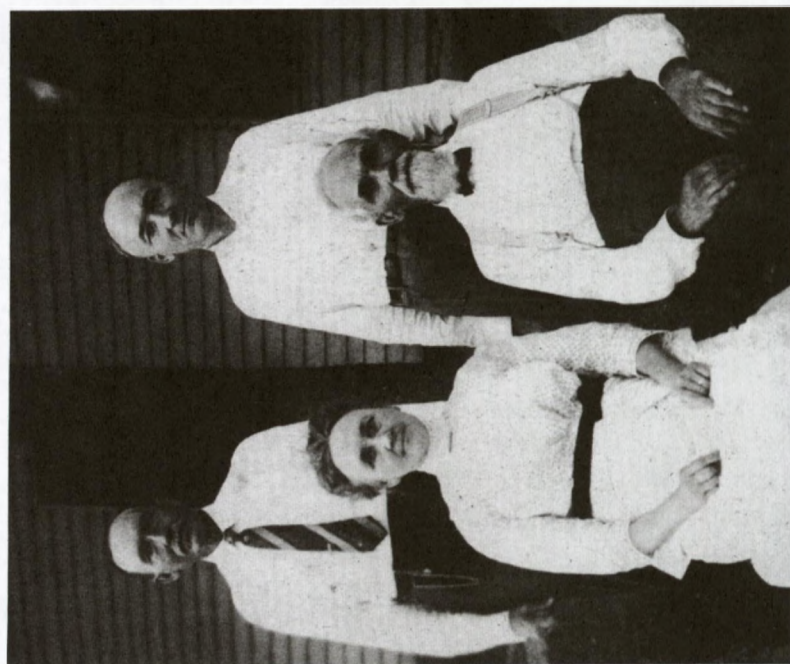
According to Ripley County sources, sometime in the mid- to late 1840s¹⁹ Gustavus and Margueretha moved to Indiana, probably drawn by the availability of inexpensive, arable land and the prospect of open spaces and greater economic freedom. Other immigrants—especially Bavarians, Hanoverians, and Prussians—preceded the Vayhinger’s journey west, settling the lowland plain bounded by the Ohio and White rivers and by the Greenville Indian treaty border. One old trail, across the Ohio River west of Cincinnati, led up a gently-rising ridge into southeastern Indiana.²⁰ A day’s journey out of the river town of Aurora on this trail brought travelers to a string of tiny settlements with names like Mt. Sinai and Sparta, evocative of the early settlers’ aspirations. A few miles further in, the Vayhingers settled near Harding’s Store—the crossroads later dubbed “Milan.” Their new home was just a few miles south of the larger trading center of Sunman, Indiana, that would have welcomed Gustavus’s boots and shoes. There, according to the “People’s History of Ripley County, Indiana,” the Vayhingers “were converted in a Methodist camp meeting” though both had formerly been “confirmed in the Lutheran Church in Germany.”²¹

The significance of this sort of “conversion”—from one form of Christianity to another, in this case from Lutheranism to Methodism—should not be underestimated, either as a form of life-transformation or as a decisive step in assimilation. In post-revolutionary America, Catholics and Lutherans were attracted to Methodism in large numbers. Immigrants—especially the young—may not have appreciated or missed the formal, sacramental practices of the state church of their past, assuming they were old enough to remember them. Scandalized but also fascinated by Methodist preaching, American converts were profoundly affected by a voluntaristic form of the British phenomenon. British converts from Anglicanism, like the dissenting

"Germans for Temperance Laws"



Monroe Vayhinger, ca. 1915.



Monroe Vayhinger (top right) with siblings, David (top left), Albert, and Augusta Vayhinger Bruenig, ca. 1919.

ministers who mentored them, found the state Church ineffective and indifferent toward a parishioner's spiritual growth. The preaching of the evangelical gospel cut across class lines and undermined traditional ecclesiastical authority. When those who preached in his manner were refused access to churches, they preached out-of-doors to hundreds or even thousands. On the American frontier, preaching was necessarily out-of-doors and prerequisite to the building of an orderly Christian society through the planting of new churches. All this unfolded through a series of strategic initiatives, typically described in the language of ancient Israel's conquest of Canaan. "Camp meetings," advertised on broadsides and by word of mouth, took place near well-traveled crossroads and lasted from several days to several weeks, during which the bivouacked ministers preached continually to a fluid "congregation" whose members came and went. As in the "awakening" of the previous century, revivalists of the Second Great Awakening were spiritual diviners of a "surprising work of God" who endeavored to awaken hearers to the Spirit of God through preaching that culminated in a call to repentance. Revivalists hoped always to preach "with liberty & plainness of speech." Such preaching could invoke a profound sense of God's presence and, correlatively, an awareness of separation—distance from God—the result of finitude and sin. The seeker might readily acknowledge his sinful state and respond at once to the call for repentance; or, he might "mourn" over his sinful nature for an extended period before receiving assurance of pardon (if, indeed, he received such assurance). What distinguished the Second Awakening from the First was the intentional use of "means" (persuasive rhetorical strategies) to prepare hearers for salvation; and what distinguished Methodist preaching from others was holiness or entire sanctification—a power over the sinful nature sought and received as a second blessing, subsequent to salvation. Conversion took many forms but certain experiences were standardized through testimony and codified through the publication of missionary accounts.

As already described, the systematic evangelization of German-Americans in Cincinnati coincided approximately with the Vayhingers arrival there.²² Wilhelm Nast was soon joined in his outreach to Germans by Peter Schmucker and Adam Miller, both of whom surpassed him in evangelistic skills. The Conference granted Nast permission to begin publishing a German-language version of the *Christian Advocate*, *Der Christliche Apologete*, which was "circulated throughout the entire Connection," and soon "(f)rom Cincinnati as a center the German language work spread out in all directions."²³ Within a few years Adam Miller had contributed a survey—his *Origin and Purpose of the German Missions*, documenting the "Progress of the work" and offering an "Account of the Christian experience of some of the converts from Popery and Infidelity, as furnished by themselves."²⁴ If they had been exposed to German Methodism in Cincinnati, reports of successful Methodist missions west of the river could have shaped the Vayhingers' expectations of finding a

German Methodist society there, and in fact, the "Family History" confirms that in Milan they "joined with the German Methodists."

From German Lutheranism to English Methodism

Examining the Vayhinger journey in detail shows how each location took them further from the life they had known in their youth. To recap, in the early 1830s they had traveled with family from their home place in Württemberg to a German enclave, north of Cincinnati. As a young married couple they had relocated for several years in urban Cincinnati, where Gustavus could practice his trade. Finally, as the new family began to grow they moved first to a small Indiana crossroads, and later settled on a remote farm. Significant cultural transitions must have taken place at each stage of the journey: (1) from the place of dependence on extended family, anchored in Württemberg discourse and customs (Over of the Rhine), to an independent life in Cincinnati where commerce in leather would have accelerated Gustavus's acquisition of English, and where the Vayhingers may first have been introduced to German Methodism;²⁵ (2) from Cincinnati to rural Indiana with its diversity of German immigrants, where the Vayhingers become farmers and members of an English-speaking congregation of Methodists.

Gustavus and Margueretha purchased a farm a few miles to the west of Milan, in Rei (later called Delaware), where they settled their growing family for good.²⁶ Although Gustavus now supported the family by farming, the "Family History" describes him as "well versed in Latin and German and . . . particularly fond of reading." Toph's "People's History of Ripley County" explains that the Vayhingers were "great readers of spiritual literature" with "none other, except newspapers . . . allowed in their home."²⁷ Again, the "Family History" notes, that "at Milan, Indiana, [they] joined the German Methodists and when locating near Delaware [Rei] united with the English Methodists and in this church they reared their children."²⁸ Toph adds that "they were converted in a Methodist Camp Meeting at Sunman, Indiana, and joined the German Methodist Church in Old Milan. Later they moved to Delaware and joined the English Methodist church." Finally, the "Family History" describes the Vayhingers as "strong in their convictions against slavery and intoxicating drink," with Toph elaborating, "Gustavus Vayhinger was one of the strongest temperance men to be found anywhere in the land and instructed all his children in the woes of the liquor traffic."²⁹ The "Family History" and Toph's "People's History," thus, both conclude by emphasizing the Vayhinger temperance perspective. The portrait that emerges of the Vayhinger home is of a place where prayer and systematic religious instruction was the substance of the children's daily experience, and where traditional German conviviality associated with drinking was unfamiliar, even on holidays or other special occasions.

Since the Vayhingers were probably evangelized by German Methodists in Sunman, and subsequently associated with German Methodists in Milan, why and how did they come to associate with English-speaking Methodism?

The farm at Rei was about four miles from Milan, which seems a small distance to travel to maintain their association with German Methodists there. However, even the names of the nearby roads—e.g., “Mud Pike”—suggest the impracticality of travel, at least in winter and spring, and at that time German Methodist circuits were still few in Indiana.³⁰ The Vayhingers at first “held church services in their home,” later (ca. early 1850s) in a “little log room” near the farm, and finally in a frame church which the oldest son, Albert (b. 1838), helped to build.³¹ Most likely, the church founded in the Vayhinger home was patterned after that of German Methodists in Milan: its services would have been more pedagogical than liturgical; its teaching experiential—focused on evangelism and living out one’s religion; this description, however, would be applicable to any Methodist Episcopal Church, German speaking or not. The development of the Delaware Methodist Episcopal Church as an English-speaking congregation was probably the result of receiving a traveling minister whose native language was English, and does not necessarily represent an intentional move away from German Methodism by the Vayhingers.³² In the “little log room” and perhaps much later, the church was likely comprised of bilingual Methodists. In any event, among Methodists, language preference was seldom the contentious issue that it was among German Lutherans.³³ For Methodists, evangelical unity mattered most; for the Vayhingers in particular, additional factors such as teaching on holiness and abstinence from alcohol evidently trumped their preference for a German-language worship service.³⁴ Active “Young people’s societies” in the English-speaking Methodist Episcopal Church was likely another factor (a provision for the six children) in the family’s move beyond German Methodism.

From a “Little Log Room” to the Office of College President

Monroe, the youngest of six surviving children, was born in 1855. Along with the catechetical instruction he would have received at home, and probably in German, his earliest experience of Methodist fellowship would have been the bilingual society of the Delaware Methodist Episcopal Church. Young Monroe’s gifts of speaking and organizing found early expression in Methodist Sunday schools and his first teaching experience was probably in the “little log room” where the Delaware Methodist Episcopal church began; this venue, too, likely fostered his bilingual abilities. Though his older siblings first attended school in the “little log room,” Monroe was educated in common schools and, according to the “Family History,” began teaching in those

schools by age sixteen.³⁵ Just as conversion to Methodism was a central factor in the assimilation of Gustavus, Monroe's common school experience, both as pupil and teacher, likely accelerated his assimilation though broadening his provincial outlook. By age twenty-four, Monroe was serving as the headmaster or resident director of the Ripley County Normal school, at Delaware.³⁶ There, his bilingualism would have encouraged German-American parents to entrust their children to Monroe, and the challenge of educating rural, German-speaking youth would have fostered his appreciation for the process of Americanization. Soon after enrolling in Moores Hill College, a few miles southeast of Milan,³⁷ Monroe began serving as a German language instructor there.³⁸ After completing his bachelor's (1883) and master's degrees (1886), he was appointed professor of mathematics and German.

One of Monroe's students at Moores Hill College was Culla Johnson from Bennington, in Switzerland County, just a day's ride to the south. After completing her B.S. and master's degrees (1889) the two were married, and traveled to Chicago where, through the 1890s, they began raising a family as he pursued a seminary education and she became acquainted with nationally known anti-alcohol leaders. Monroe completed his Bachelor of Sacred Theology degree at Garrett Biblical Seminary while teaching mathematics part time and taking courses in the sciences at the University of Chicago and at Northwestern University; he took special interest in the sciences in relation to the Bible.

Visiting Evanston, Monroe and Culla became acquainted with Francis Willard, second president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union and a well-known historical figure associated with the drive for National Prohibition. The Vayhingers were much impressed with the vision that had propelled Willard into the cause—a drunkard's graveyard beneath which sank an eternal drunkard's hell growing at the alarming rate of one hundred thousand per year, claimed by the saloon and resulting in the destruction of an equal number of homes. Above all this Willard envisioned an army of boys raised up from these same unfortunate homes, educated and organized as a force to smash the saloon.³⁹ The Vayhingers saw Willard as a kind of Moses called by God to lead men out of bondage before it was too late. They believed that she would meet those souls she had freed from "the liquor trade" in eternity.

The turn of the century found the Vayhinger family back in Moores Hill, Monroe now appointed Professor of Bible and German, while serving as the College vice president. His continuing interest in German studies is evident in an evaluative report to the College trustees that recommends extending the language curriculum from two to four years. Otherwise the scraps of administrative materials remaining from of this period point to the College's financial struggles, and suggests that Monroe had greater pastoral than administrative

gifts.⁴⁰ Culla's zeal for "the cause" only increased: by 1903, she was elected president of the Indiana Women's Christian Temperance Union. About this time, Monroe accepted a pastoral appointment as a traveling minister for the Methodist Episcopal Church, based in Madison where, during Conference several years earlier, he had been ordained an elder. Madison was ethnically more diverse than tiny Moores Hill, with African-American and Jewish enclaves, in addition to significant German-American population.⁴¹ Downriver from Cincinnati and (since 1847) connected by rail to Indianapolis, Madison was, nonetheless, not destined to play a leading role in the state's economic development.⁴² Still, at the turn of the century, it was a bustling city of factories, mills, and retail outlets. Here the Vayhingers purchased their first automobile. In his popular tour guide to Madison, subtitled, "A Jewel set 'Neath the Hills," A. S. Chapman of the *Madison Democrat* described the city as an oasis of enterprise surrounded by unsurpassed natural beauty, while avoiding any mention of its steadily decreasing population.⁴³

"Germans for Temperance Laws"

The parishioners that Vayhinger served during his pastorates (from 1903 and 1908) were primarily German-American.⁴⁴ Traveling regularly between preaching stations and as a speaker for the Epworth League,⁴⁵ Monroe was readily spotted on a crowded train platform: He was of short stature and had the sincere, roundish face and strong chin characteristic of all the Vayhingers. A travel portrait of the Vayhingers, made soon after this time, shows Monroe in a heavy coat with a newspaper protruding from the outer pocket. Redeeming the time between stations, he would prepare sermon notes or read the newspaper. It may have been on one of these occasions that he wrote a letter to the editor of the *Madison Democrat* in response to an editorial describing an Indianapolis meeting of "six hundred beer drinking Germans."⁴⁶ The balance of this study offers a close reading of the letter, and considers Vayhinger's claim to represent "thousands and thousands" of "temperance Germans." The letter is from an undated newspaper clipping included among many temperance and prohibition-related documents in the Vayhinger collection; its provenance is easily established, and it may reasonably be dated to the first decade of the twentieth century.⁴⁷

Drawing on a misnomer that appears in the letter, the editor entitled Vayhinger's letter "Germans for Temperance Laws."⁴⁸ The curious title perhaps attracted readers' attention, but this was more likely true of Chapman's editorial, to which Monroe's letter was addressed. In contrast to the newspapers of St. Louis and Indianapolis, which tended to be generous in their coverage of German-American life, the *Democrat* had a reputation for ignoring

the immigrant population.⁴⁹ In the mid-nineteenth century, for example, the Jewish community of Madison welcomed the Hungarian liberator, Kosuth, with a parade led by a German marching band proudly displaying the American colors.⁵⁰ Participants were disappointed as the *Democrat* passed over the festivities in silence and as the editor excused himself on account of illness. Now that German-American festivities were increasingly popular in Indianapolis, silence was no longer an effective weapon. Many of Madison's German-American citizens participated in the festivities. Taking the train to Indianapolis they would discover the old world virtually reconstructed among the scores of German businesses established on Washington Street between Illinois and Delaware, including banks, bakeries, butcheries, breweries, cobblers, tailors, and furniture makers. Elaborately decorated streets welcomed thousands from rural Indiana and surrounding states. Here, the Madison pilgrims could experience *Gemütlichkeit* among the inspiring songfests, lengthy parades, German club meetings, stunning gymnastic demonstrations, and beautiful beer gardens.⁵¹

The appearance of the editorial in the *Democrat* was likely due to that newspaper's support for temperance. According to Monroe's letter, there is an "intimation" in Chapman's editorial to the effect that "saloon keepers as a class are law breakers." Outright condemnations of bar owners in scathing rhetoric were more typical of pro-temperance newspapers at that time. If Chapman had used restraint in his comments about the saloon, then he was perhaps more cautious still in his remarks about Germans. In any event, he could simply rely on the prejudices of his Anglo readers since it would be indictment enough to report the event (as he did) as "a meeting of six hundred beer drinking Germans," and to let readers draw their own conclusions. However, as Monroe's letter demonstrates, not everyone was prepared to countenance the "beer-drinking German" stereotype. Moreover, the letter describes the event as "(t)he German meeting in Indianapolis" and apparently quotes Chapman's editorial in reference to six hundred in attendance. The circumstances of this event could have been the 29th Annual National *Turnfest* held at the Indianapolis fairgrounds in 1905. For, although thousands attended, the event lasted for several days and encompassed numerous smaller events. Monroe's "German meeting" could have referred to a related social event planned in order to garner support for anti-temperance activities.

Indianapolis Vereinsleben

Characterizing Chapman's editorial as foisting a misunderstanding on "many readers," Vayhinger begins by declaring that "[t]he German meeting in Indianapolis represented the beer drinking Germans and no more, and when

they, or anyone else infer that all Germans are against temperance and temperance laws they make a stupendous blunder." If he was right and the "beer drinking Germans" at this particular meeting did not broadly represent German-Americans, then whom did they represent? Generally speaking, these were *Vereinsdeutsche*, or club Germans, one of two easily recognizable associations of German-Americans (the second being the *Kirchendeutsche* or church Germans) in turn-of-the-century Indianapolis and other urban settings.⁵² In fact, as documented in Theodore Stempfel's *Festschrift*, published in 1898, the *Vereinsdeutsche* had already enjoyed a rich and vigorous half-century of *Vereinsleben*, or club life, in Indianapolis by 1900.⁵³ The founders of *Vereinsleben* have been characterized as "liberal and socialist [in] orientation . . . imbued with rationalist thought that held the tenets of organized religion to be spurious at best." Thus the *Verein* "assumed the function of a quasi-church, providing direction and purpose."⁵⁴ Advocating a "spirit of cosmopolitanism,"⁵⁵ the heirs of Indianapolis *Vereinsleben* continued to champion democracy as a hedge against intolerance and as conducive to rationalism and freedom. Like their fathers, turn-of-the-century *Vereinsdeutsche* sought not merely to preserve their version of traditional German culture, but endeavored to "infuse these values as much as possible into the nascent American society."⁵⁶ Yet by the turn of the century, according to Stempfel, *Vereinsleben* was on the decline:

Factions formed . . . disrupting the club life. The unity broke up. Tired of continuous discord, some withdrew completely, throwing themselves into the arms of the Anglo-Americans. New Vereins, mini-Vereins, and clubs were formed. [In short] life in the German societies took on a different character . . . The German in America had become the German-American.⁵⁷

Stempfel made no mention of the problem of the decreasing visibility of Hoosier Germans-Americans at that time: the population of Indianapolis more than doubled between 1890 and 1900, yet the rate of German immigration dropped sharply from the previous decade; thus, German-Americans comprised a steadily decreasing segment of the population of the capital city.⁵⁸ Nor did Stempfel acknowledge that as fewer German-American males participated in *Vereinsleben*, female participation rose.⁵⁹ For Stempfel, the revolutionary spirit that fueled the forty-eighters (i.e., the founders) was both "beyond" and "incomprehensible" to younger leaders as they became preoccupied with family, business, and prosperity.⁶⁰ Yet, second-generation immigrant leaders such as Charles J. Hexamer of Philadelphia, understood that "(t)he key to maintaining Germanism lay in securing the ethnic loyalty of the rising generation of German-Americans," and he carefully maintained "a commitment to club life and its alcohol-centered sociability."⁶¹ It

Kansas City District Leaguer.

VOL. I.

LANSING, KANSAS, JULY 1908.

NO. 1.

Annual Convention at Edgerton, July 8-10, 1908.

OUR NEW PRESIDENT.

It is particularly fitting that the college of bishops should choose one of its members who was born and spent all but six years of his life within a radius of seventy-five miles of Kansas City, to lead the great Epworth League host during the next quadrennium. Bishop Quayle has the Kansas City spirit of doing things, and no doubt he will put much of



PRESIDENT M. VAYHINGER, of Taylor University, who will lecture Wednesday evening on "The Epworth Idea."

this spirit into the Epworth League.

Bishop Quayle's life is an inspiration to every young man who is poor financially. It is said of him that when he entered Baker University he was a janitor, when he left he was the president of the college. Nothing more marvelous than this one thing could be said of him.

While Bishop Quayle was poor financially, he was rich in spirit, optimistic in spirit, and full of love of God and of his fellowmen

PROGRAM.	
WEDNESDAY EVENING, JULY 8TH.	
—M. E. Church—	
Dr. official Services.....	8:00
Special Music.....	8:20
Edgerton Choir.....	
Lecture—"Epworth League Idea".....	8:35
Pres. M. Vayhinger, Upland, Ind.	
THURSDAY MORNING, JULY 9TH.	
—City Park—	
Devotional Services.....	8:30
Dr. D. Branson, Olathe.	
District Officers Report.....	8:45
Address.....	9:00
Dr. H. E. Ward, Leavenworth.	
Local Chapter Reports.....	9:20
"The Epworthian's Manual".....	10:30
Pres. M. Vayhinger, Upland, Ind.	
Solo.....	10:50
Miss Nena Wilson, Leavenworth.	
"The New Generation".....	11:05
Dr. C. C. Condit, Kansas City.	
THURSDAY AFTERNOON, JULY 9TH.	
—City Park—	
Devotional Services.....	2:00
Miss Margaret Wolfe, Edgerton.	
Kansas City Training School.....	2:15
Boothby Hospital.....	2:30
Dr. St. Clair, Kansas City.	
"The Epworthian's Opportunity".....	2:45
Pres. M. Vayhinger, Upland, Ind.	
Solo.....	3:15
Miss Mary Campbell, Edgerton.	
"The Infallibility of the Bible".....	3:30
Rev. M. E. Nethercutt, Leavenworth.	
Report of Committee on Credentials.....	3:45
Election of Officers.....	3:55
Adjournment.....	4:15
Social Time in Park.	
THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 9TH.	
—M. E. Church—	
Devotional Services.....	8:00
Special Music.....	8:15
Edgerton Choir.....	
Lecture.....	8:30
Dr. Daniel McGurk, Kansas City.	
FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 10TH.	
—City Hall—	
Devotional Services.....	8:30
Mrs. A. B. Conner, Eudora.	
Baker University.....	8:50
Dr. L. H. Martin, Baldwin.	
"The Epworthian's Service".....	9:10
Pres. M. Vayhinger, Upland, Ind.	
Solo.....	9:45
Mrs. Pauline Lanning.	
"The Winfield Institute".....	9:55
Dr. J. N. Ford, Kansas City.	
Right of Committee.....	10:05
Installation of Officers.....	10:30
Dr. J. S. Ford, Kansas City.	
"The Missionary Mind".....	10:40
Rev. J. A. Staley, Atchison.	
Solo.....	11:10
Miss Nena Wilson, Leavenworth.	
Address.....	11:15
Rev. Chas. D. Morris, Korea.	
Adjournment.....	12:00
FRIDAY AFTERNOON, JULY 10TH.	
—City Park—	
Devotional Services.....	2:00
Miss Mary Harrison, Leavenworth.	
Kansas Study Plans.....	2:20
Miss Ella Woodard, Kansas City.	
Solo.....	2:40
Rev. J. A. Staley, Atchison.	
Solo.....	3:10
Miss Margaret D. Farr, Edgerton.	
"Race".....	3:35
Rev. Chas. D. Morris, Korea.	
Adjournment.....	4:00
Social Time in Park.	
FRIDAY EVENING, JULY 10TH.	
—M. E. Church—	
Devotional Services.....	8:00
Evangelistic Services.....	8:30
Rev. C. S. Nussbaum, Independence.	

old haunts as pastor of the Grand Avenue church Kansas City. Three years ago he accepted a call from St. James Church, Chicago, and was elected bishop while pastor of this church.

Dr. Quayle well deserves the high honor which has been conferred upon him, and he is especially fitted for the new duties for which he has been called upon to perform. Well indeed is Dr. Quayle fitted to lead the young Methodists of the world to a greater field of usefulness. His life is a living example of the gospel of thorough preparation, broad culture, untiring work, high ideals and boundless love.



REV. C. S. NUSSBAUM. The eloquent District Superintendent of the Independence District, who will make the closing address of the convention on Friday evening.

ed vice president of the institution. After one year he succeeded Dr. Golin as President—the youngest college president in America.

In 1894 he resigned and accepted the pastorate of the Independence Avenue church in Kansas City, which position he held for five years—the time limit then. He was transferred to Indianapolis where he remained three years and then came back to his

Dr. Dan'l McGurk who will lecture to the convention on Thursday evening, is the popular pastor of the Grand Avenue M. E. Church at Kansas City and one of the foremost lecturers of the west. It is well worth the while for every delegate to hear Dr. McGurk.

Monroe Vayhinger, Epworth League Speaker, 1908.

is reasonable to suppose that similar influences were at work in the Hoosier capital. Stempfel accounted, as best he could, for a "crisis of the *vereinswesen*" which, subsequently, has been described in its complexity.

Defining German-American Character and Community

In the light of Stempfel's *Festschrift*, but also of historical analyses provided by Giles Hoyt and George Probst for the Indianapolis setting,⁶² and by Russell Kazal for Philadelphia, a German-American "identity crisis" of

growing proportions in the first decade of the twentieth century is the appropriate setting for an understanding of Vayhinger's letter to the *Madison Democrat*. The introduction of his letter, challenging the editorial's stereotyping of Germans as "beer-drinkers," already has been described. In the body of his letter, Vayhinger levels a charge of "injustice" against the beer drinkers "in the name of the temperance Germans" whom he purports to represent—"one of whom I am." With his identification of temperance Germans numbering "thousands and thousands," Vayhinger pulls back the curtain, rhetorically, in order to counter the "six hundred beer drinking Germans" with a substantial, alternate German-American group and identity. His charge begins, "They (i.e., the beer-drinking Germans) would have the world believe that intemperance is one of the fundamental characteristics of our people," a charge which makes transparent Vayhinger's perception of the meeting as an intentional declaration about drinking beer and German identity. An intentional declaration it surely was, but Vayhinger's charge simply equates beer drinking with "intemperance," that is, with excessive drinking or drunkenness. Even among the *Vereinsdeutsche* there were calls for temperance at this time, probably in response to alcohol legislation, but certainly there was no support for "temperance laws," which, from their perspective, undermined the very liberties that had attracted German immigrants to America in the first place.

Not intemperance but "the sturdy nature," Vayhinger next insists, defines German character—drawing on a popular anthropological term employed in nineteenth-century biography and social analysis.⁶³ Indeed, "All history," Vayhinger avers, "teaches that the sturdy nature is an inheritance from the faithfulness, courage and personal purity of our ancestors"—his triumvirate of virtues offering a variation on a common German-American motto, "Piety, diligence, and courage will enable our German descendants to succeed."⁶⁴ A possible source for Vayhinger's "sturdy nature" is Francis Montague's *The Limits of Individual Freedom*—a classic essay, published in 1885, which extols the inherent value of the "sturdy nature," describing it as "natural force"—the "raw material" of wisdom and virtue. In defining individuality and describing its place in relation to civilization, Montague named his own triumvirate—strength, originality, and character—as "proofs of a sturdy nature."⁶⁵ His admonition concerning the potentially destructive nature of civilization, though essentially an apologetic for personal freedoms, could also serve as ammunition for the prohibitionist cause:

There is no occasion to waste words in proving that a process of manufacture that destroys the stuff whilst working it up, is an absurd and mischievous process. If civilization tends to mar character, to unnerve will, to lower the standard of greatness, then most assuredly civilization is pernicious and hateful. If progress be after all progress in weakness and littleness, it is



W.C.T.U. commemorative poster with Culla J. Vayhinger at top, ca. 1917.

merely a progress in disease and death. In this case civilization is something to be extirpated, and progress something to be arrested.⁶⁶

In such a reading, "civilization" stands for *gemütlichkeit*, and the passage thus clarifies Vayhinger's thinking: "[t]he drink habit is directly antagonistic to this [the sturdy nature], and will, if persisted in, destroy the very thing of which we boast." Having stigmatized drinking as a habit contrary to the sturdy nature, Vayhinger cites Bismarck who "saw this" and said "if the Germans do not stop their excessive beer drinking the people will be destroyed and Germany will lose her prestage [*sic*: prestige] as a nation."⁶⁷

Finally, having identified "intemperance" (equated with beer drinking) as a mistaken stereotype, and substituting "faithfulness, courage, and purity" as the essential components of the "sturdy nature" that defines the German nation, Vayhinger predicts dire political consequences for those who oppose temperance legislation, since "This very 'sturdy nature' of the temperance Germans insures a ceaseless warfare on the saloon." In support of his polemic, Vayhinger refers to "thousands and thousands of Germans (whom he claims) are among the strongest temperance people of the country and are demanding temperance legislation." While this characterization certainly applies to English-speaking congregations of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was this also true of German Methodists?

John Wesley's original rule, which "forbade Drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, unless in cases of extreme necessity," was formally adopted as ecclesiastical law in *The Discipline* of the Methodist Episcopal Church, beginning in 1848.⁶⁸ During the latter half of the nineteenth century, allowing for a hiatus of temperance activity during the Civil War, Wesley's rule was applied in an increasingly comprehensive and vigorous manner, to include all alcoholic beverages, through the activity of local and conference-wide temperance societies as well as by national organizations such as the Methodist Episcopal Church's American Society for the Promotion of Temperance, and the interdenominational Woman's Christian Temperance Union.⁶⁹ German Methodists in America followed the Methodist *Discipline*, and German Methodism itself "is, historically speaking, the result of retroactive influence of German immigration to America."⁷⁰ The basis for German temperance and prohibition rhetoric is seen in anti-alcohol tracts and newspapers (in the German language) published mid-nineteenth century onward, both in Germany and America.⁷¹ Wilhelm Nast, already mentioned, edited *Der Christliche Apologete* for more than five decades, establishing it as "the leading German Methodist Newspaper in America" with a circulation of nearly 20,000 subscriptions by 1890.⁷² *Der Apologete* was also the leading voice of temperance reform among German Americans. According to Carl Frederick Wittke, "German Methodists were as much interested in the

"Germans for Temperance Laws"



"Waiting for the Train." Monroe and Culla Johnson Vayhinger, ca. 1915 (by permission of University Archives, Taylor University, all rights reserved).

crusade for temperance, which they interpreted to mean total abstinence, as any other Methodist group . . . Nast devoted considerable space in *Der Apologete* to prolonged discussions [on temperance].⁷³ As to the numbers of German Methodists, L. C. Rudolph notes the formation of twenty-eight German Methodist congregations in southwestern Indiana by mid-nineteenth century.⁷⁴ Carl Wittke documents the formation of four "German Conferences" within the Methodist Church nationwide after 1864 "due to Nast's persistence." These were followed by the later nineteenth-century establishment of a Central German Conference based in Cincinnati, comprised of "eighty preachers and nearly 9,000 members, a Northwest German Conference at Galena, Illinois, with fifty-seven preachers and 5,500 members, as well as by conferences in Chicago, Louisville, and California."⁷⁵ Wittke further notes that "(a)t its height, the German-speaking Methodists in the United States totaled over 63,000 official members" together with "probably another half million . . . in some way affiliated with their organizations."⁷⁶

Just how many of these German-Americans, aside from Monroe Vayhinger, were "demanding temperance legislation" is a subject that requires further research.⁷⁷ Despite Wittke's conclusion, that German Methodists were "as much interested in the crusade" as any other Methodist group, prohibition activism among German Methodists beyond the pages of Nast's *Der Apologete* has yet to be documented, and certainly never gained the force or visibility that it did among Anglo-Methodists. This probably reflects the sensitivity of German Methodists to their countrymen—the central place of alcohol in their fellowship and to the importance of brewing to their livelihood. As for Monroe, in his letter he speaks for "temperance Germans," not German Methodists, and his tone, obviously, is not characterized by sensitivity to German-American culture. It is polemical—of a piece with the anti-saloon rhetoric of the era—and demonstrates how far the journey of assimilation had taken him from his roots. Though nurtured in German Methodism, and though he had pastored many German Americans, by 1908 when he left the pastorate in order to accept the presidency of a Methodist institution—Taylor University in Upland, Indiana—Monroe's professional and personal associations realigned with prohibitionists and evangelists in the holiness tradition; thus he moved into primarily Anglo-American circles. Vayhinger's education and professional accomplishments, moreover, comprise the majority of the material included in the "Family History," with the effect that Monroe is presented as the acme of the Vayhinger family social accomplishments. In the "People's History of Ripley County," as previously noted, even Gustavus is described as "one of the strongest temperance men to be found anywhere in the land and instructed all his children in the woes of the liquor traffic." The anachronistic statement—ironically a product of

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Monroe Vayhinger, D. D., Evangelist
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REV. ABRAM P. SHAFFER, PASTOR

NEW CASTLE PRINTING COMPANY

Monroe Vayhinger in later years, ca. early 1930s.

German-American reflection⁷⁸—reads the immigrant Gustavus's temperance preference through the lens of prohibition, and thereby clouds his portrait.

It is interesting to consider how the Vayhinger assimilation might have slowed had the family not moved to Indiana. Remaining with family in the Over the Rhine district, Gustavus and Margueretha would likely have remained Lutheran and working class.⁷⁹ Had he grown up in Cincinnati, Monroe might have become a Lutheran minister, a schoolmaster in the German-English schools, or both. In that environment, one imagines, Monroe's sense of German identity and his relations with other German-Americans would have fared far better. As it happened, within two generations, assimilation had progressed to such a degree that Monroe could employ his German identity rhetorically, as a weapon against "beer drinking Germans."

Taylor University
Upland, Indiana

Appendix: Transcription of Monroe Vayhinger's Letter

GERMANS FOR TEMPERANCE LAWS.

Mr. Chapman:—

Your editorial in yesterday's *DEMOCRAT* on the Germans will be misunderstood by many of your readers. The German meeting in Indianapolis represented the beer drinking Germans and no more, and when they, or anyone else infer that all Germans are against temperance and temperance laws they make a stupendous blunder.

In the name of the temperance Germans, one of whom I am, I protest against the injustice of a handful of beer drinkers pretending to represent the German people. They do not represent the Germans. They would have the world believe that intemperance is one of the fundamental characteristics of our people. All history teaches that the sturdy nature is an inheritance from the faithfulness, courage and personal purity of our ancestors. The drink habit is directly antagonistic to this, and will, if persisted in, destroy the very thing of which we boast. Bismark [*sic*] saw this. He said if the Germans do not stop their excessive beer drinking the people will be destroyed and Germany will lose her prestige [*sic*] as a nation.

Thousands and thousands of Germans are among the strongest temperance people of the country and are demanding temperance legislation that will stop the ravages of the saloon, the ulcer on our body politic.

This very "sturdy nature" of the temperance Germans insures a ceaseless warfare on the saloon. If any legislator allows six hundred beer drinking Germans to make him ignore the rapidly-rising temperance sentiment of this country then he will find that the temperance people are learning how to make their vote count on election day.

Your intimation that saloon keepers as a class are law breakers is well taken. No one can deny this. Hence the people in self defense must oppose, and oppose to the bitter, an institution which from its nature is law defying and law breaking. Therefore the bills introduced thus far in the interest of temperance should be supported by letter and petition of every one who really has the interest of the people at heart.

Respectfully,
M. VAYHINGER.

"Germans for Temperance Laws"

Notes

¹This study is dedicated to the memory of John Monroe Vayhinger (1916–2007), whose generous donation of the Monroe and Culla Vayhinger Collection to the Taylor University Archives made it possible. An earlier draft was supported by a grant from the Taylor University Center for Research and Innovation; it benefited from the critiques of Dr. Edward Frantz of Indianapolis University and Dr. Giles Hoyt of Indiana University-Purdue University of Indianapolis, and was presented at the Indiana Association of Historians, Annual Meeting, 18 February 2006. The revision offered here benefited immeasurably from the review process (specifically the comments of anonymous reviewers) at the *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, Max Kade Center for German-American Studies, University of Kansas.

²From an undated newspaper clipping in the *Madison Democrat*, ca. 1905. For more on this source, see below, notes 46 and 47. See the Appendix for a transcription of the letter, in the Monroe and Culla Vayhinger Collection, Container 2, Taylor University Archives, Upland, Indiana. The news clipping containing the letter, and many other Vayhinger family papers and portraits, can be viewed online in the digital library collection entitled "Progressive Era Reformers, Monroe and Culla Vayhinger," at www.PALNI.edu.

³Describing another urban context, Russell A. Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 40–41, notes that "perhaps the issue with the greatest power to unify German Philadelphia . . . was that of alcohol use . . . (such that) from the 1840s on . . . German immigrants who saw a convivial glass of wine or beer as central to proper sociability clashed with Anglo-Americans bent on reducing or prohibiting alcohol consumption. These conflicts carried potentially serious consequences for *vereine*." See also Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *The German-American Experience* (New York: Humanity Books, 2000), 265–66 on the fight of the German-American National Alliance against prohibition.

⁴In this paper "first generation" refers to the American-born children of immigrant parents; other authors sometime refer to them as "second generation," and to the immigrants as "first generation."

⁵The misnomer lies in the fact that temperance employs moral persuasion, not the passage of laws.

⁶Between 1850 and 1859 nearly a million German immigrants (34.7% of the total immigration) arrived in the U.S. according to the U.S. Bureau of the Census, cited in Giles R. Hoyt, "Germans" in Robert M. Taylor and Connie A. McBirney, *Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1996), 162.

⁷Quotation, *Ibid.*, 160. "Forty-Eighters" refers to the dispirited advocates of the failed German revolution of 1848, who subsequently migrated to the U.S. in search of political freedom. For a synopsis of the 1848 revolution, see Tolzmann, *The German-American Experience*, 168ff.

⁸Violet E. Toph, *Ripley County Indiana Genealogy* (Fort Wayne: Public Library of Fort Wayne and Allen County, 1969), 1599. For more on this source see note 14.

⁹The spelling of her name varies in the sources: *Margueretha* in the "Family History" (see below, note 14), *Marguerite* in Toph's "Ripley County Obituaries" and "The Ripley County History," "Margarethe" in the Toph's "People's History of Ripley County." The spelling *Margueretha* is retained here since it appears in the "Family History" and is similar in form to the name scribbled in the family address book, in the Vayhinger Collection. Gustavus's parents were Immanuel Vayhinger (b. 1787) and Louise Horne (b. 1789) from Sutz-am-Necker. Margueretha Schweiklin's parents were Jacob and Augusta Schweiklin, whose place of origin is unnamed.

¹⁰According to the "Family History," "All came directly to Ohio and settled north of Cincinnati. . ." (Toph, *Ripley County Indiana Genealogy*, 1599).

¹¹ *Gemutlichkeit* describes the characteristic warmth and relaxed informality ascribed to German fellowship.

¹² Tolzmann, *The German-American Experience*, 192.

¹³ Two boys, Edwin and Albert, were born to the Vayhingers "in Hamilton County" according to the "Family History" (Ripley County, Indiana, Genealogy, 1599).

¹⁴ Among the various Ripley County historical sources drawn on for this study is the "Vayhinger History" (referred to throughout this article as the "Family History"), authored by Ada Vayhinger Dole and Vernon Monroe Vayhinger, the second generation children of Albert Vayhinger, Monroe's oldest brother. The several-page "Family History" was incorporated into "Ripley County Indiana Genealogy," 1599ff., by Violet E. Toph (1878–1956) who "dedicated her life to gathering information about Ripley County and the people who have made it their home down the many years it has been a part of this State of Indiana." Toph's histories of Ripley County, Indiana, also include a five-volume "Peoples History of Ripley County, Indiana," based on her door-to-door ethnographic research. In this study, information cited "according to the Ripley County sources" is meant to except the "Family History," though the latter, strictly speaking, is part of the Toph collection. "Ripley County sources" as used here also refers to a more recent volume, *Ripley County History, 1818–1988*, vol. 1 (Dallas, Texas: Ripley County History Book Committee, 1989), which relies heavily on Toph. For more on Violet Toph and her work, see the "Finding Aid of the Violet E. Toph Ripley County History Collection, 1969," Manuscript 77, of the Hanover College Archives of Duggan Library at Hanover College, which may be viewed at http://library.hanover.edu/pdf/Mss77_RipleyToph.pdf.

¹⁵ The "Family History" (Toph, "Ripley County Indiana Genealogy," 1599) places their "conversion" to Methodism at Sunman, Indiana, several years later.

¹⁶ Wilhelm Nast (1807–99) born three years prior to Gustavus, was a fellow immigrant from Württemberg, who emigrated to the United States at age 21. For his biography see Paul F. Douglass, *The Story of German Methodism, Biography of an Immigrant Soul* (Cincinnati: The Methodist Book Concern, 1939). The quotation is from a letter written by Nast from Cincinnati, dated March 19, 1838, and later published in Adam Miller's *Origin and Purpose of The German Missions in the Methodist Episcopal Church including an account of the Christian Experience of some of the converts from popery and infidelity, as furnished by themselves* (Cincinnati: Wright and Swormstedt for the Methodist Book Concern, 1843), 47.

¹⁷ Wade Crawford Barclay, *Missionary Motivation and Expansion*, vol. 1 of *Early American Methodism, 1769–1844* (New York: Board of Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church, 1949), 276.

¹⁸ Carolyn R. Toth, *German-English Bilingual Schools in America: The Cincinnati Tradition in Historical Context* (New York: Peter Lang, 1990), 58–59.

¹⁹ As outlined above, note 14, "Ripley County sources" here refers to all but the "Family History," which does not give a date for the move. Ripley County sources vary on the year: while Toph's "Ripley County, Indiana Obituaries" says that Albert Vayhinger (Monroe's oldest bother) was born in Hamilton County, Ohio in 1838, and that "he with his parents, came to Indiana when about eleven years old" (i.e., about 1849), it also reports that David, the third child, "was born in Ripley County, Indiana, April 4, 1844. According to the "Ripley County History," the family "moved to Indiana and in 1849 purchased a farm one mile west of Delaware . . ." (369). The "History" also gives a date of 4 April 1844 for David's birth but does not say where he or the other children were born. Again, the "Family History" offers no date for the family's move to Indiana. In the later nineteenth century, Rei was called Delaware after the name of the township.

²⁰ The ridge rises between the north and south branches of Hogan Creek, and is the locale of today's Indiana SR 350.

"Germans for Temperance Laws"

²¹Toph, Violet E., compiler, "People's History of Ripley County, Indiana" (Fort Wayne: Public Library of Fort Wayne and Allen County, 1969), 1589. For more on this source see note 14.

²²Douglass, in *The Story of German Methodism*, 41, notes that the Methodist Episcopal Church established a German mission in nearby Lawrenceburg, Indiana, as early as 1840, and Martin Bohler is said to have preached in German from time to time as he accompanied Bishop Asbury on their visits to newly established western circuits (including Lawrenceburg) in the first decade of the nineteenth century.

²³Barclay, *Missionary Motivation and Expansion*, 277.

²⁴Adam Miller, *Origin and Purpose of The German Missions in the Methodist Episcopal Church including an account of the Christian Experience of some of the converts from popery and infidelity, as furnished by themselves* (Cincinnati: Wright and Swormstedt for the Methodist Book Concern, 1843).

²⁵Neither the "Family History" nor any other Ripley County sources make mention of Vayhinger extended family members traveling with Gustavus and Margueretha to Cincinnati or Indiana.

²⁶See note 19.

²⁷Toph, "People's History of Ripley County," 1589.

²⁸"English Methodists" refers to those churches whose worship services were conducted in English—the majority of all Methodist Episcopal Church congregations—though by the mid-1840s the Church had spawned a small number of German-language congregations.

²⁹Toph, "People's History of Ripley County," 1589. Toph's description of Gustavus is anachronistic in its use of Prohibition-era language—"the liquor trade." For more on Toph's "People's History" see note 14; the information she supplies typically augments the "Family History," and is based on her interviews with additional family members.

³⁰*Ripley County History*, 35, dates the first Delaware Methodist circuit to 1859. German missions at first targeted urban populations and farming regions with greater concentrations of German settlers; thus German Methodism took greater hold in the north east (Fort Wayne) and south west (Evansville) of the state (Barclay, *Missionary Motivation and Expansion*, 277).

³¹Toph's *Ripley County History* says that Albert "belonged to the first Delaware Methodist Episcopal Church, a log structure adjoining the cemetery west of town. In 1858 he contributed and assisted in building the first church in Delaware and was a liberal contributor in the rebuilding of the present structure" (265). The pattern was typical for remote areas: Baptists also "had been holding meetings in their homes since 1840," according to the "Ripley County History," and then "a school house was used as a place of worship until 1844, when a frame church was erected" (35).

³²Collaborative support between German- and English-speaking Methodists was common (Barclay, *Missionary Motivation and Expansion*, 277). In its survey of historical churches, the *Ripley County History* notes that "Rev. Isaac Turner served as minister in charge of the Delaware Circuit in 1859" (35); no earlier ministers are mentioned. Barclay, however, notes that "[t]he Evansville Mission, Indiana Conference [in the early 1840s] had fourteen preaching places, requiring 250 miles of travel (278).

³³See Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock*, 83–84.

³⁴Although there is no mention of holiness in relation to the Vayhingers in the "Family History" or Ripley County sources, the doctrine and its attendant lifestyle includes abstinence from alcohol. Neighboring farms and businesses in Rei were owned by German-American families, and among these were Edward and Mary Koechlin who built a large inn with a saloon. That the presence of a saloon would have been a concern to the Vayhingers is suggested by Toph's description of Gustavus as "one of the strongest temperance men to be found anywhere in the land . . ." (Toph, "People's History," 1589).

³⁵ According to the "Family History," "Monroe was educated at the Rounds School and in the High School at Delaware. At the age of sixteen he was elected to teach the Rounds School. He also taught the Mud Pike school one term and the primary department of the Delaware school" (Toph, "Ripley County Indiana Genealogy," 1599).

³⁶ A handbill in the Vayhinger Collection announces that "The Ripley County Normal School will be opened at Delaware, on Monday, July 7th, 1879." In addition to naming some of the faculty (a Moores Hill College professor, the Ripley County Superintendent of Schools, and a visiting teacher of penmanship), the advertisement directs "All inquiries concerning rooms and boarding should be addressed to Monroe Vayinger, Rei Indiana." (Note the spelling of Monroe's name here, and the mention of both names, Delaware and Rei.)

³⁷ Founded 1854, Moores Hill College moved to Evansville in 1919, where it was renamed Evansville College.

³⁸ The "Family History" and Toph's "People's History" report that he taught German during his sophomore and junior years while enrolled at Moores Hill.

³⁹ Monroe Vayhinger sermon, "The Supremacy of the Church: what will she do with the Saloon?" 1889. Monroe and Culla Vayhinger Collection, Topical Sermons, Taylor University Archives, Upland, Indiana.

⁴⁰ Moores Hill College materials, Monroe and Culla Vayhinger Collection, Container 2, Taylor University Archives, Upland, Indiana.

⁴¹ Don Wallis, *All we had was each other: the Black community of Madison, Indiana* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998).

⁴² John T. Windle and Robert M. Taylor, Jr., *The Early Architecture of Madison, Indiana* (Madison: Historic Madison, Inc. & Indianapolis Historical Society, 1986) includes a helpful summary of Madison's downward trends, economically and socially.

⁴³ Chapman, A.S., *Madison, Indiana, A Jewel in Setting 'Neath the Hills: A Guide to the Visitor, etc.* (Madison: Democrat Printing Co., 1922), n.p.

⁴⁴ The Vayhinger Collection contains Monroe's pastoral schedule books for the years 1904–8, and these include a majority of German names for the members and lay leaders of the several congregations that he served.

⁴⁵ In 1889, the Epworth League was established to absorb and supersede the several Methodist Episcopal Church young peoples' societies active up to that time. For more, see Dan B. Brummitt's *Epworth League Methods* (Cincinnati: Jennings and Graham, 1906).

⁴⁶ See the Appendix for a transcription of the letter from an undated newspaper clipping. The letter's introduction identifies "beer-drinker" as a mistaken stereotype for Germans. The body of the letter substitutes the "sturdy nature" for intemperance as the 'prestige of the German nation,' and names "faithfulness, courage, and purity" as its essential components. The letter's conclusion forecasts dire political consequences for those who would oppose the very sturdy nature of "temperance Germans" who must wage "ceaseless warfare on the saloon." Vayhinger's letter is a response to an editorial that so far has not been located; the thrust of the editorial can be inferred from his letter.

⁴⁷ The assumption here is that Monroe read and wrote to the *Democrat*, sometime during his residence in Madison, between 1903 and 1908, and probably about 1905. As already noted, A. S. Chapman was editor of the *Democrat* at this time. The language of the letter, moreover, reflects the era of the Anti-Saloon League (1890s–1920s), and German meetings of the type described in the letter were prominent in the first decade of the twentieth century, but not much later. See Jack S. Blocker, Jr., *American Temperance Movements, Cycles of Reform* (Boston: Twayne, 1989), 95ff. Finally, according to Tolzmann, *The German-American Experience*, 265, "In 1900 the Prohibition Party began an especially militant campaign, and between 1904 and 1906 more prohibition candidates were elected than ever before."

⁴⁸ Temperance implies moral persuasion, not the passage of laws.

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⁴⁹Elizabeth S. Weinberg, *Hoosier Israelites on the Ohio—A History of Madison's Indiana Jews*, Publication no. 27 (Fort Wayne, IN.: Indiana Jewish Historical Society, 1991), n.p.

⁵⁰Ibid., "This incident," Weinberg notes, "typified the general attitude of indifference to German immigrants and their activities" (in Madison), n.p.

⁵¹For *Gemutlichkeit* see above, note 11. For detailed descriptions of Germantown, Indianapolis see Giles R. Hoyt, "Germans" in David J. Bodenhamer and Robert G. Barrows, *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 619.

⁵²See Hoyt, "Germans," in Robert M. Taylor and Connie A. McBirney, *Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1996), 160; and Tolzmann, *The German-American Experience*, 187ff.

⁵³Theodore Stempfel, *Festschrift zur Freir der Vollendung des Deutschen Hauses in Indianapolis, Fünfzig Jahre Unermüdlichen Deutschen Strebens in Indianapolis/Festschrift Celebrating the Completion of Das Deutsche Haus in Indianapolis, Fifty Years of Unrelenting German Aspirations in Indianapolis*, German/English edition 1991, Giles R. Hoyt, Claudia Grossman, Elfrieda Lang, and Eberhard Reichmann, eds. (Indianapolis: German American Center and Indiana German Heritage Society, Inc., 1991).

⁵⁴Hoyt, "Germans," 160.

⁵⁵The expression is Hermann Lieber's, from his address on the occasion of the dedication of *Das Deutsche Haus*, translated by Hoyt, et al., in Stempfel's *Festschrift*, 88.

⁵⁶For Hoyt's reading of Stempfel see *Peopling Indiana*, 160 and endnote 89. On the assertion of German values on American culture, see Tolzmann, *The German American Experience*, 235–37.

⁵⁷Stempfel, *Festschrift*, 27–28.

⁵⁸However, in early twentieth century Madison, Indiana (Vayhinger's home), a third or more of the city's residents were German-American, if the first-generation is included. As the first decade of the twentieth century passed, moreover, the German-American presence in Madison remained high. In Indianapolis, by contrast, the percentage of Germans Americans decreased from 28% of the population in 1890 to 23% in 1900, to 17% in 1910. For further explanation see Probst, *The Germans in Indianapolis*, 121, 123 and Hoyt, "Germans," 168–69.

⁵⁹This conclusion is based on a trend in the Philadelphia Germantown context. See, Russell Kazal, "The Gendered Crisis of the Vereinswesen" in *Becoming Old Stock, The Paradox of German-American Identity*, chapter 3.

⁶⁰Stempfel, *Festschrift*, 27–28.

⁶¹Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock, the Paradox of German-American Identity*, 133–34.

⁶²Giles Hoyt, "Germans," 146–81; and George T. Probst, *The Germans in Indianapolis, 1840–1918*, rev. ed. E. Reichmann (Indianapolis: German American Center & Indiana German Heritage Society, Inc. 1989).

⁶³See, for example, William D.P. Bliss, *The Encyclopedia of Social Reform* (New York: Funk & Wagnells, 1897), 419.

⁶⁴The motto of the first German-American society formed in Philadelphia in 1764. Quoted in Tolzmann, *The German-American Experience*, 87.

⁶⁵Francis C. Montague, *The Limits of Individual Liberty* (London: Rivingtons, 1885), 113–14.

⁶⁶Ibid., 114.

⁶⁷While it is difficult to know just how persuasive an appeal to Otto von Bismarck might have been to German-American citizens of Madison, it is true that the former German chancellor had become the icon of German identity by the *fin de siècle*.

⁶⁸*The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York: Methodist Episcopal Church, 1848) 21, as quoted in Wade Crawford Barclay, *The Methodist Episcopal Church, 1845–1939* (New York: The Board of Missions of the Methodist Church, 1957), 54.

⁶⁹W.C.T.U. President Francis Willard, mentioned earlier, was a Methodist.

⁷⁰ Douglass, *The Story of German Methodism*, xvii.

⁷¹ In the free city of Bremen, beginning in 1850, Ludwig Jacoby began publishing *Der Evangelist* "as a counterpart to Nast's American *Apologete*." Thus, in the inaugural issue of *Der Evangelist*, Jacoby introduced himself to his readers by noting that "my brother declared war on 'firewater' (*Feuerwasser*) from the beginning and I hate this poison which disturbs the health of many, ruins the happiness of families, and has ruined so many souls" (quoted in Paul F. Douglass, *The Story of German Methodism*, 106). *Der Evangelist* was followed within four years by *Kinderfreund*, and these two organs of German temperance reached a combined circulation of well over 30,000 subscriptions in Germany by 1890.

⁷² Copies of Nast's *Der Christliche Apologete* are among Vayhinger's papers.

⁷³ Carl Frederick Wittke, *William Nast: Patriarch of German Methodism* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1959), 70.

⁷⁴ "With particular strength in the area around Evansville, Boonville, Dale, and Santa Claus." L. C. Rudolph, *Hoosier Faiths* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 542.

⁷⁵ Wittke, *William Nast*, 74.

⁷⁶ That is, prior to the beginning of its early twentieth-century decline. Wittke, *William Nast*, 78. The large numbers explain Vayhinger's description of "six hundred beer drinking Germans" as "a handful."

⁷⁷ A 1981 study that deserves mention is Richard Pierard's "The Church of the Brethren and the Temperance Movement," *Brethren Life and Thought* (Winter 1981): 36–44. However, his conclusion (p 40)—"It is fair to say that by 1900 the church was becoming increasingly interested in doing something to influence legislation which would correct this (i.e., alcohol) social ill"—hardly matches Vayhinger's strong rhetoric.

⁷⁸ That is, they are either the reflections of Vayhinger family members interviewed by Toph, or Toph herself.

⁷⁹ Becoming a farmer provided commercially viable work for Gustavus in an era when urban-situated artisans were beginning to lose their livelihoods to industrial manufacturing.

Karl-Heinz Füssl

Tinkering Toward Utopia: American Social Sciences, European Émigrés and United States Policy Toward Germany (1942–45)

Following the rise of European totalitarian movements in the twentieth century several scholarly covenants originating in the United States sought in varying intensity and breadth to explain these developments.¹ Central to the following inquiry are the discussions and contributions of the “Council for Intercultural Relations” (CIR) which from 1942 through 1945 submitted suggestions developed by scholars for a cultural policy toward Germany. The CIR was affiliated with New York’s Columbia University. In particular, my ongoing research will answer the following questions: (1) what role social science based knowledge played in political actions and perspectives; (2) what influence basic political convictions had on the course of theory processing; (3) whether the experience of flight, expulsion, and migration generated a genuine scholarly profile; (4) what practical consequences a policy legitimated by scholars achieved, and (5) which mental and institutional processes became reality or were brought to fruition.

Anthropology and Politics

In 1946, State Department Assistant Secretary William Benton, then in charge of the cultural policy of the American Military Government in Germany, wrote to the anthropologist Margaret Mead: “Your part in the war-time information program in foreign countries created the foundations for a peace-time program.”²

The United States entry in the Second World War assumed a significant place in Margaret Mead’s biography. Apart from her full-time job as a curator of the American Museum of Natural History, she decided to offer her collected anthropological knowledge and experience to the good services of American warfare. In times of war, confessed Mead, social scientists have

several options. They could remain in an ivory tower, do something patriotic or use their accumulated knowledge and elaborated scientific methodology to the best of one person's ability to win the war:

We must analyze the social organization of Prussia and Japan, especially, and attempt scientifically to strike out those elements which produce the convinced fascist . . . and with equal vigor we must set about developing within the culture of our enemies those tendencies which will enable them to use well the freedom which they have never had. If we fail in either job, if we let those fascist tendencies flourish at home we have disarmed abroad, we, of course, win nothing . . . And if we fail to make every effort to cure all the curables in the other culture, then it is clear that what we glossed over as hospitalization was really after all only a prison designed to punish, not to cure.³

An important building block in Mead's way of thinking was based on anthropological similarities and regularities in societies which originate in connection with political racism. Mead took the view that each socialization theory is necessarily racist in itself when it is constituted on the basis of cultural characteristics and simultaneously maintains an early and constant determination of the future life cycle. Furthermore, Mead represented the point of view that human development only coincides with democratic ethics if postulated as a life-long learning process by encouraging changes in human behavior. She also refrained from theoretical approaches that claimed the exclusive relevance and irreversibility of cultural experiences in early childhood. Within the contemporary controversy between the protagonists supporting supremacy of predisposition (nature) or environmental development (nurture), Mead undoubtedly belonged to the followers of the latter. She told her readers the optimistic message that among the diverse ethnic groups an improvement of human relations through transcultural and intergenerational understanding will be reached, symbolizing a key function for social progress.⁴

A Social Scientist's Anti-Hitler Alliance

In 1940, at a meeting of the American Association of Anthropology" (AAA) Mead founded the Council on Intercultural Relations (CIR). In subsequent informal meetings she emphasized the value and virtue of the newly established social sciences for future research. "Its members realized that the older sciences of history, political science and economics needed to be supplemented by the newer disciplines of anthropology, sociology, psychology, and psychiatry."⁵ Mead recognized scholarly meaningful results in the social sciences predominantly by their application in society. Through the collaboration in

the newly founded CIR, Mead advanced an intensified exchange of experiences between the American social scientists Clyde Kluckhohn, Rhoda Metraux, Philip Mosely, Gardner Murphy, Edward Y. Hartshorne, David Riesman, Talcott Parsons, Geoffrey Gorer, Gregory Bateson and the Hitler refugees Erik H. Erikson, Kurt Lewin, Elsa Frenkel-Brunswik, Marie Jahoda, Erich Fromm, Erich Kahler, Martha Wolfenstein, and Richard Brickner. In their basic orientation, these discussions were heavily influenced by Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytical theories, because they promised to explain the irrationality associated with the rise of totalitarian movements. Mead's prominent status in the American academia permitted direct access to Eleanor Roosevelt who facilitated connections with influential political circles. In 1942, Mead, in cooperation with Bateson, Lewin, Erikson, Fromm, Brickner, Mosely, Kahler, and Hartshorne, presented a preliminary memorandum about German character structure, whereby Mead served as a mentor for the German studies and Ruth Benedict dissected Japanese cultural phenomena.⁶

The memorandum created ample space for a detailed analysis of the National Socialist film "Hitlerjunge Quex," conveyed by British anthropologist Gregory Bateson.⁷ The propaganda movie described the political socialization and tragic death of a male adolescent in the quarrel between Communists and Nazis. With Hitler's personal blessings, the film had its premiere in 1933 in Berlin. Bateson's tentative efforts to apply anthropological techniques for the analysis of a propaganda film resulted in the categorization of time perspectives, political groups, interactions, sexuality, the family dream, and death. In his analysis, Bateson realized that in a way of orgasmic rebellion a permanent status change is performed which destroys the traditional family unit. These status changes parallel multiple symbolic extinguishing of lives, where the newly created persona finally finds its reincarnation and redemption in a realm lasting a thousand years. Quex walks from the living world to the kingdom of reincarnated heroes. The "Rites de passage" proceed in the same age cohorts as initiation ceremonies which fatefully seal the loss of the old status and characterize National Socialism as a phantasmagorical, infinite, and restless parade. Bateson predicted an audience behavior pattern that identifies reality from the angle of adolescents and stimulates for observers a nostalgic desire for innocent childhood. In his conclusion, Bateson accused National Socialism of considering the individual person as a mechanical object who is exposed to the extreme dualism of authority and temptation. Since the film did not explicitly mention the analyzed categories, Bateson assumed an emotionalized reception dynamic that sets its action potential free as soon as the attention is called for. Prospective Nazi converts learned in the media performance to organize their view on ideology, environment and behavior in an entirely new way.

Additional inquiries on Nazi indoctrination focused on the age group of kindergarten children where the sharp contrast between the authoritarian father role within and the servile status outside the core family pointed out the perception of a threefold mother role: Firstly, as a advocate for the child when the father is absent. Secondly, within the parthenogenetically reproduced passage to new alliances, the mother sacrifices her child for the returning father. Finally, the mother suffers under her opportunistic behavior when she carefully devotes herself to the child again. Erik Erikson developed his "suffering mothers" concept out of a psychoanalytical interpretation of Hitler's Opus *Mein Kampf* and raised the further leading question about the meaning of adolescence in German culture.⁸ According to Erikson, the difference between paternal role and maternal child alliance results in a crisis during the adolescent life cycle and is exercised either in open rebellion, cynical contempt, flight from home or humiliation and finally backbone-breaking submissiveness. The undemocratic German tradition advances this basic cultural pattern because of the distorted authority of the father role, subsequently symbolized in rigidly practiced pedagogical methods that represented fears about the loss of social status and supply mentalities instead of ethics based on visions of liberty. Even the German Youth Movement of the turn of the century with its mystic-romantic overstatement of nature, culture, genius, nation and race excluded parental welfare. The dichotomy between individual rebellion and surrender to societal reality leads to political immaturity and favors the takeover of nihilist attitudes. Once established, generational conflict rejects traditional authorities and recognizes paternal substitutes in a *Führer* culture.

Erikson unmasked the ideology of *Lebensraum* and revealed its true nature by constructing a strategic intersection of psychology and history. The German Reich, geographically positioned in the center of the European great powers, suggested that its population remained tied to an imagination of spatial encirclement. Under the circumstances of interior inner strife alien influences reinforced the pathogenically over-determined inner conflict of ethnic plurality. Hitler promised the solution of the outer menace and interior conflicts in racist homogeneity and superior Aryan world rule. Hitler's imagery of unbroken adolescence symbolized the regaining of a lost imagined self through restless and unscrupulous activism. Erikson attributed to adolescent rebellion the function of inner emancipation of the sons. Their whole generation experienced the same rituals. For the young, there existed the myths of Hitler, who never sacrificed his will to his father and whose ascetic habitus embodied not only the antipode of the bad, insane, impure and forever sponging Jew, but also assumed the right to annihilate the enemy. The now synthetic national character presented the soldier as a hero who

violates obsolete natural frontiers and substitutes for the old aristocratic caste thinking an allegedly responsible people's community (*Volksgemeinschaft*). Technological innovations bestow on the warrior those insignia which enable him to fight the *Blitzkrieg*. In his psychoanalytical interpretation, Erikson concluded that the acceptance of the atavistic connoted pathological adolescence reflected the imagery of an entire nation. The greatest danger lay in the influence on the younger generation that represses adolescence conflict in hypnotic action und substitutes blind obedience for an independent mind. As an antithesis to Hitler, Erikson suggested the strengthening of the institution of the family as well as the role of women and placed in the foreground the meaning of *Heimat*, of local and regional traditions as a grassroots policy. In his further considerations for a post-war order, Erikson recommended an elaborated program for education and leisure to counteract the indoctrinated youth and the building and construction of a political and economically unified Europe under a social order of culturally autonomous regions. Finally, Erikson recommended future research efforts of a sophisticated psychology: "It will be one of the functions of psychology to recognize in human motivation those archaic and infantile residues which in national crises become subject to misuse by demagogic adventurers."⁹

A different point of departure occupied Kurt Lewin, who assigned to an experimental cultural anthropology the task of investigating distinctions between modern cultures.¹⁰ Within the transformation from a war to a peace culture, the change of values implied the emphasis of humane ideals to secure for members of the society an education for maturity, indicating the freeing, unfolding, and growing of what has been latent, potential or suspended. Lewin wove together democratic objectives with all other cultural segments, particularly in their habitual customs of education, processes of public checks and balances, group statuses, and status differences. Democratic cultural change ranged under the premise of attacking every form of intolerance. The general granting of individual freedoms would result in chaos. To produce a value change of a whole nation means establishing a cultural atmosphere permeating every part of life. Regarding Germany, Lewin mentioned especially the central problem of the leader and fellow traveler relationship that existed even prior to National Socialism and created a type of submissive behavior instead of principles of loyalty. Methodically, with an authoritarian, a *laissez-faire* and a democratic leadership, Lewin accentuated three different social climate types. He assigned enormous relevance to a system of practical experiential learning through visual examination, conception, model, and idea. In his theory, Lewin admonished an unconditional avoidance of propaganda. As a substitute, individual persons should be addressed in their capacity as group members in society. He subdivided the German population

in the age cohorts of forty or more years with experiences from the Weimar era, the indoctrinated twenty to thirty year age group, and adolescents and children. In spite of indoctrination, Lewin recognized in both groups above the age of twenty still sufficient potential for the application of a democratic leadership model by addressing the individual in his social interactions. He assigned special importance to the transformation of fellow traveler attitudes, a comprehensive distribution of power relations to every part of society and a change in democratic leadership in all social segments. These new leadership styles and techniques, applied as training on the job, would produce enough modification without carrying the stigma of pedagogical instruction. "Such training on the job of leaders and trainers of leaders might well reach into every aspect of community leadership. It might help to set in action a process of self-re-education."¹¹

Members of the CIR and its successor organization called Institute on Intercultural Relations, established in 1944 at Columbia University, were substantially funded by the Office of Naval Research. They discussed numerous additional topics, like Richard Brickner's thesis about German paranoia.¹² The think-tank's scientific discourses received massive publicity through Brickner's book, *Is Germany Incurable?* (1943), which was strongly supported by Margaret Mead. One can confidently assume Mead's intention to use the book as a medium to generate a strong public interest for post-war policies toward Germany. She returned early drafts of Brickner's book with remarks for rewriting chapters for a wider readership. Moreover, Mead asked Yale University psychologist Geoffrey Gorer not only to integrate stylistic refinements, but to upgrade Brickner's manuscript for an interdisciplinary undertaking involving psychiatry and cultural anthropology.¹³

Brickner, a neurologist, subdivided his book in three parts. In an introductory chapter, the paranoid patient and the nature of contemporary modern psychiatry are presented. The second part analyzes the complex nature of the German problem with the instruments of psychiatry by setting the German people's character in analogy to Brickner's ill and feeble-minded patients. The internalized passion for drill, discipline and order, together with the neurotic fear for encirclement by enemies, establishes a paranoid culture. German paranoia is enriched by the experience of being exposed over generations to authoritarian thinking and military rituals. The Brickner study's third part deals with the intention to find a solution through therapeutic treatment. He indicates that within the recovery process a completely different cultural atmosphere must be created where rational thinking can unfold and the convalescent German is placed in an entirely new environment. Further details of therapeutic treatment, organization and administration remained the domain of participating experts.¹⁴ Brickner also seized the opportunity

to conduct several anamneses with German prisoners of war. They did not, however, construct additional knowledge about the patients' psychological conditions.¹⁵

United States Policy Toward Germany

The predictable German surrender in Europe paralleled and increased political plans for the shape of Germany's future. Several conferences acknowledged mounting awareness of the issue. The final conference in New York in April 1945 demonstrated that the social scientific analysis of National Socialist Germany had enough substance to present a valid argument. The conference was called together by the Joint Committee on Post-War Planning. Prior to the conference, five secret sessions took place in April, May, and June 1944, attended by members of the State Department and the Departments of Navy and War.¹⁶ Alongside Mead, Parsons, Brickner and Gardner Murphy, the 28 person circle of participants primarily consisted of psychiatrists, psychologists, psychoanalysts and neurologists. The submitted proposal unmasked National Socialism as an expression of longer smoldering deformations, resulting in distorted ideals and value judgments under which the majority of Germans suffers. The proposal rated the deficient character qualities not as an inherited, but as a socialized product. The cultural basis of the German people's character was explained by authoritarian status thinking that exists in the dichotomized co-existence of superior and inferior position attributions. This role pattern is reproduced in the family where the mother sacrifices her care taking devotion to the child for the returning father who outside the family demonstrates submissive sentiments and an obedient outlook. On the basis of authoritarian traditions, the longing for superiority determines the ultimate power instinct that manifests itself in romantic and sentimental feelings as a reaction to existing rigidly fixed hierarchies. The effects of this dualism are paranoid deficiencies of the personality by striving for national prestige and hegemony and indulging in extreme militarism. German delusions culminate in racism and anti-Semitism and potentialize the deletion of images of the enemy. As a result, collaboration and actions of checks and balances are alien to the German character. The proposal suggested the direction of all military, political and economic post-war planning toward the fundamental reorientation of German behavior.

At the beginning of the conference the shape of Germany's economic future was held in equilibrium between re-industrialization and an agrarian state. In the end the plain effect, use and valuation of industrial production came to fruition due to the intervention of Germany expert and sociologist Talcott Parsons. By the end of 1944, Treasury Secretary Henry J. Morgenthau vetoed the State Department's ongoing planning process and demanded the

conversion of Germany to an agrarian state. In opposition to this policy, Parsons argued for his concept of controlled institutional change, which he linked with the argument of gradual internalization of cultural norm systems and concrete social objects as an underlying pattern of a socialization theory.¹⁷

Parsons classified internalization as a structural component of the personality system. The parallel appearance in the social system proposes the institutionalization processes which constitute special social relations through components of a normative culture. These components establish immediate structural parts of the social system respectively. Moreover, either concept only preserves a meaning if one imagines the primary subsystems of a general action system as mutually penetrating and interdependent. Thereby specific elements of the cultural system are components of certain social and personality processes at the same time. The entire central conception rests upon the formation of an abstract character of the referred part- or subsystems. Society as a social system is not a unity but a means to arrange certain relations between action components that differ from each other according the variety of existing reality.¹⁸

Parsons presented in several memos the view that an agricultural transformation would do more harm than good to Germany and discussed the classification of regressive, permissive, and direct social control types. He characterized the German people's character as captured in the dualism between romanticizing, sentimental-idealistic and order-emphasizing, hierarchically structured materialistic components. If these elements could be separated and the second component newly composed, then the aggressive tendency could be eradicated. As far as the economic occupational system was concerned, status ascription by individualistic achievement stood out as permissive control against a regression on traditional patrimonial-agricultural principles. Consequently, industrialization together with the option of full employment was the maximum target to lead Germany again into the community of peaceful nations. The third category of direct control should reduce the political expression of sentimental escapism and anti-Semitism and outlaw former racist ideologies. Controlled institutional change included the punishment of war criminals, the loss of squire (Junker) privileges, and the abolition of the military caste including National Socialism.

Even the social scientific analyses differentiated between short- and long-term strategies after the war. Subsequently, political planning demanded complete military defeat, unconditional surrender and the entire military disarmament of Germany as the short term goal.¹⁹ These measures were meant to symbolize the end of the Third Reich and National Socialist government. National sovereignty could only be re-achieved after the recruitment of responsible personnel and the establishment of effective institutions. A

consequent de-Nazification should not distinguish on the surface between responsible leaders, war criminals, and fellow travelers but mark out in vertical depth a collective punishment frame for part of the overall population. Obstinate members of the society who obstruct the aims of a new beginning were to be interned, liable to forced labor or to be quartered in re-education barracks. The anticipated reconstruction programs would be placed under the supervision of military government but handed over to German authorities as soon as possible by emphasizing the grassroots task of the role of women, family, local traditions, and the organization of a modern youth education according to the latest scientific knowledge. The length of this purging time period was not fixed. It should depend on the readiness of German collaboration.

In a long-term perspective, the conference participants agreed on universal principles which should advance the re-orientation process and produce cooperative and peaceful situations in Germany. These new fundamentals for institutional, social and political transformations were assigned as genuine German reconstruction goals clearly separating democratic developments from ideological distortions. The conceptualized strategy appealed for an integration of personnel able to recognize, to understand and to instill democratic values in the society. The executive administration would develop from a paramilitary education to a civil and democratically oriented police system. The de-Nazified public service and education system were to be constructed along decentralized grass-roots lines with newly fashioned hierarchies. Liberal education principles revealed the fostering of international understanding, independent thinking and social learning. Teacher training should be advanced to the level of higher education and modified to increase female participation under allied authority. Schools should develop community centers including greater parental involvement. They should promote extracurricular subjects as well as advanced education courses for adults. New family policies were to be strengthened for the task to fight authoritarian structures. Blind obedience, subordinate and inferior attitudes were contrasted by state granted civil rights and plebiscitary participation models. The government had the duty to guarantee the construction of independent mass media. Industrial production differentiated itself according to individual and functional achievements in order to break the monopoly of traditional functional elites. The creation of a balanced economy incorporated the use of industrial and agricultural resources in harmony with other European countries. Foreign experts involved in the reconstruction should be properly trained and educated. Altogether, the planning promised to unmask the ideology of master race, to replace the power driven instincts by a consensual maxim and to eradicate the aggressive humane-hostile race concept of superior and inferior taxonomies by ethically motivated social relationships and interactions.

Even since September 1943, preliminary discussions existed in the American State Department to counter the German situation.²⁰ There was a widespread conviction to encourage democratic principles by fundamental changes in chauvinistic German attitudes. In April 1944, War Department officials addressed the Department of State for cultural policy directives. The actual impulse came from Archibald MacLeish, a multiple Pulitzer price winner and Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs and Cultural Relations. On his initiative, the United States State Department decided in March 1945 to entrust the issue of German democratization to a special advisory council which instigated its work on 12 May 1945. Even at the Yalta conference, the allies had agreed along with the division and unconditional surrender of the German Reich the elimination of National Socialism, the punishment of war criminals, the de-militarization and deletion of the armament industry, and the eventual reconstruction of political life on a democratic basis. Deliberations about the long-term democratization of Germany included the participation of Eduard C. Lindeman of New York's School of Social Work at Columbia University, Martin McGuire from the Catholic University in Washington DC, Reinhold Niebuhr of Union Theological Seminary in New York, John Milton Potter, President of Hobart College, and official representatives from the State and War Departments as well as the Office of War Information. A session following the initial negotiations expanded the advisory council's membership with Frank Graham, President of the University of North Carolina and George N. Shuster, President of New York's Hunter College, which validated the American directives for a cultural policy towards Germany. A short time later the policy guidelines were accepted by Deputy Secretary John J. McCloy and General Hilldring from the War Department.

In 1945, the State Department created a re-education policy which advanced democratic principles in order to fundamentally change chauvinistic attitudes.²¹ Its impact for the short-term occupation period meant the extermination of National Socialism and militarism. The Germans should inevitably recognize that they lost the war and were responsible for the crimes committed during the Nazi era. The aspired transformation of the social structure was justified by the necessity to allow a democratic change. A basic aim was the participation and self-determination in a pluralistically constituted, peace-securing democracy. The policy guidelines earmarked Germany for the reintegration of itself in the long run within the community of peace loving, cooperative, international law-abiding nations. Universally effective human rights and the principles of dignity, justice and freedom, equality before the law, the compliance with moral norms, freedom of thought and speech, tolerance and responsibility toward the state defined the nomenclature of future learning objectives. The task and responsibility for the realization of the

policy guidelines should be carried over to the Germans as soon as possible: New projects and programs should be advanced on a democratic basis by incorporating, encouraging and supporting trustworthy Germans. Initiatives for reforms in education and society stood on the top of the agenda. In a second step, international cultural relations should be re-established. Already in November 1945, Secretary of State Byrnes approved the "Long-Range Policy Statement for German Re-Education" (SWNCC 296/5). The policy directive came into operation on 21 August 1946. Its full cultural impact of the directive became clear at the end of the occupation period when thousands of mostly younger exchangeees traveled for sojourns up to one year across the Atlantic Ocean.²² In the new environment the visitors would not only experience American democracy and way of life but predominantly serve as multipliers who disseminate new knowledge in the professions and upon return would initiate reforms in society and instigate a change in political culture. The corpus of visitors consisted of numerous social workers, teachers, educators, scientists, state officials and members of public services, students, journalists and rank and file politicians.

Hitler Refugees and the Challenge of Scholarship

Accountings of loss and gain take a static concept of science and culture for granted by suggesting that émigré scientists and scholars brought completed pieces of knowledge with them into exile and inserted them as contributions into existing cultures. Such an approach may be useful as a reminder of how destructive the Nazis were to German-speaking culture and scholarship, but it overlooks the central question whether of how such forced career breaks might have led to new opportunities and significant innovations that might not have happened otherwise. Established research on émigré scholars after 1933 reveals that they did not simply transfer already finished knowledge from one place to another but rather developed new approaches and frequently turned to new topics as they interacted with new colleagues and changed sociocultural and research environments.²³ These examples support a dynamic view of both the scholarly world and of cultures as fundamentally open systems. At the level of scholarly careers, the large university and research system of the United States which remains relatively decentralized and therefore richer in possibilities for scholarly work, offered émigrés, especially in the social sciences, chances that they might never have had in Europe which in the following consideration will be illustrated in the case studies of Kurt Lewin and Erik H. Erikson.

After a Cornell grant where he worked on children's eating habits, Kurt Lewin obtained in 1935 a new grant that sent him to the Child Welfare Research Station at the University of Iowa.²⁴ Soon he received a tenured

appointment which from 1939 until 1944 rose to the rank of full professor. In Iowa, Lewin took up the problems of minorities and the topic of cultural differences in education. From these considerations came the famous studies of democratic and authoritarian leadership styles in children's play groups. Before 1933, the preferred social unit in Lewin's experiments had been dyad groups, consisting of two interacting people. It was only in Iowa that he began to experiment with larger groups as units. In 1935 Lewin came to the conclusion that education in the United States, despite the hierarchical social structure of the classroom situation, was democratic in the sense that it oriented toward adaptation to life in a racially and ethnically heterogeneous society grounded on liberal principles. From this optimistic conviction, he fostered an ambitious program in the late 1930s that he called "action research", to be conducted not in laboratories but in real life situations such as factories or communities.

As in the case of Lewin, the United States played a key role for Erik H. Erikson. For him the American heritage was a different and more glorious one.²⁵ Erikson thought that America had made an exceptional effort not to be ideological. The United States as a nation represented for Erikson the most notable example of an attempt to forge a new, broader identity out of the fragments of European identities. His standard of value, which he believed to be evolving in history, is that of universalism. From 1934 to 1935 he was at the Harvard Medical School and for the next three years at Yale. In the year of Freud's death and the outbreak of the Second World War, he moved once more, this time to the University of California at Berkeley where he spent the decisive decade of his life. Erikson's move to the San Francisco Bay and not to the Los Angeles area, where so many German speaking émigrés were to congregate, gave him a feel for American life that he might never have acquired if he had stayed in the East.

Erikson entered Freud's circle in 1927. In later years Erikson considered himself delinquent for not continuing to practice the new nonmedical profession of child analysis for which he had been trained by Anna Freud. Sigmund Freud preferred to think of psychoanalysis as a theory and technique relatively independent of the practitioner. Erikson has written of the application of the psychoanalytic instrument as a historical tool. Psychoanalysis is supposedly a system of thought that verifies observations. In his behavioristic turn, Erikson has sought in Freud what can be empirically verified and of value today. His optimism may have been encouraged by his emigration to America and the heightened perspective it gave him on the role played by social variables in personality development. The impact of his own removal from European culture was further magnified by his willingness to expand his clinical awareness through anthropological field work and to study and compare American

tribes. Erikson has noted the influence of his own early work of the political and social climate of New Deal America which was an anti-totalitarian and antiracist impression, especially in the eyes of a recent immigrant. People like him could not forget the menace of Hitler. Erikson has concentrated on describing the integrative relationship between the individual and his society. More importantly, in speculating how American family life can be said to train its children for democracy, Erikson used his psychology for the sake of buttressing political ideology. Erikson has consistently tried to examine, on a cross-cultural basis, the way societies provide what individuals need as youths. It was Erikson's conviction that societies must offer young people this kind of way station, a span of time after they have ceased being children but before their deeds and works count towards a future identity. He called this suspended period a psychosocial moratorium. Erikson's own career has demonstrated that psychoanalysis cannot survive as a medical specialty, but needs the infusion of interdisciplinary contributions. Perhaps the most valuable lesson was the incorporation of past knowledge into an individual vision of human existence. It was a vision he shared with his American counterparts in the Council on Intercultural Relations.

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Notes

¹ Boris Schilmar, *Der Europadiskurs im deutschen Exil 1933–1945* (München: Oldenbourg, 2004); Ursula Langkau-Alex and Thomas M. Ruprecht, eds., *Was soll aus Deutschland werden? Der Council for a Democratic Germany in New York 1944–1945* (Frankfurt a. M., New York: Campus, 1995); Claus Dieter Krohn, *Wissenschaft im Exil. Deutsche Sozial- und Wirtschaftswissenschaftler in den USA und die New School for Social Research* (Frankfurt/New York: Campus, 1987); Volkmar Zühlsdorf, *Deutsche Akademie im Exil: Der Vergessene Widerstand* (Berlin: Ernst Martin Verlag, 1999); Volkmar Zühlsdorf, *Hitler's Exiles: The German Cultural Resistance in America and Europe*, translated by Martin H. Bott with foreword by Klaus-Dieter Lehmann (London and New York: Continuum, 2004); Joachim Radkau, *Die deutsche Emigration in den USA: Ihr Einfluß auf die amerikanische Europa-Politik 1933–1945* (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1971).

² Library of Congress, Washington DC: Special Manuscript Division, Papers of Margaret Mead (in the following abbreviated under the acronym MM): C 15: William Benton, State Department, to Margaret Mead, 26 February 1946.

³ Margaret Mead, *And Keep Your Powder Dry: An Anthropologist Looks at America* (New York: William Morrow & Co., Fifth Printing 1975), 245ff.

⁴ Margaret Mead, "The Study of Culture at a Distance. Part I: Introduction," in Margaret Mead and Rhoda Métraux, eds., *The Study of Culture at a Distance*, with an introduction by William O. Beeman (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000), 331–50 (originally Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), 3–50.

⁵ Margaret Mead, *Blackberry Winter: My Earlier Years* (New York: William Morrow, 1972), 189.

⁶ Ruth Benedict, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1946).

⁷ MM: O 6: An Analysis of the Nazi Film *Hitlerjunge Quex* by Gregory P. Bateson, Museum of Modern Art Film Library, Spring 1943; Gregory Bateson, "An Analysis of the Nazi Film *Hitlerjunge Quex*," in Margaret Mead and Rhoda Métraux, eds., *The Study of Culture at a Distance* with an introduction by William O. Beaman (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000), 331–50 (originally published by University of Chicago Press, 1953); David Lipset, *Gregory Bateson: The Legacy of a Scientist* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1980).

⁸ Erik H. Erikson, "Hitler's Imagery and German Youth," in *Psychiatry: Journal of the Biology and Pathology of Interpersonal Relations* 5 (November 1942): 475–93. Reprinted in the ground breaking monograph Erik H. Erikson, *Childhood and Society* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1950). The book appeared in ten more printings until 1963.

⁹ Erikson, *Hitler's Imagery and German Youth*, 493.

¹⁰ Kurt Lewin, "Cultural Reconstruction" (1943) in Kurt Lewin, *Resolving Social Conflicts: Selected Papers on Group Dynamics* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948); Kurt Lewin, "The Special Case of Germany" in *Public Opinion Quarterly* (Winter 1943): 555–66. Both essays are reprinted in Walter Stahl, ed., *Education for Democracy in West Germany. Achievements-Shortcomings-Prospets*, with an introduction by Norbert Muhlen (New York: Published for Atlantic-Bruecke by Frederick A. Praeger, 1961).

¹¹ Kurt Lewin, *The Special Case of Germany*, 566.

¹² MM: M 29: Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson, "Preliminary Memo on Problems of German Character Structure" (undated, 1942) in collaboration with Kurt Lewin, Erik Erikson, Erich Fromm, Richard Brickner, Philip Mosely, Erich Kahler, and Edward Y. Hartshorne.

¹³ MM: M 29: Correspondence Margaret Mead and Geoffrey Gorer, Yale University, 25 November 1941; 18 November 1941; Correspondence Margaret Mead and Richard M. Brickner, 10 September 1941, 30 August 1941.

¹⁴ Richard M. Brickner, *Is Germany Incurable?* (Philadelphia, PA: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1943). The book was unanimously criticized in the reviews by Sigrid Undset, Horace M. Kallen, Gregory Zilboorg, Bertrand Russell and Erich Fromm, in "What Shall We Do With Germany? A Panel Discussion of *Is Germany Incurable?*" in *The Saturday Review of Literature* 26, no. 22 (29 May 1943): 4–8.

¹⁵ Gregory P. Wegner and Karl-H. Füssl, "Wissenschaft als säkularer Kreuzzug: Thomas V. Smith und die deutschen Kriegsgefangenen in den USA (1944–1946)," in Jürgen Heideking, Marc Depaepe and Jurgen Herbst, eds., *Mutual Influences on Education: Germany and the United States in the Twentieth Century* (Gent: Paedagogica Historica 1997), 157–82.

¹⁶ MM: M 29: A Summary of the First Three Conferences on Germany After the War, April 29–30, May 6 and 20–21. Prepared for the Use of Members at the Final Conference on 3–4 June 1944; Report of a Conference on Germany After the War.

¹⁷ MM: M 29: Talcott Parsons: Conference of Germany After the War. Statement on Topic I; Talcott Parsons, "The Problem of Controlled Institutional Change (1945)," in Talcott Parsons, *Essays in Sociological Theory* (New York: The Free Press 1954), 238–74; Uta Gerhardt, "The Medical Meaning of Reeducation for Germany: Contemporary Interpretation of Cultural and Institutional Change," in Jürgen Heideking, Marc Depaepe and Jurgen Herbst, eds., *Mutual Influences on Education: Germany and the United States in the Twentieth Century* (Gent: Paedagogica Historica 1997), 135–55; *Talcott Parsons on National Socialism*, ed. Uta Gerhardt (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter 1993); partially reflected in Jeffrey K. Olick, *In the House of the Hangman: The Agonies of German Defeat, 1943–1949* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

¹⁸ Talcott Parsons, "Die Entstehung der Theorie des sozialen Systems: Ein Bericht zur Person," in Talcott Parsons, Edward Shils and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, *Soziologie—autobiographisch:*

Drei kritische Berichte zur Entwicklung einer Wissenschaft, introduction by Heinz Hartmann (Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke, 1975), 1–68.

¹⁹MM: M 29: A Summary of the First Three Conferences on Germany After the War, April 29–30, May 6 and 20–21. Prepared for the Use of Members at the Final Conference on 3–4 June 1944; Report of a Conference on Germany After the War.

²⁰James F. Tent, *Mission on the Rhine: Re-education and Denazification in American-Occupied Germany* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1982); Howard W. Johnston, "United States Public Affairs Activities in Germany, 1945–1955," Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1956; Hermann Josef Rupieper, *Die Wurzeln der westdeutschen Nachkriegsdemokratie: Der amerikanische Beitrag 1945–1952* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag 1993); Jeffry M. Diefendorf, Axel Frohn and Hermann-Josef Rupieper, eds., *American Policy and the Reconstruction of West Germany, 1945–1955* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Karl-H. Füssl, *Die Umerziehung der Deutschen: Jugend und Schule unter den Siegermächten des Zweiten Weltkriegs* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1994, 1995).

²¹Karl-H. Füssl, "Restauration und Neubeginn: Gesellschaftliche, kulturelle und reformpädagogische Ziele der amerikanischen 'Re-education'-Politik nach 1945," in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Beilage zur Wochenzeitung Das Parlament* (B 6/97, 31. Januar 1997), 3–14.

²²Karl-H. Füssl, *Deutsch-amerikanischer Kulturaustausch im 20. Jahrhundert: Bildung-Wissenschaft-Politik* (Frankfurt a. M. and New York: Campus, 2004).

²³Henry Stuart Hughes, *The Sea Change: The Migration of Social Thought, 1930–1965* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1977).

²⁴Alfred J. Marrow, *The Practical Theorist: The Life and Work of Kurt Lewin* (New York: Basic Books, 1969); German translation *Kurt Lewin: Leben und Werk*, aus dem Amerikanischen von Hainer Kober (Weinheim und Basel: Beltz Verlag, 2002); Mitchell Ash, "Emigré Psychologists after 1933: The Cultural Coding of Scientific and Professional Practices," in Mitchell Ash and Alfons Söllner, eds., *Forced Migration and Scientific Change: Émigré German-Speaking Scientists and Scholars after 1933* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 117–38.

²⁵Robert Coles, *Erik H. Erikson: The Growth of His Work* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1970); Paul Roazen, *Erik H. Erikson: The Power and Limits of a Vision* (New York: The Free Press, 1976); Lawrence J. Friedman, *Identity's Architect: A Biography of Erik H. Erikson* (New York: Scribner, 1999).



Gregory J. Hanson

Asseba un Sabina: A Pennsylvania German Radio Series of the 1940s and 1950s

The title of the 10 September 1950 episode of the popular Pennsylvania German radio play series *Asseba un Sabina* reads, *Alles kummt an's End*, "Everything Has an Ending." This adage held true for the radio series as well, but during its time on the airwaves of WSAN in Allentown, Pennsylvania from 16 January 1944 to 27 June 1954 it enjoyed a popularity and devoted listenership, albeit local, that can only be compared to Garrison Keillor's modern-day Lake Wobegon adventures. Like the characters in Keillor's imaginary Minnesota town, the episodes of *Asseba un Sabina* (even with the dialect series' more limited number of characters) depict the life of a small rural area of America with great insight and humor. Unlike the popular Minnesota series, however, *Asseba un Sabina* was able to reach far fewer audience members. Although one of the leading examples of folk dialect radio plays of the twentieth century, its attraction to a limited number of speakers of Pennsylvania German would have eventually led to the cessation of its broadcast. The series' end, however, had nothing to do with a lack of popularity, but was due to other factors (discussed below) idiosyncratic to the authors and performers. Given that popularity and the quality of the broadcast episodes, we might then want to revise the title of that 10 September 1950 episode to read *Alles Gute kummt an's End*, "All good things must come to an end."

The full name of the radio series was *Asseba un Sabina Mumbauer im Eihledaahl* (Asseba and Sabina Mumbauer of Owl Valley.) Owl Valley was a fictional place copied by the authors of the series located elsewhere in southeastern Pennsylvania where the exploits of a farmer, Asseba, and his wife, Sabina, and their neighbors were chronicled in a weekly, one half hour radio broadcast. According to William Fetterman, author of the article, "Asseba un Sabina, The Flower of Pennsylvania German Folk Theater,"¹ the most comprehensive historical treatment of this radio play series, "one could walk down the streets of many small towns in southeastern Pennsylvania during

the summer and hear the program playing on radios all along the block.”² Fettermann goes on to point out that the program was so popular that it was, for many speakers³ of Pennsylvania German, a regular Sunday ritual. Its fans were grateful that church had let out hours ago and only the Sunday midday meal had to compete with the one o’clock time slot. *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, a weekly eight-page newspaper from Lancaster devoted to Pennsylvania German culture, ran the following headline in its 19 May 1949 issue, “Assebee [*sic*] un Sabina fun Eiladawl—Most Popular Pennsylvania Dutch Team in History!”⁴

The Sunday afternoon radio show followed the same basic format every week: from 1:00 p.m. to 1:03 p.m., opening announcements and an instrumental piece; from 1:03 p.m. to 1:11 p.m., the first half the Asseba and Sabina skit; from 1:11 p.m. to 1:18 p.m., an announcement of a vocal number followed by a dialect version of a popular song, a commercial for a furniture store,⁵ followed by another song in Pennsylvania German dialect; from 1:18 p.m. to 1:26 p.m., the conclusion of the Asseba un Sabina skit; from 1:26 p.m. to 1:30 p.m., another instrumental number, the closing cast credits and a “teaser” for the next week’s episode.

If we look at a list⁶ of the titles of the radio scripts beginning with 16 January 1944 two things become immediately apparent; first, every year, not one week went by without a broadcast episode of *Asseba un Sabina*. That meant that for each week of the year for ten years straight, an original script was written, produced and performed. The only exceptions were 1944 and 1945 when only fifty-one scripts were written.⁷ Second, the titles of the episodes clearly show how well the authors were in tune with the rural rhythms of Pennsylvania folk life of the 1940s and 1950s. The following is a representative list of twelve episodes taken from each month of the year.

January *Schnee inn Eihledahl* (Snow in Owl Valley);

February *Alles is Redi fer die Grundsau* (Everything is Ready for the Groundhog);

March *Der Asseba helft die Sabina Fasnacht Backe* (Asseba Helps Sabina Bake Fasnachts);

April *Die Oiyer Sucherrei* (The Egg Hunt);

May *Yunge Hinkel* (Baby Chicks);

June *Die Schuhl Iss Aus* (School Is Out);

July *Die Muskieters* (The Mosquitoes);

August *Der Asseba Kiehl Abb* (Asseba Cools Off);

September *Ess Iss Schpohtyour un die Fair Tzeit Iss Doh* (It’s Autumn and Fair Time is Here);

October *Seider Eppel Leese* (Picking Cider Apples);

November *Die Sabina Macht Redi Fer'n Gross Beeddawg Esse, aber der Asseba Hut Kenn Abbedit* (Sabina is Preparing a Big Thanksgiving Day Feast, but Asseba Has No Appetite);

December *Der Asseba un die Sabina doon en Grischbowm ufschstelle* (Asseba and Sabina Put Up a Christmas Tree).

Clearly an attempt was made to synchronize the episodes of *Asseba un Sabina*, at least to a certain extent, with the passing of the seasons.

Not all the episodes, however, were so closely tied to the passing of the year, but clearly depict and reflect what a good majority of the audience members in southeastern Pennsylvania would have been doing during this time period, be they still on the farm or recently moved to the city. For many of the city dwellers who regularly listened to the program, this was a throw-back to what they might have experienced themselves on the farm or to what their grandparents were still doing in rural Pennsylvania. Representative titles of this kind include *Der Asseba flickt sei Schu* (Asseba Mends His Shoes); *En friedlicher Owet Deheem* (A Peaceful Evening at Home); *Die Sabina grickt en Aeribschafft* (Sabina gets an Inheritance); *Der Haus Schlissel iss ferlohre* (The House Key is Lost); and *Der aerscht Blofogel* (The First Bluebird).

The man who sowed the first seed and got the radio series off the ground was Arthur H. Mickley (1900–78). Mickley was the advertising manager for Hummel's Furniture Warehouse, the program's sole sponsor. At one o'clock sharp the listening audience would tune in and hear something like this: "The Hummel Warehouse Furniture Store is on the Air! *Ya . . . Gewiss . . . Ihr Leit!* Greater Hummel's in Allentown—Pennsylvania's largest most modern Warehouse Furniture Store—and its two affiliated stores: Lehr's in Easton and Mitchell's in Tamaqua . . . present their Sunday Good Will All Star, Pennsylvania-German Radio Program—with Asseba and Sabina—Ken Leiby and his orchestra—Paul Geiger, our Guest Singer and 'yours truly,' Johnny Van Sant."⁸

Mickley's first scriptwriter was Lloyd Moll, who also played the role of Asseba in the first three episodes. Moll had been known as a fine writer of Pennsylvania German verse, having penned forty-nine sketches from "*Am Schwarze Baer*" (At the Black Bear Hotel). As Fetterman notes in his article, the genesis of *Asseba un Sabina* is to be found in one of these sketches of *Am Schwarze Baer* written by Moll entitled *Die Sabina un der Asseba Heiere* (Sabina and Asseba Marry).⁹ The sketches details the courtship and marriage of Asseba Schantz and Sabine Weiler.¹⁰ This was not a marriage of young love, but rather of a middle-aged couple, who, as Fetterman puts it, "were taken as an archetypical farm couple in their later years of life."¹¹ Moll's further development of these two characters for the radio series, in addition to the

humorous quality of the scripts, partially explains the immense popularity that the radio series enjoyed. This dynamic duo of Pennsylvania German folk life grew so quickly in popularity with young and old alike that the cast members soon began making personal appearances in and around the Allentown area. This required, of course, that they also dress the part in costume.¹² These personal appearance in which radio audience members could actually see the characters of *Asseba un Sabina* on stage, no doubt contributed to the continuing popularity of the radio program.

Lloyd Moll would unfortunately not live to see all ten years of this gem of a radio series. In fact, he would only write four scripts and an unfinished fifth before his untimely death on 4 February 1944. This fifth script, performed on 13 February 1944 was finished by Paul Wieand who was already playing the part of Sabina for the radio broadcast. Moll's first five scripts were given no particular title, but Wieand's first and only substantive contribution to a written script was entitled *Asseba un Sabina* (Asseba and Sabina). From the sixth script on, all the scripts were titled and conceived at least a week in advance so that the program's announcer Jonny Van Sant could tease his audience at the end of every episode with a tidbit from next week's program. A typical teaser would sound something like this, "Be sure to tune in next Sunday for another Hummel Program and the story entitled: "KNICK-KNACKS" Yep! Knick-Knacks! . . . Asseba goes through the large drawer in the corner cupboard . . . and he DISCOVERS . . . well, be with us NEXT SUNDAY . . . same time . . . same station. "THIS IS THE LEHIGH VALLEY BROADCASTING COMPANY".¹³

The passing of Lloyd Moll could have easily ended the program right then and there if it had not been for the acting talents of Paul Wieand. Wieand was a man of many abilities, a school teacher, teaching mostly arts and crafts, he painted in oils and decorated furniture. He was the author of the 1961 book *Folk Medicine Plants Used in the Pennsylvania Dutch Country*. Fetterman notes that Wieand was one of the most prolific figures in Pennsylvania folk theater, having written some twenty-five odd plays and skits for his own troupe of actors.¹⁴ According to the *Pennsylvania Dutchman*, Wieand and Lloyd Moll had worked together on a program at the Hotel Allen in December 1943. On this particular program Wieand took the role of many different characters, including a woman. *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* describes Wieand's talents as follows, "when you tune in on the famous Pennsylvania Dutch team of Assebee un Sabina every Sunday at one o'clock over WSAW, Allentown, you have to turn down the volume or the shrill, piercing voice of Die Sabina will make you sit up and take notice—which Assebee doesn't always do! Die Sabina is none other than "Paul Wieand, a talented Pennsylvania Dutch artist, playwright and actor, or shall we say 'actress'?? After all, there

are still many folks are not quite sure of Paul's real identity until he take off his wig after a show in person."¹⁵ During a telephone conversation between Moll and Wieand the next day, Wieand was convinced to take on the part of Sabina. Wieand teamed with Moll for the first three episodes and after Moll's unexpected death, he asked Harry Hess Reichard to play the role of Asseba for the Sunday's episode directly after Moll's demise. According to Fetterman, Reichard did not even have to be asked to continue in the role that he would play until the very last episode. In a letter from Wieand to Reichard on 10 February 1944 Wieand writes, "My dear Friend, I was so happy that you were able to help me out on Sunday. I'm so proud to hear that you'll stay with me on the radio. Everybody who heard us liked us a lot."¹⁶

The passing of Lloyd Moll, however, left the series without a script writer, a role that was quickly filled by the Rev. Clarence R. Rahn, whom Arthur Mickley wasted no time recruiting. Fetterman called Pastor Rahn "the dean of Pennsylvania humorists."¹⁷ He was a much sought after public speaker which led him to many an evening as a headline speaker at area Grundsow lodges. The Rev. Rahn was a busy man of many and varied interests. For over ten years, never missing a week, Rahn would sit down, usually early on Thursday mornings and type out an eight-page manuscript and deliver it to Harry Reichard's home on Thursday afternoon. The thirty-two-page list of titles of all the episodes of *Asseba un Sabina* is a testament to the wealth of ideas and cultural treasures that Rahn was able to impart to his listeners in a humorous yet dignified way. In an interview conducted by William Fetterman with Mrs. Clarence Rahn and her daughter Mrs. Ruth Rahn Schaefer in 1980 we learn of Reichard's notes on the series in which he states, "when amazement was expressed at his [Rahn's] ability to find new and interesting episodes week after week (for ten-and-a-half years) Rahn's reply was 'Interesting things happen in life every day, why not a new skit every week?'"¹⁸

The characters of Asseba and Sabina and their adventures did not carry the whole radio series alone for ten plus years. On 3 November 1946 the Mumbauers added a maid to their household by the name of Sussie. She was played, for one year only, by Paul Wieand's wife Mabel and figures prominently in the episode that has been transcribed and translated below. Additionally, the characters of Davie and Keturah Nexer, the Mumbauers' much talked about neighbors, were added to the cast on 9 November 1947 in an episode entitled *Der Asseba geeht yawge* (Asseba Goes Hunting) with Audra Miller in the role of Keturah and Paul Wieand doubling up as Davie Nexer. Wieand also did the sound effects for all the shows, including the Mumbauers' dog, Wasser.

No one really knows how long this famed Pennsylvania German radio series would have continued to entertain its audience members in southeastern

Pennsylvania if Paul Wieand had been able to continue in his roles as Sabine and Davie. According to Fetterman, Wieand was arrested on 17 January 1954 and subsequently spent several months in a state hospital recovering from a "nervous breakdown."¹⁹ This traumatic incident from his personal life and the absence of the voices of Sabine and Davie on the radio made it impossible for the series to continue. It would have been sheer folly for anyone else to have played these vital and idiosyncratic roles after ten action-packed years. The final episode, appropriately enough entitled *Der Dreyer* (The Pallbearer), aired on 27 June 1954.

Many of the episodes feature, more often than not in a humorous way, the somewhat strained relationship between Asseba, the somewhat lazy and bumbling self-proclaimed head of the household and Sabina, the real head of the household, and Asseba's constant source of aggravation. If we look once again at the titles that feature both Asseba and/or Sabina and imagine what might characterize the conversation between a husband and wife mutually nagging each other, we get an insight into the type of relationship the couple enjoyed or tolerated. *Die Sabina Black der Offe*, *Un Aw Der Asseba* (Sabina Blacks the Oven, and also Asseba.); *Die Sabina Geeht Mit Fische* (Sabina Goes Along Fishing); *Der Asseba Fixt Die Uhr* (Asseba Fixes the Clock); *Der Asseba Un Die Sabina Duh En Grischbowm Ufschtelle* (Asseba and Sabina Put Up A Christmas Tree); *Die Sabina Un Ihre Noshons* (Sabina and her Ideas); *Der Asseba Schwetst Im Schlof* (Asseba Talks In His Sleep); *Die Sabina Iss Uff Me Sit Down Schtreik* (Sabina Is On A "Sit Down Strike") and *Der Asseba Iss Koch* (Asseba Is The Cook).

The episode *Die Nacht Iss Dunkel* (The Night is Dark) from January 1947, reproduced and translated²⁰ below, is characteristic of the hilarious interaction between the characters of Asseba and Sabina. Recordings of several of the episodes, taped directly from the radio, have survived and *Die Nacht Iss Dunkel* is one of them. Working with the recording and translating the tape-script into English make two things abundantly clear: first, even a very good translation of the original will inevitable lack some of the flavor and nuance in the dialect version and second, the insight into the characters and their relationships that is reflected in their voices, their inflections, intonations, and delivery does not become as clearly evident from a reading of the tape-script alone. The episode below, *Die Nacht Iss Dunkel*, however, does give the reader a clear idea of the character of one of the most colorful and important folk radio play series in the Pennsylvania dialect broadcast during the 1940s and 1950s.

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Notes

¹ William Fettermann, "Asseba un Sabina, the flower of Pennsylvania German folk theater," *Pennsylvania Folklife* (Winter 1988–89): 50–68.

² *Ibid.*, 50.

³ It should also be added here that during the 1940s and 1950s many of the people who had grown up in the area where Pennsylvania German was commonly spoken, maybe even by their parents, no longer spoke the dialect, and if they did, it was not their first language. This so-called second generation, however, still retained the ability to understand Pennsylvania German and thus, was well represented among the avid listeners of *Asseba un Sabina*.

⁴ *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, 19 May 1949, Lancaster, PA.

⁵ The show's main sponsor throughout the show's ten-year run was the Hummel Warehouse Furniture Store in Allentown, PA.

⁶ A complete list of the radio scripts was compiled and organized by year and date of broadcast by William Fettermann. This list is available at the library of Muhlenberg College, Allentown, PA. The English translation of the episode titles are Fettermann's.

⁷ This is a remarkable feat when we consider we live in an age of summer reruns and television programs that can be cancelled after just a few airings.

⁸ Advertisement quote taken from the script of *Die Nacht iss dunkel* (The Night Is Dark) from the 5 January 1947 episode.

⁹ Lloyd Moll, "Die Sabina un der Asseba Heiere," "'S Pennsylvanisch Deitsch Eck," *The Allentown Morning Call*, 26 January 1936.

¹⁰ Note that in the radio series the last name of Asseba and Sabina is Mumbauer.

¹¹ Fettermann, 53.

¹² Fettermann lists by year (1947–54) the titles of 22 episodes under the rubric "Personal Appearances."

¹³ Quote taken from the script of *Die Nacht iss dunkel* (The Night Is Dark) from the 5 January 1947 episode.

¹⁴ Fettermann, 53–54.

¹⁵ *The Pennsylvania Dutchman*, 19 May 1949, Lancaster, PA.

¹⁶ Personal correspondence from Paul Wieand to Harry Hess Reichard.

¹⁷ Fettermann, 57.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 58.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 54.

²⁰ The author has elected to transcribe the episode as it was written at the typewriter of the Reverend Clarence Rahn. While the author recognizes the importance of the standardized Buffington-Barba-Beam orthography, this is a historical document and as such shows Rahn's own attempt at setting down his own orthographic system—one that was not always consistent.

Appendix

DIE NACHT ISS DUNKEL The Night is Dark

It is a very dark night in more ways than one. Asseba has gone to a meeting of the school board and so that Sabina and Sussie need not wait up for him he has taken a key to the door. Sussie is awakened by a noise beneath her bedroom window and arouses Sabina. They are both frightened but decide that they will give the intruder a warm reception as he drives at the window. They lie in wait until a head appears at the window and hit it with all their might. It turns out to be Asseba who has lost his key and tries to get into the house without disturbing them. He not only receives a bump on his head but is faced with making an explanation as to why he should try to enter Sussie's room and not Sabina's.

Sussie: Sabina, schlofscht. Sabina, warr wacke, Sabina dapper kua!

Sabina: Wass iss. O.....luss-nich geh.

Sussie: Het so laudt, sie haerre dich, O, ich faericht mich wie alles.

Sabina: Ei, Sussie, iss es dich, wass duscht doch inn mei schtupp, bischt gronk?

Sussie: Weeh, du's licht net awmache odder sie wisse grawt wu mer sinn.

Sabina: Waar wees wu mer sinn. Wass iss dann am geh, ich ferschte dich net.

Bischt am lawfe i'm schlof odder bischt wacke.

Sussie: Ich binn gons wacke, un esa sinn rawver un der weeg. Wass deene mer yuscht

Sabina: Ei du tzitterscht yoh wie'n lawbblaudt.

Sussie: O, ich faericht mich, ich wees net wass tsu du. Ess iss ebbes un der weeg un esa iss sentweadders en schpuck odder en rawver.

Sabina: Ach dees meehnscht du yuscht. So ebbes wie's schpuck gebbt's net un waar deet dann kumme fer uns rawve. Die nacht iss tsu wiescht fer rawver. Ess iss dunkel un nevelich, un niesond geht maus bei so wedder.

Sussie: Der Asseba iss doch draus.

Sabina: Ientwel, awer er iss net wie ommer leit. Er deet net fun Greitsweeg

bleiwe wonn ebbes am awgeeh iss datte wonn die waidt unner gongt. Dess iss die ordt nacht wu die biskats draus sinn. Du huscht fersootlich en biskats g'haert.

Sussie: Weeh, dess iss kenn biskats fun weege en biskats grummelt net wie'n mann.

Ich binn schur es abber i'm hohf iss grawt unnich mei finschter.

Sabina: Kau, geh doch inn dei bett un schlof. Mer kenne net schaffe mariye wonn mer unser ruh net grieye. Du muscht net alle glae dreck dich ferschaerre lusse. Dess iss yuscht neshon. Ferleucht iss es aw der windt. Der windt macht alle ordte tzuucht wonn er un's haus-eck kummt an dem blats. Wonn der aldt die fenschterre teit mache deet, awer er doot net. Er schiebt's abb biss ich mohl uf'n geh mit alle gewaldt.

The first page of the original typescript of the episode *Die Nacht Iss Dunkel* (The Night Is Dark), January 1947 (used with permission of the Pennsylvania German Society).

Die Nacht iss dunkel—The Night Is Dark

It is a very dark night in more ways than one. Asseba has gone to a meeting of the school board and so that Sabina and Sussie need not wait up for him, he has taken a key to the door. Sussie is awakened by a noise beneath her bedroom window and arouses Sabina. They are both frightened but decide that they will give the intruder a warm reception as he arrives at the window. They lie in wait until a head appears at the window and hit it with all their might. It turns out to be Asseba who has lost his key and tries to get into the house without disturbing them. He not only receives a bump on his head but is faced with making an explanation as to why he should try to enter Sussie's room and not Sabina's.

Sussie: Sabina, schlofst? Sabina, warr wacke, Sabina dapper kum.

Sabina: Was iss. O . . . luss mich geeh.

Sussie: Net so laudt, sie haere dich, O, ich faericht mich wie alles.

Sabina: Ei Sussie, iss ess dich, wass duscht doh inn mei schtupp, bischt gronk?

Sussie: Neeh, du's licht net awmache odder sie wisse grawt wu mer sinn.

Sabina: Waar wees wu mer sinn. Was iss donn am geeh, ich ferschtee dich net. Bischt am lawfe i'm schlof odder bischt wacke.

Sussie: Ich binn gons wacke, un ess sinn rawver um der weeg. Wass doone mer yuscht?

Sabina: Ei du tzitterscht yoh wie'n lawb-lawdt.

Sussie: O, ich faericht mich, ich wees net wass tzu du. Ess iss ebbes um der weeg un ess iss eentwedders en schpuck odder en rawver.

Sabina: Ach dess meehnscht du yuscht. So ebbes wie'schpuck gebbt's net un waar deet donn kumme fer uns rawve? Die nacht is tzu wiescht fer rawver. Ess iss dunkel un nevelich, un niemond geht naus bei so wedder.

Sussie: Der Asseba iss doch draus.

Sabina: Yaahwel awer er iss net wie onner leit. Er deet net fum Greitsweeg bleiwe wonn ebbes am awgeeh iss datte wonn die weldt unner gengt. Dess iss die ordt nacht wu die biskatse draus sinn. Du huscht fermootlich en biskats g'haert.

Sussie: Sabina, are you sleeping? Sabina, wake up, Sabina, come quickly.

Sabina: What is it? Oh . . . let me sleep.

Sussie: Not so loud, they'll hear you. Oh, I'm so afraid.

Sabina: Oh it's you Sussie, what are you doing in my room? Are you sick?

Sussie: No, don't turn on the light or they'll know where we are.

Sabina: Who'll know where we are? What's going on? I don't understand you. Are you sleepwalking or are you awake?

Sussie: I'm wide awake and there are robbers out there. What are we going to do?

Sabina: Oh, you're shaking like a leaf.

Sussie: Oh, I'm scared, I don't know what to do. There's something out there and it's either a ghost of a thief.

Sabina: Oh, that's what you mean. There's no such thing as ghosts and why would it come to rob us? The night is too ugly for thieves. It's dark and foggy and nobody goes out it that weather.

Sussie: But Asseba is out.

Sabina: Yeah, but he's not like other people. He wouldn't stay away from Crossroads if something is going on, even if the world were coming to an end. It's the kind of night when the skunks are out. You probably just heard a skunk.

Sussie: Neeh, dess iss kenn biskats fun weege en biskats grummelt net wie'n monn. Ich binn schur os ebber i'm hohf iss grawt unnich mei finschter.

Sabina: Nau, geeh doch inn dei bett un schlof. Mer kenne net schaffe mariye wonn mer unser ruh net grieye. Du muscht net alle glee dreck dich ferschaerre lusse. Dess is yuscht noshon. Ferleicht iss ess aw der windt. Der windt macht alle ordte tzucht wonn er um's haus-eck kummt an dem blats. Wonn der aldt die fenschterre teit mache deet, awer der doot net. Er schiebt's abb biss ich mohl geeh mit alle gewaltdt.

Sussie: Ess iss aw net der windt. Geeh mit nivver inn mei schtupp noh konnscht haerre fer dich selvert. O, ich binn so kaldt un naeriffich ich wees gohr net wass tzu du.

Sabina: Wonn donn kenn onnerre weeg iss geeh ich mit awer ich binn schur os du uf die lets meehning bischt. Dess iss awer aw kaldt un feicht i'm haus die nacht. Wonn mer unnich die worm deck raus schluppt doot's em die tzee schnaderre mache.

Sussie: Sei kons ruhich, un kumm doh an's fenschter noh konnscht's haerre. Nau haerich. Gelle, ess iss ebbes i'm hohf grawt doh unnich dem finschter.

Sabina: Ferhaftich. Ich wunner yuscht ferwass der Wasser kenn laudt macht. Dess waert's aerscht mohl os er nix mache deet won ebber fremmes uf der hohf keemt.

Sussie: Ferleichht henn sie'n dot g'schlaage. Schlechte leit doone eensich ebbes. Ess fenschter is aw net g'schlusse. Ich habb net gedenkt os ess notwennich waert fer'n fenschter schliese doh uf'm tzwette schtuck. Ferleicht konn ich nau hie schnieke un's schliese.

Sabina: Neeh, luss es geeh, sie haerre uns ferleicht un meehte daerich's finschter schiese. Mer schtelle uns aw doh an's finschter. Du uf selle seid un ich doh hivve un wonn ebber ess fenschter ufmacht un schteckt der kopp rei donn geehne mer allebeet druff.

Sussie: O, dess geeht daerich mich wie feier. Ich wut yuscht ich kennt sei wie du.

Sussie: Nope, that was no skunk because a skunk doesn't groan like a man. I'm sure that someone's in the yard groaning under my window.

Sabina: No, go back to bed and sleep. We won't be able to work tomorrow if we don't get our sleep. You can't let every little thing disturb you. It's all in your head. Maybe it was the wind. The wind makes all sorts of sounds when it blows around the corner of the house at that place. If the old man would tighten the windows, but he won't. He puts it off until I have to twist his arm.

Sussie: But it wasn't the wind. Just come over to my room and you can hear it for yourself. Oh, I'm so cold and shakey I just don't know what to do.

Sabina: I suppose if there's no getting around it I'll go with you, but I'm sure it's all in your head. It's really cold and damp in the house tonight. If you slip out from under your covers, even your teeth start to chatter.

Sussie: Be really still and come to the window, you can still hear it. Listen good. See, there is something in the yard, right under my window.

Sabina: I'll be darned. I wonder why Wasser hasn't started to bark. That would be the first time that he didn't bark when a stranger comes into the yard.

Sussie: Maybe they clubbed him to death. Bad people do things like that. The window is also not locked. It didn't think it was necessary to lock the window on the second floor. Maybe I could sneak in and lock it now.

Sabina: No, you'd better not. They might hear us and shoot through the window. We'll go to the window, you on that side and me over there and when someone opens the window and sticks his head through we'll go after him like gangbusters.

Sussie: Oh, that goes through me like fire. I just wish I could be like you.

Sabina: Doh daarf mer sich net grawt die geil schei mache lusse. Dess ding is wul net leidlich, awer wonn mer sich gebutte gebbt donn iss mer glei faartich. Nau glawb ich ferhaftich henn sie en leeder doh ruf an's fenschter g'schtelt. Wonn's yuscht net so dunkel waert. Ich kann en schwaartser blacke seehne un ich habb g'haert wie die leeder wedder's haus kumme iss awer wonn mer yuscht besser seehne kennt donn wisst mer wu draw os mer waert.

Sussie: Ich kann's ferhaftich net ausschtee. Ich muss ivverdem greische.

Sabina: Sel du awer net, wonn ebbes in's maul schtecke muss.

Sussie: Doh am finschter kann ich mohl schur net schtee. So fiel schponk habb ich net.

Sabina: Donn bleib datte am lichter knopp, un wonn ich greisch nau, donn du g'schwindt ess licht awdraeye.

Sussie: Sell schtecht mer besser aw. Eeensich ebbes os mich fun sellem fenschter weck haldt.

Sabina: Nau wees ich wass ich nemme kann fer schlaage, daar gross pitcher doh uf'm wesch schtend. Wonn daar ketser den pitcher uf die schaal grickt donn doot er ess neekscht mohl tzwee mohl drivver denke ebb er sei kop tzu me fenschter nei schteckt.

Sussie: Du kennscht ebber dot schlaage mit sellem pitcher er iss schwaer.

Sabina: Noh iss er aus'm weeg. Eeensich ebber wass inn die nacht rum geeht un grattelt onner leit inn die fenschterre sett dot schlaage sei. Sie sinn net meehner waut. Schlechte leit sinn nix nuts naereits. Wonn mer sie inn die bresendt doot donn muss mer sie yuscht noch fiederre. Nau luss'n kumme. Ich binn redi fer iehm sei medicien eischitte.

Sussie: Wonn's licht awer net awgeeh set wass noh.

Sabina: You can't lose your courage now. It's not an easy thing, but if we give up now, we're done for. I think they've really put a ladder up to the window. If only it weren't so dark. I can see a black object and I heard the ladder being set up against the house. But if we could only just see a bit better then we would know what we're up against.

Sussie: I can't stand it anymore. I'm going to scream.

Sabina: No you won't, even if I have to stick something in your mouth.

Sussie: Well I surely can't stand at the window. I don't have enough spunk for that.

Sabina: Then go to the light switch and when I yell "now," then turn the light on fast.

Sussie: I like that a lot better. Anything that keeps me away from that window.

Sabina: Now I know what I can use for a club, that big pitcher over there on the washstand. When the louse gets cracked over the head with that pitcher, he'll think twice before he sticks his head through my window again.

Sussie: You could kill someone with that pitcher it's so heavy.

Sabina: Anyone who spooks around in the night and rattles under peoples' windows should be clubbed to death. They're not worth it. Bad people aren't good for nothing nowhere. If we put them in prison, we'll just have to feed them. Now let him come, I'm ready to give him a dose of his medicine.

Sussie: If the light doesn't go on, what then?

Sabina: Ess geiht aw wonn du der knopp recht dricke duscht. Waar yuscht net so ferkollebiert os du nimme weescht wass'd am du bischt. Dess konse ding kummt em fohr wie ebbes os mer drome deet. Wonn ich daar bucker recht dreff wees er os ess kenn drom is date deet ich druff wette.

Sussie: Wonn yuscht der Asseba deheem waert.

Sabina: Er waert grawt so ufgeriert wie du. Er iss aw nix waut an so ebbes. Er ferliert aw grawt der kopp. Wonn mer alles wisst donn iss er grawt die minut am Greitsweeg am gross schwetse. Sell kann er besser du wie eensich ebbes schunscht. Wass ich yuscht net ferschtee kann is waar do daerich dei fenschter schluppe wet.

Sussie: Dess misse rawver sei.

Sabina: Ferleicht iss ess dei monn os er dich ferschrecke wil.

Sussie: Wonn's iss donn schlaag recht haardt, er iss net meehner waut. Er hut mer sei leewe nix gebrucht wie druvvel Dess waert awer ess aerigscht ding o ser noch fun sich g'schaft het. Er deet sich aw faerichte fer naus tzu geeh so'n nacht wie dess.

Sabina: Nau, gebb acht, ess fenschter geiht uf, haerscht's. Doh kummt er. Nau macht's licht aw. Ich denk ich habb'n awer eens gevee, wonn's aw der pitcher gekuscht hut. Ich denk er fergesst die fenschter bisniss.

Sussie: O . . . is er dot denkscht.

Sabina: Ich wees noch net, er leit ordelich lummerich doh uf'm fenschter sits. Mer welle'n mohl rum rulle, seehne ebb's ebber is os ich kenn.

Sussie: O, ich kann en so gewiss net awre-eye ich faericht mich tzu aerig.

Sabina: Du brauscht dich nau nimme faerichte, er kann niemond nix du fer weil enni hau. O, Sussie, O, wass hab ich doch gedu, O . . . du liewer tzuschtond, ess iss ferhaftich der Asseba. Wass der schinner iss er denneweeg in's haus kumme? Helf mer'n doh uf's bett leege.

Sabina: It'll go on if you press the button right. Don't get so excited that you don't know what you're doing. This whole thing seems like something you dream. If I hit the bugger right, he'll know it's no dream, I'll bet my bottom dollar on that.

Sussie: If only Asseba were home.

Sabina: He'd be just as excited as you are. He's also not good for such things and loses his head right away. Just when you need him, that's when he's at Crossroads talking up a storm. He can do that better than anyone else. But what I just can't understand is who would want to climb through your window.

Sussie: It has to be robbers.

Sabina: Maybe it's your husband who wants to scare you.

Sussie: If it is, then hit him really hard, he deserves it. He's brought me nothing but trouble all his life. That would be the first thing he ever did by himself, but he'd be too frightened to go out on a night like this.

Sabina: Wait, pay attention, somebody's opening the window. Do you hear that? Here he comes. Now, turn the light on. I think I really gave it to him because the pitcher really got smashed. I think he'll be forgetting this window business.

Sussie: Oh, do you think he's dead?

Sabina: I don't know yet. He's just slumped over the window sill like a rag. Let's roll him over and see if I recognize him.

Sussie: Oh, I can't touch him, I'm too afraid.

Sabina: You don't need to be afraid anymore. He won't be doing anything to anyone for awhile. Oh, Sussie, oh, what have I done? Oh . . . my goodness, it's Asseba. Why the heck is he trying to get into the house this way? Help me lay him on the bed.

Sussie: O, der orm drupp. Seehn yuscht sei kopp, ess bloot lawft iehn am backe nunner.

Sabina: Sei haarts geeht noch, er iss yuscht ufmechtich. Geeh dapper nunner un hohl die schmier un aw die wesch schissel un blendi lumbe. Mer meehnt doch net os so ebbes sei kennt. Ich binn awer doch froh os ich net haardter g'schlaage habb. Dummel dich Sussie. Ei, yei, ei, du ormer drupp. Ich habb evve net besser gewisst. Wass konn's net g'schwindt ehlend gevve.

Asseba: O, mei kop, mei kop. Iss ess doch uf mich g'falle odder binn ich fun die leeder g'schtaarts? Mei kop fielt os wonn ebber en keitel nei schlaage wett. Wass inn der himmels e weldt hut's donn gevve.

Sabina: Ich habb grawt so fiel dier tzu froge os wie du mich tzu froge huscht. Wass der schinner wohr dei meehning fer mittes inn die dunkel nacht en leeder an's haus schtelle un browierre tzu'm fenschter nei grottelle.

Asseba: Wass hutt denn knopp uf mei kopp gemacht, sel wil ich's alle aerscht wisse. Uf eemohl iss alles schwaarts warre faar mein awge un ich habb fun datt aw nix meeh gewisst fun mer.

Sabina: Der gross pitcher fum weschschtend hut dich gedruffe, un datte uf'm buttem leiye die schticker. Ess iss schaad fer der pitcher fun weege seller pitcher habb ich fun heem mit gebrucht wie mer an's hause gonge sinn. All die yohre habb ich so goot acht gevve uf'n un nau iss er fudgg.

Asseba: Ess kummt mer fohr seller aldt pitcher deet dier meehner awleiye os wie mei kopp. Tzu so tzeite konn mer seehne wass sei fraw denkt fun em.

Sabina: Dei aldt schaal heelt widder awer daar pitcher konn mer sei leewe nimme tzommer mache. Es nemmt meehner wie ee pitcher fer dei aldt schaal schplitte.

Asseba: Du bischt awer aw wiescht. Doh setscht mich wennich dowerre, un ich glawb ferhaftich os'd bees bischt. Ich habb mei sach goot gemeehnt. Ich habb dich net aus'm schloff greiye welle os dei goote ruh greecht un nau bischt noch fertzont.

Sussie: Oh you poor soul. Just look at his head, blood's running down his cheek.

Sabina: His heart's still beating, he's just unconscious. Go quick and fetch some salve and also the washbasin and plenty of washcloths. Who could have thought of such a thing. Am I ever glad that I didn't swing any harder. Hurry, Sussie. Ei, yei, yei, you poor thing. I couldn't have known. Things can turn for the worst just that fast.

Asseba: Oh my head, my head. Did something fall on me or did I fall off the ladder? My head feels like a wedge has been driven through it. What in the world could that have been?

Sabina: I've got as many questions for you as you do for me. What the heck were you thinking, putting a ladder against the house in the middle of the night and trying to climb through a window?

Asseba: Well, first of all I want to know what made this bump on my head. All of a sudden all I saw was black and then I was out like a light.

Sabina: The big pitcher from the washstand is what hit you, and there on the floor are all the pieces. Too bad about the pitcher. I brought it from home when we moved into this house. I took care of it all these years and now it's broken.

Asseba: It seems to me that that pitcher means more to you than my head. I guess a man can see what his wife really thinks of him at a time like this.

Sabina: Your old head will heal but we'll never put that pitcher back together again. It takes more than a pitcher to crack open that old head of yours.

Asseba: Why so mean? You should have a little pity on me. You're really mad, aren't you? I meant well. I didn't want to disturb your sleep so that you could rest and now you're angry.

Sabina: Du wetscht dei leewe ich binn fertzonnt. Rot gliedich binn ich nunner bis inn die tzeeye-neggel nei, un ich waar alle minut heeser.

Asseba: Du bischt doch net tzu biete. Du hetscht mich inn eem hohr dot g'schlaage un ess kummt mer fohr ess deet dich kenn glee bissel reiye os'd mich g'schlaage huscht. Bischt noch i'm schlof?

Sabina: Ich binn nau nett i'm schlof, awer ferleicht wohr ich schunt tzu long am schlofe. Glawb mier awer dess, grawt die minut binn ich gons wacke. Ferleicht hett ich dich gons dot schlaage selle.

Asseba: Chubers, doh habb ich gemeehnt ich waert i'm dunkelle wie ich fum Greitsweeg heem geluffe binn, awer grawt nau binn ich fiel aeriger i'm dunkel.

Sabina: Wonn mer schwetse welle fum dunkelle wohr ich der orm drupp os i'm dunkelle wohr. Nau seehn ich awer die helling. Du setscht aldt genunk sei fer wisse os alles eetzeit an's dawges licht kummt. Du scheiheilicher aldtger hawne. Mer set dich ufhengke an die tzeeye-neggel, un dich hengke lusse biss die oswoi dei aldt knoeche gebutst hette.

Asseba: Du huscht fiewer. Ferleicht sett mer denn nosse hondduch um dei kopp binne. Inn so me moot habb ich dich sei leewe noch net g'seehne.

Sabina: Du seehnscht mich nau, un dess iss aerscht der awfong, du deetscht dich yuscht so goot richte. Du grickscht die bitterscht medicien os du noch g'schlugt huscht. O, ich kennt dich ferrivvelle. Allemohl os ich dich inn die awge grick geht's daerich mich wie'n messer.

Asseba: O, yeeh, mei kopp ferschpringt bol un nau muss ich noch so eehlend tzuhaeriche. Ebb mer weidter geehne wil ich wisse wass doh dehinner iss.

Sabina: Ferwass sett ich dier ebbes fertzeehle os du selvert besser weescht? Du bischt der ketser wass fertzeehle sett wass doh dehinner is.

Sabina: You bet your life I'm angry. I'm red hot down to my toenails and getting angrier by the minute.

Asseba: You really take the cake, you know. You come within an inch of killing me and it seems that you're not even the least bit sorry that you whacked me over the head. Are you the one sleeping?

Sabina: I'm most certainly not sleeping but maybe I've been sleeping too long. Believe you me, I'm wide awake right now. Maybe I should have struck you dead!

Asseba: Jeepers, I thought I was in the dark when I came home from Crossroads, but now I'm really in the dark.

Sabina: If you want to talk about being in the dark, then I was the stupid one who was in the dark. But now I see every-thing clearly. You should be old enough to know that everything gets found out in time. You hypocritical old rooster! You should be strung up by your toenails and left to hang until the hawks come and pick your bones clean.

Asseba: You're feverish! Maybe I should tie a wet handkerchief around your head. I've never seen you in such rage before.

Sabina: Well, you're seeing me now and that's just the beginning. You'll judge for yourself. You'll be getting the bitterest medicine you've even swallowed. Oh, I could just shake you. Every time I look at you it's like a knife in my back.

Asseba: Yeah, my head's about to explode and now I have to listen to this. Before we go on I want to know what's behind all this.

Sabina: Why should I tell you something you know better than I do? You're the scoundrel who should be telling me what's going on here.

Asseba: Ich binn ferhaftich i'm dunkelle, ich wees net wass'd meehnscht.

Sabina: Donn wil ich's licht druff draeye. Ferwass huscht du browierre misse tzu die Sussie iehre scholf-schtupp fenschter nei grottelle? Eensicher ufrichter monn sett tzu sein're fraw iehre nei schluppe un nett die mawd iehre fenschter

Asseba: Ei, yei, ei, doh iss sel wu der haws i'm peffer huckt. Meehnt mer doch os so ebbes sei kennt. Sabina Mumbauer, waar hett gedenkt os du an deiner eldt so noshons in der kopp greecht.

Sussie: O, Sabina.

Sabina: Ruhich, Sussie, kenn wordt wil ich haerre fun dier.

Sussie: Du macht em lache.

Sabina: Ruhich, habb ich g'sawgt odder du grickscht aw eens uf die schaal.

Asseba: Dess konn ich goot ausleege, un noh seehnscht wie kinnish os'd bischt.

Sabina: Sel iss mei unnergonk gewesst noch immer, du bischt tzu goot an alles ausleege, un allemohl os du ebbes ausleegscht kummt's dei weeg raus.

Asseba: Ich sawg nix wie die grindlich wohret.

Sabina: Schwets schtaerig, un's deet besser goot laudte.

Asseba: Wel, du weescht wie mer g'schwets henn wie ich faart binn den owet.

Sabina: Alle wort wees ich noch.

Asseba: Mer henn ausgemacht die schuhl-bordt mietin deet ordelich schpot warre.

Sabina: Sei leewe habb ich noch net ausmache kenne wass awgeeht an en schuhl-bordt mietin os ess so schpot mache sett. Die schuhle am geeh haldte muss grosse bisniss sei.

Asseba: Ess iss evve schier immer schpot ebb's abggeht un noh sinn fiel so gleene sache os evve tzeit nemme.

Sabina: Huscht nett g'sawgt du deetscht der schlissel mitt nemme?

Asseba: I'm really in the dark. I have no idea what you mean.

Sabina: Then let me turn the light on for you. Why did you feel the need to try to climb through Sussie's bedroom window? Any decent man would climb through his wife's window and not the maid's.

Asseba: Ei, yei, yei, so that's what this is all about. So you think that was really it? Sabina Mumbauer, who would have thought that you in your old age could get such an idea?

Sussie: Oh, Sabina.

Sabina: Shush, Sussie, I don't want to hear a word out of you.

Sussie: You make me laugh.

Sabina: Quiet, I said, or you'll have a bump on your head too!

Asseba: I can explain this whole thing and then you'll see how childish you're acting.

Sabina: That's always been my downfall, you are so good at explaining everything so well, and you come out smelling like a rose every time.

Asseba: I'm just telling the God's honest truth.

Sabina: Well speak fast and it better be good.

Asseba: Well, you remember how we talked when I left this evening?

Sabina: I remember every word.

Asseba: We agreed that the school board meeting would let out really late.

Sabina: For the life of me I've never been able to figure out what goes on at those darn school board meetings that they have to finish so late. To keep the schools up and running must be big business.

Asseba: It always runs late before we let out, there are just so many little things that take a lot of time.

Sabina: Didn't you say you'd be taking your key along?

Asseba: Ich habb aw, awer denn habb ich aeriets ferlohre, un ich hab'n yuscht nimme finne kenne.

Sabina: Huscht'n finne welle, mer kann alemohl ebbes paarbes ferliehre.

Asseba: Mohl schur net, ich binn meeh wie'n dutsend mahl daerich al mei seck un ich habb der schlissel yuscht net finne kenne.

Sabina: Ferwass husht donn nett an die dier geglubbt? Ich waert runner kumme un het ufgemacht.

Asseba: Yaah, un du hetscht mer aw'n ferhiering gevve weech schpot bleiwe. Ich hett awer doch lieber selle ferhiering katte wie die doh, un hett ferleicht net der kopp ferbroche grickt inn der baerige. Ich habb aw an dich gedenkt un habb dich nett gaarn aus die ruh schprenge welle.

Sabina: Dess wohr donn's aerscht mohl os du an mich gedenkt huscht. Gemeehnerhond huscht mich wacke gemacht un huscht mer g'sawgt wass net ess haerts katte huscht fer sawge am schul-bordt. Dei ausleeges haldt kenn wasser. Dess gonse ding hett iehr ausgemacht katte ebb du faart bischt. Die Sussie kann aw sich so uhschuldich awschicke.

Asseba: Du nau die orm Sussie ebbes noh sawge os nett so iss. Die hutt so wennich gewisst doh defun wie der Wasser

Sabina: Yaah, der Wasser. Datte huscht aw ebbes awg'fonge. Fer wass hutt der Wasser nett laudt gemacht? Er doot doch immer. Denn hett iehr fermootlich aeriets eig'schpaart. Kenn wunner hutt die Sussie ess aerscht naus gemisst ebb sie uf der schpeicher iss. Wass ich wisse will is dess. Wonn alles wohr iss donn, os du so weit g'sawgt huscht, ferwass huscht dei leeder nett an mei fenschter schtaarts an die Sussie iehre fenschter?

Asseba: Ich habb gewisst os du dei fenschterre immer schliese duscht ebb'd inn's bett geehscht. Un ich habb gedenkt die Sussie iehre waerte net g'schlusse.

Sabina: Hut sie dier g'sawgt katte, sie deet sie uf'lusse?

Asseba: I did, but I then lost it somewhere and just wasn't able to find it.

Sabina: Did you want to find it? You can always lose something on purpose.

Asseba: I sure did. I checked my pockets a dozen times, but I just couldn't find the key.

Sabina: Why didn't you just knock on the door? I would have come down and opened up.

Asseba: Yeah, and you would have given me the fifth degree for coming home so late. But I would have rather had that than what I'm getting now. Then I wouldn't have my head just about cracked open in the bargain. I was just thinking of you and didn't want to roust you out of bed.

Sabina: That would have been the first time you thought of me. Normally you would have awakened me and told me what had gone on at the school meeting. Your excuse is pretty flimsy. The both of you planned this whole thing out before you left. And Sussie can play the innocent one when she wants.

Asseba: Leave poor Sussie out of this. She knew as much about this as Wasser did.

Sabina: Yeah, Wasser. Now you've blown your cover. Why didn't Wasser bark up a storm. He always does. You both probably penned him up somewhere. It's no wonder that Sussie had to go outside first before she went upstairs to bed. But what I want to know is this. If everything is true as you say, why didn't you put the ladder at my window instead of Sussie's?

Asseba: I knew that you always lock your windows before you go to bed. And I thought that Sussie's would be unlocked.

Sabina: Had she told you that she would leave them unlocked?

Asseba: So schur nett.

Sabina: Mariye frog ich mohl, ferleicht
wohr gohr kenn schuhl-bordt mietin. Dess
gons ding hett en komoff sei kenne.

Asseba: Wonn ich's nochemohl tzu du hett
donn hett ich i'm fudergonk g'schlofe. Ich
gonn nau ferschtee ferwass os der Davie
Nexer so fiel nachte i'm fudergonk tzubringe
doot. Fer drei cend geeh ich grawt nau naus.

Sabina: Du geehscht inn dei bett.

Asseba: Mer geehne all in's bett, wonn aw
die schloferei nix meeh iss die nacht, un
wonn ess mier sei leewe widder inn der
kopp kummt fer daerich's fenschter in's haus
tzu geh donn wil ich huffe sie schparre mich
ei ebb ich so weit kumm.

Sussie: O, eehlend. O, Mei, O, Mei.

Asseba: Definitely not.

Sabina: Tomorrow I'm going to ask around
and see if there was even a school board
meeting at all. This whole thing could have
been a trick.

Asseba: If I had to do it over again I would
have slept in the feed entry. I understand
now why Davie Nexer spends so many
nights sleeping in the feed entry. For three
cents I'd go out there right now.

Sabina: You get in your bed.

Asseba: Let's all go to bed even though a
good night's sleep has pretty much been
ruined already. If I ever get a notion again
to climb through a window again, then I
hope they'll lock me up before it comes to
that.

Sussie: Oh, misery! My, oh my!



**“Der Heimat g’denk ich treu”: Literatur und
Heimatkunde im donauschwäbisch-amerikanischen
Jahrbuch *Deutsch-Ungarischer Familienkalender*¹**

Über die Geschichte, Kultur und Traditionen donauschwäbischer Volksgruppen in Ostmitteleuropa von den ersten Siedlungen im späten 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Vertreibung in der Nachkriegszeit steht reichlich Auskunft zur Verfügung.² Zu einer umfassenden Erschließung der Siedlungs- und Kulturgeschichte donauschwäbischer Auswanderergruppen in Nordamerika ist es hingegen noch nicht gekommen. Unter donauschwäbischen Auswanderern sind die ehemaligen Einwohner deutscher Siedlungen Ostmitteleuropas (vorwiegend Ungarns) zu verstehen, die im späten 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhundert auf Initiative der Habsburger gegründet wurden, um die während der türkischen Besatzung verwüsteten Gebiete wieder aufzubauen. (Andere deutschstämmige ostmitteleuropäische Gruppen, deren Siedlungsgeschichte auf das Mittelalter zurückgeht—darunter die Siebenbürger Sachsen—fallen nicht in diese Kategorie.) Die Anzahl donauschwäbischer Amerika-Auswanderer zwischen 1910 und 1945 wird auf 140 000, und zwischen 1945 und 1955 auf 30 000 geschätzt.³ Vorhandene Untersuchungen zu den Donauschwaben in Nordamerika bieten entweder jeweils einen Überblick über einzelne Auswanderungswellen des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts, oder befassen sich mit der Geschichte und Tätigkeit örtlicher Landesmannschaften und Vereine in der neuen Heimat.⁴

Seit ihrer Übersiedlung in den ostmitteleuropäischen Raum im achtzehnten Jahrhundert erwarben die Donauschwaben den Ruhm einer pflichtbewussten, rechtschaffenen und anhänglichen Volksgruppe. Zerstreut in einzelne Gebiete West- und Mittelungarns, des Banats, Syrmiens und der Szatmar-Gegend leisteten sie einen entscheidenden Beitrag zur Neubelebung und Modernisierung der landwirtschaftlichen und kleinindustriellen Produktion. Aus verwüsteten und (während der jahrhundertelangen türkischen

Besatzung) ausgeplünderten Gebieten schufen sie im Laufe von etwa drei Generationen florierende Landschaften.

Sesshaft zumeist in geschlossenen Gemeinden gelang es den donauschwäbischen Siedlern bzw. ihren Nachfahren, ihre ethnische, sprachliche und religiöse Identität bis zum mittleren zwanzigsten Jahrhundert zu bewahren, ohne sich allerdings von den anderen ostmitteleuropäischen Volksgruppen völlig abzuriegeln. Die donauschwäbischen Mundarten Ostmitteleuropas bilden jeweils eine archaische, zum Teil bis heute erhalten gebliebene und inzwischen von der jeweiligen Mehrheitssprache leicht infiltrierte Kombination von bairischen und rheinfränkischen Elementen. Durch regelmäßigen wirtschaftlichen Kontakt u.a. mit der rumänischen, serbischen, slowakischen und ungarischen Bevölkerung erwiesen sie sich als arbeitsame und gut ausgebildete Handwerker bzw. zuverlässige Geschäftspartner, auch wenn ihr Wohlstand gelegentlich den Neid anderer Volksgruppen erweckte.

Zu den Charakterzügen, die den Angehörigen der ostmitteleuropäischen deutschen Minderheit herkömmlicherweise zugeschrieben wurden (und zum Teil auch heute noch zugeschrieben werden), gehören die grundsätzliche Achtung vor der weltlichen Autorität allerdings ohne einen Hang zur Unterwürfigkeit, ein ausgeprägter Familiensinn und die starke Bindung an die Römisch-Katholische Kirche. Bekannt und beliebt sind die Donauschwaben im alltäglichen Umgang für ihre Offenherzigkeit, Gemütlichkeit, volkstümliche Jovialität und ihren gelegentlichen Vorwitz. Auf eine formale Beteiligung an den Belangen des öffentlichen Lebens—etwa durch politische Ämter und Würden—erhoben sie in der Regel keinen Anspruch, was ihnen immer wieder den Vorwurf der Reserviertheit und Verschlossenheit einbrachte.

Identifiziert haben sich die Mitglieder dieser ostmitteleuropäischen Minderheit bis heute weder als Deutsche, noch als Angehörige des jeweiligen nationalen Mehrheitsstaates (etwa als Rumänen, Serben, Slowaken oder Ungarn), sondern als "Schwaben." Diese schlichte, vereinfachende und im Ton etwas herabwürdigende Bezeichnung entstand im ungarischen Volksmund, wurde jedoch—uneingedenk ihrer vorwiegend nicht-schwäbischen, sondern hauptsächlich bayrischen, fränkischen, hessischen bzw. rheinländischen Herkunft—auch von den Minderheitsdeutschen übernommen und regelrecht verwendet. Die modifizierte Bezeichnung "Donauschwaben" wurde von Robert Stieger um das Jahr 1920 geprägt und sollte den deutschen Beitrag zur friedlichen Koexistenz der mitteleuropäischen Völker unterstreichen. Die kommunistische Nationalitätspolitik der Nachkriegsjahre bevorzugte und verwendete die Bezeichnungen "Rumäniendeutsche" bzw. "Ungarndeutsche." In seinem Standardwerk *The Danube Swabians* bietet G. C. Paikert die folgende treffende Zusammenfassung über die frühe Siedlungsgeschichte der Donauschwaben:

The German settlers (more precisely those who lived in the exceptionally fertile Banat and Bačka region), within a century of their arrival, made up the most prosperous and best established agricultural communities in their environment; a fact that speaks for their ability, industry and devotion to duty. Truly, it was the "German economic miracle" of the day. Many a Magyar who envied this visible progress preferred to forget the drab conditions that existed when the settlers arrived in the ebb of the Ottoman tidal wave. . . . The colonists, notwithstanding the immeasurable help which they received through the [settlement] policy [of the Habsburgs], had not come to Hungary with the reassuring expectation of living a placid Canaan, abundant with milk and honey. It is to their credit that they were fully aware of the extremely harsh conditions which were to face them in their new home land, at that time much more desolate and beset with lurking danger than the North American West ever was for the immigrant pioneers of the late nineteenth century.⁵

Anthony Komjathy und Rebecca Stockwell beschreiben die traditionsbewusste und stellenweise reservierte Haltung der Donauschwaben mit den folgenden Worten:

The Swabians (ethnic Germans) were faithful and loyal citizens of Hungary, and their national consciousness was quiescent as far as political activities were concerned. They used their mother tongue, kept their old customs, and lived in the same little villages that their ancestors had built when they emigrated to Hungary under the settlement programs of Habsburgs in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Although the majority were so-called smallholder peasants, they had a good living standard.⁶

Nachdem sich die Donauschwaben im ostmitteleuropäischen Raum ungefähr 200 Jahre lang erfolgreich und produktiv behauptet hatten, befanden sie sich in der neuen nordamerikanischen Wahlheimat wiederum in einer Sonderlage, bildeten sie doch eine sprachlich-kulturelle Minderheit innerhalb der deutschsprachigen Einwanderergemeinschaft. Angesichts ihrer reichen historisch-kulturellen Erbschaft nimmt es kein Wunder, dass sie besonderen Wert auf die Bewahrung ihrer Identität gelegt haben. Die Interessenvertretung und Traditionspflege erfolgten unter anderem durch die Gründung von einzelnen Orts- bzw. überregionalen Vereinen (wie die Deutsch-Ungarische Landesmannschaft) und von Presseorganen und diversen periodischen Schriften mit Bildungs- und Unterhaltungszwecken. Diese Presseorgane gehören zu den unerschlossenen Aspekten der donauschwäbisch-amerikanischen Kulturgeschichte. Wie überhaupt die deutschsprachige Presse in Nordamerika auf außerordentlich reiche Traditionen zurückgeht, bieten auch die Zeitungen und Zeitschriften donauschwäbischer Gruppen eine Fundgrube an Auskunft über die ostmitteleuropäischen deutschsprachigen Einwanderer in der neuen

Heimat. Dazu gehören Organe wie der in Cincinnati zwischen 1905 und 1918 erschienene *Deutsch-Ungarische Bote*, das in Cleveland zwischen 1914 und 1917 veröffentlichte *Deutsch-Ungarische Volksblatt*, der in Chicago bzw. Winona (Minnesota) zwischen 1921 und 1964 gedruckte *Heimatbote*, die seit 1955 in Chicago erscheinenden *Nachrichten der Donauschwaben* sowie der zwischen 1932 und 1954 veröffentlichte *Deutsch-Ungarische Familienkalender. Ein Jahrbuch der Deutschen aus Banat, Burgenland, Slavonien, Ungarn und dem Arader Kreis*. Der vorliegende Aufsatz wird sich aus den folgenden Gründen auf das Jahrbuch *Deutsch-Ungarischer Familienkalender* konzentrieren: Dieses Organ erreichte eine überregionale Leserschaft im gesamten Mittleren Westen sowie an der Ost- und Westküste der USA. Es überlebte von seiner Entstehung in den mittleren dreißiger Jahren bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg und zum Kalten Krieg eine Zeitspanne von etwa zwei Jahrzehnten und umfasste somit mehrere donauschwäbischen Einwanderungswellen des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts. Schließlich konnte die jährliche Erscheinungsfolge dieser Publikation eine Distanz auf das tagespolitische Geschehen bewahren und auf diese Weise ihren Lesern eine allgemeine kulturell-literarische Perspektive eröffnen. Aufgrund seines Umfangs von durchschnittlich 250 Seiten, seiner überregionalen Bekanntheit sowie seiner langen Lebensdauer gilt der *Familienkalender* nebst dem *Heimatboten* als das wichtigste donauschwäbische Presseorgan in Nordamerika.

Entstanden ist der *Familienkalender* auf Initiative von Joseph Marx (1881–1939), einer führenden Persönlichkeit der donauschwäbischen Einwanderergemeinde in den USA.⁷ Ermutigt durch den Erfolg des ebenfalls von ihm (im Jahre 1921) gegründeten und herausgegebenen *Heimatboten* ging Marx um 1930 daran, ein Jahrbuch für die heimatkundliche Bildung und Unterhaltung seiner, in der Zeitspanne von etwa 1910 und 1930 nach Nordamerika verschlagenen Landsleute in die Wege zu leiten. Um die Kontaktaufnahme unter den donauschwäbischen Einwanderern und Vereinen in den gesamten USA zu erleichtern, war im Rahmen des Jahrbuchs ferner ein Verzeichnis mit den Namen und Adressen der Subskribenten (ein so genanntes Landsmännisches Adressenverzeichnis) vorgesehen. Im Unterschied zum Wochenblatt *Heimatboten*, der über das politisch-kulturelle Geschehen in den USA im allgemeinen und über die täglichen Belange, Interessen und Sorgen einzelner donauschwäbisch-amerikanischen Gemeinden im Besonderen berichtete, sollte dieses Jahrbuch der heimatkundlich-geschichtlichen Bildung, Unterhaltung und Identitätsbewahrung der ehemaligen ostmitteleuropäischen Minderheitsdeutschen in der Neuen Welt dienen. Standen im *Heimatboten* die aktuellen und die donauschwäbischen Einwanderer unmittelbar betreffenden Vorkommnisse in den USA (mit Berichten "über besondere Begebenheiten, Festlichkeiten, Geburten und Todesnachrichten" sowie über das "Verein- und

Gesellschaftsleben" und "Gesetzvorlagen" und "Tagesfragen")⁸ im Vordergrund, so richtete sich das Augenmerk des *Familienkalenders* vorwiegend auf die Kultur und Vergangenheit des ostmitteleuropäischen Herkunftslandes. Ziel dieses Jahrbuchs war es, die oben geschilderten Traditionen und Tugenden in den Einwandererfamilien und -Gemeinden im Bewusstsein zu bewahren und an die kommenden Generationen weiter zu vermitteln. Im Sinne dieser klaren und konsequent eingehaltenen Arbeitsteilung zwischen den beiden Organen blieb die Zusammenarbeit auf gelegentliche gegenseitige Förderung und Werbung beschränkt. In einer, aus heutiger Sicht womöglich irreführenden Weise bezieht sich die Bezeichnung "Ungarisch" nicht auf die magyarische Sprache und Kultur, sondern auf das ehemalige multi-nationale Königreich Ungarn, dem die—im Untertitel des *Familienkalenders* genannten—Gebiete Banat, Burgenland, Slawonien, Ungarn und Arader Kreis vor dem Friedensvertrag von Versailles im Jahre 1920 angehörten.

In einer Reihe von Geschäftsreisen auf größeren donauschwäbischen Einwanderungsgebieten gelang es Josef Marx, binnen wenigen Jahren genügend Interessenten für den neuen Kalender und zugleich für das jährlich angehängte Adressenverzeichnis (das er in einem Neujahrsgrußwort "die größte Zugkraft unseres Kalenders" bezeichnete)⁹ zu gewinnen und im Jahre 1932 den ersten Band herauszugeben. (Nicht berücksichtigt wurden beim Kundenfang die Deutsch-Amerikaner Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischer Herkunft, da diese Gruppe mit dem *Siebenbürgisch-Amerikanischen Volksblatt* [1905–55] bereits über ein etabliertes Presseorgan verfügte). Die Druckerarbeiten für den *Familienkalender* wurden zunächst bei der Schwäbischen Verlagsanstalt in Chicago und ab 1937 bei der—ebenfalls in Chicago sesshaften—German-Hungarian Publishing Company ausgeführt. Mit Ausnahme von kürzeren, vorwiegend belletristischen und lyrischen Texten sowie Unterhaltungselektüren in der vorwiegend rheinfränkisch gefärbten Mundart der Banater Region wurde die überwiegende Mehrheit der Artikel (einschließlich der landeskundlichen, historischen und populärwissenschaftlichen Beiträge) auf Hochdeutsch veröffentlicht. Gedruckt in einer Variante des Typs "Breitkopf Fraktur," hergestellt in der Größe von etwa 27x25 cm, reichlich ausgestattet mit photographischen Materialien und angeboten für den erschwinglichen jährlichen Subskriptionspreis (in dem auch die Aufnahme ins Adressenverzeichnis mit einbegriffen war) von zunächst \$ 0,35 und später von \$ 0,50 erreichte das Jahrbuch eine überregionale Leserschaft in den Vereinigten Staaten. Die Anführung des jeweiligen ostmitteleuropäischen Geburtsortes der Abonnenten (vorwiegend in Kleinstädten und Dörfern aus dem Banat sowie aus den ungarischen Regionen Szatmár [Sathmar], Tolna [Tolnau], Baranya [Braunau oder "Schwäbische Türkei"] und Sopron [Ödenburg]) deutet darauf hin, dass es bei den Interessenten und Abonnenten um Mitglieder der

ersten Einwanderergeneration handelte. (Bedauerlicherweise wurde die berufliche Tätigkeit der Abonnenten nicht angeführt.) Es spricht für den hohen Informationswert dieses Verzeichnisses, dass es zu genealogischen Zwecken selbst im frühen 21. Jahrhundert regelmäßig studiert und eingesetzt wird. Eine diesbezügliche genealogische Internet-Seite berichtet über den Zweck des *Familienkalenders* und der beigefügten Liste folgendermaßen:

In 1931 Josef Marx developed the German-Hungarian Family Calendars as a means to keep his countryman [*sic*] informed and connected to each other in their adopted homeland of the United States. News, stories and photos of the old country, along with subscribers [*sic*] names and addresses provided the majority of the content for these calendars. The idea he had to publish the subscriptions lists have made his calendars a valuable research tool to those who are tracing their German-Hungarian ancestors in the United States back to their original villages.¹⁰

Im Gründungsjahr 1932 konnte der *Familienkalender* eine Abonnentenzahl von etwa 1100 erreichen und diese Ziffer bis zum Jahre 1934 auf 4000 und bis 1938 auf 6800 erhöhen.¹¹ Die Subskriptionseinnahmen und die finanziellen Mittel der German-Hungarian Publishing Company in Chicago genügten jedoch nicht, die Existenz des *Familienkalenders* langfristig zu sichern. Nach dem unerwarteten Tode Josef Marx' im Jahre 1939 wurden deshalb die Vertriebsrechte des *Heimatboten* und des *Familienkalenders* an die in Winona (im südwestlichen Minnesota) sesshafte Firma National Weeklies verkauft. Für die Geschäftsführung war Hans Reichel, für die Schriftleitung beider Organe der ebenfalls im Banat geborene und im Jahre 1923 eingewanderte Michael Schaut zuständig. Das Syndikat National Weeklies zählte bis zum mittleren zwanzigsten Jahrhundert zu den größten und wichtigsten deutschsprachigen Zeitungsverlegern der USA. Gegründet vom bayrischen Einwanderer Joseph Leicht (1845–1908) und fortgeführt von seinem Sohn Emil Leicht (1873–1943) verlegte und vertrieb die Firma in den zwanziger Jahren über 40 deutschsprachige Zeitungen aus Illinois, Minnesota, Nebraska, Norddakota, Süddakota, Wisconsin und Kanada, darunter die *Deutsche Sonntagspost*, den *American Herald*, die *Dakota Freie Presse* und die *Lincoln Freie Presse*.¹² Einbezogen in die Geschäftsorganisation der National Weeklies und vertrieben unter anderem in Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, Norddakota, Ohio, Pennsylvanien und Wisconsin konnte der *Familienkalender* seinen Bekanntheitsgrad weiter erhöhen und bis zu den frühen vierziger Jahren eine durchschnittliche Abonnentenzahl von ungefähr 8300 erreichen.¹³ Aufgrund von G. C. Paikerts Angaben, die die Anzahl donauschwäbischer Einwanderer vor 1945 auf 140000 beziffern,¹⁴ kann man davon ausgehen, dass der *Familienkalender* von etwa jeder vierten bis fünften minderheitsdeutschen Familie abonniert wurde.

Die Jahresbände des *Familienkalenders* wurden aufgrund von einzelnen, aus den gesamten USA, aus Deutschland sowie aus den deutsch besiedelten Gebieten Jugoslawiens, Rumäniens und Ungarns zugeschickten Manuskripten unter redaktioneller Aufsicht des Schriftleiters zusammengestellt. Gremien wie ein Herausgeberrat oder eine ständige Redaktion standen weder Josef Marx, noch seinem Nachfolger Michael Schaut zur Verfügung. Durch den tatkräftigen Einsatz der Schriftleitung und durch rege Beteiligung von Subskribenten, Interessenten und Sympathisanten entwickelte das Jahrbuch dennoch bereits in den ersten Jahren seiner Existenz ein eigenständiges Profil mit Kontinuität in Inhalt und äußerer Erscheinung.

Ungeachtet seiner ehemaligen Popularität ist der *Familienkalender* bislang weder in den umfassenden,¹⁵ noch in den regionalen Darstellungen des deutschamerikanischen Pressewesens¹⁶ gewürdigt, geschweige denn ausführlich erörtert worden. Im vorliegenden Aufsatz wird versucht, diesem Mangel abzuhelpfen. Im Rahmen dieser Untersuchung ist es jedoch unmöglich, alle 22 Jahrgänge des *Familienkalenders* mit jeweils etwa 250 Seiten chronologisch zu rekonstruieren. Aus diesem Grunde soll hier ein inhaltlicher Querschnitt mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der reichhaltigen, politisch jedoch nicht widerspruchsfreien Jahrgänge zwischen 1936 und 1952 präsentiert werden. Dabei stehen die folgenden Fragen im Vordergrund: Was waren die inhaltlichen Schwerpunkte des *Familienkalenders*? Inwieweit gelang es den Schriftleitern Joseph Marx und Michael Schaut sowie den Verfassern, ein Gleichgewicht zwischen Populär- und schöngeistiger Kultur zu erreichen? Mit welchen Themen und Schriften versuchte der *Familienkalender*, seinen Lesern bei der Bewahrung ihrer mitteleuropäisch-donauschwäbischen Identität beizustehen? In welchem Sinne nahm der *Familienkalender* zum Aufstieg des Nationalsozialismus Stellung und inwieweit gelang es ihm, seine politisch-ideologische Integrität während des Zweiten Weltkriegs zu bewahren? Welche Gründe könnte die Einstellung des *Familienkalenders* im Jahre 1954 gehabt haben? Diese angestrebte Zusammenfassung soll nach den Schwerpunkten "Praktische Ratschläge," "Schöngeistige Literatur," "Heimatkundlicher Rückblick," "Der Nationalsozialismus" sowie "Die Nachkriegszeit" aufgeteilt werden.

Praktische Ratschläge für die neue Heimat

In seinen praktischen Anleitungen für den Alltag folgen die einzelnen Jahresbände den Traditionen des deutschsprachigen volkserzieherischen Kalenders bzw. des nordamerikanischen Farmer-Almanachs. Bei Erteilung dieser praktischen Ratschläge, die etwa 10% des Gesamttextes ausmachen, versucht der *Kalender*, seinen Lesern den Übergang in die moderne amerikanische Gesellschaft zu erleichtern und zugleich Wertvorstellungen aus der

alten mitteleuropäischen Heimat aufrechtzuerhalten. Kochrezepte, volkstümlich überlieferte Heilverfahren, altbewährte regionaltypische handwerkliche Kniffe (unter anderem aus dem Banat, aus Sathmar und aus Westungarn) nebst Berichten über neue technische Erfindungen und Kuriositäten ("Aus Schlamm Treibgas")¹⁷ und wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Ereignisse ("Vater des Films Max Skladkowski")¹⁸ zeugen von den vielseitigen Interessen und vom Wissensdrang der Subskribenten-Familien.

Während die Anleitungen zur Anfertigung von "Klößen aus Brotresten," vom "Käseauflauf" und vom "gebackenem Weißkohl"¹⁹ eine allgemeine, auf dem gesamten deutschen Sprachgebiet geläufige gastronomische Geschmacksrichtung widerspiegeln, zeigen die Spalten "Praktische Winke fürs Heim" und "Wissenswertes und Interessantes" etwa mit "Ratschlägen für das Reinigen des Hutleders" und Vorschlägen für die "Behandlung von zerdrückten Samtkleidern" sowie für den "Futterwechsel"²⁰ eine bewusste Anlehnung an die akribisch-detailstarke donauschwäbische Handwerker- und Haushaltstradition. Die praktische Orientierung der Neueinwanderer wird weiter erleichtert durch die jährliche minutiöse katalogartige Anführung von nordamerikanischen Flüssigkeits-, Hohl- Vermessungs- und Flächenmassen, durch die Bekanntgabe von Postgebühren und Feiertagen sowie durch den Abdruck von Vergleichstabellen für europäische und nordamerikanische Temperaturskalen. In ihrer langfristigen Tendenz gehen diese Ratschläge über ihre praktisch-tägliche Zielsetzung hinaus und preisen die vorhin erwähnten altherkömmlichen, den Donauschwaben in Ostmitteleuropa traditionell zugeschriebenen (und auch von ihnen selbst vertretenen bzw. beanspruchten) Tugenden der hauswirtschaftlich-handwerklichen Tüchtigkeit, Sparsamkeit und Zuverlässigkeit. Gefördert werden ferner die Vorzüge der Redlichkeit, der Nächstenliebe und der Achtung vor den Eltern, den Älteren sowie vor der beruflichen und politischen Autorität. Indem die Schriftleiter und Verfasser des *Kalenders* das Vorbild des tüchtigen, fürsorglichen, an die alte ländliche Heimat noch gebundenen, doch in der amerikanischen Berufswelt nichtsdestoweniger strebsamen deutschstämmigen mitteleuropäischen Einwanderers bestätigen, schaffen sie die Grundlagen zu einem donauschwäbisch-amerikanischen Familienbewusstsein. Dieses Bewusstsein, so die Hoffnungen des *Kalenders*, würde ein Gleichgewicht zwischen traditioneller deutscher Disziplin, donauschwäbischer Biederkeit und Gemütlichkeit und moderner amerikanischer Arbeitsmoral zustande bringen.

Im Sinne der Arbeitsteilung zwischen dem *Heimatboten* und dem *Familienkalender* beschränken sich die Berichte über das aktuelle politische Geschehen in den USA bzw. in Mitteleuropa auf die—jeweils am Anfang der einzelnen Jahresbände abgedruckten—Neujahrsgrüßworte. In diesen Rückblicken wird vorwiegend über die wirtschaftlichen Entwicklungen bzw. Aussichten

in den USA Rechenschaft gegeben und den Lesern Mut zugesprochen, ohne die auf Bemühungen und Fortschritte von Roosevelts Regierung im Einzelnen einzugehen. Religiöse Themen werden bei allem Traditionsbewusstsein des *Familienkalenders* kaum, bzw. nur indirekt in kulturhistorisch-heimatkundlichem Kontext—wie bei der Beschreibung von Denkmälern und Wahlfahrtstätten in der Budaer Gegend (“In der Gnadenkirche zu Mariaremete”)²¹ und bei Darstellung folkloristischer Traditionen (“Alte Volkskunst—Wahres Volksgut: das Adam-und Evaspiel zur Adventszeit in der alten Heimat”)²² angeschnitten.

Schöngeistige Literatur

Ein eigenes Gepräge und eine jahrzehntelange überregionale Wirkung erarbeiteten sich Joseph Marx und Michael Schaut durch ein konsequent aufrechterhaltenes Gleichgewicht zwischen Unterhaltung und Volksbildung bzw. zwischen belletristischen und landeskundlich-ethnographischen Sachtexten. Für die Verhältnisse des populären Jahrbuchs erreichen die literarischen Werke, die etwa 30% des *Familienkalenders* ausmachen, insgesamt ein passables Niveau und zeugen von einem ehrgeizigen erzieherischen Anspruch. Eine ausführliche literaturkritische Auswertung dieser Texte ginge über den Rahmen der vorliegenden Arbeit hinaus; hier können nur einzelne thematischen Schwerpunkte überblickt werden.

Ein erheblicher Teil der Erzählungen wird den Anfängen donauschwäbischer Siedlungsgeschichte gewidmet. Im Vordergrund stehen mutige und einsatzbereite Pioniere, die ihre Gemeinden an der südöstlichen Grenze des Habsburgerreiches im späten siebzehnten und frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert vor den türkischen Einfällen sowie vor den Folgen von Missernten und Dürren verteidigten. Erzählungen wie “Eines deutschen Banater Bauern gute Tat”²³ schildern die abenteuerlichen Einzelheiten der letzten ottomanischen Einbruchsversuche (einschließlich diverser “Täuschungsmanöver” und “Scharmützel”) in einer pointiert-plastischen Weise und bieten eine Unterhaltungsektüre ersten Ranges. Die Tapferkeit und Standhaftigkeit dieser Frühsiedler, die aus dem Brachland die Grundlagen für blühende Agrarlandschaften schufen, sollte auch ihren, nach Nordamerika verschlagenen Nachkommen ein Beispiel geben. Die historische Erzählung “Vom Deutschtum in Ungarn” gedenkt des deutschen bzw. donauschwäbischen Beitrags zur Befreiung und zum Neubau Ungarns mit den folgenden pathosereiften Worten:

Der Ruhm des Prinzen Eugen leuchtet weit über sein Jahrhundert hinaus, und die Geschichte kennt die Verdienste derer, die mit ihm stritten und unter seinen Fahnen fielen. Es hat der furchtbaren Erschütterung des

großen Krieges [gegen die türkische Besatzung] bedurft, um unser Volk zum Volksbewußtsein zu führen. Wie wenige wissen von der ersten Not, dem zähen Kampf um die Sicherung der Daseinsgrundlagen, von der Vernichtung blühenden Lebens durch Hunger, durch Seuchen, durch die Wut der die Grenzen von neuem überrennenden Feinde! Nicht geringer, größer als die Zahl derer, die auf den Schlachtfeldern blieben, ist die der Namenlosen, die in stillem Heldentum hinter dem Pfluge verdarben.²⁴

Ein weiterer bevorzugter Themenkreis präsentiert sich im donauschwäbischen Dorfmilieu Ostmitteleuropas. In einer, etwa an Peter Roseggers volkstümlich-pädagogische Erzählkunst und an Ludwig Thomas heimatgebundene Kurzprosa angelehnten Weise verfolgen die Skizzen, Idyllen und Kurzgeschichten mit donauschwäbischem Hintergrund das Ziel, das mitteleuropäische Herkunftsland als Milieu der Sicherheit, Geborgenheit und Betriebsamkeit (als "fruchtbare Gegend, unstreitbar die edelste Perle Ungarns")²⁵ im Gedächtnis der ersten bzw. zweiten Einwanderergeneration zu behalten bzw. teilweise zu idealisieren. Bei Darstellung von Rivalitäten, Streitfällen und Konflikten des bäuerlichen Alltags bezeugen die Autoren wiederum die Vorzüge der Redlichkeit, Solidarität und der gesellschaftlich-wirtschaftlichen Stabilität und erheben einen gewissen Anspruch auf soziale Gerechtigkeit. Kleinere Vergehen, gelegentliche Auseinandersetzungen mit den Behörden, Bubenstreiche und Kavaliersdelikte wie etwa der Tabaksmuggel (beispielsweise in Rudolf Rieglers Erzählung "Vetter Huber und die Finanzwächter")²⁶ weiß die donauschwäbische Bevölkerung in diesen Geschichten mit Vorwitz und sprachlichem Geschick auszutragen, ohne die gesetzliche Ordnung im Grossen und Ganzen infrage zu stellen.

Beim Bearbeiten der jüngeren mitteleuropäischen Vergangenheit greifen die Verfasser immer wieder auf den Ersten Weltkrieg zurück. Statt jedoch den Militarismus und das Soldatentum zu verherrlichen, bekennen sich die Erzählungen zu den Tugenden der Kameradschaft, Treue und Versöhnung zwischen den ehemaligen Feinden. Episoden und Abenteuer an der Militärfront halten sich mit Erzählungen aus dem solidarischen Heimatland mit getreu ausharrenden Verlobten und Familienmitgliedern die Waage.²⁷ Für gelegentliche Abwechslung und Unterhaltung sorgen in der zweiten Hälfte der dreißiger Jahre die Detektiv- und Kriminalgeschichten mit der modernen Stadt- und Geschäftswelt als Schauplatz.²⁸ Etwa die Hälfte der Prosatexte wurde ohne Angabe der Verfasser veröffentlicht; zu den namentlich identifizierten Autoren gehörten führende, inzwischen allerdings in Vergessenheit geratene Mitglieder von Amerikanisch-Donauschwäbischen Vereinen wie Carl Gerok, Joseph König, Margarethe Lenz, Adalbert Raab, Felix Schmidt, Wilhelm Schuffen und Ralph Urban sowie auswärtige Verfasser wie Johann

Prath (Budaörs bei Budapest), Stefan Redvay (Budapest), Rudolf Riegler (Budapest) und Hilda Martin-Stiegl (Arad in Rumänien).

Bei der Auswahl von lyrischen Texten ging es der Redaktion einerseits darum, den ehemaligen minderheitsdeutschen Beitrag zur Stabilisierung der ostmitteleuropäischen Region zu würdigen und andererseits darum, dichterisch aktiven Mitgliedern der donauschwäbischen Einwanderergemeinde ein Forum zur Veröffentlichung zu ermöglichen. Beispiele aus der Volksdichtung einzelner deutsch besiedelten Gebiete Ostmitteleuropas bezeugen die Vielfalt der Mundarten bairischen und fränkischen Ursprungs von Westungarn über die Zips bis zum Banat und bis Siebenbürgen. Auszüge wie die folgenden Strophen aus einem "Gedicht in Sipser [*sic!*] Mundart" zählen selbst an der reichhaltigen und vielseitigen deutsch-amerikanischen literarischen Überlieferung gemessen zu den kultur- und sprachgeschichtlichen Raritäten. Die naiv-volkstümliche Schilderung der einmaligen Naturschönheit der Hohen Tatra (in den nördlichen Karpaten an der heutigen slowakisch-polnischen Grenze) enthält eine besonders wirkungsvolle Kombination von Nostalgie, Wehmut, Heimweh und einer, dem Einwandererdasein anhaftenden Hoffnung auf Heimkehr:

Adje, du main Zepsen, adje, du main Häim,
Wu Kraft noch zu fenden, wu Trai noch derhäim.
Wuhin ich äuch wander, wuhin ich äuch zieh,
Dich, zepersches Ländchden, vergeß ich noch nie.

Adje, ihr bläun Spetzen met aiwijen Schnäi.
Adje, ihr grin Täler, ihr senklijen Säi.
Ihr Wasserfall äuch und ihr Wälder, adje.
Wer waiß, äib ich äinmäul noch wieder äuch seh.

Main Herz es en Zepsen, wuhin ich äuch göi.²⁹

Landes- und heimatkundlich zwar weniger spektakulär, einwanderungsgeschichtlich jedoch nicht uninteressant sind die eigenen dichterischen Versuche einzelner Mitglieder der nordamerikanischen donauschwäbischen Gemeinde. Ohne besondere Ansprüche auf poetische Kreativität geben diese Versuche treffende Zeugnisse über die Interessen, Hoffnungen und Sorgen ostmitteleuropäischer Einwanderer in der neuen Umgebung. Zu thematischen Schwerpunkten in den jambisch gegliederten, leicht merkbaren Vierzeilern gehören das Heimweh, die Nostalgie und Sorge um die Zukunft:

Die Heimat eng, die Welt so groß-
So mancher müht sich ab-,
Und was das End? Ein karges Los:
Ein enges, kühles Grab.

Ob man auch liebt das Vaterland,
Zum Scheiden trieb die Not?!
Dann wird zur Heimat bald ein Land
Wo man sein gutes Brot.

Hast du's gefunden? Danke Gott!
Doch sag' es ohne Scheu
Und halte fern von ihr den Spott-
Der Heimat g'denk ich treu.³⁰

Erweitert wird das lyrische Spektrum durch den gelegentlichen Abdruck von Gedichten aus den literarischen Epochen der Empfindsamkeit (Höflichkeit), der Klassik (Schiller), der Schwäbischen Romantik (Umland) sowie des Jungen Deutschland. Die Auswahl dieser Dichtungen erfolgte wohl auf improvisatorischen Grundlagen ohne erkennbare editorisch-kulturpolitischen Überlegungen; eine vielsagende Ausnahme bildet Ferdinand Freiligraths berühmte Dichtung "Die Auswanderer"³¹ mit besonderer Aussagekraft für die deutschstämmige Leserschaft als Zielgruppe des *Familienkalenders*.

Etwa 10% des gesamten Textbestandes wurde humoristischen Texten diverser Art gewidmet. In den Anekdoten, Kurzgeschichten, Skizzen, Streichen, Wortspielen und Kalauern zeichnen sich die folgenden drei Tendenzen ab: Inszeniert wechselweise auf städtischen und ländlichen Schauplätzen und ausgestattet mit einer Vielfalt von gattungstypischen Charakteren (einschließlich eifersüchtiger Ehefrauen, trinksüchtiger oder untreuer Ehemänner, geiziger Bürger, unzogener Schulkinder, usw.) verhöhnen diese Texte jegliche Art von Unmäßigkeit und Maßlosigkeit im Essen und Trinken sowie die Laster der Unehrlichkeit, Bestechlichkeit und Scheinheiligkeit. Zweitens zeigt die kritische Darstellung dieser Unsitten, wenn auch nicht ganz frei vom spießbürgerlichen Moralisieren, eine vorsichtige gesellschaftskritische Tendenz; bei der Konfrontation mit politischen, beruflichen oder gar kirchlichen Machthabern auf mitteleuropäischem und amerikanischem Boden tragen Witz, Schlagfertigkeit und bäuerliche Schlaueit immer wieder den Sieg davon. Drittens erweisen sich die volkstümlichen Scherze als besonders geeignetes Mittel zur Bewahrung donauschwäbischer Mundarten im Übersee. Die folgende Anekdote bietet ein treffendes Beispiel für die bieder-ironisierende Atmosphäre und für die sprachlich-mundartlichen Merkmale dieser Schriften. Nach Begehen einer Straftat versucht ein Bauer namens Thusekarl, den einzigen Zeugen namens Dicks Nazl zur falschen Aussage vor Gericht zu überreden und auf diese Weise einen Freispruch zu erreichen. Thusekarls Argumente, die Ausweichversuche Nazls und schließlich die ebenso fragwürdige, wie auch einfältige Ausrede, die zur Entschuldigung des Meineids ausgeklügelt wird, zeigen den *Familienkalender* von seiner volkstümlich-satirischen Seite:

[Nach Nazls ablehnender Antwort] is de Thusekarl traurich weitr gang, er is awr am Freita widr kumm und hat gsaat: 'Schau Nazl, dir bringt 's ke Ehr un hascht aa ke Nutze drvun, wann d' geer mich ausaachst un no han ich de Schade un muß büße. Do le ich dir zwanzich Gulde hin un e schöne Worscht, awr saa, daß d' nix gsiehn hascht.' Dr Nazl hat sich hinter de Ohre gekratzt un no stecht 'r die 20 Gulde in un saat: 'Na in Gotts Name will ich dr de falsche Eid ablese, awr de Worscht do hol sofort weg, glaabscht, ich loß mich vrführe drmit? Heut is jo Freita!'³²

Freilich könnte die stellenweise schematische und voraussehbare Darstellung von Handlung und Charakteren dieser Geschichten keinem strengen literaturkritischen Urteil standhalten. Auch hatten die Verfasser nicht die Absicht, sich mit hochwertigen literarischen Werken auszuzeichnen. Es war ihnen eher darum zu tun, den Leistungen, die die deutschen Siedler in einer gefährdeten Region Europas in schwierigen Zeiten erbracht hatten, ein belletristisches Denkmal zu stiften und dabei der Tapferkeit und Einsatzbereitschaft des Durchschnittsbürgers Rechnung zu tragen. Dabei muss man berücksichtigen, dass zur Entstehungszeit des *Familienkalenders* noch keine umfassenden Darstellungen zur Geschichte der Donauschwaben zur Verfügung standen, wurden doch die meisten diesbezüglichen Werke erst nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg veröffentlicht. Indem die Erzählungen mit dem Südosten des Habsburgerreiches als Schauplatz die letzten Grenzkämpfe und die ersten Spatenstiche zum Neubau wiedergeben, leisten sie eine literarische Vorarbeit zur systematischen (unter anderem durch Annabring, Paikert und Senz³³ unternommene Bearbeitung der donauschwäbischen Siedlungsgeschichte.

Heimatkundlicher Rückblick

Das ausgeprägte mitteleuropäische Traditions- und Regionalbewusstsein gehörte nicht nur in den belletristischen Schriften, sondern auch in den heimatkundlichen Abhandlungen des *Familienkalenders* zum Grundton. Diese Texte machen etwa 30% des *Familienkalenders* aus. Im Unterschied zu den oberwähnten literarischen Texten, die sich fast ausschließlich auf donauschwäbische Themen konzentrieren, umfassen diese Aufsätze ein breiteres und vielseitigeres Spektrum. Die regionalgeschichtlichen Rückblicke unter dem Titel "Das Deutschtum in der alten Heimat" liefern lesenswerte Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte der Banater, Sathmarer und westungarischen Schwaben sowie der Zipser Sachsen, die jeweils einen langfristigen und maßgeblichen Beitrag zur Sicherung der ost- und südungarischen Reichsgrenze leisteten und dabei hoch entwickelte und langfristig prosperierende Hochburgen in Handwerk, Handel, Bergbau, Forstwirtschaft und Landwirtschaft zustande brachten.³⁴ Erweitert wird dieser landeskundliche Rückblick durch Einbeziehung zahlreicher weniger bekannten

ostmitteleuropäischen Regionen, wo die deutschen Siedler keine Mehrheit bildeten, jedoch die wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Entwicklung vor Ort wesentlich mitprägten. Es handelt sich dabei um Gebiete wie Bessarabien, Galizien, Syrmien und die Dobrudscha, wo die deutschsprachige Minderheit einen Anteil von etwa 20 bis höchstens 40% ausmachte und zusammen mit anderen Volksgruppen (wie die Juden, Polen, Rumänen, Serben und Ungarn) sich gegen Dürren, Seuchen und feindliche Überfälle behaupten musste.³⁵ Statt jedoch die Leistungen der deutschen Einwanderer einseitig hochzuspielen, liefert der *Familienkalender* regelmäßig Berichte über die Geschichte, Sitten, Bräuche sowie den beruflichen Alltag der slawischen und ungarischen Einwohner Ostmitteleuropas. Indem die Aufsätze wie "Der unsterbliche Sohn der ungarischen Pusta,"³⁶ "Das Ofner [Budaer] Stadtrecht,"³⁷ und "Aus Preßburgs Geschichte"³⁸ die deutschen Siedler und ihre Nachfahren in problemloser und erfolgreicher Zusammenarbeit mit anderen Volksgruppen schildern, modifizieren sie den herkömmlichen und stereotypischen Ruf der Donauschwaben als wohlhabende, jedoch verschlossene, sich anderen Völkern gegenüber abschirmende Nationalität. Atmosphärische Skizzen wie der folgende Einblick in die deutschen Sprachinseln Bessarabiens zeigen das ostmitteleuropäische ethnische Konglomerat von seiner exotischen und zugleich alltäglich-authentischen Seite. Geschildert werden die deutschen Kolonisten als anpassungs- und integrationsfähige Bürger, die mit ihrer Arbeitsamkeit und volkstümlichen Biederkeit einen wertvollen Beitrag zum Lokalkolorit des östlichen Karpatenlandes leisten.

In den Jahren 1814–1842 kamen die Deutschen Bessarabiens ins Land, teils aus Südrussland, . . . teils aus Polen, teils geradewegs aus dem Reich, insbesondere aus Schwaben.

So leben heute rund 80,000 Deutsche in diesem Land, das uns äußerlich fremd erscheint. Der alte weißbärtige Bauer in Schafpelz und Lammfellmütze, der sich seine gewohnte Zigarette dreht—die russisch geschriebenen Zeitungen, die es überall gibt—die Umgangssprache—das alles ist ungewohnt und fremd. Dann aber auch diese . . . Landschaft. Sie dehnt sich unendlich weit. . . Kann ein Deutscher ein solches Land lieben? O ja, die Volksgenossen in Bessarabien lieben ihre Heimat. In hartem Kampf haben sie sich diese Heimat errungen.³⁹

Auf den Abdruck von Landkarten, die die geographisch-landeskundliche Orientierung des Lesers sicherlich erleichtert hätten, musste wohl aus technischen Gründen verzichtet werden. Dafür sind einzelne Jahrgänge des *Familienkalenders* mit photographischen Materialien reichlich ausgestattet worden. Der Anteil von Einzelaufnahmen, Kollagen, Porträts und Landschaftsbildern in Schwarz-Weiß beläuft sich etwa auf 10% des Gesamtumfangs der einzelnen Jahrgänge. Eingesandt von Abonnenten bzw. nachgeschickt aus der

mitteleuropäischen Heimat gehen diese Aufnahmen über den Illustrations- und Unterhaltungscharakter hinaus und bezeugen die vielfältigen ethnographischen und architektonischen Traditionen der Donauschwaben. Porträts von Brautpaaren aus dem Banat, aus der Sathmar-Region sowie aus der Tolnau (in Südwestungarn), Bilder aus den Werkstätten schwäbischer Handwerker im Budaer Bergland, Aufnahmen mit siebenbürgischen Wehrtürmen nebst Ansichten von Bauernstuben im westungarischen Bakonyer Wald gewähren Einblicke in den Alltag, in die dorf- und städtebaulichen Eigentümlichkeiten, in die weltlichen und kirchlichen Feste und in die regionaltypische Volkstracht minderheitsdeutscher Gemeinden und vermitteln zugleich den Eindruck von Biederkeit und Ungezwungenheit mit einer leichten Tendenz zum Idyllisieren der bäuerlichen Provinz.

Der Anteil von Inseraten und Werbungen, in denen deutschstämmige bzw. Deutsch sprechende Handwerker, Geschäftsleute, Rechtsanwälte und Mediziner vorwiegend aus den Ballungsgebieten Chicago und Cleveland ihre Produkte und Dienstleistungen anbieten, macht höchstens etwa 10% des Gesamtumfangs aus und wird die Einkünfte des Verlags nur in geringem Masse erhöht haben. Auffallend und für das Durchschnittsalter der Leserschaft kennzeichnend ist die hohe Proportion von Annoncen durch Altersheime und Bestattungsinstitute.

Volkstümlich oder völkisch? Der Familienkalender und der Nationalsozialismus

Aus den—oben präsentierten—landeskundlichen Überblick geht hervor, dass der *Familienkalender* im Großen und Ganzen keine Vorrangsstellung für die deutsche Sprache und Kultur im ostmitteleuropäischen Raum beanspruchte. Diese Linie wurde erst in der Zeitspanne zwischen etwa 1940 und 1944 in einer Reihe von Berichten aus Deutschland und aus den deutsch besiedelten Siedlungen Ostmitteleuropas aufgegeben. Bildeten diese politisch-ideologisch gefärbten Berichte selbst in dieser Zeitspanne lediglich einen Anteil von höchstens 25% des Gesamtumfangs, so erfordern sie dennoch einen Sonderabschnitt innerhalb der heimatkundlich-literarischen Rekonstruktion des *Familienkalenders*. Die zunächst hoffnungserregenden Erfolge der deutschen Wirtschafts- und Beschäftigungspolitik der dreißiger Jahre erweckten auch in zahlreichen donauschwäbisch-amerikanischen Gemeinden das Bedürfnis, den Kontakt zu Deutschland neu zu beleben und auf diese Weise an der irreführenden Aufbruchstimmung auch aus der Ferne teilzunehmen. Um diesen Anspruch zu befriedigen, erhöhte auch der *Familienkalender* den Anteil der Berichte aus dem zeitgenössischen Deutschland. Dabei stellt sich die Frage, ob und inwieweit die Zeitschrift ins Fahrwasser der nationalsozialistischen Ideologie geriet. Ohne sich über

die völkerrechtlich unvertretbaren und militärisch zumindest fragwürdigen Zielsetzungen Adolf Hitlers näher zu informieren, verkannten die Schriftleitung und ein Teil der Leserschaft die zunächst unaufhaltsamen Vorstöße der deutschen Wirtschafts- und Außenpolitik als Ermutigung zur Wiederbelebung des nationalen Geistes, an der sich die deutschen Minderheitsgruppen in aller Welt beteiligen sollten. Nachrichten aus Deutschland, in denen sich die—in der Regel nicht genannten—Berichterstatter einer gemilderten Art des nationalsozialistischen Vokabulars wie "Wesen," "Kraft," "deutsches Schaffen" "Schicksalsgemeinschaft," "deutscher Volksblock," "deutsche Stämme" und "völkische Lebensgrundlage"⁴⁰ bedienen, vermitteln ein Bild der Prosperität, Zuversicht und der spontanen Begeisterung in breiten Schichten der Bevölkerung. Mit ähnlichem Eifer wird versucht, eine Erneuerung des deutschen Nationalgefühls auch in den donauschwäbischen Gemeinden Ostmitteleuropas zu vermitteln und womöglich hochzuspielen. War in den Berichten aus der alten ostmitteleuropäischen Heimat bis zu den mittleren dreißiger Jahren vorwiegend von rechtschaffen-loyalen, politisch jedoch nicht interessierten deutschstämmigen Bürgern die Rede, so geht es in Nachrichten aus der Vorkriegs- bzw. Kriegszeit plötzlich um engagierte Gemeinden, die auf dem Wege seien, ein "völkisches Erwachen"⁴¹ zu erlangen und langfristig ein großdeutsches Bewusstsein zu entwickeln. Wendepunkte wie das Münchner Abkommen, der Anschluss Österreichs und die Angliederung Böhmens und Mährens durch das so genannte Protektorat werden nicht als Vorstufen einer europaweiten militärischen Konfrontation, sondern als Zeichen zur kulturellen und politischen Angliederung auslandsdeutscher Gruppen an das Vaterland wahrgenommen. Die zuversichtlichen Erwartungen, die nach dem Anschluss Österreichs in Bezug auf die Lebensumstände der deutschsprachigen Volksgruppen erweckt wurden, zeugen von einer krassen Fehleinschätzung der neuen politisch-militärischen Konstellation:

Am Rhein geht jetzt die Begeisterung hoch. Alle deutschen Stämme fühlen sich wieder als *ein* Volk. Für uns Südostschwaben, die der Herrgott in alle Wind zerstreut hat, ist es wieder an der Zeit, uns an die alte Heimat zu erinnern, an das Land unserer Väter,—und an den heiligen Strom, aus dem wir unsere Kraft haben und mit dem wir durch unsichtbare Bande noch immer verbunden sind, ob wir's wissen oder nicht!⁴²

Dabei wird völlig übersehen, dass es Hitler nicht um den wirtschaftlichen bzw. kulturellen Wohlstand minderheitsdeutscher Gemeinden, sondern um den Ausbau fünfter Kolonnen für eine spätere Unterjochung Ostmitteleuropas zu tun war. Die Anbietungs- und Annäherungsversuche volksdeutscher Minderheitsvereine in Ostmitteleuropa an das "Dritte Reich" wurden bekannterweise immer wieder mit Bevormundung, Ignoranz, Arroganz und gegen Kriegsende sogar mit Zwangsrekrutierung in die SS erwidert.⁴³

Dennoch wurden die Hoffnungen auf eine dauerhafte Unterstützung der Landsleute durch die deutsche Regierung bis etwa 1944 nicht aufgegeben; ungeachtet der für das "Dritte Reich" immer aussichtslosere Situation wurde die Erwartung durchweg aufrechterhalten, dass die deutschen Gemeinden und Sprachinseln Südwestungarns, des Banats, Sathmars und Siebenbürgens mit tatkräftigem Beistand Berlins ihre sprachlich-kulturelle Identität erfolgreich bewahren bzw. bestärken und dadurch auch den deutschen Auswanderergruppen auf anderen Kontinenten ein Beispiel zeigen können. Ereignisse im Banat wie die Gründung von deutschsprachigen Schulen, Zeitungen, Gesang- und Frauenvereinen werden nicht etwa als übliche und—an und für sich—wünschenswerte Entwicklungen im Leben einer Minderheit registriert, sondern als Durchbrüche zur Entstehung autonomer deutschsprachiger Gebiete in Ostmitteleuropa im Sinne eines "völkischen Erwachens"⁴⁴ postuliert. Durch Ermutigung und Unterstützung der neuen Weltmacht Deutschlands, so die unrealistischen Erwartungen des *Familienkalenders*, könnte die deutsche Sprache ihre Stellung als mitteleuropäische *lingua franca* wieder erlangen, die sie vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg in der Habsburg-Monarchie genoss. Deutschsprachige und deutschstämmige Einwohner der Vereinigten Staaten, die sich im amerikanischen Schmelztiegel verunsichert fühlen und zur raschen Integration neigen, sollen aus den Leistungen und traditionellen Tugenden des Auslandsdeutschtums Ermutigung schöpfen:

Was deutscher Geist und deutsches Schaffen zur Errichtung und Förderung dieser Zivilisation—sei es als Weltzivilisation oder im engeren Sinne als unsere amerikanische Zivilisation—beigetragen haben, ist soviel, dass kein Deutscher oder Deutschstämmiger sich seiner Zugehörigkeit oder Abstammung vom deutschen Volksblock zu schämen braucht.⁴⁵

Bei der Förderung eines auslandsdeutschen Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühls über den Atlantik konnte sich der *Familienkalender* dem völkisch-nationalen Zeitgeist anscheinend nicht völlig entziehen und bediente sich zeitweilig der in Deutschland üblichen pathetisch-populistischen Rhetorik. Bei aller Einsatzbereitschaft für die Landsleute in der alten Heimat enthielten sich allerdings sowohl die Verfasser, als auch die Schriftleitung jeglicher Äußerungen, die sich gegen andere Völker und Nationen Mitteleuropas richten oder den Verdacht des Antisemitismus und des Rassismus aufkommen lassen. Eine Zusammenarbeit ist weder mit Einrichtungen der nationalsozialistischen Propaganda (wie das Stuttgarter Deutsche Auslandsinstitut oder die von Himmler im Jahre 1937 gegründete Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle), noch mit nationalsozialistisch angehauchten Organisationen wie der Amerikadeutsche Volksbund, der Volksbund der Deutschen in Ungarn, die Volksgruppenführung in Jugoslawien und die Nationalsozialistische Erneuerungsbewegung der Deutschen in Rumänien nachweisbar. Indem die Redaktion und ein Teil der

Verfasser das nationalsozialistische Deutschland als Hoffnungsträger für die ostmitteleuropäischen Landsleute verkannten, sind sie wegen ihrer Leichtgläubigkeit zu tadeln bzw. zu bemitleiden, einer überzeugten Mitläuferschaft mit dem "Dritten Reich" hingegen wohl kaum zu bezichtigen.

Die Nachkriegszeit und das Ende des Familienkalenders

Auf dem Boden der militärischen Tatsachen angelangt enthielt sich der *Familienkalender* ab Frühjahr 1945 jeglicher Hoffnungsäußerungen auf eine Führungsrolle Deutschlands im mitteleuropäischen Raum zugunsten der dort lebenden donauschwäbischen Minderheiten. Eine Erklärung, oder gar Entschuldigung für diese Äußerungen, die als Sympathiebekundungen zu Hitlers Deutschland ausgelegt werden können, wurde allerdings nicht abgegeben. Auch gibt es keine Berichte über die rassistischen Verfolgungen, die einzelne nicht-deutsche Völker bzw. Minderheiten des ostmitteleuropäischen Raumes—darunter die südslawischen Volksgruppen und die Sinti und Roma—erleiden mussten. Das oben erörterte literarisch-heimatkundliche Profil wurde auch in den Jahrgängen nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg beibehalten. Dazu kam in den Jahrgängen 1947 bis 1950 eine Reihe von Berichten über die Ausschreitungen und Gräueltaten, die gegen die ostmitteleuropäischen deutschsprachigen Minderheiten nach 1945 begangen wurden. Bevormundet, indoktriniert und stellenweise instrumentalisiert durch die nationalsozialistische Propaganda und ihre Helfershelfer vor Ort wurden diese Minderheiten nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg zum Sündenbock für die jahrelangen Kriegsschäden erklärt und der Wut radikaler militanten Gruppen aus der jeweiligen Mehrheitsbevölkerung bzw. der sowjetischen Besatzungskräfte ausgeliefert. Die im Potsdamer Abkommen im Spätsommer 1945 festgelegte Vertreibung nach Deutschland gehörte noch zu den mildesten Formen des Unrechts; Zwangsarbeit, Verschleppung in die Sowjetunion, Folter, Vergewaltigungen und Massenmorde zeugen von der maßlosen Brutalität im ostmitteleuropäischen Raum der Nachkriegsjahre. Zu den Gründen dieser Ausschreitungen zählte nebst der Rachgier und Gehässigkeit auch der Neid auf den Wohlstand donauschwäbischer Gemeinden, lieferte doch der Besitz eines besonders wertvollen und gut erhaltenen Bauernhofes oft genügend Grund zur Enteignung und Vertreibung.

Die Berichte über die Missbräuche aus dem Zeitraum zwischen 1945 und 1949 konzentrierten sich auf die südosteuropäischen Gebiete Banat und Syrmien.⁴⁶ Dies lag daran, dass die Mehrzahl der Abonnenten des *Familienkalenders* aus dieser Gegend stammte und die Brutalität der Tito-Partisanen in diesen Regionen ein außerordentliches Maß erreichte. Mit schockierender, durch Augenzeugen bestätigter und stellenweise mit Photographien dokumentierter Akribie wird über die Leiden berichtet, die den unschuldigen

Zivilisten deutscher Herkunft in den Ortschaften Betschkerek, Kathrein, Mitrowitz, Ruma und Semlin zugefügt wurden. Sind diese Gräueltaten im Zuge der Vertreibung inzwischen systematisch bearbeitet und teilweise auch ins Englische übersetzt worden,⁴⁷ so war der *Familienkalender* unter den ersten amerikanischen Presseorganen, die über das Unrecht gegen die minderheitsdeutschen Gemeinden ausführlich berichteten. Bei allem Mitleid für die Opfer und die Hinterbliebenen und bei aller Bestürzung über die Missbräuche sprechen sich diese Berichte für den Frieden und die Völkerverständigung im mitteleuropäischen Raum aus und stellen keinerlei Forderungen nach Wiedergutmachung oder gar Vergeltung.

Aus den Kriegserfahrungen lernend erteile der *Familienkalender* in den letzten Jahren seines Bestehens jeder Art von Gewalt eine klare Absage. In den Neujahrgrüßen der frühen fünfziger Jahre artikuliert sich immer wieder die Besorgnis angesichts des Kalten Krieges und des Wettrüstens zwischen den Großmächten. Die Neujahrs-Gedanken aus 1952 schlagen einen geradezu pazifistisch-pathetischen Ton an:

Wir müssen sehen, wie die Technik mit zunehmender Entwicklung in den Dienst der Selbstvernichtung gestellt wird, und, anstatt den Menschen von seiner Erdgebundenheit zu lösen, ihn nur rascher wieder in den Schoß der Erde zurückbefördert.

Wann werden die Glocken dauernden Weltfriedens das wirkliche neue Jahr der Menschheitsentwicklung einläuten und den Beginn einer neuen Zeitrechnung verkünden, die einen abschließenden Trennungsstrich zieht zwischen Kriegs- und Friedensgeschichte der Welt?⁴⁸

Die Umwälzungen der Nachkriegsjahre bereiteten dem *Familienkalender* ein bedauerliches, wenn auch nicht ganz unerwartetes Ende. Die Voraussetzungen für die Fortdauer dieses heimatkundlich orientierten Jahrbuchs waren in den späten fünfziger Jahren alles Andere als günstig. Belletristische, historische und landeskundliche Texte mit ostmitteleuropäischem Schauplatz erwiesen sich als geeignete und lobenswerte Mittel, Erinnerungen an die alte Heimat in der ersten Einwanderergeneration wach zu halten, für die Nachfahren waren sie jedoch von beschränktem Interesse. Aus diesem Grunde ging die durchschnittliche Abonnentenzahl in den frühen fünfziger Jahren auf ungefähr 5700 zurück.⁴⁹ Die Einrichtung einer Jugend- oder Kinderspalte hätte das Leben des *Familienkalenders* etwas verlängern, die Einstellung letzten Endes wohl nicht verhindern können. Durch Einbeziehung nicht-deutschstämmiger, aber des Deutschen mächtigen ostmitteleuropäischen Einwanderer (etwa durch Annoncen unter anderen in rumänischen, slowakischen und ungarischen Zeitungen in Nordamerika) hätte der *Familienkalender* seine Leserschaft möglicherweise erweitern und die Überlebenschancen erhöhen können.

Die etwa 30000 Heimatvertriebenen, die sich nach einem Zwischen-aufenthalt in Deutschland und Österreich für die Auswanderung nach Nordamerika entschließen,⁵⁰ hätten wohl für eine Erneuerung und Verjüngung der Leserschaft sorgen können. Mit Ausnahme von industriellen Ballungsgebieten des Mittleren Westens bzw. des Westens, wo (beispielsweise in Chicago, Cleveland und Los Angeles) sich die Neueinwanderer den vorhandenen donauschwäbischen Kulturvereinen anschlossen und zum Teil neue Vereine gründeten, suchten die ehemaligen volksdeutschen Vertriebenen nach ihrem zweiten Heimatwechsel oft den direkten Kontakt zu den "großdeutschen" Verbindungen und identifizierten sich nunmehr als Deutschamerikaner uneingedenk ihres Herkunftslandes. Auch wurde es im Laufe des Kalten Krieges immer schwieriger, den Kontakt zu den erhalten gebliebenen (und stellenweise auch heute noch existierenden) ostmitteleuropäischen deutschen Gemeinden zu bewahren. Abgeriegelt durch den Eisernen Vorhang und oft eingeschüchtert durch die kommunistischen Lokalbehörden waren diese minderheitsdeutschen Gruppen nicht mehr in der Lage, ihre nach Nordamerika ausgewanderten Landsleute und deren Presseorgane mit Informationen über ihr tägliches Leben zu versorgen. Aus diesem Grunde mussten sich die Berichte aus der Nachkriegszeit zunehmend auf die deutschsprachigen Länder beschränken. Reportagen über den Wiederaufbau, Einblicke in die ersten Jahre des wirtschaftlichen Aufschwungs in Deutschland und Österreich und Bilderberichte über die Anfänge der modernen Tourismus- und Freizeitindustrie mit der Alpenregion im Mittelpunkt bieten zwar ein historisch und landeskundlich getreues Abbild über die frühen fünfziger Jahre in Mitteleuropa, zeigen jedoch zugleich den unaufhaltsamen Verlust der ostmitteleuropäischen Identität des *Familienkalenders*. Dieser notgedrungene Profilwechsel kam auch im modifizierten Titel zum Vorschein; statt *Jahrbuch der Deutschen aus Banat, Burgenland, Slavonien, Ungarn und dem Arader Kreis* lautete die Überschrift in den Nachkriegsjahren nur noch *Deutsch-Ungarischer Familienkalender: Heimatbote-Kalender*. Sein donauschwäbisches und ebenfalls von der Firma National Weeklies betreutes Partnerblatt *Heimatbote* konnte den Wettbewerb mit anderen deutsch-amerikanischen Zeitungen noch zehn Jahre lang bestehen, musste aber im Jahre 1964 wegen zurückgehender Abonnentenzahlen ebenfalls eingestellt werden.

In einer Zeitphase, in der die deutsch-amerikanische Presse ihre Blütezeit schon längst hinter sich hatte und zunehmend Verluste an Abonnentenzahlen und Einkünften hinnehmen musste (in Michael Schauts unverblümter Formulierung "einen schweren Existenzkampf zu führen gezwungen war")⁵¹ behauptete sich der *Familienkalender* 22 Jahre lang als vielseitiges und anspruchsvolles Organ für die heimatkundliche Bildung und Unterhaltung

seiner Leser. Mit dieser Zeitspanne von über zwei Jahrzehnten ging der *Familienkalender* über die durchschnittliche Lebensdauer deutsch-amerikanischer Jahrbücher und Almanache der Zwischenkriegszeit (wie der *Deutsch-Amerikanische Musen-Almanach* in New York, der *Deutsch-Amerikanische Vereins-Kalender* aus Chicago, der *Deutsch-Amerikanische Kalender* aus Cleveland und der *Deutsch-Amerikanische Volkskalender* aus Brooklyn) weit hinaus.

Indem der *Familienkalender* die Ansprüche und Interessen einer deutschsprachigen Volksgruppe ostmitteleuropäischer Herkunft im nord-amerikanischen Einwandererland befriedigte, bewältigte er eine vielschichtige und im wahren Sinne des Wortes multikulturelle Aufgabe. Dabei muss man im Auge behalten, dass es bei den Donauschwaben keineswegs um eine homogene, sondern um eine, der Heimatregion, der beruflichen Ausbildung und dem amerikanischen Wohnort nach durchweg diverse Gruppe handelte. Die heim- und rückwärts gerichtete Thematik konnte zwei Jahrzehnte lang eine Stammleserschaft sichern, die langfristige Existenz des *Familienkalenders* in den Nachkriegsjahren jedoch nicht gewährleisten. Das Landsmännische Adressenverzeichnis, das im Rahmen dieses Aufsatzes nicht analysiert wurde, wird wohl noch lange Zeit Grundlage und Anregung zu genealogischen Recherchen bieten. Die literarischen Texte des *Familienkalenders*, insbesondere die Erzählungen und Gedichte in Mundart bieten eine Fundgrube an unerschlossenem Material für weitere Untersuchungen zur ehemals florierenden deutschsprachigen Kultur in der ostmitteleuropäischen Region. Eine Untersuchung weiterer Periodika im Dienste der donauschwäbischen Einwanderergemeinschaft mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des *Deutsch-Ungarischen Boten*, des *Heimatboten* und der seit 1955 existierenden *Nachrichten der Donauschwaben in Chicago*⁵² würde einen schätzenswerten Beitrag zur Erforschung dieser Sondergruppe leisten. Vom nordamerikanischen Standort aus gelang es den Schriftleitern und Autoren des *Familienkalenders*, einen wertvollen Vorrat an Information über das ostmitteleuropäische Vielvölkerkonglomerat im allgemeinen und über die Siedlungen mit deutschem Bevölkerungsanteil im besonderen zu vermitteln. Durch seine abwechslungsreichen Unterhaltungs- und Bildungslektüren, durch seine konsequent ausgeführte attraktive Ausstattung und nicht zuletzt durch seine erfolgreiche, unter Obhut des Verlegers National Weeklies durchgesetzte Geschäftspolitik erwies der *Familienkalender* einen wichtigen Dienst zugunsten der ostmitteleuropäischen Einwanderergemeinde der Vereinigten Staaten und erwarb sich einen beachtenswerten Platz in der deutsch-amerikanischen Pressegeschichte.

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English Summary

For several centuries, the ethnic Germans (also known as Danube Swabians) have successfully preserved their cultural and linguistic identity in East Central Europe. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, they significantly contributed to the agricultural reconstruction of a region devastated by the long-lasting Turkish occupation. In the first half of the twentieth century, approximately 170,000 Danube Swabians immigrated to North America. By creating a subgroup within the German-American community, they provided a unique chapter in America's immigration history. Upon their arrival, they made every effort to preserve their rich ethnic and folkloristic heritage. These efforts included the foundation of regional, as well as national, associations and the establishment of popular periodicals with the interests and concerns of Danube Swabian immigrants as the focus.

One of the most successful periodicals was the *Deutsch-Ungarischer Familienkalender*, a yearbook published between 1932 and 1954 in Chicago, and, subsequently, in Winona, Minnesota. By describing the history and the thematic profile of the *Familienkalender*, this article will take the first step toward a systematic study of Danube Swabian publications in North America. More specifically, the article will report on the historic, folkloristic, and literary reminiscences of the East Central European (primarily Hungarian) home country, as they appear in the annual volumes of the *Familienkalender*. A special emphasis will be placed on the ambiguous response that the *Familienkalender* provided to the rise of National Socialism in Germany.

Anmerkungen

¹ Der Verfasser bedankt sich recht herzlich für die Ratschläge, die er von den Herausgebern des *Jahrbuchs* und von Dr. Carol Leibiger (University of South Dakota) zu diesem Artikel empfangen hat.

² Matthias Annabring, *Das Ungarländische Deutschum I–II* (Stuttgart: Südoststimmen, 1952); G. C. Paikert, *The Danube Swabians. German Populations in Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia and Hitler's Impact on Their Patterns* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967); Anton Scherer, *Donauschwäbische Bibliographie 1955–1965* (München: Verlag des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerks, 1974); Theodor Schieder, *Dokumentation der Vertreibung der Deutschen aus Ost-Mitteuropa I–IV* (Bonn: Bundesministerium für Vertriebene, 1953–57); Ingomar Senz, *Die Donauschwaben* (Mainz: Ostdeutscher Kulturrat, 1995); Annemarie Röder, *Deutsche, Schwaben, Donauschwaben: Ethnisierungsprozesse einer deutschen Minderheit in Südosteuropa* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert 1998); Anton Tafferner, *Die Donauschwaben* (Wien: Österreichische Landesmannschaft, 1974).

³ Paikert, 305.

⁴ Christian Ludwig Brücker, *Donauschwaben in Nordamerika, in Südamerika und in Australien* (München und Sindelfingen: Donauschwäbische Kulturstiftung, 1990); Raymond Lohne, German Chicago. *The Danube Swabians and the American Societies* (Charleston: Arcadia, 1999); Jacob Steigerwald, *Donauschwäbische Gedankenskizzen aus [sic] USA—Reflections of Danube Swabians in America* (Winona: Winona State University Press, 1983); Wächter und Anzeiger, Hrsg., *Die Donauschwaben in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika: Festschrift zur Zwanzig-Jahr-Feier des Verbandes der Donauschwaben in den USA E.V., 1957–1977* (Cleveland: Wächter und Anzeiger, 1977).

⁵ Paikert, 26.

⁶Anthony Komjathy und Rebecca Stockwell, *German Minorities and the Third Reich: Ethnic Germans of East Central Europe between the Wars* (New York und London: Holmes and Meier, 1980), 43.

⁷Eine Würdigung von Josef Marx' Leben und Wirken befindet sich unter <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~banatdata/DUK/HomePage.htm>

⁸„Ein Bote aus der Heimat,” *Deutsch-Ungarischer Familienkalender* 11 (1942), Frontispiz. Zitate aus dem *Deutsch-Ungarischen Familienkalender* werden von nun an mit dem Sigel DUK angeführt.

⁹Josef Marx, „Grüß Gott,” DUK 8 (1939), 4.

¹⁰<http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~banatdata/DUK/HomePage.htm>

¹¹<http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~banatdata/DUK/HomePage.htm>

¹²Eine Würdigung des im Jahre 1968 aufgelösten Syndikats mit Emil Leichts Tätigkeit im Mittelpunkt befindet erschien im Jahre 1980 in der Winonaer Lokalzeitung: Frances Bowler Edstrom „Winona's Deutsche,” *The Winona Saturday Morning Post*, 12. März 1980; Frances Bowler Edstrom, „Leicht Press,” *The Winona Saturday Morning Post*, 29. März 1980. Den Hinweis auf diese Artikel verdanke ich Herrn Don Heinrich Tolzmann (University of Cincinnati).

¹³<http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~banatdata/DUK/HomePage.htm>

¹⁴Paikert, 305.

¹⁵Henry Geitz, Hrsg., *The German-American Press* (Madison: Max Kade Institute of German American Studies, 1992); Carl Frederick Wittke, *The German-Language Press in America* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957).

¹⁶Clarence A. Glasrud, Hrsg., *A Heritage Deferred: The German-Americans in Minnesota* (Morehead: Concordia College, 1981); Rudolf A. Hofmeister, „Chicago's German Newspapers and Journalists,” in *The Germans in Chicago* (Champaign: Stipes, 1976), 152–67; La Vern J. Rippley, „Deutsche Sprache in Minnesota” in: *Deutsch als Muttersprache in den Vereinigten Staaten. Teil I: Der Mittelwesten* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner 1979), 77–91.

¹⁷DUK 12 (1943), 88–89.

¹⁸DUK 12 (1943), 90.

¹⁹DUK 11 (1942), 93.

²⁰DUK 11 (1942), 93.

²¹DUK 10 (1941), 39–41.

²²DUK 12 (1943), 59–60.

²³DUK 11 (1942) 52.

²⁴DUK 11 (1942), 62.

²⁵DUK 12 (1943), 54.

²⁶DUK 10 (1941), 54–58.

²⁷„Eine Geschichte vom Treusein,” DUK 8 (1939), 29–38.

²⁸„Nur eine Anfängerin,” DUK 11 (1942), 43–44.

²⁹„Gedicht in Sipser Mundart,” DUK 12 (1943), 23.

³⁰Martin Müller „Heimat,” DUK 10 (1941), 61.

³¹DUK 11 (1942), 86.

³²„Gewisschaft,” [sic] DUK 10 (1941), 44.

³³Siehe Fussnote 2.

³⁴„Das große Sterben im Banat,” DUK 12 (1943), 57–59.

³⁵Johann Weidlein, „Das Kirchenfest in der mittleren Tolnau,” DUK 12 (1943), 52–53.

³⁶DUK 11 (1942), 25–26.

³⁷DUK 11 (1942), 63.

³⁸DUK 11 (1942), 64.

³⁹„Deutsche in Bessarabien,” DUK 10 (1941), 21.

⁴⁰DUK 12 (1942), 71.

⁴¹ "Banater Schwäbinnen einst und jetzt," *DUK* 12 (1943), 29.

⁴² "Südostschwaben," *DUK* 12 (1943), 28.

⁴³ Siehe dazu Béla Bellér, *Kurze Geschichte der Deutschen in Ungarn* (Budapest: Demokratischer Verband der Ungarndeutschen, 1986); Stefan Sienerth, "Antal Mádl im Gespräch" *Südostdeutsche Vierteljahresblätter* 47 (1998), 316–28, 319ff; Doris L. Bergen "Instrumentalization of *Völkendeutschen* in German Propaganda in 1939: Replacing/Erasing Poles, Jews, and Other Victims" *German Studies Review* 31 (October 2008), 447–70.

⁴⁴ "Banater Schwäbinnen einst und jetzt," *DUK* 12 (1943), 29.

⁴⁵ "Zum Geleit," *DUK* 11 (1942), 4.

⁴⁶ "Ein Dorf im Schrecken. Nach dem Tagebuch einer Krankenschwester," *DUK* 21 (1952), 19–23.

⁴⁷ Theodor Schieder, *Documents on the Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern-Central-Europe I–III* (Bonn: Federal Ministry for Expellees, Refugees and War Victims, 1958–1961).

⁴⁸ *DUK* 21 (1952), 4.

⁴⁹ <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~banatdata/DUK/HomePage.htm>

⁵⁰ Paikert, 305.

⁵¹ "Rückblick und Ausblick," *DUK* 12 (1943), 1.

⁵² <http://www.donauchicago.com>

Louis Hamilton, a British Academic and Specialist on Canada in Germany

Between the two world wars Louis Hamilton was described as one of the most prominent authorities in Germany on Canada. During this time period, academics in Europe, North America, private institutions, and the German government cited Hamilton as a dependable source of information.¹ Modern historians have also benefited from Hamilton's research.² Hamilton had an interesting career while lecturing in Germany during the *Kaiserreich*, Weimar Republic and Nazi era. Hamilton was born in 1879 in Milton, Kent, Great Britain. He was educated in England, France, Belgium and Germany. In 1904 Hamilton was Reader in English at Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Berlin, now the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, later he was appointed Lecturer at the Technische Universität Berlin. During World War I he returned to Great Britain but resumed his career in Germany after the war. Since 1924 Hamilton was also an English teacher and examiner for the German Foreign Office, Berlin. Hamilton was also member of the Canadian Historical Association, Geographical Society of Quebec, Waterloo Historical Society and Nova Scotia Historical Society. This article will focus on Hamilton's career in Germany after World War I until his expulsion from Nazi Germany in 1938.³

Canadian scholars such as H. A. Innis compliment Hamilton's works and research. Hamilton's 1921 publication entitled "Canada" was referred to as "a testimonial to the new position which Canada has gained in German appreciation because of the war."⁴ Hamilton's book reviews also revealed contemporary assessments of German authors including Walter Tüchermann, Karl Müller-Grote and Max Otto.⁵ Hamilton tried to expose the popular reading of Max Otto as pure fiction; alas his words of caution were not heeded in Europe. His negative assessments of Otto were repeated in Canada, but not in Germany. Otto continued to be popular reading, although German-Canadians knew Otto's tales were fabricated.⁶ Otto lived in Alberta for nine years between 1912–21 claiming to be a hunter, trapper and big game

hunting guide living in a remote area. The truth was that Otto was a hired hand laboring for local Germans in the German community of Brüderheim, Alberta, not six hundred kilometers north of Edmonton as he claimed in his books.⁷

Hamilton described himself as a "student of Canadian affairs"; his first research expedition to Canada was in 1895.⁸ Hamilton lived periodically in Canada "on and off 1895–1900, chiefly working on farms in Manitoba and Eastern Townships [Quebec], also lumbering, writing, etc.; and travelled extensively throughout the country."⁹ Throughout his career Hamilton was interested in European emigration and assessing if Canada was compatible for "potential emigrants in the Mother country [Great Britain] and in Teutonic countries (Holland, Germany and Scandinavia)." Canada drew his interest and he viewed this new country as a good choice for German speakers while personally wishing to stimulate population growth in Canada.¹⁰ Hamilton firmly believed Canada represented a better choice for German speakers considering emigration than other destinations, including the United States.¹¹ Canadian authorities generally admired Hamilton's publications on Canada due to his positive assessment. The Deputy Minister of the Department of Immigration and Colonization (DIC) wrote that, "Hamilton published in Germany a very elaborate volume [*Canada Landschaft und Volksleben*, 1927—Canada Landscape and Daily Life] dealing with the Dominion and illustrated to a degree of perfection such as is rarely seen in recently published books. He is therefore a man of some standing."¹² DIC authorities were anxious to exploit Hamilton's research and publication for the purposes of encouraging German emigration.¹³ His 1928 publication entitled *Deutschland und Canada* was described by Innis as, "this book should be commended to all intelligent writers of immigration propaganda, and it could be used with advantages in schools and universities giving courses in elementary German. It is hoped that Mr. Hamilton may be persuaded to undertake an intensive study of German and Canadian relations, for which he has made an excellent beginning."¹⁴ Hamilton sent a copy of *Deutschland und Canada* to the DIC for their appraisal. The conclusion of the DIC was that this publication contained many facts and relevant information that Germans contemplating emigration would want to know. Hamilton described his work as immigration literature intended to give German speakers in Europe information regarding ship fares, land prices, rent, commodities costs, settlement possibilities, geographical descriptions, agricultural conditions, resources, employment opportunities, etc. In this work he conceded using Government of Canada publications such as the *Atlas of Canada*, *Canada and Immigration*, *Canada West*, and *Canada East*. Hamilton acknowledged that this publication addressed immigration concerns in Germany on Canada; he noted, "that

5,000 copies were purchased by one shipping line alone."¹⁵ The members of the DIC were eager to use *Deutschland und Canada* in their emigration propaganda in Germany. They felt Hamilton's fondness of Canada could be exploited to their advantage.¹⁶

After its perusal by Canadian authorities it was noted, "the author seems to overrate in some respect the importance of the German element to Canada compared with the actual figures of German population and influence in this country."¹⁷ Hamilton estimated the number of ethnic Germans in Canada to be around 600,000¹⁸ while official Canadian statistics gave this figure to be 473,544.¹⁹ Heinz Lehmann came to the figure of 700,000 ethnic Germans in Canada.²⁰ Estimates of over one million ethnic Germans were also given²¹ but Ludwig Kempff, Germany's ambassador in Canada, commented that Lehmann's findings were greatly exaggerated. Others calculations were equally misleading. Kempff believed Canadian statistics were closer to the actual figure; he estimated the number to be under 500,000.²²

Hamilton travelled to Canada periodically. His most documented travel and research expedition appears to be in 1928. Between August and October 1928 he conducted research via the Canadian National Railway (CNR); his itinerary was controlled by the CNR. His intention was to visit German settlements in Canada conducting research in an attempt to quash errant opinions and false stereotypes of Canada in Germany.²³ For whatever reasons Hamilton felt driven to provide literature on Canada in the German language. His intent was to inform German readers while giving those contemplating emigration relevant and useful information. He also wanted to speed up the reconciliation process between Germany and Canada after World War I.²⁴ Wilhelm Dibelius, a colleague at the University of Berlin, shared his reasoning and fondness of Canada. Both were interested in Canada, Canadian immigration policy and its German speakers. Dibelius also wanted to foster reconciliation between Canada and Germany²⁵ and facilitate German emigration to Canada.²⁶ Although both men were employed at the same university and were undoubtedly aware of their mutual interest in Canada, their working relationship is open to scrutiny. Hamilton wrote that Dibelius had a positive influence on German research and publications on Canada. Dibelius also travelled to Canada in 1928. He was conducting research for a book on Canada. This work was never published due to his untimely death in 1931. Hamilton noted, "only a few chapters were completed. These, together with a great number of notes, especially on Canadian literature, which were too fragmentary to permit of editing, will, as far as I am informed, not be published."²⁷ What became of this material is unknown but Heinz Lehmann, his protégé and graduate student, probably had access to Dibelius' research notes and manuscript.²⁸

Initially Lehmann and Hamilton had a positive working relationship. In 1931 Hamilton praised the publication of Lehmann's Ph.D. thesis entitled *Zur Geschichte des Deutschtums in Kanada, Das Deutschtum in Ostkanada* (The History of Germandom in Canada, Germandom in Eastern Canada), as well as being the first general history of German speakers in Canada. Hamilton predicted, "no one in the future, who studies the questions of Germans in Canada, will be able to without this [publication]." ²⁹ Lehmann used Hamilton as a source of information on Canada in his groundbreaking research on Canada's German speakers. Lehmann and Hamilton collectively helped others assemble material in an article dealing with the assimilation of newcomers in Canada. ³⁰ Modern historians have echoed Hamilton's assessment. Wagner described Lehmann as "the leading German scholar in the interwar period on German-Canadians." ³¹ Gerhard Bassler praised his work as "the most comprehensive and scholarly account of the immigration and settlement of the entire ethnic German settlement in Canada." ³²

Because Canadian authorities basically ended immigration to Canada due to the depression, the possibility of the Canadian Maritimes attracted interest in Europe. Canadian officials had limited the entry of immigrants into Canada in August 1930. After this date immigration was limited to farmers with sufficient capital to support themselves and the wives and children of those immigrants that had already established residence in Canada. Further legislation in March 1931 permitted only British subjects and American citizens with sufficient funds to support themselves until they found employment, agriculturists with sufficient funds, farm labourers with guaranteed employment, any person engaged in mining, lumbering or logging industry with assured employment and the wives and children of adult males that were legally resident in Canada. This legislation practically ended immigration to Canada for the remainder of the Weimar Republic. ³³ With the Great Depression continuing, Hamilton contacted the DIC about immigration possibilities to the Maritimes in 1931. Hamilton conveyed that conditions in Germany were so bad that large number of Germans were interested in immigrating to Canada. ³⁴ In February 1931 Nova Scotia notified the DIC that they needed agriculturalists and emphasized that their farming conditions were much better than those in western Canada. The provincial government wanted two hundred agricultural families with a minimum of one thousand dollars to settle in the province. Both the CPR and CNR were notified to begin recruiting potential immigrants but all newcomers were to be made aware that they were only allowed to settle as independent farmers in Nova Scotia. Shortly thereafter, the New Brunswick government also expressed a desire for immigrants. ³⁵ Germany was still experiencing agricultural labour shortages, particularly in eastern Prussia, and was spending millions of marks

to alleviate this problem. The German government preferred that these emigrants contribute to Germany's economic revival by moving to Prussia rather than moving abroad.³⁶ This request for settlers by New Brunswick and Nova Scotia was the last immigration opportunity to Canada for Germans before World War II. Lehmann estimated that roughly two hundred to three hundred farmers from northern Germany emigrated to the Maritimes.³⁷

During the Nazi era many Jewish and foreign elements amongst the German population suffered persecution. The entire German population went through the same process of indoctrination and ethnic cleansing. Some foreigners pretended to be of German heritage in an attempt to extend their time of residence and careers. Nazi ideology called for all non-German elements to be weeded out of all education systems. Jewish students, teachers and professors were the first group expelled.³⁸ Due to the Nazis making English the first foreign language learned by students, teachers of English such as Hamilton were initially tolerated by the Nazi education system. English was viewed as a Germanic language. In contrast other languages such as French were viewed as foreign to the German culture.³⁹ The English press was tolerated in Nazi Germany. Aiken-Sneath noted that after 1933 some British newspapers, such as the *Manchester Weekly Guardian*, were being read by the higher classes in Germany. This newspaper was later banned in July 1936; the *Times* continued to be approved reading until the outbreak of World War II.⁴⁰

The Nazi process of sifting out the politically incorrect and unwanted elements in Germany's population took place in stages. Legislation was passed on 7 April 1933, which saw instructors dismissed due to inadequate training, being politically unreliable, or non-Aryan descent. Some supposedly lost their position due to a reorganization or simplification of the administrative process.⁴¹ Another law was passed on 21 January 1935, which allowed the transfer and removal of professors based on the termination of some academic positions.⁴² The Nuremberg citizenship laws of 1935 further curtailed academic life in Germany.⁴³ Supplements of the 1933 law were added through the next four years with the final edict issued on 26 January 1937. These laws rid Germany of Jewish professors but also pushed out foreign academics, such as Hamilton.⁴⁴ Wolf stated that "anybody suspected of democratic or liberal views had to be got rid of. Accordingly, many teachers [and professors] were squeezed out."⁴⁵ Kneller also confirmed a sharp shift within German universities aimed at conforming to Nazi ideals. Any freethinker or liberal thoughts were seen to be a threat to the state.⁴⁶ Barth wrote that after 1933 "you saw all academic glory of these professors, and their professional ethical code to boot, collapse like a house of cards before the onrush of unmistakable evil. You saw how, with a few honourable exceptions, they all changed their colours; they readjusted themselves and began to pipe loudly or softly, as the case might be,

their modulation of the latest tune. What interpretations and re-interpretations were to be heard!"⁴⁷ Kahle repeated this assessment.⁴⁸ Ritter witnessed German universities being controlled for the sole benefit of Nazis. All levels of teaching suffered as a result.⁴⁹ Garner claimed academia in Nazi Germany suffered, as did all levels of German society. Although Germany had established prestigious institutions of higher learning they were deprived of their freedom and became instruments of disseminating political, racial and ideological propaganda.⁵⁰

By late 1935 or early 1936 Hamilton was growing uncomfortable with his position in Germany and inquired about the possibility of teaching in Canada. He made inquiries at the University of Saskatchewan located in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; the university welcomed the idea of Hamilton teaching at their institution. Owing to financial and managerial restrictions the administration was prepared to be creative in order to find a position for a man of Hamilton's knowledge and experience during the Great Depression. The idea was that Hamilton could teach English and History at the university, possibly through adult extension classes; also there existed the possibility of lecturing in other communities such as North Battleford (129 km from Saskatoon) and Prince Albert, Saskatchewan (141 km from Saskatoon). Other work could be found for him correcting essays, exams, etc. for other professors. Hamilton was to start his position 1 July 1938—his initial position was teaching summer school.⁵¹ Hamilton arrived in Montreal in mid-June 1937 bringing with him furniture, books and lecture materials. All were destined for Saskatoon; no mention was made of Hamilton's wife or family.⁵² Hamilton taught that summer in Saskatoon but returned to Germany during the late summer or early fall 1937, with the intention of returning to Saskatoon during the summer of 1938. Although Hamilton was grateful for the opportunity afforded to him by the University of Saskatchewan, he balked at the prospects of teaching in North Battleford and Prince Albert and was cool to the idea of correcting other professors' work. He wanted to be a university lecturer, not an assistant to another professor, his reasoning being that "the extra-mural work could be done better by a younger and unmarried man who is not engaged in writing and tied to a library, nor who would mind the loss of time and opportunities to work, as well as roughing it entailed by continual travelling, irregular meals and stays in 'bum' hotels."⁵³ Hamilton intended to leave Nazi Germany by April 1938, this time accompanied by his entire family. While finding the atmosphere in Berlin tense, Hamilton did not return to Saskatoon.⁵⁴ Although the exact problems Hamilton encountered with Nazi Germany were not given, the Nazification of the German educational system in Germany forced Hamilton to leave Germany.

The purpose of education in Germany was to make good National Socialists. Foreign teachers and professors were deemed too liberal and incompatible

with Nazi ideology. Many found the entire German educational system corrupted by propaganda, which was determined to mould the learner and create rabid Nazis. Freedom within education was gone.⁵⁵ One of the reasons for the erosion of the status and freedom within institutions of higher learning was the new emphasis placed on Nazi party institutions. Aycoberry noted "the regime no longer considered secondary schools and universities suitable for the countries elites, but instead regarded them as leftovers from an archaic system that would progressively be wiped out to make way for its own training schools."⁵⁶ Zimmer noted that at the University of Berlin, where Hamilton taught, an emphasis on learning had been eroded in favour of physical education and dedication to Nazi ideology. Independent thought and reading were discouraged. All facets of the German education system were to be used to make obedient Nazis, including the universities as a tool of influence.⁵⁷ Hartshorne assessed the impact of the Nazis on German education and saw losses for all avenues of German learning. Many learned and professional men were driven from academia with Nazi teachers installed in their place representing problems in education and learning. Hartshorne noted that Berlin lost about a third of their academic teaching staff.⁵⁸ Hamilton would not be included in this number, as he remained in his position until 1938. Therefore the actual number for the University of Berlin and figures in Germany could have been higher based on the late dismissal of Hamilton and other professors.⁵⁹

Hamilton witnessed German writers, researchers and scholars being corrupted by Nazi ideology. Hamilton found Lehmann's 1935 article entitled "Das evangelische Deutschtum in Kanada" (The Lutheran Germanism in Canada) a disappointment, as Lehmann echoed Nazi sentiments of German superiority. Hamilton noted, "it requires restraint to read and write about Herr Lehmann's studies without a feeling of irritation released by his patronizing tone toward Canadians, traces of Anglophobia, and more than a modicum of that modern method of disseminating information and ideas derived from the 'congregatio de propaganda fide.'"⁶⁰ In contrast to Hamilton's assessment of Lehmann's increasing adaptation to Nazism and his rampant racism is Gerhard Bassler. Bassler wrote that Lehmann's ideology was not compatible to Nazism; Lehmann maintained that he was never a National Socialist. But by 1936 he lectured in the same department as Hamilton. By 1938 Hamilton was deemed expendable. Regardless of any accusations the fact remains that Hamilton was dismissed from his position during the Third Reich, while Lehmann grew ever more comfortable within the nazified University of Berlin. Lehmann's dissertation entitled "Zur Geschichte des Deutschtums in Kanada" ("The History of the Germanism in Canada," 1931) was the first historical account of Canada's Germans. Today his works are referred to

as "the most comprehensive and scholarly account of the immigration and settlement of the entire ethnic German settlement in Canada."⁶¹ Lehmann has the reputation as "the leading German scholar in the interwar period on German Canadians."⁶² Bassler stated that Lehmann's 1939 publication on Canada entitled *Das Deutschtum in Westkanada* (Germanism in Western Canada) was free of official Nazi ideology and represented a neutral account of German speakers in Canada.⁶³ According to Hamilton the opposite was true, for the work contained

dangerous and mendacious glorification of the German elements in Canada, with its sneers, accusations and distorted figures. Few realize the dangerous influence of such books. Parenthetically be it remarked that at German Universities all teachers (Lehmann is one) whose subject was Canada, the United States, or England, etc., were expected to run down that particular country and its people, and to make them the object of hate and derision. The Nazi theory is that only he who hates a foreign country is fit to teach its language or impart information about it. This was officially called *Feindkunde* (knowledge of the enemy).⁶⁴

Lehmann's 1940 publication entitled "Englands Spiel mit Polen" (England's Game with Poland) was little more than Nazi propaganda literature. Although the level of Lehmann's acceptance of Nazi ideology is open to speculation this publication adds weight to Hamilton's argument that Lehmann fully identified with Nazi ideology and willingly complied with their wishes.⁶⁵ Lehmann became a Nazi party member in 1933; Bassler forgot to mention this fact in his assessment.⁶⁶

Hamilton was not the only foreigner that taught in Nazi Germany. The exact number is unknown and is a neglected topic within German historiography. Although Hamilton left Germany prior to World War II other foreigners were allowed to teaching throughout the war. Francis Stewart, an Irish nationalist, was another individual who may have gained from Hamilton's departure. Stewart was invited to give a lecture tour in Germany in February 1939. While in Berlin he met members of the English Seminar of the University of Berlin. He was offered a position in late 1939; he started teaching in January 1940. Francis lectured on Anglo-Irish literature, but also advised the German Foreign Office on matters on Ireland. Periodically he addressed Ireland on radio broadcasts.⁶⁷ Although Hamilton departed from Nazi Germany in 1938, Stuart remained for the duration of the war. Another foreigner that remained in Germany during World War II was Constantin Carathéodory, a Greek national. Carathéodory studied mathematics at the University of Berlin in 1900. In 1902 he studied at the University of Göttingen, where he received his Ph.D. in 1904. After teaching at various universities in Germany, he accepted a post at the University of Smyrna, Turkey. In 1924 he was

appointed Professor of mathematics at the University of Munich. During the Nazi era he was classified as an Aryan and remained in his academic position. As an international authority on mathematics his reputation and presence in Nazi Germany brought the Third Reich prestige and acceptance at international meetings and missions.⁶⁸ Hamilton may have also unknowingly given Nazi Germany, prior to World War II, acceptance within the international community and academia.

Once expelled from Hitler's Germany, Hamilton returned to Great Britain. Hamilton had problems adjusting back to the land of his birth after many years of living in Germany, as did his German wife and their three children. Hamilton was able to obtain employment within the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), where he worked as the German Language Intelligence Supervisor; he was responsible for German language broadcasts given through the BBC. The BBC began German language service in September 1938; this service was lengthened in January 1939. By April 1939 its usage was done regularly with increasingly more anti-Nazi propaganda. This service continued for the duration of the war. It is not known when exactly Hamilton began to work on the BBC's German language services. BBC staff lists did not include Hamilton in 1939; staff lists were not made in 1940 and 1941, yet Hamilton was listed in 1942. Apparently he did his job well. The BBC management praised Hamilton for his prowess as a translator and his intimate knowledge of the German language.⁶⁹

On 6 April 1944, Hamilton again inquired about the possibility of returning to Saskatoon. He noted that he had been employed by the BBC for over two years but was very interested in working on matters directly related to Canada. He was hoping his previous work and connections with the United States might procure him work there again, or possibly with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). These inquiries came to nothing.⁷⁰ Hamilton resigned from his BBC position on 22 July 1945 to work for the Political Intelligence Department (PID) of the British Foreign Office (BFO).⁷¹ During World War II the British government formed the Political Warfare Executive (PWE) to create and spread propaganda while damaging enemy morale and sustaining the morale of occupied countries. It was formed in August 1941, reporting to the BFO. The PWE included staff from the Ministry of Information, the propaganda elements of the Special Operations Executive, and from the BBC. The PWE was a secret department; when dealing with the outside world it used the cover name PID. The main forms of propaganda were radio broadcasts, postcards and leaflets.⁷²

Hamilton was known in academic circles in Germany and Canada between the two world wars. He made important contributions to Canadian and German historiography. Although coerced to leave Germany, Hamilton

did not leave Germany willingly. Back in Great Britain he was able to serve his country of birth through psychological warfare techniques employed by the PID/PWE. His work for the British government may have been done as a form of revenge against Nazi Germany, a government that forced him to leave a country he had resided in for decades. Throughout his adult life Hamilton was pro-German, admiring many aspects of German life and culture. But Nazi Germany deemed Hamilton an untrustworthy and an unwanted element within its educational system.⁷³ Ten years after being forced to leave his beloved Germany, Hamilton died in 1948.

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Notes

¹ National Archive of Canada (hereafter NAC) C10234 File 307724: North German Lloyd to Egan Department of Immigration and Colonization (hereafter DIC), 3 August 1928; NAC C10234 File 307724: DIC to Egan DIC, 21 July 1927; Bundesarchiv Koblenz (hereafter BAK) ZSg1-142-20 1922: *Verein für das Deutschtum in Ausland Jahrbuch für 1922*, 168; Hermann Wagner, *Von Küste zu Küste, Bei deutschen Auswanderer in Kanada* (Hamburg: Verlag der Ev. luth. Auswanderermission, 1929), 114–15; H. A. Innis, "Review of Books—Deutschland und Kanada von L. Hamilton," in W. S. Wallace and George W. Brown, eds., *The Canadian Historical Review* 9 (1928): 183 (hereafter *CHR*).

² W. Bausenhardt, *German Immigration and Assimilation in Ontario 1783–1918* (Toronto: Legas Press, 1989), 102.

³ "Canadische-deutsche Beziehung," in *Der Courier*, 29 February 1928: 1; NAC C10234 Nr. 307724: Hamilton to DIC, London, 11 July 1927; G. Macklin, National Archive of the United Kingdom to Grams, 1 July 2005; Charles G. D. Roberts and Arthur L. Tunnell, *The Canadian Who's Who 1937* (Toronto: Trans-Canada Press, 1938), 469; Roberts, et al, 1938–39, 298–99.

⁴ H. A. Innis, "Book Review of 'Canada von Louis Hamilton,'" in W. S. Wallace, ed., *CHR* 2 (1921): 299.

⁵ Louis Hamilton, "Review of Karl Müller-Grote: Deutsche-kanadische Lebensbilder," in *CHR* 6 (1925): 164; Louis Hamilton, "In Kanadischer Wildnis: Trapper-Farmerleben by Max Otto," in *CHR* 5 (1924): 77–79; Louis Hamilton, "Review of Das Deutschtum in Kanada by W. Tuckermann," in *CHR* 10 (1929): 352–55.

⁶ Louis Hamilton, *CHR* 5 (1924): 77–79; "Er lebt noch," in *Der Herald*, Edmonton, 28 February 1929, 2.

⁷ Max Otto, *In kanadischer Wildnis, Trapper- und Farmerleben* (Berlin: Verlagbuchhandlung Paul Parey, 1923): 119–23; "Ein reichsdeutscher Gast in Edmonton," in *Der Courier und der Herald*, 14 October 1936: 4; C. A. Gutensohn, "German's Absurd Picture of Canada," in *Edmonton Journal*, 7 February 1925: 6.

⁸ "Canadische-deutsche Beziehung," in *Der Courier*, 29 February 1928: 1; NAC C10234 Nr. 307724: Hamilton to DIC, London, 11 July 1927.

⁹ University of Saskatchewan Archive Pres. Papers Series I 21 Correspondence: Hamilton to [G. W.] Simpson, 6 March 1936; NAC C10234 Vol.231 File 307724: A. O'Kelly to Egan, 3 October 1927.

¹⁰ "Canadische-deutsche Beziehung," in *Der Courier*, 29 February 1928, 1; NAC C10234 Nr. 307724: Hamilton to DIC, London, 11 July 1927.

¹¹ Louis Hamilton, "Canada als Einwanderungsland," in *Sonderabdruck aus den Preussischen Jahrbüchern Heft 1925*, 336–41; Staatsarchiv Bremen 3-A.4, File 611: Carstens and Meyner, Ev. Auswanderer Mission Bremen to Behörde für das Auswanderungswesen, Bremen 27 January 1930.

¹² NAC C10234 File 307724: Assistant Director DIC to Egan DIC, 21 July 1927.

¹³ NAC C10234 File 307724: Gelley Division Commissioner to DIC, 19 March 1928; NAC C10234 File 307724: [DIC] to Hamilton, 19 March 1928.

¹⁴ H. A. Innis, "Book Review of 'Deutschland und Canada von Louis Hamilton,'" in W. S. Wallace and George Brown, eds., *CHR* 9 (1928): 183.

¹⁵ NAC C10234 File 307724: Egan to Hamilton, 28 January 1928; NAC C10234 File 307724: DIC to Hamilton, 14 April 1928.

¹⁶ NAC C10234 File 307724: T. Gelley [DIC] to [DIC], 19 March 1928; NAC C10234 File 307724: Hamilton to [DIC], 19 March 1928; NAC C10234 File 307724: T. Gelley to DIC, 3 April 1928; NAC C10234 File 307724: Deputy Minister [DIC] to Hamilton, 14 April 1928.

¹⁷ NAC C10234 File 307724: Gelley to Little DIC, 3 April 1928.

¹⁸ BAK R57/37: *Das Deutschtum in Westcanada*, by Dr. F. Roth, 11 July 1930.

¹⁹ BAK R57/38: "Nord Amerika-Kanada," 7 July 1934; Malcom C. Urquhart: *Historical Statistics of Canada* (Cambridge: University Press, 1965), 18. According to 1931 statistics.

²⁰ Heinz Lehmann, "Das evangelische Deutschtum in Kanada," in Ernst Schubert, ed., *Auslanddeutschtum und evangelische Kirche* (Munich: Kaiser Verlag, 1935), 252.

²¹ BAB R1501/1794: Untitled, unsigned document, 17 January 1927. Meeting between Hintrager, Hering and Schmidt with Lutheran Immigration Board members Schmock, Wedekind, and Canadian Pacific Railway agent Kaiser.

²² BAB R1501/1794: Kempff German General Consul (GGC) Montreal to Auswärtiges Amt Berlin, 22 April 1927.

²³ NAC C10234 File 307724: Hamilton to DIC, 30 April 1928; NAC RG30 Vol. 624 File 3: Freer Canadian National Railway (hereafter CNR) to Devlin, 29 August 1928.

²⁴ Louis Hamilton, *Canada* (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes Verlag, 1921), VII–VIII; NAC C 10234 No. 30724: "Deutschland und Kanada by L. Hamilton"; H. A. Innis: "Review of Books—Canada von Louis Hamilton," in W. S. Wallace, *CHR* 2 (1921): 299.

²⁵ Politisches Archiv des Auswärtiges Amtes (hereafter PAAA) R60032: Dibelius to AA, 21 January 1929; Kirchenkreis Alt Hamburg Archiv Auswanderermission IV 31: Prof. Dr. [W.] Dibelius, "Aus der kanadischen Prärie," in *Klasinger Monatsschrift*, June 1929, 405–8 (hereafter, Dibelius, kanad. Prärie); Wilhelm Dibelius, England (London: Jonathan Cape Printers, 1922), 7–10.

²⁶ NAC RG 30 Vol. 5624 File 3: F. J. Freer [CNR] to T. P. Devlin [CNR], 29 August 1928; PAAA R60032 Abt. VI *Deutschtum im Ausland* Band 1 Nr. 1: "Bericht über eine Reise nach Kanada und den Vereinigten Staaten" von W. Dibelius, 1928; Kirchenkreis Alt Hamburg Archiv Bestand Auswanderungsmission IV 31: Dibelius, kanad. Prärie.

²⁷ Louis Hamilton, "Recent German Books Relating to Canada with some Remarks on Early Publications," in George W. Brown and Alison Ewart, eds., *CHR* 14 (1933): 191.

²⁸ Heinz Lehmann, "Wilhelm Dibelius," in Herman Ullmann, ed., *Deutsche Arbeit 1931*, 190–91; Grant W. Grams, "Wilhelm Dibelius and his influence on German-Canadian Studies," in William Keel, ed., *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 39 (2004): 123–31.

²⁹ Louis Hamilton, "Review of Zur Geschichte des Deutschtums in Kanada; Vol. 1—Das Deutschtum in Ostkanada von Heinz Lehmann, 1931," in George W. Brown and Alison Ewart, eds., *CHR* 8 (1932): 212–13.

³⁰ Heinz Lehmann and Gerhard Bassler, *The German Canadians 1750–1937* (St. John's: Jespersen Press, 1986), 474, Heinz Lehmann and Louis Hamilton, "Das Assimilationsproblem," in Carl Petersen, Paul H. Ruth and Hans Schwalm, eds., *Handwörterbuch des Grenz und Auslandsdeutschum* (Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt, 1938), 262.

³¹ Bassler and Lehmann, xxiv–xxv.

³² Jonathan Wagner, *Troubles in Paradise Letters to and From German Immigrants in Canada 1925–1939* (St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae Verlag, 1998), 6.

³³ "Victor Malarek, *Heaven's Gate, Canada's Immigration Fiasco* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1987), 12–13; Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration policy, 1540–2006* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1992), 108.

³⁴ NAC C10234 File 307724: Hamilton to Egan DIC, 21 May 1931.

³⁵ NAC RG 76 Vol. 369 File 494408: DIC to Murray Superintendent of Immigration and Industry, St. Johns 13 May 1931; NAC RG76 Vol. 369 File 494408: DIC to Goucher Minister of Agriculture Halifax, 23 March 1931; NAC RG76 Vol. 369 File 494408: Jones Memorandum to Gordon, 12 March 1931; NAC RG76 Vol. 369 File 494408: Nova Scotia Department of Agriculture to Gordon Minister of Agriculture, 23 February 1931.

³⁶ Reichsstelle für das Auswanderungswesen, *Nachrichtenblatt* (Berlin: Zentralverlag, 1931), 126, 199; Reichsstelle für das Auswanderungswesen, *Nachrichtenblatt* 1932, 44, 67–69, 79–80; Grant W. Grams, *German Emigration to Canada and the Support of its Deutschum during the Weimar Republic* (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 2001), 14–22, 61–68, 183–200, Grant W. Grams, "Was Eckhardt Kastendieck one of Saskatchewan's most active Nazis?" in Jason Zorbas, ed., *Saskatchewan History* 2007, 2–7.

³⁷ Heinz Lehmann, "Das Deutschum in Ostkanda," in *Deutsche Arbeit 1935* (Berlin: Deutsches Buch und Kunst Verlag), 18.

³⁸ Bela Bodo, "Foreign Students in Nazi Germany," in *East European Quarterly* 2003, XXXVII: 19–42; Bela Bodo, "The Role of Antisemitism in the Expulsion of non-Aryan Students, 1933–1945," in *Yad Vashem Studies* 2004, XXX: 191–225; Hans Ebert, "The Expulsion of the Jews from the Berlin-Charlottenburg Technische Hochschule," in *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 1974, XIX: 158–168; Klaus Fischer, "Repression und Privilegierung: Wissenschaftspolitik im Dritten Reich," in Dietrich Beyrau, ed., *Im Dschungel der Macht: intellektuelle Professionen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2000), 170–71; Arye Carmon, "The Impact of the Nazi Racial Decrees on the University of Heidelberg," in *Yad Vashem Studies* 1976, XI: 131–36, 163; Albert Hourani, "The Formation of a Scholar, the Stages on my way," in Richard Walzer, ed., *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 1991, XVIII: 159–66.

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⁴⁰ F. B. Aikin-Sneath, "The Press in Modern Germany," in L. A. Willoughby, ed., *German Life and Letters 1936/37* (Oxford Basil Blackwell), I: 65–67.

⁴¹ *Reichsgesetzblatt Teil I 1933* (hereafter RGB) (Berlin: Reichsverlagsamt, 1933), 175–77; Hartshorne, 175–77; Notgemeinschaft Deutscher Wissenschaftler im Ausland: *Displaced German Scholars A Guide to Academics in Peril in Nazi Germany During the 1930's* (San Bernardino: The Borgo Press, 1993), 1–4.

⁴² RGB 1935 Teil I, 23–24.

⁴³ RGB 1935 Teil I, 1145–47, 1333–34.

⁴⁴ RGB 1937 Teil II, 41–70.

⁴⁵ A. Wolf, *Higher Education in Nazi Germany or Education for World Conquest* (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd, 1944), 24–33.

⁴⁶ Kneller, 220–29.

⁴⁷ Roy Pascal, "A Controversy in the German Universities," in L. A. Willoughby and James Boyd, eds., *German Life and Letters 1947/48*, I: 142–43.

⁴⁸ Paul Kahle, *Bonn University in pre-Nazi and Nazi Times 1923–1939* (London: Portoken Press, 1945), 11–36.

⁴⁹ Gerhard Ritter, "The German Professor in the Third Reich," in Waldemar Gurian, ed., *The Review of Politics*, Vol. VIII 1946, 248–53.

⁵⁰ James Garner, "The Nazi Proscription of German Professors of International Law," in George Finch, ed. *American Journal of International Law* 1939, XXXIII: 112–18; Michael Grüttner, "German Universities under the Swastika," in J. Connelly and M. Grüttner, eds., *Universities under Dictatorship* (University Park: Pennsylvania University State Press, 2005), 81–107.

⁵¹ University of Saskatchewan Archive A Papers Series I 21 Correspondence: G. W. Simpson to Hamilton, 20 February 1937; University of Saskatchewan Archive Board of Governors Executive Minutes: Minutes of a Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Board of Governors of the University of Saskatchewan, held in Dr. Murray's Office on 25 February 1937; University of Saskatchewan Archive Pres. Papers Series I 21 Correspondence: Hamilton to Walter C. Murray, President of the University of Saskatchewan, 16 April 1937.

⁵² NAC C10234 Vol. 321 File 307724: W. Black to R. B. Maxwell, 15 June 1937; NAC C10234 Vol. 321 File 307724: [DIC] Memo, 23 June 1937, NAC C10234 Vol. 321 File 307724: Canadian Immigration Service [Form], stamped 21 June 1937.

⁵³ University of Saskatchewan Archive Pres. Papers Series II, A-22: Hamilton to President [Murray], 14 November 1937.

⁵⁴ University of Saskatchewan Archive J. E. Murray Papers MG67 IA III: Hamilton to Dr. Murray, 14 November 1937; University of Saskatchewan Archive Pres. Papers Series II, A-22: President [Murray] to Hamilton, 30 November 1937.

⁵⁵ Two English Investigators, *Education in Nazi Germany* (London: Kulturkampf Association, 1938), 1–20, 46–55; George F. Kneller, *Foundations of Education* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1963), 181–84.

⁵⁶ Pierre Aycoberry, *The Social History of the Third Reich 1933–1945* (New York: The New Press, 1998), 133–39.

⁵⁷ G. Zeimer, *Education for Death, The Making of the Nazi* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941), 171–77.

⁵⁸ Edward Yarnall Hartshorne, *The German Universities and National Socialism* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1937), 87–105, 126–74.

⁵⁹ Eva Dreschler, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz to Grams, 11 April 2007; Hartshorne, 94; Roberts, 1938–39, 298–99; Carmon, 143.

⁶⁰ Louis Hamilton, "Review of Das evangelische Deutschtum in Kanada von Dr. Heinz Lehmann," in George W. Brown and Alison Ewart, eds., *CHR* 17(1936): 344–45.

⁶¹ Lehmann and Bassler, XXIV–XXVIII.

⁶² Wagner 1998, 6.

⁶³ Lehmann and Bassler, xxix–xxx; Clemens Scharschmidt, ed., *Mitteilungen der Ausland-Hochschule an der Universität Berlin* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter und Co., 1938), I–II; Scharschmidt, *Mitteilungen* 1939, IV.

⁶⁴ Louis Hamilton, "Canada as seen from 'the other side,'" in *Dalhousie Review* 1945/46, XXV: 407–9.

⁶⁵ Heinz Lehmann, *Englands Spiel mit Polen* (Berlin: Junker und Dünhaupt, 1940), 5–46.

⁶⁶ Gideon Botsch, *Politische Wissenschaft im Zweiten Weltkrieg—Die "Deutschen Auslands-wissenschaften" im Einsatz 1940–1945* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), 270.

⁶⁷ J. H. Natterstad, *Francis Stuart* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1974), 53–66; Brenda Barrington, ed., *The Wartime Broadcasts of Stewart Francis 1942–1944* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2000), 28–34; Enno Stephan, *Spies in Ireland* (London: MacDonald Press, 1963), 78–97.

⁶⁸ Maria Georgiadou, *Constantin Caratheodory Mathematics and Politics in Turbulent Times* (Berlin: Springer Verlag, 2004), 278–341.

⁶⁹ Asa Briggs, *The BBC: The First Fifty Years* (London: Oxford University Press, 1985), 144–45, 221–24; Gerard Mansell, *Let Truth Be Told: 50 Years of BBC External Broadcasting* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1982), 57–59, 95–107, 147–66; Louis Hamilton, *The BBC German Vocabulary* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1947), III–VI; Gunda Cannon, ed., *Hier ist England—Live aus London: das Deutsche Programm der British Broadcasting Corporation 1938–1988* (London: BBC, 1988), 27.

⁷⁰ University of Saskatchewan Archive Pres. Papers Series II A-22: Hamilton to Dr. Thomsen, 6 April 1944.

⁷¹ Louis North, BBC Written Archive to G. Grams, 26 June 2007; Asa Briggs, *The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom Vol. III* (London: Oxford University Press 1970), 35–36.

⁷² Ellic Howe, *The Black Game—British Subversive Operations Against the Germans During the Second World War* (London: Michael Joseph Press, 1982), 29–57; Charles Cruickshank, *The Fourth Arm Psychological Warfare 1938–1945* (London: Davis-Poynter, 1977), 153–87.

⁷³ Roberts, 1937, 469; Roberts, 1938, 298–99; Louis Hamilton, “The British War Refugee,” in *Contemporary History 1942*, CLXI: 362–67; Hamilton, 1947, III–VI; Hamilton, 1942, 362–68; G. Macklin, National Archive of the United Kingdom, to Grams, 1 July 2005; Louis Hamilton, “Recording English Monuments,” in *The Times Literary Supplement*, 5 June 1948, 317.

German-American Literary Reviews

Edited by Elfe Vallaster-Dona
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Verwandeln: 60 verstreute und neue Gedichte.

By Margot Scharpenberg. Duisburg: Gilles & Francke Verlag, 2009. 128 pages.

Margot Scharpenberg is no newcomer to German-American literature. The Cologne-born author, who has resided in New York since 1962, has meanwhile brought out 27 volumes of poetry and three prose books—all in prestigious German publishing houses. In January 2009, she gave the first reading of her newly published collection *Verwandeln. 60 verstreute und neue Gedichte* in a packed auditorium at *Deutsches Haus* of New York University (Peter Beicken, University of Maryland, gave the introduction). In a wide retrospective gesture, this volume covers all major themes of Margot Scharpenberg's poetic oeuvre. The title poem (11) follows the concept of metamorphosis which is of central importance to the creative process and the self-analysis of this author. Remarkable in this collection are sounding attempts into the depths of semantics and plays on words relying on rhyme as a poetic instrument. However, the lightness of the poetic discourse and the application of rhyme patterns overshadow a more complex and darker ground of our existence and, thereby, of the author's philosophical intention. What seems so simple and comes so easily actually deceives the eye of the reader.

Clearly, the rhyme in Margot Scharpenberg's late poetry has a function of irony and playfulness. On the other hand, rhyme is a stylistic feature of poetry for children and is, therefore, used in children's books. If—as it is the case in this collection—rhyme is being applied as a playful poetic tool at a late stage of an author's career, the circle of life and literary production is being completed. Baudelaire once stated: "Le génie c'est l'enfance retrouvé à volonté." Like in a circular movement, childhood memories and recollections of earlier

stages of life have found their way into this volume, as can be observed in "Wald" (93–94), "Köln, St. Ursula: Reliquiare" (86–87), and "Kleine Ballade (Köln 1944)" (48).

At the same time, the reader of this volume repeatedly comes across forms of spiritual poetry, of a *memento mori* (as expressed similarly in the preceding collection, *Von Partituren, Lesezeichen und so weiter*). The sections "zeitlich" (59–69) and "Schnittmuster" (105–7) reflect on the temporality of our existence and on the poetic speaker's final phase of life, but the texts are not laments or elegies—the certainty of death is pronounced without fear, even in a playful manner that finds new comparisons for old events. In "Umzug" (109–10), death is referred to as a carpenter with ruler and pencil, in "Übung" (115–16) innocuous instructions for physical exercises serve as metaphors for vital procedures ending in the "Halt" of our existence.

A serene wisdom carries the section "Sichten—Einsichten—Wünsche" (91–104), preparing the spirit of the last poem of the collection "Gedächtnis (für alle)" that sets next to basic states of the human mind, such as doubt and desperation, an indestructible hope (117). However, this juxtaposition does not indicate a naive, optimistic outlook but rather a fierce amazement about the fact that hope is still possible at all.

Any critique of Margot Scharpenberg's poetry cannot afford to omit an analysis of her specific form of a pictorial poem or lyrical dialog with a work of art (*Bildgespräch*) as presented in "Licht—Amsterdamer Museumsbesuche" (19–46) and "Kölner Kirchenbesuche" (71–89). This poetic concept relates to a conversational pattern or dialog, a mutually stimulating act of observation and reflection whose result is more than just a description or interpretation. Her approach does not try to repeat with different means or to translate from one medium to another. In her picture-inspired poems, the contemplations triggered by a work of art are being released into the autonomy of the poetic discourse. Her poem is artistically strong enough to stand on its own, even to walk away from the other medium. Therefore, it is not any longer necessary to use the work of art as an illustration or visual explanation of the poem. Even if the reader is not familiar with the art works that are displayed in various museums in Amsterdam or Cologne or elsewhere, the poem can be recognized—and enjoyed—in its own right. Consequently, the poems of this volume are not accompanied by photos. There is no need for visual support. The poem "Köln, St. Andreas: Löwenpaar" (73–74) may serve as one of many examples. The purpose and content of the poem are not so much the description of the work of art, but the reflection that the work of art sets free in the eyes of the beholder, of the poetic ego. That way, there is even room for a German-American component: the lions at the entrance to the main branch of the New York Public Library—they are guarding books, i.e., other relics

than their sacral brothers. Obviously, we are dealing with a playful assortment of thoughts and creative associations generated in the mind of the observer.

Another recurring motif in Margot Scharpenberg's poetry is language—scrutinized and interpreted in regard to its relevance to our human existence. In "Definition" (97), language—specifically in the form of words—is the defining criteria of being human. In her autobiographical note at the end of this volume, the author adds: "Aber was allen Themen als Grund unterliegt, ist Zeit, Zeitlichkeit, Veränderung." (121). This concept is reflected in the poem from which the entire volume draws its title, "Verwandeln," a *Bildgespräch* inspired by a painting by Elke Imhof and executed in the aforementioned compositional style of the author. It can be read as an individual poem, but also as a confession and self-explanation of the author. In as much as she remains faithful to the essence of her poetry, she remains faithful to herself. It is true that by now the tone of her poetry has loosened up, has become lighter and seemingly light-hearted. However, within her adherence to the same choice of themes, her philosophical view has become more stringent and radical. Insofar, a difference between her early and her late production can be discerned.

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Book Reviews

*Edited by Lorie A. Vanchena
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Dialect Emergence in Waumandee English.

By David N. Ehrat. New German-American Studies/Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2008. 214 pp. €47.40, \$66.95.

The emergence of new dialects that exist under the infrastructure of a larger, more dominant language community is frequently a postmortem field of study, with linguists often arriving in an area after the creation of the new dialect has already taken place. In this monograph, Ehrat documents the phonological shift currently underway in the small Wisconsin community of Waumandee. Couched within a traditional dialectology approach to language emergence/chance, Ehrat seeks to find answers to the following questions: 1) Can the claim be upheld that a new dialect is on the rise in the Waumandee community (i.e., one that has contrastive phonological features when compared with Midwestern American English), and 2) Assuming that a new dialect is indeed in development, does the ethnic (and subsequent linguistic) history of the region play a significant role in this process? Focusing on the phonology of the English spoken in this area, Ehrat presents an in-depth and meticulously detailed description of individual consonant and vowel features as well as different processes of sound change at various stages of development. Ehrat upholds that new phonological developments—especially within the vowel system—are underway in the Waumandee dialect. Furthermore, his research highlights potential correlations between gender and ethnic heritage and the phonological changes evidenced in this study.

Overall this monograph is a strong contribution to the field of dialectology and American English linguistics. The prose is easy to read and is encouraging to potential readers who might not be familiar with some of the notion

system employed in the text that is more commonplace in works specifically dedicated to the field of dialect studies. One of my criticisms of this book is its strong resemblance to a dissertation. For example, the first four chapters could have been reconfigured to read less like a dissertation and more like an academic monograph. Specifically, chapters 1 (Introduction) and 2 (Wau-*mandee* History) and chapters 3 (Methodology) and 4 (Language Change Mechanisms in *Wau-*mandee**) could have been revised and combined. Aside from the structure of the book, Ehrat never clarifies how he elicited and measured the data from his informants (i.e., with regard to the recording and phonetic analysis equipment he used). This underlies a significant weakness in his work, because it is unclear how Ehrat ultimately reached some of his conclusions. Furthermore, if Ehrat made use of phonetic transcriptions (which I would assume he did), his findings could have been significantly strengthened by occasionally adding spectrographic data and measurements and statistical data gained from his research. Lastly, although Ehrat incorporates references to the German and Swiss-German heritage of the *Wau-*mandee** area and the potential that this heritage could play in shaping the phonological changes currently underway in the region, the Germanic element is seriously under-represented and secondary for a monograph that appears in a series entitled *New German-American Studies*. These criticisms aside, the work as it currently stands represents a solid case study in modern American English dialectology and language change/dialect emergence.

Carson-Newman College

Michael T. Putnam

Transatlantic Cultural Contexts: Essays in Honor of Eberhard Brüning.

By Hartmut Keil, ed. Tübingen: Stauffenberg, 2005. 244 pp. €58.00.

As Catrin Gersdorf writes in her contribution to this book, “a *festschrift* celebrates its addressee with contributions that connect the writer of the contribution with the recipient of the essayistic gift” (49). When the honoree is a person with such wide and varied scholarly interests as Americanist Eberhard Brüning, the scope of such a collection would necessarily be just as wide and varied. A perusal of both the table of contents and the long bibliography of works written by Brüning quickly reveals that the contributors have indeed succeeded in presenting a broad range of topics that relate to the career and pursuits of the man they aim to honor.

The book contains 14 essays written by colleagues or former students of Brüning. Topics addressed in these essays include African-American literature, issues in translation, American experiences in German culture, and the influence of German political exiles on the German-American labor

movement in the late 1800s. Although there is no explicit structure to the book, such as section or topic headings, some articles are organized by topic: the first four essays discuss American authors, three of the articles addressing African-American issues appear as a group, and the two articles examining American experiences in Germany are placed together. This organization is not immediately discernible, however, and the essays at first seem to jump from one subject to the next. In particular, I felt the emphasis on Richard Wright as an African-American author related the essay written by Yoshinobu Hakutani more closely to the other three articles addressing African-American literature—such as Klaus Ennslen's "History and Fiction in African American Literature"—than to the articles with which it is grouped.

My own involvement with German-American studies has so far concentrated on issues concerning German immigrants and historical German communities in America. When I first examined the contents of this book, therefore, I initially found only two essays that I thought would relate to my understanding of German-American studies. However, taking a cue from the word 'Transatlantic' in the title—and keeping in mind the common thread of Eberhard Brüning's considerable body of scholarship—it quickly became apparent that this book represents a dialog between the two cultures. The relation of this book as a whole to German-American studies is evident in how it illustrates the exchange between German and American cultures. For example, Wayne Kvam's essay on Ernest Hemingway's radio address to the German people at the beginning of the Second World War examines the involvement of this particular American writer in German political issues. Albrecht Neubert's essay concerning issues in translation brings to light the predominance of American fiction translated into German, the lack of exchange in the other direction, and how this imbalance is currently affecting the translation industry. The essays on African-American issues also investigate this transatlantic cultural exchange, as most of their authors, several of whom were educated in the former German Democratic Republic, are now professors of German at European universities; the essays are thus written from the perspective of scholars viewing the issues from outside the culture in which those issues arose. This transatlantic approach is perhaps the greatest strength of the book, as it helps lead to a deeper understanding of the ongoing dialog that has been taking place between German and American cultures.

One minor weakness of this book has to do with specific details about Brüning's academic interests. The introduction, written by Hartmut Keil, does mention Brüning's interests in American literature, especially his interest in what Keil terms "left and progressive writers" (7) and the theater of the 1930s, as well as his current focus on the historical relationship between the United States and Saxony. However, I would like to see more detail about his

interests. Four of the fourteen essays deal specifically with African-American issues, suggesting that Brüning has an interest in this subject, especially in African-American literature. Yet one does not find any particular mention of this interest, if indeed it exists. The bibliography lists 165 works written by Brüning, but out of these, only three essays and six book reviews appear related to African-American literature. This small percentage of works devoted to the subject does not seem to justify the much larger percentage of essays devoted to this particular topic, and the significance of some important aspects of these articles thus becomes lost. For example, Yoshinobu Hakutani contributes an article that analyzes Richard Wright's haiku, connecting his search for a harmonious relationship between humanity and nature to his own stated responsibility as a "Negro writer who seeks to function within his race as a purposeful agent" (qtd. in Keil, 35). The essay clearly emphasizes this aspect of Wright's writings, but without a clear indication of Brüning's interest in African-American literature, one does not readily see how Wright's being an African-American author is significant to this book.

The only substantial weakness is the lack of concrete examples and references to support Sanford Marovitz's claims in the first essay, entitled "W. D. Howells: Realism, Morality, and Nostalgia." For example, while discussing a particular passage in Howells's *The Undiscovered Country*, Marovitz mentions "enchanted views of nature in [Howells's] depiction of the garden and surroundings of the Shaker community" (12). He then comments on this description and compares it to the writings of other notable American authors: "Such exquisite word-paintings reveal that America's principal realistic novelist of Boston and New York may be more closely related than is usually believed to Emerson and Thoreau of the past generation as well as to such an esteemed naturalist of his own period as John Muir" (12). However, Marovitz leaves us with no examples of these "exquisite word-paintings" and seems to presume knowledge of Emerson, Thoreau, and Muir. Readers would better understand Marovitz's assertion if he had included an excerpt from Howells' description and perhaps similar passages from Emerson and Thoreau that illustrate how these authors relate to each other. I also would have liked to see examples of scholarly opinion about the relationship between these three authors that would help us better understand Marovitz's dissenting view.

Apart from these few weaknesses, I found the essays to be well written, informative, and sufficiently interesting to hold my attention. The wide range of topics presented clearly reflects the varied interests of the honoree, and the collection as a whole presents a fascinating look at the cultural dialog occurring across the Atlantic. The authors achieved their goal in honoring the life and career of Eberhard Brüning.

The Catholic Bohemian German of Ellis County, Kansas: A Unique Bavarian Dialect.

By Gabriele Lunte. *Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe 21: Linguistik* 316. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2007. 145 pp. €36.20, \$52.95.

In this monograph, Gabriele Lunte offers a detailed overview of the historical, anthropological, and linguistic characteristics of the Catholic Bohemian German (CBG) dialect community of Ellis County, Kansas. According to the author, "it is a unique Bavarian dialect spoken by descendents of settlers to this area in west central Kansas from Bukovina, then an Austrian province" (backcover). The Catholic Bohemian Germans were one of two distinct groups of Bukovina immigrants to the area immediately surrounding Ellis County as early as the 1880s. As duly noted by Lunte, William Keel's pioneering research (1981, 1982, 1988, 1989) on the Volga Germans and their dialect as well as Johnson's (1994) dissertation on the Volga German dialect spoken in Schoenchen, Kansas (also in Ellis County) failed to include any in-depth treatment of the linguistic composition of CBG dialect spoken in the area, thus providing the rationale for this current study.

Lunte does an excellent job of providing a detailed historical development of the phonological inventory of the dialect. Especially with regard to the vowel system, she is able to trace convincingly the individual phonemes of the CBG dialect back to their Central Bavarian and Middle High German ancestors. In doing so, she is also able to document and comment on phonological changes that have taken place in Ellis County CBG dialect. Another outstanding strength of Lunte's research is her thorough analysis of the lexical forms and unique grammatical characteristics of the dialect. The culminating effect of the phonological, lexical, and grammatical research that presents an overview of the CBG dialect, an *Ortsgrammatik*, to use Lunte's word, is to provide accurate *Heimatbestimmung* of the CBG dialect in the Bohemian Forest, a task which Lunte successfully accomplishes. In sum, Lunte's research achieves its desired goal of functioning as a solid overview of many of the linguistic—both diachronic and synchronic—facets of the CBG dialect.

Although this work provides an adequate overview of the CBG dialect, it fails to pursue some of the more interesting and idiosyncratic developments in the dialect beyond a surface-level analysis. To substantiate this criticism, I refer to three points in the text where Lunte could have discussed and analyzed linguistic structures in more detail and quite possibly could have made some interesting inroads and unique claims about the dialect community under investigation. First, in her discussion of paradigmatic case erosion where some instances of the dative case are merging

with the accusative case to form one oblique case (26–27), Lunte only cites four examples, two of them employing prepositional phrases and the other two displaying pronominal forms. Morphophonemic dative case markings occur in a variety of environments in German and its dialects; Lunte could therefore have examined the presence (or lack thereof) of dative case markings in varied environments, e.g., ‘free dative’ constructions, dative verbs (i.e., *helfen*), dative experiencer subjects (i.e., *gefallen*), etc. Secondly, Lunte missed an opportunity to discuss what appears to be an interesting idiosyncratic development in the relative clause structure of CBG (28–29). The examples she provides on page 29 show that the CBG dialect exhibits a doubly-filled complementizer phrase with a demonstrative pronoun followed by the indefinite relative pronoun *wos* (‘what’). Based on the footnote from Wiesinger (1989) that Lunte provides on page 29, it appears that relative clauses in Bavarian dialects exhibit the opposite order (e.g., *wos* + demonstrative) from that found in CBG. More discussion on this matter could have exposed an interesting development in the syntactics of the CBG dialect, one that could scarcely be argued to be the influence of English. Third, in her discussion of English verbs that are being integrated into the CBG dialect and receive Germanic morphological inflection (63), Lunte misses a golden opportunity to probe further into another potential facet of the CBG dialect that could make a unique contribution to German-American dialect studies. Lunte points out that the English infinitives *to hire* and *to rent* have successfully become past participles in the CBG dialect, adapting the inflectional morphological markings in proper context. This, however, is only half of the story. It is interesting to note that whereas the verb *to hire* receives the perfective *ge-* prefix, the verb *to rent* appears with a *ver-* prefix. The fact that the CBG grammar does not ubiquitously map all borrowed verbs into the language and stamp them with the perfective *ge-* marker is worthy of more in-depth scrutiny. As demonstrated by these three aforementioned shortcomings, Lunte’s *Ortsgrammatik* of the CBG dialect in Ellis County, Kansas does a great job of capturing generalizations about the linguistic nature of the dialect. However, the discussion of potential key constructions and facets of the grammar that could make unique contributions to the field of language decay and German-American dialect studies is lacking in some areas. Lastly, although Lunte is cautious about employing “semi-speakers” in her study, the use of Wenker Sentences as a licit test for certain grammatical constructions in the dialect is very difficult to integrate into German-American dialect research (Putnam & Johnson 2006). Lunte does, however, recognize this and she supplements her interviews with other questionnaires (e.g., the *Wisconsin Questionnaire*, the *LAKGD questionnaire*, and ‘open’ questionnaires in the form of pictures).

To recapitulate, Lunte's work represents a much-needed, breakthrough study of the CBG dialect and its history in West Central Kansas. Her work in historical dialectology and *Heimatbestimmung* is first-rank, as well as her overview of the linguistic structure of the dialect. The biggest weakness of the text is her failure to engage in more detailed research and discussion of certain constructions and idiosyncrasies in the CBG dialect that would enable her work to reach a larger audience and thus have a more pronounced impact on the field of German-American dialectology/speech island studies. In many ways, these remarks should not be regarded so much as a negative criticism of this monograph, but rather as a 'call-to-arms' for scholars to consider pursuing research in the many areas of the CBG dialect that need to be investigated with more care and depth than in previous attempts. In its current form, this work stands as a very good introduction to studies of the CBG dialect and it lays a good foundation for future research endeavors into this dialect community.

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Between Natives and Foreigners: Selected Writings of Karl/Charles Follen (1796–1840).

Edited with an Introduction by Frank Mehring. New Directions in German-American Studies 4. New York: Peter Lang, 2007. 372 pp. €73.00, \$94.95.

Karl Follen is known as an important representative of the immigrant generation of the first half of the nineteenth century who contributed to the rich tradition of German-American philosophical, religious, literary, and political writings. During his lifetime Follen formed and associated with a network of political reformers, intellectuals, academics, and political activists on both sides of the Atlantic. But scholars of the past 100 years have drawn a controversial picture of him. Follen has been described as “messianic mastermind” or “devilish demagogue” as well as an “outstanding cultural ambassador” (xxv) and exceptional and prominent intellectual. Frank Mehring tries to explore Follen’s multifaceted interests, his unconventional ideas, and his sometimes chaotic life by looking at his original texts. What does Follen himself offer in his writings? In this edition Mehring has gathered a selection of Follen’s “key essays, pamphlets, lectures, sermons, speeches, letters, poems, and translations” (xxvii) written in Germany, Switzerland, and the United States from roughly 1816 to 1839. This edition is the first attempt to bring back Follen’s writings to a larger audience since 1841, when his wife Eliza Lee Cabot published a volume of the works. The task must not have been easy, taking Mehring to many countries to gather the multilingual, scattered materials.

Unlike other German intellectuals of the period who searched for an opportunity to put their theoretical sociopolitical ideals into practice, Follen did not seek the remoteness of the countryside but turned to the urban centers of the East Coast. In 1830 he became the first professor for German Literature and Language at Harvard University. In such a position Follen was able to influence the standing and teaching of German literature and language at American universities and schools in important ways. He was among the first German-American sociopolitical reformers who were deeply influenced by German theological liberalism and rationalism, involved in German reform movements, and connected to American transcendentalists such as Theodor Parker, Henry David Thoreau, or Margret Fuller. When his humanistic convictions got in the way of his professional development he turned to other avenues to remain true to his ideals.

Born on 6 September 1796 in the state of Hesse-Darmstadt, Karl Follen went to school and attended the university in Giessen, where he studied first theology and later law. In 1818 Follen graduated with a doctorate in law and continued as a lecturer at Giessen University. In November 1814

he had already become one of the founding members of a Giessen fraternity. During the next few years he was a member of numerous other student organizations, all of them politically active with a radical orientation. From this period of Follen's life, Mehring has chosen 59 paragraphs of the Code of Honor (*Ehrensiegel*) of the fraternity *Christlich-Teutsche Burschenschaft*, which Follen had conceived and written. After siding with farmers in a successful court case against the dukes of Hesse-Darmstadt over taxation issues, Follen continued his academic career at the University of Jena, where he again joined and lead another radical student organization. Here, Karl Ludwig Sand became one of Follen's devoted followers. This connection to Sand, who assassinated August von Kotzebue, one of Germany's best know literary writers of the time, added to Follen's radical reputation, for he was seen as the mastermind behind the crime. In 1819 Follen drafted a "Constitution for the Future German Empire" (*Reichsverfassung*). The constitution, also part of this edition, outlines a "Utopian German nation based on a common cultural, religious, and ethnic background" (xxx) and is one of the most radical texts of the early *Vormärz* era. Furthermore, Mehring has chosen another interesting text from this early German period that deals with the foundation of a German-American university in the United States (*Die Gründung einer deutsch-amerikanischen Universität*). In this essay Follen envisions the German intelligentsia at an institution overseas, where German academic advances could be combined with democratic values. He also sees this university as the center of a German free state in North America, an idea that is later pursued more vigorously by his brother Paul, founder of the *Giessener Auswanderungsgesellschaft*, and his friend Christian Sartorius in Mexico. Follen's devotion to Ludwig Jahn not only raised his interest in Jahn's exercises but also lead him to write a number of poems on the topic, including "Turnerstaat" and "Turnerbekennntnis."

In the fall and winter of 1819, Follen had to leave Germany. He went to France and later to Switzerland, where he found a teaching position in Chur. The University of Basel offered him a position in 1821. Follen was asked to leave the country again in 1824, when Switzerland caved in to political pressures exerted by Prussia and Austria. He avoided deportation by escaping with a number of friends, among them Karl Beck and Wilhelm Wesselhöft, and sailed to America. In Switzerland Follen had served as the co-editor of *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Basel*. Among his major writings were two essays, "The Future Destiny of Man" and the "Legal Teachings of Spinoza." Both texts laid an important foundation for Follen's later works in connection with his anti-slavery campaigns and religious views in the United States. The section on Switzerland also includes poems and letters written by Follen, mainly to his family.

On 19 December 1824 Follen and his friends reached New York City. On the journey Follen had studied English intensively and upon arrival anglicized his name to Charles Follen. With a recommendation from Marquis de Lafayette, whom he had met in Paris, he soon found himself established in Boston society. One year later he had already received a position as lecturer for German and French language and literature at Harvard University. Due to a lack of teaching materials, Follen wrote a German reader (*Deutsches Lesebuch*) and a practical German grammar book. Both books remained the basis for German language teaching in the United States for many years. He also introduced the works of major literary figures such as Goethe, Schiller, Herder, Wieland, and Klopstock in his lectures and in essays for the American public. Follen's writings on German literature were not only popular, they also laid the cornerstone for a deeper interest in German scientific achievements and intellectual life. Follen's lectures opened new interests for American transcendentalists such as Amos Bronson Alcott, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Theodor Parker and fostered their fascination with German idealism.

In 1826 Follen was appointed superintendent of the Harvard gymnasium, which gave him the opportunity to introduce Jahn's teaching of *Turnen* in the United States. Two years later, in 1828, Follen married the writer Eliza Lee Cabot. By 1830 he had risen to the rank of professor of German Literature and Language. In this capacity he became one of the first influential advocates for German culture in the United States. But Follen had not left his political interests behind. He took an unveiled look at the Declaration of Independence and the discrepancies between the text and reality. As a naturalized German immigrant, he fought for female emancipation and the abolition of slavery. He became vice president of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society and a member of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society. His activities as an advocate for human rights did not meet the approval of all his fellow American citizens. In 1839 his contract at Harvard University was not extended. Follen turned to his theological interests and became deeply involved in the Transcendentalist as well as Unitarian movements, opening an independent church in Lexington, Massachusetts. On 13 January 1840 Follen drowned in a shipwreck off the shore of Long Island.

The collection of texts written in the United States offer a wide range of topics. This body forms roughly two-thirds of the entire volume. Texts on education and literature include excerpts of the German reader and grammar book as well as Follen's lectures on the life of Schiller and a plan for a Boston Seminary. The section "Slavery and Democracy" offers Follen's views on the anti-slavery movement, including a speech for the Anti-Slavery Society and his "Address to the People of the United States on the Subject of Slavery."

Texts on "History and Religion" include a number of sermons, e.g., Follen's perspectives on "Religion and the Church." The volume concludes with letters to his family and a number of prominent people, among them President John Quincy Adams, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and his friend William Ellery Channing.

Mehring has picked key texts from the years in which Follen lived in Germany, Switzerland, and the United States. Each set of writings consists of Follen's political, social, and religious works as well as poems and letters from each period. The editor has chosen to present the texts in their original language. Therefore, texts produced in Germany and Switzerland are in German, whereas those written in the United States are in English. Each text is accompanied by a very useful commentary and notes that not only summarize the main ideas of the works but also give additional information on each text. In this way, the German texts written in Germany and Switzerland can also be accessed by readers not familiar with both languages. The commentaries also note the sources.

Although Mehring has spent time in a number of archives, it is surprising to see that hardly any of the material presented is archival material. Most texts and even letters have been published before—mostly, however, in publications that are remote and difficult to obtain. Therefore, this edition of texts is most valuable. Only marginal questions arise while reading the book. In a letter from Switzerland to his brother, for example, Follen mentioned his engagement to Anna de Lassaux (167). Later the reader learns that he married Eliza Lee Cabot in the United States. Unfortunately, the commentary does not reveal what happened to this earlier love or when the engagement was dissolved.

In the Foreword of "New Directions in German-American Studies," editor Werner Sollors points out that the series attempts to unearth important and interesting texts of immigrant writers in the United States which have been ignored or simply overseen because their foreign-language texts have imposed obstacles to English readers. This aim is most praiseworthy. This volume clearly presents to the reader insights into the thinking of a most interesting individual of the early *Vormärz* period. Mehring has chosen texts that portray Follen as one of the leading German intellectuals in the United States of his time. Follen certainly added his voice to the choir of those who wanted to see the ideals and promises of the American Constitution fulfilled. Anyone who is looking for a critical voice on the American Dream will find Follen's words most impressive and powerful. Mehring has also summarized his results in an article that was published in the last *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 42 (2007): 17–38.

**The Rise of Multicultural America: Economy and Print Culture
1865–1915.**

*By Susan L. Mizruchi. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2008.
355 pp. \$65.00/\$24.95.*

Mizruchi's study offers a fascinating perspective on America's understanding of itself in the period between the American Civil War and the beginning of the First World War. In many respects, however, the volume's title belies both its content and its depth. Certainly the economy and the development of various print media play a role, yet Mizruchi's study finally highlights and examines the coincidence of large increases in the immigrant population, the rise of capitalism as a dominant economic force, and the growth of the print media and their increased ability to wield considerable influence in shaping public perception of the image of America.

The narrative of Mizruchi's argument comprises eight chapters framed by an "Introduction" and an "Afterword." The last two essays are admirably clear and concise, yet the argument itself is complex. Perhaps the best formulation of the volume's premise comes at the bottom of the second page of the introduction, where Mizruchi writes that the "book explores and analyzes a momentous and enduring national metamorphosis through the lens of literary writers." Yet because Mizruchi's concept of "literary writers" is very broad and the "national metamorphosis" she outlines so profound, even that sentence does not do justice to the nature and range of the discussion.

Emblematic here is the variety of writers considered in chapter 6, itself aptly titled "Varieties of Work." The chapter considers the work of Upton Sinclair, Theodore Dreiser, W. E. B. DuBois, and others alongside that of Samuel Gompers, Jacob Riis, and Henry George. And the whole is punctuated by a series of haunting images of urban life taken from Riis's *How the Other Half Lives* (1890). Even the more narrowly literary works discussed in other chapters demonstrate a multiplicity of formats, genre, and viewpoints, from Upton Sinclair and Theodore Dreiser to Mark Twain and Frank L. Baum, from corporate reports to utopian novels.

The story Mizruchi tells by means of such a broad array of authors and works is of "racial and ethnic others" (3) as diverse as immigrants from Western Europe and Eastern Asia, freed slaves, and Native Americans. She chronicles the increased volume of immigration during the period as well as the gradual change in the complexion, both literally and figuratively, of new arrivals as the sources of immigration shifted eastward from central Europe. She examines the internal migration, at times physical and at other times psychological, of groups such as Blacks and indigenous Indians, which were already in place. To a degree certainly, such stories have been told before, individually if

not collectively. Mizruchi herself credits the work of John Higham and others in her introduction. Yet what is perhaps unique in Mizruchi's narrative is the combination of immigrant tales with the story of the emergence of capitalism as the dominant economic system in the United States. As she weaves the two stories together, Mizruchi underscores the power of print media, of advertising particularly, both to facilitate an immigrant's economic assimilation and to support an immigrant's need to preserve a measure of ethnic separateness. Taken together her arguments document well the emergence of the United States as a multicultural nation.

Mizruchi acknowledges the anachronism inherent in using the term "multicultural" when referring to the period of her study. Multiculturalism as a concept first became current in intellectual circles nearly one hundred years after the start of the period under consideration. Yet, as Mizruchi herself points out, the specific term may not have been coined until years later, but the facts speak for themselves. Moreover, emphasizing the historical parallels expands and enriches the contemporary debate over multiculturalism.

The bulk of Mizruchi's discussion centers on literary works, although the term must be understood broadly. The individual treatments themselves are considerably less analytical and more expository than this admittedly traditional reviewer is comfortable with, and the significance of German immigration to North America considerably less than is typical in books normally reviewed in these pages; but the story itself is a compelling and informative study of American culture in the latter third of the nineteenth century. It is likely typical of most discussions of multiculturalism that they are wide-ranging, loosely organized, and somewhat inconclusive. The topic is too complex to fit comfortably into a single intellectual framework, but it is also too important to ignore simply because it is difficult to comprehend. Mizruchi takes her reader on an extensive tour of the American cultural terrain in the final third of the nineteenth century. It is a circuitous, yet captivating march, and one well worth taking.

Loyola University Maryland

Randall P. Donaldson

Images of America: German New York City.

By Richard Panchyk. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2008. 127 pp. \$19.99.

Arcadia Publishing, with offices in Charleston, Chicago, Portsmouth, and San Francisco, prides itself on its website, which describes the company as "the leading local history publisher in the United States, with a catalog of more than 5,000 titles in print and hundreds of new titles released every

year" (www.arcadiapublishing.com, 9 June 2009). Its series *Images of America* features nostalgic picture books of towns or sections of towns from various regions of the country, most of them located in the Eastern part of the United States. Richard Panchyk, born in Queens, New York, has now contributed to this series a collection of circa 200 photos focusing on the German aspect of New York City. The book is divided into six chapters or sections and an introduction. The photos are accompanied by extensive captions.

The timeline of this sampling reaches from the last third of the nineteenth century until the year 2007, when the 50th Steuben Day parade took place in Manhattan. The photos are not necessarily arranged in chronological order, which may be the result of dividing the book into various sections (but within a given section, chronological order cannot always be discerned). The strongest merit of this collection consists in its use of many private sources of photographic material. These photographs provide insights into the family life of non-prominent people whose existence is not normally documented in the print media. Particularly useful is the coverage of German-American communities in Queens, such as Ridgewood, Glendale, and Middle Village. In regard to the entire collection, it should be stated that photos of buildings that have been torn or burned down are of special interest to the historian of urban development.

Unfortunately, the value of this picture show is reduced by numerous shortcomings. The dilemma already starts in the introduction, where Jacob Leisler is referred to as "the infamous Jacob Leisler" (7). This epithet does not reflect the generally accepted appraisal of the colonial lieutenant governor. After all, his name was cleared by the Parliament in London in 1695. Why then discredit him as "infamous" more than 300 years later? On page 79, the husband of the British Queen Victoria is identified as "Prince Albert of Germany." While it is correct to state that he came from Germany, he was—to be precise—Prince of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, not of Germany. An awkward misrepresentation of facts occurs on page 105, where one can read about the 50th Steuben Day parade in New York, at which "Dr. Henry Kissinger was the grand marshal and former German chancellor Helmut Kohl was the guest of honor." The fact is that Kohl did not come (for health reasons); he was replaced by Germany's Ambassador in Washington, DC, Dr. Klaus Scharioth.

In consideration of the very promising book title, *German New York City*, one might be tempted to expect a complete (or almost complete) listing of persons and places in NYC that carry a distinct German connection. However, such high expectations often remain unfulfilled. While ample reference is made to *Kleindeutschland*, many remnants are omitted. New York's oldest and most important German-American newspaper, the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*

(which is older than the *New York Times*), is mentioned only occasionally. Anna Ottendorfer, one of the early publishers of the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung* and a well-known philanthropist, is not mentioned at all, although the Ottendorfer Library (135 Second Avenue, Manhattan) and the adjacent building of the former German Polyclinic (137 Second Avenue) are still standing and in good condition. The library is still in use. Still in existence and also unmentioned is another major institution sponsored by Mrs. Ottendorfer; named after her deceased daughter, the Isabella Geriatric Center is located today at 515 Audubon Avenue. The building of the former Astor Library, now housing a theater, is not mentioned, either. The world-famous Steinway pianos receive one reference: the drawing of a patent (50). However, neither an image of the founder of the company or other family members, nor one of Steinway Hall, nor an image of the old piano factory in Astoria, a neighborhood of Queens, can be found. The name Rockefeller is completely absent. In Tompkins Square Park (in the heart of former *Kleindeutschland*), a fountain by the German-American sculptor Bruno Louis Zimm was erected in 1906 to commemorate the loss of the children who had perished in the maritime disaster of the doomed excursion boat, *General Slocum*. Although Panchyk mentions this catastrophe, he does not seem to be aware of the memorial fountain. Another sculpture with a turbulent past, the Heinrich Heine Fountain, a.k.a. Lorelei Fountain (opposite the Bronx County Court House), also does not appear in Panchyk's album. Other public monuments—of Goethe, Schiller, Beethoven, Mozart, or the Civil War general Franz Sigel—do not fare better. In the section titled "People," the author names famous German-American baseball players but leaves out George Herman ("Babe") Ruth, whose career pinnacle was with the New York Yankees (64). The section "Religion and Education" (73–88) focuses on Catholics and Protestants but leaves out Jews. This is regrettable insofar as some of the oldest Jewish congregations in New York were founded by immigrants from Germany.

Such omissions strengthen the impression that Mr. Panchyk's book is the result of a somewhat idiosyncratic selection. The tiny bibliography (126) delivers further justification of this assumption: no mention is made of *Schlegel's German-American Families*, which would have provided excellent picture material of prominent German-American New Yorkers. A real treasure trove of nostalgic images and names of German-American entrepreneurs of the end of the nineteenth century is *King's Handbook of New York City, 1892*, now available in a facsimile reprint (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 2001). *Outdoor Monuments of Manhattan: A Historical Guide*, by Dianne L. Durante (New York: New York UP, 2007) also contains valuable information about sculptures of German-American relevance. However, such sources are not listed in Panchyk's bibliography and obviously were not used for this edition.

The last sentence of the introduction sums up the author's intention: "I have tried to give a sampling of what life was like in German New York City" (8). Indeed, it is a sampling, not necessarily according to every reader's taste or expectation, but maybe it is a beginning, an incentive for volumes to follow. If the small coastal town in New Jersey, where this reviewer is living, can be represented in two volumes of *Images of America*, the German element of New York City certainly deserves greater attention.

Point Pleasant, New Jersey

Gert Niers

Karl Jakob Hirsch. Schriftsteller, Künstler und Exilant: Eine Biographie mit Werkgeschichte.

By Helmut F. Pfanner. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2009. 184 pp. €28.00.

"Warum schreibt man die Biographie eines Schriftstellers, der in seinem letzten Lebensjahrzehnt zwei Autobiographien verfasst hat?"

Diese Frage beantwortet der Autor Helmut F. Pfanner zu Beginn seiner Biographie und Werkgeschichte zum Leben und Wirken von Karl Jakob Hirsch. Jener 1892 in Hannover geborene Schriftsteller und Künstler machte beim Verfassen seiner Autobiographien unstimlige Angaben zur Chronologie seines Exils. Überdies ging es Pfanner darum, vorhandene Lücken in den Lebenserinnerungen nach Möglichkeit zu ergänzen.

K. J. Hirsch entstammt einem orthodoxen jüdischen Elternhaus und ist der Nachfahre einiger bekannter Rabbiner. Mit vielfältigen Talenten gesegnet, entschloss er sich zunächst zu einer musikalischen Laufbahn, die jedoch aufgrund der Teilamputation eines Fingers ein rasches Ende fand. Ein anderes Talent bestand im Zeichnen und Malen und so war es nur folgerichtig, dass er in München eine Ausbildung zum Kunstmaler und Graphiker durchlief. Auf diesem Gebiet erzielte er beachtlichen Erfolg und konnte seine Erfahrungen noch vertiefen durch einen Paris-Aufenthalt und das Zusammentreffen mit anderen Künstlern. Nach ihn prägenden Stationen in Worpswede und Berlin heiratete Hirsch die Ärztin Auguste Lotz, seine Jugendliebe.

Seine künstlerischen Tätigkeiten wandte Hirsch auch in politischem Sinne an, etwa durch Propaganda-Arbeiten für die damaligen Linksparteien der Weimarer Republik. Spätestens Mitte der zwanziger Jahre legte er immer mehr Gewicht auf das Talent, dem er schließlich sein weiteres Leben widmen sollte: das Schreiben. Ein wesentlicher Anstoß für seinen Wechsel zur Literatur sah Hirsch in der Begegnung mit dem österreichischen Maler und Schriftsteller Oskar Kokoschka.

Während einer Italienreise 1925 verliebte Hirsch sich in eine Amerikanerin, die sich in Deutschland unter dem Namen Wera Carus einen Namen als Ausdruckstänzerin gemacht hatte. Er ließ sich scheiden und heiratete Wera, die ihm 1932 sein einziges Kind schenkte, einen Sohn namens Ralph.

Nach der Gründung und gemeinsamen Leitung des Carus-Verlages in Berlin verfasste Hirsch zunehmend narrative Prosa und Kunstkritiken. Der literarische Durchbruch gelang ihm 1931 mit dem Roman *Kaiserwetter*, der im Fischer Verlag in Berlin erschien. Dieser Großstadtroman bleibt bis heute das bekannteste und am meisten geschätzte literarische Werk von Hirsch. Die jüdische Herkunft des Autors, die Antikriegstendenz des Romans und die scharfe Kritik an der Korruption im Rechtswesen und der Politik ließen *Kaiserwetter* vier Jahre später auf der "Liste 1 des schädlichen und unerwünschten Schrifttums" der Nationalsozialisten erscheinen.

Die Annahme verschiedener Pseudonyme bewirkte allmählich ein Verschwinden seines Namens aus der deutschen literarischen Szene. Nach dem 1933 verhängten Berufsverbot als Schriftsteller und Journalist ist der Zeitraum der folgenden drei Jahre bezüglich seines Aufenthaltsortes Spekulationen unterworfen. Wahrscheinlich wurde Hirsch 1936 aus Deutschland ausgebürgert. Nach einem knapp einjährigen Aufenthalt in der Schweiz emigrierte Hirsch im Mai 1937 nach Amerika. Es folgten mehrere Jahre in den USA. Während dieser Zeit benutzte Hirsch das Pseudonym Joe Gassner sowohl in literarischer als auch in bürgerlicher Hinsicht. Zwar erhielt er die Möglichkeit, Beiträge für die Neue Volkszeitung zu verfassen, doch war seine finanzielle Situation unbefriedigend. Aufgrund seiner Ehe mit einer Amerikanerin wurde er bereits nach drei Jahren eingebürgert und konnte 1942 beim "Office of Censorship" eine Stelle als amerikanischer Beamter erlangen. Parallel dazu schrieb er Artikel und Glossen für deutschsprachige Tages- und Wochenzeitungen. Im selben Jahr scheiterte auch seine zweite Ehe.

Allmählich entwickelte Hirsch ein immer größeres Interesse am Christentum, das ihn schließlich 1945 bewog, zum Protestantismus zu konvertieren. In dieser religiösen Selbstfindung sah er eine Vereinigung beider Religionen, also nicht zwangsläufig die Aufgabe seines jüdischen Glaubens. Im Jahr seiner Konversion nahm er die Gelegenheit wahr, im Dienste des amerikanischen Kriegsministeriums nach München überstellt zu werden. Im Rahmen dieses zweijährigen Aufenthalts als Besatzungssoldat bei der amerikanischen Briefzensur lernte er Ruth Reinhart kennen, die als Schreibkraft und Dolmetscherin seine Kollegin war. Da staatenlos in Deutschland, musste er zunächst nach Amerika zurückreisen—zu dem Zeitpunkt mit dem festen Vorsatz, so bald wie möglich nach Deutschland heimzukehren und eine dritte Ehe einzugehen.

1948 verließ er die USA endgültig und war fortan für die deutsche Tagespresse journalistisch tätig. Allerdings fand er keinen Verleger für seine Buchmanuskripte. Seine Arbeit wurde durch zunehmende gesundheitliche Probleme erschwert. Sein zeitlebens labiler Gesundheitszustand verschlechterte sich durch ein mysteriöses Nervenleiden, das seine Beweglichkeit immer weiter einschränkte. Hirsch starb im Juli 1952. Seine Witwe setzte sich bis zu ihrem eigenen Tod 2000 für die Betreuung und Verbreitung des Werkes ihres Mannes ein. Sein Nachlass befindet sich heute in der Universitätsbibliothek München.

Die ca. 100 Seiten umfassende Biographie ergänzt Pfanner durch eine Bibliographie mit den Werken von Karl Jakob Hirsch. In chronologischer Reihenfolge unterteilt er diese in selbständige Veröffentlichungen und eine umfassende Auswahl in Zeitungen, Zeitschriften und Anthologien. Anschließend wendet er sich den Bildern, graphischen und Bühnenbildnerischen Arbeiten zu. Es folgt eine Auflistung von Literatur über Hirsch, danach Besprechungen einzelner Werke, zum Schluss eine Auswahl von Lebenszeugnissen. Abgerundet wird das Buch durch eine gelungene Zusammenstellung von Bildanhängen. Dies ermöglicht dem Leser einen besseren Zugang zu dem von Pfanner als "engagierter Außenseiter" bezeichneten Künstler.

Es entsteht das nicht wirklich sympathische Portrait eines Mannes, dem man auf der einen Seite Anerkennung für die vielfältige Umsetzung seiner Talente zollen muss. Andererseits wächst Hirsch als Privatmensch dem Leser bei der Lektüre nicht unbedingt ans Herz—das mag mit seiner Lebensgestaltung, aber auch mit seiner Rolle als—wie Pfanner ihn charakterisiert—"lebenslanger Nörgler" zusammenhängen. Ab dem zweiten Kapitel stößt der Leser hin und wieder auf Buchstaben- und Zahlenkombinationen, die irritierend sind und ohne vorherigen Hinweis erst in einem Teil der Bibliographie erklärt werden. Es ist also eine gewisse Detektivarbeit zu leisten, um den Verweis auf diese Kürzel zu finden.

Leider ist es Pfanner nicht gelungen, den im Buch aufgeführten einzigen Sohn, Ralph Hirsch, ausfindig zu machen, was vielleicht noch weitere Informationen zu Tage gefördert hätte. Aber zurück von Spekulationen hin zu Fakten: Pfanner hat mit großer Akribie gearbeitet und sein eingangs selbst gesetztes Ziel im Rahmen der zur Verfügung stehenden Informationen weitestgehend erreicht, nämlich einige Lücken in den Lebenserinnerungen zu ergänzen.

Als Fazit lässt sich festhalten, dass es Pfanner gelungen ist, das Interesse am Werk eines Schriftstellers und Künstlers zu wecken, der ohne Bemühungen dieser Art bedauerlicherweise wohl immer mehr in Vergessenheit geraten würde.

West Bloomfield, Michigan

Susanna Piontek

Relations Stop Nowhere: The Common Literary Foundations of German and American Literature 1830–1917.

By Hugh Ridley. *Internationale Forschungen zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft* 109. New York, Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007. 317 pp. \$86.00.

Hugh Ridley's recent book, *Relations Stop Nowhere: The Common Literary Foundations of German and American Literature 1830–1917*, aims to convince scholars of American Studies to consider German literature as a vital part of their discipline. As Ridley explains on the back cover: "This book attempts for the first time a comparative literary history of Germany and the United States in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Its material does not come from the familiar overlaps of individual German and American writers, but from the work of the literary historians of the two countries after 1815, when American intellectuals took Germany as a model for their project to create an American national literature." The author wants to share his appreciation of his understanding of German literature by showing that it is more than just a collection of great books (7). He also seeks to make German literature accessible to American scholars who fail to see beyond their own subject's boundaries and who, by doing so, may ignore international influences on the development of American literature. Ridley's approach considers similar developments in both American and German literature and focuses on an abstract view of historical events that connect the literatures of both countries. His main point is to show processes of influence instead of static developments.

Ridley's book consists of two parts. Part One examines German and American literary history as an active process, whereas Part Two defines the mid-Atlantic space and presents interpretations of literary works that Ridley considers representative of this geographic region. With this new focus on the two-way exchange of German and American literature as a process, Ridley argues, new insights can be gained into works that have generally not belonged to the traditional literary canon.

In Part One, the author starts his discussion of the similarities in the development of German and American literature and literary history by examining the idea of how nations are built. According to Ridley, national literature and literary criticism reflect and even define national values, and literature's task is to spread these ideals by creating and encouraging national myths. Only when a nation develops literary criticism and a literary apparatus can it establish a sense of national pride. Furthermore, "Literary history not only helps to build the nation, it defends it against the challenge of alternative systems" (15). But at the same time, while distancing one's own literature

from others, there is a space in which foreign literary works can be successful: "As institutions, German and American literary history shared features that were independent of their national colourings" (15). According to Ridley, German Germanistik had to fight to become an accepted academic field distinct from the classical fields, whereas the United States had to legitimize its literary production and find a new way to distinguish it from English literature and classical languages (16).

In his book, Ridley considers Germany and America as latecomers to creating nationhood. On paper the United States has been a nation since 1776, but Americans had to define themselves and their national identity and literature in the following centuries, thus bringing the paper to life. On the other side of the ocean, Germany had a traditional literary canon but became a nation only in 1871, the founding year of the Second Reich. Following Ridley's argument, it becomes evident that he establishes his own interpretation of nation, but he does not support it with facts that clearly define the concept. It is not clear whether he wants to challenge older definitions or intends to create a new perspective. Interestingly, the author does not engage in the 'nation' discussion still ongoing among historians and therefore he does not discuss noted historians such as Eric Hobsbawm (although Hobsbawm is included in the bibliography). A clearer definition of nation, nationality, and nationhood would enrich Ridley's discussion of these concepts. This criticism also reflects on one of the major flaws of his book: Ridley uses the word "historians" as a collective term without naming specific scholars.

It also becomes increasingly evident that Ridley does not explain why he chose the year 1830 as a starting point. In most literary histories, scholars provide reasons for choosing a particular date, but Ridley's book proves an exception to this rule. While 1830 is an important date, the reader can only guess as to its significance for Ridley.

In his transnational approach, Ridley considers most important the fact that both countries were facing the same problems during the nineteenth century, which included having too many diverse and regional interests to become single nations. Further, Ridley argues that Germans as well as Americans had national fantasies that they applied to each other's countries. The distance between the United States and the German states was so great that these kinds of fantasies were not critically challenged. As a result, America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had been seen as virgin land and as a place in which it might prove possible to achieve political freedom, which never could have happened in Europe. Germans used America as a blank screen upon which to project their fantasies about nationhood, and these fantasies usually did not represent American reality. The Young Germans in particular put all their hopes in the American struggle for freedom and

independence, but it was their philosophical ideas that the Americans appropriated. One reason for the disappointment in the American "experiment" was the generally negative voices that were published in Germany. Later, after the Revolution of 1848 and the disillusionment of nationalistic authors, Germans were waiting for a major American realist novel which, according to Ridley, never appeared. Ridley fails to connect the disillusionment of German authors such as Fontane, whom he compares with Emerson in an excursus, to his discussion of American literature. He appears not to see that in German literature, America at the end of the nineteenth century was not an option for immigration, which of course contradicted the reality and the constant flow of immigrants to the United States during that time.

Another core element for nations, according to Ridley, is the development of literary realism, which had not developed in either America or Germany in the nineteenth century. Germany, in its European *Sonderweg*, took a path to development in the nineteenth century that was different from that followed by other European countries; social literary realism never emerged, therefore, as it had in England or France. Instead, Germany developed poetic realism. Here again Ridley is very vague; he does not explain why he does not view poetic realism as realism, or why realism has to be invented by literary historians and academia in order to be established. In addition, he treats American literary historians so abstractly that realism appears to have been the invention of scholars who saw it as a vital element in the dawn of nationhood. Therefore, these scholars were extremely conscious of the fact that each of the large nations had already produced social realism. As a result of their analysis of other older nations, they concluded that American authors had no authors who produced realistic literary writings.

Whereas Part One describes the processes of writing literary histories and including and excluding literary works in the canon, Part Two provides the reader with concrete examples of writings that are part of the mid-Atlantic space. Ridley claims that shifting the focus from power relations to the process of two-way exchanges opens new perspectives on works such as Charles Sealsfield's *The Prairie on the San Jacinto River*. Sealsfield, who had been influenced as much by European as by American literary traditions, had never been claimed by either of the two literary histories. Therefore, Sealsfield qualifies for what Ridley terms "the mid-Atlantic" space.

Ridley provides a good overview of historical and literary developments in Germany and America during the nineteenth century, but some of his interpretations are too abstract to support his argument. His categorization of literary works is also problematic. I strongly disagree with his labeling of Droste-Hülshoff's *Die Judenbuche* as a piece of travel literature, an understanding of this work that becomes evident when Ridley includes it

in a general account of nineteenth-century literature of this genre: "We may approach this question [about the parallels between Droste-Hülshoff's text and Charles Sealsfield] from the perspective adopted in Mary Pratt's account of travel literature (1992), in which, without mentioning either Droste-Hülshoff [*sic*] or Sealsfield, she reflects on the relationship between the national and international dimensions of nineteenth-century writing" (187).

In general, Ridley's book does not always make his argument clear to the reader and his tendency to switch focus from Germany and German ideas to American literary history is sometimes confusing. He emphasizes primarily the American literary canon and the origins of philosophical ideas that have been traditionally considered truly American. It might have been helpful to make a clearer distinction between Germany's and America's historical developments and to discuss in a later chapter the intellectual exchange between Germany and America.

Ridley's core idea is good and may point the way to closer cooperation between academic disciplines, but he needs to support his arguments. His book is too broadly focused, which makes it too abstract. After all, the American Civil War is not the same as the German struggle for unification and the Wars of Unification.

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First Language Attrition, Use and Maintenance: The Case of German Jews in Anglophone Countries.

By Monika S. Schmid. Studies in Bilingualism 24. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2002. 259 pp. €110.00, \$165.00.

The distinction between language contact, language change, and language attrition is one that is often quite blurred. Focusing exclusively on the latter issue, a number of questions immediately arise, and the answers can vary or be quite similar to one another, depending on the phenomena in natural language that are investigated. Can any one language ever be really 'lost'? How can we measure if and to what degree a language is lost? What is language loss, anyway? How does it take place? What exactly is 'lost'? In this monograph, which is a significant revision of her dissertation, Monika Schmid presents a study of the L1 attrition of German among German Jews who emigrated to Anglophone countries while the National Socialists were in power during the 1930s and 1940s. Although predominantly written from a historical sociolinguistic perspective that looks at a complex network of issues such as identity, identification, and first language loss and maintenance, Schmid devotes special attention to making her study applicable to linguistics in other areas

also involved in research on bilingualism and, in particular, language attrition (e.g., psycholinguists and generative linguistics). In her monograph, Schmid focuses exclusively on the attrition of morphology, i.e., loss of case marking, loss of gender marking and the adjective/noun congruence, reduction in allomorphic variation, a movement from inflectional devices and allomorphic variation toward more regularized or analytic forms, a trend toward periphrastic constructions (e.g., from an inflected future tense to a go-future) and grammatical relations that tend to be encoded less by bound morphemes and more by lexemes, and syntax (i.e., word order phenomena and, in particular, the V2-rule present in most Germanic languages).

The present study examines language use and language loss of a group of 54 German-Jewish emigrants. It attempts to establish the influence of extralinguistic (autobiographical) factors on language attrition, as well as look at intralinguistic determinants for language loss. The informants for this study are all German Jews who were forced to emigrate under the Nazi regime. They left Germany between 1933 and 1939 and have lived in Anglophone countries (England and the United States) ever since. Although a multitude of independent sociolinguistic variables were taken into account, Schmid decided to divide the informants of this study into three groups, based on the date of their emigration. Emigration group 1 comprised the people who left Germany within the first 2.5 years after the Nazi rise to power, before September 1935, when the Nuremberg race laws were announced. Emigration group 2 left after these laws were passed but before the first deportations to Poland in late October of 1938 and, most importantly, before the Pogrom on 9 November 1938. Emigration group 3 left between this pogrom and the outbreak of World War II in September 1939, after which emigration became virtually impossible. This group also included one informant who survived the war in Auschwitz, was liberated in January 1945, and subsequently went to the United States. This study is based on a corpus of 54 narrative autobiographical interviews with no closed questionnaire implemented in addition to the narratives to serve as control data.

Concerning 'interferences' (note: throughout her book Schmid labels all instances of non-native-like forms and structure not as 'mistakes', but rather as 'interferences') in the area of morphology, Schmid devotes two separate chapters (chapters 4 and 5 respectively) to the treatment and discussion of the morphology of the noun phrase and the verb phrase. Focusing first on noun phrase morphology attrition, Schmid's findings suggest that there is a correlation between acquisitional sequences and the amount of interference in L1 attrition on the morphological variables under investigation: Those variables that are completely required at a relatively late stage (e.g., plural morphology) appear to be more vulnerable to mistakes than those that are acquired

relatively early (e.g., gender). Interlanguage effects for L1 attrition of German morphology under L2 influence of English, on the other hand, "are hard to establish, since inflectional morphology is far more restricted and regular in English than German. Interlanguage effects and intralinguistic simplification are therefore hard to distinguish" (125). In the domain of verbal morphology, the data confirms that there were three times as many errors when compared with the data in the nominal domain. For example, despite their similar distributional frequency in German, strong verb inflection was clearly more vulnerable than weak verb inflection. Another noteworthy observation comes from the comparatively high number of mixed verb interferences in the corpus. To quote Schmid, "This suggests that, while irregular inflection is less stable than regular inflection, where both principles are mixed there is the highest chance that eventually inflection will conform to just one or the other principle" (146). Concerning relational categories such as number and person, the target rather than the controller was shown to be the deviant element in the majority of instances of interference. This finding provides further support for the claims on noun phrase morphology in the previous chapter.

Schmid's study of syntactic interferences in the L1 speech of her subjects centered on three construction types: verb-subject orderings, discontinuous word orderings, and subordinate clause structure. The overall distribution of correct and incorrect sentence structures shows no discernible effect; no structure appears to have been used incorrectly to a much larger degree than any other. In contrast to the morphological variables discussed in the previous chapters, "there is no apparent rate of loss of these syntactical structures which parallels the rate of acquisition" (168). Rather than looking at regression as a possible explanation of L1 attrition in syntax, these data suggest that, given changes in this domain, interlanguage may be a more important factor.

Returning to her discussion of the emigration group affiliation as an independent variable, it was statistically proven that those who had endured more racial and religious persecution at the hands of the Nazi Regime (i.e., group 3) exhibited more 'interferences' and were judged less native-like in their speech patterns by native German speakers. In the words of Schmid, "these findings speak very strongly for the importance of attitudes in language loss and language maintenance. It appears that what is at the heart of language attrition is not so much the opportunity to use the language, nor yet the age at the time of the emigration. What matters is the speaker's identity and self-perception" (191).

Schmid's work is very effective in addressing head-on a topic of research that investigates many underdeveloped and controversial issues. This work adds to the ongoing discussion of structural and sociolinguistic decay of

variants of German—both in the form of L1 attrition of ‘standard’ German and German-American heritage dialects (i.e., *Sprachinseln*)—over time.

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Michael T. Putnam

Deutsche Juden in Amerika: Bürgerliches Selbstbewusstsein und jüdische Identität in den Orden B’nai B’rith und Treue Schwestern, 1843–1918.

By Cornelia Wilhelm. *Transatlantische Historische Studien* 30. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2007. 372 pp. €48.00.

German Jewish migration to the United States has been mostly seen in the light of World War II. Cornelia Wilhelm, however, has chosen to look at Jewish immigrants from Germany and their networks in the nineteenth century. The focus of her study is the assimilation process of German Jews into American society and their struggle between religious identity and secular values, Jewish traditions and civil society’s conventions. Wilhelm argues that two Jewish lodges—the male lodge B’nai B’rith and its female counterpart Treue Schwestern—were instrumental in the formation of an American-Jewish identity that bridged Jewish religious traditions and secular and civic values. The book is a classical study of two German-Jewish lodges in the United States. The author herself is very familiar with the topic. Since 1996 she has published widely on similar topics.

The Order of B’nai B’rith was founded by German Jews in New York City in 1843 and modeled on the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. It started as a secret society, practicing secret initiation rites. In the course of its growth, it adopted social and philanthropic activities typical for nineteenth century lodges. The female organization Treue Schwestern was founded as a separate entity in 1846. Although ladies auxiliaries were a more common feature of similar organizations, the Treue Schwestern was one of the first female lodges that offered women a public sphere outside traditional Jewish female roles in the family or synagogue. In 1895, when female membership in B’nai B’rith was introduced, both organizations merged. In her 347-page history, Wilhelm explains the role of both organizations in the process of reshaping Jewish identity in the United States from a religiously driven particularism to a more universal interpretation that embraced U.S. civil and national values and practices.

The author begins her study with an overview of Jewish life in the United States between 1820 and 1850, when mass migration increased the number of Jews in America from roughly 3,000 to 140,000. Prior to 1820 Jewish life was predominately organized within the religious spheres of synagogues.

However, mass migration led to an increase in Jewish social activities outside the religious realm. The establishment of schools, social societies, lodges, and congregations added to an increasing range of Jewish life in the United States. At the same time, this diversity challenged a unified Jewish identity (40). In particular, German-Jewish immigrants with a secular background and academic training shaped Jewish activities in the United States in the nineteenth century in important ways. Academically trained rabbis such as Dr. Max Lilienthal and Leo Merzbacher restructured religious services and introduced new elements (42–43). The new leadership was not only familiar with discussions on the civil emancipation of Jews that had been taking place in Germany since the eighteenth century, it was also strongly influenced by German rationalism and thus grounded reforms on humanistic principles.

According to Wilhelm, newly arrived Jewish immigrants had to go through a painful reorientation process that involved the acceptance of dominant civil and social values and codes they were not familiar with prior to arrival. Wilhelm argues that both lodges were instrumental in this acculturation process because they provided a familiar religious environment along with new democratic features and civil orientation. Caught between established Jewish practices and acculturation's challenges, the progressive leadership sought ways to develop a "civil Judaism" (122). In the course of this process they reinterpreted the topos of the "covenant with God," which had previously been the basis for Jewish particularism. Instead, the interpretation now demanded Jewish responsibility for the good of mankind. The modern Jew was to be an integral and productive part of American secular society (48). Within this ideological framework the foundation of organizations that executed the new thinking was a logical development. Among the goals of the fraternity B'nai B'rith were the elevation of morality and character; the support of arts and sciences; pursuing the principles of philanthropy, honor and patriotism; and providing for the protection of widows and orphans (66). Typical for immigrant aid societies, the fraternity was the motor behind the establishment and the support of Jewish hospitals, relief associations, benevolent societies, orphanages, and libraries in many American cities. Its motto, "Benevolence, Brotherly Love and Harmony" (67), reflected its purpose. Charity and the insurance business were major pillars of the services it provided for members.

From the 1850s to 1873 nearly 200 lodges were established as part of the growing B'nai B'rith network throughout the country. The organization, structured in a manner typical of nineteenth-century fraternities, included a national operating umbrella organisation and regional districts. By 1873 the membership of B'nai B'rith had risen to 15,967 (109). Wilhelm's book on the history of the organization leads the reader through its ups and downs,

marked by multiple discussions and crises. Especially in the 1880s, the order came under pressure due to dwindling membership. Although the number of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe increased rapidly and in principal offered new means of expansion, the organization was not able to solve the tensions between acculturated German Jewish members and newly arrived immigrants. Furthermore, competing lodges, congregations, and social organizations offered the same services. Despite these problems, B'nai B'rith was able to internationalize and open new fraternities, for example in Egypt and Romania (238–39). Although B'nai B'rith remains one of the important Jewish organizations today, the author follows its history until World War I, with some aspects covered until the 1920s.

Cornelia Wilhelm has used a wide range of available sources. She has visited archives and historical societies and studied archival material of Jewish congregations and lodges in numerous American states. The book is primarily based on these original papers, which makes it a fine piece of research and a valuable addition to scholarship. Wilhelm ventures into an area of study in which only a close look at original materials provides needed details. Organizations such as B'nai B'rith offer an abundance of information that does not make it easy for scholars to create a coherent picture of its multifaceted history. Wilhelm has certainly done a very good job weaving all parts together into an interesting and nicely written book. The study would have benefited had she only considered more recent works on similar topics. Anke Ortlepp's study on German female organization in the United States (*Auf denn, ihr Schwestern*), published in 2004, covers the same time period and a closely related topic but is not even cited in the bibliography. The same holds true for Katja Rampelmann's study on German *Freie Gemeinden* and Freethinkers in the United States (*Im Licht der Vernunft*, 2003), which deals with Germans in the United States who shared a reform and rationalistic background with many Jewish leaders. Wilhelm mentions the movements the *Freie Gemeinden* (122) and *Lichtfreunde* (76) but consulted only dated scholarship and did not take advantage of more recent findings. Since Wilhelm's book is published in the same series from the German Historical Institute as the two mentioned above, this is hard to understand. Russell Kazall's *Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity* (2004) also would have given her valuable insights into the Philadelphia community. A closer look at these studies might have provided more information on the connections between B'nai B'rith and related German organizations.

Rather irritating are her citations. Although she is specific about the citation of her archival material, she does not handle the citation of her secondary literature very well. Instead of precise page numbers, the reader finds the term "passim" in the majority of such footnotes. On page 25, all footnotes

are cited "passim," which should, according to scholarly convention, be used only occasionally. This, however, leaves the reader with the impression of an uncomfortable vagueness. Has she snapped up bits of information here and there and can she not remember exactly where?

Overall this is a well-researched book. One might have wished for the interpretation of her results within the larger picture of German immigration to the United States. English readers will be glad to know that, according to her homepage, a translation of this book is being prepared under the title *Pathmaker for a New Jewish Identity in America: Mission and Self-Awareness of the Independent Order B'Nai B'rith 1843–1914*; it has apparently been accepted for publication in the American Jewish Civilization Series of Wayne State University Press.

Berlin, Germany

Katja Hartmann

Annual Bibliography of German-Americana: Articles, Books, Selected Media, and Dissertations

Dolores J. Hoyt and Giles R. Hoyt in collaboration with the Bibliographic Committee of the Society for German-American Studies.

Co-Chairs: Dolores J. Hoyt and Giles R. Hoyt, Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI).

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The Bibliographic Committee wishes to thank the IUPUI University Library for its generous cooperation. The Bibliography includes references to books, articles, dissertations and selected media relating to the experience of German-speaking people in North America and their descendants.

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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 in 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, 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 for members elected secretary or treasurer shall be for two years. A secretary or treasurer may not serve more than two consecutive terms.
3. The member elected as vice president will serve one two-year term and automatically assume the presidency for a single two-year term following the next regular election.
4. The duties of the officers are as follows:
 - 4.1. The president serves as the official spokesperson of the Society, chairs the Executive Committee, and presides over annual meetings.
 - 4.2. The vice president maintains the procedures for the annual symposia and coordinates the annual meeting schedule. The vice president presides when the president is not available.
 - 4.3. The secretary keeps a written record of the annual meetings and Executive Committee meetings.
 - 4.4. The treasurer keeps the financial records of the Society and presents a report to the membership at each annual meeting.
5. The resignation of any officer shall be submitted in writing to the Executive Committee.
6. If any vacancy should occur, the Executive Committee shall elect a member of the Society to fill such vacancy for the unexpired term.
7. 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. Committees

1. Standing Committees

1.1. Executive Committee

- 1.1.1. The Executive Committee consists of the four 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. Nominations Committee
 - 2.1.1. The Nominations Committee shall solicit nominations and prepare a slate of candidates for officers and conduct the election of officers at the annual meeting.
 - 2.1.2. Members of the Nominations Committee cannot be nominated for an office.
 - 2.1.3. The Nominations Committee shall also solicit suggestions for the annual Outstanding Achievement Award and make a recommendation to the Executive Committee.
 - 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 at the time of the appointment shall designate their chairpersons.

Article IX. 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 an-

nual 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 X. 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 XI. 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 XII. 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 XIII. 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 XIV. Repository

The Archives and Rare Books Department, University Library, the University of Cincinnati is the official repository for all records of the Society.

Article XV. 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 XVI. 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: Lawrence, Kansas, 28 April 2007 [corrected: 30 April 2007]

Amended: Williamsburg, Virginia, 17 April 2008

Amended: Amana, Iowa, 8 November 2008

Amended: New Ulm, Minnesota, 16 April 2009



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 31 January 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



